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Bottom-Up Organizing: HERE in New Haven & Boston

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Bottom-Up Organizing: HERE in New Haven & Boston

Abstract

[Excerpt] HERE is a union in the process of change. After decades of cooperative relations with management, the union's national leaders were rudely awakened when the major hotel chains jumped on the union-busting bandwagon in the late 1970s: contract concessions were demanded, organizing drives were vigorously opposed, and programs were implemented to weaken existing locals. HERE has responded with a newfound militance, demonstrated in strikes in New York, Las Vegas, Minneapolis, and Monterey, California. To stem the decline in the union's membership, Vincent Sirabella, the innovative and politically progressive head of HERE'S New Haven Local 217 since 1957, was promoted to Director of Organization in 1983 by HERE President Edward Hanley.

Keywords

union, labor movement, organizing, hotel employees, restaurant employees, HERE



THIS
BIKE
ON
STRIKE

Building the Ranks:

Bottom-Up Organizing: HERE in New Haven & Boston

■ Rick Hurd

"I got a job at Yale and was really impressed with myself. I couldn't get ahead, and yet I was really anti-union. It took two people making me say 'I only care about myself, I don't care about anyone else' over and over again to wake me up. Now I realize you can't eat prestige. . . ."

"The barriers are broken, our limitations are gone, we can do anything we set our mind to—the only thing that stops us is fear. . . .The administration doesn't frighten me anymore. We have to be better than they are and it's very easy. . . ."

"We keep raising people's expectations and their self-respect. . . it's how we can better our lives and how we can better ourselves. We have the power to change the university. It is constant work, constant organizing."

"We don't want our union to end up with the people on the top doing everything. That's why we place so much emphasis on getting everyone involved in grievances. We want 100% participation. . . ."

These quotes are from Pamela Ossorio, a photographer at the Yale University Medical School and a shop steward in Local 34 of the

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Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees (HERE). Ossorio's experiences and attitudes toward her union vary only in detail from those of 1500 other members of the Yale local. The enthusiasm and rank-and-file involvement which characterize Local 34 can also be found in HERE affiliates in Boston, Las Vegas, San Francisco and other scattered locations.

HERE is a union in the process of change. After decades of cooperative relations with management, the union's national leaders were rudely awakened when the major hotel chains jumped on the union-busting bandwagon in the late 1970s: contract concessions were demanded, organizing drives were vigorously opposed, and programs were implemented to weaken existing locals. HERE has responded with a newfound militance, demonstrated in strikes in New York, Las Vegas, Minneapolis, and Monterey, California. To stem the decline in the union's membership, Vincent Sirabella, the innovative and politically progressive head of HERE's New Haven Local 217 since 1957, was promoted to Director of Organization in 1983 by HERE President Edward Hanley.

Sirabella believes that organizing is a never-ending process that is at the core of unionism. Whether organizing internally within a local or externally to establish a new unit, the process is the same. As Sirabella sees it, the organizer should build from the bottom up, helping workers recognize their own abilities and potential. For a union to succeed it must *belong* to the workers—the members must be provided with the information and training they need and then given the opportunity to carry the burden of running their own locals.

Sirabella has initiated a nationwide organizing campaign based on rank-and-file involvement. He has also supported the efforts of local leaders like Domenic Bozzotto in Boston to shed top heavy hierarchical structures and to democratize their locals. The best way to explain the HERE approach to organizing is to look at practical examples. A review of the experiences of HERE Locals 34 (Yale) and 26 (Boston hotels) will be followed by a more systematic summary of the HERE organizing strategy.

Local 34—Yale Clerical and Technical Workers

Starting with the Distributive Workers in 1971, three unions had tried unsuccessfully to organize Yale's clerical and technical workers. John Wilhelm, Business Agent for HERE Local 35 which represents the Yale blue-collar workers, recognized that his local would be strengthened if the other Yale employees unionized. In



Sammy Carr

... Yale strikers.

response to a request from a group of clerical workers dissatisfied with the bureaucratic organizing techniques of the other unions, Wilhelm agreed to lend assistance. In October 1980 HERE organizer Karl Lechow was brought in to coordinate an organizing drive. Both Wilhelm and Lechow were originally hired and trained by Vincent Sirabella, and both are committed to his rank-and-file organizing strategy.

The Yale organizing campaign took 2½ years before a successful representation vote in favor of HERE Local 34 in May 1983. Yale hired an expensive anti-union law firm (Seyfarth, Shaw, Fairweather and Geraldson) to fight the organizing campaign and later to negotiate the first contract. Predictably, negotiations were excruciatingly slow. When it became clear that no agreement could be reached peacefully, Local 34 staged a ten-week strike in the fall of 1984. In January 1985, the union won a precedent-setting contract, which endorsed the concept of comparable worth.

Although a detailed case study of Local 34 would be interesting in its own right, the goal here is to capture the essence of the organizing tactics employed by John Wilhelm, Karl Lechow and the other HERE organizers. As will become clear, most of the organizing work was done by the members of Local 34 themselves. A typical assessment of the role of the HERE organizers was given

by member Louise Camera in reference to Wilhelm: "He showed us how to organize ourselves."

When the HERE campaign started at Yale in October 1980 there was no announcement, and no literature was distributed. All contacts were face to face, often in the worker's own home, and the message was consistent: "A union needs to be built here. If you agree, it's up to you to get to work. It won't be easy. But, you can change things if you stick together." According to the HERE philosophy, every member of the union is an organizer. The paid organizer's job is to facilitate the work of the rank and file.

The Yale campaign was tough. It took a year to put together an organizing committee. In November 1981, after 6 weeks of internal discussions and debate, the Organizing Committee (OC) decided to go public. It was at this point that the first piece of literature was distributed by HERE. Over 400 Yale clerical and technical workers, including all OC members, agreed to have their names appear on a leaflet titled, "Standing Together." As Lechow viewed it, "Standing Together" was really for the workers, to free the Organizing Committee from the nervousness that somebody would find out. At the same time it gave them an opportunity to stand up and be proud that they were involved in forming their own union. The three-sentence message which accompanied the list of supporters was simple: "As Local 34 Organizing Committee members . . . we are building a strong democratic structure . . . This structure will guarantee that this is *our* union." The workers inundated Yale and New Haven with 10,000 copies of the flyer.

Having gone public, the campaign shifted into high gear. Most of the work was done by OC members at lunch meetings. A committee member would target a specific individual in his or her work unit and invite that person to lunch. In advance a profile of the targeted person would be developed: name, address, friends, social groups, church, politics, marital status, etc. A union member who best matched this person would be invited to lunch to assist in the organizing. For instance, if the meeting were with a single parent with young children, then a single parent with young children who had already joined would come along. The idea was to find someone who could relate to the potential member because of similar experiences, but not necessarily someone already acquainted with that person.

Prospective members were *not* asked to sign a union authorization card at the first meeting—in fact, they were not allowed to sign. Instead they were invited to a union-sponsored event such as a rally or picnic, or to a follow-up lunch meeting. When people did sign cards, it was made very clear that they

should not sign unless they actually supported the union and were willing to get involved. As HERE organizer Lechow put it, "Who the hell needs somebody who's got doubts?"

That does not mean that doubters were written off. As Steve Fortes, initially a doubter and now a Local 34 Vice President, recalls, "The 34 people were a pain in the ass. They kept coming after me." OC members continually reminded each other not to give up on individuals who were resisting, because people can change. Similarly, it was standard policy to combat excuses. If someone said they could not come to a meeting because they didn't have a car, transportation would be arranged. Or if they could not get a babysitter, a union member would babysit.

HERE refers to this organizing vigilance as "pushing." Pushing means keeping after someone even after he/she says no. It also means leaning on people who are already members but are not contributing, and getting on the backs of OC members who are losing their intensity. The toughest part of organizing is pressuring people who are resisting, but most of today's Local 34 leaders have stories of how they were pushed into getting involved. For instance, Lee Berman, now one of Local 34's full-time staff members (all paid staff are still called "organizers," 2½ years after the union was certified), admits that she refused to get involved because of other commitments. "I'd say I'd go to a meeting, then I wouldn't go. . . In the fall of '82 Kim [HERE organizer Kim McLaughlin] zeroed in on me, and forced me to come to meetings and come on the Organizing Committee."

Once someone joined Local 34 he/she would immediately be integrated into the organizing campaign. Typically, the involvement would start by sitting in as an observer at a lunch meeting with an experienced OC member. Next the new member might be asked to develop a profile of someone in his/her work unit, or to invite a friend who had not yet joined to a lunch meeting. Assuming these simple tasks were handled effectively, he/she would be assigned more responsibility—bring 5 people to a union meeting, actively assist in lunch meetings, and eventually start handling lunch meetings. Members who reached this last stage were invited to join the Organizing Committee.

By setting realistic hurdles for new members, Local 34 was able to get people involved and feeling good about themselves. Successes were always recognized, no matter how small. As described by shop steward Suzy Hepner, "We need recognition for the small victories. That you got an arch anti-union person out to lunch is a victory." Setting hurdles and offering recognition are part of the HERE philosophy of delegation of authority.

Barbara Bonnardi Local 34 Steward

Barbara Bonnardi has worked at Yale since 1942, and serves as executive secretary for the Dean of Admissions. She had been asking her boss about a promotion to a staff assistant position for months. His response was always, "I'll check with personnel." In the fall of 1983 some women in her office talked her into going to a union meeting. In her words, "I'll never forget that night. I was impressed by the brotherhood, the strong spirit. It kind of bouyed me up. I felt quite noble." A couple of days later her boss approached her about the promotion, but she interrupted him, "Don't bother, I've joined the union."

Bonnardi was soon invited to become a member of the Organizing Committee, and then the Steering Committee. During the strike she was a picket captain responsible for eight women. She recalls scolding them when they started talking about their work in the office, "Don't look in that building—our job is out here now." She also remembers telling her sister, "I think I'm crazy but I'm enjoying this strike!" She is now a shop steward and reports, "I'm still learning."

The lunch-meeting organizing was anything but haphazard. Lechow and Wilhelm worked with rank-and-file leaders to put together a carefully planned structure which assured that every potential member received attention. As the organizing campaign progressed and more and more people were integrated into Local 34 activities, the Organizing Committee grew to 500 members.

Each committee member was responsible for developing a profile of and establishing contact with 3 to 8 of the 2500 Yale clerical and technical employees. The activities of OC members were coordinated in groups of 3 or 4 by a 150-member Steering Committee. Both committees held weekly meetings throughout the campaign. Approximately 60 members were designated Rank-and-File Organizers and served as the executive committee of the local. This group decided who to recruit as members of the Steering Committee and Organizing Committee. A conscious effort

was made to assure that each committee was representative of the entire clerical and technical staff in terms of work unit, job category, sex, race and age.

The election victory in May 1983 did not bring an end to the organizing activity. There was a continuing effort among those who voted "no." The importance of this follow-up organizing is underscored by the story of Michael Boyle, an employee in the solidly anti-union printing service. Boyle had voted against the union, but joined shortly after the election. He immediately went to work organizing his fellow printing service employees and persuaded several to become union members. Three weeks later, Boyle was on the Steering Committee. Within two months, he had the printing service 100% organized. Today, Boyle works full-time for the union as one of the Local 34 organizers.

The organizing continues to this day. Although the Local 34 contract contains a strong agency shop clause, there is a continuing effort to push the 1000 non-members and to recruit new employees into the union. After surviving a ten-week strike in the fall of 1984, it is especially hard to approach non-strikers about joining the union. As Local 34 Organizer Pat Carter observes, "It's a struggle for the rank and file to organize scabs, but we have to. There are 40% non-members."

In the HERE philosophy, all union activity is essentially organizing. Local 34 members reflect this attitude when relating stories of the strike. They talk of "reaching in" to organize support among students and faculty, and tell of their efforts to organize support from banks and merchants. The continual organizing activity helped maintain morale. As shop steward Sherry Mofield describes it, "We loved being on strike. People loved being together, growing together out there."

The organizing strategy even applies to grievances. When one worker in a unit has a grievance, all members are organized around it. The shop steward explains the grievance and the relevant contract clause, and then the group decides what action to take. Rather than following the rather standard grievance procedure outlined in the contract, the more common tactic is for all members in the unit to march in to see the boss and demand a response. In some cases lunch-time rallies are held to support a grievance.

Shop steward Duane Mellor sums up the Local 34 approach when he notes, "We always have a program, we always have a goal. . . every single person in the union has to be an organizer."

HERE Local 26—Boston Hotel Workers

It is 5:15 on Wednesday, October 23, 1985, and over 400 members of HERE Local 26 gather at the Mackey School auditorium in Boston for a Contract Committee meeting. Most have arrived in groups on buses rented by Local 26 to pick them up at the end of the day shift at their hotels. Committee members make a commitment to attend the meeting in advance when they sign up for a seat on the bus, and the buses do not leave the hotels until everyone who signed up is on board. A majority of the racially diverse group are women, and several children have come along with a parent, although daycare is available around the corner at the union hall.

The meeting is more like a rally. A recording of a song written for the local during 1982 negotiations plays over the public address system—"We want justice, we want dignity, and we want respect. . . ." The crowd occasionally breaks into a chant, "We are ready! We are ready! . . .," referring to the local's willingness to strike to get a fair contract. The current agreement expires in 6 weeks.

The meeting is simple and straightforward. Local 26 President Domenic Bozzotto begins by introducing 45 members of the Negotiating Committee (the other 5 members are at work and attended a smaller meeting earlier in the afternoon for the evening shift Contract Committee members). The demographic mix of the Negotiating Committee parallels that of the union—approximately 60% minority and 60% women. Following the introductions, which are interrupted frequently with cheering and chanting, the business begins.

Bozzotto updates the Contract Committee on the schedule for negotiations, which management had agreed to start only after Local 26 threatened to stage a sit-in at the Sheraton Boston if the talks were delayed any longer. Bozzotto also announces that at next week's meeting ". . . we're going to take on the devil. . . we're going to have this meeting in front of the John Hancock building." The location will highlight the insurance industry's ties to Boston's first-class hotels; John Hancock owns the Copley Plaza and the Back Bay Hilton, while Prudential, Equitable and Aetna own other Boston hotels. Bozzotto's comments are translated into Spanish, Portuguese, and Creole (Haitian French) for the audience by union members. English is a second language for half of the local's membership.

Bozzotto briefly reviews the contract demands, and says that if anything has been left out, Contract Committee members should



... *Boston Hotel Workers at Contract Committee meeting.*

call him or contact a member of the Negotiating Committee. The 45-minute meeting ends as the Negotiating Committee members distribute flyers summarizing the proposals. The flyer is printed in four languages.

The October 23 meeting typifies the style of Local 26. Union events resemble civil rights demonstrations. In fact, Bozzotto was active in the civil rights movement in the 1960s as a member of the Congress On Racial Equality. He took over the presidency of Local 26 in 1980 with the support of a group of rank-and-file insurgents, Hotel Employees for Leadership and Pride. Under Bozzotto's leadership, the local has experienced a significant upsurge in rank-and-file participation in union affairs. This increased involvement is a direct result of internal organizing.

When Bozzotto took office, he promised to break down the artificial barriers which existed among different groups of hotel employees. One obvious barrier was language—Local 26 has identified 87 different languages and dialects among its 4000 members in Boston hotels. To reduce the inhibiting effect of the language barriers, the union now prints its newspaper and all flyers in the four major languages—Creole, Spanish, Portuguese and English. The local has also hired multi-lingual Business Agents.

A more subtle but no less important division is a product of the hotels' hiring practices. In the "front of the house" most employees are white—desk clerks, waiters, waitresses, bartenders. In the "back of the house" most employees are minorities—chambermaids, laundry workers, dishwashers, cooks. Local 26 initiated a campaign to bring these diverse workers together so they could recognize that many of their work-related problems were the same.

With the assistance of HERE organizers dispatched to Boston to offer advice, the four Local 26 Business Agents (BAs) began the internal organizing campaign early in 1982 in preparation for contract negotiations scheduled for that fall. An index card was prepared for each member, with hotel, job title, address, phone number, race, sex, age, church affiliation, friends among union members, and the BA's personal assessment of the individual's commitment and potential leadership skills. From these index cards, the BAs identified potential Contract Committee members.

The Business Agents then held meetings with the people they had tentatively selected. The meetings were typically held in the member's own community—in their homes, bars, social clubs or churches. At these meetings the BAs tried to sell the members on the value of getting more active in the union. Every effort was made to assure that the Contract Committee was representative in terms of front of the house/back of the house, race, nationality, sex, age and clique. Eventually a 350-person Contract Committee was recruited or roughly one committee member for every 12 members of the local. The Contract Committee met weekly in the fall of 1982 in preparation for contract negotiations.

From the Contract Committee, a 50-member Negotiating Committee was selected. This group refined the bargaining demands developed by the Contract Committee, and participated in the negotiations. Bozzotto served as chief negotiator, but each of the Negotiating Committee members had an opportunity to contribute.

The major value of the Contract Committee system was increased communication within the local. At the Contract Committee meetings the members, representing diverse groups of workers, came to understand the concerns and attitudes of other workers with whom they had seldom interacted before. As a result, the leadership of the local became more familiar with the specific problems of the rank-and-file. And during negotiations, the Contract Committee served as a communication link to the membership. After each bargaining session the Negotiating Committee members would summarize the day's events to

Contract Committee members, who would pass the word on to the rank-and-file. This oral relay of information was reinforced by flyers distributed through the same network.

Although the immediate impact of the Contract Committee system in 1982 was to provide input and support for negotiations, a more lasting effect was to build the local union. Many rank-and-file leaders originally recruited for the Contract Committee stayed active in the local. As Bozzotto told the *Boston Globe* in 1983, "The nice thing is that tomorrow I could disappear, and the whole thing would go on. . . . People feel good about themselves. You give them tasks, and they accomplish them, and they feel good about themselves. This is leadership from the bottom up."

As Local 26 prepared for 1985 negotiations, the Contract Committee was reconstructed. This time the organizing was easier because the foundation had been laid three years earlier. The same basic system was used with only slight modifications. Instead of developing bargaining objectives in Contract Committee meetings, lists were drawn up by the members in separate sessions in each hotel and then passed on to the Negotiating Committee. To improve linkage with the rank and file, the Contract Committee was expanded to 500 members, one for every 8 local members.

Local 26 adopted several important logistical policies which helped maintain good attendance and a spirited atmosphere at Contract Committee meetings. Events were held immediately after work and never lasted more than an hour. The pamphlets or flyers distributed at the meetings were always passed out at the end, so they didn't distract members during the meeting. Providing bus transportation to the meetings assured that everyone showed up; it also brought all Contract Committee members from a hotel together on one bus, giving the BAs and HERE organizers an opportunity to build enthusiasm going into the meeting. Finally, by varying the location of the meetings and making some of them demonstrations, the level of excitement stayed high.

When 1985 negotiations began in late October, hotel management made it clear that the Contract Committee system would be severely tested. Major concessions were demanded, including cutbacks in health insurance coverage, a two-tier wage scale which would reduce starting pay by 25% for the first year, and a 5-year contract instead of the traditional three. At a November 20 Contract Committee meeting, Local 26 demonstrated that it was prepared to fight. For this meeting the Contract Committee recruited other members of the local to a rally at the Arlington Street Church where an overflow crowd of 1,500 chanted, "Whatever it takes! For as long as it takes!"

In the final days before the strike deadline, the union conducted classes in civil disobedience for all Contract Committee members and announced the linchpin of its strategy—in addition to picket lines on the streets, sit-ins would be staged inside the luxury hotels covered by the contract. As if to make it clear that the sit-in plan was no idle threat, hundreds of enthusiastic Local 26 members crowded the lobby of City Hall throughout the entire 11-hour final bargaining session being held upstairs. In the end, the local won a major victory without a strike.

The union accepted only one concession—a four-month entry wage 25% below the basic rate. In return the union won wage increases of 6% per year for the three-year contract (bringing base wages from \$6.15 per hour in 1985 to \$7.35 in 1988); a 26% increase in contributions to health insurance; an affirmative action program, and a full legal plan for union members and their families. The legal plan covers all civil and criminal proceedings, and is especially important to the many immigrant members of the union who frequently experience legal tangles with the Immigration & Naturalization Service. To Bozzotto, the negotiating success reflected the spirit of Local 26—"This victory was a victory made from love. It came from our hearts and our souls. We showed them we had courage."

The HERE Organizing Strategy

The HERE organizing strategy is based on faith in the instincts of the rank and file. Karl Lechow offers a concise summary of this viewpoint: "Organizers must listen very carefully. What holds workers back is when leaders are nervous about doing something. When we have faith in what the rank and file want, it works out." The Local 34 Organizing Committee and the Local 26 Contract Committee are simply structures which stimulate and facilitate rank-and-file involvement.

Of course, organizers and local leaders play a key role as well. They must give workers the training necessary to accomplish the tasks which lie before them. At Yale John Wilhelm held several Saturday workshops for the Organizing Committee. One particularly effective session, appropriately titled "Innocation," prepared members for the union-busting campaign coordinated by Yale's law firm. Because the members knew what to expect, the anti-union propaganda had virtually no effect on the organizing activity. In Boston, Local 26 has integrated corporate research into its activities, and has kept workers informed of research findings. Once aware of the importance of this effort, workers began to



Lorenzo Evans

Vincent Sirabella rallies strikers and community supporters at 1977 strike of Yale University blue-collar workers (Local 35). Based on his work in New Haven, Sirabella was named HERE Director of Organization in 1983.

contribute: desk clerks provided data on occupancy rates, while janitors discovered copies of informative memos carelessly discarded by hotel management.

In addition to training, leaders must develop practical strategies which will help the members achieve their objectives. To be successful, Vincent Sirabella believes that strategies must be unpredictable and unorthodox, innovative and creative. In Boston, Local 26 put management on the defensive by attacking the sex- and race-based employment patterns in the hotels, demanding internal affirmative action programs, and taking its case to the media. At Yale, Local 34 caught management totally off guard by calling a 6-week truce after being on strike for 10 weeks. The workers went back to work in December (the union called it "Home for the Holidays") rather than stay out on strike while the students were gone. Management caved in to the union's key demands just before the 6-week truce expired.

The specific organizing tactics used by HERE are essentially the same for both external and internal campaigns. The organizing is done face to face in lunch meetings or in the worker's home or community. The rank and file are integrated into the organizing process as much as possible. Literature is used to communicate with members or the broader community, but is seldom used in the organizing process itself. Workers are warned up front that organizing is hard, and are told that their future is in their own hands. In this regard, HERE does not organize workers around specific issues, nor do organizers attempt to sell the workers on the union. Rather, workers are organized around themselves. Then they decide the issues and assume control of the local union.

In order to facilitate the rank-and-file involvement required to make this system work, organizers set specific hurdles for new members and offer recognition when tasks are completed. As confidence builds, more and more responsibility is delegated to the members. The emphasis HERE places on "pushing" reminds workers that organizing is difficult, and creates an atmosphere which encourages constructive criticism. Finally, HERE goes to great pains to assure that all demographic and social subgroups within the workforce are integrated into the campaign. A union built on rank-and-file involvement must represent the concerns of all members.

Vincent Sirabella argues that the labor movement must make organizing its number one priority. To him this means committing adequate resources to accomplish the organizing challenge which lies ahead, and recruiting and training quality organizers. He believes that unions have for too long recruited organizers from

within, while passing by the best educated, most articulate supporters of working men and women. During the 1970s, President Edward Hanley agreed to fund an organizing experiment in New Haven coordinated by Sirabella. Six college graduates, including Wilhelm and Lechow, were hired and trained in Sirabella's rank-and-file-oriented techniques. The experiment brought 5100 new members into HERE, and contributed to Sirabella's elevation to Director of Organization. The New Haven experiment is now going national.

Early in 1985 HERE hired 40 organizer trainees to staff new organizing drives in four cities: Boston, Washington, D.C., Chicago, and Orange County, California. The trainees were selected based on education, intelligence, ability to speak and write and, most importantly, their dedication and commitment to working people. As Sirabella describes them, "they have character in the gut, and steel in the spine." The trainees attended an intensive 3-week educational program last spring. The program covered organizing and the law, polling techniques, the use of corporate data, organizing techniques, and in-depth discussion of several HERE organizing campaigns and strikes. The trainees then dispersed in groups of 10 to the 4 target cities, each group under the direction of an experienced organizer, including two New Haven "graduates"—Karl Lechow in Washington, D.C., and Kim McLaughlin in Boston.

Although it will be at least two years before the effectiveness of these campaigns can be judged, based on experience in New Haven and Boston, the potential is exciting. As revealed in the following quotes from members of the Washington organizing team, the new organizers have internalized the HERE philosophy.

"Pushing is tough."

"We have to be as sensitive to the workers' needs and desires as we are to our own."

"We sometimes overlook the distinction between workers who are popular and workers who are strong." [Sirabella's response: "give them specific things to do, that's how you test them."]

"We have to push each other, we've got to do the appropriate follow-up. That's the key."

"We've got to depend on the workers—that's really going to make this succeed." ■