

EXHIBIT 47

FEBRUARY 15, 1993

Attendees

Tony Blankley
Mike DuGally
Jeff Eisenach
Steve Hanser
Newt Gingrich
Frank Gregorsky
Jana Rogers
Michael Vlahos

Agenda

I. General Planning/Renewing American Civilization

- o Speech Handout
- o Radio Show (Topics, Demo Reel)
- o American Civilization Class/Uplinks
- o Gingrich/Pournelle/Vlahos Book
- o AEI Brown Bag Discussion
- o Princeton Objectives/Status
- o Public Interest article
- o Entrepreneurial Health Care

II. Political/GOPAC Issues

- o Moran Letter/Team 100 Consultation Project
- o Dallas vs. Palm Beach (JAE out)
- o GOPAC Political Plan & Schedule
- o Charter Meeting Agenda

JR-0000645

Exhibit 47

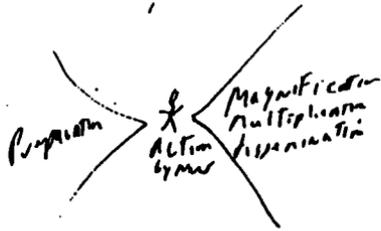
MISSION STATEMENT

We will develop a movement to RENEW American Civilization using the 5 pillars of 21st Century Freedom so people understand Freedom and progress is possible and their practical, daily lives can be far better. As people become convinced American civilization as we know it can be renewed and the 5 pillars will improve their lives we will encourage them to help form the network together and independently, ultimately initiate ^{their own movement} improvements. We will focus on Economic growth, health and saving the main city as the first due to areas to improve. Our Emphasis will be on developing laws and government to facilitate improvement in all of American society. We will explain elections, conditions and politics as vehicles for change and the means and as a primary vehicle for communications. To the degree Democrats agree with our program we will work with them but our Emphasis is on the Republican Party and the primary vehicle for renewing American Civilization.

Renewing American civilization must be communicated - as an intellectual-cultural message with governmental-political consequences.

Exhibit 47

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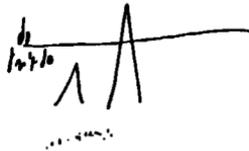


Exhibit 47

JR-0000647

RAC course

- Legal-Ethical
- Course development
- Course follow up
- Course publicity and marketing
- Course dissemination
- McTyner's course

10 lectures

1. Introduction to RAC
 2. Business Strategy
 3. Quality (Quality's profound knowledge)
 4. Financial advance
 5. Entrepreneurial Firm Entrepreneur
 6. Principles of American Entrepreneurship
 7. Economic growth
 8. Health
 9. Safety & security
 10. Citizenship and community and business leadership
- (12) movement

MISSION STATEMENT

We will develop a movement to renew American Civilization using the 5 pillars of 21st Century Freedom so people understand freedom and progress is possible and their practical, daily lives can be far better. * As people become convinced American civilization must and can be renewed and the 5 pillars will improve their lives we will encourage them and help them to network together and independently, autonomously initiate improvements wherever they want. However, we will focus on economic growth, health, and saving the inner city as the first three key areas to improve. Our emphasis will be on reshaping law and government to facilitate improvement in all of american society. We will emphasize elections, candidates and politics as vehicles for change and the news media as a primary vehicle for communications. To the degree Democrats agree with our goals we will work with them but our emphasis is on the Republican Party as the primary vehicle for renewing American civilization.

* Renewing American Civilization must be communicated as an intellectual-cultural message with governmental-political consequences.

Exhibit 47

EXHIBIT 48

Office of the Dean
 School of Business Administration
 Post Office Box 444
 Marietta, Georgia 30061
 (404) 423-6425
 Fax (404) 423-6339

Mescon
 0278

February 2, 1993

Mr. J. Krister Holladay
 Legislative Assistant
 2438 Rayburn House Office Building
 Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Krister:

It was certainly a pleasure visiting with you in Newt's office on Friday. Frank Dadzie and I appreciated your sitting in our deliberations and look forward to working with you in the months ahead. I did have the opportunity to visit with Newt following the Cobb Chamber breakfast and will submit a proposal soon regarding his teaching on campus in the fall quarter.

We had some terrific visits on Friday and would appreciate any assistance you might be able to provide in assisting with our attempt to expand our many activities both in Ghana and domestically. Soon, I will forward to you some summary materials pertaining to our visit with individuals we would appreciate your contacting. We are most grateful for your help and I look forward to visiting with you soon.

Sincerely,

Timothy S. Mescon, Ph.D.
 Dean

TSM/d

cc: ✓ Frank Dadzie
 Terry Cox
 Rhonda Stephenson

Exhibit 48

EXHIBIT 49

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TO: Tim Mescon
 FROM: VI Towne
 DATE: March 23, 1993
 RE: Newt Gingrich Course

Tim... The course sounds like an interesting idea! I do have some questions before I can give you a definite yes or no. However, before I raise those, I should make you aware that there is a Board of Regents policy that prohibits offering a course for credit and non-credit purposes simultaneously. This applies in the traditional classroom; I don't know if it's also true for alternative delivery systems. Rationale has something to do with collecting differentiated fees for credit tuition and non-credit registration.

Assuming we can get around this obstacle, we certainly can develop a national direct-mail marketing campaign. Probably the best way to do it would be to market to continuing and adult education units as well as professional organizations throughout the USA and Canada. They, in turn, could set up receive sites and market to their CE/Adult Education audiences. We don't have experience with this, but we do have connections and could undoubtedly learn as we go!

Questions I have...

1. What is Mr. Gingrich teaching? Economics, political science, or...?
2. What is the start date, time, and length of the course?
3. Would you be marketing to corporations and other professional organizations as well as CE constituents?
4. How soon can we start? It's critical to get this into Fall CE catalogs.
5. Would we air the program live or do a delayed broadcast via videotape?

Let me know how we can help. We'll start by checking the feasibility of offering the joint credit/non-credit program.

c: Cliff Roberts

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EXHIBIT 50**GOPAC**

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

KOHLER 137

June 11, 1993

Mrs. Mary S. Kohler
630 Riverfront Drive
Suite 200
Sheboygan, Wisconsin 53081

Dear Mary:

This is a long letter, but an important one, and I hope you will take a few minutes to read it and consider it carefully.

I am tremendously proud of all that GOPAC accomplished in the 1992 election cycle and of the entire team responsible for those accomplishments. Several of the people who made GOPAC's 1992 efforts possible, however, have reached points in their lives where it is important for them to move on to other things and we regret their departures-- especially Bo Callaway and Laura Stotz.

We have been working very hard over the past few months to prepare GOPAC to be even more innovative and successful in the years ahead. Now I want to bring you up to date on where we are going and solicit both your comments and your continuing support.

First let me say that we have benefited tremendously from input we have received from literally dozens of Charter Members, especially at the November Charter Meeting, the January "Conservative Summit" meeting and the April Charter Meeting in Washington. I have always seen Charter Members as working partners in all of my endeavors, and your willingness to give your time and your creativity continues to be a source of strength and wisdom for everything we are doing.

Indeed, your comments played a large role in my decision to develop a body of knowledge-- Renewing American Civilization-- which will present to the American voter a comprehensive set of ideas, policies and programs for replacing the present welfare state with an opportunity society. During our meeting in January, a number of Charter Members were kind enough to take part in a planning session on "Renewing American Civilization." That session not only affected the substance of what the message was to be, but also how best the new message of positive solutions could be disseminated to this nation's decision makers-- elected officials, civic and business leaders, the media and individual voters. In addition to my present avenues of communication I decided to add an avenue close to my heart, that being teaching. I have agreed with Kennesaw State College, a 12,000 student



KOHLER 138

graduate and undergraduate college located in my district, to teach "Renewing American Civilization" as a for-credit class four times during the next four years.

Importantly, we made the decision to have the class available as a "teleseminar" to students all across the country, reaching college campuses, businesses, civic organizations, and individuals through a live "uplink," video tapes and audio tapes. Our hope is to have at least 50,000 individuals taking the class this fall and to have trained 200,000 knowledgeable citizen activists by 1996 who will support the principles and goals we have set.

I have enclosed material on "Renewing American Civilization," which I hope you will take a few minutes to read.

On that note, let me emphasize very strongly that the "Renewing American Civilization" project is not being carried out under the auspices of GOPAC, but rather by Kennesaw State College and the Kennesaw State College Foundation. We will not be relying on GOPAC staff to support the class, and I am not asking you for financial support. (I do, however, very much hope you will give me your thoughts on class content and, if you like, take part in the class by satellite or video tape.)

I am asking for one thing from GOPAC: It's Executive Director. Indeed, perhaps the only piece of bad news I have to convey in this letter is that I have asked Jeff Eisenach to take lead responsibility for coordinating the class, and as a result he has resigned as GOPAC's Executive Director, effective June 1. To facilitate a smooth transition, and to allow him to complete several crucial projects he has been working on, Jeff has agreed to continue working with GOPAC on a part-time basis through September.

That brings me to the good news.

Joe Gaylor, Chairman of GOPAC's Board of Directors and my closest advisor, has agreed to step in as GOPAC's Chief Operating Officer. Joe's political knowledge, experience and judgement make him immensely qualified for this position, and I have absolute confidence that his leadership will take GOPAC to the next stage of effectiveness and success.

Second, David Crouse, who is well-known to all of us as one of GOPAC's most involved and committed Charter Members, has agreed to accept a position on the GOPAC Board of Directors. David has served as a member of our Executive Committee, and his participation on our Board of Directors will put him in an even better position to provide his insights and put us in an even better position to solicit his advice.

Third, Pamla Prochnow has joined GOPAC as our new Finance Director. Pamla's most recent experience was working for Paul Coverdell at the Peace Corps, where she took a virtually inactive private giving program and turned it into a multi-million dollar success in just two years. She has been active in the Republican Party for many years, including leading the Victory '88 program in her home state of.... Georgia. (Yes, it feels good to have

Exhibit 50

another GEORGIAN at GOPAC!)

I know you will join me in welcoming Joe, David and Pamla to their new responsibilities. I'm frankly very excited about the way things are developing.

In that context, let me remind you that GOPAC has very aggressive plans for the 1993-1994 cycle.

First, we will be expanding on the political program we carried out in 1991-1992, working with local candidates and state legislative candidates and challenger candidates for the U.S. House. After talking with a number of candidates at all levels, I am convinced that what we did in 1992 worked -- that the basic architecture and most of the specific programs were tremendously helpful to candidates. In that context, we are:

- Updating the core GOPAC video training tapes. (I taped new editions of two 60 - minute tapes at the Virginia Republican Convention June 5, and you will be receiving copies of the edited version in the next 30 days or so.)
- Creating a new "winners" recruiting tape, based on interviews with several winning 1992 Congressional challengers.
- Preparing to teach state parties how to implement the tremendously successful teleconference training program GOPAC pioneered in 1991 and 1992, so that they can undertake similar programs with state legislative candidates.
- Working with both the New Jersey and Virginia state parties in developing plans for their 1993 off-year state legislative election this November.

GOPAC's political team has remained in place, with Kathleen Taylor continuing as Political Director and Jana Rogers as Director of Political Training.

Secondly, in the finance area, Pamla Prochnow has accepted the assignment to reach our goal of 200 Charter Members by the end of 1994 and maintain that level through 1996. Let me emphasize that this is a major undertaking, and she will need your help to carry it out. First, I need you to stay with us -- to make a four-year commitment for 1993, 1994, 1995 and 1996 and work that commitment into your contribution budget as you look into the future. Secondly, I need your help in persuading your friends to join. The Charter Program has always grown by word of mouth, and your continuing help in identifying new members will make the difference in our success.

Finally, I want you to know that I believe we have made tremendous progress during the past two years in improving GOPAC's core management and administrative functions. In one sense, the steps we have taken were forced on us by our decision to become a Federal committee, which in turn required us to meet the very extensive reporting requirements imposed by the Federal Election Commission. But I also give Jeff Eisenach and Judy Barrett, our controller, tremendous credit for developing a system of management

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and controls which has passed the demanding muster of several Charter Members who have taken the time to look closely at that they have done.

Joe Gaylord is as committed as I am to meeting a simple standard: We pledge to you to operate GOPAC as you would operate your own business, with the same level of discipline and responsibility.

One final note: Bo Callaway's departure as Chairman of GOPAC leaves a tremendous vacuum, which I believe we must fill. Bo's contribution, as a liaison with Charter Members and as a political force in his own right, is one that will not easily be replaced. However, we are undertaking a search process, and I hope to be able to announce a new Chairman of GOPAC before the year is out.

Your commitment to GOPAC has meant a tremendous amount to Marianne and me. I am excited about where we are going, and I hope you share that excitement, because the honest truth is that I believe there is at least a 50/50 chance we will capture the House during the next four years.

Thank you so much for everything you are doing. And please, if you have questions, comments, criticisms - or just kind words of support - feel free to call.

Your friend

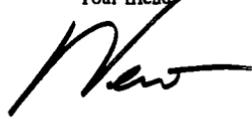
A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "New". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Exhibit 50

EXHIBIT 51

TUESDAY
4 P.M. GOPAC
ITTG.

March 29, 1993

TO: Various Gingrich Staffs
FROM: Newt

"Renewing American Civilization as a defining concept"

I believe the vision of renewing American civilization will allow us to orient and focus our activities for a long time to come.

At every level from the national focus of the Whip office to the 6th district of Georgia focus of the Congressional office to the national political education efforts of GOPAC and the reelection efforts of FONG we should be able to use the ideas, language and concepts of renewing American civilization. We should develop a positive appeal and a positive network of support for both the general ideas and for specific applications.

Virtually every person I talk to gets a copy of the January 25th Renewing American Civilization speech and a one page outline of the course within applicable laws and House ethic rules. I want this to be systemized and routinized so automatically every audience I speak to and every meeting has some material on renewing American civilization and the course.

The next step is to reach out to the widest possible range of people for advanced ideas. We do not want to do so in a way which focuses on the course as an end in itself or as an isolated phenomenon.

The course is only one in a series of strategies designed to implement a strategy of renewing American civilization. Another strategy will be a series of legislative initiatives designed to transform the system from a welfare state to an opportunity society - eliminating the marriage penalty would be a bill fit into that strategy.

Five other strategies that would help move us toward the vision of renewing American civilization are:

1. Knitting together trade associations and activist groups that agree they want to replace the welfare state into an active movement;

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Exhibit 51

2. Developing a national news media strategy that explains the concept of renewing American civilization so reporters, editors, and citizens can understand it;
3. Getting Republican activists committed to renewing American civilization, to setting up workshops built around the course, and to opening the party up to every citizen who wants to renew American civilization;
4. Identifying, publicizing, and knitting together Republican elected officials at the city, county and state levels who are already developing specific building blocks to transform or replace the welfare state;
5. Identify, recruit, encourage, publicize and knit together the activists in business, community service and government who are already instinctively applying the principles of renewing American civilization.

It would be a big help if during the Easter break the various staffs would work on a vision-strategies-projects-tactics paper to implement this.

If Dan Meyer, Annette Thompson, Jeff Wansley, Barry Hutchinson, Jeff Eisenach, and Joe Gaylord could coordinate this planning process I would really like to review some initial efforts when we get back from Russia.

Exhibit 51

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Various-1

to the various Gingrich staffers
From News 3/29/93

How the Gaylord
Eisenhower Center
edit ASMP

~~vision of Renewing American~~
Renewing American Civilization
as a defining concept

I believe the vision of Renewing American Civilization will allow us to orient and focus our activities for a long time to come.

At every level from the National Focus of the Whip office to the 6th District of Georgia Focus of the Congressional office to the national political education efforts of GOPAC and the re-election efforts of FONG we should be able to use the ideas, language and concepts of Renewing American Civilization. We should develop a positive appeal and a positive statement of support for both the general ideas and for specific applications.

Virtually every person I talk to gets a copy of ~~Renewing American~~ the January 25 Renewing American Civilization special and a one page outline of the course. I want ours to be systematized and routinized so automatically every and every I speak to and every meeting has some material on renewing American civilization and the course.

The next step is to reach out to the widest possible range of people for advanced ideas. We do not want to do so in a way which focuses on the course as an end in itself or as an ~~isolated phenomenon~~ isolated phenomenon.

more

Exhibit 51

Various-2

The course is only one in a series of ~~strategies~~ ^{initiatives} designed to implement a strategy of renewing American civilization. Another strategy will be a series of legislative initiatives designed to transform the system from a welfare state to an opportunity society - Eliminating the marriage penalty would be a bill that fit into that strategy.

~~Knitting together a series of~~
 Five ~~other~~ ^{other} strategies that would help move us toward the vision of Renewing American Civilization are:

1. Knitting together trade association and activist groups that agree they want to replace the welfare state into an active movement;
2. developing a national news media strategy that explains the concept of renewing American civilization so legislators, editors and citizens can understand it;
3. Getting Republican activists committed to renewing American civilization, to setting up workshops built around the course, and to opening the party up to every citizen who wants to replace the welfare state and renew American civilization;

More

Exhibit 51

Various - 3

identifying and publicizing and
 4. knitting together Republican
 elected officials at the city,
 county and state levels who
 are already developing specific
 building blocks to transform
 or replace the welfare state

5. identify, recruit, encourage,
 publicize and knit together the
 activists in business,
 community service and government
 who are already constructively
 applying the principles of renewing
 American civilization.

It would be a big help if during
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If Dan Nege, Garnett Thompson,
 Jeff Winkley, Beny Hutchinson, Jeff Eisenart
 and Joe Boylston could coordinate this
 planning process I would really like to
 review some initial efforts when we get
 back from Russia.

EXHIBIT 52

DRAFT
Renewing America
Vision

Renewing America will require an opportunity society which can:

1. Ensure the physical safety of all Americans;
2. Maximize health at minimum cost with all Americans able to use the highest technology, highest quality and most personalized health care system in the world;
3. Educate young Americans to a world market standard of excellence while optimally re-educating and retraining adults as their careers change in a changing world;
4. Create the framework of working, saving, investing and entrepreneurially creating the new jobs and better jobs that are the key to rising take home pay, economic security, and a steadily-improving quality of life;
5. Create local jobs through world sales because the reforms in education, in economic policy and in government structures will enable Americans to compete successfully with any nation;
6. Maximize the invention and development of America's future in high technology, scientifically intense fields such as space, the oceans, computers, information technology and biotechnology so Americans produce both the best defense system and the highest value jobs with the highest level of productivity because we are consistently at the cutting edge of new frontiers;
7. Establish the world's standard in environmental health

and environmental protection by combining the best technologies with market incentives. We need rules which are clear and fair and a flexible, common sense, science and technology oriented environmental enforcement enhancement system;

8. Create the most customer friendly and effective government systems in the world by combining Deming's profound knowledge of quality, the opportunities inherent in the technological revolution and the efficiencies of intelligent downsizing to reshape the active pattern and structure of government into a customer focused culture and system;

9. Empower communities across America to pursue their own visions of better neighborhoods, better services and a better life by decentralizing government back to the local level and encouraging privatization, experimentation and diversity whenever possible;

10. Strengthen the family as the basic building block of a healthy nation by changing the tax laws, child support laws, welfare laws and all user systems which currently weaken the family, discourage parenting and undermine the child-parent and grandparent relationship which are at the heart of healthy human development and help those who find themselves in single parent situations or stressed environment to have the maximum opportunity to strengthen their family and their parenting;

11. Insure a safe nation by combining a strong economy and strong society with a strong military to protect America and America's allies against any foreseeable danger;

Renewing America is possible because the tools now exist to

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With these principles everyone can rise. Blacks can rise without taking success from Whites and Hispanics can rise without taking opportunities from Asians. With these principles rural America can be knit informationally into job opportunities, health care and education on a worldwide basis. With these principles the inner city can become safe and the poorest Americans can once again climb the ladder of success as they did for nearly two centuries until blocked by the welfare state's misguided bureaucratic paternalism and it's destructive anti-family, anti-work, anti-opportunity rules.

These principles are not magic. They have to be studied and applied. Hard work, persistence, courage, discipline and the integrity to face problems openly and seek solutions are all prerequisites for success.

Yet everywhere in America there are pockets of hope. A business here. A church, a synagogue there. A consulting group. A school. A hospital, medical group-everyone knows stories of those who have been trying and who have been succeeding.

The challenge to us is to study the principles, identify and reinforce those who are already succeeding, network them with those who want to succeed, develop specific proposals for replacing the welfare state, and inform the American people of the opportunities they have so they can demand of their politicians the changes necessary to once again pursue happiness.

We do not have to convince people that the welfare state has failed. Every night on the evening news they see the violence and carnage of a failed system.

Exhibit 52

We do not have to convince people that the bureaucracy is arrogant, wasteful and obsolete. Every day they encounter the growing gap between public and private goods and services.

Being negative, focusing on the failure, and opposing the welfare state's newest bad ideas is in the end a dangerous activity trap. If we are simply the anti-welfare state effort we will fail to arouse the American people.

The challenge to us is to be positive, to be specific, to be intellectually serious, and to be able to communicate in clear language a clear vision of the American people and why it is possible to create that America in our generation.

Once the American people understand what they can have they will insist that their politicians abolish the welfare state which is crippling them, their children, and their country and that they replace it with an opportunity society based on historically proven principles that we see working all around us.

In the end the people are sovereign. It is their country and when informed and aroused they cannot be stopped.

Across the planet. From Mexico to Italy, Russia, the Czech Republic, Poland, Ukraine, Romania-again and again popular pressure is forcing real change in obsolete governments.

Now it is the American people's turn to replace a destructive obsolete system so they can begin to create an America that is safe, prosperous and free.

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DRAFT

**Renewing America
Strategies**

To implement our vision of renewing America by informing and arousing the American people so they insist on replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society we must:

1. Create a clear vision of a renewed America, outline the principles that make it possible to renew America by replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society. Communicate the dramatic improvement in all phases of life for virtually all Americans that will then become possible;

2. Communicate that vision in everyday language so all Americans can understand what is at stake and what they can do to improve their lives;

3. Communicate the vision in specialized media as applied to

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Exhibit 52

specialized topics so activists and interested citizens can see how their values and their lives would improve;

4. Recruit members of congress, governors, legislators, mayors, city council members, county commissioners and school board members so they become actively committed to renewing America by applying the 5 principles to replace the welfare state with an opportunity society;

5. Recruit grass root organizations so they explicitly work to renew America;

6. Educate candidates and activists so they can develop campaigns and candidacies specifically committed to renewing America;

7. Educate the news media (including talk radio hosts) into the concepts of renewing America, applying the 5 pillars, and replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society and wherever possible recruit these as active allies;

8. Educate and recruit business leaders with a specific emphasis on entrepreneurs, minority businesses and business focused on the world market, high technology and quality and seek to get the businesses committed to applying the 5 pillars to their own activities, to supporting efforts to replace the welfare state and to supporting candidates committed to renewing

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America;

9. Educate and recruit teachers whenever possible at all levels of education so students and faculty can begin to study the principles of renewing America and the concepts of replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society;

10. Collect success stories and build a network of those who are succeeding and those who want to succeed. The successful will be strengthened and enhanced while the aspiring will be educated, reinforced and empowered. When enough activists and innovators have been networked together there will be a genuine movement committed to and actually engaged in renewing America;

11. Create a series of bold sweeping congressional proposals for replacing the welfare state and build popular support for each proposal;

12. Whenever possible force votes on the House and Senate floors in Committees and subcommittees on replacing the welfare state;

13. Encourage people to run for office committed to renewing America and replacing the welfare state and arouse volunteers, contributors and voters to elect committed candidates and to help them implement the renewal;

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DRAFT
Renewing American Civilization
Our Goal

In order to have a healthy, prosperous and safe America we must replace the welfare state. Replacing the welfare state is a moral and national imperative because:

1. It is impossible to maintain civilization with twelve year olds having babies, fifteen year olds killing each other, seventeen year olds dying of aids, and eighteen year olds getting diplomas they can't read.

2. The welfare state has simply failed. This is not a debatable point. Watch any three nights of local television news in any American big city. If that isn't a portrait of failure it is hard to imagine what would be.

3. The welfare state must be replaced because it cannot be repaired. The problems of the welfare state start with its core design. Bureaucracies replacing markets, citizens being reduced to clients, rules that undermine the work ethic and the family and prohibitions against acquiring property all undermine the human characteristics which the founding fathers believed were the essence of a healthy society.

Our overall goal is to develop a blueprint for renewing

America by replacing the welfare state, recruit, discover, arouse and network together 200,000 activists including candidates for elected office at all levels, and arouse enough volunteers and contributors to win a sweeping victory in 1996 and then actually implement our victory in the first three months of 1997.

Our specific goals are to:

1. By April 1996 have a thorough, practical blueprint for replacing the welfare state that can be understood and supported by voters and activists.

We will teach a course on Renewing American civilization on ten Saturday mornings this fall and make it available by satellite, by audio and video tape and by computer to interested activists across the country. A month will then be spent redesigning the course based on feedback and better ideas. Then the course will be retaught in Winter Quarter 1994. It will then be rethought and redesigned for nine months of critical re-evaluation based on active working groups actually applying ideas across the country the course will be taught for one final time in Winter Quarter 1996.

2. Have created a movement and momentum which require the national press corps to actually study the material in order to report the phenomenon thus infecting them with new ideas, new language and new perspectives.

3. Have a cadre of at least 200,000 people committed to the general ideas so they are creating an echo effect on talk radio and in letters to the editor and most of our candidates and campaigns reflect the concepts of renewing America.

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Replacing the welfare state will require about 200,000 activists (willing to learn how to replace the welfare state, to run for office and to actually replace the welfare state once in office) and about six million active supporters (willing to write checks, put up yard signs, or do a half day's volunteer work). America is simply too big a country for even a very strong President or even a President and Congress to decisively replace the welfare state. In America local school boards, hospital boards, voluntary associations, city councils, county commissions, elected judges, state legislatures, Governors and statewide elected officials as well as key civil servants, Congress and the President all have to be involved if America is to change.

By electing a team committed to renewing America with a blueprint clearly understood by the activists, the supporters and the public it will be possible to move immediately and decisively. By creating a blueprint and a movement from the precinct to the Presidency it will be possible to replace the welfare state at all levels simultaneously.

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Exhibit 52

EXHIBIT 53

GOPAC2
2337

May 18, 1993

Dear Tucker,

It's going to be good to see you this weekend.

Kelley Goodsell should already have faxed you a general agenda for the meeting. The enclosed materials provide some background for our discussions, which I expect will begin with a review of the Vision, Strategies and Goals of our efforts to Renew American Civilization. The class Newt is teaching at Kennesaw State College this Fall is central to that effort, and GOPAC and the newly created Progress & Freedom Foundation both play important roles as well.

I cannot overemphasize the importance Newt attaches to these meetings, or how much he is looking forward to seeing you.

With best regards,

Mr. K. Tucker Andersen
Cumberland Associates
1114 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10036

P.S. I enclosed the Wanniski piece with the materials sent to this weekend's attendees. Thanks for passing it along.

Exhibit 53

EXHIBIT 54

PFF
18381

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

CLASS 2

September 25, 1993

Transcript of broadcast reported by Heidi C.
Thomas, Certified Court Reporter, in Atlanta,
Georgia, on the 25th day of September 1993,
commencing at the hour of 8:30 a.m.

- - -

Exhibit 54

1 SHE WILL BE HERE AS ONE OF THE PEOPLE HELPING. CARL
2 LADD, WHO IS IN THE BOOK OF READINGS, WILL BE HERE.
3 AS YOU REMEMBER, WE'RE USING "READINGS IN RENEWING
4 AMERICAN CIVILIZATION" AS OUR BACKGROUND BOOK, AND A
5 NUMBER OF THOSE FOLKS WILL BE HERE ON DECEMBER THE
6 4TH TALKING ABOUT HOW TO REWRITE THE CLASS.

7 LET ME WALK YOU THROUGH FOR A COUPLE OF MINUTES
8 WHAT THE COURSE IS ABOUT. I'M GOING TO DO THIS
9 QUICKLY PARTLY AS AN INTRODUCTION FOR THOSE OF YOU
10 WHO WERE NOT HERE LAST WEEK. WE'LL DO THIS FOR
11 ABOUT FOUR MINUTES EVERY WEEK, BECAUSE THERE IS A
12 CONSTRUCT TO THE WHOLE COURSE. THE CENTRAL
13 PROPOSITION: THERE IS AN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.
14 IT IS DIVERSE AND MULTIETHNIC, BUT IS, IN FACT, ONE
15 CIVILIZATION. THAT'S VERY MUCH AT THE HEART OF THE
16 COURSE, AND AS YOU'LL SEE AT THE SCREEN, WE'LL PUT
17 THESE THINGS UP AGAIN EVERY WEEK AND NOT TALK ABOUT
18 THEM MUCH. THOSE OF YOU WHO DON'T GET IT, IF YOU
19 DIDN'T SEE THE FIRST LECTURES, GO BACK AND TAKE THE
20 TWO-HOUR TAPE AND REVIEW IT.

21 THERE ARE THREE ADDITIONAL PROPOSITIONS AT THE
22 HEART OF THE COURSE. FIRST, THAT AMERICAN
23 CIVILIZATION CANNOT SURVIVE WITH 12-YEAR-OLDS HAVING
24 BABIES, 15-YEAR-OLDS SHOOTING ONE ANOTHER,
25 17-YEAR-OLDS DYING OF AIDS, AND 18-YEAR-OLDS
26 GRADUATING WITH DIPLOMAS THEY CANNOT READ. AND I'VE
BRENTANO REPORTERS, LTD.

Exhibit 54

1 YET TO BE CHALLENGED ON THAT ONE. SECOND, THE
2 WELFARE STATE HAS FAILED. I'M GOING TO COME BACK TO
3 THAT SECOND ONE, BECAUSE IT'S A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO
4 TALK ABOUT IT. THE WELFARE STATE HAS FAILED. AND,
5 THIRD, YOUR GENERATION MUST REPLACE NOT REPAIR THE
6 WELFARE STATE.

7 REMEMBER, I TALKED ABOUT THE NOTION THAT WE ARE
8 GOING TO TRY TO SET UP OVER THE COURSE OF TEACHING
9 THE COURSE. FOR FOUR YEARS, WE'LL TRY TO LOOK AT A
10 ROAD MAP INTELLECTUALLY FOR REPLACING THE WELFARE
11 STATE. WHAT WOULD WORK? WE'LL START DEVELOPING
12 THAT ROAD MAP WITH THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN
13 CIVILIZATION: PERSONAL STRENGTH, ENTREPRENEURIAL
14 FREE ENTERPRISE, THE SPIRIT OF INVENTION AND
15 DISCOVERY, QUALITY AS DESCRIBED BY DEMING, AND THE
16 LESSONS OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

17 NOW, THOSE FIVE PRINCIPLES WE'RE GOING TO ARGUE
18 ARE AT THE CENTER OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, AND THEY
19 WORK TOGETHER. IT'S NOT, "LET'S DO FOUR OUT OF
20 FIVE." BUT THE WAY THE FIVE ARE WOVEN TOGETHER IN
21 AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, THE WAY THE RIBBON, THE
22 FABRIC, THE ESSENCE OF THE CIVILIZATION WORKS, THOSE
23 FIVE HELP EXPLAIN WHY WE'RE AMERICANS. AND THEN
24 WE'LL APPLY THOSE PRINCIPLES TO FOUR AREA WHICH I
25 WOULD LIKE US TO FOCUS ON AND WHICH I INTEND TO
26 SPEND THE NEXT FOUR YEARS TRYING TO DEVELOP POSITIVE
BRENTANO REPORTERS, LTD.

Exhibit 54

1 PLANS: ECONOMIC GROWTH AND JOB CREATION. HEALTH,
2 SAVING THE INNER CITIES, AND CITIZENSHIP FOR THE
3 21ST CENTURY.

4 NOW, I THINK AT THE END OF THE 10 WEEKS WE WILL
5 HAVE A BEGINNING. I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THIS AGAIN:
6 THIS IS A BEGINNING. I'M NOT SUGGESTING THAT I HAVE
7 THE ANSWERS OR THIS CLASS HAS THE ANSWERS, THAT ANY
8 ONE PERSON HAS THE ANSWERS. I'M SUGGESTING THAT BY
9 STARTING THE DIALOGUE, THAT OVER A THREE-YEAR
10 PROCESS, WE CAN TOGETHER CREATE A REASONABLE FIRST
11 APPROXIMATION. THIS IS A WORK OF MANY YEARS.

12 YOU DON'T TAKE A CIVILIZATION OUR SIZE AND
13 COMPLEXITY AND DRAW A NEAT DIAGRAM ON THE BLACKBOARD
14 AND THAT'S IT. YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE A LOT OF PEOPLE
15 FROM A LOT OF BACKGROUNDS WITH A LOT OF IDEAS AND A
16 LOT OF EXPERIENCES TESTING THINGS OUT, CHANGING
17 THEM, REAPPROACHING THEM, AND A CONSTANT PROCESS OF
18 RE-EVALUATION. I WANT YOU TO FEEL VERY FREE TO BE
19 OPEN AND TO HAVE IDEAS.

20 AS YOU KNOW, WE HAD SEVERAL SESSIONS LAST WEEK
21 HERE THAT WERE QUESTION-ANSWER. WE'LL DO THAT AGAIN
22 TODAY. YOU HAD SEVERAL HOURS' OPPORTUNITY AFTER
23 THAT LAST WEEK TO MEET WITH PROFESSOR MESCON, WHO IS
24 OUT TODAY BECAUSE OF THE JEWISH HOLIDAYS, BUT WHO
25 WILL BE BACK NEXT WEEK. I'M DELIGHTED WE HAVE HIS
26 ASSOCIATES HERE WHO WERE ALREADY AT 7:45 INSTRUCTING
BRENTANO REPORTERS, LTD.

Exhibit 54

EXHIBIT 55

0912

*file
N. Eisenach*

Newt Gingrich

GOPAC2
2419General Chairman
GOPAC

June 23, 1993

Dear Ron,

It was a pleasant surprise running into you last night – another item for the “small world” department.

There are a couple of things I’m involved in that you should be aware of, and I’ve enclosed materials on both.

First, I am teaching a class this Fall (and in 1994, 1995 and 1996) on “Renewing American Civilization,” which will be made available nationally both by satellite and video tape. The class has three goals: Produce a blueprint for replacing the Welfare State; train 200,000 or more activists in the language and ideas; and, make enough of an impact that the national media has to pay attention and, in at least a few cases, learn something.

Sometime in the next few weeks, I’d like to talk with you about getting involved, in particular in helping us think through the sections of the class on Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise and its relationship to privatization. (Your report on Privatization for New York is perhaps the best single work in the field.)

Secondly, Jeff Eisenach, who has been my leading intellectual advisor for nearly five years, is establishing a think tank, The Progress & Freedom Foundation, which will work on many of these same ideas. At some point, I hope you will take a few minutes to sit down with him and learn more about what he is doing – and, if you approve, consider helping him get it off the ground.

We’ll be back in touch on both items. In the meantime, hope all is going well on the many good projects with which I understand you are involved.

Your friend,

Newt

Ambassador Ronald Lauder
767 Fifth Avenue
Suite 4200
New York, New York 10153

Not prepared or mailed at Government expense. Authorized and paid for by GOPAC, Jeffrey A. Eisenach, Treasurer.

Exhibit 55

EXHIBIT 56

GOPAC
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Renewing American Civilization

I'm Congressman Newt Gingrich, Congressman from the 6th District of Georgia, the House Republican Whip, and General Chairman of GOPAC. What you are about to see is a training tape on renewing American civilization by replacing the welfare state. I think you will find it a very useful introduction to where we are as a country, what we have to do as citizens and how we can renew our country to create for our children a better, a safer and a more prosperous future.

What I first want to suggest to you my personal belief that we are engaged in a great moral and practical effort, that we are committed to renewing American civilization, and I believe that's our battle cry. That we want to be the party and the movement that renews American civilization and that renewing American civilization is both an idealistic cause and a practical cause at the same time.

You know, yesterday I had the opportunity to be at the swearing in ceremony of 238 new citizens from 57 different countries. That was a remarkable moment. Every color in the human race, every religion, 50 something languages. And yet sitting in that room they had one common dream: that at the end of that ceremony they would be Americans. And much more than many native born Americans, they had a passionate sense of what that meant. They wanted the economic opportunity.

Renewing American Civilization, Page 2

They wanted for their children the security of an American passport, the knowledge that as Paul said, "I am a citizen of Rome." That their children could say, "I am a citizen of the United States." The sense of belonging to something which they literally -- you could see tears in people's eyes. It meant that much to them.

And the challenge to us it seems to me is how do we keep the magic for our children and for the world of what America has meant. How do we in our generation renew and revitalize this most remarkable, most unique nation, what Jefferson called the last best hope of mankind?

And I believe that if you remember Ronald Reagan when he described once the shining city on a hill that we our generation should gather together and I think he started and worked very hard to create that shining city and he moved us a long step down the road towards that shining city. We didn't get there, but we certainly created a better America, a more prosperous America, and a safer America than it had been before Reagan was elected. That was the idealistic side, and yet I want to suggest to you also there is a very practical, very realistic side that we don't talk directly enough about.

Less than a half mile from where I live a high school senior was shot in a hamburger place -- it happened to be a

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 3

Hardee's -- while working on a Sunday evening. He was a young man he had never met, walked in, wanted the money and shot him for no good reason. My house has been burglarized. One of my staff had their car stolen three weeks ago. Two of my staff have had their cars vandalized. All of you have similar awarenesses of the drug culture, of violence, of the dangers, and I want to suggest to you that the most practical thing you can do is renew American civilization so your family is safe. Everyone here is worried about take home pay. The most practical thing you can do to protect your family wallet is to do everything you can to renew American civilization to keep taxes down. We worry about our children and grandchildren getting a decent education, and I would argue the most practical thing we can do is renew American civilization to make sure that our children and grandchildren get the right kind of education to live in the right kind of world.

All of you if you are at all like me get fed up with the bureaucracy, with the standards, with the frustration, with the length of time it takes. And I would argue that the simple fact is that we live in a time when the most practical is also the most idealistic. When the very changes you most want in your neighborhood, in your city, in your county are also the changes we need for the whole country. And that in

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 4

fact we're at the end of an era, that the welfare state has failed and that we are in the business of inventing a new era, that our movement in renewing American civilization is a movement to create a new time in America. And I have four propositions for you, and I want you to feel very free to check these out back home. I think you're going to find that if you walk any coffee or any audience or any civic club or any class you're in through these four propositions that you're going to get somewhere between 80 and 95 percent agreement.

First, there is an American civilization and I think it is a very important concept. We are the successors to western civilization. The western civilization was European. It was caucasian. It is a small, semi-continent. It is backward oriented. You have kings and dukes and princes. It has a class structure. But the American civilization is very different. Starting with Jamestown and then with the pilgrims and the whole process of the rise of modern America that American civilization is multi-ethnic but it is not multi-cultural. That as we come from all sorts of backgrounds but we do not in fact have any sense of, you know, I don't think of Colin Powell as being different than me. He happens to be black and his parents were West Indian, but I am very proud that he is Chairman of the Joint Chiefs

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 5

and I think he is a terrific Chairman of the Joint Chiefs and he is an American. I didn't think of Lew Sullivan who happened to be black and his parents were from south Georgia as different than me. He is a great medical doctor, a great researcher, was a good head of Health and Human Services. Henry Cisneros, who I may disagree with in his support of Bill Clinton, in my mind happens to be in part Mexican-American was the mayor of San Antonio, but he's an American. And it's a very important concept.

We represent everybody in America who believe America is multi-ethnic, but as Theodore Roosevelt said, there are no hyphenated Americans. This is not a new debate. There are Americans of many descents. And that American civilization because it is a civilization has a very important set of rules and principles that have to be learned.

Now, the second point I'd make here is what I call the four can't's. I just use that as a way of remembering. But I think if you test out this paragraph or this long sentence, you will find that it is devastatingly effective and frighteningly true. It is very simple. You cannot maintain civilization with 12 year olds having babies, 15 year olds shooting each other, 17 year olds dying of AIDS, and 18 year olds getting a diploma they can't read.

Now, I'm going to repeat it but I will just tell you, I

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 6
have said this now for six months and every audience I say it to nods yes and understands. And they understand both that it is true and that it is a frighteningly accurate description of a large part of America. So let me just repeat it. You cannot maintain civilization with 12 year olds having babies, 15 year olds shooting each other, 17 year olds dying of AIDS, and 18 year olds getting a diploma they can't read.

And I stop audiences and say, now, if you disagree with that and you think can maintain a civilization with those things going on, the rest of what I'm going to say is irrelevant. You're not us. I don't want to waste your time. But I've yet to have anybody get up and walk out. I haven't even had some liberal raise their hand and say, hey, that's not accurate.

Now, my third proposition -- remember, one, we're an American civilization. Two, you can't maintain civilization with those things happening. My third proposition is the welfare state has failed. Now, Barry Goldwater took 40 minutes to explain that sentence. Ronald Reagan took about 20 minutes to explain that sentence. I simply say to folks, we're not going to debate this. Anyone in this room who does not think the welfare state has failed go to any major city in America and watch the local television news for three

Exhibit 5b

Renewing American Civilization, Page 7
nights. If that isn't the face of failure, write me a letter explaining what it would look like.

In Washington, D.C., in the length of time it took for three Americans to be killed in Somalia there were 48 Americans killed in our national capitol. Now, when you lose 48 Americans in the District of Columbia during the period that you're losing three Americans in a combat zone, there is something sick of the very core of the system. And so I just assert it. The welfare state has failed.

Now, if you don't agree with that, if you think the welfare state is really doing terrific, it needs a few more bucks to really get up and running right, that New York City is the future but it just needs slightly better organization, the rest I'm going to say you don't need to listen to. Now, I realize I lose some of the employee union organizers and about nine academics and three professional Democrats, but again as you walk through this list you don't lose a lot.

Now, my fourth proposition -- remember, one, there is an American civilization. Two, you can't maintain civilization with these characteristics going on. Three, the welfare state has failed. My fourth proposition. Therefore, we are in the business of replacing the welfare state, not repairing it. To renew American civilization you must replace the welfare state. Now, it is very important for two very big

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 8

reasons. The first is if you think you're in the business of repairing something, you accept its current structure and say, alright, I'll stipulate it really ought to be sort of like this, but let me do two little things better. You know, a better New York City would have IBMs rather than the current card, the current paperwork, or it would have nicer people at the front desk. I'm saying the opposite. Erase your assumption of the current structure of the welfare. Now, let's build a new system. Let's replace that.

Second, I'm asserting that the core values of the welfare state are wrong about the way human beings function. You cannot reduce a citizen to a client, establish a set of rules that are anti-family, anti-work, anti-property, anti-acquiring, anti-opportunity and subject a human being to the petty regulations and red tape of a petty bureaucrat without having tremendously destructive impact on that person. And I would argue that the pathologies in the inner city and the pathologies we see in West Virginia are in fact the direct result of the welfare state and not a sign that the welfare state hasn't quite done enough. We can't stand for it to do any more. Therefore, we are now liberated to having to try to solve their problem on their terms in their system, and we're now going to come over here and we're going to build a replacement.

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 9

So, if you take the notion, I'm now going to take you a big jump, that if you go out in your community and try out those four propositions: We're about America and an American civilization. You can't maintain it with 12 year olds having babies, etc. The welfare state has failed. And we want to replace the welfare state. My guess is you're going to find between 70 and 80 percent agree with you if you walk them through this at a coffee or you talk to them.

Now, challenge -- we're going to do two big challenges today. Challenge number one is everyone -- now, I want to repeat -- everyone who agrees with us is us. Now, this is very scary to a lot of Republicans because a lot of Republicans say, but so many of them are new. I mean, why are they here? Or they're different. I mean you're going to find presently -- I'm going to give you some numbers in a few minutes. This is going to mean a lot of blacks, a lot of Hispanics, a lot of Asians, a lot of all sort of folks who won't necessarily like each other. I mean you get them all in one room and there are going to be a lot of fights. We're going to come back to that.

But I want to tell you what I think is the most difficult moral burden that Republican leaders who have been around as I have have to bear. There are only two sentences that define all of American political history since 1968.

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 10

The first is that the Democratic party went too far to the left under Johnson and McGovern and never came back. The second is that the Republican party rejected the best efforts of the American people to make it a majority. For 25 years the American people have been saying we don't want the Democrats. Please grow up and accept being the majority. And for 25 years we said, hah, you can't make us.

I'm going to give you some numbers that will startle you. But let me just say this, and I feel this from the absolute bottom of my heart, and I say this as somebody who has been active as a volunteer since 1960 when I was in high school.

We can't do much about the Democrats. They went too far to the left. They are still too far to the left. That's their problem. But we have a huge burden of responsibility to change our behavior so that everyone who wants to replace the welfare state and everyone who wants to renew American civilization has a home, and it's called being Republican. We have to really learn how to bring them all in.

And I think the first step of all that is to insist that at the core of identification the only division that matters is that question. You want to replace the welfare state and renew American civilization. The answer is just fine, come and join us. And not allow the news media, not allow the

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 11

Democrats, not allow interest groups to force us into fights below that level in terms of defining who we are. That in any general election or any effort to govern that we are every one who is willing to try to replace the welfare state and we are every one who is willing to renew American civilization.

Now, that means there is a lot of ground in there to argue about details. Exactly how do you replace the welfare state. Exactly which idea is the best idea. But if we accept every one coming in, we strongly change the dynamics of exactly how this country is governed and we begin to create a majority Republican party that will frankly just inexorably crow out the Democrats and turn them into minority status.

Now, every time we start to fight over the details and we get the news media to do it to us and we get an interest group or a very clever Democratic presidential candidate or governor's candidate or local candidate, what we are going to do is step back a step, let their punch miss us. And then say, now, wait a second. Let's go back to the basics. I want to replace the welfare state, you want to prop it up. I want to lower taxes, you want to raise them. I want to rethink what we do to poor people by the way the welfare state destroys them, you want to keep destroying them.

Exhibit 5b

Renewing American Civilization, Page 12

There are much greater differences between us and the left than there are between anybody inside or coalition, but unless we actively, constantly remind ourselves of that, they will both in the news media and in the Democratic party consciously find ways to force us to split because they know the only way they can maintain power from here on out is to block us from becoming a coherent majority.

Now, I also want to put on your shoulders the burden of failing to learn how to grow up and be a majority because I think we Republicans sometimes forget how human the price is. Every day somewhere in American there is a child who dies because their mother had no pre-natal care because the welfare state has now taught such total irresponsibility that even though it is available for free if you are very poor, they don't show up. Most of the vaccination problems in America are not problems of free vaccine. They are in fact problems of people who get free vaccine but who don't show up.

Every day in American a young man is killed somewhere and murder is now the most common cause of death for black males 15 to 24. More common than it was in Vietnam. Every day somewhere in American somebody is forced to go into a classroom where we know from historic experience zero learning will occur, literally. We have teachers in the

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 13

system -- I was radicalized by a Chicago Tribune story of a teacher who had never, ever in her career had a successful year, and every principal she had had had tried to fire her and the tenure system had kept her in her job. And when she was asked by the Chicago Tribune reporter what her educational goals were since she had 12 years left to teach, it was, "to retire with a full pension." And they were going to put 30 children back in her room that September. This was four years ago, so she's still there. And so 30 children will be crippled for a year among the poorest and least able to be crippled in our society so that every time we fail to get our act together and every time we fail to change the welfare state, it gets worse and the pathologies get worse and the human cost gets worse. I think that's a very important part that we have to face.

Now, I don't blame liberal Democrats, politicians, bureaucrats, news media for being who they are. We can hardly turn to them and say to Mayor Dinkens -- this is like turning to Brezhnev and saying, why don't you quit being a communist? I mean to turn to Mayor Dinkens and say, why don't you quit being for the welfare state, ask him to deny his entire career, deny everything he believes, deny all his political allies. I don't blame him. He is who he is. I blame us because as political leaders we have failed to offer

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 14

a vision of a renewed America and failed to recruit and mobilize everyone who shares our values. We are in the business of beating the people who don't get it. We should not be all that unhappy that they didn't get it. That's not their problem. They are who they are.

Propping up a failed welfare state is the job of the Democratic party so that Clinton's tax increases make perfect sense. If you had his allies and they met in a room and said we've got to have the money, you'd raise taxes too. Beating the people who want to prop up the welfare state is our job, and the fascinating thing is we have an enormous majority. One of the great problems Republicans have is we don't realize how huge our potential majority is. We keep walking around as though we're the natural minority when in fact we're the natural majority, but we can't get our act together.

Let me give you some numbers. Taking just the left, the candidate of the left for president since 1968 has gotten the following percentages. This is an amazing set of numbers. In 1968 Hubert Humphrey got, rounding upward, 43 percent -- I think 42.7. In 1972 George McGovern got 38 percent. In 1976 no one on the left could get the nomination. Jimmy Carter ran as a Southern Baptist, populist, anti-Washington reformer who was seen as socially to the right of Gerald Ford. So the

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 15

left wing candidate got zero. There wasn't anybody on the ballot. But in 1980 we all figured was (a) confused and (b) liberal. He got 41 percent. In 1984 Walter Mondale stood proudly in San Francisco in a moment I'll never forget. I was out there as part of the Truth Squad. And he stood proudly and he said, "I will raise your taxes." We closed down our office on the grounds that we did not want to slow down the rate at which he got to talk to the American people. The American people said I think he really will. He got 41 percent.

In 1988 Michael Dukakis did not use the word liberal until mid-October and was a new Democrat. This is a quadrennial process now. All Democrats are new Democrats because they know what we do to old Democrats. And finally in mid-October he said, "Alright, I am a liberal." He was in Central Valley, California, when he finally said it. He got 46 percent. We elected the first sitting Vice President to win the President since Martin Van Buren in 1836.

In 1992 in a three-way race for president the new version of "I'm really not a Democrat," said, "I will cut middle class taxes, I will cut spending, I am for workfare" and he got 43 percent of the vote. And one of the reasons Bill Clinton is in desperate trouble is that he and his staff think they are Ronald Reagan in 1980 when in fact they're a

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 16

minority candidate with a minority support representing a minority of the country.

Now, look at those numbers for a second. Notice how consistent they are. Between 38 at the bottom, 46 at the top, averaging around 42 or 43. And the only reason they are that high is that the Republican party has reached out to blacks and Hispanics who are extremely pro-family, extremely anti-gay in the military, very anti-tax increase, very pro-workfare but who feel that on ethnic grounds the Republican party hasn't been open enough. And if we ever learn how to reach out to blacks and Hispanics, my guess the left will drop to about 30 percent and just literally just plummet. But even with our inadequacies, you're talking about a consistent pattern between 38 and 46, averaging around 42.

Now, let me carry you a step further. Current data this year, polling data, four pieces that are just I think so astonishing that I can't figure out why no one in the Clinton White House can't figure this out except they can't figure anything else out either, so there's sort of a pattern here. Four polls. The Washington Post, hardly a right wing source. I mean I don't think the Washington Post is the human events of the capitol. The Washington Post poll said, Do you think the President has cut spending enough? By 77 to 6 the country said no. Seventy-seven percent want deeper spending

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 17

cuts.

Second, USA Today. Do you think taxes are too high? Two percent -- two -- said, we're undertaxed. This was the let's contribute group. Fifty-five percent said they were already overtaxed before the Clinton tax increases, and 41 percent said their taxes were about right without the Clinton tax increases. Now, if 96 percent are either okay or too high and only 2 percent they are undertaxed, to come in with a \$300 billion tax increase is an act of self immolation.

Third polling example. The Atlanta Constitution in ten states asked southern blacks, "Do you believe we should require work from people who get welfare, including women with young children?" which is the hardest way you can ask the question. Eighty-two to 11 in favor of a work requirement. Now, if 82 percent of southern blacks favor a work requirement, the only two places in America that don't favor work requirement are the Democrats in Congress and the Stanford faculty. Just think about 82 percent favoring the work requirement. We're not talking here about right wingers, you know, living in suburban enclaves who want to punish the poor. We're talking about, this was only asked, in fact, it was slightly higher. Among southern whites it was 79 to 12.

Last example. The Washington Post again asked the

Exhibit 5b

Renewing American Civilization, Page 18

question, "Do you think government should be bigger or smaller?" Now, in 1984 at the peak of the Reagan revolution when Reagan was getting reelected in a landslide, the answer was 49 smaller, 43 bigger. That's a six point plurality. This spring the answer was 65 smaller, 30 bigger.

So, now, let me rack the numbers up. Seventy-seven cut spending more. Ninety-six percent, we're not undertaxed. Eighty-two percent, work requirement. Sixty-five percent, smaller government. You begin to see a potential majority here. It's very big and very real. And if you can find a way in your district and in your campaign and in your constituency to find resonating comments and questions that begin to fit that two-thirds to four-fifths base, where people just go, oh, yeah, of course, that's right. The most popular singled phrase in the 1992 campaign, actually ordered by George Bush. Government is too big and it spends too much. More people agreed with that sentence strongly, emphatically agreed with government is too big and it spends too much than any other single sentence said by anybody in the 1992 campaign. They just didn't think the President had done enough to respond to that reality. And so 19 percent of them voted for Perot.

Now, you start with looking at our majority, this potential size of our group, and I think what you've got to

Exhibit 56

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do -- and here's where I'm going to be a little different than a lot of your consultants. And you have to accept at least for the purpose of today that I'm talking as an elected official who ran twice and lost, who has won eight campaigns. I won the Whip's race by two votes. I won reelection in 1990 by 974 votes. I won the primary in 1992 by 980 votes. So I know a fair amount about campaigning, and I run real risks. [Inaudible question from audience.] It has been some weeks. We're trying to sort of gradually erase that. I won the general election by 58 percent, which we thought was a healthier thing to do. I'm not advocating you make it narrow, but what I'm going to tell you, I want to share with you honestly and up front because I think it's the essence of good citizenship, but it makes it harder to be a candidate.

Now, what I want to suggest to you is that there are three steps involved in being a citizen candidate -- not one. When you go to see some kinds of consultants, they'll say to you, "If I get you to win, who cares about the rest?" You know, lie, smear, steal, what the heck? At least you won.

Now, you think about it there is a corrosive cynicism to that attitude which in the end frankly crippled George Bush because he didn't keep his word. It is destroying I think Bill Clinton, and it's a very important concept. I want to argue that you have to win in a way which lets you govern so

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that people want to reelect you because you actually did what you campaigned on. Now, this is a much harder task, and I'm being honest and up front with you. This is not the easy way to do it. But for the country it is the necessary way to do it.

The three steps are, first, make clear what you believe and what you will do about what you believe. Second, wage a campaign that is clear about your commitments so people actually vote for the changes they want. And, third, actually keep your campaign promises so people can help you get done what you and they want and what you and they have promised.

In other words, and I don't think you do this on a mountain top, but I'm going to give you some techniques and give you some ways of putting this together that will let you actually go out and form your base majority, and I'm convinced that in almost every one of your districts over time you can get to a very big majority. You may not be able to do it in your first race, but over time most Americans want to replace the welfare state and most Americans want the reforms we represent. But that is a three-step process and that they are the keys to healthy self-government.

If you think about it, when Reagan kept his word -- and we're really learning this the hard way by watching Clinton

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disintegrate -- when Reagan kept his word, even the liberals who didn't like what he was doing, admired the fact that he was doing it. You hear people say, well, by God, at least he means what he says, at least he's standing for something. The most self destructive single thing President Bush did -- and I worked with him for four years and I think he and Barbara are terrific people -- but when he broke his pledge on taxes the way he broke it, it permanently drove a stake into his own coalition. You go back and look at the Perot voters, and it is astonishing how many of them were driven by that one decision. Why? Because for months we had run commercials. We had said it over and -- this was not a mild thing. This was over and over a definitional difference between Mondale and Dukakis and Reagan and Bush.

And then you look at Bill Clinton. I mean no man has told more lies more quickly and broken them more easily than Bill Clinton. It is the most astonishingly self destructive performance. And in the long run it is not cute. It is not a good gimmick. It is destructive. Now, in Clinton's case it is destroying him. But the total effect over time of the politics of smear and distort and deceive is to cripple America because people start to say, well, why should I believe any of them? And you can't have a free society, you can't sustain it, if there is no honor. This is the opposite

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of what some consultants will tell you because frankly they grew up in a different era. But I will just tell you bluntly. The great lesson of Ronald Reagan is that you can if you are careful and you think it through and you know what you're doing, you can tell people the truth about what you're going to do. You can get a majority for doing what you're going to do. And when you do it, you'll actually increase your majority because they'll be glad you kept your word. But it is a much harder job.

This is very hard work. It is much easier in the short run to lie, to smear and to distort. But to renew American civilization I believe we have to rebuild faith in the process of self-government. And in the long run I think only very calm, steady, honest campaigns build the kind of basic trust that renews American civilization. I used 30 second commercials. We use a campaign song. We do everything everyone else is. I'm not saying tactically that you ought - - when I say calm, steady, use black and white brochures because you don't want to, you know -- but what I am saying to you is there is a rhythm of relationship. The difference between a one night stand and a marriage. The difference between somebody you invest in for a lifetime and somebody you met once at a bar. And all too much of American politics has become the equivalent of a one night stand. If I can lie

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my way through this one, then I'll get reelected, then I'll figure out how to lie my way through the next one. And while it may work occasionally for some candidates, the corrosive effect on the system is devastating. And what it teaches Americans about their whole process of self government undermines the whole system. So I am calling on you to take the harder road because your country needs it, because it is the only road that will allow us to renew American civilization for our children.

Now, to understand how we do that -- because I want us to do it successfully. I'm not saying to you run off on some academic adventure, feel good about yourself when you're clobbered. I want you to win doing the right things so you can then govern doing the right things, so you can then win more easily because you did the right thing.

I want to discuss three different things. First, I want to discuss the principles of renewing American civilization. Second, I'm going to discuss the principles and the skills necessary to be a renewing candidate and then ultimately to be a renewing incumbent. And, third, I'm going to discuss the concept and principles of creating a community among those who are committed for replacing the welfare state and for renewing American civilization.

And I want to say one thing because all of you are going

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to be out campaigning this year, and I really mean this from the bottom of my heart. As you learn things you wish I knew, I hope you will drop me a note or call us at GOPAC or in some way let us know. I am only a senior student. Remember what I said earlier. Politics is so complicated, the process of self-government among 260 million people is so unbelievably difficult that none of us are teachers. The most I can do is be sort of a senior guide slightly out ahead because I've been at it longer, but many of you will learn things that I can steal from you and I can then share with other people around the country. And since you're going to be out there with people and you're going to be out there learning and out there listening, I think you will be able to give all of us new approaches, new ideas, new breakthroughs. And I hope you will let GOPAC know about them because we're going to share them. One of the things we do, and we're going to recommend to the Virginia party to do here, is we put together telephone conference calls so we have, for example, campaign managers who routinely will talk to each other because it is a lot cheaper to call than it is to travel. Instead of taking five hours to get to a central place to have coffee with each other, we just get them on the phone wherever they are and for thirty minutes they swap how's your campaign going this week, what are you doing, what's working, what's

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not working, what are your common problems. And we try to do that for both candidates. You know, what's working with your news media, what's working with your speeches, what's helping you raise money. And the same thing with the campaign managers, so you build a rhythm of learning so people can share with each other. And we found in the congressional campaigns last years 41 of the 47 freshmen Republicans were involved in one way or another with our conference call program and were sharing ideas and approaches with each other. So we think that technique can be very, very powerful.

Now, let me first discuss the principles of renewing American civilization, and let me say as backdrop that this is a very complicated subject. And I'm going to give you just the smattering of an outline today. This fall at Kennesaw State College in Kennesaw, Georgia, I'm going to teach a 20 hour course in renewing American civilization. It's going to be two hours every Saturday starting September 18, and then we're going to rewrite the course in December, come back and teach it in January of '94. Rewrite it during '94 and teach it again in '95. Rewrite it one more time during nine months of '95 and teach a final version of the course in January of '96 with three goals.

First, we want to have by April of '96 a genuine

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intellectual blueprint to replace the welfare state that you could look at as a citizen and say, yeah, that has a pretty good chance of working. That's dramatically better than what we've been doing.

Second, we want to find 200,000 activist citizens, and I hope all of you will be part of this, committed at every level of American life to replacing the welfare state. Because America is a huge decentralized country. You've got to have school boards, city councils, hospital boards, state legislatures, county commissioners, mayors, and you've got to have congressmen and senators and the President and governors, who literally you take all the elected posts in America and then you take all the people necessary to run for those posts and to help the campaigns, etc., I think it takes around 200,000 team players to truly change America. And I think one of the reasons we've been frustrated is we keep thinking if we get one guy elected, boy, he'll change it. So we elect a President.

I remember in 1982 -- part of what taught me this -- Ronald Reagan, great speaker, 1982, State of the Union. "I want us to decentralize American government and to return to the cities and counties many opportunities and give them back some of the tax money." Every liberal Democratic mayor in the country said, "What? You want to give me more

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responsibility? Get serious. I want the cash." And the Democrats in Congress held hearings to which they invited the Democrats in the city halls who came in and said, "Don't do that stuff. Just send more money." And I realize if you don't have a reform mayor and a reform city council ready to take responsibility, they're not going to tell the Congress. And if you don't have a reform Congress, they're not going to give it. And so the State of the Union just disappeared by May. I mean it was just gone.

David Carreras there can tell you stories about Jack Kemp's efforts to go out into the big cities, and the poor would say, "Yes, we want more opportunity." And the bureaucrats who were making a living off the poor would say, "Are you crazy? If we lose these people, what will our job look like?" And I have had black politicians from big cities say to me on the floor of the House, "Jack Kemp is right, but I can't vote with him because the union that organized the public housing bureaucrats will run a candidate against me in the primary if I take power away from bureaucracy and give it to the poor. But Kemp's right and I hope you guys keep working on it."

Now, my point is rather than just complain that we need to reach in to every part of America and have candidates at every level and citizens at every level prepared. And so,

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first, we have a blueprint. Second, we reach out and find 200,000 activist citizens.

Third, we create a process -- and this is something you can all help with in your own districts -- we create a process interesting enough that the national news media has to actually look at the material in order to cover the course. Our goal here is to sort of infect them with new ideas and new language and new approaches so that we'll know we're succeeding a year or two from now if the Washington Post, the New York Times and ABC News are slightly different and if they're asking a different set of questions. And I believe that's possible because frankly almost all of them are occupied downtown, almost all of them are physically scared, almost all of them know the welfare state isn't working.

So those are our three goals, and what I am going to give you right now is a real smattering of what will be 20 hours of material this fall that we'll keep improving. And as you get good examples, good success stories, I want you to send us yours and we'll frankly try to include them in the class.

And we're looking across the country. We just formed -- one of the success stories coming out of the GOPAC tapes is the Mayor of Jersey City who is a reform Republican, the

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first one elected since 1904, who ran based on the GOPAC tapes and who in fact won in an absolute fluke. He had run for the state senate and gotten our tapes and learned our style of campaigning and lost because he was in a very Democratic area. As I said, no Republican since 1904. He then turned around and they indicted and convicted the Democratic mayor of Jersey City -- a fairly regular event -- and the big city machine split three ways over who ought to replace the mayor and they suddenly had a wide open special election. There were 19 candidates. He got 17 percent of the vote and won. Went in with replacement ideas.

He walked in and there were policemen sitting behind the precinct desk. He replaced them with civilians and put a hundred policemen walking the beat in the poorest neighborhood to make it safe. There was a lot of back taxes hadn't been collected. He bundled them and sold them to private sector to collect it and got the money for the city. He shrank by attrition the workforce by 10 percent and lowered the property tax so people could afford to keep their houses.

The machine went crazy. They had the regular election twelve months later. Jesse Jackson campaigned against him twice. He got 68 percent of the vote against the machine's single candidate. He won eight of the nine city council

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races with a reform ticket that was a Democrat-Republican ticket, mostly Democrat, most reformers, blacks, Hispanics, whites. And in the ninth race there's a runoff on June 15 between his candidate who is leading and the machine candidate. So he may literally by the end of this cycle have total working control if the city council.

Now, he's got a huge challenge. He may well fail. But it's the right direction and the right gamble. And I would hope as you go out and as you do your thing that you'll find ways to send us good stories and good examples. And what we're looking for are success stories. We know there's pathology. We know there are horror stories. We know the welfare state is failing. Let's just stipulate that. That's the opening sentence. The welfare state has failed. Now, every Saturday we're going to spend two hours on the positive side. Therefore, here's the replacement.

Now, let me start just as quick overview. First, as I said earlier, American civilization is a civilization. Very important. It is impossible for anyone on the left to debate you on that topic. In fact, I have a standing offer to Dr. Shalala, the head of Health and Human Services, that I will be prepared to debate her on whether American or Iranian civilization is better for women as long as the debate is in Tehran where, of course, she would have to stand wearing

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Iranian clothing and a very long dress and she wouldn't be allowed to speak. So we'd be at a good starting point here.

But the reason I say that is if you go out and you campaign on behalf of American civilization and you want to renew American civilization, it is linguistically impossible to oppose you. And how is your opponent going to get up and say I'm against American civilization? All they can get up and say is "Well, I'm really for it, but by the way there's nothing wrong." No one believes that in this country.

Second, if it is a civilization, it has real values and real rules. This is a very important part of where I think it broke down. And the reason it's important is that every generation has two waves of immigrants. One temporal and the other geographic. Geographic immigrants are called foreigners. They are the people I helped swear in yesterday. Temporal immigrants are called children. They are brand new. They arrive. They have to learn to be American, and we have for two generations had a school system which has failed to teach them what it means to be American. What are the basics? Why is George Washington important? Why is the Constitution important? What is it you have to learn about the work ethic? You cannot be American without work. It's not possible.

And so we've got to go back and say what are the key

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rules that we are going to teach so that everybody is able to be an American. And I want to suggest to you that there are five basic areas. I call them pillars. Think of it as the pillars that American civilization rests on. Five pillars of progress and freedom. I think that freedom and progress are our two most powerful words. We are for freedom. We are for progress. That's how we measure things. You have more freedom, have we made progress?

Now, there are five of them. I am going to just give them to you briefly and then I'm going to go through each one for a couple of minutes. First, personal strength. Now, I'll come back and define it in a second but you can't have a free society without personal strength. You can't have a free market without personal strength. The most important single thing to teach the poor because the poor need more than the rest. Teddy Kennedy could hire a tutor. It takes personal strength to rise from poverty.

Second, entrepreneurial free enterprise. Not just business. But the spirit of getting the job done, whether it's a scientist in a government research lab, General Kenney who I will talk about in the Air Force, or somebody going out and -- Bill Gates creating Microsoft. The spirit of getting the job done as opposed to the bureaucratic spirit of claiming the paperwork was processed. We failed but at least

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we stamped the right documents.

Third, the spirit of invention and discovery. What is it that makes America the most successful technological society in history?

Fourth, quality as defined by Edward Deming's profound knowledge, and fifth, the lessons of American history. What is it that is uniquely American that we should learn from when we try to _____.

Now, I think these five pillars matter because I think if you master them and if you go back to your constituency and you look around your constituency, they will suddenly help you come up with creative problem solving in ways that are undreamable in the welfare state.

Let me start -- and my point is they provide you the tools to develop your own solutions. If you thoroughly get in the habit of checking off these five areas and saying, alright, we're now faced with this new problem, what do we learn from these five areas that lets us solve this, I think you will be astonished how much there is that is already available and already can be used by you, and you will be astonished at how backwards government is applying all five.

Now, we're going to spend two hours in the course on each of these, so obviously this morning I'm going to give you a very, very truncated version. But I do want to briefly

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just talk about the notion of how you use them and how your approach them.

First, personal strength. I use five terms to define what I mean by personal strength. And this we developed by talking to a lot of people. The first is integrity, a very tough standard. But you can't have a totally dishonest free society. You can't have a totally dishonest market system.

Second is courage, which is often the first prerequisite of integrity. There is a reason that we have the statue to the Marines at Iwo Jima. There's a reason that we honor Memorial Day. There's a reason that we care about veterans. Courage matters in a free society. But not only just battlefield courage. Now, Clarence Thomas rising from segregation in Pinpoint, Georgia, to the Supreme Court of the United States took enormous courage.

Third, hard work. Lynn Cheney once gave an absolutely brilliant speech on the fact that you cannot explain America without hard work. And she went back all the way to the founding fathers and beyond to the Colonial period, and she took various passages out of letters and writings and just said the work ethic is all through the American tradition. Go back and read Franklin, who leaves Boston at 13 to go to work as an apprentice. Go and read Henry Ford. Go and read Thomas Edison, who once said genius is 1 percent inspiration

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and 99 percent perspiration. Read Sam Walton's life story. These folks worked. And any effort to explain how you rise in America that doesn't say I sure hope you have a work ethic is a failure. There is a ladder of success in America but no escalator, and it's impossible to build an escalator. So if you're going to climb, it's going to be hard work.

Now, if you have integrity, courage and hard work, you have to have perseverance. You have to stay at it. And again when you read about people who become successful -- and you have to say for Bill Clinton, it would have been easy to collapse as Gary Hart had and Joe Biden had, who when Gennifer Powers broke out in that story and he was being savaged every day and his life must have been horrible, he at least had the sheer ability to get back up off the floor and to keep moving forward. Perseverance matters. And the way you get perseverance is discipline. Nothing replaces self discipline.

So if you have integrity, courage, hard work, perseverance and discipline, you have the beginning of success. Now, let me carry this back to your district and your campaign. I put together a list. Coaches. Every football, baseball -- my son-in-law is a tennis coach. I mean you go to any coach, they'll tell you those words matters.

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Small business people, men or women, I mean you go to somebody and say what's is like to run a small business? One, you work. Small businesses don't run themselves.

Any athlete who is really good will tell you how much they practice, and they often make some of the best people to go visit high schools and talk about the point I'm making. Ministers, counselors, local police, firemen, retired military. We're meeting this summer with a group of retired boot camp drill instructors to talk about -- I'm meeting with black and Hispanic drill instructors to say to them, you tell me what you would do in East Los Angeles with teen gangs. You tell me what you've learned about training young men and women that you would apply in this society. And all through our society there are retired military who understand exactly the point we're making about personal strength.

Go to a McDonald's or Wendy's or any place that hires 16 year olds and teaches them things like, yes, you really have to show up on Monday even if your girlfriend is made at you. And, yes, you have to stay here for the entire lunch hour and actually do your job.

My older daughter worked one summer at Delta. It was one of those wonderfully useful shock to her that it didn't matter how much she partied over the weekend they actually expected on Monday morning on time to be there. She had this

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wonderful guy. He was black and about 6 foot 3." And she is 5 foot 4 and very intense. And he leaned over her, and he said, "Young lady, you need to understand that your life is gone if you're not here because we're going to fire you by 9 o'clock on Monday morning." She looked at him and she said, "Yes, sir." She called me and she said, "I think they are real serious about this." It was what she at that point in her life she needed that experience more than anything else that could have happened to her. And then they explained to her something that I never knew that all of you who travel may be aware of. If there is a little child in that airplane and they come off that airplane and they are given to you and you are to get them to the next airplane, you die if you lose them. I mean they just said, "Hold that child," because they don't want a 7 year old or 8 year old wandering around the airport lost.

And again, if you're a brand new college freshman and this is all new to you and this is your first experience of real responsibility, it changes you inside. That's what we've got to get back to is how do we get people to grow into personal strength. And my point to you is whether you're going to boy scouts or girl scouts or to your ministers, you will find in your community when you talk about personal strength a network of people who are going to resonate with

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you and who are going to say, "Yes, that's right. That's what my life has been dedicated to and I've always wanted to have a political leader who understood how important that is."

The second area, entrepreneurial free enterprise. Again, very simple. Getting the job done. The opposite of how bureaucracies function. What William James meant when he called pragmatism the only truly American philosophy. What works? Not, what are the rules? Not, what are the regulations? What works?

General Kenney, who was Douglas MacArthur's air commanders, is one of the best examples I've ever read of getting the job done. He was in the military. He wasn't doing it for a profit. He was doing it to get the job done. For example, in World War II they wanted to put machine guns in the nose of a B25 so they could fly very low over Japanese ships and skip -- literally like throwing a rock -- skip a bomb into the side of the ship. And to do that you had to go up over the ship and they needed machine guns in the nose to clear the decks so the anti-aircraft guns wouldn't kill the airplane. So they got eight machine guns and put them in the nose and they were practicing doing all of this with one Technical Sergeant who was an older guy who had been around for 20 years and knew what he was doing. And the guy was

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practicing and working it all out. Kenney gets a memo from General Arnold's staff in Washington. It says, "It is technically impossible to do what you're doing." And Kenney sends a memo to General Arnold, who was the Commander of the Army Air Corps, and he says, "We have a problem. My Technical Sergeant has a B25 flying with eight machine guns in its nose, and we are currently sinking Japanese ships with it. Your staff has told me this is not possible. We could either (a) ground the airplane since it can't fly or (b) instruct your staff to quit doing theoretical studies about topics they don't know anything about. Which do you think would be better for the war effort?" Of course, they'd known each other all through the interwar years. It was a very small Army Air Corps back then. And so Arnold sent him back a very funny reply and said, "I've tried to get my staff to understand that we're in a real war so quit doing paper studies."

But I want you to think about that notion. I mean Kenney's whole memoir, his entire book is 500 pages of just cutting through the red tape and getting the job done because he didn't have time to worry about Washington. And it's a way, it's a style. It's what has made America, and you see it in all of our detective stories. Have you ever seen a detective movie where the detective says, "You know, we could

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save the girl but after all regulation 412(c) says that would be inappropriate"? I mean the classic American detective movie is, yes, I may risk my life; yes, I may break the rules; yes, they may throw me in jail, but, by God, we're going to save her.

There is a profound underlying reason. Getting the job done matters in America, and we want to rebuild that. Now, you can go around and you can ask doctors, "What is red tape doing to your practice?" Ask small business, "What is red tape doing to your practice?" Ask teachers, "What is red tape doing to your ability to teach?" You will find in your district an amazing number of people who would like to be able to get back to an entrepreneurial spirit, who would like to be able to get the job done, and who now see government not as their helper, but as the primary hinderance to their success.

And so entrepreneurial free enterprise whether it's for profit or it's in government or it's in non-profits, getting the job done. Defining the job right. Getting it done. And how do we clear out the red tape and let people get back to work.

Third, the spirit of innovation and discovery. I'm going to tell you two stories I've used so successfully that I have to always use them. Anyway feel free to steal both if

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you want.

The first one is in defining what's gone wrong with America and how we're beginning to lose the cutting edge of technology you have to start with culture. And I always tell people about Thomas Edison inventing the electric light. Imagine that Edison invented the electric light today. Dan Rather would report it in a story which began, "The candle making industry was threatened today." And at least three Democratic Senators would introduce a bill on behalf of the candle making union. Ralph Nader would call a press conference and announce that electricity can kill and that the entire thing is a plot by General Electric to force poor people to buy light bulbs they don't need. And that's the difference in our psychology. In the 1870s inventing the electric light was a big, page 1, positive news story, and it was followed by several years of stories about people beginning to buy generators and what it was like to wire your house. There was a whole sense of excitement about inventing progress, about creating a better future.

Second example, imagine the Wright Brothers trying to invent the airplane in the age of OSHA and the EPA. Have you ever thought about what it would be like? I mean imagine Orville and Wilbur walk into the EPA office, the Environmental Protection Agency. "Hi, you know, we're two

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bicycle mechanics from Ohio, and we've invented this machine. We're pretty sure it's going to go up. We're real sure it's going to come down. The best place to try it out is at Kitty Hawk, which has the best wind on the East Coast, and we'd like to get permission to use a sand dune."

Now, first of all the bureaucrat would respond, "You guys are probably from Ohio where only 1,300 miles of sand dunes are very scarce and you're probably going to ruin it." But they negotiate. They get permission that if they'll replace the sand dune and repair the saw grass that they can go ahead and do it.

Then comes, of course, hurdle number two. "You guys done the endangered insect survey?" "We're bicycle mechanics. What do you mean the endangered insect survey?" "Well, let's get serious here. You have this thing with a propeller on the back, right? It's going to move through the air. It's going to kill insects. How do you know whether or not they're going to become extinct unless you first check to see who they are? I mean you might wipe out some species we haven't even found yet." So they leave EPA with a 55 page endangered insect survey to go out and check it out.

They walk down the hall to OSHA, Occupational Safety and Health. Now, I want you to imagine just for 30 seconds Orville and Wilbur walking into OSHA. I mean have you ever

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seen the original Wright Brothers flyer at the National Air and Space Museum. It was made of spruce and muslin with a tiny engine on the back, right? They walk in. "We're from Ohio, and we've just invented this machine that we're pretty sure is going to go up. We're real sure it's going to come down and he said he'd fly. And we'd like your advice on how to make it safe."

Now, they would have weighted it down with so much safety gear that it would have flown like a sled and nobody in American today would fly anywhere. You'd all go by train. Unless, of course, in the 1820s when Stephenson invented the rocket, he'd walked in and said to EPA and OSHA, "Hi, I have this idea for this faster than horse device that will run on rails," because the train was a bigger break with technology than the airplane and probably would not have been approved because it was notoriously unsafe especially in America where it wrecked all the time because we did two things. We did not use good rails, and we went too fast.

So you would have had these stagecoaches unless, of course, back during the _____ there had been an EPA and an OSHA. When someone walked in, because you were walking, and said, "Hi, I've got this device. You would put the horse here. You would put the wheels here."

My point -- and it's funny, but let me tell you where

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it's real. The Food and Drug Administration today takes two years longer in America to approve medical technology than it takes in Germany or Canada. And we have a law which says if it hasn't been approved here, you can't export it. So the Canadians and Germans can approve new technology for their people to use, but if you build it in America, you cannot sell it to them. And I believe we will lose 30,000 high paid jobs in the medical technology in the next three years literally moving offshore, because we are now artificially by regulation and by lawyer making it impossible to compete in the world market medical technology.

Now, that happens on every front. It happens with biotechnology. I talked to a man whose only major change was they changed the label, and it has now been sitting for two years at FDA trying to get approval. Now, this is on the technology. This is not a drug. This is just technology. And those are the ways in which we are -- while it sounds funny at first the attitude of the left towards technology -- read Gore's book. If it's new, it's dangerous. He literally says at one point government should test every new technology. Now, if Thomas Edison had met Al Gore, we'd all be in the dark.

And so while it sounds funny, it goes to the core of the question, do you want us to be what we were under Benjamin

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Franklin? Remember Franklin. Politician. Printer. Entrepreneur. Wise man. Founder of the first public library. Discoverer of electricity. Inventor of the lightning rod. Inventor of the bifocal lens. Inventor of the Franklin stove.

I mean every one of the founding fathers had an interest in technology. George Washington raised new breeds of mules. Jefferson consciously went out and looked at new kinds of technologies. These guys all understood progress came from technology.

My point to you as you go around in your district is you go see science teachers, see engineers, see the people who sell technology. If you begin to just go around and say to these folks, I really want to form a network of everybody in our area who is interested in new technology. I want to form a network of everybody who thinks we could have a better quality of life, a better future, etc. Tell me what you need. You can begin to create a whole new layer of people in this zone who get into politics for the first time who've never been political before because they've never had a candidate say to them, "Tell me how we can help instead of hurt in your business and in your area of interest and your concern."

Fourth, after personal strengths, entrepreneurial, free

Exhibit 5b

Renewing American Civilization, Page 46

enterprise and the spirit of invention and discovery, is Deming's concept of quality or what he calls profound knowledge. Now, I cannot so strongly say to all of you, profound knowledge is a cultural phenomenon. This is not total quality management and some set of gimmicks and three slogans on the wall. This is a very different way of thinking about what you're doing.

It's frankly best described I think in a book by Peterson at Ford called A Better Idea. He writes very readable, understandable English. Ford under Peterson adopted Deming's concepts and went from being in desperate trouble in the late 70s to now having, for example, the _____ plant which produces the Taurus is the second most efficient auto plant in the world. There is only one Toyota plant in Japan that's better. It's better than every other plant in Japan, every plant in Europe and every plant in the United States.

And the reason is they applied a set of principals -- I'm not going to give you all this -- Deming himself takes 40 hours, a four day, ten hour seminar. But I want to just -- it starts with the notion that your customer defines need. I'll give you one example. I was just stunned by it because it's so obvious and I never thought about it. If customer defines need in government and you are the working poor,

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 47

guess what is the number one thing you need out of the Public Health and Welfare Office? Anybody want to guess? No, no, you're already working. You're a working person, but you're poor. You don't have much money, but you are working. Well, you need to go to the Public Health Office or you need to go to the Welfare Office. You know the number one thing you need? An office that is open in the evening or on Saturdays. I mean every retail store in every mall is open every night. Government which serves the poor is not open except when the poor goes to work. So the only way you can get to government if you're poor is take a day off your job. And probably the simple act, and I've not explore this in detail, but probably the simple act of opening those Public Health at noon and closing them at 9:00 at night and making them available after work and opening Welfare Offices at noon and keeping them til 9:00.

Now, the welfare bureaucracy hate it. But the next time you are out shopping on a Sunday, or the next time you are out shopping on a Saturday, or the next time you are out shopping during the week at night after you get off work, think about that. Business is concerned about the customer who defines need. Government is concerned about the bureaucrat who tells the customer what their opportunity is. Very different attitude.

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 48

Second, in Deming's world everything is a system and problem solving is systemic. You're always looking for the system's improvement. One of the things -- and I'll give you a great one which came out of one of Jack Kemp's experiments that Bob Woodson had worked on. They found that if you simply require the maintenance man to live in the public housing project, you automatically improve the quality of maintenance because he or she knows that their clients will come and see them in the evening if it breaks again. So they automatically do a better job. Didn't cost a penny. Just require that if we're going to hire you, you have to live in the project you work at, and you automatically get better maintenance. It also means that one the weekend they're hanging around the project they maintain, they catch the kid who is vandalizing.

It totally changes things, but it's a systems approach. It's not this is a lazy person. It's how do we rethink the system. It's a constant effort to rethink what's wrong with the system.

Third, real entrepreneurs invent better products than their customers can dream. While customers define value, entrepreneurs create more value than the customer knew. If you look at the great breakthroughs in cars, or if you look at the great breakthroughs -- the microwave. Nobody wanted a

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 49

microwave until it was invented. The fax. Nobody needed a fax until it was invented. But if you listen to people tell you what they want, after a while you're going to say, well, gee, if you really want this, this and this, maybe I can invent this. When's the last time you saw that kind of creativity in a bureaucracy?

Also, in the Deming model people improve their suppliers. People worry -- and, again, think about the business community in relation to schools. The schools are the supplier of their most important capital, human capital. And the product that they're getting right now from the suppliers is pathetic. Totally incapable of competing in the world market. And so businesses have to be directly involved in education because education is the supplier of the most important single commodity businesses need. And you begin to have a chain of relationships here where you worry about improving your supplier so that your supplier can improve what you're getting so you can then improve what you're doing for your customer.

The other big thing out of Deming that I think we've got to learn is continuous improvement. Now, two big reasons. First of all, you can do a little bit every day, and if you've been at all like me and spent half your life on diets, you really know what this means. Nobody loses weight fast

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 50
permanently. You've got to change behaviors, change habits,
change diets, and then gradually things work. It's amazing
how you can gain weight quickly, but it's very hard to lose
weight quickly.

The same thing is true across the board. One of the
great problems dealing with the poor, it's very hard to climb
the first three or four rungs of the ladder. It's very slow,
and so you've got to teach people the idea you get a little
better every day and you're surprised over two or three or
four years how much better you get. But it's not one day.
It's not one week. It's a little bit every day.

There's a second part of that. The civil service laws
and the government procurement laws block that kind of
improvement. You literally can't legally go out and have
that kind of improvement, because it takes too long. Imagine
the Defense Department trying to have incremental little
improvements when the paperwork -- I talked to a guy the
other day who was going to bid on a \$4 million dollar
contract, and he figured out the paperwork cost a million
dollars. He just gave up. He was a major commercial
supplier of a product to every major airline in the world,
will not try to sell it to the U.S. Air Force because he said
it was just crazy. So it's sold to the Air Force by a tiny
producer who produces nothing except Air Force products. So

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 51
the Air Force pays about 25 percent more for that product than it would. But the whole structure of government is an anti _____.

Now, quality. We did a survey in my district last year. Twenty-three percent of the people in my district have taken something involving quality. And if you go out in your constituency and you look for the businesses, the companies, the consultants, all the places that are currently talking about quality, you will be astonished at the number of people who want to come and talk to you and tell you what they are doing.

And, again, they will be unused to the idea of a politician talking about quality. And they will be saying, "Gee, that is not something you talk about in politics." And all of a sudden you can learn success stories that apply to health care, and success stories that apply to education, and success stories that apply to managing the bureaucracy, and you will be able to suddenly have a whole new language to talk to your local press about. And you will be able to take a reporter with you as you go out and tour companies that applying quality and you can say them, "Hey, why don't we apply this to the Virginia State Government?"

And suddenly you sound like you are smart because you are listening to local people who are actually doing what it

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 52

is that you think that you'd like to do and you can get the local person to then explain to the reporter why you are smart. And then the local person then thinks that, wow, you are their kind of candidate because you actually listen to them and you have a whole new network that isn't your normal Republican precinct worker, but it is somebody who sure knows the current bureaucracy doesn't make any sense. And you bring a whole new wave of energy into the political structure.

Lastly, fifth, now we have done personal strength, entrepreneur, free enterprise, the spirit of invention and discovery, and the concept of quality as defined by Deming's profound knowledge. And in each zone, I have tried to show you how to reach out and get actual supporters for your campaign and how to get actual local people in your community in each of those zones to help you figure out what it means.

Lastly, the lessons of American history. Why are we Americans? This is important, I think, for two very different reasons. It's important, first of all, because the only way you avoid the Balkans in Bosnia is by teaching and teaching and teaching every generation that we are Americans. We are one nation. And it's very important to do that for very powerful, long-term value reasons.

But there is a second reason to do it. America works.

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 53

And we don't stop and say, "Gee, if I want to solve a problem, how have Americans solved that problem?" And our whole academic tradition is European-oriented and is, in a sense, an avoidance of America. So a lot of our Ph.D.'s write exactly the wrong things.

I really learned this vividly. When we captured the Grenada documents from the Communists, when we liberated the island of Grenada we captured all their documents. It was the first time that we ever had everything that a Communist government had. Now, obviously, with Gorbachev and the collapse of the Soviet empire, we have more documents than we can read. But, at that time, it was a fascinating thing. And they happened to speak English, so it was easy to get access to.

As the Grenadian Communist government was collapsing, they held meetings to look at their economy and every Tuesday, their top leadership got together and they studied the writings of Joe Stalin. Now Grenada is an island in the Caribbean. Stalin was a Georgian who was the dictator of Russia. His writings had no meaning, and, in fact were consistently wrong. And so every Tuesday they get together and they read Stalin and say, "What would Stalin have done?" And they would try to go out and apply Stalin to Grenada and it would just get worse for a week. And they would get back

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 54

together.

Now the lesson I draw from this is not that you shouldn't study. But you ought to be careful what you study. And the point I make to you and I really mean this, part of why I became a history teacher, and I found it to be absolutely true in my public life as a political figure. America works. Studying Washington and Franklin and Jefferson and Adams teaches you things about 1993. Asking the question, "What would the founding fathers have done about public housing? What would the founding fathers do about the welfare system? How would the founding fathers have thought about public health?" actually works. These guys were really smart. They may have the wisest single group of people to ever get together in terms of a political system.

And so you need to look at the Declaration of Independence. What is it driving at? You have to look at the Constitution. You have to read the Federalist Papers. They are very clear documents. They explain, frankly, almost everything going on in Washington right now because they said, "We are going to divide up power." In peacetime presidents are not very strong. Congress is much stronger than presidents in peacetime. And they said that in the Federalist Papers. This is why you are going to stay free.

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 55

They designed the machine so inefficient that no dictator could force it to work. On of the corollary, we can hardly get it to work voluntarily. And they would say that, that is life.

You read deToqueville. It is deToqueville who in the 1840s travelling America who says, "The most important single characteristic of America is volunteerism." Americans are joiners. And it is the wagon train, not the mountain man who is the archetype of America. It is the ability to get together, whether it is founding a Girl Scout troop, creating a church or synagogue, launching Kiwanis. America is a country of an extraordinary explosion of, "Let's get together and do something."

But what does that suggest to you as a political leader, as a public leader? Much of what needs to be solved in America can be solved voluntarily by just doing. And the founding of the YMCA was an effort to have a nice clean place for young men to come to in big cities so they wouldn't become alcoholics and end up in the _____. They didn't say as Shalala would, "We must need government dormitories." They said, "Why don't we found the YMCA?" in the 1870s.

The Boy Scouts, Lord Baydon-Powell, said, "Why don't we voluntarily get together to help young men learn the right things?" Juliette Low, "Why don't we form the Girl Scouts?"

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization. Page 56

One of the great radicalizing moments of my life was buying Juliette Low's 1913 Handbook for Girl Scouts at Juliette Low's house in Savannah. It's entitled, "What Every Girl Should Do for Her Country." Highly patriotic. It had two remarkable phrases. This is 1913 now. Pre-liberation. (1) Every girl should save at least a penny every week because if you save at least a penny every week it will add up over time and the process of budgeting is something that you should learn. (2) Every girl should learn two trades so if one dies, she can earn a living at the other.

Now I want you to think about that sentence. "Every girl should learn two trades so if one dies, she can earn a living at the other." Three weeks after I read that sentence in 1982 I had 20 steel workers from Pittsburgh visit my office and explain to me that I owed it to them to keep their business alive because they had learned the only trade that they were ever going to learn in their whole life and the government owed them a job.

And I sat there and I thought about it. I literally had her handbook on the shelf near me. I thought about in 1913 they understood the world changes and you better be prepared to keep changing all your life. And somehow in the welfare state we have lost that. And we instead said to people, "Make a choice at 19. We will take care of you the rest of

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 57

your life." Which is impossible. No government in the world can do it.

Sweden is collapsing because they can't do it. And I realize we are in a cultural struggle. And so you look at how America really works. _____, "Great Works on the American," which I recommend to you, because it shows how inventive we were, whether it is the invention of ice ships which used to take ice ships to Savannah for the summer, so you could actually have ice cream in mid-summer. This was before refrigeration. That was a big industry. It died when they got refrigeration.

Again, the candle-making story. Nothing wiped out the iceman like refrigerators. And you can image the bills that Teddy Kennedy would introduce today.

And lastly, _____. My only point here is that if you look at all the background. If you read Henry Cabot Lodge's great biography of Washington you begin to understand. Here, in Virginia, if you go down and see The Patriot at Williamsburg, you begin to get a sense of what it is like and a free people function. And why would you expect kids in East L.A. who have learned none of this to behave like Americans? It is not a questions of where they were born. They were all born in America. They just didn't learn anything about being Americans.

Exhibit 56

Renewing American Civilization, Page 58

And, so, I would just suggest to you when you have a chance go back to basics and ask yourself over and over, "What would they have done?" Not so we can go back and repeat 1776 because these guys were all smart. They would not automatically do exactly what they might have done in 1776. But the principles that are at the core of the American system are very powerful.

Now what we are going to do in the course are take these five areas that I've talked to you about: personal strength, entrepreneurial free-enterprise, the spirit of invention and discovery, quality as defined by Deming's profound knowledge, and the lessons of American history.

We are going to apply them to three areas. Now the important principal here is three. I'm choosing from my three
.....

~~End of Tape~~

(cont.)

Exhibit 56

Part of
Speech

Health is 14 percent of gross national product and I think it can be dramatically better and frankly cheaper. I think we can lower the cost of health in America dramatically. And, third, I think you've got to save the inner city because you can't stand the level of violence and ignorance and decay that are now going on. So those are the ones I'm picking. But the principle I'm going to give you is the Reagan Principle Three. For your own campaign, when you run for your own first year in office, listen to the people of your district, listen to your campaign supporters, listen

RAC speech, (cont.)

GOPAC2
2205

Leading the Majority, Page 2

to folks around you, and pick three areas to focus on.

Reagan believed emphatically that you should always pick three areas, and never more than three. Because you had to focus. Now, if you'll remember, Clinton went out to see him right after the election and Reagan told him to pick three. Now, Clinton came back and he picked Zoe Baird, gays in the military, and raising taxes, which were not--that wasn't the list Reagan had in mind. But the principle is right. And so I want you to think about it. Let me tell you what I think, there are five quick characteristics:

First, the ones you pick ought to be important to your majority. That is, the people you want to vote for you ought to say, Hey, that matters. And this is, what I want to tell you sounds very obvious. You'd be astonished how many campaigns don't walk through this. First, it just has to be important to your majority.

Second, they should affect daily life. Ideology is good. Problem-solving is better. The theory of nutrition is good. Let's bake bread in the morning is better. So there ought to be areas that people could measure in their daily life.

Third, they have to be doable. Everyone in your district would like the Fountain of Youth, and it would definitely affect their daily lives. I don't think you are

Exhibit 5b

RAC (cont.)

GOPAC2
2206

Leading the Majority, Page 3

going to get there. So they have to be things that you can, in fact, do.

Fourth, if you are given a choice, pick ones that unify your side or at a minimum don't split our side. That is, given a choice between one where you know you are going to be in a civil war with your own volunteers and one where everybody agrees, pick the one you agree on. Again, I know this sounds obvious. Believe me, I have been in enough campaigns and the like where you'd be astonished at people's ability to slide into a civil war on their own side six weeks before an election. When all you've got to do is say, Let's not talk about that. Let's talk about this. And just come back to the ones you want to talk about.

Lastly, in an ideal world, not necessary but an ideal world would be helpful, is that it's good if it's something that people do not yet, on the other side, know how to agree. In other words, when Reagan picked, I mean, when Bush picked a difference with Dukakis on taxes, it was one that Dukakis couldn't fight him on. And it is a very important model. So you want to pick, you want to pick, ideally, you'd like to pick topics where your opponent can't co-opt you. Now, you may not get there. And, frankly, if you are first, and you are creative, and you do it right, it doesn't matter that much. But in an ideal model, you'll pick a topic which is

Exhibit 5b

RAC, (cont.)

GOPAC2
2207

Leading the Majority, Page 4

important to the majority, affects their personal life, is doable, unifies your side and, by the way, your opponent can't be for it because his allies won't let him. At that moment, you have a huge winner. And you only need three. You can't carry more than three. You can't think about more than three. Humans can't, or, you know, we are very complex but limited.

I believe, if you take the five pillars I've described, if you find the three areas that will really fit you, and are really in a position to help you, that you are then going to have a language to explain renewing American civilization, a language to explain how to replace the welfare state, and three topics that are going to arouse volunteers and arouse contributions and help people say, Yes, I want this done. I'll put up a yard sign. And that's one of the tests I use. If I go and I make a speech back home, and I don't have people walk up and say, How can I help?, I know the speech wasn't any good. I don't care if they applaud. I want to know how many people filled out the volunteer cards. How many people said they'd put up a yard sign. Because if I'm not offering them a product line they want bad enough to help get the product, then I haven't done my job yet of learning how to lead.

Exhibit 56

RAC, (cont.)

GOPAC2
2208

Leading the Majority, Page 5

So, that gives you the framework. We are going to close the course with a final two hours on Twenty-first Century Citizenship, and I'll just give you one example. And this is an area, by the way, where you can do some real invention and come and tell me, because we are not going to get this done until after you get elected, so you will--the last session of the course is not til the Saturday before Thanksgiving.

Just one insight: For most Americans, they don't live in their precinct, they live in their rolldex. You think about where your friends are.. They are not three doors down. They are on the telephone. We don't know how to design a political system with the kind of worldwide travel, the kind of electronic information base, the kind of ways we now relate to each other. And, in fact, we've squeezed it out. Most malls don't let you campaign. Yet malls are where people go. So you think about it. We literally don't know today how to re-integrate ourselves as citizens in the electronic age. And we have to literally invent that. And I don't have very many good answers. We are going to spend all Fall working on this problem. And I think it may take us four years to find a solution. And we love the artist. But just start with the notion, as you design your own campaign, the geographic precinct matters, the rolldex matters more. The rolldex will beat the precinct. And if you find it, you

Exhibit 56

RAC (cont.)

~~Leading the Majority~~, Page 6

can find a way to have every one of your volunteers call everybody whose phone number they have, even if they weren't in the right precinct. The net human effect of that would be unbelievable. And we don't know today how to structure and how to build politics and citizenship in the twenty-first century.

Exhibit 56

EXHIBIT 57

"Renewing American Civilization" Project
 School of Business Administration
 Post Office Box 444
 Marietta, Georgia 30061
 (404) 423-6606
 (404) 499-3256 Fax

Mescon
 0626

Jeff Eisenach, Project Director
 Nancy Desmond, Project Coordinator
 Jana Rogers, Site Host Coordinator

July 21, 1993

Mr. John Gartland
 Amway Corporation
 214 Massachusetts Ave NE
 Suite 210
 Washington, DC 20002

Dear John:

Newt Gingrich asked me to send you some background information on the class he is teaching this Fall at Kennesaw State College, "Renewing American Civilization."

The goal of this project is simple: To train, by April 1996, 200,000+ citizens into a model for replacing the welfare state and reforming our government.

The reality is that the current system will not be with us forever -- it will be replaced. The question is how quickly that will happen -- i.e. how quickly it is possible to get a citizens' movement in place, ready to make the needed changes.

Your support for Newt and his efforts over the years has meant a lot to him, and we both hope that Amway, or perhaps one of its associated foundations, will join the several major foundations and corporations who have already committed their support to this project. The enclosed materials provide a fair amount of information, but I'll call sometime in the next week or so to follow-up and answer any questions. In the meantime, I can be reached in Washington at 202/484-2312.

Sincerely,

Jeffrey A. Eisenach

Enclosures

c: Tim Mescon, Dean, School of Business Administration

P.S. Your brother Pat is working with us on this project down in Georgia, networking with the Chamber, etc.

Exhibit 57

End STS 1 April 1996

PFF
20107

200 plus activists have a common language, general vision of
renewing America, shared set of general principles, collective
purpose and actions (legislative, executive, private sector),
commitment to plan the well as state

Virtually all Republican incumbents and candidates share the common language
and goals (in a worst case there is a substantial majority that do
and the most anti-wasteful aggressive and/or VIKTORY are Teaching plan to
their staffs and using plan to govern (if incumbents) and to campaign.
Many (if not most) of our outside allies understand and support the vision goals, al-
though there is a network of intellectuals and academics who support and
also supply ideas of

analysis to the movement (however they are a distinct minority in academe)
Most reporters understand the language ideas and analysis and a significant minority
agree and have done

There is a track record of legislation introduced, speeches made, and votes in Congress and the
States as well as actions by some Governors, MAYORS, COUNTY COMMISSIONERS, etc) attempted
translate rhetoric into reality

Exhibit 58

EXHIBIT 58

END STATE-2, 1 1996¹

Renewing America

The Republican platform will clearly be shaped by the vision, language, goals - analysis of Renewing America.

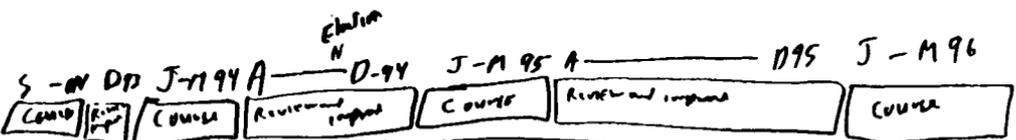
Virtually all the Republican Presidential candidates broadly agree on above. There are a lot of activists who want to work and contribute and who are actively seeking candidates, institutions, and activities to support.

The Clinton Administration and the Democratic Party are being measured at least in part against the vision, principles and goals of Renewing America and there is virtually universal agreement that the welfare state has failed as a system. There is a cadre of potential administration appointees who understand how to Renew America and are committed to implementing that process if we win.

There are a congeries of specific replacement proposals which can be clearly explained in popular language, have broad support among the public and significant grassroots activist organizations backing them and would be our agenda for the first 100 days of 1997.

There is a decentralized (movement) cadre of public figures who combine intellectual and political skills to engage the arguments on philosophy, principles, goals and vision with the political-intellectual scholars/polylists of the LCPK.

00102



frustrating, extremely loosely coordinated movement of activists leading to a new form of
 FREESTANDING, EXTREMELY LOOSELY COORDINATED movement

W a Kumbha for now, still was understood

Exhibit 58

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1994

How to guide organization
 Proposals for construction including course & TV show
 Guide
 1-04
 Next speaker - V. 1173 - meeting - special order

200,000 plus activists have a common language, general vision of renewing America, shared set & general principles, collect of proposed actions (legislative, executive, private sector), Commitment to replace the welfare state

Virtually all Republican incumbents and candidates have the common language and goals (in a worst case there is a substantial majority that do and the most enthusiastic aggressive and/or risktaking and teaching them to their staffs and using them to govern (if incumbents) and to campaign.

Many (ideally most) of our outside allies understand and support the visionary goals, and language.

There is a network of intellectuals and academics who support and supply ideas and analysis to the movement (however they are a distinct minority, in academia)

Most reporters understand the language ideas and analysis and a significant minority agree and use them

There is a track record of legislation introduced, speeches made, and votes in Congress and the states as well as actions by some Governors, mayors, county commissioners, etc) attempting [to?] translate rhetoric into reality

END STATE -2 April 1996

Renewing America

the Republican platform will clearly be shaped by the vision, language, goals and analysis of renewing America.

Virtually all the Republican Presidential candidates broadly agree on the above.

There are a lot of activists who want to work and contribute and who are actively seeking candidates, institutions, and activities to support

The Clinton Administration and the Democratic Party are being Measured at least in part against the vision, principles and goals of renewing America and there is virtually universal agreement that the welfare state has failed as a system.

There is a cadre of potential administration appointees who understand how to renew America and are committed to implementing that process if we win

There are a core group of specific replacement proposals which can clearly explain in popular language, have broad support among the public and significant grassroots activist organizations backing them and would be our agenda for the First 100 days of 1997.

There is a decentralized (movement) cadre of public figures who combine intellectual and political skills to engage the arguments on philosophy, principles, goals and vision with the political-intellectual defenders/apologists of the left.

Exhibit 58

END STATE APRIL 1996 (?) [along right side of paper]

Election

N

S-N	D93	J-M 94	A-----	D-94	J-M 95	A-----	D95	J-M 96
Course		Course	Review and		Course	Review and		Course
		Review	Improve			Improve		
		Process						

Freestanding, extremely loosely coordinated Movement of activists seeking to Renew America

Freestanding, extremely loosely coordinated Movement

Unknowable For now, fill in as understood

House GOP Whip Organization
 Progress and Freedom Foundation including Conservative TV Show PFF
 GOPAC
 FONG
 Newt Speeches - visits - Meetings - Special Orders

EXHIBIT 59

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRAFFBROOKS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

400 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 765-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

PFF
37584

February 1, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR NEWT GINGRICH

FROM: Jeff Eisenach
Executive Director 

SUBJECT: 1993 Political Program

Per your request, this memorandum codifies our recent conversations concerning GOPAC's political program for 1993. As we have discussed, our plans fall into five categories:

- 1) Curriculum Update and Expansion -- virtually complete re-working of the existing GOPAC training curriculum and expansion of the curriculum to new areas (e.g. Quality).
- 2) Torv (Franchise) Model" R&D -- identification of "marginal" districts to be targeted for a permanent "seven-days-a-week, 52-weeks-a-year" presence and initial development of alternative models for establishing such a presence.
- 3) Off-Year State Legislative Races (New Jersey, Virginia) -- focussed training, strategy and message development and contributions (cash and in-kind) in these "off-year" states where GOPAC's presence has made a big difference in recent years.
- 4) Message Development/"Renewing American Civilization" -- focus group project designed to test and improve the "Renewing American Civilization" message in preparation for its use in 1993 legislative campaigns and 1994 Congressional races.
- 5) Ongoing Political Activities -- on-site training seminars, audio training tapes and targeted teleconference training, plus initial recruiting and training for 1994 Congressional candidates, etc.

Draft one-page descriptions of each of these major program elements are attached.

Authorized and paid for by GOPAC on received order



Exhibit 59

As you review the attached one-pagers, keep in mind that they are designed on the basis of several key decisions made in recent weeks, which in turn flowed out of input received at the Charter Meeting and in subsequent conversations with numerous Charter Members. Specifically, we have concluded:

- o While both "message" and "mechanism" are important, GOPAC's comparative advantage lies in developing new ideas -- i.e. in the "message" part of the equation. GOPAC will thus continue to focus its efforts on developing and communicating our values in a way voters can understand and support.
- o GOPAC will remain an "independent" organization, without formal ties to the RNC or other Republican committees, so as to be able to continue to serve effectively as the "Bell Labs" of the Republican Party -- i.e. GOPAC will continue to have the freedom to take risks and try new ideas.
- o GOPAC has emerged as the premier training organization in the Republican Party by virtue of a very strong program, and continues to have a comparative advantage in offering political training programs focussed on ideas, messages and strategies. Thus, GOPAC should remain active in political training and take the necessary steps to ensure the "product" continues to be of the highest possible quality.
- o GOPAC will continue to rely primarily on the Charter Program for its funding, and will operate on a total budget of roughly \$2.5 million for calendar 1993.
- o GOPAC's role in Congressional elections in 1992 was important in the winning campaigns of at least two dozen, and perhaps as many as 40, of the 47 members of the 1992 freshman class. Thus, GOPAC should remain involved in helping to recruit, train and support Republican challenger campaigns.
- o While the "Gavel Club" raised substantial funds for House challengers, the program was in many ways poorly structured and should either be eliminated or significantly restructured.
- o GOPAC will continue to give cash to candidates at the state and local level, but cash to candidates is not GOPAC's main mission. Our experience in the 1991-1992 cycle provided still more evidence that GOPAC's "teach them to fish" model is the most effective means of providing value to candidates. Thus, we will continue to focus on training, networking and providing in-kind contributions, with cash contributions serving in part to leverage the effectiveness of our other activities.

Attachments

Exhibit 59

CURRICULUM UPDATE AND EXPANSIONBackground

Since GOPAC first launched its on-site training program in 1987, we have trained well over 10,000 candidates in nearly every state in the union. The GOPAC curriculum continues to receive rave reviews, and very few weeks go by when we do not receive a request for us to provide an on-site seminar. This high demand for our product is strong evidence that it continues to be very useful to Republican candidates.

The on-site seminar curriculum currently consists of two core modules: The "Core Doctrine" module ("Vision, Strategies, Projects, Tactics," "Listen, Learn, Help, Lead," "Wedges, Magnets, Shields, Turf," etc.) and the "Flying Upside Down" module (based on Joe Gaylord's landmark book, now in its second edition). Both elements exist in video tape, audio tape and written outline formats, with the video tape and written outline formats directly supporting the seminars.

1993 Objectives

1. Update and Expand Core Doctrine Module: The current edition of the "Core Doctrine" module was produced in May 1992 and is dated by the election. At a minimum, the underlying principles need to be applied to the current political situation, the video needs to be re-shot and the written outline needs to be re-written to correspond to the new presentation. An audio tape will also be produced based on the new video tape, both for mailing to the farm team and to be given to participants in on-site seminars as post-training reinforcement. We should also produce a written "doctrine manual" similar to the book version of Flying Upside Down. This project should be completed by early Summer.

2. Re-introduce the "We Are a Majority" Module: The "We Are a Majority" Module, which explained the core differences between us and the Left and the reasons why our side is in the majority in each area, was one of the major elements of our program through 1989, at which point elements of this module became dated (e.g. our differences with the Left in our understanding of the Soviet Union). By updating and re-introducing this module, we will fill a burning need within the Republican Party to be reminded of the principles which unite us against the agenda of the Left. This project should be completed by mid-late Summer.

3. Build and Test a "Quality" Module: Thanks to Newt's relationship with Dr. W. Edwards Deming and to the efforts of several GOPAC Charter Members to expose GOPAC staff to core principles of Quality, we believe we now have the understanding to take a first cut at teaching Quality to Republican organizations and campaigns. This will be an inherently experimental effort, but the potential payoff is tremendous. Initial work on this project is underway, and the objective is to have a test product by late Summer or early Fall.

Exhibit 59

TORY (FRANCHISE) MODEL R&DBackground

The notion of building a permanent presence in a set of "marginal" Congressional districts has been around for many years, most recently in discussions of creating "Franchise" districts' and/or adapting the British Tory Party's model of permanent campaigns. There are three major reasons to believe this is a good time to move the concept from the "idea" to the "test" phase: (1) GOPAC's work with House challengers in 1992 resulted in development of very strong relationships with Republican leaders in dozens of Congressional districts; (2) During 1992, we undertook a fairly intensive study of the British Tory Party's experience with a similar model, and we have established a good working relationships with senior Tory Party officials who are willing to work with us to apply what they know to the American environment; and (3) Congressional districts are now "set" through 2000 -- i.e. we now have eight years, and four elections, to work on targeted districts without worrying that district lines will be withdrawn.

1993 Objectives

1. Identify "Marginal" Districts: In 1992, we identified 176 Congressional districts which were either "open seats" or held by Democratic incumbents. Republicans were elected in 45 of these 176 districts, leaving 131 districts where our initial analysis suggests Republicans should be electable. Our first task this Spring is to review that initial analysis (based especially on 1992 results) and produce a revised list of 100-150 marginal districts Republicans should target during the 1990s. We should have this completed by April 15 if not before.
2. Developing a Doctrine for "Franchise" Districts: Through various efforts over the past several years, we have already done a significant amount of research into how a "franchise" model would work and even tested several elements that will no doubt be included in a final doctrine manual. Over the next few months, we need to (a) formally study the British model and analyze which elements might be adapted to U.S. campaigns, (b) talk with potential "franchisees" (i.e. customers) about what they need and (c) take a first cut at actually writing down the key elements of a franchise district doctrine (e.g. training, funding, recruiting, etc.). We should have a first cut of this manual completed by mid-late Summer.
3. Identify 1994 Test Districts: We have had exploratory conversations with a dozen or more Republican leaders around the country, including several Charter Members, who are prepared to devote time and energy to establishing permanent campaigns in Congressional districts where they live. From among these franchise candidates, and others we may identify over the next few months, we need to select 6-12 Test Districts in which to test the franchise model doctrine. This selection -- including the development of explicit franchise agreements with district leaders -- should be complete by November 1993.

Exhibit 59

OFF-YEAR STATE LEGISLATIVE RACESBackground

Two states, New Jersey and Virginia, will be holding state-wide elections for state legislature this year. Beginning in 1989, GOPAC has played significant roles in both states, providing training, focus group and other research, strategic advice, in-kind contributions (e.g. camera-ready ads) and cash contributions. Our theory has been, and remains, that these off-year states provide a unique opportunity to "market test" our "on-year" political programs before rolling them out nationwide. However, we have also been active for the much simpler reason of helping to elect Republicans -- and on this score, our efforts have been very successful. Legislative leaders in both states give GOPAC significant credit for the major gains they made in 1991, and they are enthusiastic about having GOPAC's help again. It is important to remember that gubernatorial races with national implications (Flerio in New Jersey and the Wilder vacancy in Virginia) are on the ballots in both states.

1993 Objectives

1. Recruiting and Training State Legislative Candidates: We have contacted state legislative leaders and offered to assist with candidate recruiting in both New Jersey and Virginia, and we expect that Newt will be asked to assist personally in persuading some of the stronger potential candidates to run. In addition, we are currently working to schedule major training-seminars in both New Jersey and Virginia for June/July 1993, and will use these seminars to "roll out" the new GOPAC training curriculum now under development. In addition, we are developing a teleconference training curriculum for both states which we expect to roll out in late Summer. (Recall that we first tested the teleconference training program, which was so successful in 1992, with state legislative candidates in New Jersey and Virginia in 1991.)

2. Research and Strategic Consultation: As in 1991, we will work directly with the Republican leaders in New Jersey and Virginia to determine how GOPAC can best meet their needs for research and strategic consultation at both the candidate-specific and the state-wide party level. Discussions with state leaders are already underway, specifics projects will be developed over the course of the next several months.

3. In-Kind and Cash Contributions: GOPAC's most effective program in 1991 was the "Wilder Index" ad campaign we developed for Virginia state legislative candidates. In September, we mailed camera-ready art, tailored specifically to each campaign, to every Republican challenger. The ads demonstrated that the Democratic incumbent they were running against had voted with Governor Wilder (the most unpopular political figure in the state at that point) on a large proportion of key votes. As we survey the situation in New Jersey and Virginia this year, we will be looking for similar opportunities. Of course, we will also be evaluating state legislative candidates for possible cash contributions, and tentatively expect to contribute \$25,000 or thereabouts in each of the two states.

Exhibit 59

MESSAGE DEVELOPMENT/RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATIONBackground

In the Spring of 1990, GOPAC undertook a series of 18 focus groups designed to better understand the attitudes of young, middle-class Americans. It was the largest and most sophisticated focus group project undertaken by the Republican Party for more than a decade. More importantly, it allowed us to understand both the level of and the causes of fear, resentment and frustration among middle-class Americans (i.e. to anticipate the strength of the anti-incumbency movement, the term limits movement and the Perot candidacy, among other things), to develop appropriate political messages and strategies, and, through our training programs, to improve the campaigns of literally thousands of Republican candidates. Given the dramatic change in the political landscape since 1990, it seems appropriate that we should consider undertaking a research project designed to help us better understand how our values, principles and policies can best be communicated to voters, including specifically testing the "Renewing American Civilization" message Newt is in the process of developing.

1993 Objectives

1. **Develop Research Agenda:** The first step in this project is to state clearly what we hope to learn -- about values, principles, issues, policies, etc. Newt's "Renewing American Civilization" speech and associated materials have been forwarded to the focus group design team we have worked with in the past (Market Strategies, Inc.), and we look forward to having an initial research agenda back from them by mid-Spring.
2. **Develop Test Protocol:** Once we have talked through the research agenda, we will begin working with Market Strategies to design a specific research protocol, which will include details on the number of focus groups to be conducted, sites, participant profiles and a discussion outline. This step should be complete by late Spring or early Summer.
3. **Collect Data/Report/Follow-Up:** Our objective is to be "in the field" sometime this Summer (probably over the course of several weeks), and to have written results back in by September 15. The primary means of dissemination (e.g. incorporation into training program, sending reports to Republican leaders, press briefings, etc.) will be decided over the course of the next several months.

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Attachment FiveONGOING POLITICAL ACTIVITIESBackground

A significant part of GOPAC's political program involves either (a) ongoing "routine" activities and (b) taking advantage of targets of opportunity. These include: conducting on-site training seminars for activists, potential candidates and incumbents; producing and mailing audio training tapes; serving as a networking point for Republicans to share new ideas; and, participating in special elections (both state and local and Congressional).

Specific 1993 Objectives

1. **On-Site Training Seminars:** We are currently working to schedule roughly two dozen on-site training seminars during 1993. In addition to the states with off-year state legislative races, we expect to be active in Mississippi (where there is an important race for governor and where GOPAC has been active in the past) and in several other states (e.g. Texas, Pennsylvania, California) where GOPAC training has been well-received in the past.
2. **Audio Training Tapes:** We have planned and budgeted for six audio training tapes to be mailed during 1993, including two or three tapes including our updated training curriculum. At present, we are working on updating the mailing list to reflect results of 1992 state and local races and are preparing to mail a customer satisfaction/needs survey to the entire farm team list.
3. **Wisconsin Support:** In the category of "targets of opportunity," there are a series of special elections for the State Senate in Wisconsin coming up this Spring - the outcomes of which will determine control of the Senate. We are currently working to schedule trips for Newt to make appearances on behalf of the Republican candidates in these races.

Exhibit 59

EXHIBIT 60

Newt Gingrich

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GOPAC

February 3, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR GOPAC CHARTER MEMBERS AND FRIENDS

FROM: Newt Gingrich
General Chairman

SUBJECT: January 22-23 Special Meeting

On January 22-23, GOPAC held a special meeting here in Washington to discuss the current political situation and our plans for 1993 and beyond. Roughly 50 Charter Members and spouses attended, and the input we received has had a significant impact on what we are doing at every level.

First, let me say to those who attended the sessions on Friday evening and Saturday morning that I am forever in your debt for helping me better understand our message and our mission in the very broadest sense. The first enclosure in this package, the notes from my speech to the National Review Institute's "Conservative Summit" the afternoon of January 23, represents a fairly dramatic improvement (or so I've been told) in my understanding of what we are about, and our sessions Friday evening and Saturday morning made the difference. (The second enclosure to this memo is the two-page outline I am currently using as a handout to explain the "Renewing American Civilization" theme. I would deeply appreciate it if you would take a few minutes to read it through and give me any ideas or criticisms you have, either in writing or by calling Laura Stotz or Jeff Eisenach at GOPAC.)

Second, several Charter Members asked that we provide summaries of the main points made by speakers at our afternoon briefings on Friday, January 23. One-page summaries are enclosed, and audio tapes of all of the presentations are available. Call Jennie Piona, at 202/484-2282, if you would like copies of the tapes.

Third, I was extraordinarily pleased both by the turnout and by the continued support expressed by our Members for the GOPAC program. As we discussed last weekend, GOPAC's core mission -- to provide the ideas and the message for Republicans to win at the grass roots -- is now more important than ever, and we have important plans for 1993 and for the 1993-1994 cycle. The final enclosure is a memorandum from Jeff Eisenach outlining our 1993 program, which I encourage you to review carefully and, again, let me know what you think.

Your ongoing support for GOPAC's program means a great deal to me. Please keep in touch and let me know what you think we ought to be doing to create a better America and a stronger Republican Party.

Enclosures

Exhibit 60

Congressman Newt Gingrich
Notes for Remarks
National Review Institute
Washington, D.C.
January 23, 1993

Thank you Terry Considine. Let me congratulate Gay Gaines, John O'Sullivan and the National Review Institute.

In January 1977, 16 years ago, there were two events in Washington with major speakers:

- o one was Jimmy Carter's inaugural
- o one was Ronald Reagan's speech to a conservative conference.

In history it is Reagan's address that will be seen as decisive and Carter's inaugural will be seen as the aberration.

Similarly we must avoid being too focused on Clinton and the Democrats.

Now, 16 years later, here we are again.

To quote FDR, "our generation has a rendezvous with destiny."

In 1940, the greatest threat to freedom was Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. The American people rose to the challenge and freedom won.

In 1946, the greatest threat to freedom was the Soviet Empire. The American people rose to the challenge and for nearly half a century we contained the Soviet Empire until it collapsed. My dad spent years serving in the U.S. Army to protect and preserve freedom. It worked.

Now in 1993 the greatest threat to freedom is the decay of American civilization.

The decay of American civilization. Among liberal elites would be a horrifying assertion. It has several politically incorrect assumptions.

First, "decay of American civilization" asserts there is an American civilization. We are more open, more future oriented, more inclined toward technology and entrepreneurialism and less hierarchical, we are optimistic and integrationist. From Colin Powell to Pat Saiki, from Gary Franks to Henry Bonilla, from Ileana Ros-Lehtinen to Louis Sullivan, America is the most universal, most integrationist, most opportunity oriented society offering more hope to more people than any society in the history of the world.

Second, "decay of American civilization" asserts that we can make a distinction

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between decay and progress. Clinton tried to describe change as our friend in his inaugural, but he couldn't use the word progress because it is banished from the liberal lexicon.

We can make moral judgements. Learning is progress. Illiteracy is decay. Wellness is progress. Drug addiction is decay. Safe streets is progress. Violent crime is decay.

Lastly, by asserting American civilization matters we reject multiculturalism's claim to be the situation ethics of historic judgements. Bosnia, Somalia and Iraq are grim reminders that humans can be vicious, brutal and savage to each other. Anacostia in Washington, Techwood in Atlanta and East L.A. are reminders that Americans can return to barbaric behaviors and vicious brutality with frightening speed.

We must assert unequivocally and decisively that every American must learn thoroughly the principles, practices and history of American civilization. Only then can we insure the continued existence of a free society.

Once we have mastered the principles and practices of American-civilization we should study other civilizations. As a Ph.D in European history, I favor studying other cultures. But Other-culturism is very different from multiculturalism because we start with the belief that the American civilization is the most powerful creator of prosperity, freedom, and safety in human history and must be studied first.

So our generation's rendezvous with history is to launch a movement to renew American civilization.

We must insist that to be American is to be free, productive and safe.

We must insist that American civilization means freedom, productivity, and safety for all Americans.

Today we are failing to meet these standards both for the individual and for our country.

Renewing American civilization is the central challenge of the rest of our lives.

Fortunately for us, most Americans want to sustain and renew American civilization.

As Everett Carl Ladd noted recently only 22% of the 1992 voters favored expanding government while 68% favored restraint in government.

In an Atlanta Constitution poll last year, when asked "Do you believe all welfare recipients should be required to work, including women with young children?" 81% of southern blacks said yes while only 11% said no.

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In New York now we are seeing family and neighborhood gangs rebel against the government's efforts to brainwash their children against their own values. These anti-brainwashing rebels will be to the 1990's what the anti-busing rebels were in the 1960's and 1970's.

So we have a vast majority in favor of renewing American civilization .

We also have the advantage of standing on the shoulders of Buckley, Goldwater and Reagan.

We are far more numerous and experienced than we were in 1960 or 1976.

We are ready to launch a 21st century conservatism that will renew American civilization, transform America from a welfare state into an opportunity society and create a conservative governing majority.

There are five pillars of American civilization. If we systematically study them and use them to transform government and the law we can offer a better lifestyle with a higher standard of living at lower cost and with greater under a longer standard of living at lower cost and with greater freedom for virtually all Americans except bureaucrats, trial lawyers, liberal academics, lobbyists and the government employee unions.

These five pillars actually will increase productivity and services. They allow us to break out of the welfare state dilemma of more taxes or less government.

In fact they can create progress and replace decay. The five pillars are quality, technological advance, entrepreneurial free enterprise, principles of American civilization and psychological strength.

First, we must master the profound knowledge of quality as taught by Edwards Deming. Quality is a transformational set of principles and habits that are reshaping many companies and can reshape the entire country.

Second we must again favor technological advances. Desert Storm was proof technology matters. In most of our history America has been the most technology-improving society in history. Increasingly, bureaucracy, litigation, taxation, attitudes and professional guilds have been weakening, delaying and burdening technological advance. Yet technology can dramatically help improve the quality and availability, and lower the cost, of health, learning, bureaucracy and virtually every aspect of American life.

Third, entrepreneurial free enterprise is an attitude, a way of life and a system of productivity. In most areas the development of entrepreneurship increases wealth and productivity. For poor minorities, entrepreneurship in small business is the key to future wealth. For women, entrepreneurship is the most powerful way to break the glass ceiling.

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If you own it you can change it. In government, the entrepreneurial approach through decentralization, privatization, and a focus on outcomes instead of inputs can lead to a dramatic decline in cost and increase in productivity. In services, entrepreneurship will consistently beat bureaucracy. Entrepreneurial health care could lower costs and create better health for less.

Fourth, the principles of American civilization must be learned and practiced if we are to remain the freest, most prosperous and most integrated society in history. We have daily reminders both at home and abroad that civilization requires learning, practicing and reinforcing. The work ethic, male responsibility for their children, intense efforts to protect the innocent and control the criminal, patriotism, the practices of self government, all of these steps are vital. They can be summarized in one test we can apply to every prepared policy:

Does it help people be more responsible, productive and safe so they can be prosperous and free so they can pursue happiness? If the answer is "yes," it is a constructive proposal. If "no," it is a destructive proposal. Note that American civilization offers the opportunity to pursue happiness but that no secular state can provide happiness. Note also that prosperity and freedom are products of responsibility, productivity and safety. Civilization matters and we must renew it.

Fifth, and finally, we must emphasize psychological strength. There is no substitute for courage, hard work, persistence, discipline and integrity. In fact the poor need psychological strength even more than the rich.

Everything else will fail if we fail to inculcate, encourage and reinforce psychological strength.

We face the challenge of translating these five pillars of the 21st century American civilization into reality.

Reagan taught us the virtue of focusing narrowly and with great discipline on no more than three big goals at a time. Clinton's bad ideas will force us to spend some time opposing destructive proposals that will increase the decay. However, we must vigorously discipline ourselves to spend no more than 25% of our time on stopping the Left.

The more important 75% of our time should be spent applying the 5 pillars of quality, technology, entrepreneurship, American principles and psychological strength to just three big topics.

If we will develop solutions for (1) economic growth with the deficit as a subset, (2) health and (3) saving the inner city we will decisively trump the left. At that point either Clinton will adopt our solutions or the country will fire the president who subsidizes decay and blocks progress.

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A movement that offers solutions on economic growth, health and the inner city will then earn the right to work on other areas.

We must renew American civilization by studying these principles, networking success stories, applying these success stories to develop programs that will lead to dramatic progress, and then communicating these principles and these opportunities so the American people have a clear choice between progress, renewal, prosperity, safety and freedom within America civilization versus decay, decline, economic weakness, violent crime and bureaucratic dominance led by a multicultural elite.

Given that choice, our movement for renewing American civilization will not just win the White House in 1996, we will elect people at all levels dedicated to constructive proposals.

The Nazis lost to freedom. The Soviet Empire lost to freedom. With our courage and our persistence we can ensure that the decay of the welfare state will lose to freedom. That is what is at stake.

Exhibit 60

D-R-A-F-T

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

I. THERE IS AN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

1. American civilization is descended from but different than Western civilization. We are more future oriented, more optimistic, more economically, socially, and geographically mobile, and we are far more effective at acculturating and integrating people. We are the most successful melting pot in history.

2. American civilization is by definition a set of principles, practices, habits, and a historic memory that teaches us how to be American and why we are different from other civilizations. It requires time, study, and effort to learn to be an American. That is an acculturation process whether you are born in the USA and learn it from childhood or you are born outside the country and learn it after you immigrate.

3. American civilization is clearly decaying.

4. The future of freedom depends on a healthy, dynamic economically expansive America. No other country is big enough, economically powerful enough or racially diverse enough to lead the planet. Bosnia, Somalia and Iraq are grim warnings of our children's and grandchildren's future if American civilization continues to decay.

5. Therefore, the most important single mission of our lifetime is to renew American civilization. We need a movement of citizens as committed to freedom through American renewal as our grandparent's were to defeating the Nazis and Imperial Japan and our parents were to containing the Soviet Empire. Only a movement to renew American civilization can be effective in meeting the challenge of our current decay.

II. THE FIVE PILLARS OF 21ST CENTURY DEMOCRACY

The five key components of a dynamic, growing, healthy America are:

1. Quality as defined by Edward Deming's concept of profound knowledge;
2. Technological Advances;
3. Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise;
4. The Principles of American Civilization;
5. Psychological Strength; (courage, hard work, perseverance, discipline, integrity).

Exhibit 60

The key question is simply: Does a proposed policy help people become more responsible, more productive, and more safe so they can be prosperous and free, so they can pursue happiness? If the answer is yes, then that proposed policy is constructive. If the answer is no, then it is destructive.

III. THREE AREAS TO DEVELOP RENEWAL

Following the Reagan principle of focusing on a few areas at a time there are three vital areas that should be the focus of our efforts to renew American civilization. If we can achieve real progress on the first three, people will be eager to let us take on three more areas. The first three are:

1. Economic growth including deficit reduction and improved incentives for growth;
2. Health including preventive care, wellness, replacing bureaucratic healthcare with entrepreneurial healthcare, and reestablishing genuine consumer information responsibility, control, and information;
3. Saving the inner city by applying the five pillars of freedom to the legitimate needs and concerns of inner city Americans;

IV. THE THREE ADVANTAGES OF AN ESTABLISHED POWER STRUCTURE

The liberals have three great advantages which were developed by Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal Democrats and which have helped them stay in power despite their failure to win the White House in five of the six elections between 1968 and 1988. Despite the American people's consistent rejection of liberalism, the Republicans were unable to duplicate or overcome the advantages of a decaying but entrenched establishment. Only in 1979 to 1981 at the height of Carter's collapse and the first wave of the Reagan Revolution did Republicans come close to a breakthrough. The advantages are:

1. A clear coherent and understood vision and language which establishes moral dominance and easy argumentation;
2. A network of powerful institutions such as the big city machines, the labor unions, and the leftwing activist groups (including trial lawyers and Gays), whose collective weight dwarfs the more narrow base and resources of the competitor;
3. A system for training and developing professionals whose doctrine of power and politics is simply more effective and more widely understood than the opposition party.

It is these advantages we will have to overcome to truly renew American Civilization.

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EXHIBIT 61

1993 GOPAC POLITICAL PROGRAM

April 26, 1993

SUMMARY STATUS REPORT

<u>Project Line</u>	<u>Status</u>
<u>Curriculum Update and Expansion</u> -- virtually complete re-working of the existing GOPAC training curriculum and expansion of the curriculum to new areas (e.g. Quality).	Taping of new training tapes scheduled for June 5 training session at Virginia Republican Convention; post production complete and materials ready for use by July 1.
<u>"Torv (Franchise) Model" R&D</u> -- identification of "marginal" districts to be targeted for a permanent "seven-days-a-week, 52-weeks-a-year" presence and initial development of alternative models for establishing such a presence.	Planning session held on April 24 to discuss feasibility of various approaches and recruit possible "franchisees" for 1993-1994 test program.
<u>Off-Year State Legislative Races (New Jersey, Virginia)</u> -- focussed training, strategy and message development and contributions (cash and in-kind) in these "off-year" states where GOPAC's presence has made a big difference in recent years.	Newt speaking at and teaching training seminar for candidates at Virginia Republican Convention; discussions underway with New Jersey party to schedule training; "scouting" underway to identify target races in both states.
<u>Message Development/"Renewing American Civilization"</u> -- focus group project designed to test and improve the "Renewing American Civilization" message in preparation for its use in 1993 legislative campaigns and 1994 Congressional races.	April Charter Meeting breakout sessions designed to present and improve core elements of the message; focus groups to be scheduled in Summer/early Fall 1993.
<u>Ongoing Political Activities</u> -- on-site training seminars, audio training tapes and targeted teleconference training, plus initial recruiting and training for 1994 Congressional candidates, etc.	First 1993 tape to drop in June with training modules on Renewing American Civilization and health care. Teleconference "train the parties" program underway.

Exhibit 61

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MAJOR PLANNING ASSUMPTIONS

- o While both "message" and "mechanism" are important, GOPAC's comparative advantage lies in developing new ideas -- i.e. in the "message" part of the equation. GOPAC will thus continue to focus its efforts on developing and communicating our values in a way voters can understand and support.
- o GOPAC will remain an "independent" organization, without formal ties to the RNC or other Republican committees, so as to be able to continue to serve effectively as the "Bell Labs" of the Republican Party -- i.e. GOPAC will continue to have the freedom to take risks and try new ideas.
- o GOPAC has emerged as the premier training organization in the Republican Party by virtue of a very strong program, and continues to have a comparative advantage in offering political training programs focussed on ideas, messages and strategies. Thus, GOPAC should remain active in political training and take the necessary steps to ensure the "product" continues to be of the highest possible quality.
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- o While the "Gavel Club" raised substantial funds for House challengers, the program was in many ways poorly structured and should either be eliminated or significantly restructured.
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Exhibit 61

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1993 Objectives

1. Update and Expand Core Doctrine Module: The current edition of the "Core Doctrine" module was produced in May 1992 and is dated by the election. At a minimum, the underlying principles need to be applied to the current political situation, the video needs to be re-shot and the written outline needs to be re-written to correspond to the new presentation. An audio tape will also be produced based on the new video tape, both for mailing to the farm team and to be given to participants in on-site seminars as post-training reinforcement. We should also produce a written "doctrine manual" similar to the book version of Flying Upside Down. This project is on track to be completed by early Summer.
2. Re-introduce the "We Are a Majority" Module: The "We Are a Majority" Module, which explained the core differences between us and the Left and the reasons why our side is in the majority in each area, was one of the major elements of our program through 1989, at which point elements of this module became dated (e.g. our differences with the Left in our understanding of the Soviet Union). By updating and re-introducing this module, we will fill a burning need within the Republican Party to be reminded of the principles which unite us against the agenda of the Left. This project is on track to be completed by mid-late Summer.
3. Build and Test a "Quality" Module: Thanks to Newt's relationship with Dr. W. Edwards Deming and to the efforts of several GOPAC Charter Members to expose GOPAC staff to core principles of Quality, we believe we now have the understanding to take a first cut at teaching Quality to Republican organizations and campaigns. This will be an inherently experimental effort, but the potential payoff is tremendous. Initial work on this project is underway, and the objective is to have a test product by late Summer or early Fall.

Exhibit 61

PP001189

TORY (FRANCHISE) MODEL" R&DBackground

The notion of building a permanent presence in a set of "marginal" Congressional districts has been around for many years, most recently in discussions of creating "Franchise" districts" and/or adapting the British Tory Party's model of permanent campaigns. There are three major reasons to believe this is a good time to move the concept from the "idea" to the "test" phase: (1) GOPAC's work with House challengers in 1992 resulted in development of very strong relationships with Republican leaders in dozens of Congressional districts; (2) During 1992, we undertook a fairly intensive study of the British Tory Party's experience with a similar model, and we have established a good working relationships with senior Tory Party officials who are willing to work with us to apply what they know to the American environment; and (3) Congressional districts are now "set" through 2000 -- i.e. we now have eight years, and four elections, to work on targeted districts without worrying that district lines will be withdrawn.

1993 Objectives

1. Identify "Marginal" Districts: In 1992, we identified 176 Congressional districts which were either "open seats" or held by Democratic incumbents. Republicans were elected in 45 of these 176 districts, leaving 131 districts where our initial analysis suggests Republicans should be electable. Our first task this Spring is to review that initial analysis (based especially on 1992 results) and produce a revised list of 100-150 marginal districts Republicans should target during the 1990s. First cut target list is complete.

2. Developing a Doctrine for "Franchise" Districts: Through various efforts over the past several years, we have already done a significant amount of research into how a "franchise" model would work and even tested several elements that will no doubt be included in a final doctrine manual. Over the next few months, we need to (a) formally study the British model and analyze which elements might be adapted to U.S. campaigns, (b) talk with potential "franchisees" (i.e. customers) about what they need and (c) take a first cut at actually writing down the key elements of a franchise district doctrine (e.g. training, funding, recruiting, etc.). Next steps here depend on the outcome of the April 24 planning session.

3. Identify 1994 Test Districts: We have had exploratory conversations with a dozen or more Republican leaders around the country, including several Charter Members, who are prepared to devote time and energy to establishing permanent campaigns in Congressional districts where they live. From among these franchise candidates, and others we may identify over the next few months, we need to select 6-12 Test Districts in which to test the franchise model doctrine. This selection -- including the development of explicit franchise agreements with district leaders -- should be complete by November 1993.

Exhibit 61

PP001190

OFF-YEAR STATE LEGISLATIVE RACESBackground

Two states, New Jersey and Virginia, will be holding state-wide elections for state legislature this year. Beginning in 1989, GOPAC has played significant roles in both states, providing training, focus group and other research, strategic advice, in-kind contributions (e.g. camera-ready ads) and cash contributions. Our theory has been, and remains, that these off-year states provide a unique opportunity to "market test" our "on-year" political programs before rolling them out nationwide. However, we have also been active for the much simpler reason of helping to elect Republicans -- and on this score, our efforts have been very successful. Legislative leaders in both states give GOPAC significant credit for the major gains they made in 1991, and they are enthusiastic about having GOPAC's help again. It is important to remember that gubernatorial races with national implications (Florio in New Jersey and the Wilder vacancy in Virginia) are on the ballots in both states.

1993 Objectives

1. Recruiting and Training State Legislative Candidates: We have contacted state legislative leaders and offered to assist with candidate recruiting in both New Jersey and Virginia, and we expect that Newt will be asked to assist personally in persuading some of the stronger potential candidates to run. In addition, we are currently working to schedule major training seminars in both New Jersey and Virginia for June/July 1993, and will use these seminars to "roll out" the new GOPAC training curriculum now under development. In addition, we are developing a teleconference training curriculum for both states which we expect to roll out in late Summer. (Recall that we first tested the teleconference training program, which was so successful in 1992, with state legislative candidates in New Jersey and Virginia in 1991.) On track, with Newt Gingrich training seminar scheduled for June 5 at the Virginia Republican Convention.

2. Research and Strategic Consultation: As in 1991, we will work directly with the Republican leaders in New Jersey and Virginia to determine how GOPAC can best meet their needs for research and strategic consultation at both the candidate-specific and the state-wide party level. Discussions with state leaders are already underway; specific projects will be developed over the course of the next several months.

3. In-Kind and Cash Contributions: GOPAC's most effective program in 1991 was the "Wilder Index" ad campaign we developed for Virginia state legislative candidates. In September, we mailed camera-ready art, tailored specifically to each campaign, to every Republican challenger. The ads demonstrated that the Democratic incumbent they were running against had voted with Governor Wilder (the most unpopular political figure in the state at that point) on a large proportion of key votes. As we survey the situation in New Jersey and Virginia this year, we will be looking for similar opportunities. Of course, we will also be evaluating state legislative candidates for possible cash contributions, and tentatively expect to contribute about \$25,000 in each of the two states.

Exhibit 61

PP001191

MESSAGE DEVELOPMENT/RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATIONBackground

In the Spring of 1990, GOPAC undertook a series of 18 focus groups designed to better understand the attitudes of young, middle-class Americans. It was the largest and most sophisticated focus group project undertaken by the Republican Party for more than a decade. More importantly, it allowed us to understand both the level of and the causes of fear, resentment and frustration among middle-class Americans (i.e. to anticipate the strength of the anti-incumbency movement, the term limits movement and the Perot candidacy, among other things), to develop appropriate political messages and strategies, and, through our training programs, to improve the campaigns of literally thousands of Republican candidates. Given the dramatic change in the political landscape since 1990, it seems appropriate that we should consider undertaking a research project designed to help us better understand how our values, principles and policies can best be communicated to voters, including specifically testing the "Renewing American Civilization" message Newt is in the process of developing.

1993 Objectives

1. Develop Research Agenda: The first step in this project is to state clearly what we hope to learn -- about values, principles, issues, policies, etc. Newt's "Renewing American Civilization" speech and associated materials have been forwarded to the focus group design team we have worked with in the past (Market Strategies, Inc.), and we look forward to having an initial research agenda back from them by mid-Spring. Initial conversations with Market Strategies completed; research agenda to be completed by mid-June (slightly behind schedule).

2. Develop Test Protocol: Once we have talked through the research agenda, we will begin working with Market Strategies to design a specific research protocol, which will include details on the number of focus groups to be conducted, sites, participant profiles and a discussion outline. This step should be complete by late Spring or early Summer. Still on track.

3. Collect Data/Report/Follow-Up: Our objective is to be "in the field" sometime this Summer (probably over the course of several weeks), and to have written results back in by September 15. The primary means of dissemination (e.g. incorporation into training program, sending reports to Republican leaders, press briefings, etc.) will be decided over the course of the next several months. On track.

Exhibit 61

PP001192

ONGOING POLITICAL ACTIVITIESBackground

A significant part of GOPAC's political program involves either (a) ongoing "routine" activities and (b) taking advantage of targets of opportunity. These include: conducting on-site training seminars for activists, potential candidates and incumbents; producing and mailing audio training tapes; serving as a networking point for Republicans to share new ideas; and, participating in special elections (both state and local and Congressional).

Specific 1993 Objectives

1. On-Site Training Seminars: We are currently working to schedule roughly two dozen on-site training seminars during 1993. In addition to the states with off-year state legislative races, we expect to be active in Mississippi (where there is an important race for governor and where GOPAC has been active in the past) and in several other states (e.g. Texas, Pennsylvania, California) where GOPAC training has been well-received in the past. First GOPAC training session of 1993 will be conducted at the Southern Republican Exchange meeting in Louisville on May 8; additional seminars now being scheduled.

2. Audio Training Tapes: We have planned and budgeted for six audio training tapes to be mailed during 1993, including two or three tapes including our updated training curriculum. At present, we are working on updating the mailing list to reflect results of 1992 state and local races and are preparing to mail a customer satisfaction/needs survey to the entire farm team list. Mailing list has been updated and survey is in preparation; first tape scheduled for June on "Renewing American Civilization" and "Entrepreneurial Health Care."

3. Wisconsin Support: In the category of "targets of opportunity," there are a series of special elections for the State Senate in Wisconsin coming up this Spring -- the outcomes of which will determine control of the Senate. We are currently working to schedule trips for Newt to make appearances on behalf of the Republican candidates in these races. Trip completed April 23.

Exhibit 61

PP001193

GOPAC

REPORT TO SHAREHOLDERS

April 26, 1993

GOPAC's mission, building the grass-roots base from which Republicans will capture the U.S. House and win majorities at every level of government, has never been more important than in 1993 -- and the opportunities for success have never been greater. While we have lost control of the White House, Republicans currently:

- o Hold 33 more House seats than in the first year of the Carter Presidency;
- o Hold nearly 100 more state legislative seats than in 1980 -- and 600 more seats than in 1977;
- o Have majorities in 33 (of 94) state legislative chambers -- the most since 1980;
- o Have the tremendous advantage of running against a Democratic administration which is radically to the left of the majority of Americans.

In terms of GOPAC's most fundamental goal -- winning Republican control of the U.S. House, one startling fact is worth bearing in mind: If Republicans gain as many seats in 1994 and 1996 as we did in 1978 and 1980, we will hold an eight seat majority in the U.S. House.

The challenge facing Republicans, however, is an awesome one. We must build a governing majority, founded on basic principles, that is prepared to do what we failed to do during the last 12 years: Replace the Welfare State with an Opportunity Society and demonstrate that our ideas are the key to progress, freedom and the Renewal of American Civilization.

Exhibit 62

EXHIBIT 62

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1993 GOPAC Charter Member Events

January 13	Get Acquainted Breakfast The Willard Intercontinental Washington, D.C.	May 7	Reception and Dinner National Center for Policy Analysis Dallas, Texas
January 22-23	The State of the Union Under President Clinton The Willard Intercontinental Washington, D.C.	May 25	Get Acquainted Dinner The Hay Adams Hotel Washington, D.C.
March 16	Get Acquainted Dinner The Hay Adams Hotel Washington, D.C.	June 8	Get Acquainted Dinner The Hay Adams Hotel Washington, D.C.
March 21-22	GOPAC Events New York, New York	June 22	Get Acquainted Dinner The Hay Adams Hotel Washington, D.C.
April 20	Get Acquainted Dinner The Hay Adams Hotel Washington, D.C.	November 13-15	Fall Charter Meeting Location to be determined
April 24-26	Spring Charter Meeting The Willard Intercontinental Washington, D.C.	January 1994	California Regional Charter Meeting

Exhibit 62

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1993 GOPAC POLITICAL PROGRAMS

**Status Report
April 26, 1993**

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**Eisenach
2538**

Exhibit 62

MAJOR PLANNING ASSUMPTIONS

- o While both "message" and "mechanism" are important, GOPAC's comparative advantage lies in developing new ideas -- i.e. in the "message" part of the equation. GOPAC will thus continue to focus its efforts on developing and communicating our values in a way voters can understand and support.
- o GOPAC will remain an "independent" organization, without formal ties to the RNC or other Republican committees, so as to be able to continue to serve effectively as the "Bell Labs" of the Republican Party -- i.e. GOPAC will continue to have the freedom to take risks and try new ideas.
- o GOPAC has emerged as the premier training organization in the Republican Party by virtue of a very strong program, and continues to have a comparative advantage in offering political training programs focussed on ideas, messages and strategies. Thus, GOPAC should remain active in political training and take the necessary steps to ensure the "product" continues to be of the highest possible quality.
- o GOPAC will continue to rely primarily on the Charter Program for its funding, and will operate on a total budget of roughly \$2.5 million for calendar 1993.
- o GOPAC's role in Congressional elections in 1992 was important in the winning campaigns of at least two dozen, and perhaps as many as 40, of the 47 members of the 1992 freshman class. Thus, GOPAC should remain involved in helping to recruit, train and support Republican challenger campaigns.
- o While the "Gavel Club" raised substantial funds for House challengers, the program was in many ways poorly structured and should either be eliminated or significantly restructured.
- o GOPAC will continue to give cash to candidates at the state and local level, but cash to candidates is not GOPAC's main mission. Our experience in the 1991-1992 cycle provided still more evidence that GOPAC's "teach them to fish" model is the most effective means of providing value to candidates. Thus, we will continue to focus on training, networking and providing in-kind contributions, with cash contributions serving in part to leverage the effectiveness of our other activities.

Exhibit 62

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MAJOR PROJECTS OVERVIEW

<u>Project Line</u>	<u>Status</u>
<u>Curriculum Update and Expansion</u> -- virtually complete re-working of the existing GOPAC training curriculum and expansion of the curriculum to new areas (e.g. Quality).	Taping of new training tapes scheduled for June 5 training session at Virginia Republican Convention; post production complete and materials ready for use by July 1.
<u>"Tory (Franchise) Model" R&D</u> -- identification of "marginal" districts to be targeted for a permanent "seven-days-a-week, 52-weeks-a-year" presence and initial development of alternative models for establishing such a presence.	Planning session held on April 24 to discuss feasibility of various approaches and recruit possible "franchisees" for 1993-1994 test program.
<u>Off-Year State Legislative Races (New Jersey, Virginia)</u> -- focussed training, strategy and message development and contributions (cash and in-kind) in these "off-year" states where GOPAC's presence has made a big difference in recent years.	Newt speaking at and teaching training seminar for candidates at Virginia Republican Convention; discussions underway with New Jersey party to schedule training; "scouting" underway to identify target races in both states.
<u>Message Development/"Renewing American Civilization"</u> -- focus group project designed to test and improve the "Renewing American Civilization" message in preparation for its use in 1993 legislative campaigns and 1994 Congressional races.	April Charter Meeting breakout sessions designed to present and improve core elements of the message; focus groups to be scheduled in Summer/early Fall 1993.
<u>Ongoing Political Activities</u> -- on-site training seminars, audio training tapes and targeted teleconference training, plus initial recruiting and training for 1994 Congressional candidates, etc.	First 1993 tape to drop in June with training modules on Renewing American Civilization and health care. Teleconference "train the parties" program underway

Exhibit 62

CURRICULUM UPDATE AND EXPANSION

Background

Since GOPAC first launched its on-site training program in 1987, we have trained well over 10,000 candidates in nearly every state in the union. The GOPAC curriculum continues to receive rave reviews, and very few weeks go by when we do not receive a request for us to provide an on-site seminar. This high demand for our product is strong evidence that it continues to be very useful to Republican candidates.

The on-site seminar curriculum currently consists of two core modules: The "Core Doctrine" module ("Vision, Strategies, Projects, Tactics," "Listen, Learn, Help, Lead," "Wedges, Magnets, Shields, Turf," etc.) and the "Flying Upside Down" module (based on Joe Gaylord's landmark book, now in its second edition). Both elements exist in video tape, audio tape and written outline formats, with the video tape and written outline formats directly supporting the seminars.

1993 Objectives

1. Update and Expand Core Doctrine Module: The current edition of the "Core Doctrine" module was produced in May 1992 and is dated by the election. At a minimum, the underlying principles need to be applied to the current political situation, the video needs to be re-shot and the written outline needs to be re-written to correspond to the new presentation. An audio tape will also be produced based on the new video tape, both for mailing to the farm team and to be given to participants in on-site seminars as post-training reinforcement. We should also produce a written "doctrine manual" similar to the book version of Flying Upside Down. This project is on track to be completed by early Summer.
2. Re-introduce the "We Are a Majority" Module: The "We Are a Majority" Module, which explained the core differences between us and the Left and the reasons why our side is in the majority in each area, was one of the major elements of our program through 1989, at which point elements of this module became dated (e.g. our differences with the Left in our understanding of the Soviet Union). By updating and re-introducing this module, we will fill a burning need within the Republican Party to be reminded of the principles which unite us against the agenda of the Left. This project is on track to be completed by mid-late Summer.
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Exhibit 62

"TORY (FRANCHISE) MODEL" R&D

Background

The notion of building a permanent presence in a set of "marginal" Congressional districts has been around for many years, most recently in discussions of creating "Franchise" districts" and/or adapting the British Tory Party's model of permanent campaigns. There are three major reasons to believe this is a good time to move the concept from the "idea" to the "test" phase: (1) GOPAC's work with House challengers in 1992 resulted in development of very strong relationships with Republican leaders in dozens of Congressional districts; (2) During 1992, we undertook a fairly intensive study of the British Tory Party's experience with a similar model, and we have established a good working relationships with senior Tory Party officials who are willing to work with us to apply what they know to the American environment; and (3) Congressional districts are now "set" through 2000 -- i.e. we now have eight years, and four elections, to work on targeted districts without worrying that district lines will be withdrawn.

1993 Objectives

1. Identify "Marginal" Districts: In 1992, we identified 176 Congressional districts which were either "open seats" or held by Democratic incumbents. Republicans were elected in 45 of these 176 districts, leaving 131 districts where our initial analysis suggests Republicans should be electable. Our first task this Spring is to review that initial analysis (based especially on 1992 results) and produce a revised list of 100-150 marginal districts Republicans should target during the 1990s. First cut target list is complete.

2. Developing a Doctrine for "Franchise" Districts: Through various efforts over the past several years, we have already done a significant amount of research into how a "franchise" model would work and even tested several elements that will no doubt be included in a final doctrine manual. Over the next few months, we need to (a) formally study the British model and analyze which elements might be adapted to U.S. campaigns, (b) talk with potential "franchisees" (i.e. customers) about what they need and (c) take a first cut at actually writing down the key elements of a franchise district doctrine (e.g. training, funding, recruiting, etc.). Next steps here depend on the outcome of the April 24 planning session.

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Exhibit 62

OFF-YEAR STATE LEGISLATIVE RACES

Background

Two states, New Jersey and Virginia, will be holding state-wide elections for state legislature this year. Beginning in 1989, GOPAC has played significant roles in both states, providing training, focus group and other research, strategic advice, in-kind contributions (e.g. camera-ready ads) and cash contributions. Our theory has been, and remains, that these off-year states provide a unique opportunity to "market test" our "on-year" political programs before rolling them out nationwide. However, we have also been active for the much simpler reason of helping to elect Republicans -- and on this score, our efforts have been very successful. Legislative leaders in both states give GOPAC significant credit for the major gains they made in 1991, and they are enthusiastic about having GOPAC's help again. It is important to remember that gubernatorial races with national implications (Florio in New Jersey and the Wilder vacancy in Virginia) are on the ballots in both states.

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Exhibit 62

MESSAGE DEVELOPMENT/RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

Background

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1993 Objectives

1. Develop Research Agenda: The first step in this project is to state clearly what we hope to learn -- about values, principles, issues, policies, etc. Newt's "Renewing American Civilization" speech and associated materials have been forwarded to the focus group design team we have worked with in the past (Market Strategies, Inc.), and we look forward to having an initial research agenda back from them by mid-Spring. Initial conversations with Market Strategies completed; research agenda to be completed by mid-June (slightly behind schedule).
2. Develop Test Protocol: Once we have talked through the research agenda, we will begin working with Market Strategies to design a specific research protocol, which will include details on the number of focus groups to be conducted, sites, participant profiles and a discussion outline. This step should be complete by late Spring or early Summer. Still on track.
3. Collect Data/Report/Follow-Up: Our objective is to be "in the field" sometime this Summer (probably over the course of several weeks), and to have written results back in by September 15. The primary means of dissemination (e.g. incorporation into training program, sending reports to Republican leaders, press briefings, etc.) will be decided over the course of the next several months. On track.

Exhibit 62

ONGOING POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Background

A significant part of GOPAC's political program involves either (a) ongoing "routine" activities and (b) taking advantage of targets of opportunity. These include: conducting on-site training seminars for activists, potential candidates and incumbents; producing and mailing audio training tapes; serving as a networking point for Republicans to share new ideas; and, participating in special elections (both state and local and Congressional).

Specific 1993 Objectives

1. On-Site Training Seminars: We are currently working to schedule roughly two dozen on site training seminars during 1993. In addition to the states with off-year state legislative races, we expect to be active in Mississippi (where there is an important race for governor and where GOPAC has been active in the past) and in several other states (e.g. Texas, Pennsylvania, California) where GOPAC training has been well-received in the past. First GOPAC training session of 1993 will be conducted at the Southern Republican Exchange meeting in Louisville on May 8; additional seminars now being scheduled.
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EXHIBIT 63**GOPAC POLITICAL REPORT**

12/01/93

SEMINARS:

<u>Type</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Trainer</u>
1. FUD (40)	8 May 93	Louisville, KY	Joe
2. RAC (65)	5 June 93	Richmond, VA (convention)	Newt
3. Modified (400)	25-26 June	Marietta, GA	Joe & Newt
4. Leading the Majority(9)	31 Aug 93	Hampton, VA	Carlyle
5. FUD (34)	2 Oct 93	New Orleans, LA	Joe
6. FUD (75)	16 Nov 93	Madison, Wisconsin	Joe
7. LTM ()	20 Nov 93	Portland, Maine	Carlyle

Total trained to date: 623

TRAINING TAPES:

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date Mailed</u>	<u>Number Mailed</u>
RAC	Aug 1993	8,742
Mayor Bret Schundler	Oct 1993	8,700
	Dec 1993	

CANDIDATE MEETINGS (11/24 - 12/01):

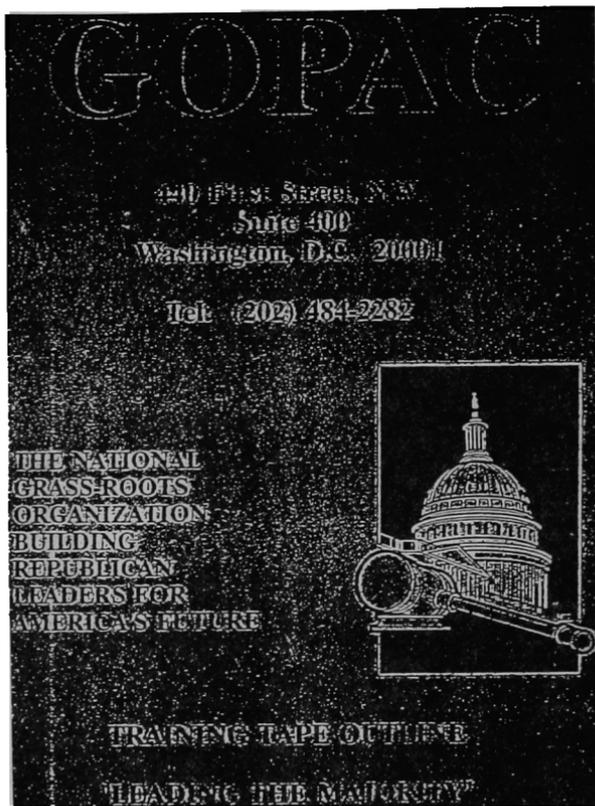
<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>
-------------	-------------

Total meetings to date: 30

Exhibit 63

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EXHIBIT 64



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Exhibit 64

"Leading the Majority"

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to be "Bill Clinton", written in a cursive style.

The key to Renewing American Civilization lies in four propositions:

1. We are a civilization.

2. The four can'ts - you cannot maintain a civilization with:
 - 12 year olds having babies
 - 15 year olds shooting each other
 - 17 year olds dying of AIDS
 - 18 year olds getting a diploma they cannot read

3. The welfare state has failed.

4. We must replace the welfare state, not repair it.
 - The core values of the welfare state are wrong about the way human beings function.
 - Cannot reduce a citizen to a client
 - Cannot expect citizens to abide by rules which are anti-family, anti-work, anti-property, anti-acquiring, anti-opportunity -- and expect them to succeed.

DISCUSSION QUESTION: How do you view the welfare state?

What are the differences between us and the Democrats?

Republicans are the natural majority party.

Percentages for Candidates of the Left Since 1968

1968	Humphrey - 43%
1972	McGovern - 38%
1976	(no left wing candidate)
1980	Carter - 41%
1984	Mondale - 41%
1988	Dukakis - 46%
1992	Clinton - 43%

Washington Post Poll (1993)

Has the President cut spending enough?

No - 77%
Yes - 6%

USA Today Poll (1993)

Are taxes too high? (Before the Clinton tax increases.)

Under taxed - 2%
Too high - 55%
About right - 41%

Atlanta Constitution Poll (1993)

Should we require work for welfare payments from women with young children?

Yes - 82%

No - 11%

Washington Post Poll (1993)

Should government be bigger or smaller?

	<u>1984</u>	<u>1993</u>
Bigger	43%	30%
Smaller	49%	65%

The preceding numbers represent a potential majority.

DISCUSSION QUESTION: How can the Republican Party reach out and bring in new people?

Three Steps for a citizen-candidate:

1. Make clear what you believe
2. Wage a campaign that is clear about your commitments
3. Keep your campaign promises

FIVE PILLARS OF FREEDOM AND PROGRESS

1. PERSONAL STRENGTH
2. ENTREPRENEURIAL FREE ENTERPRISE
3. SPIRIT OF INVENTION AND DISCOVERY
4. QUALITY
5. LESSONS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

REAGAN PRINCIPLE OF THREE - Pick three issues to be the focal point of your campaign. They should fulfill 5 characteristics:

1. Important to your majority
2. Should affect daily life
3. Have to be doable
4. Pick topics that unify your side
5. Pick topics that your opponent can't co-opt

DISCUSSION QUESTION: Name three issues that satisfy all five characteristics?

DESIGN A CAMPAIGN AROUND 4 TYPES OF ISSUES

WEDGES: Issues that separate you from your opponent

*...
↓ opponent from
voters*

MAGNETS: Issues that bond you to your supporters

*- much harder to get out
- more reliable
- if 100 cases.*

SHIELDS: Issues that will shield you from attacks by your opponent

TURF: Issues that your opponent considers their own turf

DISCUSSION QUESTION: Can you think of a local issue that is an example of

1. Wedge -
2. Magnet -
3. Shield -
4. Turf -

PLANNING SHOULD OCCUR AT FOUR LEVELS

1. **VISION**
2. **STRATEGIES**
3. **PROJECTS**
4. **TACTICS**

DISCUSSION QUESTION: Give examples of

1. Vision:
2. Strategies:
3. Projects:
4. Tactics:

1. LISTEN

2. LEARN

3. HELP

4. LEAD

*Care that we take
This is the way
to get things
done in care
with others get there*

DISCUSSION QUESTION: In your experience, give examples of the process:

- Listen
- Learn
- Help
- Lead

THINK OF YOURSELF AS A CITIZEN-LEADER.

1. Repeat our values
2. Protect our own members
3. Manage conflict, recognizing that you can't resolve it
4. Focus on real results

THE FIVE C'S

1. Confidence

2. Creativity

3. Contrast

4. Controversy

5. Capital

DISCUSSION QUESTION: How can you use the 5 C's in your campaign?

- confidence
- creativity
- contrast
- controversy
- capital

EXHIBIT 65PFF
38054

December 15, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR NEWT GINGRICH
BO CALLAWAY
JOE GAYLORD
JIM TILTONFROM: Jeff Eisenach,
Executive Director 

SUBJECT: Short- and Medium-Term GOPAC Financial Situation

This memorandum follows up on recent reports I have provided you concerning GOPAC's financial situation.

As you are well aware, a dramatic shortfall in October and November revenues -- about \$250,000 less than projected -- has produced a short-run cash shortage.

Previous conversations, memoranda and briefing materials have described the causes and some of the immediate consequences of this situation. This memorandum presents an update on the short-run situation and an analysis of our financial outlook through March, 1993.

Short-Run Cash Flow

The "Short-Run Financial Overview" I prepared on December 2 (Attachment 1) showed a need for approximately \$143,000 in "minimum cash needed" through January 15, including payroll and "must pay" bills.

Since that analysis was prepared, we have added an additional \$15,000 to our short-run cash needs (by agreeing to pay DPCS a total of \$20,000 before January 15 rather than the \$5,000 budgeted in the December 2 analysis); and, we have deposited \$42,188.19 (see Attachment 2). Thus, our short-run financial situation can be summarized as follows:

Est. Cash Needs As of 12/2	\$142,720.68
Plus: Additional Cash Needed Per DPCS	15,000.00
Total:	\$157,720.68
Less: Funds Raised Since 12/2	42,188.29
<u>Total Funds Still Needed</u>	<u>\$115,532.29</u>

Exhibit 65

Current Vendor Situation

Attachment 3 provides a comprehensive summary of our current payables. It shows a total of approximately \$361,000 in payables, of which approximately \$127,000 is 60 days or longer past due and an additional \$114,000 is being paid under agreed-upon payment schedules.

A more useful way of looking at our current situation vis-a-vis vendors is presented in the table below, which shows our largest creditors and summarizes our current status with them:

<u>Creditor</u>	<u>Amount Due</u>	<u>Status</u>
DPCS	\$53,311.46	Payment agreement signed 12/11; \$5,000 due 12/31.
Media Intl.	26,166.00	Oral agreement; \$5,000 due December 1 not paid.
Westin Oaks	25,123.00	Oral agreement; \$5,000 due December 1 not paid.
Direct Mail Comms.	22,849.00	Vendor seems content.
Dan Swillinger	22,000.00	Oral agreement.
Cafritz (Rent)	21,130.00	Vendor seems content.
Eddie Mahe Co.	18,314.00	Oral agreement.
Market Strategies	16,700.00	Oral agreement.
P. Alexander	14,554.00	Oral agreement.
Liability Ins.	11,133.00	Must pay ASAP!
Minuteman Press	9,753.00	Oral agreement.
Access Teleconf.	9,200.00	Oral agreement; \$2,000 due December 1 not paid.

You will note that we are behind approximately \$12,000 on oral agreements we have reached with vendors. We are keeping these vendors apprised of our situation, and we believe they are aware of our best intention to pay them. Of course, any funds raised between now and January 1 above what is needed to make payroll will go directly to satisfy these obligations.

Medium-Term Outlook: January-April 1993

Assuming, as seems reasonable, that we are able to meet our short-run obligations, the next question is whether we have a sound plan to restore GOPAC to full financial health as rapidly as possible. I believe that we do.

Exhibit 65

My current expectations with respect to pre-January 15 revenues are as follows:

Minimal Expectation

Owen Roberts	\$25,000.00
Mary/Terry Kohler	45,000.00
Philip Gelatt	25,000.00
Joseph Petrone	10,000.00
Tucker Andersen	10,000.00
Elliot Vernon	10,000.00
Ed Weiner	6,500.00
<u>Direct Mail</u>	<u>10,000.00</u>
Sub-Total	\$141,500.00

Other Strong Possibilities

Amos McMullian	\$25,000.00
Fred Sacher	25,000.00
Pat Rooney	25,000.00
Frank Hanna	10,000.00
Bob Plaster	5,000.00
<u>Charles Parlato</u>	<u>5,000.00</u>
Subtotal	\$95,000.00

TOTAL \$236,500.00

In other words, we have good reason to believe we will raise more than the \$115,000 or so needed to make it through January 15.¹

There is one important interim hurdle: We need at least \$30,000 before December 31 to make payroll and pay DPCS the \$5,000 we have agreed to pay them. I am virtually certain Joe Petrone's \$10,000 will arrive before December 31 -- so that leaves \$20,000. The sooner we can know with certainty where this \$20,000 is coming from, the more comfortable we all will be.

Let me be clear about one additional point. Our vendors are being, for the most part, very patient, and we have an obligation to do everything in our power to pay them as much as we can as soon as we can. I.e. More sooner is better.

¹ Of course, there is no such thing as a "certain" contribution until it is in the bank. These projections represent my best sense based on our conversations with each of the individuals listed. I do not expect we will actually deposit much more than \$150,000 or \$175,000 before January 15 -- but I am almost certain we will deposit more than \$120,000.

Exhibit 65

Attachment 4 presents a tentative working budget for the period from January 15 through April 30, 1993. It assumes the full range of budget cuts recommended and now being implemented remains in place. Specifically:

It assumes that GOPAC operates with a full-time staff of 12:

Executive Director + Asst.
Finance Director + 3 staff
Political Director + 1 staff
Admin. Director + 3 staff
Monthly payroll: \$50,000

It assumes we retain four consultants and a part-time General Counsel, with total monthly retainers of \$20,166.

It assumes that our \$50,000 loan from Franklin National Bank is paid off in three increments prior to the due date of April 15.

It assumes that \$50,000 in bonuses are awarded to staff sometime during the Spring of 1993, partially as compensation for giving up salary increases for nearly 18 months.

It assumes any projects with significant costs are self-funded. (E.g. This budget does not include a Spring tape mailing.)

Given these assumptions, and beginning with the assumption that we raise only enough through January 15 to pay our "must pay" expenses, with nothing left over, the proposed budget would have all of GOPAC's liabilities paid off by May 1. (Note: The budget for payments on 1992 payables includes all payables we expect to be outstanding on January 15, including the bill for the Fall Charter Meeting, etc.)

To accomplish this objective, we will need to raise a total of about \$875,000 during this four-month period. Having done this, we would enter May with virtually no payables (the only exception being the bill for the April 24-26 Charter Meeting).

Obviously, the soundness of this plan rests on whether we can expect to raise \$875,000 in the first four months of 1993. One way of estimating what we can expect to raise during this period is to look at what we have raised during these months in previous years:

January-April 1992	\$948,000
January-April 1991	\$739,000
January-April 1990	\$1,004,000
January-April 1989	\$688,000
Average	\$844,750

Exhibit 65

It is reasonable to ask whether 1993 is "like" any previous year. My sense is that there are good reasons for believing it could be better, good reasons for believing it could be worse -- and overall, good reasons to believe that everything will balance out and we'll come in pretty close to our recent average.

On the positive side:

1. The terrible results from late 1992 are in large part a function of non-renewals -- people who just got tapped out, but who in most cases have told us they plan to stay with us. Thus, some of what we did not get in late 1992 we should get in early 1993.

2. Not having the White House gives us something to be "against" and makes the "grass roots" more important. This should help direct mail in particular.

3. The January 22 event appears to be attracting both prospects and Charter Members.

4. Our prospecting program has given us the most fertile field of qualified prospects and involved Charter Members ever.

5. Since we recruited roughly 15 new Charter Members during the Spring of 1992 (with very little attrition), we have nearly 15 more renewals to expect than we did last year.

6. Our "internal competition" is either less aggressive or gone. At least to the extent "we" are asking for money from actual and prospective Charter Members, we will be asking for money for GOPAC.

7. Newt's re-election and the consolidation of conservative strength in the conference add to his "cache."

8. At least through January -- and probably for a couple of months thereafter -- the two of the other three committees will be in the midst of or completing leadership changes.

9. The economy.

On the negative side:

1. Charter-qualified individuals see their taxes going up and may "feel poor" despite the economic recovery.

Exhibit 65

2. House Republicans are perceived as "irrelevant" -- so Newt may be a bigger fish, but the pond has gotten smaller.

3. It is an "off year."

4. Bo's resignation.

5. Direct mail is in a "secular decline."

6. We have new competition from the "Republican Majority Coalition," the "Bennett-Weber-Kemp-Kirkpatrick Thing," "Change America (whatever it is)" and who knows who else.

Adding up all the negatives and all the positives, I conclude the reasons for optimism are at least as strong as the reasons for pessimism.

One final way of looking at the revenue side is to analyze what we have outstanding in Charter Program renewals, what we expect from direct mail, and what we might get in the way of new members. (See Attachment 5 for background.) From that perspective, the outlook is as follows:

Outstanding 1992 Renewals (assumes half of those outstanding come in)	\$104,500
Jan.-Apr. 1993 Renewals (assumes 60 percent renewal rate)	\$442,000
Dinner Group Renewals (4 of 8; assumes others renew before 1/15)	\$100,000
Direct Mail (Assumes 20% Drop From 1992)	\$125,000
New Members (Assumes New Members At 2/3rds of 1992 Pace)	\$100,000
TOTAL	\$871,500

As with the year-to-year comparisons, you can analyze these numbers to death. The bottom line, though, is that Jan.-Apr. 1993 income of \$850,000 seems very likely, even based on relatively pessimistic assumptions (e.g. no new dinner group members, poor renewal rate).

Exhibit 65

Summary - What We Must Do

I believe GOPAC's prospects are good -- but that conclusion rests on some very important assumptions. Whether these assumptions are realistic depends on what we do. In particular, I believe our success depends on accomplishing at least the following three objectives:

1. We must clearly define GOPAC's mission for 1993 and explain what specific projects we are undertaking or are planning to undertake to carry out that mission. Whether it is New Jersey, Mississippi, Virginia; or the "Tory Party" project; or focus groups on what the country wants from conservatives; or a substantially expanded and improved training program; or . . . whatever -- we need to define it clearly and explain it to those we want to fund us. If we get to the end of January without having done this our odds of making the January-April fundraising goal go down very sharply.
2. We must not confuse "spending little" with "doing little" in our 1993 Political Program. While we may not be sending out any tapes or holding a lot of training seminars, we should be actively working on a new curriculum, cleaning up our tape list, designing a new marketing program, developing new software, scheduling training seminars -- etc. -- all of which we can do at virtually no cost and which are essential to prepare us for the time in late Spring when we will be prepared to put more resources behind our efforts.
3. We must carefully think through the implications of Bo's resignation and move very quickly to fill the very large void it will leave. We also need to understand that our decisions here will be as important from a symbolic perspective -- what does GOPAC think it is -- as from the perspective of who fills what specific "niche" in the GOPAC hierarchy.

Exhibit 65

GOPAC SHORT-RUN FINANCIAL OVERVIEW
12/2/92

PFF
38061

Absolute Requirements Through 1/15/93

12/15 Payroll	\$30,905.31	
12/31 Payroll	27,905.31	
<u>1/15 Payroll</u>	<u>27,905.31</u>	
Subtotal, Payroll	\$86,715.93	
Liability Insurance	\$6,865.00	
Rent (November, December)	21,130.00	
Postage for January Mail Drop	6,000.00	
Telephone	1,500.00	
Data Base/Caging (DPCS)	5,000.00	
Westin Oaks	10,000.00	
UPS	509.75	
<u>Miscellaneous</u>	<u>5,000.00</u>	
Subtotal (Other Requirements)	\$49,139.75	
TOTAL CASH REQUIREMENTS THROUGH 1/15		\$142,720.68

Current Cash on Hand

Federal Acct.	\$3,515.45	
<u>Non-Federal Accts.</u>	<u>2,147.04</u>	
TOTAL CASH ON HAND		\$5,662.49

Anticipated Cash Flow (Non-Charter)

December Direct Mail (Gross)	\$15,000.00	
TOTAL NON-CHARTER CASH FLOW		\$15,000.00

MINIMUM CHARTER/OTHER CASH NEEDED 12/1-1/15		\$122,058.19
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Exhibit 65

Finance Program Report

December 15, 1992

PFF
38062

Year to date Major Donor Revenues: \$ 2,126,553

August-December Total Budget: \$ 1,300,000

August to date Total Revenues: \$ 873,883

Outstanding Balance on Aug-Dec Budget: \$ 426,117

New Charter Members December to date: One

New Charter Members August to date: Eighteen

December Revenues Received

12/10	Don Tendick	\$ 10,000	
12/11	Rayna Weiner	\$ 6,500	
12/11	Herb Linsenberg	\$ 500	New: Dick Fox
12/14	Willard Garvey	\$ 5,000	
12/14	Philip Uihlein	\$ 10,000	New: Charter Member
12/17	Ed Weiner	(\$ 6,500)	
12/17	Joe Petrone	(\$ 10,000)	

\$ 32,000

December Direct Mail Revenues: \$ 10,188.29

August High Dollar Revenues: \$ 217,375

August Direct Mail Revenues: \$ 30,693

August Total Revenues: \$ 248,068 = \$ 248,068

September High Dollar Revenues: \$ 305,825

September Direct Mail Revenues: \$ 29,267

September Total Revenues: \$ 335,092 = \$ 583,160

October High Dollar Revenues: \$ 162,000

October Direct Mail Revenues: \$ 32,907

October Total Revenues: \$ 194,907 = \$ 778,067

November High Dollar Revenues: \$ 49,000

November Direct Mail Revenues: \$ 4,628

November Total Revenues: \$ 53,628 = \$ 831,695 Aug 1 to Nov 30

Exhibit 65

Attachment Three

TOTAL PAYABLES
AS OF 12-15-92PFF
38063

NON-FEDERAL

<u>60 DAYS PAST DUE</u>	<u>30 DAYS PAST DUE</u>	<u>CURRENT</u>
\$ 91,637.82	\$59,374.90	\$41,501.20

FEDERAL

<u>60 DAYS PAST DUE</u>	<u>30 DAYS PAST DUE</u>	<u>CURRENT</u>
\$35,519.84	\$11,983.77	\$ 141.85

****NOTE**** These totals do not include rent or payroll.

The vendors below are on a payment schedule:

Access	\$ 9,262.53
DPCS	\$ 53,311.46
Media Int'l	\$ 26,000.00
Westin Oaks	<u>\$ 25,122.60</u>
TOTAL	\$113,696.59

Exhibit 65

FEDERAL PAYABLES

60 DAYS PAST DUE

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Apr 15, 1992	List Consulting	\$ 1,610.00
Apr 30, 1992	Direct Mail Communications	\$ 6,979.20
May 8, 1992	Direct Mail Communications	\$ 3,297.63
May 30, 1992	Jensen Press	\$ 1,154.70
May 31, 1992	Sisk Mailing Service	\$ 144.00
Jun 3, 1992	Corplex	\$ 1,354.78
Jun 22, 1992	Saturn	\$ 33.46
Jun 25, 1992	Sisk Mailing Service	\$ 1,373.75
Jul 14, 1992	Alexander & MacGregor	\$ 3,500.00
Jul 24, 1992	Direct Mail Communications	\$ 6,219.81
Aug 17, 1992	Alexander & MacGregor	\$ 3,500.00
Aug 24, 1992	Direct Mail Communications	<u>\$ 6,352.51</u>
	TOTAL	\$35,519.84

30 DAYS PAST DUE

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Sep 21, 1992	Alexander & MacGregor	\$ 3,500.00
Oct 13, 1992	Jensen Press	\$ 2,642.16
Oct 14, 1992	Direct Mail Lithographers	\$ 1,620.84
Oct 14, 1992	Alexander & MacGregor	\$ 554.64
Oct 14, 1992	Alexander & MacGregor	\$ 3,500.00
Oct 16, 1992	Direct Mail Management	<u>\$ 166.13</u>
	TOTAL	\$11,983.77

CURRENT

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Nov 19, 1992	Southwire Co. (Jim Richards)	<u>\$ 141.85</u>
	TOTAL	\$ 141.85

Exhibit 65

ADMINISTRATION PAYABLES

60 DAYS PAST DUE

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Apr 9, 1992	Woodside Employment	\$ 140.25
Aug 22, 1992	Jeff Eisenach	\$ 133.53
Aug 31, 1992	Gilbert & Wolfand	\$ 528.75
Sep 17, 1992	Woodside Employment	\$ 204.00
Sep 17, 1992	Woodside Employment	\$ 95.63
Sep 24, 1992	Woodside Employment	\$ 459.00
Sep 30, 1992	Gilbert & Wolfand	\$ 4,014.25
Oct 1, 1992	Woodside Employment	\$ 605.63
Oct 1, 1992	Woodside Employment	<u>\$ 1,700.00</u>
	TOTAL	\$ 7,881.04

30 DAYS PAST DUE

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Oct 8, 1992	Woodside Employment	\$ 306.00
Oct 13, 1992	Samadhi Systems	\$ 641.25
Oct 23, 1992	Thompson, Hine & Flory	\$ 3,338.38
Oct 31, 1992	Dan Swillinger	\$17,696.83
Oct 31, 1992	Gilbert & Wolfand	<u>\$ 858.75</u>
	TOTAL	\$22,841.21

CURRENT

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Nov 19, 1992	Woodside Employment	\$ 116.35
Nov 23, 1992	Solomon Software	\$ 595.00
Nov 24, 1992	Thompson, Hine & Flory	\$ 2,989.96
Nov 30, 1992	Washington Policy Group	\$12,666.66
Nov 30, 1992	Washington Policy Group	\$ 1,999.63
Dec 3, 1992	Gilbert & Wolfand	<u>\$ 525.00</u>
	TOTAL	\$18,892.60

Exhibit 65

FINANCE PAYABLES

60 DAYS PAST DUE

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Aug 27, 1992	Nasau Bay Hilton	\$ 1,074.90
Aug 31, 1992	Harry M. Stevens	\$ 1,699.45
Sep 4, 1992	Carroll Travel	\$ 1,904.00
Sep 10, 1992	Gallery Furniture	\$ 1,000.00
Sep 10, 1992	J&S Audio	\$ 85.00
Sep 10, 1992	Houston Photo Lab	\$ 519.60
Sep 15, 1992	Red Top Transportation	\$ 20.23
Sep 21, 1992	Carroll Travel	\$ 1,343.00
Sep 29, 1992	Minuteman Press	\$ 2,904.00
Sep 29, 1992	The Renaissance	\$ 247.19
Sep 30, 1992	Minuteman Press	<u>\$ 6,746.90</u>
	TOTAL	\$17,544.27

30 DAYS PAST DUE

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Oct 5, 1992	Curb Records	\$ 3,000.00
Oct 9, 1992	KRY Productions	\$ 4,320.00
Oct 21, 1992	Carroll Travel	\$ 1,843.00
Nov 1, 1992	Mary Stiles	\$ 1,000.00
Nov 2, 1992	Steve Kinney	\$ 1,500.00
Nov 10, 1992	Minuteman Press	<u>\$ 102.51</u>
	TOTAL	\$11,765.51

CURRENT

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Nov 24, 1992	Carroll Travel	\$ 563.00
Dec 5, 1992	Kathy Lubbers	<u>\$ 139.50</u>
	TOTAL	\$ 702.50

Exhibit 65

POLITICAL PAYABLES

60 DAYS PAST DUE

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Jun 29, 1992	Denver Dubbing	\$ 40.90
Jul 1, 1992	Market Strategies	\$ 8,000.00
Jul 21, 1992	Denver Dubbing	\$ 374.98
Jul 23, 1992	Design Silk Screen Printers	\$ 594.06
Jul 24, 1992	Federal Express	\$ 82.50
Aug 1, 1992	The Eddie Mahe Co.	\$ 5,800.00
Aug 4, 1992	Nancy Bocskor	\$ 818.43
Aug 12, 1992	Philippe Jenney	\$ 179.96
Aug 20, 1992	Denver Dubbing	\$ 779.46
Aug 20, 1992	Denver Dubbing	\$ 76.23
Aug 20, 1992	Korten Communications.	\$ 1,518.02
Aug 31, 1992	The Bellevue Hotel	\$ 1,263.45
Aug 31, 1992	The Bellevue Hotel	\$ 688.49
Aug 31, 1992	Media Associates	\$ 619.00
Sep 1, 1992	Applied Research	\$ 1,500.00
Sep 11, 1992	Bo Callaway	\$ 813.15
Sep 14, 1992	John Lacy	\$ 2,000.00
Sep 17, 1992	Market Strategies	\$ 300.00
Sep 18, 1992	American Political Network	\$ 84.00
Sep 21, 1992	Market Strategies	\$ 8,000.00
Sep 30, 1992	Applied Research	\$ 3,000.00
Sep 30, 1992	Albert Hanser	\$ 2,500.00
Sep 30, 1992	The Bellevue Hotel	\$ 826.80
Oct 1, 1992	The Eddie Mahe Co.	<u>\$12,513.67</u>

TOTAL	\$52,373.10
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30 DAYS PAST DUE

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Oct 6, 1992	Rep. Natl Com.	\$ 20.00
Oct 9, 1992	Market Strategies	\$ 2,700.00
Oct 13, 1992	Al's Pizza	\$ 751.86
Oct 13, 1992	Amex	\$ 1,426.50
Oct 14, 1992	Lion Recording	\$ 786.52
Oct 20, 1992	Lion Recording	\$ 111.30
Oct 21, 1992	Market Strategies	\$ 6,000.00
Oct 23, 1992	American Political Network	\$ 88.00
Oct 30, 1992	Albert Hanser	\$ 2,500.00
Oct 31, 1992	The Bellevue Hotel	\$ 721.08
Nov 3, 1992	American Political Network	\$ 88.00
Nov 3, 1992	Albert Hanser	\$ 169.10
Nov 3, 1992	Applied Research	\$ 1,500.00

Exhibit 65

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POLITICAL PAYABLES

30 DAYS (CONTINUED)

Nov 9, 1992	Korten Communications	\$ 3,000.00
Nov 9, 1992	US Congress Handbook	<u>\$ 10.95</u>
	TOTAL	\$19,873.31

CURRENT

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Nov 13, 1992	American Express	\$ 2,298.06
Nov 30, 1992	Albert S. Hanser	\$ 345.25
Nov 30, 1992	Albert S. Hanser	<u>\$ 2,500.00</u>
	TOTAL	\$ 5,143.31

Exhibit 65

OVERHEAD PAYABLES

60 DAYS PAST DUE

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Jul 4, 1992	NCR	\$ 84.80
Jul 31, 1992	US Couriers	\$ 15.00
Jul 31, 1992	National News Agency	\$ 210.45
Aug 9, 1992	NCR	\$ 84.80
Aug 14, 1992	Federal Express	\$ 13.00
Aug 20, 1992	CopiTech Plus	\$ 13.50
Sep 1, 1992	Southwestern Bell	\$ 148.42
Sep 1, 1992	AT&T	\$ 200.65
Sep 1, 1992	Southwestern Bell	\$ 4.50
Sep 6, 1992	NCR	\$ 84.80
Sep 9, 1992	Willis Corroon	\$11,133.00
Sep 12, 1992	Federal Express	\$ 29.50
Sep 14, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 134.15
Sep 15, 1992	AT&T	\$ 28.06
Sep 16, 1992	C&P	\$ 535.28
Sep 20, 1992	Pitney Bowes	\$ 453.78
Sep 21, 1992	Federal Express	\$ 47.10
Sep 22, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 269.47
Sep 23, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 168.76
Sep 25, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 48.76
Sep 28, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 100.38
Sep 30, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 31.25
	TOTAL	\$13,839.41

30 DAYS PAST DUE

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Oct 4, 1992	NCR	\$ 84.80
Oct 4, 1992	Pitney Bowes Credit	\$ 259.79
Oct 5, 1992	The Sunspot Cafe	\$ 322.31
Oct 6, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 95.13
Oct 9, 1992	Federal Express	\$ 290.75
Oct 13, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 28.41
Oct 15, 1992	AT&T	\$ 9.70
Oct 15, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 10.09
Oct 16, 1992	Pitney Bowes	\$ 293.78
Oct 20, 1992	Pitney Bowes Credit	\$ 335.69
Oct 20, 1992	ADC	\$ 739.90
Oct 21, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 136.66
Oct 22, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 136.22
Oct 23, 1992	PRO Staff	\$ 16.49
Oct 24, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 91.13

Exhibit 65

30 DAYS (CONTINUED)

Oct 24, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 123.97
Oct 26, 1992	Commonwealth	\$ 22.14
Oct 26, 1992	The Sunspot Cafe	\$ 184.41
Oct 27, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 95.08
Oct 28, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 71.57
Oct 29, 1992	Commonwealth	\$ 457.27
Oct 29, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 8.86
Oct 29, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 40.11
Oct 29, 1992	Commonwealth	\$ 429.04
Oct 30, 1992	Pro Staff	\$ 25.87
Nov 1, 1992	Action Answering	\$ 71.50
Nov 1, 1992	Staples	\$ 53.03
Nov 1, 1992	Fortis Benefits	\$ 358.80
Nov 2, 1992	Commonwealth	\$ 6.68
Nov 3, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 95.69
	TOTAL	\$ 4,894.87

CURRENT

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VENDOR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
Nov 5, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 503.14
Nov 6, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 32.80
Nov 6, 1992	Pro Staff	\$ 29.81
Nov 7, 1992	Allnet	\$ 2,051.97
Nov 8, 1992	NCR	\$ 84.80
Nov 10, 1992	Federal Express	\$ 28.50
Nov 10, 1992	Paychex	\$ 119.46
Nov 11, 1992	The Sunspot Cafe	\$ 252.80
Nov 13, 1992	Federal Express	\$ 304.50
Nov 13, 1992	US West	\$ 428.30
Nov 14, 1992	UPS	\$ 89.00
Nov 15, 1992	AT&T	\$ 12.87
Nov 16, 1992	C&P	\$ 1,116.32
Nov 16, 1992	Deer Park	\$ 48.70
Nov 19, 1992	MCI	\$ 147.99
Nov 19, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 126.88
Nov 20, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 63.60
Nov 20, 1992	Commonwealth	\$ 6.94
Nov 20, 1992	Pitney Bowes	\$ 684.81
Nov 20, 1992	Pitney Bowes	\$ 272.78
Nov 21, 1992	UPS	\$ 70.00
Nov 21, 1992	Blue Cross Blue Shield	\$ 3,776.78
Nov 23, 1992	Maryland Blueprint	\$ 153.88
Nov 23, 1992	Minuteman Press	\$ 192.28
Nov 23, 1992	Federal Express	\$ 28.00
Nov 24, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 83.59

Exhibit 65

CURRENT (CONTINUED)

Nov 28, 1992	UPS	\$ 72.26
Nov 30, 1992	Green Light Express	\$ 78.75
Nov 30, 1992	Commonwealth	\$ 591.33
Nov 30, 1992	Commonwealth	\$ 794.15
Nov 30, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 59.25
Dec 1, 1992	Action Answering	\$ 71.50
Dec 1, 1992	Carroll Publishing	\$ 198.00
Dec 1, 1992	Southwestern Bell	\$ 4.50
Dec 1, 1992	Pitney Bowes	\$ 156.88
Dec 1, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 57.06
Dec 2, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 16.89
Dec 3, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 35.78
Dec 3, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 9.50
Dec 3, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 13.58
Dec 3, 1992	U-Store	\$ 110.00
Dec 3, 1992	NACO	\$ 418.00
Dec 4, 1992	Pitney Bowes	\$ 349.12
Dec 5, 1992	UPS	\$ 64.25
Dec 7, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	\$ 47.88
Dec 7, 1992	C&P	\$ 95.67
Dec 7, 1992	Allnet	\$ 1,179.69
Dec 8, 1992	Commonwealth	\$ 400.68
Dec 11, 1992	Federal Express	\$ 165.25
Dec 12, 1992	UPS	\$ 88.22
Dec 14, 1992	US West	\$ 348.36
Dec 15, 1992	Master Lease	\$ 425.68
Dec 15, 1992	AT&T	\$ 249.03
Dec 30, 1992	US Postal Service	\$ 75.00
	TOTAL	\$16,762.78

Exhibit 65

Attachment Four

PFF
38072

G O P A C

JAN 15, 1992 - APRIL 30, 1992

EXPENSES :	JAN 15-31	FEB 1 - 28	MAR 1 - 31	APR 1 - 30
PAYROLL & TAXES	\$27,500	\$51,900	\$51,900	\$51,900
HEALTH & LIFE INS	\$5,656	\$5,656	\$5,656	\$5,656
PAYLINE	\$965	\$965	\$965	\$965
JOE GAYLORD	\$5,633	\$11,666	\$11,666	\$11,666
PHIL ALEXANDER	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000
DAW SWILLINGER	\$4,000	\$4,000	\$4,000	\$4,000
P.S. HANSEER	\$2,500	\$2,500	\$2,500	\$2,500
RENT	\$10,565	\$10,565	\$10,565	\$10,565
LOAN REPAY (FNB)	\$16,666	\$16,666	\$16,666	
DIRECT MAIL POSTAGE		\$5,000	\$5,000	\$5,000
ENTP POSTAGE	\$2,000		\$4,000	
ACC ACCTS PAYABLE	\$100,000	\$100,000	\$200,000	\$100,000
SUPPLIES & SVC	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$5,000
SOMVE				\$50,000
	\$183,685	\$215,918	\$219,918	\$249,252
				\$868,773

PLAN/ACTUAL

Exhibit 65

Outstanding 1992 Revenues

Attachment Five

PFF
38073

Fall Reminder Invoices (10/23/92):

Berg, Al \$ 10,000 (Renewal date: December 1992; February 1993)
* Uncompleted Newt call 9/16. Completed Newt call 9/23; disgruntled moderate. Sent RNC statement and Newt's convention speech. Rayna to call him but needs another Newt call. Uncompleted Newt call 12/4.

Canning, John \$ 10,000 (Renewal date: September 1992)
* Unsuccessful setting up Newt calls for 12/1, 12/4.

Chambers, Ray \$ 10,000 (Renewal date: October 1992)
* Unsuccessful setting up Newt calls for 12/1, 12/4.

Cook, Dan \$ 10,000 (Renewal date: September 1992)
* Uncompleted Newt call 9/22. Unsuccessful setting up Newt call 12/4. Needs Newt call followed by invoice.

Cooper, Cliff \$ 10,000 (Renewal date: May 1992)
* Elderly and ill. No action.

Cox, Claudine \$ 10,000 (Renewal date: May 1992)
* Completed Newt call from Georgia 11/24. Said would send something. Invoiced 12/03.

Etemad, Mehran \$ 2,500 (Installment date: October 1992)
* Invoiced in October. Laura unsuccessful reaching prior to Charter Meeting. Uncompleted Newt call 12/4. Laura called 12/07 - mother who lives abroad has leukemia, and he has been travelling trying to shore up sagging business that has also been stalled by the transition in the Administration. Did not press for check.

Garvey, Willard \$ 5,000 (Renewal date: July 1992)
* Bo called. Incomplete Newt calls 9/22, 9/23.. Completed Newt called 10/?. Said sending check. Invoiced 12/03. Following staff follow-up calls, \$5,000 arrived on 12/14.

Gooding, Richard \$ 10,000 (Renewal date: July 1992)
* Bo called 3 times prior to election. Did not reach. Uncompleted Newt call 11/24, 12/1.

Green, Marvin \$ 5,000 (Installment date: November 1992)
* Uncompleted Newt calls 9/22, 10/?, 11/24, 12/1.

Hanna, Frank \$ 10,000 (Renewal date: November 1992)
* Completed Newt call 12/1. Invoiced 12/7 with GA CM list.

Milliken, Gerrish \$ 10,000 (Renewal date: January 1992)
* Unsuccessful setting up Newt call for 12/4.

Nelson, Jerry \$ 10,000 (Renewal date: May 1992)
* Uncompleted Newt call 9/23. Completed Newt call 11/24. Said would renew after January 1. Sent invoice 12/3.

Nicholas, Bob \$ 10,000 (Renewal date: September 1992)
* Completed Newt call 9/16. Wife in State Assembly race/no invoice until post election. Uncompleted Newt calls 11/24, 12/1. Sent invoice 12/3.

Parlato, Charles \$ 9,000 (Renewal date: November 1992)
* Completed Newt call 12/1. Said would not join. Hard follow-up letter with invoice sent 12/3. Responded with letter indicated that he hadn't made final decisions yet and was still considering GOPAC. Will attend 1/22 meeting.

Exhibit 65

Plaster, Bob	\$ 5,000	(Installment date: December 1992)	
* Uncompleted Newt calls 9/16, 9/23. Completed Newt call 10/?. Asked to be invoiced 12/1. Invoiced 12/3 and letter sent to his prospect.			
Pursell, Jim	\$ 10,000	(Renewal date: December 1992)	PFF 38074
* Uncompleted Newt call 11/24. Completed Newt call 12/1. Said doesn't have the money right now but would re-evaluate shortly. Newt said to invoice in February. Sent soft sell letter mentioning renewal but without invoice on 12/3.			
Redfearn, Bob	\$ 5,000	(Renewal date: July 1992)	
* Incompleted Newt call 12/4.			
Rodgers, Joe	\$ 10,000	(Renewal date: December 1992)	
* Completed Newt call 11/24. Said to invoice and would probably renew in January. Invoice sent 12/03.			
Slater, Don	\$ 5,000	(Installment date: October 1992)	
* Unsuccessful setting up Newt call for 12/04.			
Stumberg, Bert	\$ 10,000	(Renewal date: November 1992)	
* Uncompleted Newt call 12/04.			
Weiner, Rayna and Ed	\$ 13,000	(Renewal date: February 1992)	
* Completed Newt call 12/01. Rayna's check arrived 12/11. Eddie's \$6,500 was supposedly on its way.			
Weismann, Dick and Philippa	\$ 20,000	(Renewal date: January 1992)	
* Completed Newt call 9/16. Mailed RNC statement and Newt speeches. Unsuccessful setting up Newt follow-up call.			
			<u>\$ 209,500</u>

1992 Seriously Delinquent or Ex-Charter Members

Beaudette, Frank	HOT	Last check: July 1990
Bower, Dan	Ex-CM	Last check: April 1991
Burnett, Bob	HOT	Last check: June 1990
Dowling, Dick	HOT	Last check: September 1990
Fetzer, Wade	Ex-CM	Last Check: April 1991
Gilder, Dick and Virginia	Ex-CM	Last Check: May 1991
Guy, Jack	CMD	Last Check: September 1991 (\$5,000 only)
Huffington, Michael	Ex-CM	Last Check: October 1991
Johnson, Chris	CMD	Last Check: October 1990
Johnson, Butch	CMD	Last Check: May 1991 (\$5,000 only)
* Uncompleted Newt call 9/23, 10/?. Completed Newt call 11/5. Said he was sending check. Sent follow-up letter 12/03.		
Jordan, Don	HOT	Last Check: November 1990
Lucas, Harry	Ex-CM	Last Check: May 1989
Marston, Ed	Ex-CM	Last Check: September 1990
Millner, Guy	Ex-CM	Last Check: January 1990
* Uncompleted Newt call 10/?.		
Rhodes, Dusty	Ex-CM	Last Check: March 1991

Exhibit 65

Potential 1993 RevenuesJanuary Dinner Group Renewals

1/93	Cook, Peter	\$ 35,000	(January Charter Renewal) *
1/93	Gelatt, Philip	\$ 25,000	(July Charter Renewal) * Check expected 1/15.
1/93	Kohler, Terry and Mary	\$ 45,000	* Check expected 1/15.
1/93	McMullian, Amos	\$ 25,000	(March Charter Renewal)
1/93	Roberts, Owen and Susan	\$ 25,000	(May Charter Renewal) * Check expected 12/31.
1/93	Rooney, Pat	\$ 25,000	(December Charter Renewal)
1/93	Sacher, Fred and Ruth	\$ 25,000	(September Charter Renewal) * Completed Newt call 9/16. Newt/Jeff met 12/14.
1/93	Schwan, Marvin	\$ 25,000	(June Charter Renewal)
1/93	Thompson, Jack	\$ 25,000	(May/September Charter Renewal)
		<u>\$ 255,000</u>	- \$ 0,000 = \$ 255,000

January Charter Member Renewals

1/93	Andersen, Tucker	\$ 20,000	* \$ 10,000 10/19/92; completed Newt call 9/16. Told Laura 12/12 he would send a minimum of \$ 10,000 in January (in addition to renewal sent early. Considering Dinner Group.
1/93	Bean, Linda	\$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 12/04. Invoice sent 12/07.
1/93	Beatty, Don	\$ 10,000	
1/93	Bower, Sook	\$ 10,000	* Husband is dying.
1/93	Cray, Bud	\$ 10,000	* Uncompleted Newt call 12/04.
1/93	Dillon, Doug	\$ 10,000	
1/93	Dineen, Bob	\$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 12/04. Invoice sent 12/07.
1/93	Duchossois, Dick	\$ 10,000	* Uncompleted Newt call 12/04.
1/93	Etemad, Mehran	\$ 2,500	* Also delinquent 1992 (see notes in outstanding)
1/93	Morrow, Joe	\$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 12/04. Invoice sent 12/07.
1/93	Nichols, Miller	\$ 10,000	* Newt called 11/24.
1/93	O'Neil, Al	\$ 10,000	
1/93	Richardson, Heather	\$ 5,000	
1/93	Weiner, Sid	\$ 10,000	
		<u>\$ 137,500</u>	- \$ 10,000 = \$ 127,500

February Charter Member Renewals

2/93	Buchwald, Jim	\$ 10,000	\$ 10,000 (10/26/92)
2/93	Crouse, David	\$ 2,500	
2/93	DeMoss, Nancy	\$ 10,000	
2/93	Kriebel, Bob	\$ 15,000	
2/93	Laster, Ralph	\$ 10,000	
2/93	McLaughlin, George	\$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 11/24.
2/93	Naftzger, Pauline	\$ 10,000	
2/93	Oglesby, B.	\$ 25,000	* Completed Newt call 12/04. Invoice sent 12/07.
2/93	Peter, Phil	\$ 5,000	
2/93	Phipps, Howdy	\$ 10,000	

Exhibit 65

2/93	Plaster, Bob	\$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 10/?. Invoice for 1992 faxed 12/04.
2/93	Richardson, Frank	\$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 12/04. Invoice sent 12/07.
2/93	Stewart, Robert	\$ 5,000	* Uncompleted Newt call 12/04.
2/93	Uhlmann, John	\$ 5,000	
2/93	Yohe, Scott	\$ 5,000	PF 38076
		<u>\$ 142,500</u>	- \$ 10,000 = \$ 132,500

March Charter Member Renewals

3/93	Andreas, Dwayne	\$ 10,000	
3/93	DeVos, Rich	\$ 10,000	* Uncompleted Newt call 9/16. Completed Newt call 9/23.
3/93	Engel, Don	\$ 10,000	
3/93	Grant, Bill	\$ 10,000	
3/93	Ingram, Bill	\$ 10,000	
3/93	Laughlin, Bill	\$ 10,000	
3/93	Liddell, Frank	\$ 5,000	
3/93	Loomis, Giny	\$ 15,000	
3/93	Loomis, Lee	\$ 15,000	
3/93	Martinez, Roman	\$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 12/4. Invoice sent 12/07.
3/93	McCormack, John	\$ 5,000	* Completed Newt call 9/16.
3/93	McGinnis, Gerald	\$ 10,000	
3/93	McMinn, Bill	\$ 10,000	
3/93	Nozko, Henry	\$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 9/16.
3/93	Stuart, Bob	\$ 5,000	
3/93	Talbot, Tom	\$ 5,000	
		<u>\$ 150,000</u>	- \$ 0,000 = \$ 150,000

April Charter Member Renewals

4/93	Adam, Don	\$ 10,000	
4/93	Anderson, Travis	\$ 5,000	
4/93	Dickerson, Ken	\$ 5,000	
4/93	Lupton, Tav	\$ 10,000	
4/93	Naegele, Bill	\$ 7,000	
4/93	Richardson, Randy	Not expected (Foundation money to ALOF in '92)	
4/93	Simmons, Harold	\$ 5,000	
4/93	Stephenson, Dick	\$ 10,000	
4/93	Wood, Steven	\$ 10,000	
4/93	Wright, Creighton	\$ 10,000	
		<u>\$ 72,000</u>	- \$ 0,000 = \$ 72,000

January - April 1993 Base Revenues

\$ 737,000

Exhibit 65

EXHIBIT 66

February 4, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR NEWT GINGRICH

FROM: Jeff Eisenach 

SUBJECT: GOPAC Financial Status

CONFIDENTIAL

As shown in the first attachment to this memo, GOPAC took in \$174,407 during the month of January.

The vast majority of the money was from the Charter Program and the Dinner Group. Only about \$3,500 was from direct mail.

There is good news and bad news here.

The best news is that we met our "stay alive" budget through January 15, met payroll on January 31 and have money in the bank to meet payroll on February 15.

It is also good news that our major donor revenues came in slightly above the January average for the past four years (see second attachment), and that there were several encouraging renewals among the checks we did receive (e.g. Doug Dillon, Don Bentley, Bob Dineen).

The worst news is that we raised only enough to "keep the dogs at bay," but not enough to feed very many of them. We entered February with \$373,859 in payables -- \$12,000 more than in mid-December. While we kept the doors open, came to terms with our most aggressive creditors and paid off some of our oldest bills, we did not make any dramatic progress in paying down our debts.

Our direct mail program represents both bad news and good. On the one hand, we had our third consecutive month of gross revenues below \$10,000, which as far as I can tell is unprecedented in GOPAC's history. On the other hand, our membership renewal piece is just now dropping, and we should see \$50,000+ in gross revenues in the next three weeks.

Assuming a continued full-court press by you, Joe, me and everyone here, I believe the odds are better than even that we will make our January-April goal of \$868,000 in total revenue. If we also stick to our budget on the spending side, we will achieve our May 1 objective of having all the vendors paid off and thus being in a position to resume political operations.

c: Joe Gaylord
Bo Callaway

Jim Tilton
Steve Hanser

WGC 07428

Exhibit 66

EXHIBIT 67**GOPAC**

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001
PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

August, 1993

Dear Friend,

We at GOPAC are pleased to send you the enclosed cassette.

"Renewing American Civilization" is excerpted from an address by Congressman Newt Gingrich at a GOPAC training seminar.

No subject could be more profoundly important.

The challenge posed by Newt in this talk goes well beyond philosophy. He raises basic, practical questions we must all answer, as citizens, each in our own way.

Consider, for example, the issue of poverty. How can we restore the values that help individuals triumph over poverty - personal strength, hard work, educational excellence, entrepreneurship, spiritual faith, civic pride and responsibility?

Ideas matter, and replacing the welfare state with an Opportunity Society is so important that Newt is developing a college course that he'll be teaching this fall on this subject, *Renewing American Civilization*.

I wanted you to hear his initial thoughts because it seems to me that we can't answer the question "What does the Republican Party stand for?" without considering the issues Newt has raised in this speech.

As the largest Republican candidate - training organization, GOPAC provides tapes like this free of charge to Republican candidates and office holders.

As a grassroots organization, we can't afford to provide them free to all Republican activists. If you would like to keep your subscription to the audio program, please use the enclosed reply card.

For only \$50.00 you will receive twelve tapes for the 1993-94 election cycle.

This will be an exciting campaign season. With your help and advice, we are determined to make the most of an unprecedented opportunity for Republican growth.

Sincerely yours,

 Joseph R. Gaylord
 Chairman

Authorized and paid for by GOPAC on recycled paper



WGC 06215

Exhibit 67

EXHIBIT 68

1

1 RPTS WATT

2 DCMN QUINTERO

3

4

5 EXECUTIVE SESSION

6

7 DEPOSITION OF JEFFREY EISENACH

8

9 Tuesday, July 25, 1995

10

11 House of Representatives,

12 Committee on Standards of

13 Official Conduct,

14 Washington, D.C.

15

16 The deposition convened, pursuant to notice, at 11:02
17 a.m., in Room HT-2M, The Capitol, Hon. Nancy L. Johnson
18 [chairman of the committee] presiding.

19 Present: Representatives Johnson, Bunning, Goss, Hobson,
20 Schiff, McDermott, Cardin, Pelosi, Borski and Sawyer.

21 Staff present: Ted Van Der Meid, Staff Director; Ed
22 Hosken, Counsel; Chuck Willoughby, Counsel; Bernard Raimo,
23 Counsel; and Greg Narver, Counsel.

24

25

Exhibit 68

1 Kennesaw State College. Mr. Gingrich made clear to Mr. Meskin
2 that he wanted to have the course available nationally through
3 a distance learning kind of process, availability of
4 videotapes, availability on a satellite.

5 Mr. Meskin agreed to that and said that the Kennesaw
6 State College Foundation, which is a 501(c)(3) adjunct of
7 Kennesaw State College, essentially established as I
8 understand it to permit the raising of private funds outside
9 of the State college budget that the Kennesaw State College
10 Foundation could serve as a vehicle for that. Throughout --
11 up through -- up through the middle of May, I was not deeply
12 engaged in any of those conversations or deeply engaged in
13 that process at all.

14 Mr. McDermott. May 1993.

15 The Witness. 1993.

16 And up through the middle of May 1993, this process was
17 being handled by Newt and by Mr. Gaylord.

18 In mid-May 1993, it became clear, frankly, that the
19 process was not well-advanced. No funds had been raised, no
20 production firms had been contacted. Essentially, the work
21 that needed to be done before the course began in September
22 was not where it needed to be.

23 Mr. Gingrich asked me at that point whether I would
24 resign from GOPAC and take over as project director, project
25 manager for the course and I indicated to him that I would do

Exhibit 68

1 so.

2 I resigned from GOPAC effective June 1, resigned as
3 treasurer of GOPAC, retained a consulting arrangement with
4 GOPAC through September, I think, 1993, which allowed me to
5 continue helping them raise money, which they needed to do,
6 and simply put the house in order as I turned the -- as I
7 turned the organization over to Mr. Gaylord who became its
8 chief operating officer on June 1st.

9 And secondly, my second client became Kennesaw State
10 College, the Kennesaw State College Foundation, who -- both of
11 whom were clients of the Washington Policy Group, which was my
12 consulting firm now with multiple clients.

13 That was the situation. And this seemed natural
14 incidentally because by this time, of course, I had -- it was
15 clear that I was leaving GOPAC in any case some time in the
16 coming months in order to devote full time to The Progress &
17 Freedom Foundation, and this seemed like a very natural
18 transition out of GOPAC into The Progress & Freedom
19 Foundation, which still remember at this point was not
20 intended to have any role beyond the course book in Renewing
21 American Civilization.

22 Now --

23 Mr. McDermott. So at that point The Progress & Freedom
24 Foundation had no intended role beyond the book for the --

25 The Witness. Precisely.

Exhibit 68

1 The Chairman. The Book of Readings.

2 The Witness. Beyond the book -- beyond the Book of
3 Readings.

4 Ms. Pelosi. Excuse me, may I just ask a question here
5 because I must have misunderstood this morning.

6 The Chairman. Yes.

7 Ms. Pelosi. I had the impression this morning that when
8 you began your description of The Progress & Freedom
9 Foundation, you said that it was -- Mr. Gingrich didn't have
10 that much to do with it, he wasn't an officer, he wasn't the
11 main fund raiser, he wasn't the main attraction.

12 The Witness. Right.

13 Ms. Pelosi. That there was -- that it had a life apart
14 from him.

15 The Witness. Right.

16 Ms. Pelosi. Now I am hearing that its only purpose is
17 the --

18 The Witness. No, to the contrary. The only connection
19 it had with Mr. Gingrich and the college course was the Book
20 of Readings.

21 Ms. Pelosi. But it --

22 The Witness. It had a much -- it was just getting off
23 the ground. At this point, it has no paid employees and if
24 you -- it had a much larger agenda which we had laid out
25 clearly.

Exhibit 68

EXHIBIT 69

PFF
1167



The Progress & Freedom Foundation

March 29, 1995

Mr. Jan Baran
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K St. NW
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Jan:

Enclosed, per our conversation this morning, please find seven items which provide background on the relationship between The Washington Policy Group, GOPAC and PFF during the period May-September 1995.

1. Letter from Chuck Cooper and Jeffery Yablon to Phil Kuntz, which reviews this entire period in the context of WPG/PFF activities "at GOPAC."
2. Letter of agreement between GOPAC and WPG covering this period.
3. Eisenach letter of resignation as Treasurer of GOPAC, dated June 1, 1993.
4. Eisenach letter of resignation as Executive Director of GOPAC, dated June 1, 1993.
5. Gingrich letter to GOPAC Charter Members informing them explicitly that course was not under GOPAC auspices.
6. Original "Prospectus" for The Progress & Freedom Foundation (revised August 1993), which details its planned program of activities. (This was submitted to the IRS as part of a follow-up to our 1023 application for tax exempt status.)
7. Timeline showing "RAC Milestones, June 1, 1993-August 5, 1993."

You will note that these items are largely silent on happenings with respect to RAC prior to May 1993. It is important, I believe, to be clear about the situation prior to that time. Responsibility for the course, as I understood it, rested with Joe Gaylord. Joe was the main point of contact with Dr. Mescon, and worked with Mescon to hire Nancy Desmond (who I did not meet until sometime in late May) and Jerry Stedman. He conducted the initial conversations with Video Tape Associates, and the initial correspondence from VTA was directed to him as "Chief of Staff" for Newt. Joe directed that GOPAC staff participate in fundraising for the course, and Pam Prochnow's work with Tim Mescon in April and May 1993 occurred under his direction.

Exhibit 69

as GOPAC's Chairman. My involvement – with the exception of the course book, which was de facto a separate project – was derivative of (a) my ongoing role as "intellectual advisor" to Newt and (b) my role as Executive Director of GOPAC, which led me to keep tabs on what its staff (i.e. Pam) was doing. (Thus, for example, I was aware that she was talking with Joe Rogers, Rick Berman, etc., and even pitched in to help when I could – e.g. with Berman. But I was not directing this activity so much as keeping tabs on it.)

As things progressed, my observation of the process led me to conclude that the project was lacking in clear direction. In a lengthy Saturday morning conference call in April 1993 I made a very strong case to Newt that some stronger coordinating mechanism was needed. (I did not intend that it be me, and said so. In any case, my arguments were forcefully rejected.) However, on May 12, Joe indicated that he had come to share this view, and that his interests were not really so much with RAC as with GOPAC. Thus, we met with Newt that evening and, in a sense, traded jobs: Joe became CEO (as well as Chairman) of GOPAC; I resigned from GOPAC and became project director for the course. It was at this point, and only at this point, that I got involved in any day-to-day aspect of the project's operation.

I point these facts out not in any effort to "share the blame" – since I don't think there's any "blame" to be shared – but rather to help you understand why my ability to speak to activities prior to June 1, 1993 is relatively limited.

Based on our conversation, I have also enclosed are three additional items pertinent to the funding of the course and The Progress & Freedom Foundation.

1. "RAC Donor Update, January 28, 1994" – Fundraising progress during 1993 was tracked through this report, which I updated as information came in. The point it makes is that out of 100+ solicitations made, only approximately 15 were to people/institutions associated with GOPAC. (I've marked these with a "G".) Indeed, GOPAC was still in the process of recovering from the 1992 debacle, which left the institution in difficult financial straits, and was in no position to be subsidizing anything. Thus, fundraising for RAC was conducted almost exclusively outside the GOPAC donor base. (It is perhaps worth noting that when the Wall Street Journal obtained a list of all GOPAC donors, and wrote an extensive story about those it considered most significant, none of the donors listed in the Journal's story had contributed to RAC.)
2. "1993 RAC Donors" – This summary of 1993 contributors to RAC shows that while we did not focus on GOPAC donors, we were more successful with GOPAC-related donors than others, especially with respect to major contributions. Major contributions from The Randolph Foundation (Heather Higgins), Cracker Barrel Stores (Dan Evins), the Metropolitan Atlanta Community Foundation (Rayna Weiner), Richard Fox, SpaceMaster International (Ray Wooldrige), Southwire (Jim

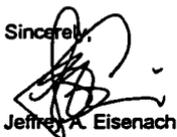
Exhibit 69

Richards) and HBR Capital (Frank Hanna) accounted for roughly 50 percent of first-year RAC funding.

3. "Foundation Releases Year-End Financial Report" -- This press release and attachments detail all contributions to PFF from its inception through December 31, 1994, and include a complete listing of all contributors (but not amounts) to RAC as of that date. It is perhaps worth noting that fewer than one-third of all PFF donors and less than one-third of all PFF funding since its inception are associated with GOPAC contributors.

I hope this information is helpful and stand prepared, of course, to provide any additional information you may need.

Sincerely,



Jeffrey A. Eisenach

Enclosures

P.S. The package you submitted yesterday just arrived on my desk. I welcome the opportunity to review it and will let you know if I see any factual or other problems.

Exhibit 69

RAC DONOR UPDATE
January 28, 1994

6 Ms. Heather S.
Richardson
Director
The Randolph
Foundation
255 East 49th St.
Suite 23-DE
New York, New York
10017
212/752-7148
212/752-7316

\$50,000 received
6/15/93.

G Cracker Barrel Old
Country Store
P.O. Box 787
Lebanon, Tennessee
37088
Att: Melissa Cain
615/444-5533
615/443-9480

Street address: 305
Hartman Drive.
Lebanon, TN
37087

\$25,000 promised 6/1/93.
To come in two
installments per Melissa
Cain to JAE 6/11/93. JE
& JR talked to MC 7/21.
JE call 8/19. Left
message re second

installment. Talked week
of 8/19; check will be
ordered 9/13 & sent 9/27.
NG talked with D. Evins
1/24, follow-up letter
1/25, JE call 2/2. Send
RAC PAC 2/2 via UPS.
Now considering where
to give.

Mr. Rick Berman
607 Fourteenth St. NW
Washington, DC 20005
202/347-3900
202/347-5250

\$25,000 discussed with
JG/NG/PP. Has talked
with Nancy Desmond.
Needs cc. of new RFF
and call from JAE. JE
Letter 6/18. \$25,000
received 7/1. Is
preparing material for
class. Talked 12/22.
Will try to renew 12
months after first check
(7/1/94)

Mr. C.B. Rogers, Jr.
Chairman and Chief
Executive Officer
Equifax, Inc.
1600 Peachtree Street
NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
Att: Mr. Scott Dix
404/885-8105

See letter in file. MD has
talked with Scott Dix.
Need to send RFF
ASAP. TM Letter 6/18.
Committed \$10,000 over
four years(!) 7/15. JE
call to SDix 7/21.

Ms. Barbara K. Foote
Government Affairs
Representative
Coming Incorporated
Suite 500
1455 Pennsylvania Ave.
NW
Washington, DC
20004-1078
202/347-2285

Needs new prospectus
and call from JAE. JE
letter 6/18. JE calls 7/19,
7/20. Returns 7/21.
Will check 7/26 and call
back. NG 8/9, will check
and let us know.

Exhibit 69

660

PFF
1253

2

Mr. Richard M. Scrushy
Chairman of the Board,
President and
Chief Executive Officer
Healthsouth
Corporation
Two Perimeter Park
South
Birmingham, Alabama
35243
205/967-7116
205/969-4719

\$. Yes to \$5,000 to JE
8/23. Will put in contact
with library 8/23.
Called/WCB 8/25.

Needs new prospectus
 and call from JAE and/or
 NG. JE Letter 6/18.
 \$5,000 received 6/20.
 "More" promised. JE &
 JR to talk with J.
 Burleson week of 7/26.
 JB will check; JE call into
 JB 8/11. Will do \$10,000
 more per JB 8/16.
 Invoice faxed 8/16.

Ms. Peggy Binzel
Director of Government
Affairs
Turner Broadcasting
820 First St. NE
Ninth Floor
Washington, DC 20002
202/898-7677
202/898-7684
[Geneen Douglas]

Prospectus couriered
 7/15 following JE phone
 call. Called JE to say
 yes on video library, still
 discussing producer vs.

Exhibit 69

Mr. and Mrs. Ed Weiner
712 West Paces Ferry
Rd.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327
404/822-4212
404/262-1538

NG friends. Need RFF
from JE. JG sent RFF
6/22. JE follow-up by
FEDEX 7/19. JE brief
conversation w/Rayna
7/20. NG dinner w/RW
8/9 in for \$25,000 now,
\$25,000 next quarter.
Fax from MD 8/13.

**Mr. Thomas M.
Bengtson, CPCU**
Manager, Industry
Affairs
AETNA
Securities Centre
3500 Piedmont Rd., NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30305
404/818-4879

No action as of 6/15.
Has promised "small"
financial support. Need
to send RFF. TM letter
6/18.

Mr. Barclay Ressler
Assistant Vice
President,
Government Relations
Coca-Cola Company
1627 K Street NW
Washington, DC 20006
202/466-5311

NG friend. Needs RFF
from JAE. Sent 7/1.
Needs follow-up call.
(See also Gillin).

Mr. John J. Gillin
Senior Vice President,
McDonald's Worldwide
The Coca-Cola
Company
P.O. Box 1734
Atlanta, GA 30301
404/676-4649
404/676-2211
[Secy. = Pam]

Prospectus mailed 7/15.
Dick Tash has contacted
also. JE call needed.
Gillin talked with ND re
DTash, JE call 7/23.
Talked/faxed info. 7/26.
NG call 8/4/WCB. Yes to
"something" per JG to
NG 8/11. Promised ND
\$10,000 8/26; ND call 9/8
to check on timing.
\$10,000 received 12/3.
John White, may give
\$10,000 + more before
end of year. Called 12/9.
Will check with John W.

12/10 and get back to me
or Nancy.

Mr. William E. Sands
Mobil Chemical
Company
Plastics Division
P.O. Box 71
Covington, Georgia
30209
404/788-5372

Interested in reviewing
quality section. May be
vehicle for funding. Send
syllabus and RFF. TM
letter 6/21. TM

Exhibit 69

Jerome H. Orleans, FLMI
Group Sales Manager
Chubb LifeAmerica
2 Concourse Parkway
Suite 820
Atlanta, Georgia 30328
404/551-0297

NG 5/8/93 6th dist. b-
fast/RAC Downlink, also
RFF. TM 6/21 TM

Mr. Martin E. Simmons
General Counsel
First American
Corporation
First American Center
Nashville, Tennessee
37237
615/736-6738

Met at South Rep.
Exchange May 17(?).
Needs info. for downlink
plus RFF. TM 6/18

Dr. Thomas K. Watt
President
Scientific Research
Corporation
280 Interstate North
Parkway
Suite 430
Atlanta, Georgia 30339

No action as of 6/15.
Interested in input,
perhaps support. Need
to send RFF with cc of

syllabus enclosed. TM
letter 6/21. ND.

Mr. Mark Leggett
NationsBank
101 S. Tryon St.
Charlotte, NC 28255
704/386-7920

B.B. King prospect.
Needs RFF from TM. TM
Letter 6/21. JE call 7/21.

Mr. Joe W. Rogers, Jr.
President
Waffle House, Inc.
P.O. Box 6450
Norcross, Georgia
30091-6450
404/729-5700
404/729-5758

Has talked with Pamla.
TM letter 6/21. NG call
8/10. Fax 8/10. JE
letter/prosp. 8/10. Rtd.
call 8/24. Handed over
to Don Balfour. \$5,000
check ready to give to
Newt upon his return per
DB 8/25. JE to send
package to:

Dr. David Jones
Childrens' Heart Center
2040 Ridgewood Dr. NE
Atlanta, GA 30322

Mr. A. Richardson
Love, Jr.
Education Program
Officer
Knight Foundation
One Biscayne Tower,
Suite 3800
2 South Biscayne
Boulevard
Miami, Florida 33131
305/539-0009

Discuss with Pamla. No
known contact as of 6/15.
Needs RFF from TM.

Mr. H. Laird Walker
Vice President, Federal
Relations
U.S. West, Inc.
Suite 700
1020 Nineteenth Street
NW
Washington, DC 20036
202/429-3100

Newt bc note. Needs
RFF & follow up call from
JAE. JE letter sent 7/21.

Exhibit 69

Mr. James R. Irvine
Vice
President/Treasurer
National Association of
Home Builders
1201 15th Street NW
Washington, DC 20005
202/822-0200
202/822-0374

Newt business card.
Future President of
Homebuilders.
Interested in downlinks,
also needs RFF. JE
Letter 7/21

Hon. Guy Vander Jagt
Baker & Hostetler
Washington Square,
Suite 1100
1050 Connecticut Ave.
NW
Washington, DC 20036
202/861-1722
202/861-1783

Newt met with recently,
discussed RAC. Need to
send RFF. JE Letter.

Mr. John A. Norris
Corporate Executive
Vice President
Hill & Knowlton, Inc.
Public Relations/Public
Affairs
800 South Street
Suite 505

Waltham,
Massachusetts 02154
617/894-3100
617/893-2420

JE knows from previous
GOPAC discussions.
Send RFF. JE Letter.

Mr. Michael A. Cawley
President
The Samuel Roberts
Noble
Foundation, Inc.
P.O. Box 2180
2510 State Hwy. 199
East
Ardmore, Oklahoma
73402

Mr. James U. Blanchard
President
Jefferson Financial
2400 Jefferson
Highway
Jefferson, Louisiana
70121
504/837-3033
504/837-4885

Newt met at CATO
dinner. Send downlink
information + RFF. TM
Letter 6/21.

Mr. Tom Bresnahan
Chevron Corporation
1400 I Street NW
Washington, DC 20005

B.B. King Prospect.
Needs RFF from JE. JE
Letter 7/21. NG call 8/9.
Forwarded to Bobby
Boone. JE call 8/12.
Will get back after
reviewing 8/12. 404/984-
3010.

Mr. Rob Walton
Wal-Mart Stores, Inc.
Corporate Offices
P.O. 116
Bentonville, Arkansas
72716
[Don Shinkel VP Govt
Affs.]
501/273-4210
501/273-1969

Exhibit 69

Send RFF from Tim Mescon. Tim Mescon 6/21. NG call 8/4; package faxed 8/5.

Mr. Hardwick Simmons
President & CEO
Prudential Securities
199 Water Street, 34th
floor
New York, NY 10292

Mark Melcher/JG
contact. TM letter 7/15?

Mr. Richard Tash
Northwestern Mutual
Life
1360 Peachtree Street
Suite 1000
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
404/885-6502
H:404/924-1284
(J.B. Fuqua)

TM sent RFF 6/17.
Needs follow up calls
from TM/MD/JE. JE
talked w/Tash early July,
sent materials, good
letter back 7/8, needs
call JE.

Mr. Frank Cantrel
Director of Government
Relations
MCI Communications
Corp.
1801 Pennsylvania Ave.
NW
Washington, DC 20006
202/887-3112
202/887-3123

Prospectus mailed 7/15
per Greg W. NG call 8/9.
JE call 8/17. (Ideas). Sit
down with Gerry Kovach
(VP ext. affs.) 8/20. Met
w/Cantrel for 2 hours.
Good talk, have studio,
want to provide info.
Follow-up Call to FC
8/30. Yes to \$10,000 FC
to JE 9/2. Check will be
in in two weeks. Sent

1994 prospectus 1/4/94.
Will look at. Interested.
Just got too hot last time.
Talked 3/17/94.
Discussed info. tech.
industry.
Bert Roberts = CEO.
Package sent 3/17.

Mr. Tony Dinos
519 Solar Drive
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida
33301

Brother met with TM last
week. Has Foundation in
Atlanta. TM sent letter
and packet 6/15. Needs
follow-up call. TM

Mr. William P. Roesing
Joseph E. Seagram &
Sons, Inc.
1401 I Street NW
Washington, DC 20005
202/898-6400

NG/JE friend. JE gave
RFF on 6/17 JE
Followup. Probably not a
prospect.

Mr. William May
Chevron PAC
575 Market St.
9th Floor
San Francisco, CA
94105

JE/NG friend. Needs
RFF from JE.

Mr. Frank Blake
General Electric Co.
1 River Rd.
Bldg 59 East
Schenectady, NY
12345
518/385-9200

JE friend. Needs RFF
from JE. JE Follow-up

Mr. Philips Peter
General Electric
1331 Pennsylvania Ave.
NW
Washington, DC 20004
202/637-4000

NG to give RFF 7/21.
Phone call to JE 7/26.
Will get back to us.
Kathleen will talk with
Cliff Smith 8/9. Must
await Peter's return 9/1
per Kathleen 8/10. Mr.
Clifford Smith, President,
GE Foundation, 3135
Easton Turnpike,
Fairfield, CT 06431y

Mr. Rich Fink
Vice President,
Government
and Public Affairs
Koch Industries
1401 I St. NW, Suite 300
Washington, DC 20005
202/408-1230

JE/NG friend. RFF from
JE 7/21. NG call
8/5; WCB; NG talked 8/13.
Will look at JE talked
with Lynn Taylor at Koch
Foundation (202/842-
4616//202/842-4667)
8/30; sent list of
downlinks & press
release on reviewers.
(Odell Huff called 9/8 to
ask for another set of
materials; messengered.)
Lynn Taylor returned JE
call 9/20; asked for cc of
video tape/
messengered. Will
decide this week. Called
10/1. Out today. WCB
Monday. \$10,000
committed 10/4.

6
Mr. Roger Milliken
Milliken & Company
P.O. Box 3167
Spartanburg, SC 29304

Mr. John F. Nash
Washington Counsel
Milliken & Company
1100 Connecticut Ave.
NW
Suite 1300

Exhibit 69

Washington, DC 20036
202775-0184
202775-0784

Milliken. NG/JE friend.
JE letter 7/21.

Mr. Jim Richards
Southwire Foundation
P.O. Box 1000
Carrollton, Georgia
30119
404/832-4242
404/832-4939

Needs RFF from TM. TM
sent 7/1 (yes). Yes to
\$10,000 to JE, 7/21.

Mr. Roy Richards
Southwire Foundation
P.O. Box 1000
Carrollton, Georgia
30119
404/832-4242
404/832-4939

Needs RFF from TM.
DID HE GET ONE? Yes.
TM.

Mr. Scott Yohe
Vice President,
Government Affairs
Delta Airlines, Inc.
1629 K St. NW
Suite 501
Washington, DC 20006
202/296-6464
202/466-2610

Needs RFF from JE.
Called re: airline deal for
conference 8/19. Will
have marketing rep. call
me.

Mr. Fred Smith
Chairman
Federal Express
Corporation
P.O. Box 727
Memphis, TN 38194

Mr. Doug Buttrey
Director of Government
Affairs
Federal Express
Corporation
2605 Nonconnah Blvd.

Memphis, TN 38132
901/369-3600

BB King Prospect. JE
letter 7/21 to Fred Smith.
Yes to something per FS
to NG 8/11.

Exhibit 69

Mr. Bernard Marcus
The Home Depot, Inc.
2727 Paces Ferry Rd.
Atlanta, Georgia 30330
404/433-8211

Needs RFF from TM. TM
letter 6/21. NG follow-up
letter 7/6. NG call 8/12.
Call when return from
Israel.

Mr. Ralph Vinovich
Vice President,
Legislative Affairs
Tobacco Institute
1875 Eye Street NW,
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20006

RFF from JE 7/21.

Mr. George Meany
Manager, Campaign
Support
Shell Oil Company
P.O. Box 2846
Houston, TX 77001
713/241-6161

Needs RFF from TM. TM
letter 6/21. Needs
follow-up call. JE.

Mr. Bruce Bond
Corporate Civic Action
Manager
Ford Motor Company
9th Floor WHQ
The American Road
Dearborn, MI 48121

313/322-7985

RFF from JE 7/21; NG
8/5; will walk up to corp.
giving; contact is Elliott
Hall; 202/962-5371.

6
Mr. M.B. Oglesby
RJR Nabisco
1455 Pennsylvania Ave.
NW
Suite 525
Washington, DC 20004
202/626-7218

Needs RFF from TM. TM
letter 6/21. JE calls not
returned in early July.
NG call 8/4; new RFF
8/5. JE call 8/16; wcb.
\$5,000 received 9/3.

6
Mr. Richard J. Fox
Chesterbrook
Corporate Center
1325 Morris Drive
Suite 201
Wayne, Pennsylvania
19087-5506
215/640-1400
215-640-5861

NG call 8/10. Will raise
\$50,000. 5 RFFs sent
8/10.

Committed \$20,000 to
NG 8/31; Followup letter
9/1; JE call 9/3. Follow-
up call 9/20. Faxed
proposal/tax letter/will
send this week.

Mr. Ted Forstmann
Forstmann, Little &
Company
767 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York
10153

Exhibit 69

212/355-5656
212/759-9059

Needs RFF from TM. TM
letter 6/21. Follow up
call needed.

G (DeVos -)

Mr. John Gartland
Amway Corporation
214 Massachusetts Ave
NE
Suite 210
Washington, DC 20002
202/547-5005

Pat Gartland's Brother.
RFF from JE 7/21. NG
conversation 8/4; letter to
R. DeVos 8/5. JE call
8/19; WCB. Will let us
know 8/23. JE Call re:
NG calling DeVos 8/30.
WCB.

Mr. & Mrs. Raymond
Shamie
c/o Shamie
Management
Corporation
1600 Providence
Highway
Walpole, MA 02081
508/660-2666

NG friends. Need RFF
from TM. TM 6/21, NG
call 8/5; wcb.

Mr. Michael Conley,
Northwestern National
Life (Rt #6210)
20 Washington Ave.
South
Minneapolis, MN
55401-1900
612/372-5432 (direct
dial) 612/372-1172

612/342-7592

Met with Newt, got very
excited, sure thing (per
Richard Hines, 6/18).
TM letter 6/18. RH says
"call him" NG call 8/9.
JE fax 8/9. Yes to
"something" to JE 8/12.
Yes to \$5,000 8/23. Also
taking the class. Phil
Ricker to contact JR.

Exhibit 69

Mr. Robert L.
Laszewski
Health Policy and
Strategy Associates
1225 Connecticut Ave.
NW
Seventh Floor
Washington, DC 20036

No action as of 6/15.
See note in file. Need to
send RFF. (NW National
Life contact. JE to call
7/21)

Richard Hines
Richard Hines
Consulting
733 Fifteenth St. NW
Suite 700
Washington, DC 20007
202/393-0720
202/393-0723

Conley contact.

Mr. Robert Patin
Washington National
Insurance Company
300 Tower Parkway
Lincolnshire, IL 60069
708/793-3067
708/793-3700

Richard Hines. Needs to
do more work. Await
Richard call. Met w 7/30
(w/Laszewski, Hines).
No to NG week of 8/

Mr. Bill Loughrey
Director of Government
Affairs
Scientific Atlanta
Corporate
Communications
Department
One Technology
Parkway, South
Norcross, Georgia
30092-2967
404/903-4629
404/903-4775

Has prospectus.
Promised Jeff
"something" 6/17.

Mr. Mitchell E. Daniels
President, North
American
Pharmaceutical
Operations
Eli Lilly and Company
Lilly Corporate Center
Indianapolis, Indiana
46285
317/276-9937
317/276-9152

Prospectus mailed 7/15
following JG
conversation with MD.
Probably no per JE
conversation 7/20, but
contact head of DC
office.

Mr. Stephen Wolf
Chairman and CEO

United Airlines
P.O. Box 66919
Chicago, IL 60666
708/952-5489
708/952-7347
[Jan]

RFF from JE 7/21. JE to
schedule NG call week of
8/9. No per letter 8/13.

Mr. Jim Newman
Assistant Vice
President
Bell South
125 Perimeter Center
West
Atlanta, GA 30346
404/391-4545

TM letter 7/21. NG call
8/5. Will look at. Talking

Mr. William Schambra
Program Officer
Lynde & Harry Bradley
Foundation
777 E. Wisconsin Ave.
Suite 2285
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
53202

Needs RFF for next
quarter.

Exhibit 69

G
Mr. Richard Gilder, Jr.
Gilder, Gagnon, Howe
& Company
1775 Broadway
25th Floor
New York, New York
10019

NG call 8/10. NG fax
8/10. JE letter/RFF 8/10.
Look at in December per
Dusty to NG, 8/11.

The Freedom Forum
1101 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, VA 22209

No action as of 6/15.
Reviewed prospectus,
RAC not within
guidelines.

**Dr. and Mrs. Thomas
Cooper**
4028 River Ridge Chase
Marietta, Georgia
30067
404/952-7681

Cong. Club members.
Want to give \$500. Need
to send RFF. TM letter
6/21

Mr. Thomas Barnette
690 Atlanta Country
Club
Marietta, Georgia
30067

W: 404/952-5151 H:
404/980-1040

Cong. Club member.
Expressed interest in
giving. Send RFF. TM
6/21

Mr. Lary Alexander
Southwestern Bell
Corporation
1010 Pine Street
St. Louis, MO 63101

B.B. King prospect.
Needs RFF from TM. TM
6/21. NO, 6/25.

Mr. J.W. Marriott
Chairman, President
and CEO
Marriott Corporation
10400 Fernwood Rd.
Bethesda, MD 20058

Needs RFF from TM. TM
letter 6/21. NO 7/6.

Mr. John M. Stuckey
Glass, McCullough,
Sherrill & Harrold
1409 Peachtree Street,
NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
404/885-6774
404/885-6694

TM letter 5/10. See note
in file. (Newt note:

improbable, not big
money.)

Ms. Lynn J. Farris
Vice President -
Corporate
Communications
Vought Aircraft
Company
P.O. Box 655907
Dallas, Texas 75265-
5907
214/266-2695
214/266-3465

See letter in file. Needs
RFF from Pamla. (Not a
prospect).

**Mrs. Marguerite N.
Williams**
Williams Investment,
Ltd.
P.O. Box 378
Thomasville, Georgia
31799
912/226-4300

Needs RFF from TM. TM
letter 6/21. NO, 6/25.
Letter faxed to NG 7/6.

Exhibit 69

Mr. Lawrence M. Parks
President
Systematic Asset
Management
Corporation
211 East 43rd Street
#2202
New York, NY 10017-
4707
212/818-1144
212/818-1197

Met Newt at PCG in New York. Interested in class. Also working with JAE to arrange NG speech in NYC. Needs info on signing up for downlink, also RFF. Saw in NYC on 6/21 — not a likely candidate.

Mr. Roy E. Marden
Manager of Industry
Affairs
Philip Morris
Management Corp.
120 Park Avenue
New York, New York
10017
212/878-2610

JE/NG friend. Newt saw in Dallas. TM 6/21; no to JE 7/20.

William Dahlberg
Chief Executive Officer
Georgia Power
P.O. Box 4545

Atlanta, Georgia 30302
404/526-6526

Letter from JE 7/22
 NG call 8/30. Looking at it, good package.

Mr. Robert Bannister
Senior Staff Vice-
President
National Association of
Home Builders
15th & M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20005
202/822-0200

Letter/prospectus from JE 7/22. NG says "Jerry Howard."

Ms. Barbara Lent
Executive Director of
Government Relations
NYNEX
1828 L Street, N.W.
Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20036
202/336-7900

Letter/prospectus from JE 7/22. NG call on Long Island 8/30. Follow-up letter 8/30.

Mr. Ken Cannestra
Group President
Aeronautical Systems
Lockheed Corp.
86 South Cobb Drive
D/01-30
Marietta, Georgia 30063
404/494-4411
404/494-5431

Letter/prospectus from JE 7/22. NG call 8/10. Probable/looking at it. Will give \$10,000 within

Exhibit 69

next two weeks per Brian Johnstone (404/494-4129), 8/13. JE call to BJ to "follow up" 8/19. Has sent in check request. Get video from Jim Ragsdale at Skunk Works 805/572-4153 Will fund 1994, per NG call to Ken Cannestra, 1/21/94. JE sending follow up package, 1/24/94

Brian Johnstone
86 South Cobb Drive
Marietta, GA 30063
404/494-4124
404/494-1290

See above.

Mr. Galen Reser
PEPSICO
700 Anderson Hill Rd.
Purchase, New York
10577
914/253-2000

Letter/prospectus from
JE 7/22

Mr. Paul Smith
Vice President, General
Manager
Rockwell International
Tactical Systems
Division
1800 Satellite
Boulevard
Duluth, Georgia 30136
404/476-6300

Letter/prospectus from
JE 7/22

Mr. David Rosier
Georgia Power
1130 Connecticut
Avenue, N.W.
Suite 830
Washington, D.C. 20036
202/775-0944

Letter/prospectus from
JE 7/22. NG left word
8/9. JE call 8/17. WCB
when returns 8/20.
Talked 9/1. Very
enthusiastic. Will get
back to us Friday. Have
business down in
Mexico, meeting with NG
9/2. Called 9/27; WCB.
Talked 9/30. VP Ext.
Affs. is on Board of
Regents. Have to wait
until things die down.

Exhibit 69

Mr. Kent C. Nelson
Chairman and Chief
Executive Officer
UPS, Inc.
400 Perimeter Center
Terraces North
Atlanta, Georgia 30346
404/913-6000

Letter/prospectus from
JE 7/22. NG talked to
asst. 8/10, will look at it.
Clem Hanrahan at UPS
Foundation looking at
(8/10) per Wansley
message from Sonja
(KN's asst?); JE talk with
Doug Smalls 8/27. cc of
KN package mailed to
him 8/27. JE call to Clem
H 8/27.

Mr. Doug Smalls
Vice President
UPS
316 Pennsylvania Ave.
SE
Washington, DC 20003
202/675/4239

See above. NG Phone
call 1/25/94. Send
materials.

Mr. Paul Brower
Vice President,
Communications
Goldkist, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30301
404/393-5000

Needs letter/prospectus
from JE.

**Ambassador Ronald
Lauder**
767 Fifth Avenue
Suite 4200
New York, NY 10153
212/572-6641

NC letter 6/23. NG call
8. 3 Will meet with JE
in NYC. Will look at
funding. JE call to Allen
Roth 8/20. Looking at
RAC & PFF both.

Mr. David Bockorny
Bergner, Boyette,
Bockorny & Clough
1101 16th St. NW
Suite 500
Washington, DC 20036
202/659-9111

JE letter/prosp. 8/5

Mr. H.J. (Jerome)
Russell
President
Russell Property
Management Inc.
504 Fair Street SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30313
404/330-0950 HOME:
612-9184
404/688-5179

Hermann is the father,
Jerome the son. Jerome
is on TM's board.
Hermann has been good
friend for years.

Exhibit 69

Construction business,
also "conglomerate" (e.g.
Coors distributorship).
TM has sent material on
class.

Mr. Fred Anton
CIGNA
200 Galleria Park
Suite 850
Atlanta, GA 30339

From Jeff W. 8/6 (Can
help raise \$ at CIGNA).

6 **Mr. Frank J. Hanna, III**
HBR Capital, Ltd.
Two Ravinia Drive
Suite 1750
Atlanta, Georgia 30346
404/901-5800
404/901-5815

RFF UPSed by JE 8/11.
"Sorry I missed you"
follow up sent w/cc of
book, 8/17.

Mr. John Faris
National Federation of
Independent Business
600 Maryland Ave. SW
Washington, DC 20024
202/554-9000
1-800-274-6342 in
Nashville (Pam)

Letter/RFF from NG 8/12.
JE follow-up call 8/20.
WCB Monday.

Mr. Edward L. White, Jr.
President, Cecil B. Day
Foundation
3081 West Pine Valley
Rd. NW
Atlanta, GA 30305
(WOODY)

NG letter 8/16 per Rayna
conversation week of 8/9.
RW meeting 8/27.

Mr. Hank McCamish
The McCamish Group
3060 Peachtree Rd. NW
19th Floor
Atlanta, GA 30305
W: 404/261-4418
F: 404/262-2681
H: 404/237-0157

Fedex letter from NG
8/13 per NG phone call
8/12; board mtg. 8/17.
Wife Margaret; Stepson
Gordon Beckham. He is
interested in Reinhardt
College; Floyd
Falanty(sp?); has full
broadcast facility;
Wallaska Georgia;
outside of Atlanta. He
funded b-cast facility.
Wants to sit down with
NG when he gets back to
talk about funding for
RAC, Georgia public
policy foundation. JE to
call Floyd Falanty
(404/479-1454 Bonnie)
per NG discussion with
Hank M. 8/30. \$50,000
check received 10/5.

Mr. J. Gordon
Beckham, Jr.
Integrated
Administrative
Services, Inc.
Nineteenth Floor
One Buckhead Plaza
3060 Peachtree Dr. NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30305
404/261-4418

Exhibit 69

see above. Talked
11/22. WCB re: 12/3.

Mr. Ed Noble
3475 Lenox Rd. NE
Suite 645
Atlanta, GA 30326
404/233-3011
404/233-3044

Wants to come to dress
rehearsal. Believes can
fund second quarter and
later, \$25,000-\$50,000
per conv. w/NG 8/12.
Came to Rayna's 12/3;
committed \$50,000.
Talked with Jeff 12/9;
advised on submission to
Samuel Roberts Noble
Foundation/M. Cawley.
Called to check in on
grant 3/31/94.

Doug Ellis
Southern Mills
404/969-1000

NG talked to 8/12. Will
raise from downtown
rotary. JE call 8/17.
WCB. Can't help at
present due to previous
commitments to JE 8/17.

**Mr. & Mrs. Robert L.
Redfeam**
3343 Peachtree Rd. NE
Suite 400
Atlanta, GA 30326
404/240-4687
404/233-7308
H: 404/355-5054

NG letter 8/17

Mr. David Rehr
National Beer
Wholesalers Assn.
1100 South Washington
St.
Alexandria, VA 22314-
4494
703/683-4300
703/683-8965

JE call 8/12 & 8/17

Mr. Wes Cantrell
President & CEO
Lanier Worldwide Inc.
2300 Parklake Dr. NE
Atlanta, GA 30345
404/621-1000

JE letter 8/17 per NG.

Mr. Donald F. Hastings
Chairman and Chief
Executive Officer
The Lincoln Electric
Company
22801 St. Clair Avenue

**Cleveland, OH 44117-
1199**
216/481-8100
216/486-6476

Exhibit 69

676

18

6

Mr. Ray Wooldridge
1040 Crown Point
Parkway
Unit 900
Atlanta, GA 30328
404/396-1183

Committed \$20,000 in
conversation with NG
week of 9/19. Follow up
letter sent 9/29.

Mr. John Malcolm
1965 West Wesley Rd.
NW
Atlanta, GA 30327

Asst. U.S. Atty.
404/331-3598

Saw Newt at Republican
Foundation meeting, mad
at overseers, wanted to
send money, talked, sent
letter 12/15. \$5,000
received 1/4/94

6

Mr. Jerry Murphy
Siemens Corporation
701 Pennsylvania Ave.
NW
Suite 720
Washington, DC 20004

Tom Mallott in GA is big
fan of NG and RAC. JM
decided to send his \$ to
RAC too. Talked/invoice
sent 12/15.

Mr. Thomas J. Malott
President and Chief
Executive Officer
Siemens Energy &
Automation
3333 State Bridge Road
Alpharetta, Georgia
30202

P.O. Box 89000
Atlanta, Georgia, 30356-
9000
404/751-2398

\$2,500 received 12/22/93

Mr. Dennis Hayes
Hayes Microcomputer
Products, Inc.
P.O. Box 105203
Atlanta, GA 30348
404/840-9200

F: 404/840-6830
Newt saw at Superbowl.
Letter asking to consider
funding 2/7/94. Connie
Dunlop. Call 3/17. WCB
next week. Talked with
Elizabeth Kanne, Staff
Specialist, 3/21. Them
talking about date for
TPR. EK ext. = 6082

Robert I. Weingarten
130 Delfem Dr.
Los Angeles, CA 90077-
3541

\$10,000 1/13/94

Mr. Donald Hastcock

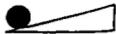
Director of
Congressional
Relations
BellSouth
1133 21st Street NW
Suite 900
Washington, DC 20036

202-463-4100
202-463-4196

Letter from NG 2/10.
3/17 JE follow up call.
Wrapped up on
Brooks/Dingell – but will
look and call back.

6

Exhibit 69

**The Progress & Freedom Foundation**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
December 27, 1994

For Further Information:
Bill Myers, 202/484-2312

FOUNDATION RELEASES YEAR-END FINANCIAL REPORT

Washington: The Progress & Freedom Foundation today released financial information showing that it collected nearly \$1.7 million from 95 major donors during 1993 and 1994, its first two years of operations.

While the Foundation is not required to release this information to the public, Foundation President Jeffrey Eisenach said that the Foundation's board had decided to make the information public. "While many tax-exempt organizations choose not to release donor information," Eisenach said, "we chose to adopt a policy of openness" by releasing information on the sources of the Foundation's funds.

The release indicated that the Foundation collected a total of \$1,674,368 from 95 supporters. The Foundation named 88 of the 95, who accounted for 89% of the total. Seven supporters, who contributed a total of \$182,000, requested anonymity. Eisenach said that major grantmaking foundations often impose anonymity conditions in their grant agreements, and that the Foundation honors such requests while encouraging all supporters to cooperate with its open disclosure policy.

The Foundation also released a complete list of supporters for its Renewing American Civilization project, which involves national distribution of the college course taught by Congressman Newt Gingrich. It indicated that all future support for that project would be placed in a separate, segregated account which would operate on a full-disclosure basis and be audited by a "big six" accounting firm. "We're going to report complete information on the sources and uses of funds for the Renewing American Civilization project," Eisenach said. "We recognize that people have a legitimate interest in knowing who is contributing to support Renewing American Civilization, and we're going to simply open the books."



The Progress & Freedom Foundation

December 1994

SUPPORTERS

1993/1994

Anonymous (7)
Alexander Communications Inc.
Mr. K. Tucker Andersen
AT&T
Bentley Nevada
The Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation
Burroughs Wellcome Co.
Competitive Long Distance Coalition
Cox Cable Communications
Mr. and Mrs. William Dahling
Direct Access Diagnostics
Electronic Magnetic Sciences
Federal Express
Forbes, Inc.
The Richard J. Fox Foundation
GE Foundation
Genzyme Corporation
Glaxo Inc.
Golden Rule Insurance Company
The Gulton Foundation
Health South Corporation
Mr. Martin Hoke
IBM Corporation
The Keyworth Company
Mr. Michael L. Keiser
Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation
Lockheed Aeronautical Systems
John and MaryLee Malcolm
Mr. John McCormack
Mr. Elliott Millenson
Northwestern National Life
Hon. Pale du Pont
The Randolph Foundation
Mr. Joe Rogers
SCANA Corporation
Jos. E. Seagram & Sons, Inc.
Siemens Corporation
Solvay Pharmaceuticals
Southern California Edison
Mr. Stanton L. Triester
John W. Uhlmann Foundation
WHI Inc.
Mr. Thomas Weisel
Windway Foundation

Agoric Enterprises, Inc.
Mr. Neal Allen
The Associated Group
BellSouth
W.H. Brady Foundation
Frank G. and Frieda K. Brotz Family Foundation
The Coca-Cola Company
Cox Broadcasting
Cracker Barrel Old Country Store
J.L. Dearlove and Affiliates, Inc.
Dr. Jeffrey A. Eisenach
Employment Policies Institute
The R & J First Foundation
Ford Motor Company Fund
Mr. Richard D. Gaby
General Instrument
Georgia Power
Glen Oak Lumber & Milling
Mrs. D. Stephens Gray
HBR Capital, Ltd.
The Henderson Foundation
Intel Corporation
Dr. George A. Keyworth
Johnson & Johnson Corporation
The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation
LBD Trust
Mr. Mark Lubbers
The McCamish Foundation
Metropolitan Atlanta Community Foundation
Mortgage Insurance Companies of America
The Samuel Roberts Noble Foundation
John M. Olin Foundation
Pro Staff Personnel Services
Mr. and Mrs. Owen Roberts
Mr. Jeff Sandeler
Scientific Atlanta
Searle
Siemens Energy & Automation
Southwire Company
Space Master International
Turner Broadcasting System Inc.
Video Tape Associates
Mr. Robert Weingarten
Windway Capital Corporation
Wired Magazine

SUMMARY

Total Support	\$1,674,368
Number of Supporters:	95
Average Contribution:	\$17,625

Anonymous Supporters:	7
Contribution Total:	\$182,000
Percentage of Total Support:	11.0%

1250 H Street NW Suite 550 Washington, DC 20005
Voice: 202/484-2312 Facsimile: 202/484-9326 E-Mail: PFF@AOL.com

Exhibit 69



The Progress & Freedom Foundation

December 1994

Supporters of Renewing American Civilization May 1993-December 1994

Associated Builders and Contractors

7/6/93 Kennesaw State College Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Baker

9/16/93 Kennesaw State College Foundation

Cracker Barrel Old Country Store Inc.

7/6/93 Kennesaw State College Foundation
9/24/93 Kennesaw State College Foundation
5/12/94 The Progress & Freedom Foundation

6

Coca-Cola Company

1/3/94 The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Employment Policies Institute

6/30/93 Kennesaw State College Foundation
6/7/94 The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Federal Express Corporation

8/26/93 Kennesaw State College Foundation
4/29/94 The Progress & Freedom Foundation

NOTES: Renewing American Civilization was a project of the Kennesaw State College Foundation, a tax-exempt auxiliary of Kennesaw State College, from May 1993 through November 1993. In December 1993, the project was transferred to The Progress & Freedom Foundation. This report lists all supporters of the project in 1993 and 1994.

1250 H Street NW Suite 550 Washington, DC 20005
Voice: 202/484-2312 Facsimile: 202/484-9326 E-Mail: PFF@AOL.com

Exhibit 69

The R & J Ferst Foundation

2/24/94 The Progress & Freedom Foundation 6

Ford Motor Company Fund

7/13/94 The Progress & Freedom Foundation

The Richard J. Fox Foundation9/27/93 Kennesaw State College Foundation 6
4/13/94 The Progress & Freedom FoundationGeneral Electric Foundation

12/1/93 The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Georgia Power

4/29/94 The Progress & Freedom Foundation

HBR Capital9/23/93 Kennesaw State College Foundation 6
1/19/94 The Progress & Freedom FoundationHealth South Corporation6/17/93 Kennesaw State College Foundation
9/13/93 Kennesaw State College Foundation
3/14/94 The Progress & Freedom FoundationHewlett Packard Corporation

9/15/93 Kennesaw State College Foundation

Mr. Martin Hoke

8/30/94 The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation

3/17/94 The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation

10/22/93 Kennesaw State College Foundation

Exhibit 69

Lockheed Aeronautical Systems

9/23/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
3/21/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

John and Marylee Malcolm

12/27/93	The Progress & Freedom Foundation
10/20/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

The McCamish Foundation Inc.

10/11/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
12/22/93	The Progress & Freedom Foundation
9/20/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Metropolitan Atlanta Community Foundation

9/13/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
3/14/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

National Data

8/26/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
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The Samuel Roberts Noble Foundation

5/2/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation
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Northwestern National Life

8/26/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
3/14/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation
11/10/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Dr. Philip O'Connor

10/11/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
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The Randolph Foundation

6/14/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
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RJR Nabisco

9/3/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
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6 (weirans)

6. (Higley's)

6 (obesity)

Exhibit 69

<u>Mrs. Roy Richards</u>		
8/10/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation	6
<u>Scientific Atlanta</u>		
10/13/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation	
3/14/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
<u>Siemens Corporation</u>		
3/2/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	6
<u>Siemens Energy & Automation</u>		
1/3/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	6
<u>Southwire Company</u>		
8/6/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation	6
11/15/93	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
3/21/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
<u>Spacemaster International</u>		
10/15/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation	6
5/9/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
11/10/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
<u>Turner Broadcasting</u>		
9/16/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation	
3/23/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
<u>Waffle House International, Inc.</u>		
9/9/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation	6
3/28/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
10/20/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
<u>Mr. Robert Weingarten</u>		
1/13/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	6
<hr/>		
PROJECT TOTALS		
Kennesaw State College Foundation		\$291,200
The Progress & Freedom Foundation		\$432,500

Exhibit 69

EXHIBIT 70

*Revised
8/25 3/25*

*Materials coordination
and production*

2/25/93

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION PROJECT SUMMARY

Course Development (Eisenach/Hanser/Desmond, through PFF)

developing substance content for book of readings, syllabus, lecture outlines, video ~~blurb for use in the classes~~, etc.

*Continue
and review*

On-Site/For Credit Registration/Logistics (Kennesaw State College)

Marketing (Eisenach/Hanser/Kennesaw Foundation)

developing promotional materials explaining the course and how to register, coordinating with "allies" (e.g. National Review, conservative academic organizations, Forbes, etc.), identifying target audiences, coordinating mailings, follow-up on Newt contacts.

PFF
16628

Remote Site Coordination (Kennesaw Foundation)

identifying site hosts, identifying "team teachers," linking site hosts with local registrants, discussion outlines for post-class discussion, distribution of materials, guidelines for downlinking, fax/phone mechanism for real-time Q&A, class evaluations

Home Learning Coordination (Kennesaw Foundation)

marketing/support system for home-learners via cable continuing education courses; coordination with local continuing ed. organizations.

Not for Credit Registration Coordination (Kennesaw Foundation)

responding to requests for information, recording registrant information, caging receipts

Uplink (Kennesaw/Video Tape Associates)

video camera to satellite arrangements

Course Materials Production (PFF/publisher/printer)

book publication, syllabus printing, ancillary materials printing

Course Materials Distribution (Publisher/Kennesaw Fndn.?)

labels, carriers, book+syllabus mailed

Legal (Gordon Strauss/Kennesaw legal contact?)

book/video rights to class, video rights for video blurbs and readings, list rights, general coordination

Exhibit 70

EXHIBIT 71

KSC
3489

FAX COVER SHEET

FROM THE

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN WHIP

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

NAME:

President Betty Seigel

OFFICE:

Kennesaw State College

PHONE:

FAX:

404-423-6543

FROM:

Newt Gingrich

TOTAL # OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER):

4

COMMENTS:

IF YOU HAVE ANY PROBLEMS RECEIVING THIS FAX, PLEASE CALL 225-2800.

Exhibit 71

MEMORANDUM

TO: Tim Mescon
FROM: Newt Gingrich
DATE: March 1, 1993

Thank you for meeting with me this morning regarding the proposed class on "Renewing American Civilization".

To summarize our discussion:

1. You will work with Linda Nave to develop a contract which meets the House Ethics Committee's standards as well as Kennesaw State College's and the Board of Regent's standards. If necessary I will gladly teach the course for free because the intellectual content is so important to our future.
2. You will become the coordinator of information for people who want to establish a downlink to take the course. We need to explore:
 - a. Whether people on other campuses can receive credit either from their own institution or from Kennesaw (assuming they pay fees, register, meet standards, etc...)?
 - b. Whether people across the county register for Kennesaw Continuing Education or Adult education credits? What standards would they have to meet, how would they enroll, etc...?
 - c. Whether people can simply buy the outline, the text and the book or readings (see below) and if so from whom?
 - d. Whether anyone simply wants to watch the course for their own edification without any credit or cost. If so, we would be delighted.
 - e. Whether, since we are going to audio and video tape the course, someone could take it next year for credit and if so how?

You will designate a fairly sophisticated and very reliable clerical person just to answer the inquiries and keep track of all the names. You will need to establish a management project to

Exhibit 71

determine the guidelines for taking the course beyond campus. I would urge an early deadline (say April 15th for answering these questions).

3. Heather Richardson is interested in helping fund this project. Jeff Eisenach is busy talking to Hoover, Hudson, Heritage and other institutions. We need to finance the uplinks, a lot of clerical support the course preparation and possibly some multimedia work for the course. You, Jeff and Heather may want to develop some budget projections and let me know what we have to do to meet the budget. Gordon Strauss will be my legal advisor for all financial, ethical and legal questions so he needs to be involved also.

4. When Joe Gaylord is in town we need to have a meeting with a possible uplink company and begin to explore how to develop the course and what needs to be done to have a redundant uplink system so it doesn't go down or develop a technological glitch.

5. You have a business school classroom that holds about 200 and is good for this kind of course. I recommend we allow 30 students into a very select graduate course. They will be expected to do two research papers and write a final. We will meet for a two hour lecture followed by a two hour discussion with one paper do at midterm and one at the end. I will grade the papers and the final (to be given at the end of class the Saturday before Thanksgiving so I can grade everything over Thanksgiving).

We will also have a senior level class of up to 170 students who will be allowed to sit in the two hours of lectures each Saturday and then will take the rest of their class with a faculty team you designate. The faculty team will work with me on concepts and clarification but they will be responsible for teaching and grading the undergraduates.

The course will take place:

Sept. 18	"Renewing American Civilization"
Sept. 25	Personal Strength
Oct. 2	Quality: Deming's Profound Knowledge
Oct. 9	Technological Progress
Oct. 16	Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise
Oct. 23	Principles of American Civilization
Oct. 30	Economic Growth
Nov. 6	Health
Nov. 13	Saving the Inner City
Nov. 20	Citizenship for the 21st Century: The Founding Fathers in the Information Age

6. You will take the lead in exploring the possibilities of developing a very inexpensive textbook and book of readings. Anything we develop has to be available by September 1 to mail to people and prudence might push that back to August 20th. We will have to develop a mailing price to cover expenses.

Exhibit 71

Since our goal is education and not immediate profit we may want to offer the two books at a discount to Kennesaw students to keep the price down. I personally could not take royalties for a book students in my course were asked to buy.

Other copies could be sold at a normal price. If you have the time to help develop these two books I would like you to be a coauthor along with Steve Hanser and Jeff Eisenach (so it would be Cingrich, Mescon, Hanser, Eisenach on the title page with each getting 1/4 of the royalties).

7. Course development is going to be a very big challenge. The four of us need to have a conference call once you have digested this memo and begin talking about how we organize the process of developing the course so we have the best minds, the best critics and a strong synthesis.

8. This is a tremendous undertaking or potentially lasting impact. I am very excited about being able to work with you and your extraordinarily dynamic President. I hope you will see yourself as a true partner in this adventure and feel free to offer me any advice on any topic at any time. Together we are going to make history as well as teach it.

cc: President Betty Siegal

Exhibit 71

EXHIBIT 72GOPAC2
05292725 Dumbarton Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20007
March 4, 1993Mr. Jeff Eisenach
Executive Director
GOPAC
440 First Street NW
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Jeff:

During our recent visit you mentioned that the information you provided me should be read and viewed carefully as the message had been presented with considerable thoughtfulness.

I did approach the materials from that standpoint and I want to confirm my strong interest in continuing our conversation and my belief in the Republican candidate development work you are about.

For more than 14 years I have managed people and programs based on the belief that quality customer service is the most effective way to achieve success. It would be fulfilling to apply my experience to the success and expansion of the work of GOPAC.

Jeff, thank you for your interest. I hope to hear from you in the near future.

Sincerely,



Pamla H. Prochnow

Exhibit 72

EXHIBIT 73

Congressman Newt Gingrich
Notes for Remarks
National Review Institute
Washington, D.C.
January 23, 1993

Thank you Terry Considine. Let me congratulate Gay Gaines, John O'Sullivan and the National Review Institute.

In January 1977, 16 years ago, there were two events in Washington with major speakers:

- o one was Jimmy Carter's inaugural
- o one was Ronald Reagan's speech to a conservative conference.

In history it is Reagan's address that will be seen as decisive and Carter's inaugural will be seen as the aberration.

Similarly we must avoid being too focused on Clinton and the Democrats.

Now, 16 years later, here we are again.

To quote FDR, "our generation has a rendezvous with destiny."

In 1940, the greatest threat to freedom was Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. The American people rose to the challenge and freedom won.

In 1946, the greatest threat to freedom was the Soviet Empire. The American people rose to the challenge and for nearly half a century we contained the Soviet Empire until it collapsed. My dad spent years serving in the U.S. Army to protect and preserve freedom. It worked.

Now in 1993 the greatest threat to freedom is the decay of American civilization.

The decay of American civilization. Among liberal elites would be a horrifying assertion. It has several politically incorrect assumptions.

First, "decay of American civilization" asserts there is an American civilization. We are more open, more future oriented, more inclined toward technology and entrepreneurialism and less hierarchical, we are optimistic and integrationist. From Colin Powell to Pat Saiki, from Gary Franks to Henry Bonilla, from Ileana Ros-Lehtinen to Louis Sullivan, America is the most universal, most integrationist, most opportunity oriented society offering more hope to more people than any society in the history of the world.

Second, "decay of American civilization" asserts that we can make a distinction between decay and progress. Clinton tried to describe change as our friend in his inaugural, but he couldn't use the word progress because it is banished from the liberal lexicon.

Exhibit 73

PP000459

We can make moral judgements. Learning is progress. Illiteracy is decay. Wellness is progress. Drug addiction is decay. Safe streets is progress. Violent crime is decay.

Lastly, by asserting American civilization matters we reject multiculturalism's claim to be the situation ethics of historic judgements. Bosnia, Somalia and Iraq are grim reminders that humans can be vicious, brutal and savage to each other. Anacostia in Washington, Techwood in Atlanta and East L.A. are reminders that Americans can return to barbaric behaviors and vicious brutality with frightening speed.

We must assert unequivocally and decisively that every American must learn thoroughly the principles, practices and history of American civilization. Only then can we insure the continued existence of a free society. So AGAINST

Once we have mastered the principles and practices of American civilization we should study other civilizations. As a Ph.D in European history, I favor studying other cultures. But Other-culturism is very different from multiculturalism because we start with the belief that the American civilization is the most powerful creator of prosperity, freedom, and safety in human history and must be studied first. multiculturalism

So our generation's rendezvous with history is to launch a movement to renew American civilization.

We must insist that to be American is to be free, productive and safe.

We must insist that American civilization means freedom, productivity, and safety for all Americans.

Today we are failing to meet these standards both for the individual and for our country.

Renewing American civilization is the central challenge of the rest of our lives.

Fortunately for us, most Americans want to sustain and renew American civilization.

As Everett Carl Ladd noted recently only 22% of the 1992 voters favored expanding government while 68% favored restraint in government.

In an Atlanta Constitution poll last year, when asked "Do you believe all welfare recipients should be required to work, including women with young children?" 81% of southern blacks said yes while only 11% said no.

In New York now we are seeing family and neighborhood gangs rebel against the government's efforts to brainwash their children against their own values. These anti-brainwashing rebels will be to the 1990's what the anti-busing rebels were in the 1960's and

Exhibit 73

PP000460

1970's.

So we have a vast majority in favor of renewing American civilization .

We also have the advantage of standing on the shoulders of Buckley, Goldwater and Reagan.

We are far more numerous and experienced than we were in 1960 or 1976.

We are ready to launch a 21st century conservatism that will renew American civilization, transform America from a welfare state into an opportunity society and create a conservative governing majority.

There are five American civilizations. If we systematically study them and use them to transform government and the law we can offer a better lifestyle with a higher standard of living at lower cost and with greater under a longer standard of living at lower cost and with greater freedom for virtually all Americans except bureaucrats, trial lawyers, liberal academics, lobbyists and the government employee unions.

These five pillars actually will increase productivity and services. They allow us to break out of the welfare state dilemma of more taxes or less government.

In fact they can create progress and replace decay. The five pillars are quality, technological advance, entrepreneurial free enterprise, principles of American civilization and psychological strength.

First, we must master the profound knowledge of quality as taught by Edwards Deming. Quality is a transformational set of principles and habits that are reshaping many companies and can reshape the entire country.

Second we must again favor technological advances. Desert Storm was proof technology matters. In most of our history America has been the most technology-improving society in history. Increasingly, bureaucracy, litigation, taxation, attitudes and professional guilds have been weakening, delaying and burdening technological advance. Yet technology can dramatically help improve the quality and availability, and lower the cost, of health, learning, bureaucracy and virtually every aspect of American life.

Third, entrepreneurial free enterprise is an attitude, a way of life and a system of productivity. In most areas the development of entrepreneurship increases wealth and productivity. For poor minorities, entrepreneurship in small business is the key to future wealth. For women, entrepreneurship is the most powerful way to break the glass ceiling. If you own it you can change it. In government, the entrepreneurial approach through decentralization, privatization, and a focus on outcomes instead of inputs can lead to a dramatic decline in cost and increase in productivity. In services, entrepreneurship will

Exhibit 73

PP000461

consistently beat bureaucracy. Entrepreneurial health care could lower costs and create better health for less.

Fourth, the principles of American civilization must be learned and practiced if we are to remain the freest, most prosperous and most integrated society in history. We have daily reminders both at home and abroad that civilization requires learning, practicing and reinforcing. The work ethic, male responsibility for their children, intense efforts to protect the innocent and control the criminal, patriotism, the practices of self government, all of these steps are vital. They can be summarized in one test we can apply to every prepared policy:

Does it help people be more responsible, productive and safe so they can be prosperous and free so they can pursue happiness? If the answer is "yes," it is a constructive proposal. If "no," it is a destructive proposal. Note that American civilization offers the opportunity to pursue happiness but that no secular state can provide happiness. Note also that prosperity and freedom are products of responsibility, productivity and safety. Civilization matters and we must renew it.

Fifth, and finally, we must emphasize psychological strength. There is no substitute for courage, hard work, persistence, discipline and integrity. In fact the poor need psychological strength even more than the rich.

Everything else will fail if we fail to inculcate, encourage and reinforce psychological strength.

We face the challenge of translating these five pillars of the 21st century American civilization into reality.

Reagan taught us the virtue of focusing narrowly and with great discipline on no more than three big goals at a time. Clinton's bad ideas will force us to spend some time opposing destructive proposals that will increase the decay. However, we must vigorously discipline ourselves to spend no more than 25% of our time on stopping the Left.

The more important 75% of our time should be spent applying the 5 pillars of quality, technology, entrepreneurship, American principles and psychological strength to just three big topics.

If we will develop solutions for (1) economic growth with the deficit as a subset, (2) health and (3) saving the inner city we will decisively trump the left. At that point either Clinton will adopt our solutions or the country will fire the president who subsidizes decay and blocks progress.

A movement that offers solutions on economic growth, health and the inner city will then earn the right to work on other areas.

Exhibit 73

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We must renew American civilization by studying these principles, networking success stories, applying these success stories to develop programs that will lead to dramatic progress, and then communicating these principles and these opportunities so the American people have a clear choice between progress, renewal, prosperity, safety and freedom within America civilization versus decay, decline, economic weakness, violent crime and bureaucratic dominance led by a multicultural elite.

Given that choice, our movement for renewing American civilization will not just win the White House in 1996, we will elect people at all levels dedicated to constructive proposals.

The Nazis lost to freedom. The Soviet Empire lost to freedom. With our courage and our persistence we can ensure that the decay of the welfare state will lose to freedom. That is what is at stake.

Exhibit 73

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D-R-A-F-T

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

I. THERE IS AN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

1. American civilization is descended from but different than Western Civilization. We are more future oriented, more optimistic, more economically, socially, and geographically mobile, and we are far more effective at acculturating and integrating people. We are the most successful melting pot in history.

2. American civilization is by definition a set of principles, practices, habits, and a historic memory that teaches us how to be American and why we are different from other civilizations. It requires time, study, and effort to learn to be an American. That is an acculturation process whether you are born in the USA and learn it from childhood or you are born outside the country and learn it after you immigrate.

3. American civilization is clearly decaying.

4. The future of freedom depends on a healthy, dynamic economically expansive America. No other country is big enough, economically powerful enough or racially diverse enough to lead the planet. Bosnia, Somalia and Iraq are grim warnings of our children's and grandchildren's future if American civilization continues to decay.

5. Therefore, the most important single mission of our lifetime is to renew American civilization. We need a movement of citizens as committed to freedom through American renewal as our grandparent's were to defeating the Nazis and Imperial Japan and our parents were to containing the Soviet Empire. Only a movement to renew American civilization can be effective in meeting the challenge of our current decay.

II. THE FIVE PILLARS OF 21ST CENTURY DEMOCRACY

The five key components of a dynamic, growing, healthy America are:

1. Quality as defined by Edward Deming's concept of profound knowledge;
2. Technological Advances;
3. Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise;
4. The Principles of American Civilization;
5. Psychological Strength; (courage, hard work, perseverance, discipline, integrity).

Exhibit 73

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DRAFT
Renewing America
Vision

Renewing America will require an opportunity society which can:

1. Ensure the physical safety of all Americans;
2. Maximize health at minimum cost with all Americans able to use the highest technology, highest quality and most personalized health care system in the world;
3. Educate young Americans to a world market standard of excellence while optimally re-educating and retraining adults as their careers change in a changing world;
4. Create the framework of working, saving, investing and entrepreneurially creating the new jobs and better jobs that are the key to rising take home pay, economic security, and a steadily-improving quality of life;
5. Create local jobs through world sales because the reforms in education, in economic policy and in government structures will enable Americans to compete successfully with any nation;
6. Maximize the invention and development of America's future in high technology, scientifically intense fields such as space, the oceans, computers, information technology and biotechnology so Americans produce both the best defense system and the highest value jobs with the highest level of productivity because we are consistently at the cutting edge of new frontiers;
7. Establish the world's standard in environmental health

Exhibit 73

PP000745

and environmental protection by combining the best technologies with market incentives. We need rules which are clear and fair and a flexible, common sense, science and technology oriented environmental enforcement enhancement system;

8. Create the most customer friendly and effective government systems in the world by combining Deming's profound knowledge of quality, the opportunities inherent in the technological revolution and the efficiencies of intelligent downsizing to reshape the active pattern and structure of government into a customer focused culture and system;

9. Empower communities across America to pursue their own visions of better neighborhoods, better services and a better life by decentralizing government back to the local level and encouraging privatization, experimentation and diversity whenever possible;

10. Strengthen the family as the basic building block of a healthy nation by changing the tax laws, child support laws, welfare laws and all user systems which currently weaken the family, discourage parenting and undermine the child-parent and grandparent relationship which are at the heart of healthy human development and help those who find themselves in single parent situations or stressed environment to have the maximum opportunity to strengthen their family and their parenting;

11. Insure a safe nation by combining a strong economy and strong society with a strong military to protect America and America's allies against any foreseeable danger;

Renewing America is possible because the tools now exist to

Exhibit 73

PP000746

replace the bureaucracy, the values and the laws of the welfare state with a vastly more productive system. This system has been tested in American history and its components are currently revolutionizing American business.

The 5 pillars of freedom and progress that will enable us to replace the welfare state with a vastly better, more customer oriented, more productive and more effective opportunity society--they are:

1. Personal strength
2. Quality as defined by Edwards Deming's Profound Knowledge
3. Technological progress
4. Entrepreneurial free enterprise applied to both the public and private sectors.
5. The lessons of American history on what works for Americans in America.

These 5 principles, properly studied and understood, can be applied to develop a revolutionary change in government. The opportunity society can use personal strength, quality, technology, entrepreneurship and basic American principles to dramatically improve safety, health, education, job creation, the environment, the family and National defense.

Instead of "hard choices" and "sacrifices" we can offer America improvements, opportunities and better value at lower cost. By requiring the government bureaucracy to change instead of the citizen-customer we can bring about a revolution in quality life for all Americans.

Exhibit 73

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With these principles everyone can rise. Blacks can rise without taking success from Whites and Hispanics, can rise without taking opportunities from Asians. With these principles rural America can be knit informationally into job opportunities, health care and education on a worldwide basis. With these principles the inner city can become safe and the poorest Americans can once again climb the ladder of success as they did for nearly two centuries until blocked by the welfare state's misguided bureaucratic paternalism and it's destructive anti-family, anti-work, anti-opportunity rules.

These principles are not magic. They have to be studied and applied. Hard work, persistence, courage, discipline and the integrity to face problems openly and seek solutions are all prerequisites for success.

Yet everywhere in America there are pockets of hope. A business here. A church, a synagogue there. A consulting group. A school. A hospital, medical group-everyone knows stories of those who have been trying and who have been succeeding.

The challenge to us is to study the principles, identify and reinforce those who are already succeeding, network them with those who want to succeed, develop specific proposals for replacing the welfare state, and inform the American people of the opportunities they have so they can demand of their politicians the changes necessary to once again pursue happiness.

We do not have to convince people that the welfare state has failed. Every night on the evening news they see the violence and carnage of a failed system.

Exhibit 73

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We do not have to convince people that the bureaucracy is arrogant, wasteful and obsolete. Every day they encounter the growing gap between public and private goods and services.

Being negative, focusing on the failure, and opposing the welfare state's newest bad ideas is in the end a dangerous activity trap. If we are simply the anti-welfare state effort we will fail to arouse the American people.

The challenge to us is to be positive, to be specific, to be intellectually serious, and to be able to communicate in clear language a clear vision of the American people and why it is possible to create that America in our generation.

Once the American people understand what they can have they will insist that their politicians abolish the welfare state which is crippling them, their children, and their country and that they replace it with an opportunity society based on historically proven principles that we see working all around us.

In the end the people are sovereign. It is their country and when informed and aroused they cannot be stopped.

Across the planet. From Mexico to Italy, Russia, the Czech Republic, Poland, Ukraine, Romania-again and again popular pressure is forcing real change in obsolete governments.

Now it is the American people's turn to replace a destructive obsolete system so they can begin to create an America that is safe, prosperous and free.

Exhibit 73

PP000749

DRAFT

Renewing America
Strategies

To implement our vision of renewing America by informing and arousing the American people so they insist on replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society we must:

1. Create a clear vision of a renewed America, outline the principles that make it possible to renew America by replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society. Communicate the dramatic improvement in all phases of life for virtually all Americans that will then become possible;

2. Communicate that vision in everyday language so all Americans can understand what is at stake and what they can do to improve their lives;

3. Communicate the vision in specialized media as applied to

Exhibit 73

PP000750

specialized topics so activists and interested citizens can see how their values and their lives would improve; :

4. Recruit members of congress, governors, legislators, mayors, city council members, county commissioners and school board members so they become actively committed to renewing America by applying the 5 principles to replace the welfare state with an opportunity society;

5. Recruit grass root organizations so they explicitly work to renew America;

6. Educate candidates and activists so they can develop campaigns and candidacies specifically committed to renewing America;

7. Educate the news media (including talk radio hosts) into the concepts of renewing America, applying the 5 pillars, and replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society and wherever possible recruit these as active allies;

8. Educate and recruit business leaders with a specific emphasis on entrepreneurs, minority businesses and business focused on the world market, high technology and quality and seek to get the businesses committed to applying the 5 pillars to their own activities, to supporting efforts to replace the welfare state and to supporting candidates committed to renewing

Exhibit 73

PP000751

America;

9. Educate and recruit teachers whenever possible at all levels of education so students and faculty can begin to study the principles of renewing America and the concepts of replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society;

10. Collect success stories and build a network of those who are succeeding and those who want to succeed. The successful will be strengthened and enhanced while the aspiring will be educated, reinforced and empowered. When enough activists and innovators have been networked together there will be a genuine movement committed to and actually engaged in renewing America;

11. Create a series of bold sweeping congressional proposals for replacing the welfare state and build popular support for each proposal;

12. Whenever possible force votes on the House and Senate floors in Committees and subcommittees on replacing the welfare state;

13. Encourage people to run for office committed to renewing America and replacing the welfare state and arouse volunteers, contributors and voters to elect committed candidates and to help them implement the renewal;

Exhibit 73

PP000752

DRAFT

TO: Gail Wilensky

FROM: Nevt

cc: Steve Hanser, Jeff Eisenach, Joe Gaylord, Nancy
 Desmond, Brenda Fitzgerald, Tony Blankley, Alan Lipsatt

Thinking Through a Revolution in Health

In order to begin thinking about a new policy model in health, we want to propose the following areas to review. This lays out a thought process that is not intended to lead to any particular policy conclusions.

My goal is to first figure out how to think about the problem before we get drowned in the details of the actual proposal.

1. Goals for health in America

This should be a statement of the national health system citizens should expect to have in place (preventive care, wellness, systems of treating illness, dealing with aging and so on). Since this is a "revolution," we need to think hard about how our goals are different from what others.

2. An individual's view of health in America from birth to death.

As opposed to a look at our national system, this is a micro-system individual approach. What should I expect and what should others expect of me?

Here we may want to consider individuals' perceptions and expectations of the health care system.

3. The principles we believe that are the keys to implementing a system that will provide optimum health and the best health care at the least cost.

It is important to develop first principles. Yet, we must be aware that this is an iterative process. As we develop the details of our proposed system, we will undoubtedly have to rethink and modify our first principles in the light of new complexities and an improved understanding of reality.

4. Find specific examples of success at how our first principles are now applied in health. We can prove that they are not merely theoretical. In this way, people can identify successes to be studied and models to be replicated and built on. If possible, each principle should have numerous more examples that are working today in the real world.

Exhibit 73

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5. With the macro and micro goals and the first principles, we need to design the specific health systems and state what we would advocate.

Here our thinking should include consideration of the delivery system and financing with particular emphasis on the set of incentives intrinsic in any system we examine.

6. We may then want to design a pilot project which could move us from where we are to where we want to go.

However, we may also want to consider finding and illustrating examples of where we think our health system is working right. From there, we can examine the barriers that prevent others from adapting these innovations.

7. Once we have a clear, understandable and defensible outline, we should share it with others for their critique.

What I am trying to do above is to walk through an intellectual process. Let me know if you think this is the right process; I'm open to changes.

Exhibit 73

PP000754

DRAFT
Renewing American Civilization
Our Goal

In order to have a healthy, prosperous and safe America we must replace the welfare state. Replacing the welfare state is a moral and national imperative because:

1. It is impossible to maintain civilization with twelve year olds having babies, fifteen year olds killing each other, seventeen year olds dying of aids, and eighteen year olds getting diplomas they can't read.

2. The welfare state has simply failed. This is not a debatable point. Watch any three nights of local television news in any American big city. If that isn't a portrait of failure it is hard to imagine what would be.

3. The welfare state must be replaced because it cannot be repaired. The problems of the welfare state start with its core design. Bureaucracies replacing markets, citizens being reduced to clients, rules that undermine the work ethic and the family and prohibitions against acquiring property all undermine the human characteristics which the founding fathers believed were the essence of a healthy society.

Our overall goal is to develop a blueprint for renewing

Exhibit 73

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America by replacing the welfare state, recruit, discover, arouse and network together 200,000 activists including candidates for elected office at all levels, and arouse enough volunteers and contributors to win a sweeping victory in 1996 and then actually implement our victory in the first three months of 1997.

Our specific goals are to:

1. By April 1996 have a thorough, practical blueprint for replacing the welfare state that can be understood and supported by voters and activists.

We will teach a course on Renewing American civilization on ten Saturday mornings this fall and make it available by satellite, by audio and video tape and by computer to interested activists across the country. A month will then be spent redesigning the course based on feedback and better ideas. Then the course will be retaught in Winter Quarter 1994. It will then be rethought and redesigned for nine months of critical re-evaluation based on active working groups actually applying ideas across the country the course will be taught for one final time in Winter Quarter 1996.

2. Have created a movement and momentum which require the national press corps to actually study the material in order to report the phenomenon thus infecting them with new ideas, new language and new perspectives.

3. Have a cadre of at least 200,000 people committed to the general ideas so they are creating an echo effect on talk radio and in letters to the editor and most of our candidates and campaigns reflect the concepts of renewing America.

Exhibit 73

PP000756

Replacing the welfare state will require about 200,000 activists (willing to learn how to replace the welfare state, to run for office and to actually replace the welfare state once in office) and about six million active supporters (willing to write checks, put up yard signs, or do a half day's volunteer work). America is simply too big a country for even a very strong President or even a President and Congress to decisively replace the welfare state. In America local school boards, hospital boards, voluntary associations, city councils, county commissions, elected judges, state legislatures, Governors and statewide elected officials as well as key civil servants, Congress and the President all have to be involved if America is to change.

By electing a team committed to renewing America with a blueprint clearly understood by the activists, the supporters and the public it will be possible to move immediately and decisively. By creating a blueprint and a movement from the precinct to the Presidency it will be possible to replace the welfare state at all levels simultaneously.

Exhibit 73

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EXHIBIT 74

4-23-93

= add

To: Joe, Jeff, and Barry

From: Pam

This morning I spoke with Tim Mescon. Attached is the draft of what he will send to Heather Richardson after one of you has signed off. Please let me know if this letter is correct and I will call Tim today to have him get it in the mail.

In addition, he has had a conversation with Melissa Cain of Cracker Barrel and he believes they might be interested in a \$25,000 corporate donation. He says someone on Newt's staff needs to call her. Please let me know who that will be and as follow-up should Tim send the same letter to her. Her number is (615) 443-6588. *me*

*4/29 - called Dacher Little
+ to call her about
on way next week
Dacher Barrel could
provide source to
enlarges.*

*noted
and 4/26
requested
10:30
am.
bullet
budget.*

Exhibit 74

PP000067



Office of the Dean
 School of Business Administration
 Post Office Box 444
 Marietta, Georgia 30061
 (404) 423-6425
 Fax (404) 423-6539

DRAFT

April 23, 1993

Ms. Heather Richardson
 The Randolph Foundation
 200 East 94th Street
 Suite 1615
 New York, New York 10128

add'l total
 100,000 students
 corp. sustainability
 - 4 yr program
 - Budget
 - BULLET'S

Dear Ms. Richardson:

During the Fall quarter, 1993, the School of Business Administration at Kennesaw State College hopes to offer a live, ten week course taught by Congressman Newt Gingrich. Entitled RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, this course will be telecast via satellite to a multitude of downlink sites around the United States. This course has never before been offered. In order to effectively deliver a high quality effort, I am requesting support from The Randolph Foundation in the amount of \$50,000. Total delivery costs for this effort will reach \$250,000.

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION will focus on identifying and fostering those underlying values and attitudes that enable free-market, private enterprise and democratic systems to function and flourish. Indeed, the course addresses those issues essential for the preservation and continuing development of Western Civilization. The course will be taught on ten consecutive Saturdays, beginning September 18th. Each week, Congressman Gingrich will focus on a topic critical to the long term economic viability of the United States. The ten topics include:

- Renewing American Civilization
- Personal Strength
- Quality: Deming's Profound Knowledge
- Technological Progress
- Entrepreneurial Private Enterprise
- Principles of American Civilization
- Economic Growth
- Health
- Saving the Inner City
- Citizenship for the 21st Century: The Founding Fathers in the Information Age

A readings book featuring the works of some of this nation's great leaders and innovators will be provided in conjunction with this course. Additionally, all lectures will be available

Exhibit 74

PP000068

DRAFT

Ms. Heather Richardson
April 23, 1993
Page 3

for widespread distribution on video and audiotapes. The course itself, GBA 890/490 will be offered to a group of 200 undergraduate and graduate students on the Kennesaw State campus while simultaneously broadcast throughout the nation. Congressman Gingrich will grade all assignments and will team teach on campus with a designated faculty member.

Kennesaw State College (KSC) enrolls more than 12,000 students in undergraduate and graduate courses. The 175 acre suburban campus is situated on I-75, twenty miles north of downtown Atlanta. KSC is the largest senior college in the University System of Georgia. In recent years, *U. S. News & World Report* recognized Kennesaw State three years running, as one of the up and coming colleges and universities in the southeastern United States. Currently, the School of Business enrolls more than 4,000 students in undergraduate and graduate study and at the graduate level, we enroll close to 700 students in both our MBA and MBA for Experienced Professional programs.

I am very excited and indeed proud of this initiative and would gratefully appreciate any consideration you could provide. All support for this academic effort should be directed to the Kennesaw State College Foundation, Inc., a 501 (c) 3 corporation, and designated for the RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION PROJECT.

Thank you for considering this request. Should you have any specific questions, please do not hesitate to contact me directly.

Sincerely,

Timothy S. Mescon, Ph.D.
Dean

TSM:ss

Exhibit 74

PP000069

615 443-6588

4/23

she Melissa Cain

- mag info. / general inquiry ~~stat~~
- ~~read by~~ Messas Carter ~~under my signature~~
- ~~budget~~
- life program ← part up.

- Melissa Cain, ~~credit card OK card~~
- PO Box 787
- ~~idea on~~, in 37088 - 0787 ~~stat~~

I need to take course
to of C.B. Chatter verbes

more info

was send ⁴⁵⁶ ~~123~~ = 9. ~~letter~~ ³ ~~stat~~

PP00063

Exhibit 74

*sent
Cain*

draft

Ms. Melissa Cain
Marketing Manager
Cracker Barrel Old Country Store
P.O. Box 787
Lebanon, TN 37088-0787

Dear Ms. Cain:

Beginning in the Fall quarter, 1993 and offered again Winter quarter 1994, (?) quarter 199? and (?) quarter 199?, the School of Business Administration at Kennesaw State College plans to offer a live, ten week course entitled RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, taught by Congressman Newt Gingrich. This course will be offered for credit to a group of 200 undergraduate and graduate students on the Kennesaw State campus and will be telecast via satellite to a multitude of downlink sites throughout the United States with the projected viewing population reaching over 100,000. In order to successfully deliver a high quality effort, I am requesting multi-year support from Cracker Barrel Old Country Store. Total delivery costs for this effort are \$240,000 per quarter.(?)

During the Winter quarter and subsequent quarters, Kennesaw State College will work with other colleges and universities to provide the course for credit on their campuses. Initial outreach has produced a substantial degree of interest. In addition, corporations, associations, and organizations will be encouraged to downlink the course for employees and members.

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION will focus on identifying and fostering those underlying values and attitudes that enable free-market, private enterprise and democratic systems to function and flourish. Indeed, the course addresses those issues essential for the preservation and continuing development of American Civilization. The course, during the Fall 1993 quarter, will be taught ten consecutive Saturdays, beginning September 18, 1993. Each week Congressman Gingrich will focus on a topic critical to the long term quality of life for Americans. The ten topics include:

- Renewing American Civilization
- Personal Strength
- Quality: Deming's Profound Knowledge
- Technological Progress
- Entrepreneurial Private Enterprise
- Principles of American Civilization
- Economic Growth
- Health
- Saving the Inner City
- Citizenship for the 21st Century: The Founding Fathers in the Information Age

Exhibit 74
PP000064

A readings book featuring the works of some of this nation's great leaders and innovators will be published in conjunction with this course. Additionally, all lectures will be available for widespread distribution on video and audiotapes. Congressman Gingrich will grade all assignments (for KSC only or leave that fact out ?) and will team teach on campus with a designated faculty member.

Kennesaw State College enrolls more than 12,000 students in undergraduate and graduate courses. The 175 acre suburban campus is situated on I-75, twenty miles north of downtown Atlanta. Kennesaw State College is the largest senior college in the University System of Georgia. In recent year, U.S. News & World Report recognized the college three years running as one of the up and coming colleges and universities in the southeastern United States. Currently, the School of Business enrolls more than 4,000 students in undergraduate and graduate study and at the graduate level we enroll close to 700 students in both our MBA and MBA for Experienced Professional programs.

I am very excited and, indeed, proud of this initiative and would gratefully appreciate the support of Cracker Barrel Old Country Store. All grants for this academic effort should be directed to the Kennesaw State College Foundation, Inc., a 501 (c)3 corporation, and designated for the RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION PROJECT.

Thank you for considering this request. Should you have any specific questions, please do not hesitate to contact me directly.

Sincerely,
Timothy S. Mescon, Ph.D.
Dean

cc: Jeff Eisenach
 Pamla H. Prochnow

Exhibit 74
PP000065

letter drafted -

Fax/ranico -

Bill FAX me
OK.

de los talked to her
Melissa ~~Con~~
Cocker Barrel

615 443-6588

legume info to
Barry -

25,000 corp.
California

some are ~~done~~

her PP000066

Marketing Manager

Exhibit 74

4-23-1993

To: Dr. Tim Mescon

From: Pamla H. Prochnow

After my conversation with Melissa Cain, I think the letter should include the number of people you hope to reach through the uplink. I have heard the number 100,000. Also if you can mention in the letter that the plan is to offer this course for 3 out of the next 4 years. My experience is that donors like to see information of that sort.

For the budget page, I had several suggestions which I did discuss with Jeff. Maybe most of my ideas could be incorporated in a "bullet" page or added under each item. Basically there needs to be some additional information about the costs. I've written on the budget page and hope you can read it.

Thanks for moving so quickly on this. The letter is very good and I think we will be able to use the same finished document to Melissa Cain. She indicated she was collecting the information about the course for two people at Cracker Barrel who I will see over the weekend. Hopefully, working together we can get the funds needed. Good working with you.

Exhibit 74

PP000074

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-7700

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD M. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Mescon
0185

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION
COVER SHEET

TO Tim Mescon
FROM Paula Rochester
DATE 4-29-93
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 7

REMARKS/MESSAGES

- 1) PLEASE SEND TO HEATHER ASAP.
- 2) NOTE FOR LETTER CHANGES AND CC'S
- 3) NEW BUDGET YOU DISCUSSED WITH TOM ATTACHED.
NOTE ADDITION OF WHERE TO SEND GRANT.
- 4) ATTACHED TWO PIECES I BELIEVE WOULD
BE VALUABLE TO THE PROPOSAL LETTER.

FOR
MELISSA
CARRIS) I AM GOING TO COOK ON MATERIALS
A BIT, SEND TO YOU FOR YOUR REVIEW, AND

TROUBLE? - PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282. NEXT WEEK WE SHOULD
BE ABLE TO GET THAT OUT.

6) OTHER POTENTIAL DONORS I WILL RECALL
AND TALK TO YOU ABOUT. Exhibit 74

7) THANKS FOR WORKING WITH US.

PP001082

file/ans
man

3. P. - Koller (N. 75516)

1/93 meeting of Koller

Dental Mail - \$1

- ~~managing acct~~
- Nant's name acct

- GOPAC has shared corporate vision

- GOPAC " ^{needs} clear mission "- several well defined programs
like CWS / PCFO3A

need cleanup or "return call"

- Gavel Club Sept 3, 92 Emerald name

D.M. - catalogue - letter from NG

- 5 envelopes ^{to be sent} ~~to be sent~~ or sent if

Nant says "included check"

intent of ~~the~~ Gavel Club program~~300+~~ 300+ also made Gavel Club pledgeC.M. ~~and~~ Gavel members

- number names & sent to Gavel club

- 10,000 also did not respond to G.C. in

4,000 from state clubs

High dollar lists purchased

D.P.
inquiries

- D.M. produces under 1% return

- 2 stage ~~and~~ Gavel Club reply not 900

- Federal # could be raised other way

through state clubs & others

Does GOPAC have a state org. pt person.
all state?

Exhibit 74

Year:

2 charter meetings

2000000
200 x 10,000
200

1/4
1/4
1/4

Set
GOPAC 2 1/2

Progress Report for
Newts course
\$ challenges

1 & regional 2011q =

1 state of the union - ?

3/4

call time - reviewed

direct mail - \$500,000

GAOK Club 1000 x \$1,000 - \$1,000,000
2nd meeting +

state meetings = schedule 10 a year? all send

Ext. Acquainted 2 meetings = as needed + 1 quarter

1 Dinner Group > 25,000 x 10 = 250,000

1 summer event ? >

GA Dinner Group (FOUG/CU)

proposal meeting - Foundati - ~~meeting~~

" - NG course Exhibit 74



THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001
PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Meecon
0208

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION
COVER SHEET

TO Dr. Tim Meecon
FROM Paula Prochaska
DATE 4-29-93
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 7

REMARKS/MESSAGES

draft for Melissa Cain

TROUBLE? - PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282.

Authorized and paid for by GOPAC on recycled paper



Exhibit 74

For Melissa Cain / Cracker Barrel

draft budget for Dr. Tim Mescon

Mescon
0208

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
 KENNESAW STATE COLLEGE
 SCHOOL OF BUSINESS
 GBA 890/MGT 490, FALL 1993
 MARIETTA, GEORGIA

Winter 1994

Pro Forma Annual Budget

Program Production: Saturday uplink satellite services provided by videotape associates including:

~~10 courses to be scheduled beginning September 18, 1993~~
 technical director/audio engineer
 production coordinator
 basic lighting package
 camera operators (2)
 cameras (2)
 betacam playback deck
 wireless microphone
 audio mixing console
 ifbs
 2.25 hours of uplink on ku-band
 2.25 hours of downlink
 2.25 hours of uplink turnaround time on c-band

Tim - do
 you double
 all of this
 handle

	\$72,250
Video Production: (for course presentation)	\$30,000
Text Production and Mailing: (and money)	\$10,000
Staff: (course coordinator-\$25,000-(\$42A x 7 mo) (up/down link coordinator-\$14,000-(\$24A x 7 mo) (clerical-\$10,500-(\$18A x 7 mo)	\$49,500
Benefits: ***	\$ 7,425
Printing:	\$10,000
Postage/Delivery:	\$10,000
Telephone/copying/fax:	\$ 5,000

) double?

Exhibit 74

	Mescon 0210
Travel:	\$13,500
Materials:	\$ 5,000
Transcription:	\$ 2,500
Delayed Presentations (West Coast)	\$ 4,000
Misc:	\$ 2,500
Kennesaw State Foundation program support	\$22,167

TOTAL

Kennesaw State College and the School of Business will provide a full time faculty member to team-teach GBA 890/490 with Congressman Gingrich. Additionally, office space and secretarial support will be provided for the Program Coordinator, along with an appropriate administrative supply budget. The course will be conducted in room 151 of the A. L. Burruss Building. This state-of-the-art lecture facility is the finest of its kind in the new \$11 million business building. Finally, all marketing mailings will be processed by the College, which will also coordinate the utilization of a toll free telephone number and satellite registrations utilizing major credit cards.

Donations should be made payable to:

~~Kennesaw State College Foundation, Inc.~~

Address**???????

(designate for the Renewing American Civilization Project)

Exhibit 74

Renewing American Civilization

COURSE OUTLINE

Some General Principles:

1. Each two hour lecture should be understandable on its own terms as a frestanding experience:

a. It should begin with a five minute or less introduction to the concept of renewing American civilization.

b. It should report on the good ideas, critiques and examples sent in during the week by participants but within a context and clarity that makes the ideas and suggestions clear to someone who did not hear the previous week's lecture and for no more than fifteen minutes.

c. It should spend fifteen minutes explaining the concept of that week's topic, why it is essential to renewing American civilization, and what its key principles and definitions are.

d. For an hour the structure of thought underlying that week's topic should be explained as systematically as possible and with a practical implementation illustration for each key point if time permits.

e. For fifteen minutes it should focus on how people could apply this concept to their local efforts by reporting on groups, projects and people who have actually been applying these ideas to renewing American civilization in their own profession, community or area of interest. Probably three examples of success in action will be the optimum for any one topic.

f. For the last ten minutes people should be introduced into how they could study this topic more deeply. Books, video and audio tapes, consulting and educational opportunities, associations, etc... could be mentioned at this point as opportunities for people and groups to further their understanding of this particular topic.

Exhibit 74

Introduction to the course

4/18/93

Three paragraphs define where we are today. If you agree with these paragraphs you will find the rest of this course useful. If you disagree with any or all of these paragraphs you might find this course irrelevant or irritating - As I go through these three paragraphs you can decide if you agree with the premise of this course.

1. No civilization can succeed if it has 12 year olds having babies, 15 year olds shooting each other, 17 year olds dying of AIDS, and 18 year olds getting diplomas that they can't read.

Do you agree that American civilization is decaying?

Agree ---
Disagree ---

2. The welfare state has clearly failed. The violence, brutality and bloodshed we see every night on local television news is proof positive of that failure. However good its intentions, however noble its hopes, the simple fact is that welfare, public housing, permissive education, and a variety of social experiments have combined to produce a disaster for the people most effected, a danger to all of us and a threat to America's future.

Do you agree that the welfare state has failed?

Agree ---
Disagree ---

3. It is our generation's job to draw on the lessons of American history, the principles of American civilization and the technologies and management lessons created by the Information Revolution and the world market. Together these sources can provide a framework of thought, the set of principles, and the insights necessary to replace the welfare state. It is our mission to replace and not merely repair the welfare state. In that process we can renew American civilization and give ourselves, our children, and our grandchildren greater opportunities, a higher quality of life, better jobs with better take home pay and greater safety than anything the welfare state can imagine.

Do you agree that it is our job to renew American civilization?

Agree ---
Disagree ---

Exhibit 74

Patricia -
Please Review &
let's discuss.

W. Ben
10/20/00
me

Exhibit 74

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
Fall 1993 Operating Budget

BUDGET SUMMARY

Program Production

Lecture Coverage, Uplinking, etc.	\$72,250	
Video Inserts	30,000	
<u>Non-Video Graphic Support</u>	<u>5,000</u>	
Program Production Total		\$107,250

Printing

Registration Flyers	\$10,000	
Seminar Leader "Get-Started" Packages	2,500	
Registration Confirmation Cards	500	
Seminar Leaders Guides	1,250	
<u>Follow-Up Surveys</u>	<u>5,000</u>	
Printing Total		\$19,250

Postage

Registration Flyers	\$7,250	
Seminar Leaders "Get-Started" Packages	1,000	
Registration Confirmation Cards	4,750	
Seminar Leaders Guides	500	
Follow-up Surveys	7,500	
<u>Misc. Postage/Delivery</u>	<u>5,000</u>	
Postage Total		\$26,000

Staff Support

Project Director	\$30,000	
Course Coordinator	25,000	
Downlink Coordinator	17,000	
<u>Development Coordinator</u>	<u>10,000</u>	
Staff Support Total		\$82,000

Exhibit 74

PP000130

OPERATING BUDGET SUMMARY (Continued)

<u>Travel</u>	\$13,500
<u>Materials & Miscellaneous</u>	\$5,000
<u>SUBTOTAL</u>	\$253,000
<u>Kennesaw Foundation Program Support</u>	\$25,300
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>\$278,300</u>

Exhibit 74

PP000131

**RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
Fall 1993 Operating Budget**

BUDGET JUSTIFICATION AND DETAIL

PROGRAM PRODUCTION \$107,250

Includes costs of producing and televising 10 two-hour lectures from the campus of Kennesaw State College on consecutive Saturday mornings beginning September 18, 1993.

Lecture Coverage, Uplinking, etc. \$72,250

Includes technical director, audio engineer, production coordinator, basic lighting package, camera operators (3), cameras (3), betacam playback deck, wireless microphone, audio mixing console, ifbs, 2.25 hours of uplink on ku-band, 2.25 hours of downlink, 2.25 hours of turnaround time on c-band.

Video Inserts \$30,000

Includes production coordinator, pre-production fees, crew costs, travel costs, video library search fees, royalties, etc. for production of 5-10 minutes of video insert material for each lecture, a total of 50-100 minutes of video.

Non-Video Graphic Support \$5,000

Includes design and production of charts, slides, overheads and other non-video support materials to be utilized in the lectures.

PRINTING \$19,250

Includes all printing costs for materials required in connection with outreach to potential downlink sites and coordination with them. (Related costs associated with incoming 800 number, data base management, caging and fulfillment are discussed in Note 1, below.)

Registration Flyers \$10,000

Assumes 100,000 8 1/2 x 14 inch printed two-color registration flyers, with tear-off return registration card, @ \$0.10.

Exhibit 74

PP000132

PRINTING, cont.

Seminar Leader "Get-Started" Packages \$2,500

Assumes 1,000 Seminar "Get-Started" packages, in the form of a 25-page photocopied booklet with heavy-stock cover, covering how to find a site, recruit participants, get publicity, etc., @ \$2.50.

Registration Confirmation Cards \$500

Assumes 50,000 registrants each of whom receive a post-card confirmation of registration form, @ \$0.02.

Seminar Leader's Guides \$1,250

Assumes 500 confirmed remote sites with the coordinator of each confirmed site receiving a Seminar Leader's Guide, in the form of a 25-page photocopied booklet with information on how to conduct a seminar, guidelines for follow-up discussions, etc., @ \$2.50.

Follow-Up Surveys \$5,000

Assumes 50,000 participant follow-up surveys on 8 1/2 x 14 paper, printed in two colors, @ \$0.10.

POSTAGE \$26,000

Registration Flyers \$7,250

Assumes 25,000 registration flyers mailed first class, @ \$0.29. (Also assumes additional 75,000 flyers are distributed by hand, or postage paid by participating institutions.)

Seminar Leaders "Get-Started" Packages \$1,000

Assumes 1,000 "get started" packages mailed to potential site hosts, first class, at \$1.00 each.

Registration Confirmation Cards \$4,750

Assumes 25,000 registration confirmation cards mailed first-class @ \$0.19.

Exhibit 74

PP000133

POSTAGE, continued.

<u>Seminar Leader's Guides</u>	<u>\$500</u>
Assumes 500 Seminar Leader's guides mailed first class @ \$1.00.	
<u>Follow-up Surveys</u>	<u>\$7,500</u>
Assumes 50,000 follow-up surveys mailed third class @ \$0.15.	
<u>Misc. Postage/Delivery</u>	<u>\$5,000</u>
Includes overnight charges, shipping, etc.	

STAFF SUPPORT \$82,000

Includes direct staff support for the project provided by the Kennesaw Foundation.

Project Director \$30,000

Project fee to Washington Policy Group, Inc., for 1/2 time services of Project Director and assistant, June-September, 1993. (Washington Policy Group has extensive experience coordinating teleseminar programs of this nature, including project management of American Opportunities Workshop and American Citizens' Television. This fee covers all aspects of project management and coordination, including budget development, course materials, outreach, fundraising, etc.)

Course Coordinator \$25,000

Salary for full-time course materials coordinator, May-November 1993. Course materials coordinator will compile and catalogue research materials, communicate with course content reviewers and contributors, oversee content of and production of video and non-video class materials, etc. (Office space and overhead support provided by Kennesaw State College. See Note 2.)

Exhibit 74

PP000134

STAFF SUPPORT, continued.

<u>Downlink Coordinator</u>	<u>\$17,000</u>
-----------------------------	-----------------

Salary for full-time downlink coordinator, May-November 1993. Downlink coordinator will oversee all outreach activities to colleges and universities, businesses, community groups, etc., as well as class registration, fulfillment, ongoing coordination with site hosts, etc. Includes \$3,000 for health insurance & related benefits. (Office space and overhead support provided by Kennesaw State College. See Note 2.)

<u>Development Coordinator</u>	<u>\$10,000</u>
--------------------------------	-----------------

Contract support for part-time development staff to coordinate outreach to potential and actual supporters. (Materials, overhead costs, etc. provided by Kennesaw Foundation.)

<u>TRAVEL</u>	<u>\$13,500</u>
---------------	-----------------

Includes travel associated with outreach, development, project coordination, etc.

<u>MATERIALS & MISCELLANEOUS</u>	<u>\$5,000</u>
--------------------------------------	----------------

Includes purchase of research materials (books, etc.), and miscellaneous unanticipated costs (e.g. long-distance).

<u>KENNESAW FOUNDATION PROGRAM SUPPORT</u>	<u>\$25,300</u>
--	-----------------

Overhead for program support provided by Kennesaw Foundation, including stationery, telephones, office space, copying, etc.

* * *

<u>TOTAL PROGRAM SUPPORT REQUIREMENTS</u>	<u>\$278,300</u>
---	------------------

Exhibit 74
PP000135

NOTE 1: "READINGS IN RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION," DATA BASE, ETC.

Kennesaw State College and the Kennesaw State College Foundation have agreed with the Progress & Freedom Foundation (PFF), a research and educational organization located in Washington, D.C. for PFF to produce a book of readings and support materials (Readings in Renewing American Civilization) that will be used by students in the Renewing American Civilization Class.

The book of readings will be developed by PFF, and will include original articles by leading scholars designed to support each of the ten lectures associated with the class. The syllabus for the class will be published as an appendix to the book of readings. The book is anticipated to run 250-275 pages in length and will be published in softbound form.

The book will be published by McGraw-Hill and mailed directly to students, who will be charged a \$24.95 "registration fee" to cover the following costs:

- o Printing of the book itself;
- o "Caging" of registration fees received in response to the registration flyer mailed by the Kennesaw Foundation;
- o Incoming "800" number charges for those who choose to register through an incoming 800 number service, which will work under contract with PFF and the Kennesaw Foundation;
- o Mastercard and VISA fees for registration by credit card;
- o Compilation and maintenance of a comprehensive data base of all course participants, including a complete listing of all remote seminar sites;
- o Addressing and mailing of registration confirmation cards;
- o Shipping.

Through this arrangement, the costs of building and maintaining a data base of course participants and providing them with necessary background materials for participating in the class will be substantially covered at no out-of-pocket cost to the Kennesaw State College Foundation or Kennesaw State College.

Exhibit 74
PP000136

NOTE 2: KENNESAW STATE COLLEGE PROGRAM SUPPORT

Kennesaw State College and its School of Business will provide a full-time faculty member to team-teach GBA 890-490 with Mr. Gingrich. Additionally, office space and secretarial support will be provided for the Program Coordinator and Downlink Coordinator, along with an appropriate administrative supply budget. The course will be conducted in Room 151 of the A.L. Burruss Building. This state-of-the-art lecture facility is the finest of its kind in the new \$11 million business building.

NOTE 3: AUDIO AND VIDEO CASSETTE AVAILABILITY

It is the intention of Kennesaw State College and the Kennesaw State College Foundation to make the class available to students at remote sites through audio and video tape cassettes of the lectures.

Audio and video cassettes will be made available through a private sector vendor on both a "real time" (i.e. Priority Mail delivery the week following each class) and "library" basis (i.e. boxed sets of all lectures, produced and distributed after completion of the class in November/December 1993).

Prices charged for these materials will fully cover their reproduction and distribution costs. Orders will be accepted both through Kennesaw State College, by mail, and through the incoming "800" number facility discussed in Note 1 above.

Exhibit 74
PP000137

PP000138

Susan G
4/28/8

Reawing American Civilization Budget

and
1/1/80
1/1/80
1/1/80

<u>Program production.</u>		
uplink satellite etc	$7,225 \times 10$	72,250
<u>Video Production (for camera presentation)</u>		
		30,000
<u>Text production and mailing (send)</u>		
		10,000
<u>Staff</u>		
courses coord.	25,000 (42 K.A. x 1/2 per)	49,500
Director		
uplink coord.	14,000 (24 K.A. x 7)	
Chancel	10,500 (13 K.A. x 7)	
<u>Benefits</u>		
		7,425
<u>Printing</u>		
		10,000
<u>Postage + Delivery</u>		
		10,000
<u>Telephone, Copying, fax</u>		
		5,000
<u>Travel</u>		
		13,500
<u>Materials</u>		
		5,000
<u>Transcriptions</u>		
		2,500
<u>Delayed presentation (with coord)</u>		
		4,000
<u>misc. exp</u>		
		2,500
K.S. Foundation	22,167	22,167
		22,167

Fvh.h: 74

SAOKD:
KSC Budget

draft budget for Dr. Tim Mescon

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
 KENNESAW STATE COLLEGE
 SCHOOL OF BUSINESS
 GBA 890/MGT 490, FALL 1993
 MARIETTA, GEORGIA

Pro Forma Annual Budget

Program Production: Saturday uplink satellite services provided by videotape associates including:

10 consecutive Saturdays beginning September 18, 1993

technical director/audio engineer

production coordinator

basic lighting package

camera operators (2)

cameras (2)

betacam playback deck

wireless microphone

audio mixing console

ifbs

2.25 hours of uplink on ku-band

2.25 hours of downlink

2.25 hours of uplink turnaround time on c-band

	\$72,250
Video Production:	\$30,000
(for course presentation)	
Text Production and Mailing:	\$10,000
(seed money)	
Staff:	\$49,500
(course coordinator-\$25,000-(\$42A x 7 mo)	
(up/down link coordinator-\$14,000-(\$24A x 7 mo)	
(clerical-\$10,500-(\$18A x 7 mo)	
Benefits:	\$ 7,425
Printing:	\$10,000
Postage/Delivery:	\$10,000
Telephone/copying/fax:	\$ 5,000

Exhibit 74

PP000139

Travel:	\$13,500
Materials:	\$ 5,000
Transcription:	\$ 2,500
Delayed Presentations (West Coast)	\$ 4,000
Misc:	\$ 2,500
Kennesaw State Foundation program support	\$22,167

TOTAL

Kennesaw State College and the School of Business will provide a full time faculty member to team-teach GBA 890/490 with Congressman Gingrich. Additionally, office space and secretarial support will be provided for the Program Coordinator, along with an appropriate administrative supply budget. The course will be conducted in room 151 of the A. L. Burruss Building. This state-of-the-art lecture facility is the finest of its kind in the new \$11 million business building. Finally, all marketing mailings will be processed by the College, which will also coordinate the utilization of a toll free telephone number and satellite registrations utilizing major credit cards.

Donations should be made payable to:

Kennesaw State College Foundation, Inc.
 Address???????

(designate for the Renewing American Civilization Project)

Exhibit 74

PP000140

0914

GOPAC2
2423

N - file Ferst
file


4-29-93

TO: Jeff

From: Pam

Do you want to give me some information on the P&FF for Jean Ferst. I will draft a letter for her foundation and the several small ones, plus Coca Cola which she will approach?

5/14 He to do
6/1 did

Finance Office # 2

File Cabinet 2

"Ferst, J"
file

GOPAC2
2422

Exhibit 74

GOPAC - Coca-Cola? Potential \$
- Krost's - ~~B~~ missiles = CASES

PP000626

Exhibit 74

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

FAXED

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION
COVER SHEET

TO Dr. Tim Wesson
FROM Paula Prochoree
DATE 4-29-93
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 7

REMARKS/MESSAGES

draft for Melissa Cain

TROUBLE? - PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282.

Exhibit 74

PP000059

Renewing American Civilization

COURSE OUTLINE

Some General Principles:

1. Each two hour lecture should be understandable on its own terms as a freestanding experience:

- a. It should begin with a five minute or less introduction to the concept of renewing American civilization.
- b. It should report on the good ideas, critiques and examples sent in during the week by participants but within a context and clarity that makes the ideas and suggestions clear to someone who did not hear the previous week's lecture and for no more than fifteen minutes.
- c. It should spend fifteen minutes explaining the concept of that week's topic, why it is essential to renewing American civilization, and what its key principles and definitions are.
- d. For an hour the structure of thought underlying that week's topic should be explained as systematically as possible and with a practical implementation illustration for each key point if time permits.
- e. For fifteen minutes it should focus on how people could apply this concept to their local efforts by reporting on groups, projects and people who have actually been applying these ideas to renewing American civilization in their own profession, community or area of interest. Probably three examples of success in action will be the optimum for any one topic.
- f. For the last ten minutes people should be introduced into how they could study this topic more deeply. Books, video and audio tapes, consulting and educational opportunities, associations, etc... could be mentioned at this point as opportunities for people and groups to further their understanding of this particular topic.

Exhibit 74

PP000060

Three paragraphs define where we are today. If you agree with these paragraphs you will find the rest of this course useful. If you disagree with any or all of these paragraphs you might find this course irrelevant or irritating - As I go through these three paragraphs you can decide if you agree with the premise of this course.

1. No civilization can succeed if it has 12 year olds having babies, 15 year olds shooting each other, 17 year olds dying of AIDS, and 18 year olds getting diplomas that they can't read.

Do you agree that American civilization is decaying?

Agree ---

Disagree ---

2. The welfare state has clearly failed. The violence, brutality and bloodshed we see every night on local television news is proof positive of that failure. However good its intentions, however noble its hopes, the simple fact is that welfare, public housing, permissive education, and a variety of social experiments have combined to produce a disaster for the people most effected, a danger to all of us and a threat to America's future.

Do you agree that the welfare state has failed?

Agree ---

Disagree ---

3. It is our generation's job to draw on the lessons of American history, the principles of American civilization and the technologies and management lessons created by the Information Revolution and the world market. Together these sources can provide a framework of thought, the set of principles, and the insights necessary to replace the welfare state. It is our mission to replace and not merely repair the welfare state. In that process we can renew American civilization and give ourselves, our children, and our grandchildren greater opportunities, a higher quality of life, better jobs with better take home pay and greater safety than anything the welfare state can imagine.

Do you agree that it is our job to renew American civilization?

Agree ---

Disagree ---

Exhibit 74

PP000061

DATE:
KSC#

4-29-93

Memorandum of Record

From: Pamla Prochnow

Re: Kennesaw Course

Potential grantor

Contact

Status

Randolph Foundation

Heather Richardson

4/29 proposal/letter
out from Mescon/\$50,000
out 4/20/11 - ~~status~~ has 5/6
status? call 11Cracker Barrel Old
Country Store

Melissa Cain

4/29 proposal/letter draft
from Pam to Mescon/out wk
5/3/seek multi-year - status - should
call

Waffle House, Inc.

Joe Rogers

4/29 Name to Pam from
Mescon/Pam will call 4/24 = coc 1/3 di
1/6 2 added margin? to out 11 5/11
5/17/11 status

Berman & Co

Richard Berman

4/28 from Joe to Pam/Pam
call/seek grant and downlinks. 4/4
from his nameless/Pam 1:00
status. work - the time - 4/10 - unit
status

Corning

Barbara Foote

4/29 Jeff to Pam/Pam call/
Cors?/take course + grant
out 11 4/10 / out 11 11:00
out 11 11:00 / out 11 11:00
out 11 11:00 / out 11 11:00

IBM

4/29 Mescon thinks they might
want to play/not necessarily
grantCoca-Cola
to Pam

John Gillan/svp

4/28 Joe/Barry refer

He knows about
course/hosting 5/8 NG party / Pam c
4/11

Delta

Ron Allen
Scott Hughes/gov afs4/28 Joe/Barry/strong NG
friend/Gregg Hughes, NG
office for info.

Exhibit 74

DD000029

~~The Political Club~~
~~Son Growth~~

? ~~Nelson~~ ~~Office H~~

4/28 Joe finding name for \$2,000 ~~in~~ ~~has to deposit~~

WalMart

Ralph Walton

4/28 cold

Livermore Labs(?)

Ann Hayward
Mr. Livermore
510-422-8203

4/28 promised News ~~10,000~~
?/Pam needs to call

HealthSouth

all capital on board

Richard Crushy
(205-967-7116)
KAR 205 967-4729

4/28 Barry will call/36,000 ~~for~~ ~~pro.~~ employees/\$100,000 ? She did not participate in Pam ~~not~~ ~~credit~~ ~~to~~ ~~Waldman~~ ~~4/28~~

Lockheed

Jim Neal

4/28

UPS

Mike Barker

4/28

Suzanne in the Whip office has names of her computer

4/28 Pam call and get ~~called~~ ~~to~~ ~~225-2280~~ - ~~called~~ ~~to~~ ~~225-5237 (Pam)~~

McDonalds

Frank Vizcanna

Dedman, Bob.

American Standard

Claverly (is?)

Hank McCouish (?)

Jeff has info ~~one~~ ~~million~~ ~~GA~~ (Public Policy Foundation)

Ariza

None

Need \$2,000 how/where

Exhibit 74

PP000030

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Mescon
0351

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION
COVER SHEET

TO Dr. Tim Mescon
FROM Patricia Prochard
DATE 5-3-93
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) _____

REMARKS/MESSAGES

Tim - Please send this with Budget
for multi-year and a new position
directed to Richard Scrosby.
Not sure how real this is
and you probably will get questions
from them prior to any real
consideration on their part.

One report I had says he
TROUBLE? - PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282.
WANTED TO HAVE all of his employees
take it AND would consider a
\$100,000 grant.

Authorized and paid for by GOPAC on recycled paper



Exhibit 74

Mescon
0352

draft

Ms. Melissa Cain
Marketing Manager
Cracker Barrel Old Country Store
P.O. Box 787
Lebanon, TN 37088-0787

MR. Richard Scrusby
C.E.O., President Chairman of the Board
HealthSouth
2 Riverchase Park S.
Suite 2240
Birmingham, AL
3524

Dear Ms. Cain:

DEAR MR. SCRUSBY:

Beginning in the Fall quarter, 1993 and offered again Winter quarter 1994, (?) quarter 199? and (?) quarter 199?, the School of Business Administration at Kennesaw State College plans to offer a live, ten week course entitled RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, taught by Congressman Newt Gingrich. This course will be offered for credit to a group of 200 undergraduate and graduate students on the Kennesaw State campus and will be telecast via satellite to a multitude of downlink sites throughout the United States with the projected viewing population reaching over 100,000. In order to successfully deliver a high quality effort, I am requesting multi-year support from Cracker Barrel Old Country Store. Total delivery costs for this effort are \$240,000 per quarter.(?)

During the Winter quarter and subsequent quarters, Kennesaw State College will work with other colleges and universities to provide the course for credit on their campuses. Initial outreach has produced a substantial degree of interest. In addition, corporations, associations, and organizations will be encouraged to downlink the course for employees and members.

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION will focus on identifying and fostering those underlying values and attitudes that enable free-market, private enterprise and democratic systems to function and flourish. Indeed, the course addresses those issues essential for the preservation and continuing development of American Civilization. The course, during the Fall 1993 quarter, will be taught ten consecutive Saturdays, beginning September 18, 1993. Each week Congressman Gingrich will focus on a topic critical to the long term quality of life for Americans. The ten topics include:

- Renewing American Civilization
- Personal Strength
- Quality: Deming's Profound Knowledge
- Technological Progress
- Entrepreneurial Private Enterprise
- Principles of American Civilization
- Economic Growth
- Health
- Saving the Inner City
- Citizenship for the 21st Century: The Founding Fathers in the Information Age

Exhibit 74

Mescon
0353

A readings book featuring the works of some of this nation's great leaders and innovators will be published in conjunction with this course. Additionally, all lectures will be available for widespread distribution on video and audiotapes. Congressman Gingrich will grade all assignments (for KSC only or leave that fact out ?) and will team teach on campus with a designated faculty member.

Kennesaw State College enrolls more than 12,000 students in undergraduate and graduate courses. The 175 acre suburban campus is situated on I-75, twenty miles north of downtown Atlanta. Kennesaw State College is the largest senior college in the University System of Georgia. In recent year, U.S. News & World Report recognized the college three years running as one of the up and coming colleges and universities in the southeastern United States. Currently, the School of Business enrolls more than 4,000 students in undergraduate and graduate study and at the graduate level we enroll close to 700 students in both our MBA and MBA for Experienced Professional programs.

Heartily I am very excited and, indeed, proud of this initiative and would gratefully appreciate the support of ~~Cracker Barrel Old Country Store~~. All grants for this academic effort should be directed to the Kennesaw State College Foundation, Inc., a 501 (c)3 corporation, and designated for the RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION PROJECT.

Thank you for considering this request. Should you have any specific questions, please do not hesitate to contact me directly.

Sincerely,
Timothy S. Mescon, Ph.D.
Dean

cc: Jeff Eisenach
Pamla H. Prochnow

*Concerning
Course Costs &
Employee
Participation*

Exhibit 74

3/4 Footie / Camp

read her out her office 10:00 3/10

had wasser ~~near~~ 

Exhibit 74

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Fanned

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION
COVER SHEET

TO Tim Mescon 404-423-6536
FROM Paula Prochore
DATE 5-4-93
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 2

REMARKS/MESSAGES

Tim - Please send both the
generic proposal and the Cowing
proposal to me, at
GOPAC
440 1st ST NW
Suite 400
Washington DC 20001

I will need by 5/10 - 10:00. Is that
TROUBLE? - PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282. A problem?

Tam

Exhibit 74





THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Mescon
0919

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION
COVER SHEET

TO Tim Mescon 404-423-6539
FROM Paula Trechococ
DATE 5-4-93
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 2

REMARKS/MESSAGES

Tim - Please send both the
generic proposal and the Corwin
proposal to me at
GOPAC
440 1st St NW
Suite 400
Washington DC 20001
I will need by 5/10-10:00. Is that

TROUBLE? - PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282.

A problem?

Exhibit 74



5-4-93

To: Tim Mescon, Jeff Eisenach, Joe Gaylord

From: Pamla Prochnow

Re: KSC course - status

Proposal has gone from KSC to Heather Richardson/Randolph Foundation requesting \$50,000.

Proposal is ready to go from KSC to Melissa Cain/Cracker Barrel requesting multi-year funding, amount to be a discussion point.

I have a call into Joe Rogers/Waffle House.

I have a 5/10 meeting with Richard Berman to discuss the course. I should have a generic proposal and budget for him.

I have a 5/10 meeting with Barbara Foote/Corning to discuss course. I will need from KSC a proposal and budget for that meeting.

I sent draft proposal to KSC 5/3 for Richard Scrusby/HEALTHSOUTH. They consider offering the course to their employees and in making a contribution.

5/4

Tim - on your status
 could refer to a generic
 (no name/no address) letter &
 budget. also could
 proposal and budget to:

Ms BARBARA FOOTE
 GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS REPRESENTATIVE Exhibit 74
 CORNING
 1455 PENNSYLVANIA AVE, N.W.
 # 500

5-4-93

To: Tim Mescon, Jeff Eisenach, Joe Gaylord

From: Pamla Prochnow

Re: KSC course - status

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5/4

Tim - on your status
 could refer to a generic
 (no name/no address) letter &
 budget. also a confidential
proposal and budget to:

Ms BARBARA FOOTE
 GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS REPRESENTATIVE
 CORNING
 1455 PENNSYLVANIA AVE, N.W. - Exhibit 74
 # 500

5-10-93

To: Joe, Tim, and Jeff

From: Pamla

Re: After action report - Meeting with Richard Berman, Berman and Company - 202-347-3900 - Kennesaw course

I think there is a very real possibility here of \$20,000 - \$25,000 if the course can incorporate some of the ideas mentioned in the Journal of Labor Research, Volume XIV, Number 3. The papers to read and consider are under "Symposium - Entry-Level Employment and Employees: Problems, Policies, and Prospects. Looking it over very briefly in his office, I think there might be a connect. Maybe some of the 7 people who wrote the papers would contribute something to the course text? His primary concern is a discussion of what he calls "genesis employment opportunities" - the idea that entry level positions are not necessarily "dead end." I will send the papers to Nancy Desmond and will follow up with her as to her thoughts. If it would be helpful to put Nancy in touch with some of the authors, I would think he would do that.

Some of his clients are restaurant chains and this is why his interest is focused here. I did mention the idea of having his clients open their restaurants as locations for a down link. His comment was that too many would view Newt as partisan even with no reference to politics.

I will send him a letter thanking him for the meeting and will send the journal to Nancy. Nancy and I will touch base in a week.

Exhibit 74

PP000009

5-10-93 draft letter for my signature, Maureen - thanks

Mr. Richard B. Berman
Berman and Company
Suite 1100
607 14th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Rick:

Thank you for meeting with me yesterday. I will forward the Journal of Labor Research to Nancy Desmond, the course coordinator. As soon as she has reviewed the content, she and I will meet to see where a discussion of "genesis jobs" might best be included.

Along with the assistance of corporate America, the course "Renewing American Civilization" has as a goal creating a climate with increased opportunities for success for all American citizens. Most people today are concerned about how to make this country better prepared to meet the challenges of the 21st century. This course is a positive step ~~for~~ meeting those challenges. I look forward to working with you on this project and hope you will call on me if there are any questions or concerns.

Sincerely,

Pamla H. Prochnow
Finance Director

Exhibit 74

1/26 - Nancy will call Access will
be T.Y. - and maybe the agreement
would fall into the "advisor" category
as a P&T Nancy she'll report back
to me. If more involved will
have off call.

Nancy Desmond
WT 10 464
587-2330
T/F - 404
423-6606

5/24 WCB/over
include

~~1/26~~ Nancy call Jim
= agreement - run
around in few
days / will do
agreement / will

~~1/26~~ Di
1/26

GOPAC

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AMERICA'S
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440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

May 11, 1993

Mr. Richard B. Berman
Berman and Company
Suite 1100
607 14th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Rick,

Thank you for meeting with me yesterday. I will forward the Journal of Labor Research to Nancy Desmond, the course coordinator. As soon as she has reviewed the content, she and I will meet to see where a discussion of "genesis jobs" might best be included.

Along with the assistance of corporate America, the course "Renewing American Civilization" has a goal creating a climate with increased opportunities for success for all American citizens. Most people today are concerned about how to make this country better prepared to meet the challenges of the 21st century. This course is a positive step to meeting those challenges. I look forward to working with you on this project and hope you will call on me if there are any questions or concerns.

Sincerely,

Pamla H. Prochnow
Finance Director

Exhibit 74

PP000125

5-10-93 draft letter for my signature

Ms. Barbara K. Foote
Government Affairs Representative
Corning Incorporated
Suite 500
1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-1078

Dear Barbara:

Thank you for meeting with me yesterday. Next, Dr. Tim Mescon of Kennesaw State College, and I will look forward to continuing discussions on how Corning Incorporated and the course, "Renewing American Civilization," might together improve the opportunities for success for all American citizens.

As mentioned in the letter which I left with you, there is the critical need of financial support and down link locations at schools, corporations and neighborhood locations for the September ~~1993~~ 1993 Fall Quarter, as well as the January 1994 Winter Quarter.

Please share the course information with the appropriate Corning Incorporated officers and call me if there are any questions or concerns. Most people today are concerned about how to make this country better prepared to meet the challenges of the 21st Century. This course is a positive step for meeting those challenges.

Sincerely,

Pamla H. Prochnow
Finance Director

(Pam, hand write - look forward to receiving Corning Foundation guidelines and annual report)

Exhibit 74

PP000114

June 3, 1993

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTOR LIST - RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
COURSE - TO BE TAUGHT AT KENNESAW STATE COLLEGE - FALL 1993

Potential Contributor	Contact	Amount	Status
Randolph Foundation	Heather Richardson	\$50,000	check sent to Mescon5/11/93
Cracker Barrel Old Country Store	Melissa Cain	\$25,000 \$25,000	6/3Evens,25,000 will do 25,000 more if matched by 9 @ \$25. Mescon to write TY to Evins, bcc Melissa, will act as agreement
Waffle House	Joe Rogers, Jr.	? more if \$\$/Pam	interested, needs to be involved
Berman & Co. call	Richard Berman	\$20,000 - \$25,000	6/3Nancy writing Berman, not returned her should fund
Corning	Barbara Foote	?	6/3 she has talked to Nancy, sent me Foundation info./Pam work
Coca-Cola	John Gillan	?	hosting NG party 5/8-Pam
Delta	Ron Allen	?	strong NG friend Pam work
WalMart	Ralph Walton	?	cold call
Livermore Labs	Ann Haywood	books	Jeff to work/

Exhibit 74

PP000026

			from NG call time
HealthSouth	Richard Scrushy	\$100,000	sent 2nd proposal 5/25 Jeff/Pam
Lockheed	Jim Neal	?	cold call
UPS	Mike Barker	?	cold call
McDonalds	Frank Vizcarra	?	cold call
American Standard	Cavey	?	have met/Jeff contact 5/93
Aetna	Thomas Bengtson	?	Nancy/Pam
The Freedom Forum		?	Dev. Coord.
Glass, McCullough, etc	John Stuckey	?	Pam/wcb
Scientific Research Corp	Charles Watt	?	Nancy/Pam
Northwest National	John Turner	?	Newt/Pam strong
Cooper, Thomas & Sharon		?	Nancy/Pam
Barnette, Thomas		?	Nancy/Pam
Mobile Oil	William Sands	?	Nancy/Pam Advisor?
Ga. Motor Trucking Assoc.	Edward Crowell	?	Nancy/Pam downlink ?
Systematic Asset Mgn. Corp.	Larry Parks	?	Mescon/Pam
Chubb Life America	Jerome Orleans	?	Jerry/Pam
Entergy	Nancy Wood	?	Jerry/Pam
First American	Martin Simmons	?	Jerry/Pam
Kansas Oil Marketers Assoc.	Charles Nicolay	?	Jerry/Pam

Exhibit 74

PP000027

Vought	Diane	?	Pam
Knight Foundation	Rick Love	?	Pam/Devcoor
Readers Digest Foundation		?	Pam/Devcoor
Equifax Inc.	C.B. Rogers, Jr. Scott Dix contact	?	Newt received letter/Jeff call

Exhibit 74

PP000028

5-10-93

To: Joe, Tim and Jeff

From: Pamla

Re: After action report - Meeting with Barbara K. Foote, Government Affairs Representative - Corning Incorporated - 202-347-2285

I met with her on the recommendation of Jeff. Corning top management had heard Newt speak about the course and had expressed interest. She is the information gatherer.

I brought her the generic KSC proposal, the KSC budget, Congressional Record "Renewing American Civilization, course outline and introduction to the course.

I asked her for a copy of the Corning Foundation annual report and giving guidelines. She will have that sent to me.

My follow up will be to thank her for the meeting and express interest in how her "20" top management people view the idea of support for the course. I believe they are interested in a financial donation and offering the course to Corning employees. She indicated they are very active with colleges and universities in the upper New York State area and I asked her for their help in putting us in contact with some of those schools for possible course offering.

I have known her boss, Allen (sp?) Cors through his wife for several years. He has been representing Corning in D.C. for 20 years Barbara reported. If we need his assistance I can call.

Exhibit 74

PP000115

5-14-93

I called Melissa on Laura's request and told her that the dates in Sept. for Newt were most likely not good because of voting mid-week. I did offer the possibility of a video hook up. She thought the real person was much preferred. She did mention that the man putting the meeting together is scheduling another meeting in November with the group being similar. I told her I would check with Hardy and get back to her week of 5/17. Charter Meeting is 11/13/14/15.

5/14 He did receive course stuff/ sent to Cassia
notes.

5/18 - Fed or Handley - said in November - she wants me
about now - I get to go - if he agrees, we
get to Handley.

Exhibit 74

PP000038

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

5-19-93

CALL TIME

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

RICHARD SCRUSHY
CEO HEALTHSOUTH
205-967-7116

KENNESAW STATE COLLEGE SENT HIM A PROPOSAL FOR THE COURSE
BASED ON MY REQUEST.

HE HAD INDICATED TO SOMEONE A POSSIBLE INTEREST IN MAKING A
GRANT OF \$100,000 AND HAVING HIS 36,000 EMPLOYEES TAKE THE COURSE.

THIS CALL SHOULD ASK HIM IF HE NEEDS TO KNOW ANYTHING MORE
ABOUT THE COURSE AND TO ASK HIM TO MAKE A MULTI-YEAR GRANT OF
\$100,000.

*1/26 call time / Had never
seen 150 proposal / need
secretary / 2 NO indicate Sen
KSC 1/25 / Jeff to send him
briefing on why course is
good for endorses ← revised
Jeff 5/27*

Authorized and paid for by GOPAC on recycled paper



Exhibit 74

1164 PP000110

5-19-1993

CALL TIME

ANN HAYWOOD
LIVERMORE LABS

510-422-8203

THEY SAID THEY WOULD PRODUCE 10,000 "STUDENTS" TO TAKE THE COURSE. THEY HAVE NOT RECEIVED A PROPOSAL AT THIS POINT.

YOU SHOULD JUST CALL TO TELL HER THAT THE COURSE IS MOVING AHEAD WELL, WE ARE COUNTING ON THEIR SUPPORT OF 10,000 STUDENTS, DO THEY HAVE ANY QUESTIONS, AND YOU WILL HAVE JEFF OR JERRY CALL TO ARRANGE THE DETAILS OF THE COURSE VIEWING AND BOOK PURCHASE.

3/16 ~~will~~ will offer course
 suddenly no contribution/
 Jeff needs to read her all
 course info draft away &
 discuss how to fund it
 Healy - Neent will see on
 when she is in DC,
 could/should she be an advisor =
 environmental cleanup.

Exhibit 74

PP000109



May 20, 1993

Ms. Pamla Prochnow
Finance Director
GOPAC
440 1st Street, N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Pam;

Thank you for your assistance in helping to arrange a date that Congressman Newt Gingrich could speak to the management at Cracker Barrel Old Country Store. Since our first proposal of September is inconvenient; what does the Congressman's schedule look like November 7-12, 1993? We will be holding a district meeting for all our restaurant and gift shop district managers at the Greenbriar Resort in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. There will be approximately 50 attendees.

The topic of interest is government relations. How can "we" (individuals and corporations) make a difference in the legislative process? What is the outlook for corporations or specifically the foodservice industry during this administration? What good can PAC's do in the legislative process? I would suggest a breakfast meeting approximately one hour in length on November 9th or 11th. However, we are flexible.

Please let me know if you require any additional information in scheduling this date. Again, we appreciate the Congressman's efforts to visit with us.

Sincerely,

Melissa
Melissa S. Cain
Marketing Manager

MSC/

cc: Jay Conner

Exhibit 74

8/13 - N. To call Mark
The Pam call Melissa
1/16 - To call
conclusion

PP000036

A TENNESSEE CORPORATION
PO Box 787 • HARTMANN DRIVE
LEBANON, TENNESSEE 37088-0787
PHONE 615 444 5533



May 20, 1993

Ms. Pamla Prochnow
Finance Director
GOPAC
440 1st Street, N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20001

4/24
N - Please call
Hardy. Also would
and call her about
Nov 7-12? Then
will call Melissa

Dear Pam;

Thank you for your assistance in helping to arrange a date that Congressman Newt Gingrich could speak to the management at Cracker Barrel Old Country Store. Since our first proposal of September is inconvenient; what does the Congressman's schedule look like November 7-12, 1993? We will be holding a district meeting for all our restaurant and gift shop district managers at the Greenbriar Resort in White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. There will be approximately 50 attendees.

The topic of interest is government relations. How can "we" (individuals and corporations) make a difference in the legislative process? What is the outlook for corporations or specifically the foodservice industry during this administration? What good can PAC's do in the legislative process? I would suggest a breakfast meeting approximately one hour in length on November 9th or 11th. However, we are flexible.

Please let me know if you require any additional information in scheduling this date. Again, we appreciate the Congressman's efforts to visit with us.

Sincerely,

Melissa
Melissa S. Cain
Marketing Manager

Hardy

Exhibit 74

MSC/

cc: Jay Conner

Jae

A TENNESSEE CORPORATION
PO Box 787 • HARTMANN DRIVE
LEBANON, TENNESSEE 37088-0787
PHONE 615 444 5333

4/24 - updated Hardley
copy on 4/11 - on hold
up to
on the machine to call her
to call Hardy by this
total arrangements
also to call me Jae



Thomas M. Bongton, CPCU
Manager
Industry Affairs

Securities Centre
3500 Piedmont Road, NE
Atlanta, GA 30305

404-814-4679 Fax: 404-814-4704

This is
the fellow
who 1st
spoke to
me about
Aetna
helping



DR. CHARLES K. WATT
PRESIDENT

Scientific Research Corporation
(404) 888-4181
FAX (404) 888-8218

280 Interstate North Parkway
Suite 430
Atlanta, Georgia 30329

He said
he would
be interested
in providing
some type
of help -
maybe more
technical support
than financial

←

Exhibit 74

FYI
P.S. The guy from Mobil, whose
card Jerry has, is very
interested in quality - he
trained under Deming. (Jerry's
faxing you his card)

RECEIVED	TO: <u>Tania Atkinson</u>	FROM: <u>Nancy Diamond</u>	DATE: <u> </u> / <u> </u> / <u> </u> PAGES INCLUDING THIS PAGE: <u> </u>	DATE RECD
	FAX #:	FAX #:		

PP000078

5-21-93

Memorandum of Record

From: Pam

Re: Course - conversation with Joe Rogers, Jr., Waffle House, Atlanta

Dr. Mescon had recommend that I call Joe about the course. I have known Joe for 10+ years. Joe's comments follow -

1. Saturday morning is a tough time to offer a course to service businesses. It is one of Waffle Houses busiest times. His other example was Walmart stores. Also fall is football. Therefore, he was pleased to know the course will be available on video.

2. He recommended that we get in contact with a Dr. Earl Sasser, Harvard School of Business, who has done uplink/downlink courses and has learned a lot. He also has studied "entrepreneurship" for over 20 years. Their first audience was 25 locations of Harvard alumni clubs. It was interactive and Joe felt went very well. A Mike Porter developed the strategy for the delivery of the course and packaged it. Joe referred to it as "executive education" - a good title. Joe believes strongly that it is very difficult to get "affinity groups" to take a course for 10 Saturdays. He believes there is a large difference between students, graduate students, and executives approaches to taking classes. He says for executives it works better as night school or even a one week full time class.

3. He did offer to assist and I will keep him updated and as involved as I can.

4. I will draft a letter for Newt's signature to Sasser outlining our course and asking if we can call or set up a meeting to discuss all with him.

cc; Newt
Joe
Jeff
Jerry

Exhibit 74

PP000123

The following Congressional Club members have expressed an interest in possibly helping financially with the course:

Dr. Thomas and Sharon Cooper
4028 River Ridge Chase
Marietta, GA 30067
(404) 952-7681

Mr. Thomas Barnette
690 Atlanta Country Club
Marietta, GA 30067
(404) 980-1040 (H)
(404) 952-5151 (W)

The Coopers want to give \$500. Mr. Barnette just said that he might be interested in contributing.

I'll let you know as others come in.

Post-It™ brand fax transmittal memo 7671		# of pages	1
To	FAM PROGNOW		NANCY DEWIDON
Co.	GOPAC		Co.
Dept.			Phone #
Fax #			Fax #

Exhibit 74

PP000079

CALL TIME-- MAY 24, 1993

DAN EVINS
CRACKER BARREL
LEBANON, TENNESSEE

615 444 5533

PAM SENT MELISSA CAIN OF HIS STAFF A PROPOSAL FOR THE COURSE. PAM FOLLOWED UP AND MELISSA SAID "IT WAS SENT TO THE DECISION MAKERS"

THE CALL SHOULD BE TO ASK DAN TO FUND THE COURSE ON A MULTIPLE BASIS.

CRACKER BARREL IS ALSO ASKING YOU TO SPEAK TO A CORPORATE MEETING IN SEPTEMBER OR NOVEMBER. PAM HAS TOLD THEM SEPTEMBER IS NOT GOOD, BUT WE WOULD WORK WITH THEM FOR A NOVEMBER DATE.

= average day
 = S.S. day

= come \$25,000
 + call back
 if need more
 \$25,000 → \$

Pam need to call Melissa / love
 her send \$25 TO KSC / do T.Y. Quinn (Pulaski)
 & within next quarter \$25,000 if needed.
 Also Nov date

Exhibit 74

PP000037

May 26, 1993

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTOR LIST - RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
 COURSE - TO BE TAUGHT AT KENNESAW STATE COLLEGE - FALL 1993,
~~WINTER 1994, XX, XX~~

Potential Contributor	Contact	Amount	Status
Randolph Foundation	Heather Richardson	\$50,000	check sent to Mescom 5/11/93
Cracker Barrel Old Country Store	Melissa Cain	\$25,000 \$25,000	Evins 5/93 agreed to \$25 \$25 more if needed, Pam work
Waffle House	Joe Rogers, Jr.	? more if \$\$/Pam	interested, needs to be involved
Berman & Co.	Richard Berman	\$20,000 - \$25,000	5/26 to discuss course with Nancy/Pam, should fund
Corning	Barbara Foote	?	Pam push
Coca-Cola	John Gillan	?	hosting NG party 5/8-Pam
Delta	Ron Allen	?	strong NG friend Pam work
WalMart	Ralph Walton	?	cold call
Livermore Labs	Ann Haywood	books	Jeff to work/ from NG call time
HealthSouth	Richard Scrusby	\$100,000	sent 2nd proposal 5/25 Jeff/Pam
Lockheed	Jim Neal	?	cold call

Exhibit 74

PP000031

UPS	Mike Barker	?	cold call
McDonalds	Frank Vizcarra	?	cold call
American Standard	Cavey	?	have met/Jeff contact 5/93
Aetna	Thomas Bengtson	?	Nancy/Pam
The Freedom Forum		?	Dev. Coor.
Glass, McCullough,etc	John Stuckey	?	Pam/web
Scientific Research Corp	Charles Watt	?	Nancy/Pam
Northwest National	John Turner	?	Newt/Pam strong
Cooper,Thomas&Sharon		?	Nancy/Pam
Barnette, Thomas		?	Nancy/Pam
Mobile Oil	William Sands	?	Nancy/Pam Advisor?
Ga. Motor Trucking Assoc.	Edward Crowell	?	Nancy/Pam downlink ?
Systematic Asset Mgn. Corp.	Larry Parks	?	Mescon/Pam
Chubb Life America	Jerome Orlans	?	Jerry/Pam
Entergy	Nancy Wood	?	Jerry/Pam
First American	Martin Simmons	?	Jerry/Pam
Kansas Oil Marketers Assoc.	Charles Nicolay	?	Jerry/Pam
Vought	Diane	?	Pam
Knight Foundation	Rick Love	?	Pam/Dev coor
Readers Digest Foundation		?	Pam/Dev coor

Exhibit 74

PF000032

May 26, 1993

FINANCE PLAN FOR THE COURSE - RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION -
TO BE TAUGHT AT KENNESAW STATE COLLEGE - FALL 1993, WINTER 1994,
XXXXXXXXXX, AND XXXXXXXX

FUNDING LEVEL:

FALL 1993	\$300,000
WINTER 1994	\$300,000
XXXXX	
XXXXX	

Multi-year funding will be the goal of all proposals.

FUNDING PLAN:

SOURCES OF POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTORS -

- Gingrich speeches and meetings
- Mescon meetings and contacts
- Prochnow meetings and contacts
- Foundations - funding education, business, public policy, democracy/freedom
- Corporate and association giving
- Friends and associates leads

LOGISTICS FOR PROPOSAL SUBMISSION, PROPOSAL FOLLOW-UP AND
CONTRIBUTION ACCOUNTING AND REPORTING -

Prochnow will make initial call to discuss funding potential and level for Gingrich contacts, Prochnow contacts, friends and associates leads.

Development Coordinator will research and make initial contact with foundations and corporate giving programs.

Mescon and his staff will make initial call to discuss funding potential and level for Mescon contacts.

Formal request letters and proposals will be drafted by the individual making the initial call. A generic letter and proposal with a course budget will be developed and updated by the development coordinator, based on material from Gingrich, Mescon, and course coordinators.

Formal request letters and proposals will be sent from Mescon's office on Kennesaw State College stationary. Requests for request letters and proposals should be in writing on a form which will track status. (Pam to develop tracking form)
Telephone follow-up to request letters and proposals to potential contributors will be made by the individual making the initial call.

Exhibit 74

PP000093

All checks will be made payable to Kennesaw State College Foundation, a 501c3. Reporting to the contributor, including thank you letters, accounting of the money, and any other reporting requirements will be by Kennesaw State College (Foundation?) (Jeff, who will be paying the bills?)

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTOR LIST (SEE ATTACHED)

FUNDING PROJECT LINE (SEE ATTACHED)

MISCELLANEOUS:

Where a corporation, association, or group wants to take the course and purchase the text but not make a financial contribution, the downlink coordinator will manage.

Additional income will be produced from the sale of the text, videos, and tapes.

Exhibit 74

PP000094

PROJECT - FUNDING

5/93

15 funding phone calls placed

5 proposals mailed

Funding plan written

Newt calendar reviewed/
potential \$

Budget reviewed & updated

Phone follow-up underway

\$50,000

Design liaison process w/donors

Call time/5 calls

6/93

Development coordinator on staff

20 funding phone calls placed

10 proposals mailed

Negotiate grants with high volume participants

Funding plan progress report

1994 budget & funding plan first draft

Call time/5-10 calls

Donor follow-up & liaison

Foundation research begun

Corporate giving research begun

Donor recording/accounting in place

Exhibit 74

PP000095

Tracking form developed

NG New York trip?

\$50,000

7/93

20 funding phone calls

10 proposals mailed

Funding plan progress report

PP visits to prospects?

1994 funding plan final/implementing underway

\$50,000

Donor follow-up & liaison

Polished prospectus

Call time 5-1- calls

8/93

Funding plan progress report, review, revision

Phone follow-up continues

PP visits/Dev coor visits

1994 funding plan in full swing

Call time 5-10 calls

\$50,000

Donor follow-up & liaison

Record book, video, tape income

9/93 thru 2/94

Exhibit 74

PP000096

\$100,000

repeat from 7/93

Exhibit 74

PP000097

Saved
KSC Plan

May 26, 1993

FUNDING PLAN

Fall 1993 Quarter: GOAL - \$300,000

Randolph Foundation	\$50,000
Cracker Barrel	\$25,000
Berman & Co.	\$25,000
Health South	\$100,000
10 Friends/Corp. donors	\$100,000

Foundation support requires a longer time frame.

Winter 1994 Quarter: GOAL - \$300,000

Cracker Barrel	\$25,000
4 Foundations @ \$25,000	\$100,000
2 Foundations @ \$50,000	\$100,000
7 Friends/Corp. donors	\$75,000

Winter 1995 Quarter: GOAL - \$300,000

10 Foundations @ \$30,000 \$300,000

Spring Quarter 1996: GOAL - \$300,000

10 Foundations @\$30,000 \$300,000

Exhibit 74

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

R.A.C. Account

ROUTING SLIP

PF 19727

DATE: 5/28/93

NUMBER OF PAGES: 3

FROM: JEFF EISENACH

TO: (Check all that apply)

- | | | |
|---|--|---------------|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nancy Desmond | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Steve Hanser | _____ Others: |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mike DuGally | _____ Glen Martin | _____ |
| _____ Jeff Eisenach | _____ Tim Mescon | _____ |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Joe Gaylord | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pamla Prochnow | _____ |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Newt Gingrich | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Jerry Stedman | _____ |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Kelley Goodsell | _____ Sue Steensrud | _____ |

COMMENTS:

*Newt - PLEASE NOTE ITEM # 1
ON PAGE 1.*

[Signature]

*P.S. IT'S MY INTENTION TO GO
TO KANNOCAW ON 6/4.*

Exhibit 74

May 28, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILE

FROM: Jeff Eisenach 

SUBJECT: Conversation with Time Mescon

I spoke today with Tim Mescon. The agenda was:

1. Team Teaching
2. Revised Operating Budget
3. Clerical Support/Computers
4. Fundraising Plan

1. Team Teaching: First, Tim has not yet decided whether to team teach the class or to recruit someone else.

Second, it came up in the conversation that Tim had a different understanding of the basic structure than we have had. Specifically:

He understood that Newt would only teach the 8:30-10:30 a.m. portion and that the team teacher would take over for everyone at 10:30 and teach through 12:30 in the same room.

I told him we had planned for Newt to teach the graduate seminar on Saturday, and had understood the second undergraduate session would be during the week.

Bottom line: We concluded that there is no problem with Newt taking the graduate students into a nearby room for the seminar from 10:30 (really 10:45, after a break) until 12:30, with the undergraduates staying in the main lecture room and getting their second two hours from the team teacher.

On the other hand: Newt is "off the hook" for the second two hours each Saturday morning if he wants to be. Newt: Do you want to give up the graduate seminar portion in return for 2 hours/Saturday morning = 20 hours of your time?

2. Budget: We discussed the revised budget in some detail, including the "note 1" portion covering the book/caging/data base process. (Copy attached.) Tim's main concern is about "what happens if we don't raise all the money and can't pay for the uplinks." We agreed that we would begin setting aside money for the uplinks beginning immediately and that he and I would confer regularly on major expenditures, balance in the account, etc.

Exhibit 74

3. Clerical Support: Tim said he did not have any understanding with respect to Kennesaw State College providing full-time clerical support, and noted that Georgia state procedures prevent him from transferring money from the "teaching" account to the "clerical support" account.

This understood, I told him we needed to get a workable computer arrangement in the RAC office (capable of managing Jerry's 500-name "Site Host" data base and Nancy's 500-1,000 name "Reviewer/Contributor" data base), including a laser printer sufficient to generate the mail that would go to these two groups. He agreed to get on this immediately. He also offered to have the Kennesaw Foundation pay for some clerical support on a part-time basis. I recommended he discuss this with Jerry and Nancy, and we specifically discussed the notion of a half-time person three days/week.

4. Fundraising: I told him I expected us to have a "target list" of 30-40 potential donors next week, plus a full proposal for funding, and that he should plan to allocate some staff time next week to getting these in the mail. We also discussed the "triangle" relationship between him, Pamla and the potential donor, and agreed that we would discuss the workings of this next week when we send him the target list.

Plan

$$Sff = 5 @ 50$$

$$= 250$$

in fact $5 @ 50 = 250$ - decide who / how / when.
~~is~~ is actual

GODAC = plan

du =

F.D = rate

2500 - rate / unit

budget = include staffing ← justified
 supply = incurred costs.

PROJECT	5/03	6/03	7/03	8/03	9/03	10/03	11/03	12/03
Textbook	<p>Exploration of publisher options/initial discussions with McGraw-Hill (others?)</p> <p>Prospectus written</p>	<p>Draft contract</p> <p>Legal/ethics review</p> <p>Initial outline*</p> <p>Reviews (different from syllabus reviews?)</p>	<p>Final contract</p> <p>Writing/editing/production plan</p> <p>Outline to reviewers?</p>	<p>Proposed cover design & layout from publisher?</p> <p>Exhibits compilation begins (e.g. tables, photos)</p> <p>Adoption process?</p>	<p>Sign-off on cover design & layout?</p> <p>Lecture transcription & editing begins</p> <p>First drafts of initial chapters to reviewers?</p> <p>Exhibits for initial chapters complete and "named" to test</p> <p>Adoption process?</p>	<p>Transcription and editing continues</p> <p>Initial chapters back from reviewers, final editing complete and pagging underway</p> <p>Exhibits for initial chapters complete and "named" to test</p> <p>Middle chapters to reviewers</p>	<p>Transcription and editing continues</p> <p>Separate "straight to test" process for final chapter(s)?</p> <p>All text complete and marked with exhibit; pagging and production underway</p> <p>Page proofs approved</p> <p>Journal blurbs?</p> <p>Index?</p>	<p>Final sign-off for printing</p> <p>Distribution begins</p>

Exhibit 74

PROJECT

Readings

5/91

Authors selected & contacted

New contacts with authors as necessary

Initial drafts of papers compiled (including New's paper)

First draft syllabus

Initial drafts circulated to all authors

First edis proposed papers back to authors

McGraw-Hill contract signed (inc. distribution & marketing provisions)

Proposal for funding made to select sponsors. \$50,000 committed by GJ

6/91

Initial drafts back from authors

Second drafts circulated to all authors (others?)

Final editing underway

Cover design approval

Forwards, acknowledgments, etc.

Final draft syllabus

Marketing & distribution plan details

7/91

Final editing complete

Paging complete & off to McGraw-Hill

Marketing & distribution plan final

McGraw-Hill prepared to receive registration lists & ship

Advertising in selection publications?

Pre-publication press conference with authors?

8/91

McGraw-Hill receives registration list and receipts & ships most books

General marketing underway/PR, advertising, etc.

Authors tape video inserts for class (?)

Royalties(?)

9/91

All books shipped in class registrants not later than 9/5

Book distribution trouble-shooting

General marketing continues

Book promo squib for video scroll?

Changes for 1994 edition?

10/91

Changes for 1994 edition?

Post monem on distribution

Discuss 1994 distribution plan details w/McGraw-Hill

11/91

1994 edition ready for printing

First registration lists & receipts to McGraw-Hill

12/91

Mail 1994 edition to all class registrants before 12/31

Exhibit 74

11/93

Repeat from 5/93 forward

12/93

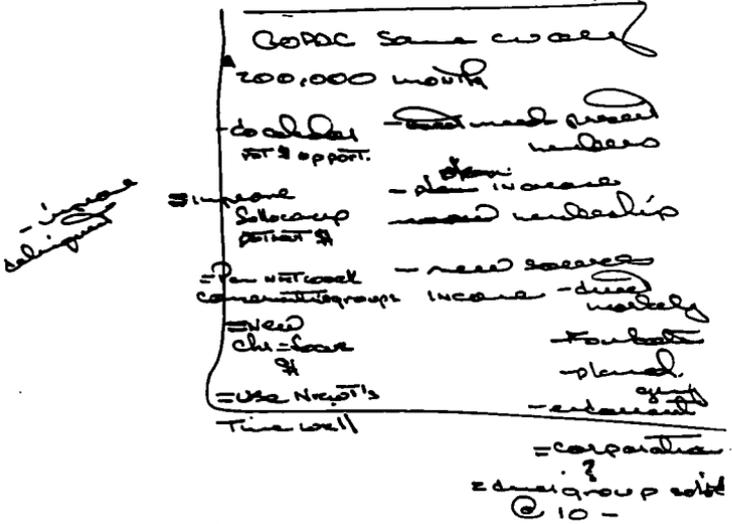
Repeat from 5/93 forward

1/94

Repeat from 5/93 forward

2/94

Repeat from 5/93 forward



3/17
20,000
thex + mupk
vel
p/eta
source

col. bus
Corp = buy into program
1000 = premium?
cat to take program
settling the deal

EN

PP001052

Exhibit 74

July 26, 1993

MEMORANDUM

TO: Joe
FROM: Newt
RE: RAC and GOPAC fundraising

Some time this week it would be useful for you to sit down with Pam and Jeff in order to develop a coordinated strategy for GOPAC and RAC fundraising. We need to set aside call time to insure that we meet both budgets.

cc: Pam Prochnow
Jeff Eisenach

Exhibit 74

GDC 11518

June 4, 1993

To: Tim Mescon, School of Business Administration
Kennesaw State College

From: Pamla Prochnow, Finance Director
GOPAC

Re: Grant from Cracker Barrel to Kennesaw State College Foundation for
the Renewing American Civilization course.

I spoke to Melissa Cain of Cracker Barrel yesterday as follow up to a call that the CEO of Cracker Barrel had with Newt. They have agreed to make a grant of \$25,000 in support of the course. In addition, if nine other donors at \$25,000 each are found to fund the total budget of the course, they will be willing to consider a second donation for the course during a winter quarter.

Melissa requested that you send Mr. Evins a thank you letter mentioning the amount of \$25,000 and the fact that the check should be made payable to the Foundation which is a 501c3. Please bcc: her on the letter.

She will take it from there and have the check sent to you. Please copy me on the letter, as well.

If you should have any questions, I can be reached at (202)484-2282.

Letter to:

Mr. Dan W. Evins
Cracker Barrel Old Country Store
P.O. Box 787
Hartman Drive
Lebanon, Tennessee 37088-0787

bcc to:

Ms Melissa Cain
Marketing Manager
same address

I'm hoping Berman & Co. will be next. Corning a possibility also.

Exhibit 74

PP000008

GOPAC

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NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001
PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Mesacon
0200

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION
COVER SHEET

TO Jim Mescon 404 423-6530
FROM Paula Prochoco
DATE 6-4-93
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 2

REMARKS/MESSAGES

Good News

TROUBLE? - PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282.

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Exhibit 74

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SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

May 11, 1993

Mr. Richard B. Berman
Berman and Company
Suite 1100
607 14th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Rick,

Thank you for meeting with me yesterday. I will forward the Journal of Labor Research to Nancy Desmond, the course coordinator. As soon as she has reviewed the content, she and I will meet to see where a discussion of "genesis jobs" might best be included.

Along with the assistance of corporate America, the course "Renewing American Civilization" has a goal creating a climate with increased opportunities for success for all American citizens. Most people today are concerned about how to make this country better prepared to meet the challenges of the 21st century. This course is a positive step to meeting those challenges. I look forward to working with you on this project and hope you will call on me if there are any questions or concerns.

Sincerely,

Pamla H. Prochnow
Finance Director

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Exhibit 74

PP000125

May 5, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR JOE GAYLORD
NANCY DESMOND
HARDY LOTT
PAMLA PROCHNOW
JERRY STEADMAN

FROM: Jeff Eisenach 

SUBJECT: Attached Kennesaw State College Schedules

Attached are the schedules for the Fall and Winter (1994) quarters at Kennesaw State College.

Note that the Winter schedule is only nine weeks long. When I pointed this out to Newt last night, he indicated a desire to work out an extension with the college so that he can still teach the class in 10 weeks.

By my reckoning, this would mean that his first class in 1994 will be on Saturday, January 8 and the last would be held March 12.

Exhibit 74

PP000126

TO: 002733306

FROM: SECC, KEN-ESAW

T-062 P. 01

TO: Kelly G. Goffe
2 pages

FBI -

FALL QUARTER 1993

SEPTEMBER

September 3	Application and Document deadline for Undergraduates, Graduates and Readmissions for Fall 1993
September 18	Quarter Begins
September 18	Classes Begin
September 20-21	Late Reg. & Add/Drop - Phase III
September 21	Last Day to Petition to Graduate - Fall 1993

OCTOBER

October 27	Last Day to Withdraw Without Academic Penalty
------------	---

NOVEMBER

November 24	Last Day of Classes
November 25-28	Thanksgiving Holidays
Nov. 29 - Dec. 5	Exams (Dec. 3, Free Day)

DECEMBER

December 2	Grad. Senior Grades Due at Noon
December 11	Graduation
December 11	End of Quarter

*No Classes That Begin After 3:30 pm Wednesday, November 24

APPROVED

[Signature]

Exhibit 74

PP000127

Approved

WINTER QUARTER 1994

DECEMBER

December 6, 1993

Application and Document Deadline for
Undergraduates, Graduates and
Readmissions for Winter 1994

JANUARY

January 3

Quarter Begins

January 3

Classes Begin

January 1-4

Late Reg. & Add/Drop - Phase III

January 4

Last Day to Petition to Graduate -

Winter 1994

January 17

Martin Luther King Holiday

FEBRUARY

February 10

Last Day to Withdraw Without
Academic Penalty

MARCH

March 10

Last Day of Classes

March 11-16

Exams

March 17

End of Quarter

March 17

Senior Grades Due @ Noon

March 26

Graduation

EXHIBIT 75

BAKER
&
HOSTETLER
COUNSELLORS AT LAW

WASHINGTON SQUARE SUITE 1100 • 1050 CONNECTICUT AVENUE N.W. • WASHINGTON D.C. 20036-3304 • (202) 861-1500
FAX (202) 861-1783 • TELEX 2357276
WATER & DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

(202) 861-1758

July 25, 1996

By Facsimile

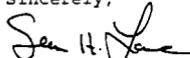
James M. Cole
Bryan Cave, LLP
700 Thirteenth St., N.W.
Washington D.C. 20005

Dear Mr. Cole:

I am writing to confirm the substance of our telephone conversation of the other day. As I mentioned to you, Pamela Prochnow informs us that she does not recall Joe Gaylord asking her to do any fundraising for the Renewing American Civilization course.

Please call me if you have any questions regarding the above or if I can be of any further assistance.

Sincerely,


Sean H. Lane

cc: Richard A. Hauser

37-210 1195

Exhibit 75

CLEVELAND OHIO
(216) 621-0200

COLUMBUS OHIO
(614) 228-1541

DENVER COLORADO
(303) 861-0600

HOUSTON TEXAS
(713) 751-1800

LONG BEACH CALIFORNIA
(310) 432-2827

LOS ANGELES CALIFORNIA
(213) 624-2400

ORLANDO FLORIDA
(407) 649-4000

EXHIBIT 76**GOPAC**

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20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

PF3
37450

May 24, 1993

Mr. Jeffrey A. Eisenach, President
Washington Policy Group, Inc.
440 First St. NW
Washington, DC 20001

Dear Jeff:

The letter confirms our conversations concerning Washington Policy Group's agreement with GOPAC.

As we have mutually agreed:

1. GOPAC's existing contract with WPG (Attachment 1) is cancelled effective June 1, 1993, and the 60-day cancellation period is waived by mutual consent. (Outstanding balances owed to WPG by GOPAC will be paid as soon as possible contingent on GOPAC's financial ability to do so, but in no case later than September 1, 1993.)

2. In return for WPG's continued performance of various consulting and planning services (to be performed by you, Michael DuGally and Kelley Goodsell, unless other personnel are approved by GOPAC) GOPAC agrees to pay WPG \$3,750 per month for the months of June through September 1993. This amount is based on the expectation that you, Mike and Kelley will be engaged in work on behalf of GOPAC on a "half-time" (i.e. 20 hours/week) basis.

3. It is understood that WPG has entered into a contract with the Kennesaw State College Foundation to provide management services in connection with the Foundation's Renewing American Civilization project, and that this activity is also being undertaken on a "half-time" basis. It is also understood that WPG may solicit and perform services for other clients during this period; you will keep me apprised of the nature and extent of these services, and your monthly invoices to GOPAC will be adjusted downward to the extent these activities prevent you from fulfilling the expectation of a full-time commitment as stated above.

4. During this period, WPG will continue to utilize office space, equipment and supplies at GOPAC, and expenses incurred in the course of your activities on behalf of GOPAC will be reimbursed.

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Exhibit 76

Washington Policy Agreement
June 1, 1993
Page Two

6. Monthly payments under this contract are due and payable on the 15th of each month (i.e. June 15, July 15, August 15, September 15).

7. This agreement terminates September 30, 1993.

8. Either party may terminate this agreement prior to September 30 upon 60 days written notice. GOPAC may terminate the agreement at any time in the event WPG personnel engage in illegal or unethical conduct having a detrimental effect upon GOPAC, its Board Members, officers or employees.

If this letter represents our understanding, please sign where indicated and return the original to me.

Sincerely,

Joseph R. Gaylord
Chairman

Agreed,


Jerome A. Eisenach
6/1/93

Date

Exhibit 76

EXHIBIT 77PFF
38289

9/88 FYI

Nancy Desmond
5237 Pikes Peak Court
Marietta, GA 30062

July 11, 1993

Mr. Barry Hutchison
Friends of Newt Gingrich
1085 Holcomb Bridge Road, Suite 190-A
Roswell, Georgia 30076

Dear Barry,

Please accept this as my resignation from the role of Congressional Club Director. While I have enjoyed working with the Club on a volunteer basis, it has come to my attention that there may be some problem with my continuing to do so.

In a recent conversation with Newt, he expressed the concern that my involvement in both the Congressional Club and the Renewing American Civilization course at Kennesaw might suggest to some that there is a possible connection between the course and the campaign. As you know, Newt is adamant about keeping the two totally separate and wants it to be clear to everyone that the course is, in no way, connected to his political campaign. The firmness of this resolve on his part and his absolute commitment to maintaining a clear and unequivocal separation between the course and his campaign leave me no alternative but to withdraw from my volunteer post with the Club.

In closing, I would like to express how very much I have enjoyed working with you and with the wonderful members of the Congressional Club. I wish all of you the very best and look forward to our continued friendship.

Sincerely,


Nancy Desmond

cc: Newt Gingrich

Exhibit 77

EXHIBIT 78**GOPAC**

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20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

**Spring Charter Meeting and Call to Action
Washington, D.C.**

April 24-26, 1993

Final Edition

The Willard Intercontinental Hotel
1401 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
202/628-9100

Please be advised that check-in time is 3:00 p.m. The Willard will make every effort to accommodate guests arriving earlier in the day.

Invited Speakers, Discussion Leaders and Dignitaries

Hon. Lamar Alexander
Ms. Nida Backaitis
Hon. Bill Brock
Mr. Tony Brown
Hon. Keith Butler
Mr. Tom Clancy
Hon. Terry Considine
Hon. Tom DeLay
Mr. Stephen Entin
Mr. Mark Fullbrook
Dr. John Goodman
Hon. Phil Gramm
Hon. Denny Hastert
Mr. Dan Howard

Ms. Arianna Huffington
Mr. R.J. Johnson
Mr. Jay Keyworth
Hon. Jeane Kirkpatrick
Ms. Anna Kondratas
Hon. Jon Kyl
Mr. Everett Carl Ladd
Ms. Barbara Lawton
Mr. Gordon Ness
Mr. Hal Northrop
Hon. Bill Paxon
Hon. Tommy Thompson
Mr. Paul Weyrich
Mr. Jack Whelan

Exhibit 78

Conference fee is optional for Charter Members and \$300 per person for potential Charter Members and spouses. Business dress is appropriate for all sessions.

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PP000448

Saturday, April 24:

- 2:00 - 5:00 p.m. **Planning Session: Franchising Grass-roots Organization**
 o Jeff Eisenach, Mark Fullbrook, Joe Gaylord, Gordon Strauss
 The Willard Pierce Room, Lower Level
- 7:30 p.m. **Informal Dutch Treat Dinner with Planning Participants**
 o Newt Gingrich
 The Occidental Grill, Presidential Room
 1475 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. (adjacent to the Willard)

Sunday, April 25:

- 1:00 - 1:30 p.m. **Opening Ceremony and Remarks**
 The Willard Ballroom, Lower Level
- 1:30 - 2:30 p.m. **Keynote Address: Renewing American Civilization**
 o Newt Gingrich
 The Willard Ballroom, Second Floor
- 2:30 - 5:00 p.m. **Breakout Sessions: Advancing the Five Pillars of Twenty-first Century Democracy**
- Personal Strength**
 o Keith Butler
 The Willard Chase Room, Second Floor
- Quality**
 o Nida Backaitis, Dan Howard, Barbara Lawton
 The Willard Douglas Room, Second Floor
- Technology**
 o Jay Keyworth
 The Willard Taft Room, Second Floor
- Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise**
 o Tony Brown, Gordon Ness
 The Willard Stone Room, Second Floor
- The Principles of American Civilization**
 o Arianna Huffington
 The Willard Brandeis Room, Second Floor

Exhibit 78

PP000449

Sunday, April 25 (continued):

- 5:00 - 6:00 p.m. **Working Group Reports**
 The Willard Ballroom, Lower Level
- 6:00 - 6:45 p.m. **Break**
- 6:45 p.m. **Bus Shuttles Begin Departing F Street Entrance of the Willard for
 the Sewall-Belmont House**
- 7:00 - 10:00 p.m. **Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Bo and Beth Callaway**
 The Sewall-Belmont House
 144 Constitution Avenue, N.E.
- Evening Program to include presentations by Bill Brock, Terry Considine, Newt
 Gingrich, Phil Gramm, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and Hal Northrop**
- 10:00 p.m. **Bus Shuttles Depart Sewall-Belmont House for the Willard**

Exhibit 78

PP000450

Monday, April 26:

- 7:30 a.m. **Breakfast Buffet**
- 8:00 - 9:00 a.m. **Breakfast Address: Clear and Present Danger**
 o Tom Clancy
 The Willard Crystal Room, Lobby Level
- 9:00 - 10:15 a.m. **Solving the Policy Crises of Today**
 o Moderated by Congressman Tom DeLay, Texas
 Economic Growth
 o Stephen Entin
 Health
 o Dr. John Goodman
 Inner City
 o Anna Kondratas
 The Willard Ballroom, Lower Level
- 10:15 - 10:30 a.m. **Break**
- 10:30 - 11:15 a.m. **Status Report on Health**
 o Congressman Denny Hastert, Illinois
 o Jack Whelan, Golden Rule Insurance Company
 The Willard Ballroom, Lower Level
- 11:15 - 12:30 p.m. **Report to Shareholders**
 o Jeff Eisenach
 Franchising Grass-roots Organization
 o Mark Fullbrook
 Wisconsin Victories
 o R.J. Johnson
 Satellite Broadcast Communication
 o Paul Weyrich
 The Willard Ballroom, Lower Level
- 12:30 - 2:00 p.m. **Luncheon Address: The Future of the Republican Party**
 o The Honorable Lamar Alexander
 The Willard Crystal Room, Lobby Level
- 2:00 - 2:15 p.m. **Break**

Exhibit 78

PP000451

Monday, April 26 (continued):

- 2:15 - 3:00 p.m. **The American Ideology**
o Everett Carl Ladd
The Willard Ballroom, Lower Level
- 3:00 - 3:45 p.m. **The Clinton Threat to America's Defense**
o Congressman Jon Kyl, Arizona
The Willard Ballroom, Lower Level
- 3:45 - 4:30 p.m. **Empowering Solutions**
o Governor Tommy Thompson, Wisconsin
The Willard Ballroom, Lower Level
- 4:30 - 5:00 p.m. Break
- 5:00 - 6:30 p.m. **Reception in Honor of the Freshman Members of Congress**
The Willard Crystal Room, Lobby Level
- 5:00 - 5:45 p.m. **Winning the House**
o Congressman Bill Paxon, New York
The Willard Crystal Room, Lobby Level
- 6:30 - 9:00 p.m. **Closing Banquet Dinner**
o GOPAC General Chairman Newt Gingrich
The Willard Crystal Room, Lobby Level

Exhibit 78

PP000452

EXHIBIT 79**MAJOR PROJECTS UNDERWAY**
May 3, 1993

<u>Political</u>	<u>Finance</u>	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Planning/Other</u>
Notes From Sunday Charter Meeting Seminars	Direct Mail Prospecting Plan	1993 Budget Into Soloman	Franchise Model Pilot Development
...	Charter Meeting Member/Speaker Follow-Up
"How To" Manual for State Parties on Teleconference Training	May 3 Call Time	Summer Interns	Corporate Council
Computer Bulletin Board R&D	May 7 Dallas Trip	State Report Amendments	Chairman Recruitment
1992 Incumbent Vote Profiles on Computer	Staffing Transition	Cash Management/Accounts Payable	Newsletter/Direct Marketing Development
1993 Farm Team Data Base	Revised Prospect/New Member Package	Records Management System Development	California Charter Political Project
Farm Team Questionnaire/June Tape	"Gavel Club" Plan/Funding	Employee Handbook	Renewing American Civilization Support
May 8 Southern Republican Exchange Training Session	May 21-22 Dinner Group Attendance & Program	Direct Mail Caging	4/24 Franchise Model Program
June 5 Virginia Training Session and Taping	...	On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	Georgia Dinner Group
Training of 1993-1994 Trainers	April/May Invoices	Year-End Financial Reports for Executive Committee	Charter Meeting Report to Shareholders
V.A.N.J Scouting	Delinquent Reminder Invoices	Rough Cut 1993 Quarter Budget	
On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	Readings Package To Charter Meeting Attendees	April FEC Report	
...	4/15 Call Time Follow-up		
AOW:ACTV Video for Charter Meeting	April 20 Get Acquainted Dinner		
	Executive Committee Agenda		
	Finalize Bo Reception Arrangements		
	C. Meeting Speaker Confirmation Letters/Fine Tuning Program		

Exhibit 79

JG 00000113:

MAJOR PROJECTS UNDERWAY
May 7, 1993

<u>Political</u>	<u>Finance</u>	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Finance/Other</u>
Direct Marketer Search	May 23 Oct Acquainted Dinner	Answering Service/Voice Mail	RAC Part Chart, etc.
...	Doctors Letter
Notes From Sunday Charter Meeting Seminars	1993 Finance Plan	Pine-Tune 1993 Budget	Franchise Model Pilot Development
	...	1993 Budget Into Solomon	Corporate Council
'How To' Manual for State Parties on Teleconference Training	Direct Mail Prospecting Plan	Sunauer Interns	Chairman Recruitment
Computer Bulletin Board R&D	May 6 Call Time Follow-up	State Report Amendments	Newsletter/Direct Marketing Development
1992 Incumbent Vote Profiles on Computer	Staffing Transition	Cash Management/Accounts Payable	California Charter/Political Project
1993 Farm Team Data Base	Revised Prospect/New Member Package	Recruit Management System Development	Renewing American Civilization Support
Farm Team Questionnaire/Tune Tape	Georgia Dinner Group	Employee Handbook	...
May 8 Southern Republics Exchange Training Session	"Working Partners" Plan/Pleading	Direct Mail Caging	4/24 Franchise Model Program
	May 21-22 Dinner Group Attendance & Program	On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	
	
June 5 Virginia Training Session and Taping	Charter Meeting Member/Speaker Follow-Up Program	Year-End Financial Reports for Executive Committee	
Training of 1993-1994 Trainers	May 7 Dallas Trip	Rough Cut 1993 Quarter Budget	
VA,NJ Scouting		April FEC Report	
On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars			
...			
Letters to Spec. Elec. Candidates			
CR/RAC Letter			

Exhibit 79

JG 000001152

MAJOR PROJECTS UNDERWAY
May 18, 1993

<u>Political</u>	<u>Finance</u>	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Manpower/Other</u>
Recruitment Video	RAC Meeting to Charter Members	...	RAC Part Chart, etc.
...	3/19 Call Time	Answering Service/Voice Mail	...
Direct Marketer Search	...	Fine-Tune 1993 Budget/Intro Solomon	Franchise Model Pilot Development
Notes From Sunday Charter Meeting Seminars	May 25 Get Acquainted Dinner	Summer Interns	Corporate Council
"How To" Manual for State Parties on Teleconference Training	Doctors Letter	Cash Management/Accounts Payable	Chairman Recruitment
Computer Bulletin Board R&D	1993 Finance Plan	Records Management System Development	Newsletter/Direct Marketing Development
1992 Incumbent Vote Profiles on Computer	Direct Mail Prospecting Plan	Employee Handbook	California Charter/Political Project
Paro Team Questionnaire/June Type	Revised Prospect/New Member Packets	Direct Mail Caging	Renewing American Civilization Support
May 8 Southern Republican Exchange Training Session	Georgia Dinner Group	On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	...
June 5 Virginia Training Session and Taping	"Working Farmers" Pina/Fooding	...	
Training of 1993-1994 Trainers	May 21-22 Dinner Group Attendance & Program	State Report Amendments	
VANC Scouting	...		
On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	May 6 Call Time Follow-up		
...	Staffing Transition		
1993 Farm Team Data Base			

Exhibit 79

JG 000001173

GOPAC MAJOR PROJECTS UNDERWAY
June 30, 1993

<u>Political</u>	<u>Finance</u>	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Planning/Other</u>
...	Quarterly Early Renewal Letters
Gingrich-Schudler audio	Call Time Followup	Audit Preparation	Franchise Model Pilot Development
"What's Happening" Files Review	...	Cash Flow Projections	Corporate Council
RAC Leading the Majority Video Tag Tapes	Sept 12/13 Flyaround	Answering Service/Voice Mail	Chairman - Recruitment
Recruitment/ Winners Video	Jan 94 California	FEC Reports	Newsletter/Direct Marketing Development
"How To" Manual for State Parties on Teleconference Training	6/30 Conference ✓ Call Executive Cmte.	Summer Interns	California Charter/ Political Project
Computer Bulletin Board R&D	\$1000 Program/ Working Partners	Cash Management/ Accounts Payable	Renewing American Civilization Support
1992 Incumbent Vote Profiles on Computer	June 30 Call Time	Records Management System Development	...
Farm Team Questionnaire	June 21 NY Trip Followup	Employee Handbook	RAC Pert Chart, etc.
VA/NJ Candidate Support	1993 Renewal Analysis	Direct Mail Caging	
NJ Scouting	1996 Finance Plan	On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	
On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	Direct Mail Prospecting Plan	Office Painting	
...	Revised Prospect/New Member Package	...	
	Work C.M. Prospects		
	Work C.M. Renewals		
	Set Up C.M. Monthly Communication Program		
	...		

Exhibit 79

JG 000012:

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
Major Project Lines

PROJECT	10/2	10/2	10/2	10/2	10/2	10/2	10/2	10/2	10/2	
Marketing & Site Coordination	Schedule up & running	Promo. mailer, 12,000 mailed.	Begin registration list completion	Registration list completion complete; mailing list to McGraw Hill	Weekly conference calls with site hosts	Weekly conference calls, FAX system, etc. continues	Weekly conference calls, fax system, etc. continues	1994 registration close; list to McGraw Hill for test & readings mailing	Compile results from follow-up mailer	See 9/93 projects for course support activities
	List of lists	Registration & caging system	Hands-on consultation with major site hosts	Site catalogue	Fax system for QRA	Follow-up mailer complete	Follow-up mailer stuffed & ready to drop	1994 site catalogue	"Lessons Learned" (final edition)	Begin 1993 planning process
	Promo. mailer, 12,000 mailed	Confirmation letters		Seminar leaders' discussion manual complete & mailed	Follow-up mailer design	Video & audio sets designed & priced (vendor?)	Video/audio set production begins	1993 follow-up mailer drops	Fullfill video/ audio set requests	
	800 number	Seminar leaders "how to" package mailed	Targetted phone follow-up continues	Conference calls with seminar leaders	800 number remains operational for call ins from casual viewers	"Lessons learned" (first edition)	1994 marketing plan in full swing; registration underway	Video/audio set production complete	See 9/93 projects for course support activities	
	Registration/ book fee set	Targetted phone follow-up	Caging, confirm letters, etc. continue	1994 Marketing plan complete	1994 first mail drop/phone calls?	1994 marketing plan in full swing	"Lessons learned" (2nd ed)	Video/audio set caging & distribution system in place		
	Seminar leaders' "get started" manual	Video cassette distribution decision point		1994 "for-credit" targets identified & contacted	Begin 1994 registration process	1994 for-credit final site designations	Second edition seminar leaders' guide complete (focus on "team teachers")	1994 seminar leaders guide mailed		
	"High-value" targets ID'd.				1994 for-credit full-court press (phone)			Conference calls with seminar leaders		
	New travel networking opportunities reviewed							Training session for for-credit team teachers?		
								1993 Lessons Learned (3rd ed.)		

Exhibit 80

EXHIBIT 80

PROJECT	5/92	6/92	7/92	8/92	9/92	10/92	11/92	12/92	1/93	2/93
Funding	Request for funding complete & mailed to six prospective funders Funding plan written? Next travel networking opportunities reviewed Budget reviewed & updated? Phone follow-up underway \$50,000 Design liaison process with donors	Phone follow-up continues Negotiate grants with high volume participants Funding plan progress report 1994 budget & funding plan first draft \$1,000 donor program? (premiums?) New calls? News in NYC?	Phone follow-up continues PP visits to prospects? Funding plan progress report 1994 funding plan final; begin implementation Polished prospectus? New calls? \$50,000 Donor liaison	Funding plan progress report, review, revision Phone follow-up continues PP visits occasion? 1994 funding plan in full swing New calls? \$100,000 Donor liaison	Repeat from 5/92 forward					

*continued
ACCOUNTING*

Exhibit 80

<u>PROJECT</u>	<u>101</u>	<u>102</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>104</u>	<u>105</u>	<u>106</u>	<u>107</u>	<u>108</u>	<u>109</u>	<u>110</u>
<u>Readings</u>	<p>Authors selected & contacted</p> <p>New contacts with authors as necessary</p> <p>Initial drafts of papers compiled (including New's paper)</p> <p>First draft syllabus</p> <p>Initial drafts circulated to all authors</p> <p>First edit/ proposed papers back to authors</p> <p>McGraw-Hill contract signed (i.e. distribution & marketing provisions)</p> <p>Proposal for funding mailed to select sponsors: \$50,000 committed by 6/1</p>	<p>Initial drafts back from authors</p> <p>Second drafts circulated to all authors (others?)</p> <p>Final editing underway</p> <p>Cover design approval</p> <p>Forwarded acknowledgements, etc.</p> <p>Final draft syllabus</p> <p>Marketing & distribution plan details</p>	<p>Final editing complete</p> <p>Paging complete & off to McGraw-Hill</p> <p>Marketing & distribution plan final</p> <p>McGraw-Hill prepared to receive registration lists & ship</p> <p>Advertising in selection publications?</p> <p>Pre-publication press conferences with authors?</p>	<p>McGraw-Hill receives registration list and receipts & ships most books</p> <p>General marketing underway/PR, advertising, etc.</p> <p>Authors tape video inserts for class (7)</p> <p>Royalties(?)</p>	<p>All books shipped to class registrations not later than 9/5</p> <p>Book distribution trouble-shooting</p> <p>General marketing continues</p> <p>Book promo eqnib for video scroll?</p> <p>Changes for 1994 edition?</p>	<p>Changes for 1994 edition?</p> <p>Post-mortem on distribution</p> <p>Diagrams 1994 distribution plan details w/McGraw-Hill</p>	<p>1994 edition ready for printing</p> <p>First registration lists & receipts to McGraw-Hill</p>	<p>Mail 1994 edition to all class registrants before 12/31</p>	<p>Last minute book requests fulfilled</p>	<p>Post-mortem? 1995 edition?</p>

Exhibit 80

<u>PROJECT</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>402</u>	<u>702</u>	<u>802</u>	<u>902</u>	<u>1002</u>	<u>1102</u>	<u>1202</u>	<u>1204</u>	<u>1204</u>
Textbook	Exploration of publisher options/initial discussions with McGraw-Hill (others?) Prospectus written	Draft contract Legal/ethics review Initial outline? Reviews (different from syllabus review?)	Final contract Writing/editing/production plan Outline to reviewers?	Proposed cover design & layout from publisher? Exhibit compilation begins (e.g. tables, photos) Adoption process?	Sign-off on cover design & layout? Lectures transcription & editing begins First drafts of initial chapters to reviewers? Exhibit compilation continues Adoption process?	Transcription and editing continues Initial chapters back from reviewers, final editing complete and paging underway Exhibits for initial chapters complete and "marked" to text Middle chapters to reviewers	Transcription and editing continues Separate "strings to text" process for final chapter(s)? All text complete and marked with exhibits; paging and production underway Page proofs approved Jacket blurb? Index?	Final sign-off for printing Distribution begins	Books arrive on campuses prior to 1/1/03 (bundled with book of readings and/or teachers guide?) Royalties?	Academic review begins to appear

Exhibit 80

EXHIBIT 81

MAY 3-93 MON 10:40 GOPAC

P. 01

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET,
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

Gingrich

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Mescan
0818

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

TO Jim Mescan

FROM Jeff Eisenach / Kelley Goodsell

DATE 5/3/93

TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 3

REMARKS/MESSAGES

Jim-

We did not receive the schedule
for Winter Semester today, per our
conversation. Please send ASAP!

Thank you
Kelley Goodsell

TROUBLE? PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282.

Exhibit 81

Mescon
0915

Newt -
drops to 1000 + C.R. CHAPTERS
ON WEDNESDAY -



cc: Tom
Mescon

Dear _____:

The recent tribulations of the Clinton Administration have made all of us feel a little better about our short-term prospects. But conservatives today face a challenge larger than stopping President Clinton. We must ask ourselves what the future would be like if we were allowed to define it, and learn to explain that future to the American people in a way that captures first their imagination and then their votes.

In that context, I am going to devote much of the next four years, starting this Fall, to teaching a course entitled "Renewing American Civilization." I am writing to you today to ask you to enroll for the class, and to organize a seminar so that your friends can enroll as well.

Beginning Saturday, September 18, 1993, and each Saturday thereafter for a total of ten weeks, I will be teaching a for-credit class at Kennesaw State College in Kennesaw, Georgia. That class will be available to every college campus in America by satellite.

To participate, all you have to do is find a satellite dish on your campus and ask your friends and fellow CRs to join in taking the class. If you can secure a faculty advisor and the necessary approval, you may even be able to have the class offered at your school on a for-credit basis.

Let me be clear: This is not about politics as such. But I believe the ground we will cover is essential for anyone who hopes to be involved in politics over the next several decades to understand. American Civilization is, after all, the cultural glue that holds us all together. Unless we can understand it, renew it and extend it into the next century, we will never succeed in replacing the Welfare State with an Opportunity Society.

With the press of finals and the desire to get on with the Summer, I know this is a busy time for you. But if you do nothing else, please take time to call the number listed below and let us know that you will help us make "Renewing American Civilization" available on your campus this Fall.

Exhibit 81

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 403
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3304

Gingrich

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Meeks
0038

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION
COVER SHEET

TO Jim Mescon
FROM Jeff Eisenach / Kelley Goodsell
DATE 5/3/93
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) 3

REMARKS/MESSAGES

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for Winter Semester today, per our
conversation. Please send ASAP!
Thank you!
Kelley Goodsell

TROUBLE? - PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282.

Exhibit 81

New -
Leads to 1000 + C.R. CHAPTERS
ON Wednesday -

 CC: Tom
Mason

Dear _____:

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Exhibit 81

Specifically, we are prepared to help you:

- o Identify a site for your class;
- o Recruit a faculty advisor and secure "for-credit" status for the class at your college;
- o Provide you and your fellow students with a syllabus, with the book of readings that will accompany the class and with an instructor's manual that will help you and/or your faculty advisor conduct follow-up discussions.

A few minutes of advance planning this month will save hours of work next Fall. To get started, call Mr. Jerry Steadman, at Kennesaw State College, (404)422-6425. (This number will be working all Summer -- but don't wait. Call today.)

I have devoted my life to teaching and acting out a set of values and principles. As a fellow Republican, I know you share those values. This class will help us all remember what we're about and why it is so essential that we prevail. Please join me this Fall for "Renewing American Civilization."

Your friend,

Exhibit 81

EXHIBIT 82Roberts
0045**GOPAC**THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001
PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306NEWTON GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

19 APR 1993

April 16, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARTER MEETING ATTENDEES

FROM: Jett Eisenach

SUBJECT: Sunday Breakout Sessions

As you are probably aware, Newt will be teaching a for-credit class at Kennesaw State College this Fall on the topic of "Renewing American Civilization." The class is organized around his "Five Pillars of American Civilization" -- Personal Strength, Deming's Concept of "Profound Knowledge," Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise, Technological Advance and the Lessons of American History.

During the afternoon of Sunday, April 25, we are asking our Charter Members to participate in a set of breakout sessions, with one session focussing on each of the five "pillars." In particular, we will ask you to critique a draft "vision statement" explaining why we believe each pillar is essential to renewing American Civilization. If past experience is any guide, we expect these sessions to dramatically improve both our understanding of the subject and our ability to communicate it.

Enclosed with this memorandum are:

1. A "near final" agenda for the entire meeting;
2. Newt's "Renewing American Civilization" lecture;
3. Copies of each of the draft vision statements;
4. Some background readings on each of the five pillars.

Obviously, there's a lot of reading here -- so pick and choose what looks interesting. And, let us know if you have a preference for a particular breakout session.

We are all very excited about the program for this Charter Meeting, and I know Newt is looking forward to seeing you.

Exhibit 82

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page 1 of 1 PG
Friday
16 APRIL 1993
~~10 APR 1993~~

GOPAC

THE NATIONAL
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440 FIRST STREET
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20001

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

Spring Charter Meeting and Call to Action
Washington, D.C.

April 24-26, 1993

(Agenda as of 04/16/93)

The Willard Intercontinental Hotel
1401 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
202/628-9100

Please be advised that check-in time is 3:00 p.m. The Willard will make every effort to accommodate guests arriving earlier in the day.

Invited Speakers, Discussion Leaders and Dignitaries

Hon. Lamar Alexander
Hon. Dick Armye
Ms. Nida Backaitis
Mr. Tony Brown
Hon. Keith Butler
Mr. Tom Clancy
Hon. Terry Consideine
Hon. Tom DeLay
Mr. Mark Fullbrook
Dr. John Goodman
Hon. Denny Hastert
Mr. Dan Howard
Ms. Annanna Huffington

Hon. John Kasich
Mr. Jay Keyworth
Hon. Jeanne Kirkpatrick
Ms. Anna Kondratas
Hon. Jon Kyl*
Mr. Everett Carl Ladd
Ms. Barbara Lawton
Mr. Gordon Ness
Ms. Peggy Noonan*
Hon. Bill Paxon
Mr. Paul Weyrich

*Confirmation pending

Conference fee is optional for Charter Members and \$300 per person for potential Charter Members and spouses. Business dress is appropriate for all sessions.

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Exhibit 82

2 of 196
16 APR 1993

Saturday, April 24:

- 2:00 - 5:00 p.m. **Planning Session: Franchising Grass-roots Organization**
 o Jeff Eisenach, Mark Fullbrook, Joe Gaylord, Gordon Strauss
- 7:30 p.m. **Informal Dutch Treat Dinner with Planning Participants**
 o Newt Gingrich
 The Occidental Grill

Sunday, April 25:

- 1:00 - 1:30 p.m. **Opening Ceremony and Remarks**
- 1:30 - 2:30 p.m. **Keynote Address: Renewing American Civilization**
 o Ms. Peggy Noonan
- 2:30 - 5:00 p.m. **Breakout Sessions: Advancing the Five Pillars of Twenty-first Century Democracy**
 Identifying the vision, strategies, projects and community resources
- Personal Strength**
 o Keith Butler
- Quality**
 o Nida Backaitis, Dan Howard, Barbara Lawton
- Technology**
 o Jay Keyworth
- Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise**
 o Tony Brown, Gordon Ness
- The Principles of American Civilization**
 o Arianna Huffington
- 5:00 - 6:00 p.m. **Working Group Reports**
- 7:00 - 10:00 p.m. **Reception and Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Bo Callaway**
 The Sewall-Belmont House
 144 Constitution Avenue, N.E.

Exhibit 82

308 186

16 APR 1993

Monday, April 26:

- 8:00 - 9:00 a.m. Breakfast Address: Clear and Present Danger
o Tom Clancy
- 9:00 - 10:15 a.m. Solving the Policy Crises of Today
o Moderated by Congressman Tom DeLay, Texas
Economic Growth
o Congressman Dick Arney, Texas
Health
o Dr. John Goodman
Inner City
o Anna Kondratas
- 10:30 - 11:15 a.m. Legislative Status Report
Health
o Congressman Denny Hastert, Illinois
Economic Growth
o Congressman John Kasich, Ohio
- 11:15 - 12:15 noon Report to Shareholders
o Jeff Eisenach
Franchising Grass-roots Organization
o Mark Fullbrook
Satellite Broadcast Communication
o Paul Weyrich
- 12:30 - 2:00 p.m. Luncheon Address: The Future of the Republican Party
o The Honorable Lamar Alexander
- 2:15 - 3:00 p.m. The American Ideology
o Everett Carl Ladd
- 3:00 - 4:00 p.m. The Clinton Threat to America's Defense
o Congressman Jon Kyl, Arizona
- 5:00 - 6:30 p.m. Reception in Honor of the Freshman Members of Congress
- 5:00 - 5:45 p.m. Winning the House
o Congressman Bill Paxon, New York
- 6:30 - 9:00 p.m. Closing Banquet Dinner
o GOPAC General Chairman Newt Gingrich

Exhibit 82
406 / P6
16 APR 1993

EXHIBIT 83

GOPAC
Clinton Agenda Prospect Letter
Revised June 16, 1993

GOPAC

Congressman Newt Gingrich
General Chairman

Dear Fellow American:

Do you share Bill Clinton's vision for America?

If you do, then you don't need to read any further.

But if you're like me and disagree profoundly with the course toward the future that President Clinton has been attempting to chart, then I hope you will read on and participate in GOPAC's National Survey on America's Agenda.

As General Chairman of GOPAC and Republican Whip in the U.S. House of Representatives, I believe it is time to undertake a fundamental national debate about our nation's future.

We as Americans need to determine what our national goals should be, and how we arrive at them.

Even though President Clinton's first months in office have been filled with blunders and mistakes, some things are clear: he and his advisors are committed to big spending, big taxes, social engineering and maintenance of the welfare state.

Indeed, faltering though his steps at times have been, they have consistently been to the left.

I believe it is vital for Republicans to now DEVELOP and put forward OUR agenda for America.

Frankly, I believe a lack of vision and commitment to firm philosophical principle are why our Presidential campaign received only 38% of the vote in 1992, and why Bill Clinton is President today.

We cannot afford to go into the vital 1994 midterm election campaign similarly unprepared. No matter how unpopular President Clinton and his Party become, we Republicans must stand on our own principles and programs to win back the majority of American voters in 1994.

In fact, I believe it's our duty to the voters to let them know where we stand, what we believe in and how we propose to govern our nation.

Exhibit 83

PP000534

That's why I have developed the enclosed Survey for you to answer.

It is the opening step in what I want to be an unprecedented mobilization effort for Republicans to begin the process of replacing America's failed welfare state.

And the key political component of that effort will be an all-out drive to end the Democrat's 40 year control of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1994!

Believe me, the potential for a Republican House majority is there.

Even as we lost the White House in 1992, we made a net gain of 10 new seats in the House of Representatives.

And in more than XX districts in which our candidates lost, they did so by less than X% of the vote, presenting us with tremendous opportunities for further gains in 1994.

Here's the political "bottom line:" if in 1994 we can simply replicate the gains we made under Jimmy Carter, or come close to the net gain of 47 seats we made in 1966 in Lyndon Johnson's midterm election, we WILL be the House majority party!

In just the past few months, the political signals have been clear that the voters are rejecting the policies of President Clinton and the Democratic Congress.

* In Texas, Republican Kay Bailey Hutchinson won a Senate special election with 67% of the vote. When that seat had last been contested, in 1988, Democrat Lloyd Bentsen won it with 59% of the vote.

* In Los Angeles, the largest city in the state which was the key to Bill Clinton's victory in 1992, voters in June elected a Republican mayor for the first time in 36 years!

* And in MONTH, a former Democrat turned Republican (who has been trained and supported by GOPAC) was re-elected Mayor of Jersey City with 68% of the vote ... in a city with 12% Republican registration!

Yet despite these storm signals from the public, the national Democratic leadership pursues plans aimed at increasing spending, increasing taxes, bolstering the welfare state and cutting our military preparedness.

Exhibit B3

PP00053

It is now OUR moment to capitalize on the voter's frustration with President Clinton and the Democrats, and offer them something better.

That is why it is so important for you to answer your Survey and help our Party develop the themes and ideas that we need to lead us to victory in 1994 and beyond.

Personally, I believe we can and should turn the 1994 midterm elections into not just a referendum on President Clinton, but on whether we maintain or replace the welfare state and the Democratic Party which supports it.

I believe the welfare state which the Democrats have created has failed.

In fact, I challenge anyone to say that it has succeeded, when today in America twelve year olds are having children, fifteen year olds are killing each other, seventeen year olds are dying of AIDS and eighteen year olds are being given high school diplomas they cannot even read.

If you question at all my critique of our society today, just watch three straight nights of your local television news. If what you see isn't a portrait of failure, it's hard to imagine what would be.

I also believe the welfare state must be scrapped, because it is beyond repair.

And what I want to see our Party work to replace it with is a plan to renew America based on what I call 'pillars' of freedom and progress:

- 1) Personal strength;
- 2) A commitment to quality in the workplace;
- 3) ~~Entrepreneurial free enterprise~~ *Spirit of American inventiveness*
- 4) Entrepreneurial free enterprise applied to both the private and public sectors;
- 5) Applying the lessons of American history as to what works for Americans to proposed government solutions to our problems.

After being active in politics for thirty years, and being in Congress for fourteen of them, I firmly believe these five principles can develop a revolutionary change in government. Properly applied, they can dramatically improve safety, health, education, job creation, the environment, the family and our national defense.

Exhibit 83

PP000536

As I said, I want to use the enclosed Survey on America's Agenda to begin to build a consensus within our Party about the programs we take to the American voters in next year's midterm elections. Our greatest successes have come when the American people know what we stand for, for our values are the values of the American majority.

I intend to share your tabulated Survey answers with the other members of the House GOP leadership and, through GOPAC, with all our GOP House candidates. My colleagues and our candidates need to know where conservative activists and contributors like you stand on the issues we take to the voters next year.

In addition to participating in our Survey, I strongly urge you to also become a member of GOPAC by making a contribution of at least \$25 when you answer and send back your Survey to me.

GOPAC was founded in 1979, as the Republican Party committee dedicated to helping our state and local candidates. I have been its general chairman since 1986, and during that time we have also become a "federal committee", working directly with our House candidates.

GOPAC's primary mission has always been to train and educate Republican candidates and activists, not only in the nuts and bolts of campaigning but also in developing the broad themes designed to get our Party's message across.

We undertake our training mission through live seminars and also our unique "training tapes", which we send to candidates and activists all over the country.

In the 1992 campaign, we produced and mailed over 70,000 of these tapes, and in the 1994 cycle I want to dramatically expand that number, which is one of the reasons your financial support of GOPAC is so important. I intend for the message we develop through our American Agenda Survey to be a key part of our training effort in 1994.

I believe that the failures of the Clinton Presidency and the Democratic Congress to address the problems facing our nation have given our Party another chance to win control of Congress and fundamentally redirect our nation's future course.

But we cannot sit back and just hope that happens. We must roll up our sleeves, get involved in the process, develop our Party's message and get it out to the voters.

That's why I've asked you to participate in our National Survey on America's Agenda and become a member of GOPAC. Working together, I believe we can scrap the welfare

Exhibit 83
PP000537

state and create a better future for ourselves and our families.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Congressman Newt Gingrich
General Chairman

P.S. The process of recruiting and training our House candidates has already begun. I urge you to answer your Survey, and make your contribution to GOPAC, as quickly as you can, so that we can tabulate your answers and have the money we need to distribute them to the leaders of our Party and our candidates. Thank you in advance for your help.

Exhibit 83

PP000538

EXHIBIT 84

GOPAC2
0003

Newt Gingrich

General Chairman
GOPAC

May 5, 1993

Neil Gagnon
Gilder, Gagnon, Howe & Company
1775 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

Dear Neil:

I was glad to have the chance to talk with you this morning, especially since we missed each other in New York.

As we discussed, it is time to lay down a blue print-- which is why in part I am teaching the course on Renewing American Civilization. Hopefully, it will provide the structure to build an offense so that Republicans can break through dramatically in 1996. We have a good chance to make significant gains in 1994, but only if we can reach the point where we are united behind a positive message, as well as a critique of the Clinton program.

Thanks again for your support and thoughts. I look forward to seeing you at your next charter meeting, on November 14-15 in Washington and I appreciate your continued membership.

Your friend,



Exhibit 84



EXHIBIT 85**GOPAC**

THE NATIONAL
GRASS-ROOTS
ORGANIZATION
BUILDING
REPUBLICAN
LEADERS FOR
AMERICA'S
FUTURE

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-3306

June 21, 1993

Mr. Miller Nichols
J.C. Nichols Company
310 Ward Parkway
Kansas City, Missouri 64112

Dear Mr. Nichols:

Recently you received a letter from Newt updating Charter Members on GOPAC's ambitious program for 1993 through 1996 and introducing the members of the new team ready to aggressively pursue the mission and the goals.

As the new finance director, I want to introduce myself and to assure you of my commitment and enthusiasm to the recruitment and training of grassroots Republican candidates. In addition, with the course Newt will be teaching in the fall - *Renewing American Civilization* - I see a very real opportunity to educate the American voting population to Republican ideals, increasing our opportunity to win local, state and Congressional seats.

A Charter Member Program with 200 members is essential to provide the resources necessary to increase the number of Republican elected officials. For that reason I am asking you to reconsider your decision to lapse your GOPAC Charter Membership and to join again on a quarterly payment schedule. Your support is critical. We will use your contribution wisely in order to achieve our ends and I will keep you apprised of the progress we are making to build your party.

Sincerely,



Pamla Hill Prochnow
Finance Director

Exhibit 85



EXHIBIT 86

828

GOPAC

440 First Street, N.W.

Suite 400

Washington, DC 20001

Newt Gingrich
General ChairmanGay Hart Gaines
ChairmanLisa B. Nelson
Executive Director

The Education And Training Center For Renewing America

January 3, 1994

Mr. Joseph G. Fogg
Morgan, Stanley & Co., Inc.
1251 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10020

Dear Joe:

For almost nine months I have had the distinct pleasure of being part of the GOPAC team. It has been a dynamic period for the organization, and we have concentrated on building upon what works and forging new paths where opportunities exist. The new team brings years of expertise and success for the challenges ahead. The fact that GOPAC has 32 new Charter Members in 1993, a year with few elections, is directly related to the energy, enthusiasm, attention to detail and plain hard work of everyone here. The result is that GOPAC begins 1994 in a strong and stable position to meet its goals.

During this time, I have also come to learn of the commitment and generosity of the Charter Members. It appears that we will end the year with more than \$1,840,000 in major donor contributions, the second best year in GOPAC's recorded history. Personally, it has been a wonderful experience for me to get to know Newt Gingrich. Everything you know about his intelligence, vision, spirit and willingness to labor is true. When he becomes Republican leader of the House, I believe you will see a new day dawning.

As we begin the new year, we know our goals and have in place the winning strategies. The primary mission is to elect Republicans at the local, state, and congressional level. There, also, is the strong emphasis on broadcasting the message of renewing American civilization to achieve peace and prosperity in this country. Equally important is how we communicate with you, as you are our ambassadors throughout America. We count on you, as I hope you count on us.

In 11 months Americans will be going to the polls to vote. I pledge our best effort, and I look forward to working with all of you, who are truly partners in building a better America.

Sincerely,


Pamla H. Prochnow
Finance Director

Exhibit 86

EXHIBIT 87**GOPAC**

440 First Street, N.W.

Suite 400
Washington, DC 20001Newt Gingrich
General ChairmanGay Hart Gaines
Chairman

The Education And Training Center For Renewing America

Lisa B. Nelson
Executive Director

May 12, 1994

Mr. Marc C. Bergschneider
Chairman
National Fairways, Inc.
71 Arch Street
Greenwich, CT 06830Newt
5/17
LB

Dear Marc:

Thank you for your recent letter and for sharing your views on the current state of affairs in America.

I am encouraged by your understanding that the welfare state cannot merely be repaired, but must be replaced and have made a goal of activating at least 200,000 citizen activists nationwide through my course, *Renewing American Civilization*. We hope to educate people with the fact that we are entering the information society. In order to make sense of this society, we must rebuild an opportunistic country. In essence, if we can reach Americans through my course, independent expenditures, GOPAC and other strategies, we just might unseat the Democratic majority in the House in 1994 and make government accountable again.

I am impressed by your golf business and wish you luck with the Army bid. With regard to GOPAC, I understand your financial situation and hope that you might consider becoming a Working Partner. This program consists of a \$1,000 annual contribution. By becoming a Working Partner, you will receive all of the GOPAC candidate training tapes, be invited to a briefing in Washington on September 14, and receive other updates on political events across the country. While you will not be considered a Charter Member, you will receive invitations to our bi-annual Charter Meetings and will only need to pay the conference fee to attend.

Marc, I admire your interest in your country and appreciate your support of GOPAC. Already GOPAC has helped Frank Lucas from Oklahoma 6 to win the congressional seat. Now we have only 41 seats left to gain for the first Republican majority in the House in 40 years. Please call Lisa Nelson at (202) 484-2282 with any questions. I look forward to working with you to build a peaceful and prosperous future for our country.

Your friend,

Newt

cc: Peter Smith
Lisa Nelson

Exhibit 87

RACHEL-

5/12

JUST AN FYI FOR
NEWT. THE ATTACHED
RESPONSE HAS BEEN SENT.
I THOUGHT NEWT SHOULD READ
THE GOLF PART!

THANKS!

😊 illawall

Exhibit 87

GDC 01136

EXHIBIT 88

The 14 Steps
Renewing American Civilization
by replacing the welfare state
with an opportunity society.

-- Newt Gingrich
May 10, 1994

I. No civilization can survive with 12 year olds having babies, 15 year olds killing each other, 17 year olds dying with AIDS and 18 year olds getting a diploma they can't read.

This is not a liberal or conservative, Democrat or Republican question -- as Americans we are faced with the decay of our civilization.

II. Our generation must deal with three big facts:

1. The information age -- Alvin Toffler's Third Wave of change -- is real and will change our economy, our government, our society and each of us.

2. The world market is real and unescapable. The price of labor for the foreseeable future will be set in south China. If we want to have a higher standard of living than the Chinese, we will have to be more productive, more innovative and more entrepreneurial than our competitors. America will have to re-think taxation, litigation and regulation in the context of world economic competition. From education to welfare to the size of government, every policy has to be reassessed to improve our ability to compete.

3. The welfare state has failed. Every night we see the proof of failure on the local TV news.

The welfare state failed because it is profoundly wrong about human beings.

Our Declaration of Independence states, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

The welfare state reduces a citizen to a client, subordinates them to a bureaucrat, and subjects them to rules that are anti-work, anti-family, anti-property and anti-opportunity.

Any group of humans subjected to treatment like this would develop the social pathologies we see in the news.

III. "Our generation has a rendezvous with destiny" (to quote Franklin Delano Roosevelt).

We must replace the welfare state. Not improve, not repair, not finance -- replace the welfare state.

Exhibit 88

IV. Replacing the welfare state will require a disciplined approach to both public policy and politics. The best model to insure real change is:

VISION
STRATEGIES
PROJECTS (definable, delegatable achievement)
TACTICS

We must methodically focus on communicating and implementing our vision of replacing the welfare state.

Our strategies should conform to the vision.

Our projects should be the building blocks that implement the strategies.

Our tactics should reinforce and be modeled in our vision.

V. Our replacement must be an opportunity society based on the principles of American civilization. The core principles are:

1. Personal strength;
2. Entrepreneurial free enterprise;
3. The spirit of invention and discovery;
4. Quality as defined by Edwards Deming's profound knowledge; and
5. the lessons of American history.

These principles each receive two hours of introduction in "Renewing American Civilization", a course taught at Reinhardt College. The course is available on National Empowerment Television from 1 -3 P.M. every Wednesday and by videotape or audiotape by calling 1-800-TO-RENEW.

VI. While the welfare state emphasizes government, redistribution of wealth and bureaucratic rules and regulations -- leading to a government that is too big and spends too much, the opportunity society is based on a much broader vision of freedom that emphasizes citizens, and the creation of wealth.

THE STRUCTURE OF FREEDOM:
A CITIZEN-BASED SOCIETY

The culture of American civilization	Free markets and private property
Civic society	Small but powerful government

GDC 1073:

Exhibit 88

The welfare state emphasizes problems. victimization and government paternalism.

The opportunity society emphasizes opportunities responsibility and empowerment.

The welfare state overemphasizes the role of government and concentrates too much power and responsibility in government.

Renewing American civilization will require substantial improvements in all four sectors. Real solutions will often have components in several sections and some will have components in all four.

VII. America is a huge decentralized country. Replacing the welfare state will take at least 200,000 "partners for progress." From school board, city council and county commission, to state legislature, Congress and the White House, there has to be a wave of change at all levels to truly create an opportunity society. Renewing America cannot be a White House focused project.

VIII. There is a huge majority of Americans eager for a "centrist revolution." By 65% to 85%, Americans favor:

- work replacing welfare;
- strengthening the family;
- locking up violent criminals;
- the death penalty;
- reducing the size of government;
- fewer lawsuits;
- for individual opportunity and against quotas;
- a balanced budget;
- line-item veto;
- small business;
- term limits;
- requiring politicians to raise half the money in the district they represent; and,
- allowing taxpayers to designate up to 10% of their taxes to buy down debt.

IX. House Republicans will outline the first big steps to replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society on September 27 when every candidate will gather on the Capitol steps to pledge:

1. a checklist for the opening day
2. a contract with the American people for 10 bills to be voted on in the first 90 days of the 104th Congress.

X. The Democrats have controlled the House for 40 years. It has been 42 years since a Republican majority was sworn in. If you are under 61 years of age, you have never voted in an election which produced a Republican majority in the House.

The Democrats are the party of the welfare state. Too many years in office have led to arrogance of power and to continuing violations of the basic values of self-government.

Only by voting Republican can the welfare state be replaced and an opportunity society be created.

GDC 10731

Exhibit 88

XI. The opening day checklist will begin with:

1. The Shay's act to apply to Congress every law which applies to the rest of the country;
2. an announcement of which "big G" accounting firm will be hired to audit the House books for the last ten years;
3. a new committee system with fewer committees and a cut of at least 1/3 in the congressional committee staffs.

There will be other items on the opening day check list. The last item will be the introduction of the 10 bills which will be the House Republican contract with the American people.

XII. The House Republican contract with the American people will be a commitment to bring to a final passage vote in the first 90 days of the 104th Congress a set of bills -- each representing bold reform in a particular area. These bills will actually be introduced by September 27 so citizens can critically examine the actual proposed legislation and not rely on mere speeches or campaign promises.

These bills will be based on the opportunities and potential to be found in the information revolutions's "Third Wave" of change, the competitive requirements and job creating potential of the world market and the principles inherent in American civilization.

Key bills will probably include:

-- Welfare reform emphasizing work, strengthening the family, and increasing the role of private charities.

-- a legal reform bill -- malpractice product liability, strike law firms;

-- a "get the job done on violent crime" bill to include the penalties, the prisons, and the effective, believable death penalty the Democrats keep blocking;

-- a bill to strengthen families by ending the marriage penalties in the income tax, earned income tax, and social security, by increasing the deduction for children to the Harry Truman level (approximately \$7,500 per child;)

-- an economic growth bill to encourage job creation by small business, accelerate the development of new technologies and increase American jobs by competing in the world market;

-- a bill to shrink government, cut spending, downsize bureaucracy, cut unfunded mandates and return power to local governments, local communities, charities and individuals; and,

-- a market-oriented, medical savings account-focused health reform bill to provide universal access for all Americans if none has been passed this year.

XIII. The American "Centrist Revolution" of replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society is part of a world-wide rebellion by the industrial middle class. From Russia to Poland to Italy to France to Britain to Japan, the voters are demanding decisive, far reaching reforms.

The most stunning change has been in Canada. The governing party went from 153 seats to 2 in one election. The American

GDC 10732

Exhibit 88

equivalent would be a Democratic party collapse from 257 to 5 seats.

The Canadian result was not fantasy or theory -- it happened on November 4, 1993.

Why can't real changes happen in America, too?

XIV. Ultimately each citizen must decide. Every time we see a new murder, a new rape or another barbaric, brutal child abuse story, we are reminded that the welfare state has failed and American civilization is decaying.

The last best hope of mankind is America (in Jefferson's words) and the last best hope of America is the American people.

With each day the need for a centrist revolution grows more obvious.

Each day the details of that potential political revolution grow a little more clear.

It is up to each of us, one by one, to decide.

GDC 10733

Exhibit 88

EXHIBIT 89

01-18-1994 08:07

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

FILE#0022255337

PAGE 2

HOUSE REPUBLICAN FOCUS FOR 1994

Eisenach
2888

House Republicans have two big challenges for 1994.

1. How do we communicate a positive message of real change so the 77% of all Americans who believe things have gone wrong or the 62% who say things are on the wrong track conclude that their only hope for real change is to elect a Republican majority for the first time in 42 years?
2. How do we raise the resources so in open seats and challenging campaigns the Republican effort will be as well resourced as the Democrat. As outlined in Honest Craft, the combination of incumbency advantage, labor unions (both PAC and soft resources), outside activist groups, trial lawyers, big city machines, and PAC bias favoring incumbents all combine so the Democratic party has consistently had a huge advantage in the closing six weeks. Our goal should be to at least have as many resources as the Democrats and their allies in the last six weeks of the 1994 campaign. This will require very imaginative and very energetic efforts on a scale we have never seen.

THE 1994 HOUSE REPUBLICAN MESSAGE

America needs a whole new approach to get back on the right track.

Republicans understand just how big the change has to be:

- make politicians obey the same laws as the rest of us
- ~~lock up violent criminals~~
- ~~create an effective, believable death penalty~~ *NOVA DILL 665*
- ~~replace welfare with work~~
- ~~stop illegal~~
- ~~make education educate~~ *Adrian*
- ~~get our government govern~~ *Adrian*
- ~~put common sense back into the legal system~~ *Adrian*
- ~~strengthen small business to create jobs~~
- ~~strengthen saving and investment to create good jobs able to compete and prosper in the world market~~ *Get rid of 70*
- ~~simple control their own health care~~

See Attached

The Democrats have controlled the House for 40 years. Now they control the White House, the House and the Senate. If Democrats could do it they would have done it. In fact the Democratic machine does everything it can to stop real change.

Realists
The only way to get ~~change~~ is to vote for change. The only change in 1994 is to vote Republican.

1. VOTE REPUBLICAN FOR ~~change~~ *Realists*
2. VOTE REPUBLICAN TO END 40 YEARS OF ONE PARTY CONTROL
3. VOTE REPUBLICAN TO GET AMERICA BACK ON THE RIGHT TRACK.

for progress and reason.

Exhibit 89

1994 MESSAGE - BACKGROUND

The American people think things are on the wrong track. By 71 to 24 Americans told the Princeton survey in March that they were dissatisfied with "the way things are going in this country". The same month by 62 to 28 Americans told the Arthur Group the country's going in the wrong direction.

The American people's dissatisfaction is similar to that which has fueled voter rebellions in Italy, Canada, France, Russia and Japan - and note John Major's current troubles in Britain.

The working middle class is unhappy in every industrial country on the planet.

The voters are right: They should be dissatisfied.

Government needs to change to take into account three facts:

1. The information revolution (Alvin Toffler's Third Wave of Change) is real and will change everything. It is a great opportunity to improve our economy, our services and the quality of life but government is ~~actively blocking it.~~

2. The world market is real and we have to replace our current approach to taxation, litigation and regulation if we are to create the best jobs with the highest incomes while competing with the world.

3. The welfare state has failed and the entire redistribution, paternalistic, bureaucratic model has to be replaced with a system based on the lessons of American history - incentives, personal responsibility, volunteerism, decentralization and true citizenship for all (ending the concept of clients controlled by bureaucrats). *charity*

The Republican party can offer a better life for virtually everyone if it applies the principles of American civilization to create a more flexible, decentralized market oriented system that uses the Third Wave of change and accepts the disciplines of the world market.

These ideas are outlined in a 20 hour intellectual framework "Renewing American Civilization" available on National Empowerment Televis on every Wednesday from 10m to 1pm and available on audio tape and video tape from 1-800-TO-RENEW.

These ideas need to be translated into specific legislative initiatives and highlighted on September 27th when every Republican House candidate stands on the Capitol Steps and pledges to implement a checklist of reform activities for the first day of the new Congress and to bring 20 bills to the floor for a final passage vote in the first 90 days of the new Congress (in contrast with the agenda of the American people).

The new ideas and the key language on page one need to be used in every possible floor debate, press conference, interview, speech, etc., starting now. Then when they show up this fall in 30 second advertisements they will have the effect of people having already heard them.

When we come to believe we are serious about being different and we will actually pass real change we will have a chance for an Italian-French-Canadian-Japanese style change of power.

We must be different if we expect people to believe we are different.

YES CAPS, Bold, underline

It is much harder to communicate a positive message of real change so people can understand it, think about it, trust it, and come to believe it. The news media is accustomed to sending negative not positive signals. We must discipline ourselves to spend 90% of our time focusing on our positive message of real change. Our theme must be "White water must have Congressional hearings but locking up criminals, cutting spending, replacing welfare with work, etc... is far more important and will do far more to change the lives of Americans. White water will not save a single family, educate a single child, help cure a disease or create job - Republican initiatives will - let's talk about these." (see attached two article from Denver newspaper's allards office)

We have to work every day so people will believe us on election day.

Exhibit 89

EXHIBIT 90

**RENEWING AMERICA:
The Challenge for Our Generation**

**by Newt Gingrich
March 21, 1994**

GDC 00132

Exhibit 90

Three big facts are forcing us to change:

FACT ONE:

The information revolution (Alvin Toffler's Third Wave of Change) is changing the economy, society and government. These enormous changes provide opportunities and challenges that will affect every aspect of our lives.

GDC 0311

Exhibit 90

FACT TWO:

The world market is real and unavoidable. Americans will have to compete in that world market. Future prosperity will require greater productivity and creativity. Just starting in the right direction will require reforms in welfare, education, taxation, regulation and litigation.

GDC 00134

Exhibit 90

FACT THREE: The welfare state has failed.

It is impossible to maintain civilization with twelve-year-olds having babies, fifteen-year-olds killing one another, seventeen-year-olds dying of AIDS, and eighteen-year-olds receiving diplomas they cannot read.

We must replace -- not repair, not finance, not improve -- replace the welfare state.

GDC 0013

Exhibit 90

KEY PROPOSITIONS:

1. Creating a prosperous safe American future will require replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.
2. The opportunity society must be based on a combination of:

The principles of American civilization;

The potential created by the information revolution's third wave of change; and

The changes required to create local jobs through world sales within the emerging world market.

GDC 00136

Exhibit 90

THE MOVEMENT

The key ingredient for success is a movement to renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.

Change on this scale cannot occur only within the White House and the Congress. America is a huge, decentralized country with literally thousand of independent government activities including city councils, school boards, county commissioners, state legislators, etc.... Washington is only a tiny part of the process of change in America.

Replacing the welfare state will require a decentralized movement of citizen activism oriented toward common principles and a common goal but acting independently with spontaneity and creativity as local conditions evolve and change. These citizen activists can be called "Partners for Progress".

GDC 0013

Exhibit 90

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS

The renewing America movement will require at least 200,000 "partners for progress" committed to the goal of replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.

These "partners" are citizen activists willing to study the principle of American civilization, to work on campaigns, to run for office, to serve on boards and commissions, to write letters to the editor, and to call into radio talk shows, in short to do what it takes to make citizenship effective at the local level where government and society must change.

GDC 00133

Exhibit 90

LEARNING THE PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

The course, "Renewing American Civilization", is designed as a 20 hour introduction to the principles necessary to replace the welfare state with an opportunity society. A series of 10 two hour sessions outlines:

1. The Principles of American Civilization
2. Personal Strength
3. Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise
4. The Spirit of Invention and Discovery
5. Quality as Defined by Edwards Deming
6. The Lessons of American History
7. How to Create Jobs and Economic Growth in the World Market
8. Health and Healthcare for the 21st Century
9. Saving the Inner Cities by Replacing the Culture of Poverty and the Culture of Violence
10. Renewing Citizenship and Community Within the Third Wave of Change Created by the Information Revolution

The course is accompanied by a textbook Readings in Renewing American Civilization from McGraw/Hill.

GDC 00

Exhibit 90

Connecting the "Partners" to the "Principles"

The course "Renewing American Civilization" (RAC) has been taught for two quarters to over 200 sites with universities such as Berkeley and Clemson offering it for credit. It is based at Reinhardt College in Waleska, Georgia.

The course is currently available on NET (National Empowerment Television) every Wednesday from 1pm - 3pm EST. It will be repeated five times this year on NET.

It is also available on audio cassette and video cassette and is being bought by companies for employee training, by activist groups, and by schools and colleges.

RAC has an 800 number (1-800-TO RENEW) which has received nearly 6000 calls and sold over 500 sets of the 20 hour course. Our goal is to get every potential partner for progress to take the course and study the principles.

Exhibit 90

GDC 001-11

WHY RAC MATTERS:Creating a Revolutionary Centrism

It is vital to create a common framework for describing the opportunity society that can replace the welfare state.

Combining the principles of American civilization with the opportunities created by the information revolution's third wave of change will enable Americans both to replace the welfare state and to meet the challenges of the world market.

This increased creativity and clarity will enable partners both to develop local solutions and to establish a language of success that will reshape the political debate and refocus the news media.

GDC 00117

Exhibit 90

A Movement for Citizen Involvement.

The Crime Petition Drive

Every citizen is threatened by the epidemic of brutal, violent crimes. The political system continues to be too lenient on violent crimes and too willing to endanger the innocent by releasing the dangerous.

The citizen's petition drive (get right title) led by Congressman Bill McCollum is an effort to arouse enough citizen energy and enough citizen involvement to force the political system to be responsive.

It is being reinforced by an April 30th nationwide Town Hall meeting focused on violent crime and will lead to an open discharge petition for a strong anti-crime bill in September if the system has still failed to respond.

GDC 00142

Exhibit 90

A MOVEMENT PROJECT FOR CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT:Earning by Learning

Reading is the most important skill for poor children to acquire. Earning by Learning is an extremely simple, very inexpensive program to help poor children learn how to read by emphasizing the principles of free enterprise and incentives. Implemented in a volunteer system using public libraries with no red tape and no bureaucratic overhead.

Second and third graders in public housing are offered \$2 a book for every book they read. Adult volunteers take them to the public library to get a card and checkout books. Each week adult volunteers question them about the books they have read.

Earning by Learning has been tried in seventeen states. By focusing directly on the children and using volunteers to avoid overhead costs the program maximizes impact per dollar.

If there were Earning by Learning volunteers in virtually every public housing project this summer the impact of:

1. Putting children in touch with adults who care;
2. Teaching children they can earn money doing something honorable;
3. Increasing the reading skills of a large number of poor children;
4. Proving that a decentralized low cost volunteer based system is more effective than the welfare state bureaucratic approach.

Dr. Mel Stealy at West Georgia College, Carrollton, Georgia (404) 836-6508 is the contact for Earning by Learning.

GDC 002177

Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGE

ONE: The Capitol Steps Event, September 27, 1994

Americans are fed up with politics and politicians as usual. The normal Republican Party is seen as no better than (and sometimes worse than) the normal Democratic Party.

On September 27, 1994 the House Republican Party will prove it is committed to change.

On that date every Republican candidate for the House of Representatives will gather on the House steps to pledge very specific actions if the voters create a Republican majority for the first time in 42 years.

Republican House candidates will pledge to implement a specific check list on the opening day and to bring to a final passage vote 10 major bills within the first 90 days.

Both the substance of the Capitol Steps pledge and the procedures for developing that pledge represent real change and a replacement of politics as usual.

GDC 00144

Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGE

TWO: A Participatory Process for Creating the Capitol Steps Pledge

House Republican Conference Chairman Dick Armey will lead a project to develop the Capitol Steps pledge in a participatory process that will involve every Republican nominee for the House and a wide range of advisers, activists, staff, intellectuals and others.

The Capitol Steps Pledge Task Force will develop two separate documents. The first will be a checklist for the opening day. The second will be a contract with the American people to bring to final passage 10 major bills (the American people's agenda) in the first 90 days of the new Congress.

Every candidate, incumbent and other interested activist will be informed of the task force and their advice asked with feed back due by July 1, 1994.

A proposed checklist and contract will be sent to candidates, incumbents, and others by August 15, 1994.

The House Republican Conference will adopt the final draft September 21 and fax it to every candidate.

The Capitol Steps event will occur September 27, 1994.

GDC 00

Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGE

THREE: The Opening Day Checklist

On September 27 House Republican candidates (including incumbents) will pledge themselves to a checklist of opening day activities which voters can watch on C-SPAN.

This checklist will outline step by step what House Republicans will do on January 3, 1995 if we are a majority for the first time in 42 years.

The checklist will be widely distributed and if money can be raised it will be advertised in TV Guide, People magazine, local newspaper TV guides, etc.... It will allow the voter to follow each step as Republicans bring real change to the Congress.

Sample Checklist:

1. Elect Speaker
2. Pass the Shayes Act to apply all laws to Congress that apply to other Americans.
3. Announce which of the Big 6 accounting firms has been hired to audit the House and Architect's books for the last decade.
4. Adopt the Dreier Resolution to cut the number of committees and cut committee staffs by at least one-third.
5. Etc...

We pledge to end politics as usual on the first day of the new Congress and voters will be able to tune in to watch us keep our word.

GDC 00146

Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGE

FOUR: Our Contract with the Agenda of the American People

The last act on opening day will be to introduce the 10 bills that are our contract with the agenda of the American people. These 10 bills will represent real change in directions the American people desire. All 10 will be introduced before the September 27, 1994 Capitol Steps event so the American people will be able to look at the actual legislation and not merely at a campaign promise.

Our commitment will be to bring all 10 bills to a final passage vote in the first 90 days of the new Congress. We cannot guarantee passage but we can guarantee a recorded vote so people will know who kept their word and voted the way they campaigned.

The actual list of 10 bills and the bills themselves probably will not be finalized until September 21, 1994. However, some possible topics include:

1. Welfare reform (workfare, parental responsibility)
2. Legislation on violent crime
3. Health reform
4. Balanced budget amendment
5. Voluntary school prayer
6. Term limits
7. Litigation reform (malpractice, product liability, strike law firms)
8. Downsizing federal bureaucracies
9. Pro-growth, pro-family, pro-work, pro-savings tax reform

GDC C

Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGEFIVE: 40 Years of Democratic Rule in the House --
The First Republican Majority in 42 Years

We must mention in every speech, interview and floor debate the 40 year Democratic Party monopoly of power in the House.

In January, 1995 it will be 42 years since the last Republican majority was sworn in. If you are under 60 years of age you have never voted in an election which produced a Republican majority in the House.

Voters from Italy to Russia to France to Japan to Canada have been rejecting established power structures. Last year the Democrats lost in New Jersey, Virginia, New York City, Los Angeles, Jersey City and a number of the elections as voters insisted on new leadership.

Most voters don't realize how important party control is in Congress and don't know how long the Democrats have been in control.

At every opportunity -- in debate, interviews, speeches and articles we must drive home:

"Return the People's House to the People"

"End 40 Years of Democratic Control"

"Vote Republican for a Change"

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Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGESIX: Taxpayers' Tea Party April 15 and Beyond

On April 15th, 1994 we will launch a citizen's revolt against higher taxes and bigger government. We know that "government is too big and spends too much". The 1993 tax increase passed by one vote in both the House and Senate so every yes vote was the margin of difference.

Rostenkowski's primary victory was a reminder of how the game is rigged against the taxpayer. Millions in taxpayer dollars were pledged to prove Rostenkowski's importance. The President flew to Chicago at the taxpayers' expense to support Rostenkowski. Over 600 city workers (many subsidized by federal tax money) were given a day off with pay to turn out the vote. The day before the primary the Illinois National Guard moved a military helicopter at taxpayers' expense to highlight a Rostenkowski press conference.

In effect the chief tax increaser used your taxes to win re-election to retain the power to raise our taxes.

Taxpayer's Tea Party is a new book by Sharon Cooper and Chuck Assay that outlines how you can take back your government. With an introduction by Rush Limbaugh it outlines how you can use an independent expenditure and work in your spare time to beat the tax increase incumbents.

Taxpayer's Tea Party (the book) will be kicked off with a taxpayers' tea parties (the events) on April 15th.

Grover Norquist at Americans for Tax Reform, is the key contact for April 15th. Sharon Cooper is available to explain her book and independent expenditures for talk radio. You can reach them both through 1-800-MEAN TAX.

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Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGE

SEVEN: Renewing Our Nation's Capitol

The District of Columbia is now such a human tragedy and its government is such a disorganized, incompetent mess that every citizen has an obligation to help save the children and save the city.

Republicans will launch a "replace the welfare state – save DC" project open to every citizen who agrees that children are more important than unions and that jobs and safety are more important than ideology or party.

We owe it to our country, to the children and to our conscience to roll up our sleeves and have the courage to work to rebuild our national capitol.

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Exhibit 90

GETTING THE JOB DONE IN 1994

This paper outlines an enormous but necessary task.

We must rally the american people to renew America by replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.

We must launch a movement seeking at least 200,000 "partners for progress" and recruiting, training and encouraging candidates committed to renewal at every level.

We must encourage our activists and our supporters to study the course "Renewing American Civilization" so they can better develop solutions to replace the welfare state.

We must challenge the news media to study "Renewing American Civilization" so they can learn what we are trying to do and report our ideas in an understandable way.

We must launch a citizen crime petition to insist on safety for all Americans.

We must encourage citizens to participate in Earning by Learning so every poor child can have an opportunity to learn to read, to earn money honestly, and to get to know adults who care and can help.

We must bring together a unified party to make an historic pledge of immediate action and then we must keep our word. If the American people give us power we must give them change.

We must drive home the fact of 40 years of Democratic Party control and arouse tax payers to take back their own government through independent efforts of an unprecedented scale and creativity.

We must reach out to every decent citizen to reclaim our national capitol and save the children of our capitol. We must make sure that people know we care. Only then will they care that we know.

All of this is a lot and yet it is the necessary job of a great party.

We can do no less.

GDC 00151

Exhibit 90

WHY CHANGE CAN HAPPEN IN 1994

The 1993 Canadian election is proof that decisive, dramatic change is possible. The governing party went from 153 seats to 2 seats. In one night the Prime Minister watched every cabinet officer loose and the governing party shrink to a number below that required to be a legal party. In Italy, Russia, France, Japan similar results have occurred.

In Jersey City, Brett Schundler became the first Republican mayor since 1904. In a 6% Republican city (70% democrat, 41% speak a language other than English at home) Schundler won re-election with 67% of the vote and swept 9 out of 9 reform city council candidates to victory. Flurio's margin in Jersey City dropped dramatically between 1989 and 1993.

Change is possible but it requires courage, commitment and clarity to make it happen.

GDC 00155

Exhibit 90

WHY CHANGE IS NECESSARY

The future of the human race may depend on our ability to renew America by replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.

When the Berlin wall fell and communism collapsed everyone assumed freedom had won. Now after bitter disappointments in Haiti, Somalia, Iraq, Bosnia, China, North Korea, Russia, etc... it should be obvious that the hard work of freedom is still unfinished.

America is the only country multi-racial enough and open enough to lead the human race to freedom.

If America decays in a sea of teen pregnancies, out of wedlock births, teen violence, functional illiteracy, bureaucratic red tape and unionized work rules there will be no leader to replace us. The world will drift between violence and authoritarians.

If America launches a rebirth of freedom by renewing American civilization we will have the personal energy, the multi-racial outlook, the cultural certainty and the economic, political and military strength to lead the entire human race to freedom, prosperity and safety.

When you see Schindler's List, visit the Holocaust museum or watch each day's brutal and barbarism on the evening news just remind yourself "that is why we must replace the welfare state with an opportunity society and renew America" because that is what is at stake.

GDC 00'

Exhibit 90

EXHIBIT 91

Renewing American Civilization Project
 School of Business Administration
 Post Office Box 444
 Marietta, Georgia 30061
 (404) 423-6606
 (404) 499-3256 Fax

EXHIBIT VI-B

Newt Gingrich, Adjunct Professor
 Jeff Eisenach, Project Director
 Nancy Desmond, Project Coordinator

December 4, 1993
 FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: Renewing American Civilization
 (404) 423-6606

**U.S. CONGRESSMAN NEWT GINGRICH'S CLASS ON "RENEWING
 AMERICAN CIVILIZATION" TO AIR ON SUMMIT CABLE IN MARIETTA**

Summit Cable in Marietta will begin airing U.S. Congressman Newt Gingrich's class "Renewing American Civilization," on public access Channel 5 on Tuesdays, starting November 2 to January 4, from 9:00 to 11:00 p.m.

"Renewing American Civilization" will focus on identifying and fostering the underlying values and attitudes that enable free market, private enterprise and democratic systems to function and flourish. The course will examine the principles of personal strength, entrepreneurial free enterprise, the spirit of invention and discovery, commitment to quality and the lessons of American history. These five pillars will then be applied to the areas of economic growth and job creation, health and wellness, saving the inner city, and citizenship for the 21st century.

Congressman Newt Gingrich holds a Ph.D. in History from Tulane University and taught at West Georgia College for eight years prior to being elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. He is co-author of the book "Window of Opportunity."

The course is designed to be interactive, in that ideas and suggestions from individuals throughout the country will be sought and utilized in developing and refining the course. If you would like to comment on the content of the course, please send your comments to Renewing American Civilization, Kennesaw State College, P.O. Box 444, Marietta, GA 30061.

Exhibit 91

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EXHIBIT 92Reinhardt College
0063

11/2/7

SUMMARY OF GINGRICH CONFERENCE: KATHLEEN MINNIX

A-23

Present at Conference:

Newt Gingrich
Jeff Eisenach
Nancy Desmond
John McDowell
Steven Hanser
Kathleen Minnix

(11/1/94)

The meeting lasted from 1:00-6:00, with the Congressman present for all but around an hour, during which time he went to his campaign headquarters for an interview with CNN. The Congressman began with an overview of his new vision for the course, which would be more like "Renewing American Civilization II" rather than a duplication of last year's course. Gone are the five pillars and the four applications--gone, too, is much of the usefulness of the teacher's workbook prepared around these topics. I expressed my distress at this change, but Gingrich felt that once we delve into the suggested topics, we--and the other teachers, will find much material in common. I told him, as I had told Jeff this summer, that while we can adapt our lectures somewhat to his, with videos, books, and secondary articles prepared, it may be that there will not be the compatibility between his part and our part that I would like. He wants to write the new course in the next sixty days, having it prepared by mid-December. Even if it is totally written before classes in January, Bob Head and I do not have the sort of absolute flexibility that he has, being a staff of two.

Everyone agreed that he needs a director, to help with research, videos, chyrons, etc. I said that I would be happy to work with that person to suggest resources, but that hoped once the course was designed, most of my time could be devoted to developing my own lectures (in other words, I am not open to typing Chyrons at 3 am the night before the course). We did not discuss the controversial videos directly, though Gingrich foresees eliminating virtually all videos for the new course, perhaps keeping only those thought vital to the educational value or the course of having powerful emotional appeal, like the excerpt from the movie "Gettysburg". Steve Hanser strongly made the point that the "didactic" value be the only consideration--in other words, that sponsors not be eliminated because they are sponsors. More on this next week, when we go through video tapes individually.

We talked about the possibility of having classes 3, 5, and 7 off campus; Harvard and Stanford have invited Gingrich for a speech, and he thinks that University of Pennsylvania is open to the possibility, as well. The advantage to this (besides allowing us to sleep in some Saturdays) is that it would strengthen the academic claims of the course and help deflect criticism of Reinhardt. The disadvantage to us is that we lose the live contact, and it may be a problem to Bob Head, also.

Exhibit 92

Gingrich hopes to teach the class here on Saturdays and in Washington Monday evening, trying to attract the freshmen congresspeople, the press--who will be trying to figure out the Republican agenda--and congressional staff looking for the basis of Republican doctrine. "Take the course" will be suggested to those who wonder what a Republican government is going to stand for. He sees the course as a statement of his creed about American history and the American civilization, looking at the past to draw lessons for the future.

Gingrich is very open to "exploiting" (his word) me; and is inviting me to be a part of the total planning of the course. We will meet next week to discuss content and videos again, and probably will meet a number of times before January. I do not get a good feeling about making this into a solid history course, but one of its strengths is the contemporary nature of his experiences and his multidisciplinary approach. I feel that I can be a part of the planning process--perhaps more than I would like--but the two halves of the course will not be as closely meshed as I had hoped. We may still be walking on uneven heels, but I will try to insert as much history as possible.

A concern of mine is the "talking head" phenomenon if Gingrich does eliminate most videos, and I warned him that I thought the students would begin to glaze over at 50 minutes. He suggested that we may want to break up the course even more radically--into 15 or 30 minute segments. I hope that we can have visual interest added. He is a powerful speaker and he is frustrated at surrendering his teaching time to film inserts--he also has a tremendous amount to say. However, if he wants to say it in front of a class, he needs to bring in some discussion and interaction, at least. While eliminating videos would solve our sponsor problem, I think it would lessen the impact and effectiveness of the course.

He liked my list of secondary articles on the ten topics I had selected, but it remains to be seen how many of my lectures I will need to shift to accommodate his changes, and these readings are keyed to what I expected the topics to be. The Progress and Freedom Foundation has condensed "The Third Wave" by Toffler into 100 pages, and he suggested the students read that, along with Drucker's "Effective Executive." We did not have a chance to address the question of offering it as 255/355, assigning a paper and some extra discussion for those wanting to take it as an upper level course.

I felt that Jeff Eisenach is feeling frustrated by Reinhardt not faxing him our press letters as soon as they are composed. He understands our reluctance to consult him before, but feels that the Progress and Freedom Foundation needs to be first on our list of correspondents. He instructed his assistant in Washington to "be snippy" with Marcia White, which I understand she more than achieved. We may again have the situation that their interests

Reinhardt College
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Exhibit 92

and ours are not identical, or he may have a legitimate complaint. He is travelling with Gingrich for the next few days and may contact Reinhardt himself.

Gingrich puts his chances of being speaker at greater than 50% and is making plans for the "transition" between Democratic and Republican rule. He sees the course as vital to this--so vital that no one could convince him to teach it only one time per week and conserve his energy. He is feeling attacked by the liberal press and feeling that they are distorting his past and his positions. However, he was pleased by the Washington Post reporter who said that the Post had ordered its writers to begin preparing articles on the "shattering defeat" of the Democrats. Since our next meeting is election day, from 10:30-1, things should be interesting.

Exhibit 92

EXHIBIT 93

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION: OUR DUTY IN 1994

Given to the RNC Winter Meeting Breakfast
January 21, 1994
Representative Newt Gingrich

The American people are fed up with those politicians and governments that raise their taxes and waste their money while failing to halt the decay of America.

We have rising violent crime, an explosion of births outside the family, growing job insecurity, rising health costs and a collapse in the educational system combined with growing frustration at the lack of honest, systematic political leadership. The predictable result is deep citizen disgust.

People know that traditional policies and traditional politicians can't get the job done. They are turning to new leaders. Brett Schundler in Jersey City (where 64% of the people are Republican, 70% Democrat, 41% speak a language other than English at home) is the first Republican Mayor since 1904. He won the election with 60% of the vote and swept 9 out of 9 city council seats with his bi-partisan reform effort. In New York City and Los Angeles, Republicans became Mayors, the first time in over 60 years Republicans held the 2 largest cities at the same time.

The American search for new leadership is part of a worldwide phenomenon among industrial democracies. In Italy the entire political establishment has been destroyed. In France the Socialists were virtually wiped out. In Japan the LDP has lost power for the first time in over 40 years. In Canada the governing party dropped from 153 seats to 2 seats.

This worldwide force for change is being driven by three realities:

One, there is an information revolution underway that is so powerful it is transforming much of our society. This profound revolution is the third wave of change in human history (the first two being the rise of agriculture and the industrial revolution). This Third Wave (in Alvin Toffler's phrase) will change government, the professions, jobs, lifestyles, communities and much of society. This information revolution has made the current industrial era governments and laws increasingly obsolete and is increasingly causing pain to their citizens.

Second, the world market is a reality. It is causing massive dislocations in every industrial country. The world price of labor is now set by South China. Maintaining a standard of living seven to ten times higher than that of the Chinese will require

substantially greater productivity and creativity. Countries which could formerly afford the welfare state's anti-jobs, anti-entrepreneur, anti-growth, taxation, regulations and litigation system suddenly find themselves in economic difficulty. This again causes their citizens increased pain.

Third, the welfare state has failed. In America, it has spawned frightening levels of violence, ignorance, and births outside the family structure. No civilization can survive with 12-year olds having babies, 15-year olds killing each other, 17-year olds dying of AIDS, and 18-year olds receiving diplomas they can't read. This failed system is causing more and more pain to all its citizens.

The pain of structural obsolescence from second wave industrial era systems, the economic pressures of competition on redistribution oriented welfare states, and the violent collapse of civilization at the heart of the welfare system have combined to create tremendous voter pressures for change.

The overwhelming desire of voters for change (77% favor term limits, 81% favor a work requirement for welfare, 76% favor a balanced budget amendment, etc.) can only be met by a bold program that responds to these new realities with a vision of renewing American civilization by replacing the welfare state.

There are three key steps to this vision:

First, the failed principles of the welfare state must be replaced by the successful principles of American civilization. The current system is wrong in its basic treatment of human beings. It reduces citizens to clients, subordinates them to bureaucrats, and subjects them to rules that are anti-work, anti-family, anti-opportunity, and anti-property. Under these conditions, human beings develop social pathologies. The violence, brutality, and barbarism we see on the television news are the natural products of the welfare state.

On the other hand, we, as Republicans, understand the essence of human beings as it is defined by American civilization. "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." Under these conditions, humans grow and flourish, work and study, raise families and seek greater opportunities.

Only applying the principles of American civilization to replace the welfare state will restore full citizenship to the poor, eliminate massive destructive bureaucracies, save our inner cities, and establish a basis for safety and progress.

By itself, however, re-establishing the principles of American

civilization will not be enough. While that will end the decay of the welfare state, it will not meet the competitive pressures of the world market nor replace the obsolete government structures and systems that block the future by propping up the past.

Therefore, we must also study and learn the principles of the information revolution which is transforming our economies, which transformed warfare in Desert Storm, and which will inevitably transform our society and our governments.

The explosion of new information and new knowledge will decisively change health, learning, and virtually every element of government. Quality focused automobile companies have already forced a revolution in automobile production. The rise of software in companies like Microsoft is forcing a revolution in companies like IBM. The biological revolution must transform our approach to health and health care.

We need to reach out to the pioneers of this information revolution and to observers like George Gilder and George Keyworth. With their help we can replace the second wave industrial government with its taxation, regulation, and litigation with third wave systems of far greater efficiency and effectiveness. We can then offer greater safety, stronger families, better and higher paying jobs in a wealthier society, better health at lower cost and lifetime learning that is effective, convenient and consistently useful.

The revolutions in computing, fiber optics, satellite transmission, DNA research, cellular phones, cable, videotape, CD's, material technology and on to a thousand topics are only the beginning of a new age of opportunity and progress. The challenge to us is to harness the genuine revolutions in productivity that are already occurring in science, industry and the military to society, government and politics.

There is yet another step to be taken. Neither the principles of American civilization nor the principles of the third wave information revolution will be enough if taken in isolation - the two must be brought into a synergistic system which literally replaces the obsolete industrial era welfare state system. We must insist on a systems replacement because isolated reforms will simply drown in the obsolescence and pathologies of the welfare state.

Every inner city reform of the last two decades has failed because it dealt only with one part or another of the destructive system which traps and cripples the poor. Reforming one piece of the education or health system can have only limited impact because the rest of the obsolete structure -- destructive litigation, taxation and regulation and anti-human welfare state attitudes will remain. Changing one part of a bureaucrat's job leads to little

or no improvement because the rest of the bureaucratic system still cripples and distorts productivity while killing creativity.

It is essential that we paint a vivid picture of the positive results of a complete replacement of the welfare state and that we insist on applying the system of principles learned both from American civilization and from the third wave information revolution. With this understanding, a Republican Party committed to 5 values for every American - safety, family, work, health and learning will be able to appeal to at least 85% of the American people.

Republican initiatives will attract attention. Indeed, many Democrats will find themselves supporting Republican initiatives to renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state with an information age America.

If Republicans will focus on listening to Americans, we will have a huge majority. If Republicans will learn from every American who is using the principles of the third wave information revolution to expand knowledge, solve problems, and create wealth, we will have the resources. If Republicans will honestly and earnestly commit themselves to help every American who wants to replace the welfare state, we will find every neighborhood eager to work with us. A Republican Party which listens to, learns from, and helps Americans will find itself in power because the American people will want it to lead.

We have many allies in our effort to replace the welfare state. From Rush Limbaugh to National Review, The American Spectator, National Empowerment Television, the editorial page of the Wall Street Journal (the nation's largest newspaper) and on to hundreds of talk show hosts, thousands of neighborhood activists, millions of computer users, and tens of millions of voters, there is an angry nation eager for positive leadership ready to end the mess we are in, stop the violence, cut out the waste and get into the job of creating progress by acting decisively.

The welfare state will not be replaced simply by action in Washington. It will take at least 200,000 "partners for progress" from school boards, hospital boards, city councils, county commissions and state legislatures to truly begin this process. If we Republicans reach out and knit together all the activists willing to be partners for progress, we can expand our party into a majority while serving our country by helping prepare it for a new century.

Schundler, King, Thompson, Engler, and Weld are the pioneers. Joined now by Riordan, Guilian, Whitman and Allen, they offer us an example of how to reach out to virtually all Americans with better solutions based on a better understanding both of America's

past and of it's future.

There is a vast overwhelming majority ready to replace the welfare state. There is a vast overwhelming majority that believes in American civilization and rejects the quotas and divisions of the multiculturalists. There is a vast majority of Americans eager and ready to do away with politics as usual and to take bold, decisive steps to re-establish safety, strengthen family, make work rewarding, improve both health and health care and insure the availability of lifetime learning.

America stands at the threshold of a new century, a new era of productivity, and a new generation of opportunity. However, we will never get to this new generation unless our generation does its job. As Franklin Delano Roosevelt said, "our generation has a rendezvous with destiny." If we will lead the movement to renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state, that movement will entrust us with the power to enact that replacement.

The challenge is to us.

The time is now.

Let me focus on the crisis of violent crime and the immediate decisive steps we should take in the next 60 days.

Violent crime is at a crisis level. Since Congress adjourned the day after Thanksgiving, there have been an estimated 3,710 murders. Nearly 40%, 1,410, were committed by people out on early release from prison. In that same time, over 112,000 violent crimes were committed by people on early release from prison.

Every day, 65 Americans are killed, and every day an average of 979 prisoners are released early. Even worse than early release, in 1990, some 30,000 felons were convicted of violent crimes and received no prison or jail time.

The National Institute of Justice estimates five out of six 12-year olds will be the victim of a violent crime in their lifetime. MIT reports that a boy born in 1974 stands a greater chance of being murdered than a soldier in World War II faced of death in combat.

The time has come for decisive, effective, common sense action to end the violence. We know what works. American history is mostly a history of unlocked doors, unbarred windows, and unfrightened people. Reapplying the principles of American civilization will dramatically reduce violent crime. James Q. Wilson outlined many of them in Thinking About Crime, a book he wrote twenty years ago.

Tragically, the Clinton administration is rejecting virtually

every principle that works in fighting crime. While President Clinton talks tough, the Clinton administration acts weak. Consider the facts:

The Clinton budget request proposed a 40% cut in federal prison construction.

The Drug Czar's office was slashed 84%.

A member of the Clinton administration proposed studying drug legalization.

The Clinton administration has announced a drastic cutback on drug interdiction.

The Clinton administration is undermining mandatory minimum sentences and opposes new mandatory minimums for use or possession of firearms by criminals.

The Clinton administration's Deputy Solicitor General was Chief Counsel to a presidential commission that recommended abolishing all Federal and State child pornography laws. The recent Justice Department brief weakens anti-child pornography enforcement.

The Clinton administration opposes the death penalty for drug kingpins.

The Clinton administration favors even more appeals and more delays in executing the death penalty.

No matter what President Clinton says in the State of the Union, what his administration does is undermining law and order and making things easier for criminals.

What then should we do?

Congress should make a decisive, effective, anti-violent crime law our first priority. We should pledge to pass into law a new decisive common sense bill by March 31st. Between the State of the Union and March 31st, an estimated 59,635 prisoners will get early release. An estimated 3,625 Americans will be killed in the same period.

Every day Congress fails to act, 65 more Americans will die, and 979 prisoners will be put back on the streets.

We don't need any more politicians' grab bag of gimmicks and band-aids. We need decisive, overwhelming, effective action.

We must shatter the culture of violence and re-establish safety and security for innocent Americans. That will take intense, overwhelming, powerful steps. You can only get change by

changing.

Here is an outline of the key steps we should take to shatter the culture of violence and overwhelm the relatively small number of truly destructive people in our midst.

One, we should build immediate emergency stockades on surplus military bases. We should build as many stockades as necessary and as quickly as though this were wartime and people were dying -- because they are. We should announce that as of June 1, no violent criminal need be released early anywhere in America for lack of space. States could be billed per diem on a low cost basis. The stockades can be built without television or air conditioning. They will be designed to temporarily hold violent criminals. A new principle of serving full time sentences should be constantly broadcast on all radio and television stations, including MTV and rap radio. Every young person should be intensely warned in the media they listen to that the rules are changing. Violent crime will be punished decisively and effectively. Prevention is better than prison, but the threat of prison is a prerequisite for effective prevention.

A two year crash program should build as many prison beds as is necessary in one decisive step. Peace through strength works both at home and abroad. It is better to have one prison too many and stockpile it rather than release 900 violent felons back on the innocent for lack of space. We don't need five year or ten year plans. Every day, 65 Americans are killed. This is a crisis equal to war in its human cost and we should act accordingly.

In 1986, a crash prison building program in Michigan led over four years to a drop in Detroit's burglary rate by 32% and the robbery rate by 37%. The average prisoner costs \$23,000 a year to keep in jail and an estimated \$452,000 a year when committing crimes. The human cost of early release is horrendous and tragic.

Prisoners should be required to work 48 hours a week and study 12 hours a week. We want criminals to learn new behaviors and you learn by practice. The Japanese require prisoners to learn to read and write Japanese, a language of 1300 characters. We should insist on real learning and real work, so prisoners can learn real habits of change.

Violent felons should face life imprisonment after two convictions for violent crimes.

We should pass a believable, effective death penalty and limit appeals to one unified opportunity to appeal within 18 months of sentencing.

Mandatory sentencing should mean real time for the years sentenced. In 1990, 28% of those convicted of aggravated assault

and 14% of those convicted of rape were sentenced to probation. That policy only encourages rape and assault. It is just plain wrong.

There should be an automatic twenty years in jail if the violent crime is against someone twelve or younger. We must protect our children by keeping off the streets those who would harm them.

There should be no juvenile status for a violent crime. We cannot have young offenders manipulating the system to stay on the street and continue to injure, rape, and sometimes kill other young people.

Kids who take guns to school should face six months in a firm, disciplinary boot camp followed by three months of mandatory community clean-up while wearing a uniform under the control of police. It is vital to establish on the street that 15-year olds are subordinate to authority and the gang hierarchy is subordinate to the adult world. Only visible action in the community will achieve this.

Finally, while locking up criminals is necessary, it is even better to avoid having criminals by suppressing crime in the first place. Recently, I stood in Bryant Park behind the New York Public Library and saw a former crime ridden park in which no crime had been reported in two years. The Grand Central Partnership is a brilliant private sector innovation making a twenty block area around Grand Central Station cleaner and safer than it has been in years.

Local governments and state governments will have more police, have more prosecutors and build more prisons if they can choose how to use their own money. They will be more practical, more flexible, and more effective than a top down Federal bureaucratic program.

We should create a new unfunded mandate budget for State and local government. At local discretion, they should be able to postpone 50% of the mandates and transfer the money to increasing public safety.

It is estimated that Los Angeles alone is required to spend \$1.75 billion a year on unfunded mandates. A 50% postponement at local discretion would allow the city to shift \$875 million to the higher priority of public safety.

By returning control over unfunded mandates to State and local government, we can shift considerable resources toward suppressing crime without raising taxes.

These ten steps are examples of the decisive, common sense, effective actions we could take now to save lives and reduce violence.

These are the kinds of steps I will ask a Republican House to report when, with your help, I become Speaker.

These are the kinds of decisive steps the American people want.

I hope many Democrats will join with us in passing these public safety initiatives. If they do, America will be safer. If they refuse, the American people will be angrier. After all, forty years of Democratic Party rule in the House is long enough.

This is one of many steps we can and must make to renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state. We must do it. We can do it. With your help and the help of the American people, we will do it.

9

Exhibit 93

LIP 00610

EXHIBIT 94

WHIP OFFICE PLAN FOR 1994

VISION: Renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state which requires the election of a Republican majority and passage of our agenda.

STRATEGIES:

- I. FOR NEWT GINGRICH TO BE UNOPPOSED FOR LEADER
- II. MAXIMIZE REPUBLICAN SEATS IN THE HOUSE
- III. DEVELOP AN AGENDA WORTH VOTING FOR AND ~~DEVELOP~~ IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION
- IV. PREPARE TO BE AN EFFECTIVE LEADER
- V. PREPARE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITIES PROVIDED BY THE 1994 LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR

PROJECTS AND TACTICS:

- I. FOR NEWT GINGRICH TO BE UNOPPOSED FOR THE LEADER
 - A. Assess Style and Focus
 - 1) Allow expression of warm/smiling/softer side (Bentsen not Gramm)
 - 2) avoid "generalissimo" style (less lecturing, more listening)
 - 3) be punctual (set an example for other leaders and members)
 - 4) utilize and listen to personal advisory group
 - B. Maintain highest ethical and legal standards
 - 1) GOPAC, RAC Course, P&FF, Empower America -- anticipate possible press scrutiny
 - 2) develop clear understanding between official and personal staff requests
 - C. Steer the leadership toward cooperation and coordination for 1994

- 1) solidify/develop Gingrich/Armey alliance
 - 2) continue to push for professionally run leadership meetings
 - 3) help in coordinating ranking members
 - 4) identify key politically important policy issues for coordinated actions (old strategy whip model)
 - 5) coordinate media for grassroots affect
 - 6) develop mechanism to report to members on leadership activity
- D. Run traditional Whip organization effectively
- 1) continue current operations
 - 2) develop Democrat ties
 - a. occasional meetings with Newt and selected Democrats
 - b. continue to develop Gephardt relationship
 - 3) utilize outside groups
- E. Outreach to activists and freshmen
- 1) listening time for members
 - 2) develop leaders/stars
 - 3) continue attendance in COS-
 - 4) advise and help on their projects

II. MAXIMIZE REPUBLICAN SEATS IN THE HOUSE

- A. Assistance/involvement with Paxon and NRCC
- 1) fundraising
 - 2) candidate recruitment
 - 3) member involvement
- B. Outreach to key groups
- 1) Ken Cole
- C. Coordinate with Republican entities at Federal, State and local levels
- D. Schedule adequate time for member/candidate assistance
- 1) maintain mechanism for choosing member requests
 - 2) maintain mechanism for choosing candidate requests (Joe)
 - 3) continue GOPAC "message" program

III. DEVELOP AN AGENDA WORTH VOTING FOR AND IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION

- A. Establish a mechanism to develop and evaluate RAC ideas for possible legislative action
 - 1) have P&FF capture ideas from the lectures
- B. Develop a process to solicit ideas/proposals from:
 - members
 - committees
 - think tanks
 - business and outside allies
- C. Create process to set priorities and develop the product of A and B
 - 1) think through member culling group - Kasich
 - 2) recruit product champions (30 stars)

[THIS NEEDS WORK]

IV. PREPARE TO BE AN EFFECTIVE LEADER

- A. Develop Leader scheduling strategy
 - 1) Establish scheduling committee
 - 2) Establish priorities
- B. Develop Leader media strategy
- C. Promote "new" ranking member model
 - 1) Develop 1 or 2 new potentials - Leach/Bliley
- D. Develop relationships for effective coordination and cooperation with Senate GOP, RNC, and Governors
- E. Prepare for organizing conference
 - 1) Define successful outcome
 - 2) Coordinate w/Armedy & core group to manage outcome
 - 3) Analyze needed rules changes
- F. Analyze needed office/staff structure & functions
- G. Prepare for Committee on Committees
 - 1) Define successful outcome
 - 2) Coordinate with allies

- I. Analyze leadership structure:
 - 1) Define what's necessary and what's desirable

V. PREPARE TO CREATE AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITIES PROVIDED IN THE 1994 LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR:

- A. Kasich budget to reflect our blueprint for 1994.
- B. Pitts legislative analysis.
- C. Solicit input from Committee staff directors on 1994 schedule -- opportunities and problems.
- D. Create mechanisms to follow up on recognized/selected opportunities
 - 1) Roundtable coordinators, working task forces, committees, etc.
- E. Prospectively coordinate with Senate GOP (leadership if possible, activists if not)
 - 1) Kasich budget/reconciliation
 - 2) Whitewater
 - 3) Health
 - 4) Crime bills
 - 5) Welfare reform

EXHIBIT 95

PLANNING ASSUMPTIONS FOR 1994

- I. Change is the overriding reality
- A. Dramatic change is a worldwide pattern and will almost certainly happen in the United States.
 - B. There are three powerful pressures for change in the United States.
 - 1. The information revolution (Toffler's third wave of change) will transform society, government and the economy.
 - 2. The world market will force continuing change if we are to compete with high value jobs producing high incomes and a good quality of life.
 - 3. American civilization is decaying and it is becoming frightening and painful. No civilization can survive with 12 year olds having babies, 15 year olds killing each other, 17 year olds dying of AIDS and 18 year olds receiving diplomas they can't read.

The challenge is not Republican or Democrat, liberal or conservative. The challenge is to our civilization's survival.
 - 4. The majority of Americans want change (82% of Southern Blacks favor a work requirement for welfare including for women with young children, over 70% of all Americans favor a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment, the death penalty, life in prison for three time losers, term limits, voluntary school prayer, and a host of other changes). A coalition for change could potentially attract 70 to 80% support.
- II. House Republicans have a patriotic, positive role.
- A. American first, Republican second: a program for America not a program for Republicans.
 - B. Renewing American Civilization by replacing the welfare state will appeal to most Americans.
 - C. Our approach should be the positive description of our goals and our initiatives.
 - D. Tactically we should begin every answer and every debate with a positive statement of identification, empathy and solution before we say something

negative, even if we have to reframe the question.

- E. Initiatives - not opposition - not alternatives - initiative should be the trademark of House Republicans.
- F. Solutions to replace the welfare state can be developed by combining the principles of American Civilization with the potential of the information revolution (Toffler's third wave) to offer more rather than less. (The course Renewing American Civilization, the TV show "The Progress Report" on NET and the Progress and Freedom Foundation, are services of this material -- 1-800-TO-RENEW.)
- G. House Republicans should focus on 4 themes:
 1. Jobs and economic growth in the world market
 2. Health
 3. Saving the inner city
 4. citizenship and community in the 21st century
- H. House Republicans should insist on "honest self government" and integrity. "The public's right to know" should be the keystone of our effort.
- I. The economy will be somewhere between okay and declining. People will feel insecure as downsizing and defense layoffs continue. The long term structural problems will not have been solved.
- J. Foreign policy could blow up at anytime. From Korea, to a trade war with Europe or Japan, to Russia there are a lot of potential problems. The odds are one in three that an event or events will remind people that a strong military, good intelligence, and a wise competent leadership are vital.

III. The Clinton Administration

- A. Clinton will always try to steal popular issues and will say anything to appeal to people.
- B. Since our policies and our principles are popular they will show up in polls and focus groups and Clinton will use them from the bully pulpit.
- C. Our best strategy is to run a full court press at Clinton. If he sides with us we are made more important, our allies win, he splits his base, and weakens his allies.

If he rejects us and sides with his allies, risks, alienating the American people. This allows us to redefine ourselves and distinguish ourselves from the Democrats.

- D. Everyday we want to push for good hearings, good votes, good actions and force Clinton and the Democrats to choose.

IV. Scale and Orientation

- A. The scale of a nationwide movement needed to shift who controls Washington can be huge. Remember \$1 per American equals \$260,000,000.
- B. There is a growing movement for change. There are others to help us if we learn to work with them - Limbaugh, American Spectator, Wall Street Journal editorial page, Grover Norquist's anti-tax coalition, etc.
- C. House Republicans have to work with outside allies, and encourage feedback from our allies to our conference.
- D. House Republicans must join in a "partnership for progress" with every citizen who is willing to work to replace the welfare state. It will take at least 200,000 "partners for progress" to transform America.
- E. Independent expenditures, informed and encouraged by Sharon Cooper's Taxpayers' Testimony could change the whole environment of 1994.
- F. Americans want to be empowered to be active so they can vent their anger by doing something. Given reasonable opportunities many more people will become active.
- G. A large movement must be led by a loose-knit coalition.
1. Niche marketing specialized micromedia is more intense and often more effective.
 2. Entrepreneurial projects must be decentralized and will often overlap and be uncoordinated or loosely coordinated.
 3. Project management is the key to be effective entrepreneurial efforts.

V. Strategic Rhythm.

- A. We must "pose the question" we want the voters to ask before they vote in November.
- B. Most voters do not pay attention until the last three weeks. We must spend nine months repeating our theme to maximize understanding so the last three weeks can be a crescendo.
- C. The news media will be biased against us so we must reach citizens despite editors and reporters.
- D. Simple consistent repetition is more powerful than any other technique.

VI. Five key methods

- A. For planning:
 - Vision
 - Strategies
 - Projects
 - Tactics
- B. For leading in the information age: Listen – Learn – Help – Lead
- C. Project Management
 - 1. As an entrepreneur on your own
 - 2. As a partner in a contract with the leadership
- D. Use electronic networking over travel whenever possible (e.g. conference calls to Mayors)
- E. Think outside the House and inside the movement.

VII. Persistent leadership can defeat charismatic leadership

- A. Fabius over Hannibal
- B. Grant over Lee
- C. Churchill over Hitler