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4 Horsemen (Position, Differentiation,  
USP/Benefit, Brand)  
Building Large Housefiles Quickly  
Digital Fundraising  
Direct Mail Fundraising  
Grassroots Lobbying  
High Dollar Fundraising  
Internet Marketing  
Lifetime Value of a Donor  
Sweepstakes  
Video (DVD) Marketing

The purpose of these monthly memos is to encourage you and other conservative leaders to take advantage of today's political environment to greatly increase the size of your nonprofit organization or launch a new organization to compete with the tens of thousands of liberal nonprofits.

In 2016-2017, mostly using direct marketing, the Left's nonprofits had about 10 million donors and raised about \$10+ billion. While conservatives had about 2½ million donors and raised about \$2½ billion dollars.

Conservatives dominated grassroots marketing from the 1960s through much of the 1980s. But today the Left through bold, professional marketing and aggressive entrepreneurship dominates. And if that continues, the Left will have a major advantage in 2020 and far beyond.

The next 16 months is the best time ever to grow or launch right-of-center organizations.

**MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** Key Conservatives  
**FROM:** Richard A. Viguerie  
**DATE:** June 5, 2018  
**RE:** 7<sup>th</sup> Marketing Memo for Conservative Leaders  
**SUBJECT:** A review plus new recommendations for conservatives to achieve major fundraising success

I recently spoke to a group of about 20 young conservatives who work in fundraising/marketing for conservative causes.

My talk covered a wide range of important issues for conservative leaders. Some of them I've covered in one of my previous six memos.

However, each subject is important, and I hope you find this review helpful.

By the way, feel free to share this memo with others you think could benefit from the information.

P.S. My next memo will deal with what I've recently come to realize is a major weakness, problem, but also opportunity for most all conservative organizations. Addressing and solving this big problem will provide the rocket fuel for major growth and success for the conservative movement. I'll be sending the memo within the next couple of weeks.

## **A Summary of Richard Viguerie’s Marketing/Fundraising comments recently to a group of mostly young conservative marketers.**

**Moderator:** “Given what you now know about fundraising and marketing, what would you advise conservatives to do to increase our effectiveness by an order of magnitude?”

1. My heritage is Cajun. Ask a Cajun chef how to prepare any Cajun dish, and they will all start with the same sentence, “Well, first you make a roux.” My advice before starting any important project is “well first you start with what I call Newt’s Four-Part Plan”.

Starting in the mid-1970s for about 10 years, national conservative leaders would gather at my home in McLean, VA for a two-hour breakfast meeting, and sometimes in the evening for dinner and more strategizing. If there ever was anything that could be called “Hillary’s vast, right-wing conspiracy” that was probably it. Whenever we came up with a problem, Congressman Newt Gingrich would go to the blackboard and write five words: Vision, Goals, Strategy, and Tactics/Projects. Thirty minutes later, after we had filled in these four categories, we saw a clear path forward.

Before starting any important project, you need to clearly understand where you want to go—where do you want to be in 1-5-10-20+ years? The number one benefit of writing the plan is not to work the plan. That’s important, but it is secondary. The number one benefit is **WRITING THE PLAN**, because as you write the plan it helps to clarify your thinking. I do this exercise 2-3 times a week.

2. **READ, READ, STUDY, STUDY.** I spend 2-3 hours a day, six days a week studying marketing.
3. I have said many times that I wouldn’t fly in an airplane with a pilot who had the skills of the average non-profit marketer. The lack of professionalism among conservative marketers is shocking. The left has far more top-level marketers than does the right. If you throw yourself into a major study of marketing, within five years you can be in the top 3-4% of nonprofit marketers. Quite frankly, you will find there won’t be a lot of competition until you get to the best 10 or 15%.
4. In addition to spending several hours a day studying marketing, I recommend you join different professional groups—some dealing with business, such as YPO, Strategic Coach, CEO Clubs, etc., and others that are focused on marketing.

5. No one will pick you. You must pick yourself. No one picked me. When I started in 1961 as Executive Secretary of Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), I thought I had some good ideas about how to advance our cause, but I didn't get invited to strategy meetings, so I started to invite people to meetings, and important people came. By the way, it helps to serve good food.

Perhaps the most obvious example today of someone picking themselves is President Trump. No one, but no one, wanted him to run for president, so he picked himself when no one else would.

6. Avoid hanging around people who are not ambitious, semi-retired or retired. You want to associate with people who are on the way up, who want to make a difference, those trying to climb mountains and make a difference. The former will pull you down.
7. Mentors—I was fortunate to have four giants as mentors. If you want someone to mentor you, convince them you are worth their time. If possible, have a marketing mentor and a business mentor. Sir Isaac Newton said, “If I’ve seen further than others, it is because I have stood on the shoulders of giants.”
8. The left is on fire with energy. Dozens of liberal organizations are growing 200-300-500-1,000%+. I am not aware of a conservative organization that grew by even 25% last year.
9. Unfortunately, on the conservative side, there is an abundance of low energy. It’s as if conservatives are oblivious to the success the left has had since Trump’s election at organizing, fundraising, and winning special elections. Unless the leadership appears soon, conservatives will suffer major losses this November. It doesn’t have to be, but the leadership/energy/commitment is not there today.
10. As concerning as that is, remember Sir Isaac Newton’s Third Law of Physics, “For every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction.” As much success as the left is having, that same success is available to conservatives, but today we lack entrepreneurial leadership.
11. The next 2 ½ years provide the best opportunity in my lifetime for conservative organizations to experience exponential growth.
12. Republicans are supposed to be the party of entrepreneurs. However, in the ideological non-profit community, the vast majority of entrepreneurs are on the left.
13. As I said earlier, very few conservative organizations spend enough money on acquisition. That’s a major reason why conservative organization donor files are shrinking, stable, or growing only at 5-10-15%, while dozens of liberal organizations are growing by 100%, 300%, 500%, 1000%+. I’ve recently seen a dozen news articles that describe the explosion of growth among liberal organizations. If this November’s election was held today, Republicans would

lose more than 70 House seats, many governor races, and 800+ state legislative seats.

14. Without direct mail/direct marketing, the modern conservative movement would not exist, and Ronald Reagan would probably not have run a strong race in 1976 nor have gotten the nomination in 1980. Because, while his competitors, John Connelly, Bob Dole, Howard Baker, and George Bush were getting the \$1,000 donations, Ronald Reagan, under the leadership of Lynn Nofzinger, had built a donor file of 250,000 small donors (\$10, \$15, \$25, \$100.)

From the 1960s through about 2010, direct mail was the second-largest form of advertising. Today, it's the third-largest form of advertising to TV and the Internet.

When our company mails hundreds of millions of postal letters for our clients, in addition to raising net dollars, we are also educating people, passing or defeating legislation, lobbying for or against a president's nominees, identifying people who will be future major donors, identifying people who will provide significant bequests, identifying activists, branding conservatives, branding Democrats, etc.

15. The left is not doing what conservatives are doing. The left's primary focus is not on raising lots of money from wealthy donors. Of course, they are doing that, but their main focus is building an army of millions of grassroots small donors and activists.

Case in point:

Going into last November's Virginia House of Delegates election, the GOP held 66 seats, and the Democrats had 34. After the votes were counted, the GOP had lost 16 seats, and the result was the legislature was tied at 50-50. An article from the *Huffington Post* says all Republican legislative candidates in the 2017 Virginia House of Delegates Election received a combined received 7,000 donations, but Democrat legislative candidates received a total of 153,000 donations.

Once again, we see Republicans emphasizing high-dollar donations, and the Democrats putting their emphasis on small-dollar grassroots supporters. If the GOP had spent another \$5 million on radio/television/billboards, etc., the results of the election would not have been significantly different. However, if another \$5 million had been spent in 2017 to mail 15 million letters and find another 200,000 small-dollar donors and 400,000 non-donor supporters for Republican candidates, the Virginia GOP would have won many more races.

16. I've learned very little about direct mail/marketing from the nonprofit world. At least 80% of what I know I've learned from business writers/commercial

marketers (David Ogilvy, Peter Drucker, Leo Burnett, Claude Hopkins, Al Ries, Jack Trout, Seth Godin, etc.)

17. One of the things you must quickly learn when you are operating a business or marketing for a non-profit is the importance of determining the lifetime value of a customer/donor.
18. Very few conservative organizations spend enough money on acquisition. Perhaps one of the reasons is that they have not determined what is the lifetime value of their donors, and until you know what the lifetime value of a donor is, you have no idea how much to invest in acquisition.
19. I tell our ATA clients that 90% + of the financial value ATA brings to our relationship is that we identify for them \$25, \$50, and \$100 donors who, over their lifetime, will give the organization 4-5-6-7-8-figure gifts. The Heritage Foundation experience has been that 2/3 of the \$2 billion they have raised came from people whose first contribution to Heritage was a postal donation of \$100 or less.
20. Disruption has come to American business, education, entertainment, and politics (on the left and the right, as well as in Europe.) American politics is experiencing radical change, and to quote Ronald Reagan, “You ain’t seen nothing yet.”
21. The new and alternative media (direct mail, talk radio, cable TV, and the internet) has radically changed American politics. Conservatives were the first to use political direct mail in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Because of that pioneering work, conservatives had a big advantage over the left. However, that advantage has disappeared. Today, the left is far ahead of the right in using direct marketing to advance their cause. This has happened primarily due to low energy, lack of professionalism, and a lack of leadership on our side.
22. Peter Drucker said that “a business should be primarily focused on marketing and innovation. Everything else is a cost”.
23. Drucker also considered marketing to be the responsibility of the managing leadership within a business, not a separate function. Unfortunately, the vast majority of leaders of conservative organizations have delegated marketing to a department, and as a silo separate from the rest of the organization.

Steve Jobs, Jeff Bezos, Mark Zuckerberg, Howard Shultz (Starbucks) did not delegate marketing advise to a VP of Marketing.

24. For every single-issue organization the conservatives have, the left has 10-20. And the left’s organizations, on average, have 5x-10x more donors/members/supporters. Most of the 30-40 best known liberal groups have

100,000-250,000-400,000+ donors. How many conservative organizations can you think of that have 100,000 last 12 month donors?

25. I've developed something that I call Viguerie's Four Horsemen of Marketing™. The Four Horsemen are Position, Differentiation, Benefit, and Brand.

If you get these four things right, you will find that life is downhill with the wind at your back. If you get any of them wrong, you will find that everything is uphill with a storm in your face.

Notes: Position—A private decision which provides you a hole in the marketplace. Differentiation—what you do publicly to market your hole in the marketplace. Brand—it's what makes you singular/unique/one-of-a-kind.

26. Republicans almost never win elections unless they are nationalized. Tip O'Neill's famous adage "all politics is local" is flat-out wrong. That works for Democrats. It does not work for Republicans.

When an election is focused on big/important issues, Republicans usually win (national security, border control, taxes, judicial appointments, role of government, spending, etc.)

27. Republicans must change the narrative that the voters had in mind when they went to the polls in 2010, 2014, and 2016. In those elections, the voters wanted change. If, in 2018, the voters go to the polls wanting change, Republicans will suffer massive defeats. Because the Republicans are in charge of most everything (the Presidency, Congress, most Governors and State Legislatures).
28. In order to win in 2018 and 2020, perhaps the most important thing conservatives can do is brand the Democrats as dangerous, far-left extremists who want to massively expand government, raise taxes, weak on national security, etc.

Also, we need to identify key voting blocks, and brand the Democrats as being dangerous to the interests of those voting blocks, including Catholics, blacks, Hispanics, millennials, and single women.

For example:

For more than 100 years, Catholics have voted Democrat about 55% to 45% Republican. However, President Trump carried the Catholic vote by 52% and Hillary got 45%, to a large extent due to the under-the-radar branding efforts by conservative Catholic leaders.

The Democrats have given us plenty of material to brand them as anti-Catholic and anti-God, and favoring taxpayer-funded partial-birth abortion. If a national campaign is conducted to brand the Democrats as anti-Catholic, Democrats will

be hard-pressed to get 45% of the Catholic vote, which will make it exceedingly difficult for Democrats to win most elections. This is a game changing idea/project.

Remember, the Catholic vote is concentrated mostly in purple and blue states. The same branding project should be undertaken with blacks on the issue of education, which could allow Republicans to get 15-17% of the black vote, especially with black mothers, and the same for Hispanics.

**Moderator:** “If you were to give us one recommendation—one piece of advice—one big idea to grow by a magnitude. What would it be?”

The next 2 ½ years offers the best opportunity to grow conservative organizations in my lifetime. With the disruption that has come to American politics, the opportunity is now here for conservative leaders to make this a reality. However, at this time there is a noticeable lack of conservative entrepreneurial leadership.

To repeat my earlier quote from Peter Drucker “marketing is the responsibility of the managing leadership within a business, not a separate function.” Most heads of conservative organizations pay very little attention to marketing-outsourcing marketing to others-BIG MISTAKE. Obviously there are a lot of bright, energetic conservatives, but there are few entrepreneur leaders.

**Moderator:** “Here’s Richard’s bonus question, which he didn’t know was coming. Richard will turn 85 this year. What advice do you have for us to live a long, happy, healthy and meaningful life?”

When I turned 80, I wrote a book on this very subject, with the encouragement of the President and CEO of our company, Kathleen Patten, who is here tonight, and she also gave me the title for the book, “How Conservatives Can Outlive Liberals.”

Early in our marriage, Elaine, my wife of 56 years and I, had to deal with a health issue with our oldest child. Multiple doctors could not solve her problem. Through intense studying and reading, my wife solved our child’s health problem. At that moment, we made a conscious decision that we would be in charge of our family’s health—not the doctors, the President of the United States, not the pharmaceutical companies, etc.

I still work about 13-14 hours a day, 5 ½ days a week, and I don’t personally know anyone at any age that keeps up with me. However, I work at having good health and lots of energy. Briefly, there are some of the things I do and I recommend them to you.

1. I eat 10-11 servings of fresh fruit and vegetables a day. All fruit and about 40% of my vegetables are raw. I eat mostly dark-skinned fruit (blueberries, blackberries, raspberries, black grapes.) Also, most of my fruit and vegetables are organic.

I eat meat only about 2 or 3 times a month, and usually when it’s put in front of me at a sit down dinner. I enjoy most all seafood. I try to avoid all fried foods.

I use olive oil and coconut oil to cook with and for salads. I eat lots of onions and garlic, as well as a handful of raw almonds and walnuts each day, as well as a tablespoon of ground flaxseed most days. Also, I take about 1 ½ tablespoons of cod liver oil a day.

2. I participate in about six groups/communities. Hermits don't live as long as people who are active and involved in life.
3. I volunteer to help others when possible. I try to do something regularly for people who will never be able to repay me. It's important to be generous. Studies show that people who are generous are happier than people who aren't. Also, studies show that conservatives are more generous than liberals.
4. I'm physically active, which includes walking regularly and working out with a physical trainer twice a week.

Even as a teenager I've had big visions and goals. I start each day with a goal of saving western civilization by sundown. At age 84, I firmly believe that I have a bigger front than a back, which means whatever I've accomplished in my life is going to be dwarfed by what I achieve in the future.

I'm a person of strong Christian faith, and that informs and guides my every thought and action. Our views and values need lots of people like you fully engaged—"the harvest is plentiful, the laborers are few."