

Part V, Chapter 2. The Organizer/Builder

Organizer/Campaign Builders. The quiet heart of any successful campaign, builders bring to each campaign “tappable networks” of allies developed over years of activism. Organizer/Movement builders build campaign leadership by recruiting the Inside Leader-advocates and others who can perform the campaign leadership roles they themselves can’t. They develop key support networks and create broad organizational alliances and coalitions. Builders reach out to draw in new allies; they recruit new activists and make them feel welcome, valued, and heeded. They bridge generations, link local with national, even international advocacy. They know that a movement is weakest when it shuns diversity and seeks only a narrow, homogeneous base.

Organize/campaign builders sustain coalitions. They create space for the knowledge gained through their own experience and the experience of others to be tapped, and initiate new approaches to participation so diverse voices are heard and their demands heeded. They circumvent organizational turf hurdles, they convene and facilitate, seek to explore differences through civil discourse and debate, and eschew rancorous division. They pay attention to sustaining relationships even when not calling upon colleagues or key allies to do something. Builders also heal. Within the campaign, they communicate, communicate, communicate.

More - much more - than a lobbyist, DeMarco is a campaign builder. If he were only a good social justice lobbyist, his work probably wouldn’t merit a book. What is unique about Vinny, in his wife Molly’s words, “is how he brings people together to accomplish so much. I think Vinny’s greatest strength is how he manages to bring in so many disparate groups and orchestrate them to accomplish so much together.”

David Weaver draws the distinction between Len Lucchi’s role, as the model lobbyist and DeMarco’s, “Len is the lobbyist of the team. What Vinny does is create the environment for the legislation to be enacted or to be advanced.”

No witness to the power generated by DeMarco’s organizing is more authoritative than the Speaker of the Maryland House of Delegates, Mike Busch:

In Annapolis or in Washington, when someone wants to have legislation dealing with the petroleum industry or the pharmaceutical industry, they're usually well-heeled with paid lobbyists and lawyers and staff to come down and articulate their view. But there might be the vast majority of constituents out there that want something done in gun control or with healthcare. They really need someone to organize them the way that Vinny does.

His success with the legislature is the fact that he can identify people in everyone's community that want to see some kind of change in a particular issue he is advocating for. He looks at statewide polls, and then he goes down and actually does the hard ground work of getting community association leaders together and churches together and activists together to say, "Hey, if we pull together, we can beat some of the institutional lobbying groups and big business "

Many times it makes legislators uncomfortable because you've got to respond. But that's the nature of the job. You're supposed to respond to those kinds of constituent inquiries and to the people that you represent. A lot of times people want to get elected here and then kind of forget why they were here. He doesn't let them do that.

And that's good, whether it's on the issues that he cares for or other issues.

I think the vast majority of lobbyists that you associate with in your mindset down here are the ones that represent corporations or a large coalition of private sector individuals, whereas Vinny represents a large coalition of the public sector.

There are people in his coalition looking for healthcare support who might work for a pharmaceutical company that's lobbying against the bill. Vinny's different: he connects faces and leaders in the community with the legislator that's making the vote.

if a senator is hearing from 3 or 4 ministers in his community and 5 or 6 community association presidents and numerous community activists that have helped him in his campaign to get elected, that has

a lot more influence than a guy flying in from North Carolina representing R J Reynolds.

Maggie McIntosh, Chair of the House Environmental Matters Committee, elaborates on the impact on her colleagues of DeMarco's organizing:

He is a master of grass roots organizing in Maryland. He has an idea, and the next thing you know, six months later, he has an office, a budget, and a thousand organizations signed on to help him."

The method by which he organizes is intimidating to some legislators. He has cache when he organizes. Do you know what I mean? There are a lot of lobbyists who come in and say, "All these groups support this cause. And then, as a legislator, I go out and talk to the group leaders and they say, "Yeah, we've signed up, but we don't really *care* about that."

But not with Vinny. No. The cache he has with progressive organizations, civic, church, union, labor, civic groups: the trust, the bond that he has to deliver for them on whatever issue that they're working collectively on is so huge that, when a legislator gets a communication from Vinny. And down the list it goes, it's real. It's "Oh my god, this guy's gone out and organized labor and my church is on here and my community group's on here."

It's intimidating to some. It's intimidating, because you know that, no matter where you go in your district, or in your church, or in your world, you're gonna hear about healthcare for all; you're gonna hear about the campaign on behalf of the families of Maryland.

Cancer Society lobbyist Eric Gally says. Vinny is very good at going around and getting the disparate members of the community, and the groups that are interested in the issue, all together on the same page, in the same room, on the same bill.

Perhaps nothing can more graphically illustrate the *power* of such organizing than a brief vignette described by Len Lucchi to DeMarco at a reception honoring Governor O'Malley and House Speaker Busch on the eve of the Special Session of the Maryland legislature in which DeMarco would win his cigarette tax/Medicaid expansion legislation.

Lucchi reported that the Governor took him aside and said, “I want you to tell Vinny I’m serious about health care.” And then, Speaker Busch took him aside and said, “Martin’s going to do it, and I’m responsible.”

The comments above relate to DeMarco’s organizing in Maryland. What of his organizing accomplishments for Tobacco Free Kids among both national and state faith leaders?

Pete Fisher, Tobacco Free Kids lead staff person in helping to strengthen state tobacco control advocacy:

Vinny’s brought people into the tobacco issue that weren’t there before. Politically, in several states, that’s been a real help. We have, for better or worse, a lot of conservative governors, legislators, in some of our toughest states to get to work on tobacco who listen to faith groups and conservative faith groups, and to get them on board has been really strategically very powerful.

And he does this, as Patricia Sosa reports, “by creating coalitions that are *real*. There are a lot of people that are able to put together coalitions that are very impressive – on paper. Vinny creates coalitions with a backbone.”

Karla Sneegas herself a fine and beloved tobacco control leader in Indiana, nonetheless say she learned from Demarco, “not to be afraid to bring together what might be considered opposing forces: to bring the conservative Southern Baptists together at the same table where Islam is sitting there and the Catholics and the Jewish community.”

Vinny’s a bridge builder. Our health folks don’t really understand how to build bridges. A lot of tobacco control people have been afraid to push our comfort zone win dealing with people who aren’t like us. . Not being afraid to put, like I said, some really different people at the same table.

And at the national level, The Methodists’ Jim Winkler, echoes Fisher, “DeMarco, with his colleagues at TFK, “have taken us beyond just working on legislation, but really, truly building a movement. And, I mean, that’s fantastic stuff. That’s great stuff.”

Question: *Campaign Builder: Movement Builder;*

DeMarco is manifestly a builder. But what exactly does he build? And how lasting are the foundations he lays?

This category of leadership – the Organizer/Movement builder- – is an unsatisfactory work in progress. It’s a catchall for a wide ranger of abilities and qualities that fit only loosely together. Indeed, in writing about DeMarco as leader, I wavered between keeping the more grandiose “movement builder” and downsizing the concept to “campaign organizer”

In truth, DeMarco has primarily excelled as a campaign builder, but has demonstrated at least some of the qualities of a movement builder.

In his first 10 years organizing and leading gun control campaigns, he certainly excelled as a campaign organizer. But when he left he organization he had built, Marylanders against handgun Abuse, its energy was sapped; it withered, a spent force. At the national Hand-gun control advocacy group, he set about building a coordinated network of state gun control organizations as the core framework of a national gun control movement/, but organizational constraints and frustrations led him to leave before that work could lead to long-term beyond scattered, only modestly successful state gun control initiatives.

By contrast, his work in greatly expanding the narrow, health professional , base of Smoke-Free Maryland in developing the 1997-99 cigarette tax campaign helped build a stronger long term tobacco control movement in Maryland which, without his leadership, succeeded in achieving progressively more comprehensive smoking control laws over the next decade.

His work with Tobacco Free Kids from 1999-2005 was mostly not about specific campaigns, but very much about the broadening and deepening of the tobacco control movement at both national and state level. The creation of Faith United Against Tobacco at the federal level and Faith and Health coalitions in various states whose tobacco control efforts had languished has been transformative and now appears to have become a long term pillar of the tobacco control movement independent of his involvement.

And DeMarco has worked, very quietly, to help build a broader progressive movement in Maryland. In our discussion of DeMarco's role as strategist, we noted that, quite aside from his issue campaigns, DeMarco also works with other progressives to help elect progressive candidates. As Maggie McIntosh also observes, his campaign election strategies also have the secondary effect of electing more progressives:

I believe the work he's done has helped to make our legislature more progressive. Because every election cycle, one or two people get defeated because they're not with Vinny – that's not the way it's characterized. And one or two people get elected because they are. And people who are, it's, you know, and so you just incrementally over the years have seen the legislature get more progressive ...

We might, then, crudely summarize DeMarco's role by suggesting that he has been 100% a campaign builder, and, perhaps, 50% a movement builder – neither modest achievements. So in this Chapter, we look at those leadership qualities and skills that helped make both his campaign organizing and his movement building effective.

Filling leadership gaps

One of the first challenges for an organizer is to assess objectively his or her own leadership capacities and roles. In the last chapter, I've suggested the leadership roles that DeMarco amply fills. Left out were those roles he *doesn't* fill. Let's examine what he does to fill them.

Visionaries. For example, in the health care campaigns, Baltimore Health Commissioner Beilenson reached out to DeMarco with a vision of universal health care that drove the ensuing campaigns a sometimes tense but rich partnership with DeMarco's pragmatism. Together, they also reached out to another visionary, Dean Albert Somers of the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health.

Statespersons. In virtually every campaign he entered, DeMarco looked to prominent statesmen and stateswomen for public leadership: In gun control, Attorneys General Curran and Sachs; In the 1997-99 tobacco tax campaign, Governor Glendening; in the early stages of the health care campaign, Lt Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend. In later stages of the health care campaign, DeMarco would ally with House Speaker Busch; then Governor

O'Malley. Ironically, though they were primal adversaries in several campaigns, DeMarco embraced Senate President Miller as a leader in the Fair Share health care campaign. And, in building the national Faith United Against Tobacco coalition, DeMarco happily ceded the national stage to the prominent faith leaders, Jim Winkler, Secretary General of the Methodist [name] and The Reverend Richard Land – famed or infamous, depending upon the issue – [title]

Experts. Not an expert himself in the science of any of the issues he organized around, DeMarco reached out to Hopkins Professor Steven Teret to rebut the National Rifle Association's pseudo scientific defense of guns; to Hopkins health system experts to design the health care plan and economic experts at Lewin Associates to uphold its financial integrity. For his political forensic polls, he recruited nationally known and respected pollsters such as Mark Penn and Celinda Lake. On the science of tobacco control, he drew upon the experts at Tobacco Free Kids, Danny McGoldrick and Eric Lindblom.

Bernie:

One example of where he leans on people is policy. While he is the leader, almost every campaign, someone else knows more about the subject than he does. He started this organization just having a layman's knowledge of health policy, and for years leaned heavily on other people. Still if you wanted to understand how some of the health care for all plan works, you'd have to talk to somebody else. But that's being a good leader.

Within his nuclear advocacy family, he drew upon Len Lucchi's lobbying expertise, Bernie Horn's media advocacy professionalism, Lawyer Mike Pretyl's non-profit tax intricacies/ ("I'm General Counsel for Vinny, Inc.")

Even with his own organizing expertise, he recognized and leaned upon Rosanna Miles unique organizing strength and network.

Though himself an intrepid fund-raiser, he recruited to his Health Care Board, [name] a veteran fund raiser for good causes, also with a wide tappable network of funders.

Bernie Horn cites DeMarco's determination and comfort in reaching out to strong leaders:

Vinny needs other people to make up for the things that he lacks, but he's a real leader. That is, he has the overall vision, and he's got the energy, and he can drive the process and get people to do things. And he has a fairly good idea of what he doesn't know. So he can find people to do things that he can't do.

Vinny is perfectly happy to surround himself with people who have talents and characteristics that he lacks. And he is perfectly happy to take their advice. An awful lot of people don't do that. He's not threatened by people having different ideas. He doesn't insist on doing things his way, when somebody else has a better idea than he does in an area that's not his expertise.

He'd probably make a great CEO of a big company, because he's great at delegating. He's great at understanding who's good at what and what to trust people with. I'm sure that there are things that he wouldn't think to ask me for, because he knows what my strengths and weaknesses are. He knows what Len's strengths and weaknesses are. But it just so happens that Vinny, Len and I each has different pieces that, together, are pretty good.

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Tappable networks

In 1982, a remarkably successful organizer – the on-the-ground organizer of the first Earth Day, Byron Kennard, wrote an elegant book of short essays on organizing entitled, "Nothing Can be Done; Everything is Possible." Among his insights was the power of informal networks and he illustrated that power by noting that a good organizer will have at least 100 names on his or her Rolodex; a really powerful community organizer might have as many as

500 names on his or her list (For younger readers, the Rolodex was the proud hand-maintained predecessor to our current electronic address books).

Recall that Demarco discovered ,when he complained to a support person for his cell phone company that his phone was intolerably slow (about 10 seconds) in accessing a phone number, that he had more than 8000 numbers stored on his phone.

When some family members and others not involved in DeMarco's advocacy work are excluded, as well as shadows of past, now gone acquaintances - perhaps a few hundred names in all, that still leaves several thousand people in what we have called DeMarco's "tappable Network" – those friends, colleagues, as well as near-strangers who might be useful in some advocacy contact.

He will have more than most organizers partly because he has virtually never lost track of contacts in each successive advocacy campaign, beginning with his college days. These would include, not exclusively, contacts from

- The Johns Hopkins debate team (and roommates Bernie Horn, Len Lucchi)
- The Maryland Young Democrats (allied in several campaigns with organized labor)
- The Ted Kennedy for President Campaign (including preeminently, his wife, Molly)
- Maryland Attorney General Steve Sachs gubernatorial campaign
- 10 years and six state gun control campaigns (Teachers Union leaders, Maryland faith leaders, Hopkins experts, community group leaders, funders, national pollsters one of whom, Mark Penn, the Clinton's pollster, was Demarco's roommate in law school for a while (Check?))
- His several years working in DC with Handgun Control Inc. (national faith leaders);
- His consulting work with the national teamsters union (National labor union advocates);
- His first tobacco tax campaign (Smoke-free Maryland coalition leaders, Student leaders, Tobacco Free Kids, more funders)
- His ten years building National and state Faith and Health Coalitions

- His health care campaigns (State and national Health care experts and advocates, more funders,
- Overall, maybe a thousand or so Journalists and.
- In lobbyist Eric Gally’s embracing term, phone numbers for “The rest of Maryland, but not to exclude
- Several hundred numbers of state legislative leaders, their staff’s, and friendly lobbyists.

The phone numbers, of course, change from time to time, sometimes signaling retirement from the battlefield, but sometimes also reflecting a welcome rise in the advocacy world, as when the Democrats seized control of Congress and DeMarco found that his former close “Inside” allies in the Maryland state legislature had overnight become federal Congressional powerhouses: House Majority leader Steny Hoyer, his open hearted staff director, Terry Lierman, and Congressional Campaign Committee Chair, Chris Van Hollen. Their new phone numbers would be critical to DeMarco’s ability to help the Tobacco Free Kids lobbyists bring the FDA tobacco control bill to a timely, favorable vote.

Behind every email and phone call is a “high touch” connection. TFK’s Aaron Doeppers elaborates:

When you say, ‘Vinny sent an email,’ I wonder how that is read by someone who hasn’t worked with him. What Vinny does so well is make personal connections quickly and with almost anyone. This can never be done by email, and while it is an amazing tool that has turbo-charged grassroots organizing, I find that all too often people forget its limits. This is not to say Vinny doesn’t email—I either receive or am cc’ed on a mountain of email from him. But he uses it as an opener or closer in his outreach—he forms his relationships offline where he can talk to someone directly.

Indiana’s tobacco control leader Karla Sneegas questions, “Could somebody else have done this? Could somebody else have organized the way that the organizing was done in Indiana - maybe, at some level? But through Vinny, we simply became the recipients of an incredible amount of connecting and networking and organizing that comes from him having *all those names in his address list*.

DeMarco's innovativeness as an organizer is illustrated in quite a different way in the assessment by TFK's Aaron Doeppers of DeMarco's strategy in building state Faith and Health Coalitions:

From the perspective of lessons learned working with Vinny on the faith project, the faith outreach is particularly interesting as a case study to me because of its top-down approach. Vinny built a core of support in a city or state by working through the national faith groups and reaching down into a community. Sometimes the national faith leaders are very engaged in that process, but many times all Vinny gets (and needs) is an introduction. This seems to fly in the face of some of the progressive grassroots tradition wisely built on years of trial and error--we were always taught that you start with the local passionate people and build up toward a movement. I don't think Vinny would disagree; he is just much more pragmatic. Opportunism and pragmatism aren't usually the values when examining public interest work, but they ought to be and he is the best in both regards.

How does he get them to join?

Those who have been the closest observers of DeMarco's coalition building over many years offer a compendium of the qualities that enable him to recruit allies to each succeeding campaign.

DeMarco's friend, counselor, and permanent lobbyist from Hopkins days, Len Lucchi offers his assessment:

His enthusiasm is infectious. He makes his pitch and you're charged up. He recognizes that there are a lot of liberal activists in the state, particularly in the religious community. Every religious denomination has a social justice agenda, yet they are always looking for something to do - and I say this as a member of one. Most of the time, we spin our wheels, we do nothing. Vinny gives those liberal activists who are involved in various causes something to do that's very concrete, very tangible.

His sincerity comes through and most important, like a good trial lawyer would do, he knows his audiences. He knows what their emotional trigger points are, and he pushes those buttons.

A lot of people, even activist progressives, will say, “Oh gee, we can’t do that!” They’ve got 10 people telling them it can’t be done. Vinny’s the guy who’s telling them, “Yes, we can!” And with his track record, he has credibility. [David Weaver, himself a highly respected Maryland Political strategist, chimes in, “He’s an evil genius!” Lucchi responds, “He’s not evil.”].

To “infectious enthusiasm,” the Methodist’s Winkler adds, “The Methodist’s Winkler adds, “The first thing of course that is so wonderful about Vinny and Patricia is just irrepressible optimism. You want to work with folks like that. That was the most exciting thing.”

Winkler adds two more reasons for DeMarco’s success in recruiting *them*:

We want to mobilize Untied Methodists in the pews. Even though we had this wonderful building and the location, and the staff, we still really have limited capacity to truly get people in the pews up and moving. The fight against tobacco unites United Methodists across ideological and theological perspectives. But we just don’t have the money and the time and the staff to do a lot of the legwork. We actually saw in Vinny and Patricia, we *could* organize, along with others, and we could make this happen. Vinny and Patricia brought us, not just the optimism, but the know how – and the incredible respect that he brings to everyone that’s there.

Eric Gally, lobbyist for the American Cancer Society in Maryland, though a battle toughened professional, initially highly skeptical of the Fair Share campaign [Right one?] nonetheless succumbs to DeMarco’s entreaties to join yet another campaign. He confesses just the skepticism that Lucchi calls a chronic impediment to progressive action.

But with Vinny, you get that incredible feeling that you’re doing good for the world; you’re about to save somebody’s life; you’re about to prevent suffering.

With Vinny, you know you’re going to be yelled at, in the beginning, by legislators. They’re going to yell at you as they’re voting on it and making it into law. He’s going to leave town for a few months and you’re going to have to answer for it.

Yet, like everybody else involved, when the opportunity comes around to work on it, you jump right back on. You know you're going to be on a wonderful ride, a ride worth taking.

Kathleen Kennedy Townsend has been a leading Democratic activist, progressive advocate for many years, and Lieutenant Governor during several of DeMarco's campaigns. Throughout that time, she has worked closely with him, and enjoys his great respect:

When I first met Vinny, he was like many young people I was meeting in 1982: focused on bringing nuclear weapons to a halt, and very passionate about what he was doing. He had organized, as I remember, a group of young Democrats to come to the Nuclear Freeze march in New York. And I saw that passion.

For last 25 years, he's focused very deeply on one critical issue, after another, whether it be guns or tobacco or healthcare. And he has an extraordinary ability to ask you to be involved and make you want to do it. At least, he makes me want to do it.

What Vinny is very good at is as a myth maker: He creates a picture about how fabulous you are; tells you you're terrific. You start to believe it. And then you want to be part of his myth, his story, his great adventure. That's what he's terrific at. Of course, all of us know we're really not the type of person that Vinny has created in his mind, but we enjoy the luxury of the story he tells.

Sneegas confesses, "I would like to be Vinny when I grow up. That's the way I feel like when I'm around him - because of the way he can pull people together and just do it so, so, so non-threatening."

It's hard to distill the qualities that enable DeMarco to recruit so widely and deeply. But here we have guidance: "infectious enthusiasm"; "irrepressible optimism"; gives activists "something to do"; "knows his audience"; "passion"; give you "feeling that you're doing good for the world"; "You know you're going to be on a wonderful ride"; "focused very deeply"; "myth maker about yourself"; "Know-how"; "incredible respect"; "so, so, so non-threatening."

Organizers/campaign builders sustain coalitions.

Organize/campaign builders sustain coalitions. They create space for the knowledge gained through their own experience and the experience of others to be tapped, and initiate new approaches to participation so diverse voices are heard and their demands heeded. They circumvent organizational turf hurdles, they convene and facilitate, seek to explore differences through civil discourse and debate, and eschew rancorous division. They pay attention to sustaining relationships even when not calling upon colleagues or key allies to do something. Builders also heal. Within the campaign, they communicate, communicate, communicate.

Recruiting allies, building a broad coalition is hard; making it real, sustaining its energy and force is much harder. DeMarco does just that.

Bernie Horn captures just this ability – early in DeMarco’s career - as he describes DeMarco’s role as coordinator of the campaign that sustained the 1980 Saturday night gun ban over the National Rifle Association’s fierce state-wide referendum campaign:

He didn’t know anything about polling or media or anything. But he did two very important things. He kept everybody going forward when everyone could have formed a circle and shot at each other. Everybody continued to move forward. Vinny cajoled and he pleaded and he did favors and he begged. He was a social worker for dozens of people who all thought that they were important. And kept them going forward.

Knowing what to – and what not to- ask for

“Persistence,” even “relentlessness,” are words commonly used to describe DeMarco’s demands on his colleagues; least delicately, “The world’s biggest pain in the ass!” But DeMarco seems to have a sixth sense of just how far to go without driving his allies away, how to provide options that ease the discomfort:

Patricia Sosa:

Once he gets a hold of you, if you say “No.” it’s no. You *have* to give him an answer, but once you give him an answer, he respects the

answer. But what entices people is that he gives them options. “Can you do this?” “No.”

“But can you do *this*?” Eventually, people feel like, “Well. I *have* to do *something*. He’s given me ten choices of what I have to do, there’s something I’m going to be able to do to contribute.”

Barrett Duke, echoes Sosa:

One of the things I always say is that Vinny knows how to take “No” for an answer. When you tell him no, he leaves it alone. He may come back to you many times for different things, but when you tell him no on one thing, he doesn’t come back asking for that again. So he’s very respectful of boundaries and what the various groups, individuals are able to do. It’s really been encouraging to a lot of our folks too when they’ve worked with him, because they found him to be respectful as well. He does not force himself on people. He takes what you give him and he doesn’t ask for more.

Duke, made this point about DeMarco on a panel discussion with one of DeMarco’s oldest and closest colleagues, Bishop Miles. Miles erupted – to the accompaniment of knowing laughter, “Barrett, Vinny *never* takes No for an answer!”

The truth lies delicately in between.

Follow up and Help

Another manifestation of DeMarco’s persistence – and effectiveness - is his virtually instantaneous follow up to make certain that once a colleague agrees to do something, he or she *does* it, not tomorrow but today.

But this follow up is leavened by DeMarco’s readiness to make the task as burden free as possible. Sosa elaborates:

Once they say, “Yes, I want to do it, the follow up is so impeccable that people feel really rewarded. They get excited because they’re part of something.

Although I have to say that we tease a lot about Vinny the “nudge extraordinaire.” But serious work happens. There’s a core group of lobbyists in the national headquarters of the denominations that make

up Faith United. When there's a project planned, Vinny will send a note to the lobbyists, saying, "Project in Richmond, Virginia. We need your people. "And everybody send Vinny names, because they know Vinny will follow up.

Remember, you're a busy person, and you're trying to think what to work on next. Then you find these people that are going to help you and facilitate your work and will guide you in a way that works for you. This is a win-win. Vinny keeps taking them to these places where they can make a difference. That's why they love coming back. They went to Ohio, and they can claim that the faith activities helped bring about the statewide smoking ban. With city councils passing legislation and the restaurant association coming back and asking for another vote and another vote and another vote, Vinny did a lot of organizing in the faith community there. And made a huge difference. The media would cover the press conferences. The lobbyist could send emails among their colleagues, and mobilize all their networks. The same thing happened in Austin, Texas: major press conference. All the networks got organized and they sustained the vote for the Texas smoking ban. And so people like to be part of things like that, when they know they are making a difference.

That's the reason why the follow up is so key. I would say of all the assets that he brings to the table, his discipline on the follow up is very key. Because it reinforces. You do something, he will reply. He will do exactly what he said he was going to do. That's really valuable.