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Direct Mail Fundraising Roundtable: The Pros Speak



Here, together for the first time, are the top political direct mail experts in the United States (which probably makes them the best in the world): Ed Burnett (Ed Burnett Consultants), Sandy Clark (The Fidler Group), Roger Craver (Craver, Mathews, Smith and Co.), Morris Dees (Craver, Mathews, Smith and Co.), Joe Hartman (independent fundraiser), Richard Viguerie (The Viguerie Company), and Guy Yolton (Yolton Advertising, Inc.). Having conducted political direct mail successfully for campaigns at all levels over many years, with a flair that many consider borders on genius, these seven men were invited by C&E to come and tell us the secrets of their success. And they did, as their transcript attests.

C&E: *The idea of this roundtable is to have an instructional session for our readers—to get all of you who constantly deal with direct mail together to discuss direct mail specifically as a political fundraising tool. There are many other uses for direct mail in the political process: recruiting and stimulating volunteers, issue development, opinion molding, getting-out-the-vote, laying groundwork for your future campaigns—and so on—but we would like to focus today on political fundraising by direct mail.*

We'd like to start out with a definition of direct mail. What does the term mean? For C&E readers, a definition of what we call "direct mail" would be useful. Mr. Yolton, would you like to start?

YOLTON: Direct mail is pretty much what the name implies. It's reaching customers or prospects directly by mail, composing, putting together mailing pieces or mailing packages, putting postage on them and getting them mailed out to people or institutions you have reason to believe will respond positively to your appeal.

BURNETT: Direct mail is just one form of what we call "direct response" retail. In retail marketing, you're trying to get a direct response—a sale—by any means—mail is one of those means.

C&E: *Is it true that most American households are flooded each week with direct mail pieces of all kinds, that most of it is thrown away without being opened or read, and that this competition for the recipient's attention negatively affects the impact of direct mail for political fundraising?*

DEES: Mailboxes have been flooded since Sears, Roebuck sent out their first catalog and people started shopping by mail. Effective direct response pieces work because they are effective—the number you put in the mail is irrelevant.

CRAVER: I think one of the great misunderstandings about direct mail is that there is some limited size pie out there that gets carved up in just so many ways. That simply isn't the case. There are enough meaningful causes and issues out there that lend themselves to direct mail treatment.

YOLTON: I have seen actual statistics compiled by the U.S. Postal Service and supported by the Direct Mail Marketing Association (DMMA) and others that indicate how many pieces of "advertising mail" the average householder receives in a

week's time or day's time, etc., and it comes out to be much less than what you described as a "flood." A flood is in the mind of the floodee, so to speak.

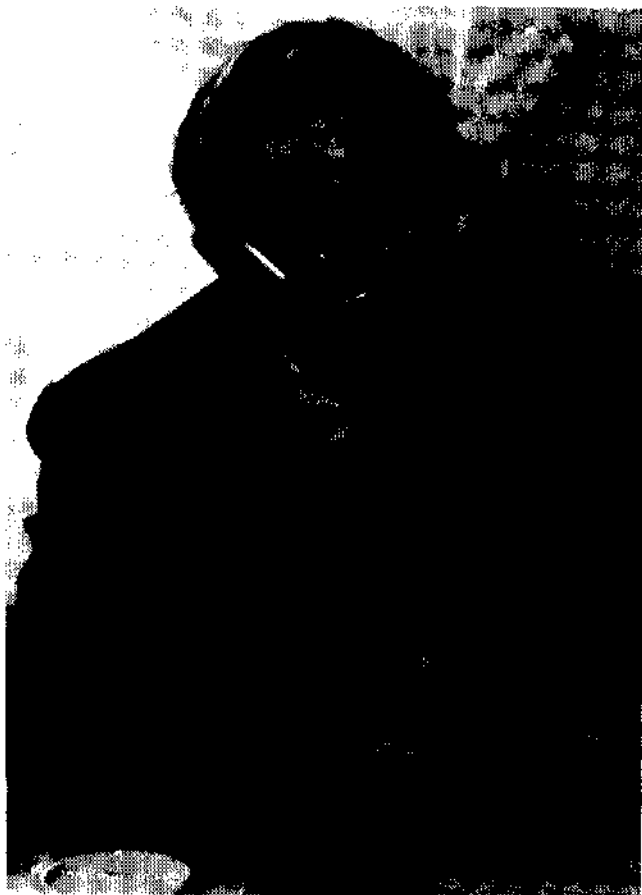
C&E: *I think the survey you're mentioning showed that the average household receives some 13 pieces of direct mail per week.*

BURNETT: Not quite. The correct answer is in the "Household-to-Household Mail Flow Study" published in the Direct Mail Marketing Association magazine, if I remember, in January, from a survey made by the University of Michigan. (I wrote the article so I know about it.) It shows that the average household receives 15 pieces of every kind of mail per week. As such I take exception to this word "flood." The average person is actually very eager to get mail—in fact, all the surveys ever made in this business have indicated that the average householder is very eager to receive the mail, and in farm/rural areas, they actually lean on the mailbox waiting for the mail to be delivered. It's no flood.

HARTMAN: Don't you think that the members of the particular group who receive political fundraising mail get more than the average? It's a more affluent group, it's a more interested group, and the 15 pieces per week might not be applicable to the market or group we are focusing on here today.



C&E Editor Harden H. Wiedemann



Guy L. Yelton

CLARK: That's probably true. By and large, the richer buyers are what we call "buyers for the moment." (That's my vernacular.) People have tended to buy better and faster over the last 25 years that I've been in direct mail. When I first came into this business we were happy to get a two dollar order and pull two percent; today we're selling \$10-20 items and pulling five percent. So it's a real dollars-per-thousands evolution. I'd second Ed's objection to the word flood. I think that direct mail is a non-confrontory form of selling/marketing that allows an individual to deal with you on his terms, not yours.

DEES: I think we have too narrow a definition of direct mail to start with: mailing out letters. Direct mail in political fundraising is used not just to get new donors, but to go after the donors you already have, whether you got them through direct mail, television ads, newspaper ads, cocktail parties, or whatever. Most of Senator Kennedy's donors do not come from direct mail, yet we're using direct mail to chase them down again after we have them.

And secondly, direct mail serves many other purposes than just raising money. First of all, you can get a hundred thousand donors and break even—and that's a big success because you've gotten a hundred thousand people you can now write to ask them to go to caucuses and get other people out to vote. If you placed an ad on television, or a commercial, you get nothing but the ad on television. But when you spend the direct mail dollar you end up getting individuals who can continue to help you because you can resolicit. And when you send out direct mail, you're sending out an advertising piece that tells about your candidate in depth. And even if you pull a two percent money response, 98 percent of the people got the letter, and most of them probably read the letter or portions of it. So fundraising direct mail serves more purposes than just fundraising—it raises consciousness as well.

C&E: *It is said that direct mail can be directed to specific individuals or audiences with greater control than any other media. I don't think that anybody would question that statement. Is that true in comparison to the telephone? How is direct mail more personal than a telephone call to request funds?*

CRAVER: The telephone is a far more intrusive instrument. You have an initial negative reaction to overcome. Telephone, even though it's one person speaking to another, is not as personal a medium as direct mail. You can't develop a train of thought in as organized a way by telephone as you can by direct mail. We've done a lot of testing of telephone and have found it to be fairly ineffective in most of the standard applications that mail is used for.

DEES: But on the other hand, telephone is excellent for following up on donors that have already given—especially the donors who have given an average of, say, \$25 or more.

HARTMAN: And this control is important. I remember when a president was coming to our Capitol during a gubernatorial election. We had only five or six days notice. Well, we got out 12,000 letters in very quick order. Now to call that many people on the telephone would be impossible. But you have control there—you can act quicker by mail than you can by telephone under those circumstances.

C&E: *Direct mail is said to be a "flexible" medium in terms of time requirements and message transmitted. Is this really so, relative to, for example, television, the telephone, radio, etc.? Are message formats and direct mail packages easily and economically changed? For example, if you sent out a direct mail package and you discovered that people were responding to a particular aspect of that copy and you wanted to emphasize that a bit more in your next drop, can you do that easily, economically, relative to changing the format of other media?*

BURNETT: Well, I'm sure there will be lots of comments on this one! Basically what you're really talking about here is passing a test and then ruling out certain options. In the campaign for Eisenhower, they made ten tests and found that "I am going to Korea" outpulled the others by six or seven to one, so they stopped using the other nine. It's pretty obvious that they learned, and learned fast to make that change.

VIGUERIE: You have to be flexible in your format to be successful. It's well known that people do not remember your copy. You think you've written some great prose that is going to be remembered throughout history, but people don't remember the copy. What they remember are the *graphics*. So when you think that a package has run its course, and you won't be successful with it in the future—if you don't do anything but change the graphics, you will find that many times you'll have a very successful package again. Just change the color, change the type face, put some different graphics in there and you'll see your returns pick right back up.

CRAVER: To illustrate that—everyone remembers Morris Dees's six-page letters for George McGovern. But I'm not sure anyone remembers what they said.

DEES: We changed the size of the envelope, we put different color corner cards on because we were mailing millions of pieces and often to the same people [Editor's note: a "corner card" is the return address on the "carrier" or mailing envelope.]

VIGUERIE: And sometimes don't even put corner cards at all—sneak up on them. Force them to open it before they know who's writing to them.

DEES: No, I always put on corner cards.

CLARK: Political fundraising mail, as a rule, is the poorest user of graphics in the entire spectrum of direct mail. You rarely see a picture, you rarely see more than a second color, you rarely see different sizes. Rarely different shapes, rarely token devices that are now standard in the rest of the industry. When you talk graphics I think you should define it better—it's every physical and visual variable of the package—not just type.

DEES: I once got a piece of mail that said, up top, "Cornelia Wallace." Inside was a Christmas card and it said: "All you have to do is sign this Christmas card and give George the thing that he wants the most and that is to let him know that he'll have no financial worries in this election." (Laughs all around) "And I'm enclosing a Christmas card and all you have to do is put your check in there and he'll be so happy." Well that was a very, very successful mailing. Mr. Viguerie's company did that one, and I'd say a Christmas card is good graphics.

CLARK: But it's a device—not graphics.

DEES: It had Jesus on the front cover.

C&E: *It's important, clearly, to get professional help with your direct mail effort. If somebody decides to run for the U.S. House or Senate, or even lower level offices, do they need to seek professional help in organizing their direct mail campaign? Couldn't somebody who's already working on their campaign put together a direct mail program for them?*

Effective direct response pieces work because they are effective—the number you put in the mail is irrelevant.

DEES: My feeling is this: you've got to have an individual who has had considerable experience in making people respond by some kind of distinct medium, whether it's direct mail, television, radio, newspaper. You need somebody who understands the numbers. Somebody who's worked selling gifts through the mail. You've got to have an experi-

I think one of the great misunderstandings about direct mail is that there is some limited size pie out there that gets carved up in just so many ways. That simply isn't the case.

enced direct mail individual. Otherwise the tuition you'll pay just to learn the direct mail business will be too high. The time you'll waste will be too valuable. Unfortunately, there aren't too many people around who head up their own mail order marketing firm who are willing to volunteer their time for political candidates. Therefore, the professional direct mail consultant is very important. I get two, three calls a week, and I refer them to everybody who is sitting right here at the table—at least most of them.

VIGUERIE: I appreciate your honesty. Listen, Morris gave me one of my biggest clients, George Wallace.

DEES: I love George, but the love isn't that deep. I love Cornelia more. I just think the little fee that's paid to agencies is well worth it. I got a call yesterday from 60 Minutes. The lady will be calling you up, I forgot her name now, but I gave her your two fellas' names. (Dees points to Viguerie and Craver.) Somebody wrote a letter to 60 Minutes and said that the fundraising companies get the first million dollars raised, and that they tell the candidate: "Since you get the matching million, you keep the match, I'll keep the first million." And direct mail fundraisers have gotten a black eye because what people don't realize is fundraising companies probably get 15 dollars per thousand mailed, which is far below an advertising agency's 15 percent commission, and then the other goes to cost. The consultants have to overcome this false impression that they raise the money to benefit themselves.

HARTMAN: This is part of the entire picture of federal campaigns which must become more professional. Years ago we all can remember when we had hundreds of capable women who would do these things for us, perform these functions of the campaign for us. Today, that person has a full-time

job. And in campaigns we're finding there are difficulties in getting competent volunteers to do the work. We're finding that it's easier to hire professionals than to do it ourselves. The only way elections can be run now is to use more and more professional help. And you're seeing that in every election.

BURNETT: I can't argue with the need for professionalism. But there is one critical aspect of the five parts that make up direct mail. They are: copy, package, offer, timing, and the lists. It's the list. If I had my druthers, I'd rather have a good list and poor copy than good copy and a poor list. Therefore, the local person can, with a little bit of help and the knowledge of where to get the right list, do very well in this business. He can do better than he ever dreamed if he knows anything about the list business. That's the key to this.

VIGUERIE: One reason why direct mail has somewhat of a "country cousin" image in politics is because of the lack of available professionals. I have a friend who was involved at a high level in George Bush's first congressional campaign in 1966, and he said, "Richard, you know, you make your living in direct mail, you think it's great and wonderful—I wouldn't give you a nickel for it, because we used it for George Bush and it was a bomb, just a disaster. But regular television was beautiful, we went to New York and hired two of the best professionals we could get and they put together some fabulous television and it elected

If you placed an ad on television, or a commercial, you get nothing but the ad on television. But when you spend the direct mail dollar you end up getting individuals who can continue to help you because you can resolicit.

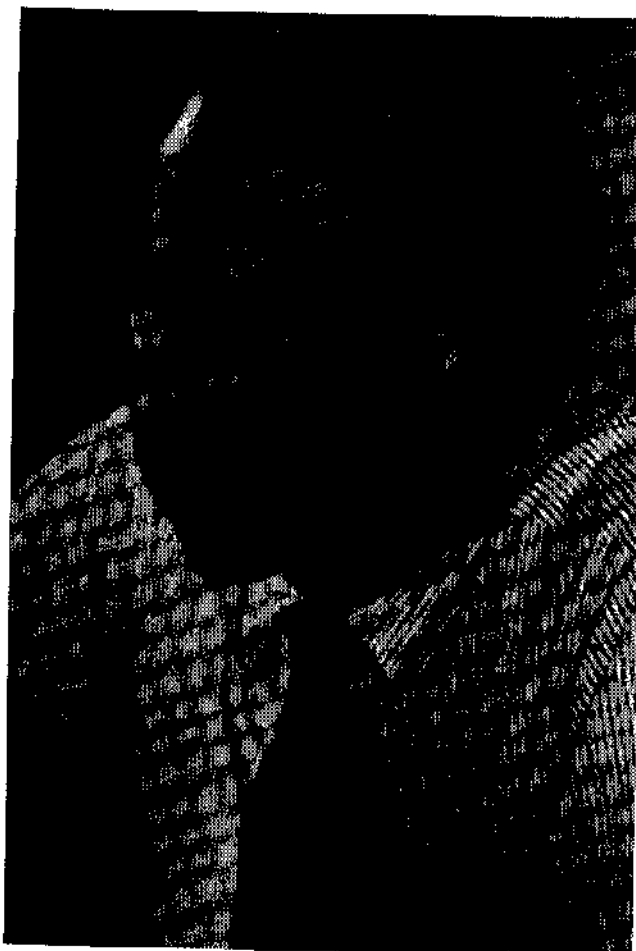
Bush. But direct mail—we used it and it was just a bomb." And I said, "Bill, that's very interesting, I know who did your television and radio, but I'm curious who did your direct mail?" And with a very straight face he said, "Well, we had a couple of women volunteers do it." And he doesn't

understand why to this day his direct mail didn't work. And that is very very common in politics and political campaigns. They wouldn't dream of having a volunteer, or the candidate's next door neighbor's best friend who doesn't have a job, do their television for them. When they spend \$300,000 on television they want professionals. But they think nothing of using a volunteer to do their direct mail and wonder why it isn't effective.

DEES: Let me interject something here. There are many sharp women in this field that you should have invited for this panel. Patricia Segal, who was director of direct mail over at the DNC [Democratic National Committee] and is now doing Carter's direct mail and doing a superb job; and Daphne Dwyer, who works for Stewart Mott and Mott Enterprises, has done a great deal of political fundraising. I think both of them could have contributed significantly to your panel. Both of them are very sharp, and I'm sure there are many others.

CLARK: I'd like to second one thing that Richard said about using professionals, because this is not limited to the fundraising business. I was in the offices of a magazine publisher the other day, who resides in the same building as Ed Burnett, and he's trying to rejuvenate the magazine. And they were committing three test packages, in October, through the mail, written by their editors. Now, I said to them, as I will say to you, I've been involved in probably ten million dollars worth of copy testing in the last 20 years, and in that period of time only one editor's package has ever worked. I said: "So you're going to commit three test packages, your entire copy test, to an editor's package. I think you need a pro in there. I don't care which pro you hire, there are many of them." And they looked at me like I was coming from another world. There's a lot of mistrust. People don't trust us, Richard. They think they can do it better themselves.

VIGUERIE: Yes, for some strange reason direct mail has a different image in their minds than other forms of advertising. They learn to read and write in the first grade; they know where the post office sells stamps; they know how to buy envelopes—what's the big deal about direct mail? But they wouldn't dream of not using professionals in every other aspect of their business, whether it's in the legal, accounting, or whatever. But in direct mail—what's the big deal, I know how to read and write, and how to buy stamps.



Joseph A. Hartman

C&E: *What role should direct mail fundraising play relative to other types of fundraising—benefits, telethons, cocktail-party fundraisers, dinners, etc. What variables do you weigh when you decide what portion of your fundraising or what proportion of your campaign budget you're going to spend on direct mail?*

VIGUERIE: A brief answer. There are many factors. One of them is the candidate. I was involved in two campaigns for president this year. Now one, Phil Crane, running two years before the election with one percent support out there, relatively unknown, you budget maybe in an advertising way 95% on direct mail. You can't afford to go out and raise that much money through telethons, telephone, cocktail parties, and big dinners. But if you're John Connally then maybe it's the reverse with receptions, dinners—this type of thing.

YOLTON: A typical example is the last time Chuck Percy ran for reelection. We were asked to do a direct mail fundraising campaign for him, which we did on a limited budget. But all of the work, and the effort and creative activity that went to put that campaign in the works, of course, was mainly directed to an Illinois group of people. The money we raised by direct mail didn't amount to diddly squat compared to what he raised with two fundraising dinners in Chicago. In that case, did he need direct mail? Well, he wanted it as part of the total mix but he recognized that it wasn't going to be as important to his campaign and his fundraising as these other ways of doing it.

CRAVER: In my experience, the principal factors that tend to remain constant are these: the time that the campaign has to explore and exploit direct mail and the constituency it represents. If the candidate has an apparently middle-of-the-road position on the issue(s), that doesn't generate much passion on either side, probably direct mail isn't going to play as important a role in his campaign as the other forms of fundraising. Certainly if they don't have enough time to explore and exploit a direct mail campaign then it can be disastrous. That's probably the biggest single error campaigns make in using direct mail—they simply don't commit the 18-24 months necessary to let the ball of string run out the way it should.

One reason why direct mail has somewhat of a "country cousin" image in politics is because of the lack of available professionals.

HARTMAN: Don't you think it depends on the size of the campaign?

CRAVER: Yes

C&E: *Do local level campaigns use direct mail?*

CRAVER: Some do. Last time around Joe Fisher over in Northern Virginia used it very effectively. I haven't done much congressional mail so I really don't have much experience.

VIGUERIE: I would say that a fair number use it, but I don't know that I would really call it *direct mail*. It's taking a brochure that the candidate's wife put together and putting it in an envelope. And I don't really call that direct mail.

YOLTON: And you always print it in red, white, and blue. A picture of the candidate and his family in red, white and blue. (Laughs)

CLARK: Actually, in Darien [Connecticut], we've got a couple of candidates for whom we've done classic direct mail. It's not been fundraising so much as getting-out-the-vote kind of mail. But you can use mail on a very small scale. I think you do depend on the good offices of somebody who knows what they're doing rather than the proverbial housewife, but if you follow some of the larger successful patterns, it can help at the local level. Particularly for the guy who isn't terribly well known.

VIGUERIE: I feel strongly that the lower the office in terms of visibility—Congress, the state legislature, local and city offices—direct mail's importance in the overall picture *increases*. Direct mail can be devastatingly effective in the lower offices because you're competing and you can't afford, of course, to go on television and in the newspapers that are distributed over several hundred square miles. You just want to focus in on a few square miles. And direct mail could be, in terms of your advertising, anywhere from 90-100% of your budget. And it can be *devastatingly* effective.

BURNETT: Richard, you've published some data showing what percentage of the people that are able to get the primes and go to work in direct mail, how they come out in the elections. Would you like to talk about that for a minute?

VIGUERIE: Ed, I'm not sure I follow you. I publish very little information. We've got a bunch of con artists sitting around here. (Laughter)

DEES: Who's talking about a bad reputation? (Laughter)

BURNETT: I think you said that given the lists in direct mail, the man that uses it compared to the man that doesn't will win X percent of the votes.

VIGUERIE: Oh I see. Yes, I recall saying that a number of times, but that is just something off the top of my head. I feel that, everything else being equal, at a lower level, a direct mail campaign conducted by a professional should prevail over a campaign that doesn't have one, somewhere in the area of 90% of the time. Because in most all areas of campaigns—again if the situations are relatively equal—you're going to be offsetting each other. Each campaign is going to have a pretty

It's a rare campaign that we're involved in when we have an opponent that is also conducting an intelligent direct mail campaign.

knowledgeable campaign manager, they're going to have intelligent billboards, bumper stickers, volunteers, radio/television ads—all that's going to be offsetting each other. The one thing, campaign after campaign that we're involved in, that we don't find the opposition doing, is intelligent direct mail. It's a rare campaign that we're involved in when we have an opponent that is also conducting an intelligent direct mail campaign.

CRAVER: And one of the difficulties there is that direct mail is viewed principally as a fundraising medium and not as the overall advertising medium it should be.

CLARK: No communication that gets opened does just one thing. It's doing two, three, four, five things. If you write a communication just to get 50 bucks, you're kidding yourself. You're leaving an impression in somebody's mind about that candidate. Whether they give you the 50 bucks or not is almost academic.

C&E: *Apparently it's a cardinal rule of direct mail fundraising that you only want to do one job at a time. So if your primary objective with a letter or package is to raise funds, you don't want to, for example, with the same letter, try to get people to sign up as volunteers, conduct an opinion survey, promote a straight party voting ticket, etc. Now, if that's the case, if you're only supposed to go after one thing at a time how can a campaign afford to*

send out all the different mailings for all the different things?

CRAVER: I don't think that is necessarily the case. Getting the reader to participate in a public opinion poll or getting him to volunteer may reinforce the capacity to raise money. There isn't any hard and fast rule that says you can only ask the reader to do one thing at a time. There's a hard and fast rule not to confuse the reader. But their participation will enhance their giving.

YOLTON: There's that famous political disaster where one of the big list compilers sold the Republican National Committee and the Democratic National Committee on a joint fundraising effort, signed by Adlai Stevenson and Dwight Eisenhower. It was close to being the biggest bomb of all time!

VIGUERIE: A PAC, when they do a mailing, is trying to cover the waterfront in candidates: give us money and we will give it to half a dozen, a dozen, or whatever number of candidates, in your best interest. And that is a lot more difficult money to raise than when you're focusing in on one specific person. It is easier to do one thing in a mailing than a number of things. Traditionally you'll find it easier to raise money for one person than for a dozen.

C&E: *How do you coordinate your direct mail activity with other media programs?*

DEES: In McGovern's and also Wallace's campaign, they had 30 minute programs talking about Vietnam or blocking the school house door or whatever, and at the end of it there was a fundraising pitch for X dollars. It might not have paid for the radio or TV time but it brought donors into the overall pool. Right now we have a five-minute spot for Senator Kennedy that we're going to run, with a fundraising pitch at the end of it. And we might pay for 20-30% of our total overall cost and that's valuable too. We ran the Georgetown Speech—we copied it and ran it in several media markets—and every place we ran it, it more than paid for the cost of the television. We were getting across the Georgetown Speech and the fundraising pitch was paying for it. As a general rule, it's hard to make television pitches for fundraising work, and to pay for the television time. But if you're going to run a television pitch and you've got time to put a nice message at the end of it, put it on.

There isn't any hard and fast rule that says you can only ask the reader to do one thing at a time. There's a hard and fast rule not to confuse the reader.

BURNETT: Would it have paid to mail that speech then?

DEES: Yes, that's what Senator Kennedy did. In fact, that's working very well for us right now. That's like his Manifesto in the second phase of his campaign. It sets forth his positions very well. And we're mailing that and it is in fact bringing us at least two dollars for every one dollar spent and maybe even better.

VIGUERIE: There are a number of things that can be done to coordinate the various media that you're using and are not usually done. There are a lot of sophisticated things that can be done, too, but a lot of things that are not all that sophisticated—just kind of basic—that you seldom see being done. For instance, you know usually months ahead of time (if not a *year*) when the candidate is going to announce his national campaign. And when you announce your campaign for president, or for the Senate or whatever, the media covering that is significant. We did it for Crane. We mailed heavily at the time of his announcement. And the difference between the direct mail response in those next seven days, and three or four weeks later was significant. It was a two or three to one difference. You must get your direct mail to arrive at the time of the big media hype. Many magazines are friendly. You know that magazine X or Y is going to write a favorable article. They're going to put your candidate on the cover. You ought to be planning to rent that magazine's subscriber list and have a mailing go out to them at the same time the issue will be arriving. And when you're going to have a big, national paid TV advertisement for 30 minutes or so, you ought to have direct mail arriving at the same time. You expect to win a primary next week and you expect a big media hype from that, then you ought to have direct mail arriving at the time of your expected victory.

CLARK: It seems to me that direct mail is written with one theme, and advertising/television with another. There's rarely any bridge between the two, there's rarely any similarity. And, to echo a point Ed made earlier—that many of the themes are tested in the mail and as one guy said to me about his campaign television: "Boy we've really got a Pepsi Cola kind of television commercial." And I said, "Well, you don't have Pepsi Cola kind of fundraising. They don't fit together well."

DEES: Direct mail is me writing you a personal letter. Television is saying something to the masses, like a newspaper ad. And a Pepsi Cola-type ad might sell the candidate well, but it takes a totally different psychological approach to get a person to part with their dollars. The themes of both have got to be the same or you wouldn't be selling your people on television, nor would you be selling them in the mail. When you say themes, your theme might not be "Stand Up for America" or whatever it is, but the issues that you're dealing with have almost got to be singular or you won't be successful. The *theme* is the same but the *approach* is different. Kennedy's theme for both direct mail and television are very similar, but his television pitch is made for a different kind of audience.

VIGUERIE: Television is a sort of shotgun approach. And direct mail is more the rifle approach. When you're going to a list of people you know something very specific about: they are for or against gun control, for or against increased expenditures in the national defense budget, whatever—you want to be speaking primarily to that one specific issue. But beyond that I feel the question is valid—there is not enough coordination between the direct mail and the overall effort. And I primarily would fault the hierarchy of the campaign, because, again, in most campaigns—not all, but the vast majority of them—direct mail is sort of a country cousin.

DEES: An individual, to get elected, usually shouldn't use the same theme they publicly run on, for their direct mail (at least for cold prospects). Direct mail only works on those people that have a pretty strong left or right ideological bent, and that's not the kind of theme that usually will get you elected. The letters for George McGovern may scream out: "We *must* stop the war. We *must* do this, that or the other." They're going to a very narrow segment of the population. I found them played up in the press very little and I don't think

that hurt us very much. Even though the candidate might not want to sign the letter because he says he'll get some pressure, it can be effective as the rifle approach. But on the other hand, his television is trying to reach a much broader group of people. He doesn't want to turn too many of them off.

YOLTON: You get money from your friends, but hopefully you get votes from the whole spectrum.

DEES: That's a good statement.

YOLTON: Something that potentially can confuse people is this question of ability to test with political direct mail. Richard's mentioned the fact that you have these chances to coordinate the various media with direct mail. You do a certain amount of flying by the seat of your pants in putting together your direct mail package in political direct mail. Unlike traditional direct mail and mail order operations that *Time/Life* and others conduct, where they test everything three to six months ahead of any roll-out of mailings, you simply don't have that advantage with political direct mail. The timing is much stricter. And it might be an interesting thing to talk about that, because it seems to me that that's where true professionalism needs to cover the floor. You simply don't have the time to test and you better have people creating your political direct mail that have experience, and have the ability to quickly respond to whatever the current political situation is if it might help you raise money or provide some other positive response.

CRAVER: There's no question about it. When it comes to political direct mail the "high trapeze" part of the act involves the judgements you have to make without doing a lot of tests. You simply can't test a lot of this stuff—you don't have time. Morris has a letter out this morning to the Kennedy people for what he did last night in Pennsylvania. That had to be done three days before Pennsylvania. You have to make some judgements and you have to go with it. John Anderson is going to announce an independent candidacy tomorrow. I don't know what he's going to say, but we have to be in the mail with two million pieces *tonight!*

VIGUERIE: And something else that these gentlemen aren't saying is that one of the reasons that you see so little good political direct mail is that most of these people work for agencies, but



Roger M. Craver

you're not able to delegate much of the creative work. When you win a primary one day and you want to get in the mail in 24 hours, you don't ask someone who's had a couple of years of experience to go out and raise you a lot of money. You invest a lot of money in a mailing. It's got to be right the first time. There's no—"Well, we've-made-a-slight-error-here,-we'll-correct-it-next-month" type of thing. It's got to be letter-perfect the first time. And you don't delegate that type of thing. There's just a few people that have that type of talent and experience.

BURNETT: Can you use television to test theme concepts, much the way we use the telephone to test a theme to find out if an American Management Association Seminar will go or not?

DEES: You can use television to test what the next television commercial will do, but you can't use television to tell you what direct mail will do.

CLARK: But isn't there a lot of market research done before you start some of these campaigns? Don't you have some ideas of the strengths and weaknesses of the candidate? What is the public's perception of your candidate? What is the public's perception of his strengths and weaknesses?

DEES: There are polls being done by your pollsters, naturally.

CLARK: Well, it seems to me there's an awful lot of political direct mail being done where one just writes a letter and doesn't really know what the public feels.

YOLTON: Well, it comes from experience with having done a certain amount of political direct mail to a certain constituency. It's not a whole lot different than if you are selling subscriptions to an outdoor magazine, you're going to hit the adventure types. Richard knows pretty much what he can say to the conservative audience, just as Morris and Roger know what they can say to their people. For instance, Roger wrote one letter overnight! You're not only denied the opportunity to test in many cases, you're even denied the opportunity to get the client's approval of what it is you're putting in the mail—because he's not around to read it!

CLARK: But he didn't shoot with a rifle. Mailing two million pieces—that is not a rifle!

DEES: That is a rifle. That's the smallest barrel rifle I know of in direct mail: two million pieces. I think the best way I've heard it put is: Get the Mail Out the Door. I was raised on a farm, and me and my daddy were up on top of a tin roof one time nailing nails. If you've ever nailed nails in tin, you know you have to tap on it to get it through first because you might hit your thumbnail. I was sitting up there tapping away like that and Daddy said, "Hell, go on and hit the nail, you may bend a few." That's the way it is with direct mail. I think it's much better to get the stuff out the door. And I can tell you this: if there's seven people sitting around trying a lawsuit, there would be seven good ways to try the lawsuit if they are all good lawyers. And I can tell you there are five or six good direct mail people around this table and all of us would have a different approach on how to write the

Anderson letter, and all of them might do equally well. I think you make a mistake in trying to wait too long. Get the stuff out, because direct mail can be used in every political campaign that's in existence. At least going back to the donors you already have. You simply can write them a letter quicker than you can talk to them on the phone, go get them, shake their hands, give them corn beef or, whatever. I don't care if you don't have 500 donors or 1000 donors. I did a campaign for Donald Stewart who is now a United States Senator from Alabama. And Donald Stewart called me up and he said, "You know, Morris, I need some help, I haven't got any money." He had 1200 donors. So we got a letter out to all 1200 donors, quick, and that raised him, I think, \$30,000-40,000, and it was enough to get him on

And when you're going to have a big, national paid TV advertisement for 30 minutes or so, you ought to have direct mail arriving at the same time.

the move. But my goal in any kind of fundraising, whether it's direct mail that's raising money for the Southern Poverty Law Center, or for any organization, the National Rifle Association—whoever, is to get names of people who've already given to you in a pool as quick as you can. Because everytime you write these people a letter, you will get back anywhere from five to 30 dollars for each one dollar you spend. And you can write this special group as frequently as every three weeks without causing any problem.

VIGUERIE: We're raising money for a congressman's reelection campaign and he has a national reputation. So we're not going to just conservative lists. There are several million conservative contributors out there. We're looking for the people who have identified themselves as being seriously concerned about high taxes and big spending by Congress. And we write them a letter targeted to that issue. Other people have identified themselves as being very concerned about national defense.

DEES: You can't run the Newsweek subscriber list and raise money for a political campaign. I just don't believe that's possible. You have to target.

YOLTON: Getting back to what Morris said about getting mail out—years ago at McGraw-Hill I learned an axiom I've quoted many times. I guess its translatable into an Alabama accent (Laughs all around): if you don't get something out, you won't get anything back...you've got to get it out. It may not be perfect, but do it anyway.

VIGUERIE: Of all the sins that are committed by people who have some knowledge of direct mail and political campaigns is this vacillation: is this brochure better than that one; is this color better than that; what should I do here; should I put this in the package or should I do this—just do it! Get it out. Wish it on your competition that they will test nonessentials, unimportant things. Just push the mail out the door. And don't worry about the quality. So you could have taken an extra six days and gotten it done perhaps a little better. Better to slap a label on it and get it out in 24 hours. Make it happen, do something.

C&E: *Is that the only difference between direct mail at the presidential level, the statewide level and the local level—you have more money to play with, and you can test, and try some different graphics, etc.? How would you say it differs other than that?*

DEES: No, on the contrary. I would say in political campaigns at the national level you don't have the money to play around with, generally. In George McGovern's campaign, which was the flushest I've ever worked on, we still didn't have any money to play around with anything. I've never been in any campaign that the money wasn't spent before you ever got it in.

VIGUERIE: I see political direct mail fundraising as sort of like seed corn. You go out, put some money together, you make some test mailings, and some good money comes in. And now you know which lists to follow up on, you put together a big campaign and the television man comes along, or the pollster, and grabs your money, and spends it on something else, and he's eaten the seed corn.

DEES: We call it seed peanuts. You make a good point though that I think anybody who is going to

Television is a sort of shotgun approach. And direct mail is more the rifle approach.

be reading this roundtable ought to understand. Direct mail is an investment unlike any other in a political campaign. You get a return on it. In McGovern's campaign, we got rather hard-nosed about it. I opened a bank account that only I could sign on. I wouldn't even let our treasurer sign on it. So when the money came in, it went into that bank account immediately and I had the chance to pay my suppliers first. So we got first call on the money we raised and were able then to pay the postage for the next upcoming mailing. And then what was left we gave the campaign, and that caused a lot of gnashing of teeth. Now we are doing this in Kennedy's campaign. We set up a special bank account, we did our direct mail and when the money came back it went into that account. They couldn't put it in any other account because I made everybody sign an agreement that they wouldn't do it.

VIGUERIE: I knew I was going to learn something today. Thank you, Morris.

DEES: I did it for the benefit of getting results. But the ad agency that was helping us was extremely appreciative of this approach.

C&E: *Let's move on to specifics now. First of all, lists. Mr. Burnett has said that the weakest part of many direct mail programs is the list, because they are taken for granted. How does a campaign make sure it is using good, productive lists for fundraising? How does a brand new campaign start a list? What are other sources of lists useful to political fundraisers?*

CRAVER: As Morris indicated, the mailing lists of people with affinity interests—particularly people who have given money to interests that are similar to those of your candidate—represent the best mailing lists. Now, any candidate should be able to, if he or she has a stand on the issues—a stand other than right up the middle of the road—should be able to locate at least some mailing lists. If you're a candidate in the middle of the

road who doesn't have a strong stand on any issues, then, in my experience, direct mail isn't going to work for you. In terms of compiling lists, or building a list from nothing without going to a list broker, I think a candidate who does this is preparing to leap off a bridge. Obviously, the best list a candidate can build is one with people who have already given him money for other offices or perhaps names from organizations whose letters he's signed. George McGovern signed a tremendous amount of liberal mail before he ran for president. So he had access to those lists. Obviously, even a candidate's Christmas card list, if it's a small campaign, is a beneficial list. But for the big national campaigns, or even the congressional campaigns, we begin with donors to affinity issues. And once we use these donor lists, then we get into the lists that tend to traffic in similar issues.



Morris S. Dees

HARTMAN: I've run one congressional and one gubernatorial election in Connecticut. We went back and picked up names from the governor's last campaign, the last senate campaign, the latest congressional campaigns. Then we took the 18 most populous towns in the state and these represent 50% of the state's population. We just took those lists and put them in the computer. Those were lists of *proven* donors to these campaigns. Those lists were punched in to the computer in three ways. They were put in alphabetically, they were put in by zip code, and they were put in by descending order of amount given to the campaigns. So we'd get into our office in the morning and if we really needed money, and we always did, we would go down the list from the top and call the top givers who hadn't been hit yet. And I must say that initially, my biggest help in this effort was an occasional telephone call to a guy I was told was a professional fundraiser named Morris Dees, and he charged me up every time I called him. But it worked, and we continued in that vein in Connecticut. Now we might be absolutely wrong, and I'm sure there are many other ways of doing it. The older I get the more I realize there is more than one way of doing something right.

BURNETT: Why did you leave out the rest of the state?

HARTMAN: Because there just wasn't the manpower available. We *should* have done it if we *could* have but there wasn't the manpower available. And we used that list for other purposes, for instance, cocktail parties. If we give a cocktail party, we knew by taking our zip code list whom we should invite and we went to those people and asked them if they had five friends they could invite. Well then the organization invited those other people.

CRAVER: So, you used certain criteria to qualify these people, one of the principal criteria being that they had given to other political candidates. I remember when we started Common Cause ten years ago there weren't many liberal lists. There were a lot of charitable lists, but not a lot of liberal, social-action lists. And I remember going to the Library of Congress and looking through literally hundreds of magazines, reading them, figuring what kind of person would subscribe to them so I could rent their subscriber list. It was the only way I could think of to widen that list market.

BURNETT: You're talking now about what we call the psychographics of the list, as opposed to the demographics: it's the life style—what they do, what they buy, what they will pay for, what magazines they will subscribe to. And that really is the key when you go into the outside world. There is an acronym for what Guy was talking about earlier, which in computer language is NINO—Not In, Not Out. Joe, I'm surprised you didn't put all the names on computer in the Connecticut campaign you mentioned because then you could have at least mailed them instead of just stopping them altogether.

HARTMAN: It was for the same reason that someone just spoke, Morris, I guess, on the seed corn. In the beginning of the campaign we sat down with the political people and they said: "We have \$3,000 to raise all your money and we want a million and a half!" And they even wanted to use that \$3,000 for other purposes than just raising more money, too!

YOLTON: Well, it seems obvious that if you get a good voter registration list that represents the political persuasion of your candidate that you must have a wonderful mailing list. Isn't that true, Roger?

CRAVER: Absolutely wrong. (Laughs all around).

YOLTON: I baited you!

CRAVER: Voter registration lists are seldom good sources for fundraising of any kind, particularly direct mail.

YOLTON: Practically never!

BURNETT: Even if they're primes, that is, people who vote in the primaries?

DEES: I've got some experience in that area to share with the readers. In 1972, McGovern won the California primary. The modern way to do it is to go out and get people to do your canvassing. You get the ones, the twos, the threes, and the fours. The ones are the people who say they are definitely going to vote for you before the election; the twos are leaning your way, the threes are leaning away from you, and the fours are opposed to you. Well, after the California primary, we had 450,000 ones or people who definitely said they were going to

vote for us. And the campaign managers wanted to mail the ones a fundraising appeal: "We've won California in a big way," etc. And we also needed the money for the convention or something else, I don't know what it was for, but we had a good reason to want money. And we wrote the ones a letter. I suggested they test 5,000 randomly picked, and they were so positive it would work that one individual even put up all the money. And he lost all of his money. We didn't even get back the postage!

VIGUERIE: Direct mail is simple. I don't know why people make such a big deal out of it. I say this partly tongue-in-cheek, of course, but it's not as

There's no question about it. When it comes to political direct mail the "high trapeze" part of the act involves the judgements you have to make without doing a lot of tests.

difficult as people make it out to be. If you want to do fundraising, you go to fundraising lists. You go to voter lists if you want votes. But why would you use a voter list if you want money? It just doesn't make sense to do it that way.

DEES: There's something else to it. My background is really in business. My first national fundraising letter was for George McGovern. Up till then my fundraising had been just a minor little nothing back home. My experience was in business. Now, this tale has been often told but I think it might help explain something about fundraising to the readers.

Sears, Roebuck or some company, says Sears, was interested in selling suitcases by mail. So they decided to get lists from a company like Fuller Brush who had traveling salesmen—people who had just gotten a job and all needed a suitcase. They had to have a suitcase because they had to travel, and if they didn't have one they could sure use one. And they took these lists and developed a terrific offer for suitcases: special bargain suitcase, etc. And they took a thousand of those people who had just gotten a job with Fuller Brush Co. as

traveling salesmen—high prospects, you'd think, for suitcases. And then they took a list of just 1,000 regular mail-order buyers—people who had bought something in the mail. And the people who supposedly needed suitcases flopped, and the others outpulled them ten to one. And what it's saying is this: first of all, people have to have a propensity to do something by mail. Obviously, you must be saying in your mind—well where do

Of all the sins that are committed by people who have some knowledge of direct mail and political campaigns is this vacillation: is this brochure better than that one; is this color better than that; what should I do here; should I put this in the package or should I do this—just do it!

you get people who are mail-oriented to start with. They filter in one way or another. They come in through some type thing: they subscribe to a magazine because they get interested in water skiing, so then they've bought something by mail. But there's some individuals who simply just will not do anything by mail. And that's a characteristic about them. They're not used to writing something out, putting it in an envelope, sending it, and hoping to get something back later. That's the separating characteristic right there.

VIGUERIE: What we're talking about here is not mail order buyers—we're talking about political direct mail contributors. You answered the question correctly, but let's not lose sight of the fact that here we're talking about people who will give to a candidate through the mail, you're talking about a very, very small portion. We have millions of people who will give to a conservative *cause*, but maybe less than ten percent of them will give to a *candidate*.

CRAVER: Yes, on the liberal side this year: Kennedy, Anderson, and the big national liberal senatorial races, McGovern, Bayh, these people

—maybe a total of 350,000 people will give money in these 1980 races.

BURNETT: How much prospecting has to be done to get the names of the 350,000?

CRAVER: Oh, probably 30 to 40 million pieces.

BURNETT: Less than one percent.

CRAVER: Yes, till it all settles down.

BURNETT: You're explaining one more factor in psychographics. The one that gives, psychographically is different from people who won't give. The person who responds by mail is different from the person who doesn't respond by mail. So you have to be very careful where you go for your lists.

DEES: The calls that I get, right off the bat they'll say, "Well, all the teachers in Arkansas have endorsed me and I can get a list of all the teachers." And I say: First of all, I don't think you can raise money in Arkansas on mass appeal because you don't have enough potential lists out there." And they say: "Oh but I got the lists, don't worry about that." Well, just because you've got a list of all the teachers doesn't mean anything. Now there's a more liberal teacher group called—Mr. Shanker runs it—I don't know the name.

C&E: *American Federation of Teachers.*

DEES: Now that one has about 300,000 teachers, and that's not the NEA [National Education Association] which is more a middle-of-the-road group. Well, back when McGovern was running, Shanker endorsed him, and we got a letter written by a teacher who had gone over to Vietnam and gotten both legs shot off or something like that. I can't really remember but we got as strong a pitch as we could come up with, we sent it with a personal note on the bottom from Shanker saying "We endorse this whole thing," and it was not successful. And it just goes to show you, with the hottest cause, the hottest letter, and everything else, just because you mail a list of teachers doesn't mean you'll raise any money from teachers.

BURNETT: Note that he's talking about another methodology: which is third-party endorsement. This can also be used in fundraising, but obviously doesn't work as well on one group as another.

VIGUERIE: Well, I'm not so sure. We don't know. If he had tested with and without the third party endorsement, then maybe we'd know.

DEES: I did, because I was running 50,000. I mailed the standard McGovern letter to them.

VIGUERIE: Which worked better?

DEES: I don't remember. When we get hot into a campaign after we know a package works, I don't even keep up with it. It might be good for Herb's history book but I could care less. [Editor's Note: Herbert Alexander writes a quadrennial analysis of presidential campaign finance.] All I know is whether it's working or not. But we do keep good statistics on most of our results.

C&E: *So you don't duplicate things that have worked before and mail again on that same theme?*

DEES: Sure, that's about all you do.

VIGUERIE: Senate candidate X over here calls us and wants us to do the 90-day wonder thing—maybe only a 30-day wonder type of thing. The election's in 30 days and he wants you to perform 22 miracles for him. In which case we just go to the files and pull a letter that we wrote last year or whenever.

C&E: *It is said that in no advertising medium does copy play a more important role than in direct mail. Why is that so? And what role does copy play?*

YOLTON: As we said, direct mail is *the* personal medium. The whole theory and strategy of developing a direct mail piece is to write copy that is a "from me to you" message. Because direct mail arrives in people's mail box and it is their personal mail box, the closer you can come to writing copy that conveys that personal message, the better chance you have of getting a favorable reception, and a favorable response to your direct mail. So, certainly copy is more important in direct mail perhaps than anything else—space advertising, beautiful pictures, several pages of ads at once, well-chosen things can get *attention*, but not necessarily the kind of direct *response* that you want.

C&E: *What are key elements of good copy? What role do such things as believability, order,*

conversational/personal tone, direct, action-oriented phraseology, proof of statements, etc., play?

YOLTON: Well, all of those things are probably more important in direct mail than they are in other forms of advertising because you are asking people to perform an act of faith, in that you are asking them to respond sight unseen, and you say something is going to happen as a result of their responding but how do they know? They have to have some faith that that something is going to happen, that the dollars they are donating to your candidate are really going to be used in order to further the candidate's election potential. So that some nice neat things like believability build some kind of order into your copy so it's easy for people to understand, and you use a conversational/personal tone because it is a personal message. All of those are just part of the art form of writing direct mail copy. It is a "personal" type of skill.

C&E: *What are the relative merits of short vs. longer copy? The trend now seems to be to longer letters—even five to seven pages. Why?*

YOLTON: All that matters is what works. And if you have a long story to tell and an educational job to do, and you're trying to instill a sense of involvement and support, you probably can't do it with three paragraphs, not in prospecting you can't. What works best is what determines how long your letter or copy is.

Direct mail is an investment unlike any other in a political campaign. You get a return on it.

C&E: *How do you know what works best? How do you know what is going to work best in sending out a letter? You might send out two to three pages of superb copy...*

YOLTON: Morris and Roger are the ones that are writing long letters and I would have to assume that it comes from their positive experiences in the past. Morris claims he doesn't do any testing, but at least he has a gut feeling.

DEES: I think of myself as a copy-writer first. Nobody *invented* long letters for political fundraising. I'm sure they were used before we used them for McGovern—we just got credit for using them. The long letters that we decided to write for George McGovern were based on *Time/Life's* program. They'd been writing four- and five- and six-page letters that sold books for years. People had, in the past, not looked at political fundraising as merchandising a product or trying to sell some-

Voter registration lists are seldom good sources for fundraising of any kind, particularly direct mail.

thing. And so, I got the Humphrey/Muskie letters that were sent out in the past in 1972, pre-'72, right in that era. And basically they said: "My name is Hubert Humphrey and I'm running for president, or my name is Edmund Muskie and I'm running for president, and maybe a couple or three paragraphs—I stand for the good of the country, that kind of approach, and please send me a contribution. Well, what we then did was apply the techniques that had been used successfully selling books by direct mail. You've got to tell a good, solid, *selling* story. Now with Ted Kennedy this time we used a letter, six pages long. And I was really nervous about it because I felt: Well, everybody knows who Ted Kennedy is, and we ought to just write a short letter, a one page letter. And I was flying back from Miami on the plane and I jotted out a one page letter, and called Roger and said: "Roger, we've got to test a one-page letter, we're not taking anything for granted." We tested a one-page vs. a six-page, and the six-page beat it. And we also did this for Anderson this time. We tested the long versus the short. If you've got a donor that's already given to you, I think it'd be unwise to write much more than one-page—two at the most. But when you're going out to a new donor, prospecting in this volatile market you're talking about, then it may take a lot more than just a one-page. It may take a brochure, or something else. The point that I want to make on copy, especially with respect to going back to your own donors, is that direct mail should be fun. It should involve people. I subscribe to the theory that

adults are really just kids playing in a big tree house. When you were a little kid you'd clip the coupon off the back of the cereal box and send off for the Captain Midnight ring—right? Well, I think we are all still motivated by the same kind of exciting things. You should involve your donors and make them feel they're going to get something back. Our last Kennedy mailing offered an engraved inaugural announcement to be sent in January. And our response was just tremendous. And there was a little note that came from me, as finance director, on a separate little slip that said: Memo to John Doe from Morris Dees, Finance Director, and I said: "Please help me raise this money for Sen. Kennedy." Then three or four little paragraphs and the last one offered an engraved announcement. We also sent posters of a Jamie Wyeth painting. Anybody who sent in \$25 or more, got a 24×36-inch Jamie Wyeth poster. And we had a little label in our package that said: "Mailing Label for Poster" and we had a color picture of the poster in there. And it was something they could take out, put back in, send back. It was tactile involvement.

CLARK: That's mass marketing: "What am I getting out of it?"

DEES: It isn't just getting something out of it. The most successful program I've ever been a part of was a mailing for George McGovern which cost \$25,000 and took in over a million dollars. We sent everybody perforated cards saying: "Here are four checks and fill out these four checks and one's dated for each month—August, September... etc.

VIGUERIE: That's not mass marketing. He's still marketing to his audience—he's not mailing yet to cold prospects—he's mailing to his previous buyers.

DEES: But then in order to do that we sent them a little pen that said "FMBM" on it: For McGovern Before Miami, with a little label that said: "Contents Jewelry," so they could even see it coming back to them. It made them feel important. I'd like to ask you a question, Dick. How do long letters work in prospecting for conservative causes?

VIGUERIE: Morris, people make too much out of direct mail now. Like I said earlier, it's not all that big a deal. It's relatively simple. If you want to ask a stranger for a favor, you've got to talk more than if you want to ask a friend. What's the big deal. When you're prospecting you're talking to

strangers. If it's January 1971, you can't write a successful one page letter for George McGovern. But if it's October of 1972 and you're writing to your friends, all you need is one page. So, it's just not that difficult. When you're writing to somebody for the first time, they know nothing about the campaign, maybe they've never heard of the candidate, they don't know what your needs are, the media isn't hyping the campaign—it takes a lot of copy. If you were in a retail marketing environment, you wouldn't dream of restricting your salesmen to only eight seconds, or even 60 seconds. It doesn't make any sense. So why would you try to do it in direct mail fundraising?

CLARK: At one point, I got to spend a lot of Time, Inc. money in copy-testing direct mail. We tested size, format, number of letters and so forth. Generally, we found that the more you spend on direct mail in pure cost-per-thousand, the more you will get back. So, if you wanted to take a four-page vs. a six-page letter, a six-page letter will generate more response than a four-page letter. A six-page letter with a brochure generated more response than a six-page letter without a brochure.

BURNETT: There must be a stopping point.

CLARK: There is obviously a mythical stopping point, but in broad terms the more we spent the more we got back. I didn't say cost efficiently—I'll get to that in a minute. But I think this is particularly true in prospecting. You're offering new customers, new buyers, new prospects—you have to be prepared to spend more money than you think you need to in order to get them in the door. Once they're in the door, you can do a lot more with them. By and large, you don't spend *down* the first time. Spend *up*. It's a sound investment! When anyone starts to write a fundraising letter, they should ask themselves: "Why should the guy receiving this letter do what I want him to do? And when they finish writing the letter they ought to read it and say, "Did I talk him into doing it? Did I answer that question?" And if you didn't, throw the letter out and start again. Too much mail from every area: publishers, fundraisers, etc. never comes up with a valid reason as to why I should reach in my pocket and come up with ten dollars.

BURNETT: It's your only salesman. But, I'd like to have you talk about cost-efficiency, Sandy, because we're talking to a group where usually there are very modest budgets. They can't afford such

things as: "Pick up this and put it in a slot." Let's see if we can't help them. If you were a small operation, a local campaign for instance, what would you tell people to do about their direct mail?

CLARK: In most cases I think that some visual representation of who your candidate is is essential—a picture of the guy. In fact we did exactly that for a guy running for the local board of selectmen in Connecticut. His wife took the pictures. We had about 2,000 printed and we had them at the dump, in the schools, so everybody saw our candidate good ole Bob So and So. He won by a landslide. We had him talking about the critical problems in the town in the brochure. We wrote a letter that went at them real hard about why we thought the town was going to hell in a handbasket if we didn't elect this great guy. I think that's important. The brochure can be very simple, it can be black and white.

BURNETT: What were the rest of the factors?

CLARK: We had a response card and we had a telephone number. I think absolutely essential is a telephone number. If anybody ever does any direct mail without a telephone number and they get mad because they get no responses, they are loony as hell. And what do you do when they call on the phone, and they pledge their ten bucks, what do



Junius R. Clark III

you do? You sell them a yellow pennant and you get another pledge and then you sell them another pennant, etc. On the local level, a little town of six thousand families, this is entirely possible because we did it.

DEES: I think you have to be very careful with placement of phone numbers on your return cards. A novice in direct mail will want to do several things—get volunteers, get phone numbers, etc. The thrust of a direct mail fundraising should be solely to get money. There shouldn't be any mention in the package of a phone number and something about volunteering because the person can easily say: "Well, I'll at least volunteer now. I'll give next time." On your return card have a place way down below where you have them list information like phone number, whether they want to volunteer, etc. But it's got to be in small print, way at the bottom and definitely not in the letter.

VIGUERIE: Let me just say one thing about volunteering and phone numbers in fundraising. You've got to keep in mind what your objective is. If you're going out to raise big bucks, locally, not going out of state or anything, but in your geographical area, in your Congressional area, Senate area, you could depress returns by talking very much at all about volunteering in the campaign, phone numbers, etc. Because in the type of society we have now, people like to do the easiest thing: "I'll send \$25, but whatever you do, don't call me on the phone, don't knock on my front door." And we know in direct mail that if you say: "We'll mail you something," as opposed to if they think you might knock on their door, you're going to get a lot more returns. *They* mail money if *you* say you're going to mail something. So, be careful about giving the person the impression that by sending his or her \$25 contribution in they will open themselves up to a lot of calls asking them to participate in the campaign. Most just don't want that involvement.

DEES: There's a way to do it. First of all, in a small block you give them the chance to put a check: "I'd like to volunteer to help in the campaign." This is small, way down there below the money pitch. And then down below that it says: address, phone number, etc., and it appears that you need the phone number only because they volunteered to help in the campaign. Nobody will give you their phone number unless they've

already decided to volunteer. It's part of the total picture, it's not separate—give me your phone number.

CLARK: And further on the cost-benefit ratio, in prospecting in the mass audience, the difference between cash-up-front offers vs. charge orders is significant—three times the response with charge orders. Yet most of the prospecting mail that I've seen is all cash-up-front offers. Why not take advantage of credit cards?

The whole theory and strategy of developing a direct mail piece is to write copy that is a "from me to you" message.

VIGUERIE: I believe that offering the use of credit cards depresses most direct mail fundraising returns for some reason.

CLARK: How about your own billing operation, where you can actually upgrade them through your billing series as all the publications do.

VIGUERIE: We all upgrade, of course. Ask them to give twice what they gave previously.

CLARK: Subscribe to *Time* today and then watch the first three bills. See what they try to sell you. They make money on their billings.

BURNETT: Dick, did you say that offering the chance to use a credit card over the phone reduces response?

VIGUERIE: In all the tests I've seen in fundraising. Yes.

CRAVER: Same here. The only exception to that has been with the National Organization for Women. Women, at least activist women, appear to use their credit cards differently than women do for other causes.

BURNETT: Isn't the world changing now a little bit. Maybe credit cards are more used?

CRAVER: We test this stuff every couple months, every year.

C&E: *Let's talk about the package for a minute. How do you choose such things as type face, ink color, paper weight and color, carrier envelope style—all these things?*

VIGUERIE: Let me just make one general comment. Again, we can talk, all of us here, till supper-time tomorrow about the different ways to approach it. As I've said before, it's very simple. Seriously! In writing somebody cold, write as if you're writing to a friend asking them for some help. So, if you're writing a letter to a friend, what would you say? What would your letter look like, what would the typeface look like? Just write that letter and use the type of reasoning consistent with the economic situation you have in the campaign as to what you would do if you were writing to a friend. If you're writing to somebody who can give you a thousand dollars and you know this person, or he's previously helped a candidate similar to yours, you don't put a photograph on the outside of a carrier envelope. Because you just don't write letters like that. So just do it very simply. What would you normally do in the course of your everyday correspondence? This should be the guiding rule.

DEES: I have a comment concerning copy. I've been in both the business world and the fundraising world. My first inclination after getting into fundraising was, well, let's have a window envelope with something showing through. In fact I did that for an organization called the National Coalition to Ban Handguns. We had a window and through it showed a decal that you could stick on your car. And probably everybody in the room got one of those because we mailed millions of them.

VIGUERIE: I didn't... but then I guess I wouldn't be on your list, Morris. (Laughter)

DEES: That was using a slightly different package. It didn't come from John Smith, Candidate for President. It came from an organization—National Coalition to Ban Handguns—and I believe Archibald Cox's name was stuck above the label. But the label had a teaser line which said: "Do you have the courage to put this sticker on your windshield?" And so they knew. And people loved it. Have you ever picked up those little stickers that stick and unstick and you peel them

back and forth? You've done that—stick it back, stick it back. I think it's got a sexual connotation to it. The people just wanted to get their hands in there and see if that thing really did stick and unstick. And that became a very successful thing.

But when it comes to fundraising, when you're asking for money it's the personal touch. I've seen exhaustive tests done by many organizations, where they used the *Time/Life* package, the envelope that has pictures on it, all kinds of things. And it seems that the more personal, direct approach: the #10 envelope or the Monarch size—the smaller envelope—tend to work better with a plain simple corner card or with no corner card. And we've tested all those unique, business size envelopes. But there are no rules and I think that's the rule. Because sweepstakes work very well in fundraising, they're now being used quite a bit. Just as long as you let it be known that the prizes were donated by some good friend who wants to help. Just so long as you can give logical, rational reasons for what you do. I think McGovern's direct mail was unique in terms of package and style and design. But for the traditional direct mail package use that personal letter and you'll come out a lot better. It's called "sneaking up on people with believability." Probably one of the most effective direct mail letters I ever sent out was one that was a "My dear friend," and it was from a candidate. But inside the package was a letter that was sent to the candidate by somebody on yellow legal paper and it was handwritten in ink. We had called the person up and asked their permission to use it and it said: "You know, I think your candidacy is the thing that is going to save this nation. And it's going to rescue us from the problems that are facing us and for future generations to come, etc., etc. And I'm an old age pensioner and I don't have much money, and I'm sending you this five dollars that I really don't have, I borrowed, blah, blah."

The difficulty people who don't do much direct mail get into is that they let irrelevant factors enter into the decisionmaking process instead of making it a matter of simple economics.

And then it was signed. And you could just see tears dripping off the bottom of the page. We reproduced that letter exactly as it was, and stuck it in the package. And then we attached a little P.S.: "Enclosed is a letter I received yesterday morning that really made me stop and realize that my running for Senator from Arizona really is important. And I wanted to share that letter with you." Now, that's the kind of little touch you put in there that is just more effective than any window envelope.

The greatest sin that I've seen is a failure to ask for money.

CLARK: It's called the pub letter, which virtually every magazine in the business uses.

VIGUERIE: It's not exactly a pub letter, it's different. A pub letter is a reinforcing kind of thing from the management of the establishment.

DEES: The very word you use—pub letter—publisher's letter which to the uninitiated is a letter included with an offer of the *Time/Life* series of books on Animals and Nature or whatever and there's a letter from the Publisher saying: Before you decide not to order these books, please read the enclosed letter. And it says: you may not really believe we are going to give you a free book, etc., but it truly is free. I'm Hedley Donovan, publisher of this big company, and I'm telling you its free, you get it, you keep it. Now, in Kennedy's latest fundraising mail this time, we used a pub letter. But what it said was, *before you decide* on your contribution to Senator Kennedy, please read the enclosed. And it is a little thing, and you open it up and on the inside, it said—I forgot the exact wording—but it was from me as Finance Director, and it got around to saying that for anyone who gives a contribution of \$50 or more they'll get a medallion that can have historic value. Kennedy means history, touch of history and all that. And our average contribution was around \$34.95/35.00 which is considerably higher than anything I've ever gotten in fundraising before. And the number of \$50 contributions wanting the medallion was way up there. So that is the way to take a personal letter and put something in it that is commercial.

VIGUERIE: Something else commercial you did there was *not* to ask do you want to buy this or don't you—in other words, do you want to give or not. It was *how much* do you want to give? The assumption is already that they're going to give. It's do you want to give \$25 or \$50—you assume they're going to give something.

DEES: That's right, Dick. We've learned that the average contribution for many causes, be it political or whatever, is: \$17-18, something like that. This is something we've learned. I don't know what it would be with your people, Dick, \$12, \$15, whatever. But then you try to do things which make the letter very personal. For example: "I'm launching my campaign next week, and our first effort will be fundraising for a television drive in New Hampshire. Our budget for New Hampshire television is \$250,000, and I'm asking 10,000 people to give me an average of \$25 each. Naturally I understand that some people will give slightly more than that and a few may not be able to give that much. But if I get an average of \$25 each, only 10,000 people will have to contribute and we'll have our media money." That's doing two things. It's fixing a figure in their mind and people are very susceptible to suggestions of what amount to give. Secondly, its telling them that their contribution will make a difference. If you got a letter from President Carter saying: Send me ten dollars and help retire the national debt. Well, that would be like throwing a cup of water in the river to make it rise. And people won't believe that their ten dollars will do much to bring down the national debt, which we attribute mainly to Republicans and Nixon and the Conservatives. (Laughs all around.)

VIGUERIE: Maybe 40-50 years ago, Morris, you could sell that to the American public but not today! Morris, I might add something to your television budget example. The point I want to make is that you should always use specifics. It's \$249,325 or \$251,000. Be specific. Don't use figures that look like you just reached up and pulled them out of thin air.

DEES: Put a little budget in there.

VIGUERIE: It shouldn't come out to an even figure like \$1,000 or \$500,000. Billboards don't cost \$100, they cost \$92.35 or \$102.40.

YOLTON: Another strategy to achieve this is to explain that you have to equip your headquarters.

A chair costs so much, and your telephone bill for a half a month is so much, and so forth. Give people a lot of specifics, and you don't do it in \$15 and \$20, etc. You do it in \$17.95. Make them feel that they're actually buying a chair or actually financing the telephone bill for a month or a half-month.

C&E: *At what point do supplementary or emergency appeals for funds become counterproductive? How many pieces can a proven donor be sent before he/she gets turned off? How many pieces should a prospect receive without contributing before being written off? At what point should you write them off?*

CRAVER: On the question of how to go after your existing donors, I find it hard to see how you can overuse them if you have legitimate needs. After all, they became a part of the enterprise and you have an obligation to keep them apprised of how you're doing. And then the political angle. In Mo Udall's presidential campaign, toward the end, we mailed them once a week, and every primary he lost he raised more money. In Anderson's program, we're doing it about every 18 days now, and it will probably increase in frequency.

CLARK: You keep mailing a customer or prospect file until it's cheaper to go to Ed Burnett and buy new lists at \$50-60 per thousand. That's your cut off.

VIGUERIE: Amen. Direct mail is simple. You quit mailing a list when it no longer achieves your goal. And if your goal is to break even, you quit mailing when it no longer breaks even. It is not a difficult thing.

BURNETT: There are two kinds of lists, those that work and those that don't.

VIGUERIE: But keep in mind what your goals are. Overall, if a program achieves its goals, don't quit mailing.

CRAVER: The difficulty people who don't do much direct mail get into is that they let irrelevant factors enter into the decisionmaking process instead of making it a matter of simple economics. Suddenly such questions as good taste, the tone, dignity, and the opinion of the candidate's wife, and Lord knows what else enters into it. The point is, if a package is working on a list you keep mailing it until it stops working.

VIGUERIE: I couldn't agree more, Roger. I think it's important to go back to something at the very beginning of the roundtable. Morris and others commented that we must remember that what we are engaged in is direct mail *advertising*. This is an *advertising medium*. And it's not only fundraising, it's also promoting and advertising the candidate. And if somebody gets a couple of letters in their mailbox a week from the candidate they may object, but if they see two Ford Motor Company ads the same day on television they don't think anything about it. They might see six ads per day for Coca Cola—they don't think anything about it. But most people don't make the transition that direct mail is *advertising mail*.

BURNETT: I get worried about some of the readers that we are addressing here. They are smaller fry than some of these national campaigns we are talking about. I'd like to make it clear that they've got to learn early in the game to test those things that are significant. You don't test color of the envelopes, and you don't test whether you sign it with this man's name or another man's name, and you don't test whether or not the letterhead should be printed in blue or in black. You do test the list, you do test the appeal, you do perhaps, if you have time, test the package. But you don't spend time and effort on those things which are fruitless and will not make a significant difference.

C&E: *If each one of you could come up with just one bit of advice for the smaller campaign people,*

The advice I would give to campaigns, at any level, that are interested in using direct mail is you need to start early. You should start your direct mail at least two years before.

not the big national candidates who can afford to hire experts like you. What one piece of advice would you give to local candidates on conducting direct mail programs?

CRAVER: The greatest sin that I've seen is a failure to ask for money. My piece of advice is that if you've written that letter and gone through all that motion *specifically* ask someone or tell them what you have in mind and give them a suggested figure to send. And I would back that up with the advice Guy Yoltan gave me when I first got into this business ten years ago, when he was helping us with Common Cause, and that is: mailing *something* is better than mailing *nothing*!

VIGUERIE: The advice I would give to campaigns, at any level, that are interested in using direct mail is *you need to start early*. Of all the sins in political direct mail I think perhaps the greatest is starting too late. I don't care how great you are in business, if you've got ten percent as much time to work with as your opponent, he's going to run circles around you. You've just got to start early. If you start a year before the election with a direct mail campaign, you're not starting early—that's *late*. You should start your direct mail at least two years before.

BURNETT: How would you use those two years, Dick?

VIGUERIE: Ed, it depends on the campaign of course, and what your objectives are, but basically if you've got two years, find a professional. You really need a professional. There are unfortunately just a limited number of people who make their liv-

... don't spend too little money on mail. Don't try to make \$1,000 do the work of \$5,000 because you're going to do it wrong.

ing full time in political direct mail. But almost every community has somebody who has a good, working knowledge of direct mail or advertising. I don't think I could offer better advice than to start early and get a direct mail pro involved.

CLARK: Too many letters come to my house folded so I don't know what I'm getting. Don't! If you're doing mailings do it so it starts, "Dear Mr.

Clark." I'm reading the letter from the moment it comes out of the envelope. I guess the only thing I would add which probably dovetails off Dick's a little bit: don't spend too little money on mail. I realize in political campaigns there's never enough money. But don't spend too little. Don't try to make \$1,000 do the work of \$5,000 because you're going to do it wrong. So it's important to be realistic.

BURNETT: I have two bits of advice. Number one, do not get into this trap of making a continuous series of one experiment and then say: Ah hah! It did or it did not work. Number two, people spend a great deal of time on the best graphics, the best copy, the best package, the best appearance, and then they send out the errand boy to fetch the mailing list. And the mailing list is the thing which affects the returns the most. Therefore, if you find someone that knows something about the list business in your area, and knows something about the kinds of people who are going to respond to different appeals, and knows something about demographics and psychographics, latch on to him. Because he can be helpful to you.

YOLTAN: I might offer something that's akin to what Roger said: Don't beat around the bush about what it is you're after. There's always the temptation, I think, when the candidate or candidate's associates get into the business of putting together the direct mail campaign's program, they want to talk a whole lot about the philosophy of the campaign, the positions of the candidate, and a lot of things like that. They can go on for paragraphs writing one of those essays. When you do that you may lose your audience. The person who receives your letter is going to say to himself: "Why am I getting this message, at this time, on this subject? What's in it for me?" Answer that quickly. Get to the point early and then support it.

HARTMAN: I'll go part way with Mr. Viguerie. You can't be an amateur in this game anymore. But I think it's wrong to go to someone who does just plain advertising—a nice person in town who does advertising—and then ask them to do your political campaign. I think that's very much like going into an electronics shop to have your automobile engine fixed. If you're going to spend the money you should spend the money with someone who has done political direct mail and knows something about it. I'm not so sure that one is entirely applicable to the other. And I would spend the

money, if you're going to do it, to get the proper professional guidance.

VIGUERIE: There are probably ten good political direct mail experts in the country. And there are probably 4,000 people running for Congress alone.

HARTMAN: The advice you get from someone who is not experienced in the direct mail field, even though they may be experienced in advertising, is sometimes more negative than positive.

CLARK: Joe, if you're in Des Moines, Iowa, and you're running for a state seat, your choice is a housewife, your wife, or yourself, or the local guy in town who does some advertising, I'd pick that guy in a flash because he has a sense of writing and communication skills. And I think that's the point. You can't get a direct-mail pro in every single situation, in every single election. But I've had good friends who are not direct mail copywriters per se who have done campaigns for people that were winners. They made some mistakes, but they were a lot better than picking somebody off F and 14th Streets out here to do the campaign.

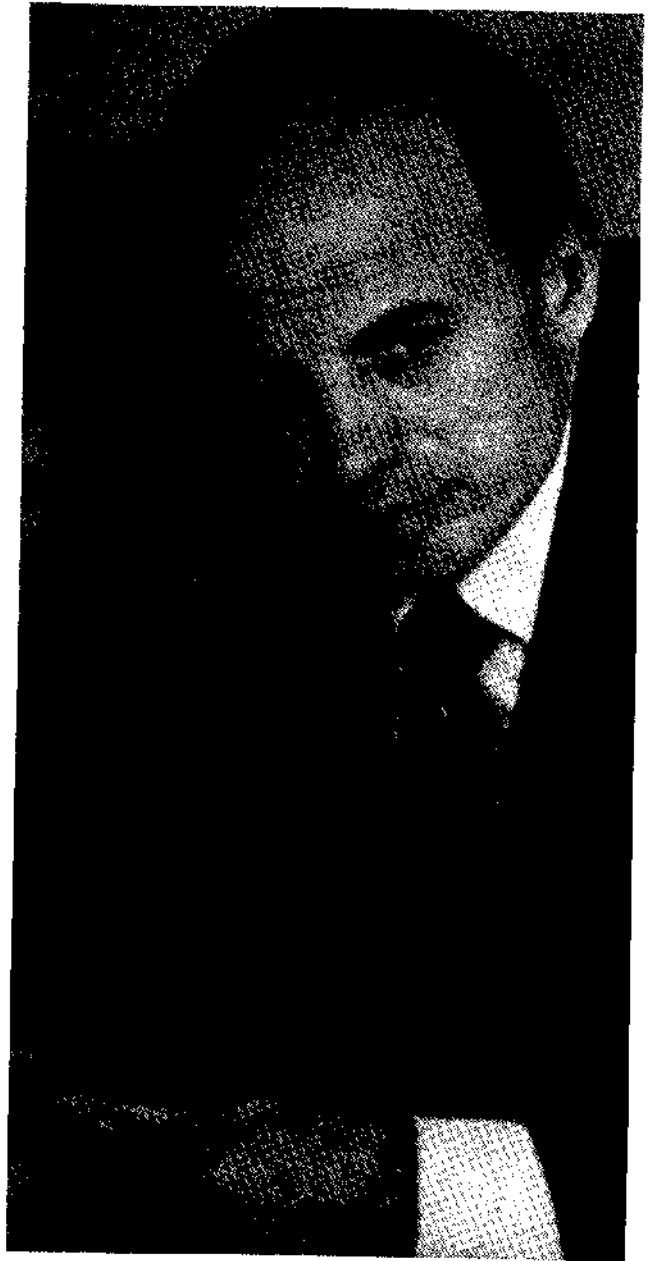
YOLTON: Getting *something* out is better than getting *nothing* out.

CRAVER: There are just hundreds and hundreds of campaigns that don't have the money or the expertise. I get calls all the time from managers of congressional races and lower that have never done direct mail and want to try it. They have to go for whatever they can get nearby, and they don't have the money or time to afford to use these scarce direct mail experts. I always tell them that one of the things they should do is that when they get the blue line of their copy, give it to somebody else and say: find the mistake.

VIGUERIE: Because I promise you there's one in there!

BURNETT: Can we talk about what it costs to buy some of these experts we've been discussing?

VIGUERIE: Let me just say that it really depends on the level of the campaign. If you're running for U.S. Senate that's one thing. But if you're running for the state legislature, you're not going to be able to afford one of the well-known, national professionals. But you might be able to establish a relationship with them where you can call him once a month or so.



Richard A. Viguerie

HARTMAN: That's exactly what I was talking about. You can get guidance. If you can't get day-to-day operation, at least get guidance.

VIGUERIE: Exactly. I have people who want to hire me to advise them on a state senate campaign. I'd love to in many cases but I just can't. But sometimes I can help over the phone. But send us something, maybe we'll critique it over the phone, but we can't afford to take them on as full-fledged clients.

CLARK: I don't think there's any one of us (and particularly the agencies) who aren't at this moment carrying somebody along for free. It has to be. It's the nature of the business.

HARTMAN: Let's be a little more specific. Must all candidates—for example running for the U.S. House—should they or should they not have professional supervision over their direct mail?

... people spend a great deal of time on the best graphics, the best copy, the best package, the best appearance, and then they send out the errand boy to fetch the mailing list.

VIGUERIE: Without question they should. But some campaigns need direct mail more than others. If you're running for Congress in the New York City area, Los Angeles, or Chicago, direct mail might be 80% of your advertising budget. You can't afford to go on T.V. Say you're running in a primary. You're in only one of 12 congressional districts served by the mass media there, you only want to talk to registered Democrats or registered Republicans. You want to talk to maybe four percent of the people that television reaches there. So direct mail is the only thing that makes any economic sense.

HARTMAN: That's so true. In western Connecticut there is simply no such thing as political advertising for anyone because it's wasteful. Same for Northern New Jersey because you have to be able to afford one of the New York stations. So direct mail becomes even more important there than it does to a candidate in New York City.

CRAVER: If I had to put together a survival kit for a congressional candidate who couldn't hire an agency I would: (1) tell him to find a list broker who has done political work of the ideology that he deals with, because all lists are not the same. That is, pick a list broker on the right or left of the aisle who works with candidates on the right or left of the aisle. Secondly, get on Richard Viguerie's mailing list and read the stuff—or ours or Guy's—

the causes that are in the mail all the time and study them. Because this stuff is tested. The tuition, as Sandy puts it, is millions and millions of dollars. And it has already been spent to learn what works, so follow it.

HARTMAN: I'm wondering if the ball isn't in the experts court. If you people are really doing your job, wouldn't you have in your organization a set-up for presidential candidates, a set-up for—say—senatorial candidates, and one for congressional candidates?

VIGUERIE: I've thought about that so many times and tried. Where it breaks down in our operation, and maybe Roger can add his thoughts to this, but where it breaks down in our effort is in the fundraising. If they just came to us and said: here is a budget, whether it's \$10,000 or \$100,000, and use this intelligently for direct mail to help get the candidate elected. We can do that, we can develop boiler plate copy, and everything can work. We take it off the shelf, take a state senate campaign's program that's worked successfully off the shelf. But 99.9% of the campaigns, in fact 100% for me, but I say 99.9 because somewhere there must be somebody who doesn't want us to raise their money but does want us to use direct mail to get them votes. Most take our voter direct mail programs, quite frankly, because we *force* it on them. Because we know how to use direct mail to help them get elected. But really the vast majority of the campaigns want us to raise money only. They want money to spend on television. I say: "Hey, if you want us to help you get elected, you're going to spend your money in ways that *we* think are most effective in helping you get elected." If only three percent of the audience is going to see them on television, I'm not going to bust my rear end and have my people stay up late Sunday nights or get up early Saturday mornings to have them waste the money.

There's a lot of mistrust. People don't trust us. They think they can do it better themselves.

HOW TO RAISE \$2 MILLION BY DIRECT MAIL

	"House List"	Bank Balance
1. Raise \$200,000 to pay for first mailing.	0	\$200,000
2. Use that to pay for 1,142,857 letters, at 17.5¢ a letter.	0	0
3. Get a response rate of 2.6%, meaning 29,714 first-time donors, each giving an average of \$9.18. The mailing returns \$272,777.	29,714	\$272,777
4. Use the whole sum and mail again, also at 17.5¢ a letter. Mail the 1,558,726 letters.	29,714	0
5. This time the rate of response will be slightly lower (2.45%), but will provide 38,189 new donors, since the list was larger. At the same average gift (\$9.18), the mailing will bring in \$350,573.	67,903	\$350,573
6. Concurrently with next prospect mailing, mail again to previous donors. At 34¢ a letter, the "house" mailing will cost only \$23,087 and the response rate may be 15%, with an average of \$13 per donor. The profit from the mailing will be \$109,324.	67,903	\$459,897
7. Take the whole sum and prospect again. At 17.5¢ a letter, you will buy 2,627,982 letters. Again, the rate of response will decline, but the scope of the mailing will add proportionately more donors. With a response of 2.3%, 60,444 new donors will be added. Their average gift of \$9.18 will return \$554,872.	128,347	\$554,872
8. Take the whole sum again and prospect once more, buying 3,179,697 letters. With a 2.1% response this time, at \$9.18 each, get 66,585 new donors and a return of \$611,247.	194,932	\$611,247
9. Assuming six to eight weeks have passed since last mailing to "house" list, mail to it again. At 34¢ a letter, the mailing will cost \$66,277. At a 15% response and an average donation of \$13, it will yield \$380,117.	194,932	\$925,087
10. Take about half your money, or \$500,000, and do a final prospect mailing. It will buy 2,857,143 letters. With a 1.9% response at \$9.18 per gift, you will gain 54,286 more donors, plus \$498,343 (this mailing is done at a slight loss).	249,218	\$923,430
11. With primaries under way, mail to donor list every five to six weeks, get a 20% response (up to 24%), at a higher per gift average (about \$20). The first mailing, at an average of \$20 and a 24% response will bring in \$1,196,246 at a cost of \$84,734.	249,218	\$2,034,942

SOURCE: *The National Federation of Republican Women*

CRAVER: The thing that is difficult for lay people who don't get involved too much is that whether you're doing it for a state legislator or the President of the United States, the time, the thought processes, are the same. And my idea of hell is to do any more political business than we now do—which is about 20 times more than I would like to do. It is the most unpleasant way to make a living that man has ever invented.

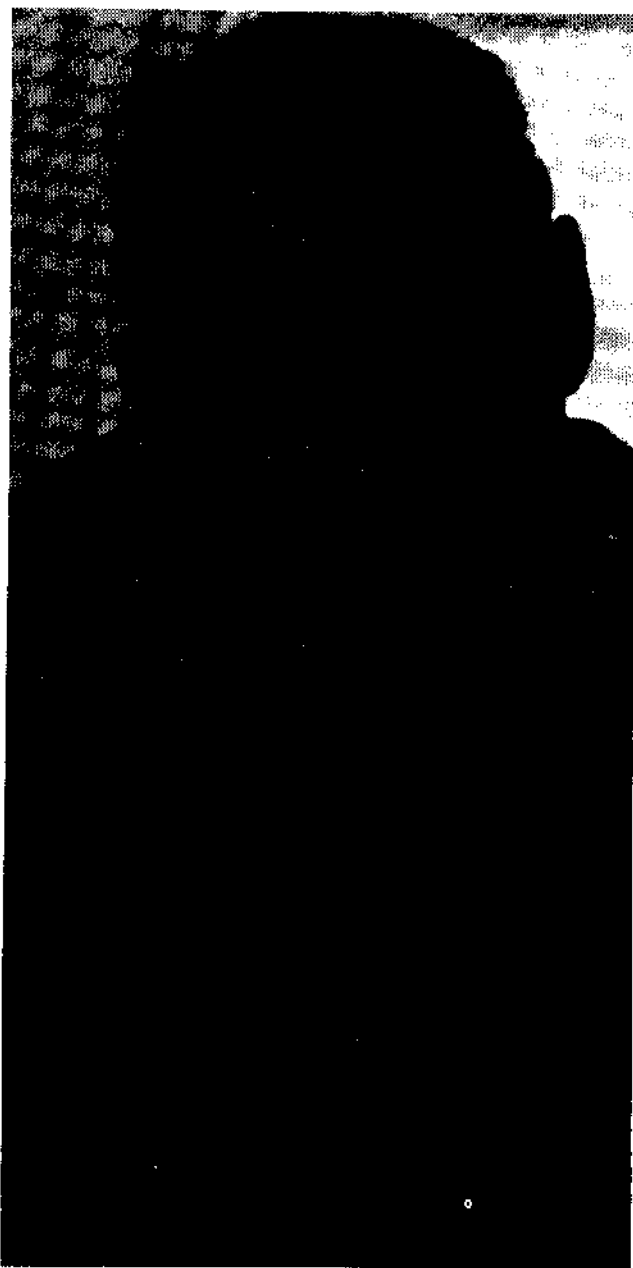
VIGUERIE: I know how to simplify my life. I know how to enjoy life. I know how to play golf two or three times a week and spend more time with my family, but I have made a conscious decision not to. Because, like Roger and Morris and Guy, we believe strongly in certain things. And we want to make the sacrifice in this area to help the people get elected that we believe in. Because with our experience, we could all of us make a lot more money by not getting involved in political campaigns. If you have a client that's been with you eight to ten years, and you're mailing seven, eight, nine million letters a year for him, and then this guy comes along, who's running for Congress, and he wants you to mail 12,000 here and 14,000 there, and maybe he mails 100,000 over three months—who's easier to work with? And the staying up late at night, and getting up early in the morning for a guy that's going to be with you for three months at most and mail 100,000 letters if you're lucky—it's madness!

YOLTON: As Richard says, they all start too late. You're immediately thrown into a crisis atmosphere. Additionally, you're dealing with prima donnas. If you had to deal only with the candidate that would be fine, but it's all these underlings who are surrogate prima donnas that you must deal with. You tear your shop up, and give everybody in your company a nervous breakdown, and on the day after election day, suddenly you don't even have a client!

C&E: *Thank you very much gentlemen. A fantastic session. You all are to be congratulated on your sincerity, frankness and candor. We and our readers are very grateful to all of you.*

REPRINTS of this article are available at \$5.00 each, with quantity discounts for the following orders: 10-50, 20 percent; 50-100, 30 percent; 100 or more, 40 percent. Bona fide, not-for-profit institutions of higher education may discount above prices by 50 percent. For further information concerning reprints of articles, write or call CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS, Suite 1067, National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20045, (202) 347-2380.

...they wouldn't dream of not using professionals in every other aspect of their business, whether it's in the legal, accounting, or whatever. But in direct mail—what's the big deal, I know how to read and write, and how to buy stamps.



Ed Burnett