

EXHIBIT 96

Eisenach
2758

VISION

Renew the American dream by promoting individual liberty, economic opportunity and personal responsibility, through limited and effective government, high standards of performance and an America strong enough to defend all her citizens against violence at home or abroad.

Exhibit 96

The Choice in 1994

American civilization is at risk. No civilization can survive with:

**Twelve-year-olds having babies,
Fifteen-year-olds killing each other,
Seventeen-year-olds dying of AIDS,
Eighteen-year-olds receiving diplomas
they cannot read.**

In 1994 we are not faced with a problem of Republicans or Democrats, conservatives or liberals, we are reminded every night on the local news that our civilization is decaying.

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House Republicans want to renew the American dream through initiatives that will:

Ensure Safety
Encourage and Reward Work
Strengthen Families
Improve Health and Healthcare
and Create Lifetime Learning.

There is a difference between a House Republican Party committed to personal responsibility, free markets and limited government and a Democratic Party protecting the failed bureaucracies and failed programs of the past.

Are you satisfied?

If yes, vote to continue 40 years of Democratic Party control of the House.

If no, vote to give a new team with new ideas a chance.

VOTE REPUBLICAN FOR A CHANGE

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MISSION

As House Republicans we will work together to offer representative governance, and to communicate our vision of America, through clearly defined themes, programs and legislative initiatives to earn us the honor of becoming the majority party in January 1995.

STRATEGIES

1. Propose specific legislative initiatives implementing our vision of a renewed American dream.
2. Challenge the Democratic Leadership agenda when it undermines the American dream or reinforces the welfare state or fails to offer needed changes.
3. Successfully market a manageable number of key themes and initiatives.
4. Build partnerships with all potential allies supportive of our goals.
5. Create an internal culture that promotes the initiatives and creativity of individual Members so entrepreneurship becomes the norm.
6. Working together as a team, House Republicans should focus our efforts on the activities that will secure a House Republican majority in the 1994 election.

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There is a growing movement of people who believe the welfare state has failed and must be replaced.

The Republican party cannot change the welfare state by itself. But as part of a larger movement the Republican party can create a better future both for the country and for itself.

People come to this movement primarily from five backgrounds:

1. Some are philosophically conservative and believe in personal strength, families, mediating institutions and free markets.
2. Some (a lot) are tax payers who feel their money is wasted by a system that does not deliver.
3. Some (a growing number) are used to the information revolution and see a lot of changes in business and technology and know that the old industrial era bureaucracies are obsolete and dying.
4. Some (a growing number) are liberals who still believe in their ideology but accept that the welfare state has failed and cannot do the job.
5. Some (a surprising number) are the poor who know they have been cheated and want a new deal. They prefer empowerment to entitlement and see the bureaucracy as a problem not a help.

These five groups have very different ideas and attitudes. They are a potential coalition for change but they may never be comfortable with each other.

They are potential allies but not necessarily ever likely to agree on details or see the world with one view.

A coalition is led by giving one group what it needs to get permission to give the other groups what they need. You seek acceptance not approval for each step.

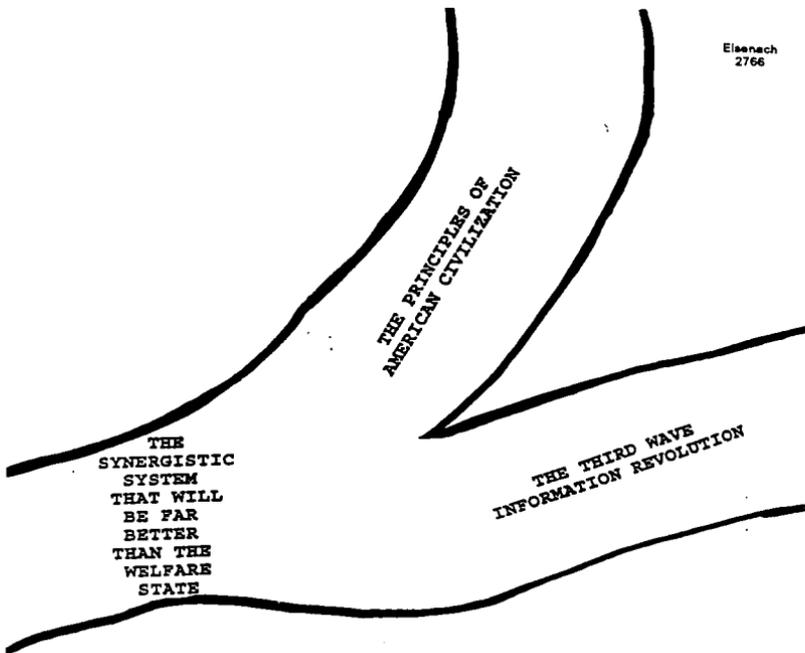
Properly led, an amazingly diverse coalition can find unity without uniformity (FDR's New Deal was seen by both southern segregationists and northern blacks as better than Herbert Hoover).

Focusing on an agenda that unifies and avoiding an agenda that breaks up your coalition is vital.

We must build a broad coalition that wants to replace the welfare state.

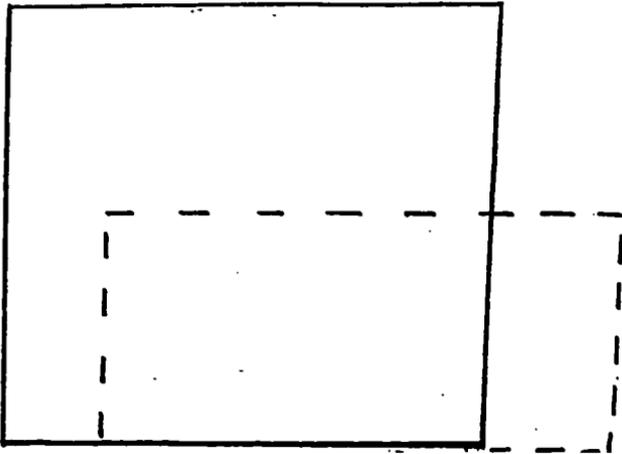
Virtually all elements of the movement to renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state agree that:

No civilization can survive with twelve-year-olds having babies, fifteen-year-olds killing each other, seventeen-year-olds dying of AIDS and eighteen-year-olds receiving diplomas they cannot read.



There is an intellectual framework for a welfare state replacement.

The potential movement to renew American civilization and replace the welfare state is bigger than and in some ways different from the Republican party.



Most movement members vote Republican (if they vote). Most Republicans share the movements values and goals but the two are not identical.

Examples of the potential majority:

**Support for a work requirement for welfare
among southern blacks – 82%**

**Support for a balanced budget amendment –
77%**

Support for death penalty – 75%

On item after item there is a three to one or four to one majority for values we would be comfortable with but about 30% of those who agree with us on policy are wary of us as a party.

If we could become acceptable to everyone who agrees with us on policy we would win almost every office at almost every level.

This will require four changes.

**CHANGE ONE:
Vision
Strategies
Projects
Tactics**

We need a constantly repeated unifying vision of ensuring safety, strengthening families, rewarding work, improving health and providing lifetime learning by replacing the welfare state and renewing America.

We need strategies acceptable to the whole change coalition that will turn our vision into reality.

We need projects that excite and arouse enthusiasm among specific elements of our coalition while using the principles of American civilization and the potential of the third wave information revolution to replace the welfare state.

We need tactics that are honest and sincere and bring to life our commitment to renewing America so people believe us because they see us both talk the talk and walk the walk.

CHANGE TWO: Listen - Learn - Help - Lead

"People have to know that you care before they care that you know", Jack Kemp speaking of his experience with the poor in public housing.

America is an enormous country of 260,000,000 remarkably diverse people. No one knows enough to solve all the problems.

We must listen to people.

We must learn from people.

We must help people in practical ways.

If we listen to, learn from and help people they will be eager to have us lead.

Leading comes last not first.

In the third wave information age there are no single leaders. There are always leader-teams – so leaders always have to listen before leading.

CHANGE THREE: Republican Initiatives

Initiatives for change must grow out of the need to replace the welfare state and not alternatives. We want to use the clear failure of the welfare state and the need to compete in the world market as guides for where to develop initiatives. Then we want to use the principles of American civilization and the potential of the information revolution to offer better solutions for a better America.

As WalMart, Microsoft, Ford and General Electric have all proven:

If we will take care of the customer the customer will take care of the competition.

CHANGE FOUR: Project Management

Developing specific initiatives into politically powerful assets is going to take a lot of serious systematic work.

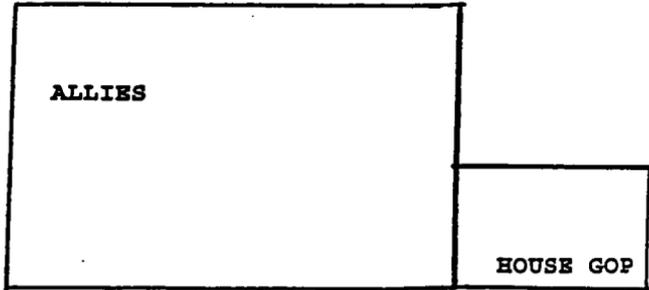
Coordinating projects as they evolve in a bewildering array of diverse areas will take new systems, new habits and new institutions.

Communicating effectively to specialized audiences through micromedia will take a whole new approach.

Communicating effectively to the general audience through the mass media will take new creativity and vigorous persistence.

This system will be much bigger than the House Republican party and we have to get in the habit of routinely reaching out for resources, energy and leverage to allies we do not control (and do not always agree with).

Available resources to reach the American people:



For our purposes the most powerful new development may be the emergence of anti-tax increase independent expenditures.

Many successful people are angry about the 1993 tax increase.

Many are beginning to fear future tax increases. The last time the Democrats controlled the White House, Senate and House the top rate was 70%.

31% of additional potential rate increases really arouse people.

People can spend unlimited amounts on independent expenditures under right of free speech.

Ross Perot \$31 million, Jay Rockefeller \$7 million, Frank Lautenburg \$7 million, Herb Kohl \$5 million are examples of what people can do if excited.

Sharon Cooper's new book Tax Payer's Tea Party outlines how to take an amount equal to your tax increase and spend it to defeat one member who voted for the 1993 tax increase.

If only a few hundred angry tax payers do independent expenditures they could swamp the traditional system.

The House Republican party has to remember that we cannot change America by ourselves.

Our job is to arouse all the many people who agree with us and work with them in a partnership for progress so that together we can change America.

We need at least 200,000 "Partners for Progress" so we can replace the welfare state from school board and hospital board to city council, county commission and state legislature on up to the Congress and the White House.

Our existing allies in city halls and governorships are pioneers in moving toward a new system that will renew America. We need to work with them, listen to them and help them.

Political change is now occurring across the planet:

Russia – system collapse

Italy – system collapse

France – socialists wiped out

Japan – LDP defeated

**Canada – governing party dropped
from 153 to 2**

**If we have the ideas and the courage the American
people will provide the resources and the votes.**

– KEY 1994 CAMPAIGN POSTER –

**To: Increase Safety
Strengthen Families
Reward Work
Improve Health
Create Lifetime Learning
Replace the Welfare State
Renew America**

**40 years of Democrat Control of the House
is Long Enough**

**VOTE REPUBLICAN
For a Change**

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Renewing American Civilization

**ALEC Seminar
August 7, 1994**

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**American Legislative Exchange Council
Renewing American Civilization
Seminar August 7, 1994**

On August 7, 1994 Congressman Newt Gingrich held a Renewing American Civilization seminar at the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) annual meeting. This seminar was designed for ALEC members, who are conservative state legislators.

Although this seminar only summarizes the material presented in Renewing American Civilization, it is our thought that you might be interested in the Congressman's latest thinking.

We have included the outline Congressman Gingrich wrote for this seminar. And, as a convenience for you, we have attached an order form for the video tape of this seminar. Please note that this video is not part the official RAC materials and that a commercial third party has produced it.

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ALEC: Leadership for America's 21st Century
by Newt Gingrich – August 3, 1994

The world is in a period of transition of historic proportions. Across the planet middle class voters are shaking governments with their outspoken discontent and unhappiness. Voter dissatisfaction is translating into political unpopularity and then political dissatisfaction is translating into defeat and even collapse for governments. From the fall of the Soviet Empire to the replacement of the Italian postwar political system, the annihilation of the French Socialists, the virtual elimination of the Canadian governing party (which fell from 153 to two seats in the 1993 election), to the replacement of the LDP as the governing party of Japan after a 38 year monopoly of power, again and again the working middle class is displaying its anger and dissatisfaction by punishing governments.

Here in the United States the same kind of voter dissatisfaction powers the term limits movement (77% public support), the United We Stand effort and the Ross Perot Presidential candidacy (19%, one of the highest third party votes in over a century), the election of Republicans to the New York, Los Angeles and Jersey City mayoralties, and the rebellions against government interference in the West and against property tax increases in the Midwest and the East.

The challenge to political leaders is to find solutions that actually give voters some hope that their lives will improve. Promises based on inadequate or wrong analysis are not solutions. They are merely campaign slogans bound to fail and thus increase cynicism and alienation.

The failure of politicians in America and across the planet has not been a failure of money or courage. It has been an intellectual failure of a postwar political system that is now obsolete and incapable of regenerating itself.

The current failure of governments is not inevitable and need not be long lasting. The voters do not need to adjust to malaise, or become dramatically more patient, or lower their standards and expectations (all pleas from political elites who have failed and would like to lower the curve for measuring the success of government, asking the voters to behave like the SAT board and pretend that incompetence and non-performance should be scored higher because "times have changed").

We need a generation of leadership that recognizes that our current problems are largely intellectual and that we need new ideas. Even more importantly we need a new framework for these ideas (what Thomas Kuhn called a paradigm shift in The Structure of Scientific Revolutions).

An easy way to contrast the timidity of the failed political elites and the boldness and comprehensiveness of thought needed for successful leadership in our generation is the difference between the words reform and replace.

Exhibit 97

The besieged elites of the old order want to reform their failing governments. These futile reform efforts invariably involve bigger bureaucracies and higher taxes. They inevitably lead to poorer services at higher cost and create greater voter discontent.

New leadership recognizes that the obsolete, failing, current system needs to be replaced not reformed. New leadership recognizes that the current welfare state structure of government is built on an industrial era model within a nation-state economy on social worker assumptions that have clearly failed. Raising taxes to try to improve the obsolete is simply throwing money away, increasing the agony and lengthening the political-financial bankruptcy while enraging the working middle class who pay more to receive less.

New leadership must build a new team around new assumptions built on a new framework that is designed to replace rather than reform the welfare state. This new framework must take into account the objective realities of the information revolution (Toffler's third wave of change), the emerging world market, and the basic lessons of American civilization that have worked for over three hundred years and need to be restudied and reapplied to the emerging new global economic and technological realities.

This new intellectual framework has been emerging over the last quarter century in widely scattered efforts at explaining the modern world. Peter Drucker's The Age of Discontinuities (1969), Kenneth Boulding's The Meaning of the Twentieth Century (1964), and Alvin and Heidi Toffler's Future Shock (1970), The Third Wave (1980), and War and Anti-War (1993), George Gilder's Microcosm (1989), Edwards Deming's Out of the Crisis (1982), have all outlined the scale of change we are living through. No one who reads these works could believe the entire technological and economic framework of our lives can change while somehow the structure of government can remain the same.

Our job as leaders is to understand this new third wave, information revolution and the need to compete within a pervasive global market and develop a replacement for the welfare state. By combining technological potential and economic realities with the classic strengths of American civilization it is possible to develop a new model of a successful America that will be dramatically more prosperous, more powerful and more desirable.

There is every reason to believe Americans could live safely in the healthiest, most prosperous society on the planet with the highest quality of life, the best standard of living and the greatest range of choices. There is every reason to believe that the next generation could have a greater opportunity to pursue happiness than any generation in American history.

The economic opportunity and technological opportunity will be available if we can stop obsolete political elites and an obsolete welfare state from blocking the future and protecting the past.

This paper is an initial introduction to the ideas necessary to replace the welfare state with an opportunity society. It is designed for elected officials and would-be elected officials as an introduction to leadership in an age of extraordinary change.

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The changes that are coming are so great that no one has the answers. That includes this paper. Consider this a work in progress open for critique and improvement. And feel free to send me your ideas and your suggestions.

This challenge is so great that only a team effort can bring about the transformation that is needed. It is to that teamwork and the rewards of that transformation that this paper is dedicated.

- I. An analysis, planning, decision and implementation model
 - Vision
 - Strategies
 - Projects (a definable, delegatable, achievement)
 - Tactics (daily behavior)

- II. The four great truths of our generation
 1. The information revolution is so powerful it is the third great wave of change in human history. Only the rise of agriculture and the rise of industry are comparable. Alvin Toffler's *The Third Wave* describes the pervasive ways in which every aspect of life will be transformed by this revolution. We must rethink society and government within the challenge of this enormous change.

 2. The world market is real and will shape our lives. Our children will compete with workers in other countries the way our parents competed with workers in other American states. South China will set the price of labor for the next two generations. If we want our children to have the highest standard of living with the highest take home pay and the greatest range of options we will have to be very market oriented, very entrepreneurial and very focused on the requirements of competition. This will require rethinking litigation, regulation, taxation, education and the delivery systems and bureaucracies of government to reshape each so it contributes to rather than undermines our ability to compete in the world market.

 3. The welfare state has failed. 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 receiving diplomas they cannot read. All of these things are happening in America today and American civilization is decaying. The Great Society experiment in replacing families with social workers, the work ethic with government payments, the neighborhood with a public housing bureaucrat and police with social workers has simply failed. We must replace the welfare state with an opportunity society dedicated to rebuilding personal strength, the family structure, the

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fabric of community and the energetic pursuit of happiness which is at the core of American civilization.

4. The combination of the transformation of the third wave information revolution, the economic pressures of the emerging world market, the failures and dangers of the collapsing welfare state, and the bankruptcy of the political-intellectual elite of the old order have led to a level of citizen alienation that may be deeper than anything America has seen since the American Revolution. From term limits to ratings of Congress to virtually universal cynicism and contempt for both the process of self government and for the people who participate in it, the simple fact is that Americans feel alienated, unrepresented and in many ways betrayed by those to whom they have loaned power. Inventing the third wave information revolution self government system that rebounds the voter to those who are entrusted with public office may be one of the most important and most difficult challenges of our time.
- III. Vision: A prosperous safe America in which every American has a sense of personal strength and unlimited opportunity and in which the pursuit of happiness has led the American people to create an American nation economically, militarily and morally able to help the entire human race achieve self government, safety and prosperity. An America in which the combination of the opportunities created by the third wave information revolution and the changes required to be the most productive, competitive nation in the world market has created an opportunity society with the best health, the best learning, the greatest safety, the highest standard of living, the best quality of life and an empowerment of citizens which has led to the greatest range of personal, family, community and business opportunities in the world.
- IV. Leadership for America's 21st century
1. Listen-Leam-Help-Lead is the four step process necessary for leadership in a third wave, information revolution America. There will be no singular leaders directing from above. The leader-team will be the key model and leaders will always begin by listening and learning, then helping and only leading as the fourth step in the process.
 2. The elected leader has multiple roles of descending importance and they are often the opposite in importance from the traditional pattern of the welfare state. In order of power and impact they are:
 - A. Visionary definer, agenda setter and value articulator for the community. The leader in the "bully pulpit" of Theodore Roosevelt's phrase.

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- B. Symbol of community power and standing. Going to key events sends the signal of status and legitimacy. Use your office to honor, empower and strengthen those who are doing what you believe is important.
- C. Recruiter of talent and energy and gatherer of community resources to achieve goals you believe in.
3. Administrator and manager of government. Note that in the welfare state managing the government has crowded out the three most important roles of community leadership. Remember that the urgent drives out the important. Leadership is forcing the important ahead of the urgent. The best book to help you learn to distinguish between the important and the urgent and to teach you to delegate the less important so you can focus on the more important is Peter Drucker's The Effective Executive. You should buy a copy read it, apply it and reread it every five years.
4. The Jeffersonian model of a free society is the key to understanding why leaders must focus first on leading the community and last on managing the government. In a free society the vast bulk of the energy and resources are outside the government. Focusing on managing the bureaucracy actually limits the leader and reduces his or her resources. The Jeffersonian model deliberately limits government so the other aspects of a free society can flourish. Jefferson understood that a deliberately limited but effective government could sustain and encourage freedom and prosperity but a large, pervasive government would inevitably crowd out the very elements that are vital to a free people. Gordon Woods, a leading intellectual historian of the American Revolution and the Founding Fathers helped me understand this very sophisticated Jeffersonian model of freedom which is the basis of the country Alexis De Tocqueville described in Democracy in America. The Jeffersonian model has four components and if any one crowds out or squeezes down the others the entire process of freedom, prosperity and safety suffers.

1. American civilization and culture. The habits and practices of a free society.

2. Civic responsibility, personal strength, doing your duty to society.

3. Free markets, private property, the rule of law, incentives, the pursuit of happiness, and entrepreneurship.

4. Limited but effective government.

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The leader's job is to draw upon each of the four sectors as appropriate and to weave them together into a synergistic whole. Only by seeing yourself as the leader of all four components can you truly draw on all the resources and strengths of a free society. By overemphasizing the role of government the Great Society experiment undermined the other three. Sometimes conservatives so ignore the role of limited effective government that they weaken the potential synergism. Economic conservatives often overstate the importance of section three while social conservatives prefer to focus on one and two.

5. Listen to your community. You have in your community people and institutions in all four sectors who are busy inventing the tools of the third wave information revolution, learning to compete in the world market and seeking to replace the failed welfare state with more effective approaches. Listen to them and learn from them. Offer to help them in each of your four roles as community leader. Then recruit them to help you lead by helping you develop the vision, strategies, projects and tactics you need to transform your community from the welfare state into an opportunity society for all your citizens.
- V. The five building blocks of American civilization
1. Personal Strength. Without personal strength it is impossible to maintain a free society. Every policy should be examined to see if it increases personal responsibility, productivity, safety and self reliance or if it undermines them.
 2. Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise. The application of personal strength to the pursuit of happiness by fostering a spirit of "can do" enthusiasm and determination to get the job done. Often used for economic enterprise but vital to getting things done in any aspect of life.
 3. The spirit of invention and discovery. The zest for new ideas, new inventions and new learning which made Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Edison, the Wright Brothers, Henry Ford and in our times Bill Gates, Steven Spielberg and Jack Homer are great examples of the spirit of learning, inventing and discovering.
 4. The system and culture of quality and profound knowledge as developed by Edwards Deming. Deming's systematization of a culture of productivity and teamwork provides a framework for extraordinary breakthroughs in productivity by virtually any system in virtually any endeavor. Popularized first in Japan it is in fact based in the classic American virtues of the period 1910-1940 (hard work, integrity, commitment to achievement, etc...) Joseph Juran and Phil Crosby are important contributors to this movement emphasizing somewhat different approaches than Deming.

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5. The lessons of American history. America has integrated, empowered and liberated to pursue happiness more people from more ethnic, religious, racial and cultural backgrounds than any other civilization in history. Yet America's elites persist in seeking answers in European socialism, academic theories, or any other source which avoids the habits and practices of America. For over three hundred years America has been successful in creating unique opportunities for people. As a general principle it is useful to begin seeking a solution or thinking through a problem by asking how other Americans in other eras have solved similar problems or met similar challenges.

VI. Further steps toward Renewing American Civilization

Since this is clearly a very brief introduction to an extraordinarily complex topic you might find it useful to look at some of the steps that are being taken to develop these ideas further:

1. **Renewing American Civilization.** A twenty hour course taught each Winter Quarter at Reinhardt College in Waleska, Georgia. The current course is available on videotape every Wednesday from 1 to 3 PM Eastern time on National Empowerment Television (a new satellite-cable channel). The audio and videotape versions are also available by calling 1-800-TO-RENEW. A new version will be taught in January, 1995.
2. **The Progress Report.** A television call in show hosted by Newt Gingrich and Heather Higgins and produced by the Progress and Freedom Foundation. It is on from 10 to 11 PM every Tuesday evening and focuses on new ideas, new inventions and breakthroughs that make progress possible.
3. **Cyberspace and the American Dream,** a two day conference in Atlanta, Georgia on August 23-24, 1994 organized by the Progress and Freedom Foundation (202-484-2312). Dedicated to the concept that "information super highway" is an obsolete industrial era second wave concept and that in fact cyberspace is going to prove to be remarkably inexpensive, decentralized, democratic, entrepreneurial and open to everyone.
4. **September 27, 1994** – the House Republican candidates will gather on the Capitol Steps in Washington to outline a checklist for reform to be implemented on the opening day and a contract with the American people to introduce ten key bills and bring them to a final passage vote in the first 100 days of the new Congress. The goal is to communicate a new team with new solutions working to develop the transformation

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from the second wave industrial welfare state toward a competitive third wave information age opportunity society.

5. October 4, 1994 a similar capitol steps event is proposed for Republicans at the state capitols to indicate a similar commitment to new solutions and new teamwork.
6. October 11, 1994 a similar event is encouraged at the city, county, school board level.
7. GOPAC (202-48-2282) a Republican campaign organization that develops training tapes, seminars and conference calls dedicated to sharing the new solutions, new proposals and new lessons that will help transform the welfare state into an opportunity society.
8. The Congressional Institute (202-547-4600) a nonprofit foundation open to all citizens who want to help develop the process of self government in the third wave information age. Every state and local community should consider developing a similar nonprofit (and therefore much more independent, innovative, inexpensive and flexible than a government system would be) institution to work with entrepreneurial activists and inventors to develop the experiments from which will grow the self government and citizen involvement of the future. Jerry Climer, the head of the Institute would be glad to share his experiences and insights with both Democratic and Republican legislators.
9. American Civilization a new monthly newspaper that will be reporting on the inventions, ideas, solutions and experiments that will help America make the transition to a third wave information age country capable of competing successfully in the world market and with an opportunity society that offers every citizen full participation in the pursuit of happiness and the responsibility of citizenship. Frank Gregorsky the editor is looking for both readers and good success stories, you can reach him by phone (202-484-2312), fax (202-484-9326) or e-mail (PFF@AOL.COM).

VII. Zones of invention and creativity

1. Health
2. Jobs
3. Public Safety
4. Learning

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5. The culture and system of poverty
6. The patterns of government and bureaucracy
7. Litigation
8. Bureaucracy, regulations and the spirit of speed limits
9. Taxation in the world market in the third wave information age

VIII. Last Thoughts

"Our generation has a rendezvous with destiny. " When President Franklin Delano Roosevelt said those words America was on the verge of World War II and our continued freedom required defeating Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Imperial Japan. Our parents and grandparents rose to the challenge.

After World War II our destiny required us to contain the Soviet Empire for 45 years until it collapsed. We rose to the challenge.

Today our destiny is to be found here at home. We cannot afford another generation of decay, violence and despair. Our generation MUST replace the welfare state with an opportunity society if American civilization is to be renewed and the American dream restored.

No one truly knows how to complete the transformation from an industrial second wave society to an information age third wave society. No one truly knows exactly what we have to do to be the most productive and most competitive country in the world. No one has yet invented a new model of self government that re-establishes public accountability and public faith in elected officials and the governmental instruments necessary to a free society.

We are all in this quest together. This is our generations's rendezvous. We need your involvement and help. Together we can give our children and grandchildren the freedom, safety and prosperity we want for them. Together we can create the renewal of America which will allow us to lead the human race to the rule of law, private property, self government and safety.

On the one hand are the barbarism, violence and brutality of Bosnia, Rwanda, Haiti and all too many of our own streets and neighborhoods. On the other hand there is the decency, safety and opportunity to pursue happiness inherent in the Founding Fathers' dream of America.

We will decide by our commitments, our courage, and our creativity which path our children and grandchildren (and their country) are on.

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**House GOP Freshman Orientation:
Leadership for America's 21st Century**
by Newt Gingrich – Nov, 30, 1994

The world is in a period of transition of historic proportions. Across the planet middle class voters are shaking governments with their outspoken discontent and unhappiness. Voter dissatisfaction is translating into political unpopularity and then political dissatisfaction is translating into defeat and even collapse of governments. From the fall of the Soviet Empire to the replacement of the Italian postwar political system, the annihilation of the French Socialists, the virtual elimination of the Canadian governing party (which fell from 153 to two seats in the 1993 election), to the replacement of the LDP as the governing party of Japan after a 38 year monopoly of power, again and again the working middle class is displaying its anger and dissatisfaction by punishing governments.

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The challenge to political leaders is to find solutions that actually give voters some hope that their lives will improve. Promises based on inadequate or wrong analysis are not solutions. They are merely campaign slogans bound to fail and thus increase cynicism and alienation.

The failure of politicians in America and across the planet has not been a failure of money or courage. It has been an intellectual failure of a postwar political system that is now obsolete and incapable of regenerating itself.

The current failure of governments is not inevitable and need not be long lasting. The voters do not need to adjust to malaise, or become dramatically more patient, or lower their standards and expectations (all pleas from political elites who have failed and would like to lower the curve for measuring the success of government, asking the voters to behave like the SAT board and pretend that incompetence and non-performance should be scored higher because "times have changed").

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New leadership must build a new team around new assumptions built on a new framework that is designed to replace rather than reform the welfare state. This new framework must take into account the objective realities of the information revolution (Toffler's third wave of change), the emerging world market, and the basic lessons of American civilization that have worked for over three hundred years and need to be restudied and reapplied to the emerging new global economic and technological realities.

This new intellectual framework has been emerging over the last quarter century in widely scattered efforts at explaining the modern world. Peter Drucker's The Age of Discontinuities (1969), Kenneth Boulding's The Meaning of the Twentieth Century (1964), and Alvin and Heidi Toffler's Future Shock (1970), The Third Wave (1980), and War and Anti-War (1993), George Gilder's Microcosm (1989), Edwards Deming's Out of the Crisis (1982), have all outlined the scale of change we are living through. No one who reads these works could believe the entire technological and economic framework of our lives can change while somehow the structure of government can remain the same.

Our job as leaders is to understand this new third wave, information revolution and the need to compete within a pervasive global market and develop a replacement for the welfare state. By combining technological potential and economic realities with the classic strengths of American civilization it is possible to develop a new model of a successful America that will be dramatically more prosperous, more powerful and more desirable.

There is every reason to believe Americans could live safely in the healthiest, most prosperous society on the planet with the highest quality of life, the best standard of living and the greatest range of choices. There is every reason to believe that the next generation could have a greater opportunity to pursue happiness than any generation in American history.

The economic opportunity and technological opportunity will be available if we can stop obsolete political elites and an obsolete welfare state from blocking the future and protecting the past.

This paper is an initial introduction to the ideas necessary to replace the welfare state with an opportunity society. It is designed for elected officials and would-be elected

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officials as an introduction to leadership in an age of extraordinary change.

The changes that are coming are so great that no one has the answers. That includes this paper. Consider this a work in progress open for critique and improvement. And feel free to send me your ideas and yours suggestions.

This challenge is so great that only a team effort can bring about the transformation that is needed. It is to that teamwork and the rewards of that transformation that this paper is dedicated.

- I. An analysis, planning, decision and implementation model
 - Vision
 - Strategies
 - Projects (a definable, delegatable, achievement)
 - Tactics (daily behavior)
- II. The five great truths of our generation
 1. The information revolution is so powerful it is the third great wave of change in human history. Only the rise of agriculture and the rise of industry are comparable. Alvin Toffler's The Third Wave describes the pervasive ways in which every aspect of life will be transformed by this revolution. We must rethink society and government within the challenge of this enormous change.
 2. The world market is real and will shape our lives. Our children will compete with workers in other countries the way our parents competed with workers in other American states. South China will set the price of labor for the next two generations. If we want our children to have the highest standard of living with the highest take home pay and the greatest range of options we will have to be very market oriented, very entrepreneurial and very focused on the requirements of competition. This will require rethinking litigation, regulation, taxation, education and the delivery systems and bureaucracies of government to reshape each so it contributes to rather than undermines our ability to compete in the world market.
 3. The welfare state has failed. 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 receiving diplomas they cannot read. All of these things are happening in America today and American civilization is decaying. The Great Society experiment in replacing families with social workers, the work ethic with government payments, the neighborhood with a public housing bureaucrat and police with social workers has simply failed.

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We must replace the welfare state with an opportunity society dedicated to rebuilding personal strength, the family structure, the fabric of community and the energetic pursuit of happiness which is at the core of American civilization.

4. The combination of the transformation of the third wave information revolution, the economic pressures of the emerging world market, the failures and dangers of the collapsing welfare state, and the bankruptcy of the political-intellectual elite of the old order have led to a level of citizen alienation that may be deeper than anything America has seen since the American Revolution. From term limits to ratings of Congress to virtually universal cynicism and contempt for both the process of self government and for the people who participate in it, the simple fact is that Americans feel alienated, unrepresented and in many ways betrayed by those to whom they have loaned power. Inventing the third wave information revolution self government system that rebounds the voter to those who are entrusted with public office may be one of the most important and most difficult challenges of our time.
5. We must find a new path to replace the welfare state with an opportunity society and to replace a centralized government approach with a dramatically, even radically decentralized approach that relies on each citizen and each community to provide leadership and creativity. This requires a degree of devolving power out of Washington that virtually no one has thought through at this point. Furthermore this devolution of power cannot just be to shift responsibility and resources between Washington and the state capitals. It is not enough just to return power to state and local governments. We must think through the process of returning power to local citizens, local voluntary associations, private businesses and only then to the local, state and finally federal governments.

America is now facing a series of changes so profound that only an aroused informed citizenry will be able to think through, decide and implement enough changes on a large enough scale and with enough understanding of local conditions and local realities.

It is impossible for a small group of politicians or bureaucrats to understand a country this vast and a people so diverse and numerous. Only a boldly decentralized system will be able to work through the many changes that the third wave information age and the world market will make necessary in the next few years.

Yet a decentralized system that relies on citizen leadership and on voluntary activities actually requires a more thorough approach to developing principles, tools, habits, and values. A decentralized system has to have some core beliefs and core principles which are widely understood and agreed to if it is to be effective.

Decentralization only works if people have a clear sense of their

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general direction and the principles, values, framework and habits which will mark that direction. In a very real sense, freedom actually requires more learning and more knowledge than slavery. As a slave, you simply do what you are told. As a free person, you must have some core framework of thought which enables you to function effectively in a free society.

While a core set of ideas is important for a free person, the concept of a core set of ideas is even more important for a free nation. Defining the rules of the game. Outlining what it means to be an American. Creating a framework of expectations so people will know what their civilization expects of them and what rewards they will get if they meet the expectations (what Yankelovich called a giving and getting contract). Each of these core concepts has to be outlined and clearly understood if America is to work as a society.

Precisely because we want our central government to be limited in its powers and authority and we want our bureaucrats to stay out of our lives and usually out of the life of our neighborhood, it is vital that we bind ourselves by intellectual principles rather than governmental rules.

- III. Vision: A prosperous safe America in which every American has a sense of personal strength and unlimited opportunity and in which the pursuit of happiness has led the American people to create an American nation economically, militarily and morally able to help the entire human race achieve self government, safety and prosperity. An America in which the combination of the opportunities created by the third wave information revolution and the changes required to be the most productive, competitive nation in the world market has created an opportunity society with the best health, the best learning, the greatest safety, the highest standard of living, the best quality of life and an empowerment of citizens which has led to the greatest range of personal, family, community and business opportunities in the world.

IV. Leadership for America's 21st century

1. Listen-Learn-Help-Lead is the four step process necessary for leadership in a third wave, information revolution America. There will be no singular leaders directing from above. The leader-team will be the key model and leaders will always begin by listening and learning, then helping and only leading as the fourth step in the process.
2. The elected leader has multiple roles of descending importance and they are often the opposite in importance from the traditional pattern of the welfare state. In order of power and impact they are:

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- A. Visionary definer, agenda setter and value articulator for the community. The leader in the "bully pulpit" of Theodore Roosevelt's phrase.
 - B. Symbol of community power and standing. Going to key events sends the signal of status and legitimacy. Use your office to honor, empower and strengthen those who are doing what you believe is important.
 - C. Recruiter of talent and gatherer of community resources to achieve goals you believe in.
 - D. Administrator and manager of government. Note that in the welfare state managing the government has crowded out the three most important roles of community leadership. Remember that the urgent drives out the important. Leadership is forcing the important ahead of the urgent. The best book to help you learn to distinguish between the important and the urgent and to teach you to delegate the less important so you can focus on the more important is Peter Drucker's The Effective Executive. You should buy a copy read it, apply it and reread it every five years.
3. The Jeffersonian model of a free society is the key to understanding why leaders must focus first on leading the community and last on managing the government. In a free society the vast bulk of the energy and resources are outside the government. Focusing on managing the bureaucracy actually limits the leader and reduces his or her resources. The Jeffersonian model deliberately limits government so the other aspects of a free society can flourish. Jefferson understood that a deliberately limited but effective government could sustain and encourage freedom and prosperity but a large, pervasive government would inevitably crowd out the very elements that are vital to a free people. Gordon Woods, a leading intellectual historian of the American Revolution and the Founding Fathers helped me understand this very sophisticated Jeffersonian model of freedom which is the basis of the country Alexis De Tocqueville described in Democracy in America. The Jeffersonian model has four components and if any one crowds out or squeezes down the others the entire process of freedom, prosperity and safety suffers.

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1. American civilization and culture. The habits and practices of a free society.	3. Free markets, private property, the rule of law incentives, the pursuit of happiness, and entrepreneurship.
2. Civic responsibility, personal strength, doing your duty to society.	4. Limited but effective government.

The leader's job is to draw upon each of the four sectors as appropriate and to weave them together into a synergistic whole. Only by seeing yourself as the leader of all four components can you truly draw on all the resources and strengths of a free society. By overemphasizing the role of government the Great Society experiment undermined the other three. Sometimes conservatives so ignore the role of limited effective government that they weaken the potential synergism. Economic conservatives often overstate the importance of section three while social conservatives prefer to focus on one and two.

4. Listen to your community. You have in your community people and institutions in all four sectors who are busy inventing the tools of the third wave information revolution, learning to compete in the world market and seeking to replace the failed welfare state with more effective approaches. Listen to them and learn from them. Offer to help them in each of your four roles as community leader. Then recruit them to help you lead by helping you develop the vision, strategies, projects and tactics you need to transform your community from the welfare state into an opportunity society for all your citizens.

V. The five building blocks of American civilization

1. Personal Strength. Without personal strength it is impossible to maintain a free society. Every policy should be examined to see if it increases personal responsibility, productivity, safety and self reliance or if it undermines them.
2. Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise. The application of personal strength to the pursuit of happiness by fostering a spirit of "can do" enthusiasm and determination to get the job done. Often used for economic enterprise but vital to getting things done in any aspect of life.

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3. The spirit of invention and/discovery. The zest for new ideas, new inventions and new learning which made Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Edison, the Wright Brothers, Henry Ford and in our times Bill Gates, Steven Spielberg and Jack Horner are great examples of the spirit of learning, inventing and discovering.
 4. The system and culture of quality and profound knowledge as developed by Edwards Deming. Deming's systematization of a culture of productivity and teamwork provides a framework for extraordinary breakthroughs in productivity by virtually any system in virtually any endeavor. Popularized first in Japan it is in fact based in the classic American virtues of the period 1910-1940 (hard work, integrity, commitment to achievement, etc...) Joseph Juran and Phil Cosby are important contributors to this movement emphasizing somewhat different approaches than Deming.
 5. The lessons of American history. America has integrated, empowered and liberated to pursue happiness more people from more ethnic, religious, racial and cultural backgrounds than any other civilization in history. Yet America's elites persist in seeking answers in European socialism, academic theories, or any other source which avoids the habits and practices of America. For over three hundred years America has been successful in creating unique opportunities for people. As a general principle it is useful to begin seeking a solution or thinking through a problem by asking how other Americans in other eras have solved similar problems or met similar challenges.
- VI. Further steps toward Renewing American Civilization
- Since this is clearly a very brief introduction to an extraordinarily complex topic you might find it useful to look at some of the steps that are being taken to develop these ideas further:
1. Renewing American Civilization. A twenty hour course taught each Winter Quarter at Reinhardt College in Waleska, Georgia. The current course is available on videotape every Wednesday from 1 to 3 PM Eastern time on National Empowerment Television (a new satellite-cable channel). The audio and videotape versions are also available by calling 1-800-TO-RENEW. A new version will be taught in January, 1995 and will be available in Washington. Congressman Pete Hoekstra (teaches the course at Hope College in Michigan)
 2. The Progress Report. A television call in show hosted by Newt Gingrich and Heather Higgins and produced by the Progress and Freedom Foundation. It is on from 10 to 11 PM every Tuesday evening and focuses on new ideas, new inventions and breakthroughs that make progress possible.

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3. GOPAC (202-484-2282) a Republican campaign organization that develops training tapes, seminars and conference calls dedicated to sharing the new solutions, new proposals and new lessons that will help transform the welfare state into an opportunity society.
 4. The Congressional Institute (202-547-4600) a nonprofit foundation open to all citizens who want to help develop the process of self government in the third wave information age. Every state and local community should consider developing a similar nonprofit (and therefore much more independent, innovative, inexpensive and flexible than a government system would be) institution to work with entrepreneurial activists and inventors to develop the experiments from which will grow the self government and citizen involvement of the future. Jerry Climer, the head of the Institute would be glad to share his experiences and insights with both Democratic and Republican legislators.
 5. American Civilization a new monthly newspaper that will be reporting on the inventions, ideas, solutions and experiments that will help America make the transition to a third wave information age country capable of competing successfully in the world market and with an opportunity society that offers every citizen full participation in the pursuit of happiness and the responsibility of citizenship. Frank Gregorsky the editor is looking for both readers and good success stories, you can reach him by phone (202-484-2312), fax (202-484-9326) or e-mail (PFF@AOL.COM).
 6. The Progress and Freedom Foundation
 7. Empower America
 8. The Heritage Foundation
 9. Project for the Republican Future
 10. Americans for Tax Reform
- VII. Zones of invention and creativity
1. Health
 2. Jobs
 3. Public Safety
 4. Learning
 5. The culture and system of poverty and violence
 6. The patterns of government and bureaucracy

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7. Litigation
8. Bureaucracy, regulations and the spirit of speed limits
9. Taxation in the world market in the third wave information age

VIII. Last Thoughts

"Our generation has a rendezvous with destiny. " When President Franklin Delano Roosevelt said those words America was on the verge of World War II and our continued freedom required defeating Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Imperial Japan. Our parents and grandparents rose to the challenge.

After World War II our destiny required us to contain the Soviet Empire for 45 years until it collapsed. We rose to the challenge.

Today our destiny is to be found here at home. We cannot afford another generation of decay, violence and despair. Our generation MUST replace the welfare state with an opportunity society if American civilization is to be renewed and the American dream restored.

No one truly knows how to complete the transformation from an industrial second wave society to an information age third wave society. No one truly knows exactly what we have to do to be the most productive and most competitive country in the world. No one has yet invented a new model of self government that re-establishes public accountability and public faith in elected officials and the governmental instruments necessary to a free society.

We are all in this quest together. This is our generations's rendezvous. We need your involvement and help. Together we can give our children and grandchildren the freedom, safety and prosperity we want for them. Together we can create the renewal of America which will allow us to lead the human race to the rule of law, private property, self government and safety.

On the one hand are the barbarism, violence and brutality of Bosnia, Rwanda, Haiti and all too many of our own streets and neighborhoods. On the other hand there is the decency, safety and opportunity to pursue happiness inherent in the Founding Fathers' dream of America.

We will decide by our commitments, our courage, and our creativity which path our children and grandchildren (and their country) are on.

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EXHIBIT 99

Hoekstra
0259

MEMORANDUM

Office of Congressman Pete Hoekstra

DATE: June 9, 1993
TO: Newt Gingrich
FROM: Pete Hoekstra
SUBJECT: Comments on "Renewing American Society"

Outlined below is a summary of thoughts and recommendations on the material you asked me to review. I had my staff and some former colleagues from Herman Miller review the material as well. Page two has an illustration, and there is additional background material in the accompanying notebook.

Summary:

All agreed with the content of the material as far as it went. It is a good description of an alternative relationship between the individual and government. However, it generated more questions than it answered. i.e.:

- * did we skip some initial stages of developing a mission statement? If a majority congressional GOP is part of the goal, have we targeted key groups and analyzed their views.
- * how do we connect these ideas to a concrete and clearly understood political party platform or legislative agenda/strategy? There is still a big gap between vision and more mundane strategy and tactics a political party can implement.
- * the content needs to be shortened, simplified and better packaged to average Americans and key target groups.
- * credible GOP messengers for American renewal do not spring to mind easily -- message and messenger are both important.

Next Steps:

I'd recommend that the following steps be taken to make this a working document around which most if not all House Republican incumbents and candidates can unite:

- * establish a House GOP working group with leadership membership/access/priority to:
 - * define more concretely key components of a New American Civilization
 - * identify legislative elements of package, especially **positive elements**
 - * do a situational analysis to test the content
 - * write a Mission/Vision statement
 - * identify key message priorities and outline strategic directions and objectives
 - * identify a clear grassroots strategy (do we piggyback others, or create our own network) **aimed at our target groups**
 - * create an implementation structure with **accountability**

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Example/Illustration:

This is just one scenario of what might occur:

Target: Perot voters, Bush '88 voters who were not Bush '92 voters, and groups who traditionally vote GOP at the presidential level and Democrat at the congressional level.

Finding: Old and new research identifies government reform, prosperity and employment security, patriotism, and reward for individual initiative as the key values held in common by the target groups.

Revised Mission Statement: The United States will be the standard bearer of democracy for the world. We will create a new era of opportunity and prosperity for all Americans. This new era of opportunity will be one where individuals will have more responsibility and accountability for their lives.

Strategic Decisions: (i.e., we have plans to)

- * foster democracy throughout the world
- * minimize government intrusion into the economic lives of our citizens while still promoting growth with equity
- * provide for the safety of our citizens
- * perform limited, legitimate government functions at the most local level and with the most efficient means (emphasizing federalism and market solutions)
- * recognize and support the value of the family (not merely "family values") as the cornerstone of our society and the key to a rewarding American society.

Objectives: (our goals for public policy are)

- * limit taxes at all levels to no more than ____ % of GDP
- * balance federal budget by
- * increase per capita income by ____ % per year
- * create ____ new jobs in the private sector annually
- * reduce the crime rate by ____ % over the next X years.
- * promote representative democracy and market economies in key world regions

Implementation:

- * We have legislative initiatives to fulfill all our objectives
- * We have a marketing plan to get our message heard X times by 90+ percent of the targeted groups by November 1994.
- * We have developed and scheduled periodic evaluation criteria to measure our success and make mid-course corrections when necessary

Newt, along with this memo is a larger book my staff compiled which has additional background information I consider helpful. If you have time, I recommend you read it.

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EXHIBIT 100Hoekstra
0140a

June 3, 1993

TO: Pete
 FROM: Doug
 SUBJECT: Newt's Vision for Renewing American Society

The summary of my reaction to Newt's material is this:

I don't disagree with anything written. It is, in fact, a good if conceptual description of an opportunity society, and a reasonable delineation of the steps necessary to create a grass roots movement for renewal. I have, however, five basic reactions/concerns listed below which are detailed in the memo:

- maybe we have bypassed the initial stages in the development of the vision of defining our market/audience and finding out what they like and don't like about parties and the GOP.
- the vision of society is accurate, but not vivid.
- some language and terms are offensive to target groups
- its hard to see how the vision connects to a concrete party platform or legislative strategy
- it is hard to see a credible messenger for renewal among the typical Republican "suspects"

My summary of the material's contents is:

Opportunity Society has these elements

- safety
- health
- lifetime learning/training
- saving and investment in self and other productive assets
- market-based environmental health and safety laws
- reinvention of other government functions
- local empowerment zones, communities
- conform laws, especially federal, to reward family

Five pillars/principles of freedom and progress

- personal strength
- quality/profound knowledge
- technological progress
- entrepreneurial private and public sectors
- conform to basic American principles

The message cannot be simply negative -- to merely be anti-welfare is the trap we need to get out of.

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Thirteen things to do:

1. create a clear vision
2. communicate in everyday language
3. address stratified media markets
4. recruit public officials to the vision
5. recruit grassroots organizations
6. educate candidates and activists
7. educate the news media
8. educate and recruit business leaders
9. educate and recruit teachers at all levels
10. collect and disseminate success stories
11. create a legislative agenda
12. force floor votes on the agenda
13. encourage candidacies run on this agenda

These are my reactions:

Reaction One: Maybe We Have Bypassed The Initial Stages

This is a "top-down" strategic vision already at the implementation stage. Are we already there or is this plan premature? Have we thought long enough about who we are trying to attract to the GOP, and have we listened to their concerns about society, about politics, and about the Republican Party?

My sense is that we have not taken the first two fundamental steps: figured out who we are targeting, and asked them a series of tough but enlightening questions about politics and the Republican Party.

Our target audience, in my view, is those people who should, but do not, vote Republican in congressional elections. For the last election, these are Bush and Perot voters who either voted Democratic for Congress or did not vote. For earlier elections, they are, partly, the so-called "Reagan Democrats." Some of the questions which need to be asked include:

- what do these groups think about the Republican party?
- which of these impressions are most critical to voting in congressional elections?
- which of these critical impressions are negative?
- which of these critical, negative elements are possible to turn around in a short period of time?
- why did Reagan voters not vote for Republican congressional candidates?
- why did Perot and Bush voters not vote for Republican congressional candidates?

Bottom Line: We need to stop caring only about what Republicans think, and care what others think. Until we do that,

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we will merely be learning how to better appeal to people who are already with us, not expanding our base to become a majority.

A lot of the research has already been done and just needs to be assembled into a coherent package. For example, the relatively new Times/Mirror subdivision of the electorate into eleven voter groups is especially helpful. Under this scheme, **Upbeats, Disaffecteds and Followers** are the key groups **Republicans** should attract. All three voted for Reagan in 1984 in significantly larger numbers than for Republican congressional candidates that year or any other year. Basically, the Upbeats are similar to what some would call yuppies, and Disaffecteds and Followers are clearly the groups most attracted to Perot.

Everyone is now doing research on the Perot voters, and it is merely a task of sifting through that information to get the relevant data.

Reaction Two: The vision of society is not concrete or vivid.

There is a lot of very excellent oratory in the material, but what does a renewed American society look like? Where is it? Who lives there? What do they do? What are their names? What age, race, family background do the residents of a renewed America look like?

We need pictures, videos, stories, concrete reality about where there is a renewed America and how previously despairing areas became renewed. Presenting the vision and the path to it in visual and written form is the key; it takes the language out of abstraction and makes it real.

In this process we need to be careful about the demographics and dynamics of the presentation. It cannot reinforce current negative impressions about the Republican party. In some ways, the presentation should directly counter it so that viewers will say "what's that?!?", and be open to reconsidering their often well-founded prejudices about the party.

Reaction Three: Don't use the term "replacing the welfare state".

Like it or not, deny it or not, "getting rid of welfare" has racist connotations. It gets a few "Bubba" votes in the South and blue-collar suburbs, but does nothing to attract:

- yuppie types who agree the government has some obligation to those less fortunate,
- racial or ethnic minorities who probably have family members who at some time needed, or still need, government assistance,
- populists who are socially and militarily conservative, but see a place for social security, pensions, health care, etc.

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The term is also easily attacked by simply quoting the "general welfare" phrase in the preamble to the Constitution. Both that term and the "opportunity society" are a little Social Darwinian -- the fittest survive but damn the rest.

We need some other term which implies fairness, equity and/or compassion, a better vocabulary for what we are attacking: the dependency state, the paternalistic state, the patronizing state, the commanding state.

In the Clinton regime "patronizing" seems most descriptive and appropriate. It gets at both the arrogance of people, and the ambition of plans, in his administration.

Reaction Four: It's hard to see how this connects to a political party strategy.

This is a vision for society, not a legislative or media plan for a political party. A political party is an organization whose goal is to win elections in order to control the levers of government. We need both a broad vision and a plan to win elections. The material from Newt is only the first, albeit very important, part.

Too often, political parties and political movements have bitten off more than they can chew, seeking to reorganize society, renew the people's spirit, or even remake the essential nature of humanity. In fact, socialism in its many forms from the limited welfare-state capitalism of the Democratic party mode to hard-line communism now crumbling everywhere, seeks to do this.

Gingrich's vision, if innocently misinterpreted or malevolently misrepresented, is really vulnerable to that same criticism. See the attached article for a summary of the problem and a possible way to avoid it.

Two Key Next Questions:

There is one key institutional question and one key policy question which are next. The institutional question is: how do the institutions of government need to be changed to create the possibility of a renewed American civilization? The policy question is: which policies can be pushed through that renewed institution to preserve and promote a renewed America?

Institutional Question

The institutional question has the clearest answer, the broadest appeal, and presents the greatest opportunity. Institutional reform can attract a wide range of pro-reform groups, from Common Cause types to social conservatives, and virtually everyone in between. It has special attraction to Perot supporters. Briefly:

Objective: To reopen the processes of government so that average citizens are heard.

Strategies: Decentralization, institutional reform, campaign reform, and increased public input into policy discussions.

Tactics: Introduce legislation reinvigorating federalism, encouraging privatization and deregulation, cleaning up Congress, getting special interests out of campaigns, and providing for advisory or binding referenda and initiatives.

The institutional reform approach also adequately balances the need to make serious reforms in our government without succumbing to the temptation to remake society or reform the soul of the citizenry.

Policy Question

This is the area of more traditional Republican policies: balanced budget, line-item veto, free trade, welfare reform, traditional family values, tough crime laws, etc. The list that Newt has in his materials is fine. All this stuff is important, but it is a well-traveled road.

The important point is, however, that policy issues by themselves tend to divide, not unite, the elements of the necessary Republican majority coalition. As a consequence, they should be de-emphasized and supplemented with institutional questions.

Reaction Five: Who is a credible messenger?

Voters distrust people who have been in electoral office for a long time. They want "doers" and who represent "change." Who does that for the Republican Party? Find that person, and make him/her our spokesperson. Find a great number of those people, and get them to run as Republicans for Congress.

It is a very simple strategy, but no clear person emerges. The freshman Republican class is still not tainted too much by incumbency, but that independence is a perishable commodity which will not last long. There are also a few renegade Republicans that might have the right mix of credibility and independence to send the message: Kemp perhaps, Vin Weber probably not, others in Empower America probably yes, Colin Powell definitely; maybe a few others.

Frankly, however, outside the House freshman Republican class there are few and far between. The best strategy now is push the few we have to the forefront -- keep the old faces out.

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EXHIBIT 101

Hoekstra
0264

Renewing American Civilization (RAC) Working Group

July 23, 1993

H-219

11:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.

Notes

1. Newt's presentation:

A. Renewing American Civilization(RAC) is the basic theme. It elevates discussion above politics onto a higher plane beyond partisanship.

B. RAC begins with replacing the welfare state. Replacement is key -- we are not repairing or improving or even reinventing -- we are in the replacement business.

C. RAC will occur with a constant holding up of what works. When one surveys "what works" in society, one sees five basic elements. Newt terms these 5 basic "pillars" of a successful community, society, or effort:

1. personal strength - discipline, focus, etc.
2. entrepreneurial free enterprise - reliance on markets and individuals
3. spirit of innovation and discovery - optimistic and creative tinkering
4. Quality, as in Deming's Profound knowledge - cooperation, quality,
5. Lessons of history - learning from America's unique experience

D. There is one policy question which must be answered in the affirmative to support a policy: Does it help people become more responsible and more productive so they can be safe and prosperous so they can pursue happiness?

E. Three key policy areas:

- a. save the inner city
- b. health
- c. economic growth & jobs

F. Wrap up: Reflect on the meaning of the above to citizenship and to gov't in general

2. Reactions/Discussion:

A. An alternative to Renewing American Civilization, such as "Renewing America," might be a better contrast to Reinventing Government. Two basic points: 1. It has a closer parallel in language. 2. it is easier to make some key contrasts like: We say America is o.k., it is the gov't that need major change. They say whatever is wrong with America government can fix.

B. "Replacing the welfare state" is a little ambiguous, and might be offensive. First, "state" state is ambiguous, meaning either a condition or a political system. How about including a key adjective, such as "replacing the paternalistic (or patronizing or condescending) welfare state" to clarify our attack is upon the particular shape of the current government response, and not to the idea that "the general welfare" is of no concern to us.

C. Five "pillars." Some, especially 4 and 5, are not immediately clear. Also there is no affirmation of a natural sense of community or sociability; there is no affirmation of tolerance, which seems to be a lasting American value; and there is no mention of a religious or higher value impulse, which also seems widespread. Alternatives or additions?? First, clarify pillar 4 so that the title is clearer. Second, replace pillar five with, perhaps, "diversity within a community of shared values." -- "diversity" addresses tolerance without

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going too far into complete relativity, "community" reinforces the feeling of natural sociability. "shared values" addresses both community and a religious sense without being sectarian.

D. Three key policy areas. Members feel that it is important to address reforming Congress in some way.

Exhibit 101

EXHIBIT 102

AUG-09-93 10:33 FROM: CONG. PETE HOEKSTRA-WASHDC ID: 2022260779

PAGE 9

Gregorsky
0025**Renewing American Civilization (RAC) Working Group**

July 30, 1993

H-236
11:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.**Notes**

1. review group objectives
 - a. restate our objective: Renewing American Civilization by replacing the paternalistic welfare state
 - GOP majority in the House ASAP
 - nationwide GOP majority ASAP
 - b. group definition and objective:
 - definition: "core group" of 4 to 7 persons with energy and commitment to learn and work with material
 - objective: create "echo chamber" for RAC
 - i. develop RAC with an eye toward marketability
 - assess basic themes
 - modify/add "pillars"
 - find and publicize examples of success
 - create decision "tree" or checklist to evaluate current legislation and develop creative new ideas.
 - provide legislative program
 - ii. promote message so that this theme defines many 1994 electoral contests at the congressional level and below, and defines the 1996 national election. Get 20 House members to say this works, and get local editorial support.
 - overall resource inventory
 - NRCC component
 - House GOP leadership component
 - House GOP staff component
 - congressional challenger component
 - media components (GOP-controlled, religious, national, regional, local)
 - connect to RNC, national groups, pres'l candidates
 - local activist component
 - academicians
 - private voluntary organizationa
 - religious leaders
 - PVO - 501c3 component.
2. review group membership - do we have the right group?
3. immediate necessary decisions - must we do anything now?
 - a. ask for new members?
 - b. group size?
 - c. subgroups?
4. the longer term - how are we going to organize over the longer term to accomplish our goals?

Exhibit 102

EXHIBIT 103Hoekstra
0266

September 8, 1993

TO: Pete
FROM: Doug
SUBJECT: Where we stand on the Newt thing

Changed Goal:

The goal of the group has been essentially transformed from one of promoting the Renewing American Civilization class to one of proposing a "political platform" around which House Republican incumbents and candidates can rally.

I think this is a better opportunity for you than the original goal, setting you farther apart from Newt and creating the potential to bring most factions in the party together.

What follows is a summary and elaboration of where I and the other staff-level people think we are now.

The Big Problem:

The paternalistic welfare state has failed to secure its vision of American society through centralized government action. The "bold experiments" of the New Deal and Great Society failed because they violated certain practical truths about human nature and the capacity of government. This is widely accepted in society, yet the Democratic party has refused to acknowledge it.

The Big Opportunity:

Republicans have the opportunity to secure the vision with a better plan of implementation. The better, positive, plan must include more accurate views of human nature, the roles of governments, voluntary organizations and individuals, the effects of modern technology, and what has worked in American history. It must be positive, not merely bashing government but rather showing how a properly limited and directed government fits into a larger social landscape.

The Group's Underlying Perspective:

To expand our party, it is important that Republicans develop, agree on and learn to explain a positive philosophy of government.

At the core of that philosophy is the observation that the paternalistic welfare state has failed, and must be replaced by alternative mechanisms within and outside of government if social objectives are to be achieved.

Fundamental to developing a new philosophy is the idea that traditions in American civilization have proven themselves to be powerful mechanisms for organizing human behavior. There are working principles in the lessons of American history that can be observed, and should be preserved and strengthened.

1-616-
335-9823

Exhibit 103

These working principles distinguish the Republican party and its beliefs from the Democratic party, which remains committed to the welfare state even though these policies are essentially alien to the American experience.

Group Mission Statement:

The initial mission of this informal group is to discuss these premises with various leadership components of the Republican party to better understand (a) whether they represent the basis for general agreement on a statement of Republican principles, (b) what the content of such a statement or principles ought to be, and (c) what form such a statement might take.

Longer Term Objectives:

The longer-term role of the House Republican party is to create a sea change in governing philosophy with House Republicans playing a leading, positive role.

What Is A Measurable Success?

The chief end over which we have some control is election of Republicans to the House. We will know we are successful if 12 to 15 House Republicans, after the 1994 elections, say that what we created helped to get them elected or re-elected to Congress.

Product Lines:

1. core speech and variations of it
2. candidate recruitment materials - video, etc.
3. promotional materials for incumbent use
talking points, references, contact list, video
4. legislative program developed elsewhere (Kasich)
5. input into 1994 party retreat (Cong'l Institute)

Exhibit 103

EXHIBIT 104 934Hoekstra
0147

November 3, 1993

TO: Don Morrissey & Jerry Climer
 FROM: Pete Hoekstra
 SUBJECT: Comments on RAC and Staff Training memos

I thought I would write one memo to the both of you, commenting on the substance of the last Hoekstra Planning Group (HPG) meeting, and responding to your presentations and memos.

I. How I See the Problem.

First, however, I want to lay out how I see the mission after reflecting on what both of you said. At the end of this memo is a model flow chart for a plan to "incorporate" (not "market" or "sell") RAC into the current and future House Republican party. The model is a standard one of Vision, Problem/Opportunity Statement, Resource Inventory and Reality Check, Strategies, Projects and Evaluation.

A few comments on each are appropriate.

1. Vision. Obviously, the ultimate goal is to Renew American Civilization. For the HPG, the vision is a House GOP majority, Speaker Gingrich, and GOP Committee Chairs. Nothing spectacular here.
2. Problem/Opportunity Statement. The Welfare state is failing. We in the group take this for granted, but I doubt if many of my colleagues do. An initial task of the HPG is to show House GOP members and staff that this is true, and that the public believes it is true. This may include a presentation on overall public confidence, people's confidence in government institutions like Congress and the two parties, Bill Bennett's Leading Cultural Indicators, etc. This would be in preparation for Salisbury, and could start almost immediately. My personal view is that the highest potential electoral gains will be in 1994; 1996 may be a little after the crest.
3. Resource Inventory and Reality Check. This step looks at our public image, and the language and words that we use and carry with us. Before we get to an effective strategy, we need to look realistically and even critically at our shortcomings as a party and as individuals. My view is that we are too old, white, male dominated and, consequently, appear both obsolete and intolerant. Public polling data on what voters dislike about us, and perhaps like about Democrats, would be helpful. We need a new name, maybe even something as predictable as New Republicans.
4. Strategies. As the chart indicates, I think we need at least three different strategies -- one for members, one for staff (with a lot of layers for the different layers of staff) and one for candidates. There will be some obvious convergence

Exhibit 104

and overlap, but I think each one must be taken on and, hopefully, a synergy will develop before long.

Candidates. The basic strategic goal for candidates is to get them to use RAC as a theme in their campaigns, if they deem it appropriate.

Staff. The basic strategic objective for staff is to familiarize them with the RAC basics and get them to include that vision in their "outputs" -- press releases, letters, memos to bosses, legislative ideas, etc.

Members. The strategic objective is to get them to use RAC as a theme in their legislative work if it helps them gain reelection or portray a desirable image of the GOP.

5. **Projects.** I will just comment on some projects for the member-focused objective. I like the idea of the work product for Salisbury being an alternative State of the Union. A logical extension would be a videotape presentation of whatever we come up with. A second logical follow on would be to set up task forces on our agenda items -- perhaps paralleling Cabinet agencies -- tapping into our party's experts and using this to reshape our image.
- a. Let's assume that task forces are our main projects. I suggest task forces on (this is suggestive, not exhaustive):
- Workplace Transitions/Job Training
 - Reclaiming the Inner City
 - Health Care
 - Participation in Government
 - Crime
 - Economic Growth
 - Welfare Reform
 - Congressional/Campaign Reform
 - Foreign Affairs/Defense
- b. Each task force should adhere to the following rules:
1. **Leadership combines Expertise and Image** -- i.e., the leaders must know the substance and they also must be articulate and attractive in presenting it. We may get this in the same package a few times, but I doubt it. A delicate but important task is to recruit good image persons to complement the substance persons where necessary. Maybe co-chairs of each task force.
 2. **Focus on Success.** Each task force should identify and publicize a series of stories about what works, where one is being successful in issue areas without federal government control, etc.

Exhibit 104

3. Common Language. Again, each task force needs to same vocabulary, repeating the same words and phrases like Opportunity Society, New Hope, Empowerment, Initiative, Civic Virtue, etc.

4. Legislative implications. Each task force needs to develop one or a series of legislative projects built from the first three points -- leadership, success, and common language.

- c. Support. The key question is where do we get this support. All leadership offices need to get involved, not only Whip and Conference. I think there are underutilized resources at, for example, Research. Research could actually do research on finding success stories and drafting "talking point" on the legislative implications. A major requirement for a leadership office candidate should be his or her commitment to using the resources to further RAC. Study Committee and Wednesday Group might also be potential staff resources; my view is that committee staff will be hardest to get involved.

II. My Comments on Your Presentations/Memos

A. Don Morrissey.

Initial Steps. I think the initial steps are one, getting a small cadre and two, getting members to believe the Problem/Opportunity Statement. I suppose step one is accomplished, but step two is still before us. Your step one is my step three. My views on the rest of the material in the initial steps are covered above.

Testers. It might work to have a few "pilot projects." Get a few members to sign up for full participation in what RAC means, and make a concerted staff (Whip, other leadership, etc.) effort to give them a full RAC package. By that I mean a set of speeches, a few legislative ideas, a district and state media plan, etc. If there are three or four "guinea pigs" who find the stuff works, that would be a major selling point.

Other Comments. My only other comment is that I think the 1994 elections are key, and probably more important in getting a House GOP majority than is 1996. If so, spreading the RAC vision early in 1994 is very important.

B. Jerry Climer.

Staff. I think you discount the ambition of individual staff persons too much. Because they are ambitious themselves,

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many of them will take the initiative to know RAC if they see it as advancing their own careers.

Use Existing Groups. There is a Republican Communications Association, weekly legislative staff briefings, regular A.A. meetings called by the Leader's Office (Bob Okun), etc., at which RAC presentations should be made.

Generic Staff Meeting Outline. Again, not enough spade work on the two points -- that the welfare state is dying, and that people believe it is dying and are ready to abandon it.

Draft Dear Colleague on Salisbury. First, members can opt not to go, and we should do everything to encourage attendance. Second, the five principles of Personal Strength, etc., are, I think, too specific (and I am not sure I agree with them).

Exhibit 104

VISION IMPLEMENTATION PARADIGM

Hoekstra
0151

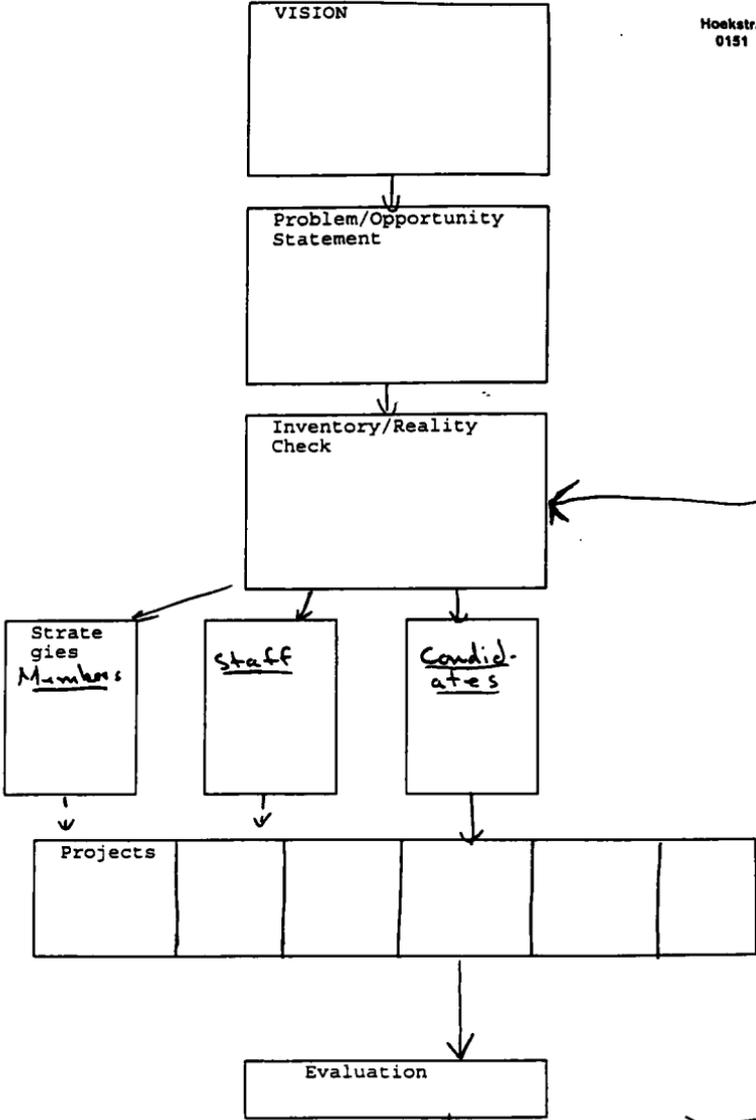


EXHIBIT 105

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jack Howard
Jeff Eisenach
Joe Gaylord
Ed Kutler
Tony Blankley
Rachel Phillips

✓ Steve Hanser
Annette Thompson
Dan Meyer
Martha Morrison
Len Swineheart

FROM: Newt Gingrich

DATE: November 30, 1993

This is something I would like you all to take a look at over the recess. I would like to discuss with you when I return.

WGC 03732

Exhibit 105



The Congressional Institute Inc.

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MEMO TO: Hon. Newt Gingrich ✓
 Hon. Pete Hoekstra

FROM: Jerry Climer *Jerry*

RE: Staff Training

DATE: October 27, 1993

The attached proposal on creating a staff training program is conceived as an integral part of the overall Member effectiveness program within the RAC project.

This proposal would not stand alone and would be difficult, if not impossible, to execute without a stimulus like Salisbury. If Salisbury is not undertaken, an alternative action-forcing mechanism must be invented prior to undertaking staff training.

WGC 03733

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Staff Training Proposal
October 27, 1993

Renewing American Civilization

Since staff members are not independent actors within the congressional culture, any plan to train staff must be designed as a part of a larger proposal to increase the effectiveness of Members. For that reason, this proposal will make constant references to what should be simultaneously occurring with Members and various entities of the Conference. Forthcoming papers on Member training and a Salisbury-conceptual outline will address those points more directly.

For the purposes of this proposal, staff will be viewed in five distinct groups: leadership staff, committee staff, chiefs of staff, legislative staff and media staff. Much of the training envisioned here will need to be tailored specifically for each group. While some integration may occur, it will not be visible in most cases until training for various groups has been initiated.

Staff could be called into a room and lectured about RAC. But, in most cases, this would be of little value. To effectively train staff to THINK and ACT as enthusiastic promoters of RAC, it is critical that they find their own way of applying the fundamental principles for their bosses. Bosses are the principle motivations for staff. While each staff person has his or her own beliefs and goals, as long as they are employed as congressional staff those views are subsumed to fit within the activities of their boss.

Because of these facts, it is imperative that training be constructed as a means of helping each staff group meet the needs of their boss. Therefore, this proposal is predicated on the scheduling of the Salisbury conference. If that meeting were not set, it would be necessary to create something like it to serve as a focusing and action-forcing mechanism.

WGC 03734

October 27, 1993, 1:43 PM

STAFF TRAINING,

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VISION:

To motivate and equip all staff groups to understand the basic principles of RAC so they recognize that the best service for their own Member is by aiding him or her to invent the replacement, not the reform, of the welfare state.

STRATEGY:

Set high challenges for Members thus creating a need for each staff group to learn the principles of RAC to be able to assist their boss(es) in preparing for Salisbury and its goal of producing a book outlining the Republican Vision for America.

OPERATIONS and PROJECTS:

What appears on the surface as a single upcoming project, will in reality be a seamless integration of Members, Committees and staff (thereby encompassing the whole Conference) in the project of learning about RAC and launching the institutional process of taking the vision to the nation. Each staff group will be challenged with different parts of the whole picture and will only later begin to see how their collective effort is united.

Leadership Staff

The most significant Conference staff asset is the Leadership staff. It already has mixed exposure to RAC, and consequently, mixed dedication to its enactment. Leadership staff works hard, has more influence with all other staff groups and more capacity to carry enthusiasm to other Members than any other staff group. They also attend too many meetings and have little time to actually execute projects. But, they are the de facto information highway and thus critical to any project.

One of the first steps to be taken to elicit leadership staff enthusiasm is through the dissemination of the attached letter, signed by all Leaders, to all Members of the Conference. This letter should help the Leadership staff recognize the quantum shift in what will be expected of the Leadership, committees and Members at Salisbury. [This proposal may make more sense if you read Attachment One before proceeding].

Following circulation of the letter, the Leadership staff should participate in a half-day planning conference to design a working outline of the Salisbury retreat and to design the pre-retreat Member planning

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sessions needed to make the retreat a success. Mr. Gingrich must participate in parts of this leadership staff half-day meeting.

Committee Staff

Committee staff constitute the most significant under-utilized asset of the Conference. While not universally true, too many committee staff see their jobs as supplying water and writing pads, finding cute ways to sidetrack the majority and occasionally crafting amendments to minimize the negative, welfare-state effects of the majority's propositions.

The dissemination of the letter of invitation to Members will also notify the committee staff of the pending Salisbury conference. Shortly after the letter is distributed, and following the leadership staff meeting, the committee staff should meet for a two-hour discussion, with Mr. Gingrich, Mr. Hoekstra and key leadership staff. Prior to meeting with committee staff, Mr. Gingrich should outline the Salisbury objectives to Ranking Members and ask each of them to nominate a committee staff participant.

Committee staff should see Salisbury as a means to their eventually obtaining the majority status that will make them dominant in policy making within the House. At the committee staff meeting, staff should be challenged to prepare their Members for Salisbury by preparing proposals that could be offered to solve America's problems based on the five principles of RAC. Ideas that simply reform the welfare state are not acceptable. Truly creative, cross-committee alternatives must be formulated. Committee staff who produce such creative alternatives should be invited to join the post-Salisbury staff working group that will implement RAC.

Periodic follow-up meetings must be conducted with committee staff to review developing proposals. Only those staff personnel developing creative problem-solving alternatives will be invited to attend Salisbury, at the same costs paid by Members.

Chiefs of Staff

WGC 03736

Chiefs of staff are another under-utilized asset of the Conference. They play a very significant role in keeping individual Members and

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Committees focused. Because they are further down the information tree, they frequently do not have the enthusiasm desired by the Leadership when new projects are launched. Too many are necessarily subsumed by internal office processes. Member time allocation, ombudsman activities and traditional political obligations to take the time to learn how a new proposal can actually assist them in solving these very challenges.

There are exceptions to the stereotypical characteristics listed above, but regrettably, the exceptions are too few in number. To energize the majority of chiefs of staff will require a sustained effort that should begin before Salisbury and continue for months following. These people want to be in the majority and want to have the power that would come their way if their bosses controlled the House.

Prior to Salisbury, Mr. Gingrich and Mr. Hoekstra should be scheduled to appear before the AAs to outline their views of how RAC will change the political world. Once Chiefs of staff see how their political environment is changing, whether they like it or not, they will learn how to accommodate that reality. These people are pragmatists more than ideologues.

As to the substance of Salisbury, chiefs of staff also know where their Members have latent ideas that have been shelved for lack of acceptance within the existing welfare-state mentality. They are close to the ground and are usually as aware as Members, if not more so, of local experiments in problem-solving.

Maybe we should offer a prize: Attendance at Salisbury, at their own expense, if they submit the most creative idea for debate at the retreat.

Legislative Staff

Legislative staff constitute the frustrated assets of the Conference. These are idea people; regrettably trained to find ways to reform the welfare state, but capable of helping invent its alternative. They usually read a lot, have more good and bad ideas, and feel frustrated by the committee staffs that do not adopt their suggestions.

A meeting between Mr. Gingrich, Mr. Hoekstra and the legislative staff leaders could ignite their energy to help their Members come to Salisbury prepared to offer new alternatives. Some of their suggestions can

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be debated at Salisbury, others will need more "murder boarding." But, if they are energized, they will continue to supply the RAC project with creative ideas.

Following Salisbury, a RAC Project team of LAs should be created to keep their creative juices flowing. Before and after Salisbury, the LAs need to see themselves as part of a process designed to make them the policy czars of 21st Century America.

Should we offer another prize: Attendance at Salisbury, at their own expense, if they submit the most creative idea for debate at the retreat?

Media Staff

Most of the media staff is fairly narrowly focused on their own bosses local media, as they should be. But, properly energized they can become a Conference asset if they see how their own boss advocating a creative welfare-state replacement idea can advance his or her own local and national exposure and political power.

Media staff possess significant writing talent and many have media contacts beyond their own local haunts. They need to be motivated to take the ideas of RAC and spread them far and wide.

A Gingrich/Hoekstra meeting with media staff should occur prior to Salisbury as a heads-up briefing. At this session, they can be given the background briefing on RAC so that they are prepared to handle media for their own bosses. At the same time we should identify those willing to get involved in the project as educators of the media.

Since media staff are usually involved in the writing of postal patrons and other Member generated communications, they can become advocates. Like the LA team, a RAC media team should be created following Salisbury as part of an overall RAC-staff project similar to the 95 Group.

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STAFF TRAINING,

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GENERIC STAFF MEETING OUTLINE

To be tailored for each staff group

(Salisbury Strategic Planning Meeting)

PURPOSE:

To introduce staff to the ideas of RAC, not through lectures, but by challenging them to participate in the Salisbury planning process on behalf of their Members or Committee's members.

Introduction: (5 minutes)

Convener - Outlines Salisbury Conference noting its unique differences from past Princeton conferences and the challenge of drafting the substance of a book defining the Republican Vision of America.

Gingrich: (15 minutes)

- Welfare state is dying
- We must replace welfare state, not reform it.
- Principles of replacement
- Politics of project

Conclusion: (30 minutes)

Convener - Guides brainstorming session on designing a strategy to produce the alternative ideas that will replace the welfare state. (Before meeting, ringers should be recruited and supplied with suggestions of ideas grand enough to qualify as true replacement alternatives.)

Hoekstra - Action steps and assignments

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MEMBER ACTION

Once this proposal is approved, a precise calendar of activities will be drafted. That calendar will list specific dates for each staff meeting and for all other activities that directly interact with the staff training program.

- _____ Approved
- _____ Approved, as modified
- _____ Hold off, we need more discussion
- _____ STOP, you are way off base.

WGC 03741

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Attachment One

November __, 1993

Dear Colleague:

Following the 1993 Princeton Conference, we spent a great deal of time talking amongst ourselves, and visiting with members of the Conference, on how we could continue to gather the benefits of such issue retreats while avoiding the negative publicity.

Working with the Congressional Institute, we have successfully created a new plan for 1994. This retreat will differ greatly from our past meetings at Princeton, Houston and New York. It will not include lobbyists or the general press and it will be conducted in a very collegiate setting befitting the intellectual activity needed.

Please mark your calendars now:

Salisbury '94
Republican Vision for America
 January 27-29, 1994
 Salisbury State University

Our goal at the Salisbury Conference will be to ^{outline} ~~write~~ a book outlining for America what we propose as a radical replacement, not reform, of the welfare state. This book will not be a traditional "platform." It will be our team vision for our country so that every voter can see exactly how we would have America enter the 21st Century.

This project must have every Member's involvement. It will not be conducted in the normal committee markup process where each and every person comes to the table with a paragraph or two ready to be inserted into the final product. Instead, this will be a highly interactive process where we will debate a variety of specific options for the future.

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With the goal of replacing the welfare state, not reforming it, our discussions will be based on these principles (after debate about their appropriateness):

- Personal Strength
- Entrepreneurial free enterprise
- The Spirit of Invention and Discovery
- Quality as defined by Deming
- Lessons of American history

We will tackle a broad variety of topics from Job Creation, Health, Saving the Inner City to Citizenship for the 21st Century. Obviously, there is need for additional subject areas and we want you to add them to the discussion list long before we leave for Salisbury.

The format of this retreat will be significantly different from past meetings. First, each Member is asked to provide (or pay) for his own transportation to and from Salisbury. Second, each Member is asked to pay for his or her own room and board. at the Congressional Institute's negotiated rate of \$100 for each Member (\$170 for a couple) for the entire conference. In other words, Members will not receive any reportable gift or service from the Institute or the University for this retreat.

Third, and maybe most importantly, we do not anticipate having many outside speakers or lectures during the weekend. While we will have a few focusing and provocative speakers, their duty in all cases will be to stimulate our thinking. The vast majority of our time will be in off-the-record, free-wheeling debate about our nation's future.

Our objective will be to think outside the normal constraints and look for workable solutions regardless of committee jurisdiction or cabinet location. Most importantly, we will constantly look for ways to solve problems using non-governmental forces. We know that when children have children, kids kill kids and high school graduates can't read diplomas, that monkeying-around with AFDC support levels is meaningless.

Let's invent new approaches based on what made this country great in the first place. How can government policies reinforce personal strength, energize the entrepreneurial spirit, reawaken the spirit of invention and discovery, exemplify quality and be consistent with the lessons of American history? These are all Republican values and American values that current governmental policies are stifling.

The challenges are illustrated by health, occupational safety, international trade expansion or what have you. You already have many of the ideas, but to date we have all been constrained to debate all governmental actions within the failing welfare state

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mindset. America will hire us to run the nation not to buy a cheaper and slimmer version of the Democrat worldview, but to enact our own alternative worldview.

The revolutions in thinking in Russia, Italy, France, Japan, Mexico and all around the globe are not fundamental attacks on nationhood or basic beliefs. They are all rejections of a political order that no longer serves those nations, be they communist, socialist, corrupt, conservative and out of touch, or liberal. People world-wide hire new teams that have new ideas for meeting their needs. They don't throw one group out just to hire others to play at the margins.

Every Member must attend this important conference. All committee and subcommittee ranking Members must be there, not to protect old turf, but to be the enlightening resource of factual knowledge we all must share to design workable alternatives. Staff participation will be greatly limited, so again, it is important that Members be present to contribute to debates and to write our Republican Vision of America. Accomplished writers will take our deliberations and decisions and transform them into a book. We will not need to get bogged down in the minutiae of word-smithing.

Those Members who suffered negative media following Princeton can now take credit for helping us and the Congressional Institute redesign our issues conference so that it no longer depends upon lobbyists for financial support. Henry Hyde deserves specific thanks for working with the Institute to create this much improved method of conducting this important conference.

Please fax the attached RSVP this week. The unique facility we have reserved does not work like the Harrison Conference Center at Princeton so we must have firm, long-lead-time reservations.

Sincerely,

 Robert H. Michel

 Dick Armev

 Duncan Hunter

 Bill McCollum

 Newt Gingrich

 Henry Hyde

 Tom DeLay

 Bill Paxon

 Mike Crapo

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STAFF TRAINING,

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FAX, by November 15th, to:

House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich
225-_____ YES, I will be participating in the project to write the Republican Vision for America at the Salisbury conference, January 27-29th. My spouse will also attend.

(I understand the Congressional Institute will send me an invoice for the room and board which must be paid, from campaign or personal funds, prior to January 1st. The cost will be \$100 for me or \$170 for me and my spouse.)

 I (We) will provide our own transportation from our home to Salisbury, Maryland (about 2 1/2 to 3 hours). We may even form a car-pool. I (We) prefer to take the Congressional Institute's bus at an additional cost of \$ ___ per person, round trip. No, I will not be participating in the Salisbury retreat._____
Member Signature_____
Please print Member Name_____
Contact Name_____
Telephone_____
FAX Number

EXHIBIT 106

PFF
8032

How to be a Team Teacher or Site Host



Exhibit 106

Getting Started

Before you begin, it is important to have a basic understanding of what is involved in being a site host, and what you can expect us to do to help. Specifically, your job description is divided into the following five assignments:

Location	Identify an appropriate location for your site;
Participants	Recruit participants and coordinate basic logistics (e.g. making sure that everyone knows where and when to show up);
Registration	Coordinate registration of participants at your site so they all receive the necessary class materials;
Equipment	Procure the necessary equipment (satellite downlink or video cassette player, television set, etc.) to watch the class; and
Running the Class	Serve as "host" and "team-teacher" for the class.

Commitment from Renewing American Civilization

If you are prepared to serve as a site host, you can be assured that we are prepared to:

- ♦ Provide a truly amazing course that will change the way you and your fellow participants think about America's future;
- ♦ Ensure that every course registrant receives a course book, plus a syllabus with ideas for further learning and research;
- ♦ Refer you to people in your area who want to take the class;
- ♦ Answer your questions, help you solve problems and generally provide you with the information you need to be successful;
- ♦ Provide you with ongoing support to make sure you and your participants get the most out of every class.

In all this, please remember one thing: your site is your project. We can provide you with a lot of support – but it will be your energy and commitment that makes your site a success.

Finding a Location

Your goal is to find the most comfortable location possible, capable of seating the largest audience you can realistically attract to your class, with the lowest expenditure of dollars.

Suggested Locations

Colleges: College students, professors and student groups should be able to obtain easy access, at little or no charge, to conference facilities. Again, virtually all have the ability to show video tapes and most now have satellite downlink capabilities. In most cases, you will need to identify a faculty sponsor for your program.

Schools: Virtually all schools have facilities capable of showing video tapes and, with the advent of "Channel 1," many schools have satellite downlink capability. Try contacting the principal, librarian or a social studies teacher.

Businesses: Many businesses have satellite downlinks and/or the ability to show video tapes in their conference room facilities. If you are taking the class as part of an employee development program, you will most likely do so at work. To get your company signed up, talk with your supervisor or your company's personnel department.

Your Home: Ultimately, this may be the most convenient option for you. All you need to do is set a regular time each week to invite your friends over to watch the class on your VCR or, if you have a satellite dish, on Wednesday afternoons.

Chamber of Commerce: Many local chambers have satellite downlinks and most have access to conference room facilities with video tape capability. Remember, Renewing American Civilization is an accredited college-level business class and should be of great interest to local business leaders.

Churches/Synagogues: Churches and synagogues frequently make their facilities available to community groups free of charge, especially if a member is involved with the project. Many have downlink and most have the ability to show video tapes.

Health Care Facilities: Video conferencing is a common practice at health care facilities, which often have lecture halls or large conference rooms designed for this very purpose. Check with the "community liaison" staff at your local community hospital and other health care facilities in your area.

Restaurants: Some restaurants and most sports bars have satellite downlinks, and few are busy on Wednesday afternoons. You might be able to find a manager willing to tune into Renewing American Civilization every Wednesday in return for the guaranteed business.

Hotels/Motels: Many major hotels and motels have satellite downlinks and have the ability to show video tapes in their conference facilities. Unfortunately, most also charge significant fees. Call hotel/motel managers in your area to see if you can find one willing to donate the conference room and equipment if your group will pay for refreshments.

Recruiting Participants

Your first task in recruiting participants is defining your target group. It may be a very specific group, such as your co-workers, or it may be a general group from your local community. Once you have decided, you should devise a plan for marketing the course to the members of that group. We suggest that you use the promotional flyer on page 25 to attract participants. Also, you may want to compile an information packet to distribute to interested individuals. The following are suggestions for common applications of the course:

Colleges

- Ask a faculty member to sponsor the course as a regular college-credit class which allows it to be listed in the course catalog.
- Put up signs or flyers around the campus and student bulletin boards.
- Ask the school newspapers to run an article or announcement about the course.
- Ask your instructors to allow you to make an announcement in class about the course.
- Ask various college groups to help you publicize the course -- possibly to serve as co-hosts with you.

High Schools

- Put up signs and flyers at your school and others nearby.
- Make an announcement at faculty and staff meetings.
- Ask the school board and/or PTA to endorse the course and recommend it for staff training and/or student participation.
- Have it approved for Staff Development credit by local school systems and have it listed in the Staff Development course catalogs of each.
- Put an announcement, ad or article in local education journals and newsletters.

Work

- Put up a notice or flyer on the bulletin board at your workplace.
- Contact your personnel department and ask them to notify employees of the course.
- Put an article or announcement in your company newsletter.
- Make an announcement at meetings and business gatherings.
- Put an announcement, ad or article in the local trade and/or professional journals.
- Solicit others to help get the word out by providing them with information regarding the course and asking them to tell others about it.

Community Group

- Send information about the class to local civic and community groups asking them to distribute flyers and make an announcement or offer to speak at their next meeting.
- Distribute flyers in your local neighborhoods and recruit friends to distribute them in their neighborhoods.
- Put an announcement in your local neighborhood newsletter and ask others to put it in theirs.
- Call your local newspaper to ask them to run an announcement in their community calendar.
- Write a letter to the editor and/or call local radio talk shows to discuss the course.
- Contact the local Chamber of Commerce and local businesses to ask them to help promote the class.
- Distribute flyers at local community events, e.g. community concerts, rallies, sporting games, etc.
- Ask your church and other churches to promote the class to their members and in their local bulletin.

Registration and Materials

Participants can order a course book by calling 1-800-TO-RENEW with a credit card or by mailing a check with the registration form (available from the Renewing American Civilization office). Also, a class list of each participant should be forwarded to the Renewing American Civilization office by completing the Participant Form on page 24. For \$17.95 (\$15.95 for book + \$2.00 for shipping and handling) each participant will receive a copy of the *Readings in Renewing American Civilization*, which includes a copy of the syllabus.

Group Orders

You may want to take charge of ordering books for participants at your site. This means that you should distribute the flyers, collect them, and forward them to us with the checks (made payable to Renewing American Civilization).

Bulk Sales

If your group expects to have more than 20 participants from the same organization, call Pattie Stechschulte at (404) 919-9804 for information on bulk orders and discounts on shipping and handling.

College Book Stores

Your college book stores can order the course books directly from McGraw-Hill, Inc., at (800) 338-3987.

Equipment

Before arranging the equipment, you must decide whether you will air the class by satellite or video-tape.

Satellite

EQUIPMENT NEEDED – C-Band Satellite Dish and Television

- The class is broadcast on the National Empowerment Television network on Wednesday afternoons from 1:00 to 3:00 pm, and on Sunday mornings from 2:00 to 4:00 am. (See box for satellite coordinates.)
- If your site already has facilities for receiving satellite transmissions, the cost is essentially zero.
- If Wednesday afternoons are not ideal for your group, you can tape the broadcast and replay it later.

Satellite Coordinates

<i>National Empowerment Television</i>	
C-Band Satellite:	Galaxy 7
Transponder:	20 Vertical
Audio:	6.2 or 6.8
Downlink Freq.:	4100

Video Tapes

EQUIPMENT NEEDED – Television and VCR

- You can schedule the class at a convenient time because you will not be dependent upon a satellite transmission.
- Video tapes can be turned on and off if the group needs a break, rewind if you want to review a portion, etc.
- The entire 20 hour class is available on 10 2-hour videotapes for \$119.95 by calling 1-800-TO-RENEW.

Running the Class

Hosting

The first rule is that there is no "typical" class. Each site is different. Some sites are very organized, with a lot of structure -- and others will be small groups or families watching the video tapes in their homes more or less each week.

Suggestions for Hosting the Class

- Arrive early to make sure that the satellite transmission is coming in or the VCR is working.
- Welcome the participants a few minutes before the class begins, especially newcomers.
- Provide refreshments to participants including coffee, snacks, etc.
- Make available extra paper and pencils for participants to take notes.
- Distribute weekly handouts that you request from the Renewing American Civilization office.

Team Teacher

You may also want to plan an extra hour or two when the class is over for invite speakers, structured discussion and review of suggested readings for the next class.

Special Invited Guests

In order to help facilitate discussions following each class, you may want to invited special guest speakers who you feel can offer insights into the topic being addressed. As an example, for the Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise class, you may want to invite a successful local entrepreneur; for the Health class, you may invite local health officials, doctors and/or hospital administrators. The following is a list of potential guest speakers you may wish to consider:

- | | |
|--|--|
| • Local business leaders/entrepreneurs | • Journalists |
| • Leaders of civic groups | • Local elected leaders |
| • Student leaders | • Local church leaders |
| • Community leaders | • Scientists, engineers, doctors and other professionals |
| • Professors | |

Discussion Groups

There is no single way to handle the discussion period following the class. You may wish to have a panel discussion or to hold a seminar in which you or someone else leads the discussion. If your group is especially large, you might consider breaking into work groups with a leader for each group.

Discussion Questions

- What important principles were introduced in the lecture?
- What institutions and policies, inside and outside the government, support these principles?
- What policy reforms would reinforce these principles?
- What success stories are you aware of, that exemplify the principles introduced today?
- What projects and strategies might be undertaken to reinforce these principles in America, or more specifically, in your community, school, or place of work?
- What books or articles do you think should be added to the weekly syllabus?

- What part of the lecture did you find most useful? Least useful?
- What should have been added to the lecture?
- What should have been omitted from the lecture?

Readings and Assignments

You may want to spend part of the discussion period reviewing the week's assigned reading material, particularly if you are leading a group which is receiving credit for the course. Students in such classes might be assigned additional readings from the syllabus and be encouraged to introduce those into the class discussion. Having available chapters from books in the syllabus or copies of recommended articles or speeches is also advisable.

MKGA

VISION: To Obtain Site Hosts for Winter 1994 Quarter

PFF
7526

Exhibit 107

PROJECT: To obtain site hosts from conservative organizations

STRATEGIES: Mailing to state and local leaders through lists from National Republican Committee, Christian Coalition, American Association of Christian Schools, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, National Right to Life, Heritage Foundation, Empower America, National Empowerment Television, Free Congress, etc.

TACTICS:

Contact organizations (listed above) to obtain their state and local leaders list.
Develop letter from Newt describing the program and how they, as leaders in their community, can help spread the movement by participating as site host. Also, have the leaders contact RAC office for site host guide and additional information.
Mail letter with brochure.
Respond to requests.
Develop chart to track progress.

PROJECT: To secure site hosts from companies

STRATEGIES: Mailing to company presidents of the Fortune 500 companies, Inc. 500 (up and coming companies), and to other companies that staff members or Newt have personal contacts with.

TACTICS:

Develop list of potential companies and their presidents including list of Fortune 500 companies, Inc. 500 companies, and others.
Write personalized letters to company presidents from Newt explaining how the course can be used as a staff development program. Also, in the letter we would offer to send them an information packet with video and book if they are interested in the course.
Respond to requests.
Develop chart to track progress.

PROJECT: To get cable companies to broadcast course.

STRATEGIES: Mailing to cable companies.

TACTICS:

Obtain a listing of the different cable companies throughout the country (with satellite capabilities).
Develop a letter from Newt to the program directors asking them to consider broadcasting the course via satellite and explaining about the course and how it is already being viewed by other systems across the country.
Send letter with brochure which contains satellite coordinates and class schedule.
Respond to requests.
Develop chart to keep track of progress.

VISION: To Obtain Site Hosts for Winter 1994 Quarter

PFF
7527

Exhibit 107

PROJECT: Have more colleges offer Renewing American Civilization for credit

STRATEGIES:

National Review Mailing

TACTICS:

Buy National Review College Guide.
Contact colleges to discover appropriate contact with title.
Input information into computer.
Construct and send informational packets including first video, book, guides, brochure, and personalized letter from Newt.
Respond to requests from interested colleges.
Send follow-up letter with reply card from the colleges that we haven't heard from.
Develop chart to keep track of progress.

STRATEGIES: General College Mailing

TACTICS:

Buy Peterson's College Guide.
Define specific colleges (which have degree programs in Political Science/Government and American History) and contact them to get the appropriate name and title.
Input information into computer.
Develop and send personalized letter from Newt asking them to contact RAC if they are interested in receiving an information packet which includes first video and book.
Respond to requests from interested colleges.
Develop chart to keep track of progress.

STRATEGIES: College Republicans Mailing

TACTICS:

Contact National College Republican office to obtain names and addresses of all presidents country-wide.
Develop letter to ask college republicans to try to obtain the class for credit on their campus or to become a site host with a sponsor group. Also, ask them to contact RAC office for a site host guide and additional information.
Send letter and brochure to college republican presidents.
Respond to requests from interested groups.
Develop chart to keep track of progress.

STRATEGIES: College Educational Television Cable Mailing

TACTICS:

Obtain listing of college campuses which have a cable system for the students.
Develop letter from Newt to ask program directors to consider broadcasting the course via satellite.
Send letter and brochure to program directors.
Respond to requests from interested colleges.
Develop chart to keep track of progress.

VISION: Number of People Participating in Renewin, erican Civilization for Fall 1993 Quarter

PFF
7528

PROJECT: Determine the number of site hosts

STRATEGIES: Current site hosts

STRATEGIES: Video
Purchasers

TACTICS:

Develop questionnaire which asks if they are inactive/active, when they view the class, how many participate, will they participate in Winter Quarter 1994, etc.

Call current site hosts on list.

Write and send letter to site hosts that are unable to be reached by telephone.

Create report which describes status of site hosts.

TACTICS:

Create postcard questionnaire to be included in the envelope with the video for all the individuals who have purchased the video set. The questionnaire will ask how are they using the videos: alone, with family and friends, with group, etc.

Create report which describes the usage of videos by subscribers.

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EXHIBIT 108**The Progress & Freedom Foundation**Board of Directors

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Chairman
Jeffrey A. Eisenach,
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*The Progress &
Freedom Foundation
is dedicated to
creating a positive
vision of the future
founded in the
historic principles
of the American idea.*

March 28, 1994

PFF
37320

Mr. McDonald Willis
Reinhardt College
Waleska, GA 30183

Dear Mac:

Enclosed is Nancy Desmond's "debrief" memorandum on the Renewing American Civilization project. It presents an excellent overview of where we currently stand, some projects underway, etc.

If you think people would be interested, feel free to send it to the others who will be participating in our April 8 meeting.

Sincerely,



Jeffrey A. Eisenach

c: John McDowell, Pattie Stechschulte

Enclosure

Exhibit 108

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION DEBRIEF MEMO

DATE: March 23, 1994
 PREPARED BY: Nancy Desmond

I. PRODUCTION

A. REINHARDT CLASS

Ten classes were conducted and taped at the McCamish Broadcast Center, in keeping with the following schedule:

Saturday, January 8 (9:30 A.M.)	Introduction
Saturday, January 15 (9:30 A.M.)	Personal Strength
Saturday, January 22 (9:30 A.M.)	Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise
Saturday, January 29 (5:00 P.M.)	Spirit of Invention & Discovery
Saturday, February 5 (9:30 A.M.)	Quality & Deming's Profound Knowledge
Saturday, February 12 (9:30 A.M.)	Lessons of American History
Wednesday, February 16 (4:30 P.M.)	Jobs and Economic Growth
Saturday, February 19 (9:30 A.M.)	Health and Wellness
Saturday, February 26 (9:30 A.M.)	Saving the Inner City
Saturday, March 5 (9:30 A.M.)	Citizenship for the 21st Century

B. PRODUCTION STAFF

The McCamish Broadcast Center, under the direction of Bob Head, provided the broadcast facilities, along with three camera personnel, a font operator, and a make-up person. In addition, the McCamish Center has each week provided a master tape of the class to VTA for use in duplication, as well as a reel-to-reel audio tape to Lion Recording for use in producing audio dupes.

Video Tape Associates provided pre-production services involving editing of video inserts and of the open and the close, as well as providing video duplication services. Video Tape Associates has also provided a Director (Jim Schoonmaker) and a Technical Coordinator (Irv Laskoe).

A freelance Producer (Jeff Ebner) was also utilized during production and pre-production of the class.

C. PRE-PRODUCTION COMPONENTS

The Open and Close for the 1994 class are the property of Newt Gingrich. The Lee Greenwood Video Close used in 1993 was licensed for a total of 7500 videos and, therefore, is available for additional usage, depending upon the number of 1993 video sets already sold.

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Masters of the video inserts used for the 1994 class are stored at Reinhardt and at VTA. In addition VHS dupes of the inserts from most weeks are available in the conference room at the RAC office.

II. CLASS SITES

Renewing American Civilization has 142 sites offering the course, including 24 colleges or universities and 24 employee training programs. Thirteen colleges have approved and offered the course for credit. These colleges include:

Clemson University
Clemson, South Carolina

Graceland College
Lamoni, Iowa

Hope College
Holland, Michigan

Kennesaw State College
Kennesaw, Georgia

Lee College
Cleveland, Tennessee

Porterville College
Porterville, California

Potomac State College
Keyser, West Virginia

Reinhardt College
Waleska, Georgia

Southwestern Virginia Community College
Richland, Virginia

Troy State - WILL OFFER/HAS NOT DONE SO YET
Troy, Alabama

University of California at Berkeley
Berkeley, California

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University of California at Davis
Davis, California

III. DISTANCE LEARNING FOR COLLEGE CREDIT

Shenandoah University in Virginia is considering offering *Renewing American Civilization* as a distance-learning course, carrying both college and continuing education credit.

The University is currently reviewing the course and plans to contact us this Spring regarding its decision. The contact person at Shenandoah is Joel R. Stegall, Vice President of Academic Affairs (Phone: (703)665-4525).

Reinhardt College is interested in being involved in this effort; Bill Majure will coordinate the effort at Reinhardt.

IV. STATE COORDINATORS

A State Coordinator Program has been undertaken to recruit at least one person in each state who, on a volunteer basis, will market the course to various community groups, cable companies, high schools, and colleges.

We currently have thirteen state or regional coordinators, including coordinators in Alabama, Arizona, California, Florida, Georgia, Montana, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and Washington.

Each coordinator has received a copy of the State Coordinator manual and receives direction and support in their efforts from the *Renewing American Civilization* staff.

A separate folder on the activities of many of the state coordinators are available at the RAC office, in the reception area desk, as is a folder containing potential state coordinators who are currently being recruited.

V. CALL AND ORDER STATUS

The following calls and orders have been received since August of 1993 (through 3/20):

Calls	5,853
Book Orders	1,026
Video Orders	520
Audio Orders	196

Exhibit 108

VI. TELEVISION/RADIO BROADCASTS

Renewing American Civilization is Broadcast on National Empowerment Television every Wednesday afternoon (1:00 - 3:00 P.M. Eastern Time) and Sunday morning (2:00 - 4:00 A.M. Eastern Time). The class will be broadcast throughout the year, according to the following schedule:

Jan. 12 - March 16	1994 Class Premier
March 23 - May 25	1993 Class Rebroadcast
June 1 - August 3	1994 Class Rebroadcast
Aug. 10 - Sept. 14	Best of 1993 and 1994 Classes
Sept. 21 - Nov. 23	1994 Class Rebroadcast
Nov. 30 - Jan. 4	Best of 1993 and 1994 Classes

Access America, a teleport reaching 8 million viewers, is currently broadcasting the class on Thursday evenings from 9:00 - 11:00 P.M. Eastern Time. The president of Access America is Barbara Lamont, whose phone number is (504)942-9200 and fax number is (504)942-9204.

Radio America is offering the course, free of charge, to every college radio station in America. The contact at Radio America is Bob Roberts. Currently 40 college stations have expressed an interest in broadcasting the course; a list of those colleges will be forwarded to RAC. I have asked Bob to send monthly reports from Radio America to provide us with updated information about additional college sites.

VII. ADVERTISING

An ad for the course will run in the April issue of the National Association of Scholars Journal.

A television ad was produced at VTA the week of March 14-18. The master and submaster of the ad are available at VTA; the submaster contains separate tracks for music and announcer and does not contain chyron, allowing for easy edit. (FYI: The announcer's voice was not level in the original recording and voice levels had to be adjusted in a separate audio suite edit). For questions/changes in the ad, contact Irv Lasko.

VIII. MAJOR UPCOMING/ONGOING PROJECTS

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. | Team Teacher Training Session | August 26, 1994 |
| 2. | Preparation of coursebook | Ongoing |

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3. Preparation of Instructional Manual March - August, 1994

IX. ONGOING PROJECTS AND RECENT ACTIVITY OF NANCY DESMOND

A. RECENTLY ACQUIRED SITES

In the past few weeks, I have signed up the following sites. These should be added to our list of sites; the contact person in each instance can provide additional information:

Cartersville Cable (air time paid for by private donors)

Cartersville, GA

Contact: Bob Mayzes

10 Walnut St.

Cartersville, GA 30120

Clarksville Community Library

Clarksville, GA

Contact: Barbara Hodges

(706)754-6548

Cornelia Community Library

Cornelia, GA

Contact: Barbara Hodges

(706)754-6548

Huron County Republican Party

Precinct Committeeman Training Program

Norwalk, Ohio

Contact: David Kniffin

(419)668-4622

Habersham Plantation Furniture (being established as site)

Mt. Airy, GA

Contact: Barbara Hodges

(706)754-6548

Northeast Georgia Forum

Mt. Airy, GA

Contact: Barbara Hodges

(706)754-6548

Woodward Academy (Library site)

1662 Rugby Ave.

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College Park, GA 30337
 Contact: A. Thomas Jackson, president
 (404)765-8250
 (Tapes donated by Dick Berkowitz)

B. NEW STATE COORDINATORS/RECENT SPECIAL VOLUNTEER ACTIVITY

1. Barbara Hodges
 Suttle Road
 Route 1, Box 310
 Mt. Airy, GA 30563
 (706)754-6548

Barbara is very enthusiastic about the course and wants to be a statewide or regional coordinator. She has been sent the State Coordinator manual and has been referred to Patti Hallstrom. Follow up with her -- she could be a goldmine of sites!

2. Bud Jung
 1177 Ragley Hall Road
 Atlanta, GA 30319

Bud donated tapes to GA Tech and to the University of Wisconsin. He also attended a meeting with Nancy Desmond at GA Tech to discuss their adoption of the course.

3. Dick Berkowitz
 Oppenheimer and Company
 3525 Piedmont Road, NE
 7 Piedmont Center, Suite 600
 Atlanta, GA 30305

Dick donated a set of tapes to Woodward Academy and is also working with a friend in the Chicago area to have the course used in Chicago schools. (Letters attached FYI - please copy Dick if we receive any further response from his contacts.)

4. Dr. Mary Zesiewicz (psychiatrist)
 Oakbrook Psychiatric Center
 1200 Harger Road Suite 718
 Oakbrook, Illinois 60521

Has recently submitted story about RAC to Ladies Home Journal. She will follow

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7

up to let us know status. Has also sent letter endorsing course to psychiatric colleagues.

5. Lee Turner
19715 Copper Vine Lane
Houston, TX 77084
(713)579-2019

Lee is very interested in being the Texas state coordinator. Somebody should follow up with his ASAP.

6. Dr. Roderick Saxey
5459 Westfield Court
Lake Oswega, Oregon 97035
(503)257-5551

Dr. Saxey and his wife are both very interested in promoting RAC. Please follow up - they might be great state coordinators!

7. The following individuals are trying to get RAC on cable and need follow-up - regarding the possibility of our removal of all promotional material from the tapes:

Thomas E. Coutre
1603 S. Kaspar Avenue
Arlington Heights, Illinois 60005
PLEASE SEND HIM A STATE COORDINATORS GUIDE

Diane Johnson
185070 NE 58th Court
Redmond, Washington 98052-6706
(206)869-0451

8. Mrs. Doris Kaburek
121 Highland Ave.
Rowayton, CT 06853

Wants a letter giving her permission to contact cable companies and giving cable companies permission to broadcast the course. PLEASE FOLLOW UP AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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C. SPECIAL POTENTIAL COLLEGE SITES/PLEASE FOLLOW UP ASAP

1. Shenandoah College should be contacted ASAP. Contact information is included above. My last contact with them indicated that they were reviewing the course information and would contact us. However, I would suggest that somebody follow up with them to see how the review is going. (Letters attached FYI)
2. I had a good meeting at Georgia Tech, which was set up by Bud Jung. A faculty review team is looking over the information to consider offering the course for credit. If the course is not offered for credit, we should follow up on the possibility of listing the college as a library site, provided that the tapes are available in the library. I also gave them a college packet, including letter from Newt. Pattie has a copy of that letter for information in pursuing this site. (Whatever happens, please keep Bud Jung informed.)
3. The University of Wisconsin received a college packet including a letter from Newt. Pattie has a copy of this letter, for use in pursuing this site. Bud Jung sent the packet to Wisconsin, as a former alumnus. (If we hear anything back we should send Bud a copy.)
4. The U.S. Air Force Academy is considering using the course for credit. The follow-up person is:
Captain Richard Klodnicki
HQ USAFA/XPAA
2304 Cadet Drive, Suite 351
USAF Academy, CO 80840-5002

X. RECOMMENDED ACTIVITY FOR NEXT FEW MONTHS - TOP 3
PRIORITIES/ATLANTA OFFICE
(discussed in staff meeting of 3-15-94)

A. COLLEGE SITE RECRUITMENT

1. Improve marketing packet
 - get letter from every college that offered RAC for credit
 - get endorsement letters from Bennett, Alexander, Cheney, Weber - check with Jeff
 - have letter from Alexander/Please send thank you from Newt
 - Bennett won't endorse course (contact with Alexander letter -- not necessary to endorse whole course) Contact: Bettie Dixon (FAX: (202)646-9480)

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- waiting on Cheney, Weber response (Cheney contact: Shawn (202)862-5800; Weber contact Amy Wallach (202)452-6216)
- include in packet list of review leaders, book authors, individuals featured in video inserts
- consider production of 10-minute how-to-use-at-your-school video, featuring individuals who previously co-taught RAC

2. Send info to targeted schools/teachers
 - NAS members
 - schools recognized as conservative
 - alma maters of Newt world individuals, with letter of endorsement from those individuals
3. Attend NAS meetings/conferences
 - finding teacher willing to teach RAC is first step in gaining adoption
4. Mailings must be followed by phone call follow-up

B. SITE HOST STATUS REPORT

1. Call and update list/activity of every site
 - what did they do?
 - how many participated?
 - what will they do next?
 - when will they offer RAC again?
 - do they know of any other potential sites?
 - do they know of any potential college sites?
 - if college, who taught it, under what school, for how many hours, how many students took it, can we have copies of tests, etc.
2. Revise Site Host list to make it less confusing
3. Explore cable sites that offered it
 - get complete list of cables that offered it
 - when did they offer it?
 - will they offer it again?

C. PLANNING FOR CO-TEACHER TRAINING

Most of the planning will (I assume) take place in Washington. However, the Georgia staff should:

- make a list of potential attendees
- send announcements to colleges/individual teachers ASAP, preferably by

Exhibit 108

- the end of March
- revise the NAS ad to mention the workshop
- follow up with phone calls to potential attendees
- work out travel/stay logistics
- work with Reinhardt in coordinating the day

XI. OTHER RECOMMENDED ACTIVITIES/ATLANTA

A. RECRUITMENT OF NEW SITES

1. Employee Training Sites
 - prepare packet, including list of current employee training sites and Week 3 tape
 - contact major corps./Chambers of Commerce
2. High School Sites
 - start by sending Week 6 tapes to History/Social Studies teachers at high schools in Newt's district and ask for their feedback
 - send letter/overview to private high schools in Newt's district, particularly good if we can find alumnus or staff member to support course adoption
- 3. Community Sites
 - start by sending to national headquarters of conservative groups
 - contact programs in Atlanta area

B. EXPANSION OF STATE COORDINATORS PROGRAM

1. Call database of interested individuals/recruit as coordinators
2. Send State Coordinators Manual to potential coordinators
3. Develop press release to announce new coordinators
4. Newsletter for/by coordinators
5. Periodic conference calls between coordinators
6. Coordinators conference
7. Monthly report form for coordinators

C. PUBLICATIONS

1. Rewrite/update site host and leaders manual
2. Improve/update state coordinator manual
3. Instructional guide - probably done in Washington (?)
 - probably need separate one for each appropriate school, e.g. History, Business, Political Science, etc.
 - have college co-teachers help write, if interested

Exhibit 108

D. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Vin Weber will be returning tapes which belong to Reinhardt College. When we receive them, please return to Reinhardt Library.

Exhibit 108

EXHIBIT 109

Jana's Current Projects

June 23, 1993

1. Getting settled into a new work environment. Meeting the important "players" at Kennesaw, setting up the conference room and improving the office (new phone lines, computers, fax, printer). Obtaining needed office supplies to set up files and for daily use.
2. Briefed on the status of the downlink site hosts.
3. Working with Nancy on the site host kit.
4. Sorted through all the letters and business cards from people that are interested in the course. There are 279 people that have contacted RAC because they are interested in being a downlink site host of which only 20 have received any correspondence or information. By Friday (6/25), I will have produced the 259 site host letters to be mailed along with the brochure on Monday (6/28).
5. Spoke with Ray Lewis of Holiday Inn about hosting down link sites nationwide. Will meet with him after July 4 holiday to talk about logistics.
6. Spoke with Vince Woodard, coordinator of downlink host sites in Georgia for RESN. RESN will promote RAC to their hosts and will encourage them to participate. RESN would like for us to do the same. Vince's main focus is in Georgia (for the May broadcast, RESN had 17 sites in Georgia, 22 sites in June, and the goal for July is 40).
7. Coordinating with Pat Gartland to set up RAC information table at Christian Coalition Conference in Atlanta on June 25-26.
8. Attended computer class on Business Information Systems and Applications. Learned more about spreadsheets, graphs and database management. We are eagerly anticipating setting up our own database for site hosts and content contributors with the help of InterServ.
9. Have list of members of the National Cable Television Association (@65) if we need to mail them information.
10. Recieved the list of NET affiliates/suscribers (@180) if we would also like to mail them information.

Exhibit 109

Page 2 (of 3)

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
COURSE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTSNAME: NANCY DESMOND
DATE: JUNE 30, 1993

1. Compiled list of Review Committee Leaders and their job description, based on meeting of last Friday.
2. Compiled Abstract outline for classes 2-10, based on meeting with Newt last Saturday.
3. Putting together class outline\lecture for classes 1 and 2; should be completed by Thursday (7-8).
4. Working with staff from Kennesaw who want to have input into content of course; it may be a good idea to let them have their own review committee.
5. Attended meeting of 6th District women on legislative issues; they will contribute input into the course.
6. Held reception at Kennesaw on Tuesday (7-6) for Newt to meet various faculty and staff members.
7. Spoke with Sharon Baron of Kennesaw regarding having theater or drama department at Kennesaw get involved in course, as per Newt's request; she will help coordinate meeting.
8. Reviewed books for possible inclusion in bibliography. I strongly recommend that we use The Content of our Character in week 9 and also possibly contact the author regarding reviewing week 9. Also I think we need to have the MIT book Made in America: Regaining the Productive Edge in the week on Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise.
9. Compiling information for Georgia private colleges, for Jana to send out; received a list of all private colleges and their presidents from individual I contacted, as per Newt's request, who is president of association of Georgia private colleges; he suggested "at we send a letter similar to what I sent him and cc him on each one, so that he can follow up.
10. Continuing to work on two-page summary of RAC speech, as many people have asked for something 2-3 pages that encapsulates the theme of the class.

Exhibit 109

Page 3 (of 3)

11. Working with Loula to set up meeting with individuals from the King Center.
12. Have not heard back from James Landrum at IBM regarding interactive CD; will continue to try to reach him or to get other contact person.
13. Putting together list of additional reviewers we may want to have involved in course; will send that later this week.
14. Reviewing literature for various quotes which Newt needs for first 2 lectures.

Exhibit 109

Renewing American Civilization
Jana Rogers - Site Host Coordinator Activities
Weekly Report
July 7, 1983

1. Making final edits on site host kit. Expect to have it ready for layout tomorrow (7/8/93). Newt asks that we order 3000 copies of the kit for future marketing purposes.
2. Set up 4 site hosts:
 Marshall University (Huntington, WV)
 Shamie Management Corp. (Walpole, MA)
 Darlene Van Meter - either her church or Tucker High School (Tucker, GA)
 Catonsville Community College (Catonsville, MD)
3. Sent out site host letters (@300) with the registration flyer.
4. Set up Wednesday night volunteer program with Dr. Christine Jefferies' political science class beginning tonight from 6:00 - 8:00 p.m. Will recruit volunteers at 7/8/93 KSC College Republican meeting.
5. Mailed 349 registration flyers.
6. Sent 5000 copies of RAC registration flyer to Republican Whip office.
7. Working with Greg Wright about making contacts with the cable television industry. Greg is meeting on 7/9/83 with Turner Broadcasting and will talk to them about broadcasting the class. Sent Greg a package of registration flyers and my business cards to pass along.
8. Had interview with the KSC student newspaper The Sentinel.
9. Hosted a "Meet and Greet" for Newt at KSC on 7/6/93 from 4:30 - 6:00 p.m. Had 50+ people in attendance (KSC faculty, participants in the class, students). Dr. Mescon toured with Newt around the facilities. Briefed Newt on the status of downlink sites and inquired about the existence of previous files.
10. Working with Mike on where to send the 18,000 registration flyers for the GOPAC Farmteam mailing.
11. Working with Nancy on developing home schooling package.
12. FYI - Received a call today from Vin Weber's assistant. Vin wants to take the course and have the credit transferred back to the University of Minnesota. I am trying to talk the Weber Group into hosting a downlink site.

Exhibit 109

Renewing American Civilization
Jana Rogers - Site Host Coordinator Activities
Weekly Report
July 14, 1993

1. The Renewing American Civilization 1993 Site Host Guide is complete. The debate is at the College Republican National Convention where I am volunteering on behalf of the class. I will have 500 Site Host Guides to use as a recruiting tool for colleges at the convention.
2. Set up 5 new site hosts:
 - River of Life Family Church (Liburn, GA)
 - Dalton College (Albany, GA)
 - Helen McDanielson's home (Holladay, TN)
 - Samford University (Homewood, AL)
 - Kennesaw State College (Marietta, GA)
 - (FYI - Dr. Christine Jeffrey from Political Science is the site host. The site will be in the library.)
3. Sent out 116 site host prospect letters with the registration flyer.
4. The Wednesday night volunteer program is getting off to a slow start. Had 2 volunteers last week and expect 3 tonight. I am working to build the volunteer program.
5. Mailed 336 registration flyers.
6. Sent 11,000 registration flyers to GOPAC for mail to the farmteam.
7. Dean Mescon is providing us with a copy machine for the classroom workspace.
8. Learning how to cage as BRE's come in with checks. So far, out of seven BRE's, we have received two checks for the book, the rest I've sent to InterServ for VISA processing (one audio tape order, three books, one info.). (mailed)
9. Need to have conference call with Jeff, Nancy, Jana, to talk with Admissions (Joe Head), Registrar's office (Bill Hamrick), and Continuing Education (Cliff Roberts) to see how they are handling the volume of people that will be calling each of their offices regarding this course. In my opinion, this needs to be done ASAP.
10. Answering various letters and following up on some letters to Newt over the past few months.

Exhibit 109

Page 2 (of 3)

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
COURSE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

NAME: NANCY DESMOND

DATE: JULY 21, 1993

1. Put together notes for Class 4 and 9, based on course planning with Pete Jensen and Newt on Monday.
2. Spoke with Ken Brown (Summit Financial Advisory) who has numerous ideas for syllabus, from successful Black perspective. I will discuss these suggestions with Jeff and Steve on Friday, during syllabus conference call. He also has numerous calls and contacts he plans to make in order to spark minority interest in the course.
3. Spoke with Yolanda Jackson and Sheila Appling, two Black leaders involved in NAACP and Black Republican group, who may get involved in course -- possible potential downlink site; want to contribute content ideas.
4. Spoke with Theresa Jetter, Black Republican, who is going to pursue downlink sites through "A Second Look Live," funded by Free Congress Foundation; she anticipates 5 sites throughout Georgia; gave her Jana's name and number.
5. Working on completing "pillars" portion of Class 1, Covey portion for Week 2, and various quotes for weeks 1-3.
6. Called and got bios on review committee leaders.
7. Working on press release about review committee leaders; should complete by today and will fax to Jeff for approval.
8. Spoke with Roswell Methodist Church about using their music from 4th of July Program for course; they will check regarding copyright, etc. and get back to me.
9. Spoke with John Creighton of Harwood Group regarding their help with the course; will mail RAC and information to them. Is there something in particular we want from them?
10. Spoke with Bill Loughrey and sent updated class notes; his notes on the remaining classes will be ready this week and sent to me.
11. Took 500 brochures to Dr. Tom Cooper and wife Sharon; they will mail them with
to doctors throughout Georgia.

Exhibit 109

Page 3 (of 3)

11. Working with Loula to set up meeting with individuals from the King Center.
12. Have not heard back from James Landrum at IBM regarding interactive CD; will continue to try to reach him or to get other contact person.
13. Putting together list of additional reviewers we may want to have involved in course; will send that later this week.
14. Reviewing literature for various quotes which Newt needs for first 2 lectures.

Exhibit 109

Macon
0714

Renewing American Civilization
Jana Rogers - Site Host Coordinator Activities
Weekly Report
July 28, 1951

1. The response to Newt's appearance on Rush Limbaugh has been very good for recruiting site hosts. I have received many calls for information about being a site host and expect many more. We did recruit our largest site yet from the show: An expected 600 participants at Foothills Christian Fellowship in El Cajon, CA.
2. Have 9 new site hosts since July 21:
 - Foothills Christian Fellowship
El Cajon, California
 - Okaloosa-Walton Community College
Niceville, Florida
 - Old Dominion University
Norfolk, Virginia
 - Cable TV
Raccoon, Kentucky
 - Joan Ransom (office)
Albany, Georgia
 - Macon College
Macon, Georgia
 - Wade Brock (home)
Stone Mountain, Georgia
 - Texas A&M
College Station, Texas
 - Willard Strain (home)
Dalton, Georgia
3. Had conference calls with John Raisian (Hoover Institute) and Jenny Burleson (Healthsouth) about setting up sites. Will have additional calls with George McGlaughlin (John Crane, Inc.), Gordon Gee (Ohio State University), Al Carnesdale (Dean, Kennedy School - Harvard) and Ronald Cochran (Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory).
4. Mailed 68 site host guides.
5. Answering various letters and following up on some letters to Newt over the past few months.
6. FYI -- I am meeting with Ray Lewis of Holiday Inn on Monday.

Exhibit 109

Renewing American Civilization
Jana Rogers - Site Host Coordinator Activities
Weekly Report
August 11, 1993

1. Made 102 phone calls to potential site hosts to follow up on prospect letters. Volunteers have made an additional 39 calls.
2. Working to lock in Summit Cable's commitment to broadcast the class in East Cobb County. Drafted a letter from Newt to John Howell, General Manager of Summit Cable Services.
3. Dr. Malcolm Cummings, president of the Georgia Association of Christian Schools has agreed to mail site host guides and flyers to 60 member schools next week along with a note from him encouraging the schools to participate. In addition, Cummings will include in the non-member newsletter information about how to get involved with RAC. Newt is addressing the September 15 - 18 national convention of the Association of Christian Schools in Washington and should give a hard sell to the group then. Cummings plans to do a presentation at the state convention on September 30 to encourage the schools to get involved. He especially wants to develop the class into a program for seniors in high school to take the class by video tape. Cummings is extremely excited about RAC and is thinking about GACS involvement over the next four years.
4. Mailed 3000 flyers to Christian Coalition for mailing.
5. Mailed 3000 flyers to Economics America for mailing.
8. Mailed 1000 flyers to Word of Faith Christian Church (site #74 - Rev. Keith Butler's church).
7. Mailed 250 flyers to Lee College (site #7).
8. Volunteer Update:
 - * Rosetta Terry took the bus from Albany, GA, to Atlanta to learn more about RAC and to volunteer her help. So far, she has managed to get 3 sites in Albany: Darton College, the Second Look Live group and the Educational Access Channel. She also recruited 9 sites from a list of 29 people during her day here volunteering.
 - * Attended Sixth District Young Republican meeting where Newt asked for volunteers. So far, one person, Tommy Jackson, has agreed to come in and help. He'll spend a few hours here working with me on Friday.
 - * Continued work with volunteer Larry Handerson by phone and fax. Larry has 5 "hot" site host prospects from his calls. I am in the process of following up with each.
 - * Steve Stechschulte is coming in for a few hours Thursday night to call potential site hosts.
 - * So far I have received one response to my flyer around campus about volunteering to help.
 - * Continuing work on Wednesday Volunteer Nights.
10. Have 31 new site hosts since August 4:

University of Florida - Gainesville, FL
 Urbana University Television - Urbana, OH
 North Metro Tech - Acworth, GA
 Geneva College - Beaver Falls, PA
 Frederick Fox (home) - Dallas, GA
 Word of Faith Christian Church - Detroit, MI
 Northern Illinois Conservative Council - Rockford, IL
 Second Look Live - Columbus, GA
 Second Look Live - Savannah, GA

Exhibit 109

Renewing American Civilization
Jana Rogers - Site Host Coordinator Activities
Weekly Report
August 18, 1993

1. Made 38 phone calls to potential site hosts to follow up on prospect letters. Volunteers have made an additional 35 calls.
2. Rep. Bill Paxon's NRCC office called to get information on RAC to share with their candidates. I faxed several items and offered to send flyers to the NRCC. They will let us know what else they need.
3. Holiday Inn has agreed to broadcast RAC in 50-100 hotels nationwide starting in January. Nancy, Irv from VTA and I will meet with tomorrow with Ray Lewis, Executive VP of Sales and Marketing and Mr. Smith, Sr. V.P. of Technological Information to work out the logistics.
4. Dan Goldin, Administrator of NASA, has agreed to put together a working group of CEO's, Members of Congress, scientists, key members from technical universities in a laboratory to participate in the class.
5. Working with Phyllis Berry Myers of Second Look Live to get Howard University and Atlanta University as site hosts.
6. Working to get Morehouse College (the only black all-men school in America) to become a site host. After considerable interest last week, they are backing off this week. I am being persistent.
7. Solved the Capitol Hill Club logistical problem of when they can start showing the class. If aired on cable in the D.C. area, it will be taped by the club or a willing volunteer. If not broadcasted, then Newt will bring the tape with him from Atlanta back to Washington and the club will send someone over to pick it up each week. The Capitol Hill Club is ready to air the class on Monday, September 20 from 6:30-8:30 p.m. and for the next ten Monday nights.
8. Waiting to hear back from Bob Perko from Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory about whether they will host a site. I left a message for him today.
9. Sent Christian Coalition 1500 flyers.
10. Sent Pat Gartland 500 flyers for Chamber of Commerce mailing.
11. Volunteer Update:
 - * Tommy Jackson took a day off from work to come help us last Friday (8/13). He enjoyed it so much that he plans to come help tonight and also take the day off this Friday (8/20) and come help again! While here, he made 35 calls to follow-up on site host prospect letters.
 - * Continued work with volunteer Larry Henderson by phone and fax. Larry has 8 "hot" site host prospects from his calls. I am in the process of following up with each.
 - * Steve Stechsulte helped me for a few hours last Thursday night (8/12) determining the number of participants per site. Steve and Patti are coming to help tonight.
 - * Continuing work on Wednesday Volunteer Nights. I expect 4-6 people tonight.
12. Have 11 new site hosts since August 11:
 Western Illinois University - Macomb, IL

Exhibit 109

Illinois College - Jacksonville, IL
Expectant Mothercare Pregnancy Center - New York, NY
Nevada Orthopaedic Society - Reno, NV
Tom Spicer (home) - Rocksprings, WY
West Georgia College / Peachtree Cable - Carrollton, GA
Kennedy School of Government at Harvard - Cambridge, MA
Eastern Shore Community College - Melfa, VA
Pepperdine University / Educational Channel TV 3 - Malibu, CA
Hillsdale College - Hillsdale, MI
NASA - Washington, DC

Exhibit 109

EXHIBIT 110

002

20

60:51

NH 96-21-0

ECONOMICS AMERICA INC.

PFF
19821

612 CHURCH STREET
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48104
313-991-0885

Ok'd by Michael DeLoach

DRAFT

MAILING \$13 T. 2500
CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

Dear _____:

Newt Gingrich asked that I tell the organizations listed in The Right Guide about his new nationally broadcast college course, "Renewing American Civilization". It promises to be an important event for all conservatives, as well as many young people who are not yet conservatives. You and your organization can be part of this project.

Classes will be broadcast live, via direct satellite, on Saturday mornings, beginning September 18, 1993. Video and audio tapes of each two-hour session could be in your office the very next week. I am going to watch it, and I encourage you to watch it, but there is more.

Because your organization is listed in The Right Guide, Congressman Gingrich and Kennesaw State College would like you to host a site for the class, and serve as a "team teacher" for the students at your site. They have a support organization at Kennesaw State that is prepared to give you all the help you need in identifying a site, tuning in to the broadcast, and conducting discussions after each class. Weekly conference calls will be available following each class to help answer questions you get from participants. You could present the class via the video tapes if a satellite dish is not available. Your organization can advertise that you are hosting the course, and college credit is available. What a great way to help young people and involve more people in your organization.

Let me note that many organizations might not support everything in the course, I probably would not either. However, I have reviewed some of the health care material, and I can tell you it is great!

If the class comes off as I hope, every viewer will know that there are viable free-market solutions to the health care mess. Solutions like Medisave Accounts that will lower cost, improve quality, and make health care affordable to millions that have been priced out of the market because of hundreds of government regulations such as requiring health insurance policies to pay for toupees, and the "accidental" smoking of crack cocaine.

The course covers much more than health care as the enclosed brochure outlines. And remember, since you are a team teacher you can use the course to explain and discuss your views.

Exhibit 110

002

002 002 002 002 002

Newt said, "Gerry please tell them -

The Idea behind the class is simply this: It is impossible to have twelve-year-olds having babies, fifteen-year-olds shooting each other, seventeen-year-olds dying of AIDS and eighteen-year-olds receiving diplomas they cannot read --it is impossible to have all of this and at the same time maintain a civilized society.

For 200 years, we have succeeded on the basis of Five Pillars of American Civilization: Personal Strength; Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise; the Spirit of Invention and Discovery; Commitment to Quality; and the Lessons of American History. In "Renewing American Civilization," I will explore these five pillars and apply them to three policy crises we face today: Economic Growth; Health and Wellness; and Saving the Inner City. And, we'll finish up on the most important topic of all: Citizenship for the 21st Century."

Please review the brochure for additional information. The "Renewing American Civilization" staff at Kennesaw State would be pleased to receive your call and answer questions. To begin the process of hosting a site, or just taking part on your own, call Jana Rogers at 404-423-6606 today.

Sincerely,

Gerald L. Musgrave, Ph.D.
Publisher
The Right Guide

PS: You should also know that the course will again be offered, live, during the Spring of 1994, 1995, and 1996. It's a four-year project, and as a leader in the movement, I hope you can participate in the first year and help make improvements over the years ahead. Also, if you know of other important national projects like this one, The Right Guide would like to know and help spread the word.

Exhibit 110

EXHIBIT 111PFF
19795**REPUBLICAN NEIGHBORHOOD MEETING**

SEPTEMBER 2, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL DUGALLY

FROM: JOHN M. DANIELSON 

RE: LAMAR ALEXANDER MAILING

We are ready to roll with our mailing on behalf of Renewing American Civilization. Lamar is signing off on the letter this afternoon.

What I need from you is a check for the enclosed, and our finance person would prefer to receive it via Federal Express tomorrow. Once we receive that, we can process the mailing and have it out hopefully by Monday. Let me know if there is a problem with this.

Finally, note that we are at present approaching 1100 sites -- instead on the 1000 we had thought -- and we will mail to all as we continue to add new sites. Also, we are in all 50 states, and are confident many of our audience will be interested in Newt and his course.

Glad to be of help to good people, and hope you will call on us if there is anything else we can do!

Kind regards.

Exhibit 111

MAILING FROM LAMAR TO RESN SITES
REGARDING "RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION"

Approximate Expenditures

Classic Printing	
1100 Letters and Envelopes	\$270.00
Advanced Mail Concepts	
Labeling, Inserting, etc.	\$172.00
Carrier Service	\$15.00
Postmaster	
1100 pieces at .98/piece	\$1,078.00
Estimated Total:	\$1,535.00

Michael -

*If there is any significant
difference in this amount - either
way - we will adjust accordingly.*

Thanks -



Exhibit III



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

PFF
 10787

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

August 24, 1993

By Facsimile

TOTAL PAGES: 2

John Danielson
 Republican Exchange Satellite Network
 511 Union Street, Suite 947
 Nashville, Tennessee 37219

RE: Renewing American Civilization Course

Dear John:

Thank you once again for taking the time yesterday to talk about Newt's class. We are both piloting uncharted waters -- your operation much less than ours -- and every bit of input and guidance helps.

As discussed, please find attached a draft of the kind of letter we think would be appropriate for Lamar to send. However, I readily admit we do not know your operation like we do ours, and as a result our understanding of the audience this letter is being sent to may be altogether wrong. With this in mind, please feel free to red-line or change anything in the letter you deem inappropriate, and of course, personalize it to fit Lamar's writing style.

Ideally we would like the letters to be personalized, but if that is too difficult we understand.

Coming to you via two-day mail, are copies of the site-host guide and the brochures we would like you to enclose with each letter (one guide and three brochures for each letter). The postage cost per piece should be \$.98, which we will gladly reimburse you as soon as you wish.

Once you've had a chance to look over the materials, give me a call to discuss. Thanks again John for your help.

Warm regards,

Michael DuGally

Exhibit III

DRAFT LETTER FROM LAMAR TO RESN SITES

Name
Address
City, State ZIP

Dear Salutation:

This Fall, beginning Saturday September 18, my good friend Newt Gingrich will be broadcasting live via satellite his college course, "Renewing American Civilization," for ten consecutive weeks. The same course will also be offered for the winter quarter, starting Saturday, January 8.

The idea behind the class is simply this: It is impossible to have twelve-year-olds having babies, fifteen-year-olds shooting each other, seventeen-year-olds dying of AIDS and eighteen-year-olds receiving diplomas the cannot read--it is impossible to have all of this and at the same time maintain a civilized society.

In order to expand the debate, and shed light on new solutions to these problems, the course will cover topics critical to the rebuilding of what Newt calls the "Five Pillars of American Civilization": Personal Strength; Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise; the Spirit of Invention and Discovery; Commitment to Quality; and the Lessons of American History.

The challenges before each of us are monumental, and if we intend to leave our children and grandchildren with a renewed belief in America as the land of opportunity, prosperity, progress and freedom, then we must fully engage is a battle with the forces of decay.

With this in mind I hope you will be able to join Newt, by being a downlink site for the course, and encouraging those who are participating with you in the Republican Exchange Satellite Network to also be a part of Renewing American Civilization.

I've enclosed a copy of the Renewing American Civilization Site-Host Guide, as well as several copies of a brochure you can use to register for the course, or give to others who you think may be interested. If you would like to be a downlink site, or have any questions, call Jana Rogers at 404-423-6606.

Sincerely,

Lamar

P.S. So far there are 120 Renewing American Civilization downlink sites. They are hoping to have 200 signed up by the first class, and 500 site for the winter quarter. Nothing would make me happier than to tell Newt that at least half of his sites for both the Fall and Winter quarters are also RESN sites.

Exhibit III

EXHIBIT 112 992PFF
19815

DRAFT NOTE TO CHRISTIAN COALITION CHAIRMEN

August XX, 1993

Dear (salutation)

We are very excited to announce that for ten consecutive Saturday's beginning September 18, Congressman Newt Gingrich will be teaching an academic credit course titled "Renewing American Civilization," from 8:30 - 10:30 a.m. ET, at Kennesaw State College in Kennesaw, Georgia.

Through satellite downlink, anyone can take the course who has access to a satellite dish. And, the course book, Readings in Renewing American Civilization, will cover topics such as Personal Strength, Saving the Inner City and Economic Growth. A convenient 1-800-TORENEW number has been established for you to order the book, which costs only \$24.95 + \$2.00 for shipping and handling.

{paragraph defining Christian Coalition members share the values presented in the courser}

If would like to host a site, and have access to a satellite dish, or would like to order the video tape series so you and your family, friends or colleagues can view the course, please contact Jana Rogers at 404-423-6606.

I hope you will be a part of Renewing American Civilization.

Exhibit 112

EXHIBIT 113

Republican
National
Committee

Haley Barbour
Chairman

June 28, 1993

RNC
0094

RNC LIST for Convention
T-171 6/29/93
Julie G./conv.

Dear :

As you know, last week I announced the formation of the National Policy Forum - a Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas. This giant undertaking will be one of our most significant steps toward recapturing our position as a party of principle and a party of ideas this year. Republicans have a responsibility to encourage the kind of dialogue the Forum will represent, and it will help voters see we do more than just oppose Clinton's programs; we put forward positive ideas as well.

In the spirit of ideas and involvement, I want to call your attention to another project which is being undertaken by Newt Gingrich, the Republican Whip in the United States House of Representatives. I believe it has a lot of potential.

Most of you know Newt as one of our party's strongest leaders when it comes to vision, language and creative ideas for governing. Beginning this fall (and continuing into the spring of 1994, 1995, and 1996), Newt will be teaching a class called "Renewing American Civilization". The course is designed to recapture the core principles of the American creed and apply them to three key policy challenges facing us today: economic growth, health care and saving the inner cities.

The class will be taught "for credit" at the Business School at Kennesaw State College in Marietta, Georgia and will be available across the country both via satellite and through video and audio tapes. The goal is to have 50,000 students participate this fall. It is an exciting undertaking, and I wanted all Republican leaders to know about it.

Enclosed please find some information on the program. I hope you will review it and decide to get involved. For more information, simply call 1-800-TO-RENEW to register.

Sincerely,

Haley Barbour

Exhibit 113

EXHIBIT 114PFF
7613

Renewing American Civilization
Jana Rogers - Site Host Coordinator Activities
Weekly Report
July 21, 1993

1. The response to Renewing American Civilization at the College Republican National Convention was overwhelming. In addition to recruiting 22 sites and possibly another 30+ during follow-up, I was interveiwed by MTV about the class and learned more about RESN from Stephanie Fitzgerald who does their site coordination. I also handed out 400 Site Host Guides to College Republicans and about 600 registration flyers. NCRNC says it will work aggressively with their state chairmen to help us set up sites know that the convention is over.

2. Have 27 new site hosts:

Samford University
Homewood, Alabama

Kennesaw State College (library)
Marietta, Georgia

Kansas State University
Manhattan, Kansas

Southeast Missouri State University
(College Republicans Chapter)
Cape Girardeau, Missouri

Grand Canyon University
Scottsdale, Arizona

Colgate University
Hamilton, New York

UC Berkley
San Francisco, California

University of Nevada - Reno
Reno, Nevada

Auburn University
Auburn, Alabama

University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

West Virgingia Institute of Technology
Montgomery, West Virginia

SUNYA
Albany, New York

Exhibit 114

University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Ithaca College
Ithaca, New York

Illinois Wesleyan University
Bloomington, Illinois

Southeast Missouri State University (Conservative Club)
Cape Girardeau, Missouri

Jacksonville State University
Jacksonville, Alabama

Valdosta State University
Vladosta, Georgia

St. Mary's College of Maryland
St. Mary's City, Maryland

University of Wyoming
Laramie, Wyoming

Prince George's Community College
Largo, Maryland

Hofstra University
Hempstead, New York

Troy State University
Troy, Alabama

Ouachita Baptist University
Arkadelphia, Arkansas

Floyd College
Rome, Georgia

Thomas College
Thomasville, Georgia

TBA
Panama City Beach, FL

J.R. Reiche's Home
Liberty, TN

3. Had conference calls with Tom Talbot and Melissa Cain (Cracker Barrel) about setting up sites. Will have additional calls with Jenny Burleson (Health South), George McGlaughlin (John Crane, Inc.), Gordon Gee (Ohio State University), Al Carnesdale (Dean, Kennedy School - Harvard).

Exhibit 114

4. Sent out 350 site host prospect letters to SIFE members nationwide.
5. Mailed 542 registration flyers.
6. RESN is mailing RAC flyer to their 500 site hosts this week.
7. Took copies of the Site Host Guide and flyer to Matt Towery to see about donating printing.
8. Caging BRE's is going well. I have the procedure down. Our first checks (from July 11-20) total \$482.45.
9. Met with Larry Lowenstein about PR for course and Continuing Education. We're setting up a meeting with Dr. Violet Towne, dean of continuing ed, and Clif Roberts to discuss the class and how we can best work together. Still need to have conference calls with Jeff, Nancy, Jana, to talk with Admissions (Joe Head) and the Registrar's office (Bill Hamrick) to see how they are handling the volume of people that will be calling each of their offices regarding this course.
10. Answering various letters and following up on some letters to Newt over the past few months.
11. The Wednesday night volunteer program is still getting off to a slow start. Had 2 volunteers last week and expect 2 tonight. I am working to build the volunteer program.
12. Received copy machine.

Exhibit 114

EXHIBIT 115

Mescon
0283

Jerry

3000 ⁶⁰⁰ carry down

275 words -

10,000 pieces

6500 photo packages

3500 ⁺ ~~about~~ ~~for~~

25000 / total Registration

DR COURSE

Down link in
LCS 407

Mike Leves - HIF

Holiday Drum / Fee is it
free or is there an access
charge to top the dish?

4 options

- videotape ✓
- a-disk ✓
- Computer ✓
- Book -

for funding letters

Drum

NOTE TO Book -

Have out a letter

top -

actual
use

contact
Jan

Control

actual can
be used
with top

Exhibit 115

EXHIBIT 116

ATTACHMENT II

PF
19784

August 11, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR JEFF EISENACH

FROM: Michael DuGally *Michael*

SUBJECT: Registration brochure mailing

This past week I have arranged to mail registration brochures to three lists, totalling 17,000 names, and am planning to send next week an additional 15-20 thousand brochures out to other target lists.

Details of where the brochures have been sent to date are as follows:

1.	GOPAC farm team	9,000 - 7/5
2.	Cong/FONG/Whip offices	4,000 - 8/14
3.	Sent to site hosts	5,500 - 7/11 - 8/12
4.	College Republicans	2,000 - 7/20
5.	American Pol Sci Assoc.	11,000 - 7/11
6.	Christian Coalition leadership	3,000*
7.	<u>The Right Guide</u> list	3,000*
		=====
	Total brochures sent	37,500
	Brochures on hand (regular mail)	13,000
	Ordered 8/6 (bulk rate)	10,000
	(1500 being used 8/13)	<1,500>
		=====
	Total brochures on hand	21,500
	Total brochures ordered to date	60,000
	Total brochures accounted for	59,000

*Will be sent on or around 8/13

Exhibit 116

EXHIBIT 117

PFF
3486

MEMO

*Renewing American
Civilization*

Hevin Clingfish
Creator and President

Pattie Stechsulte
Project Coordinator

John McDowell
Project Coordinator

Senior Advisors

Kath A. Baker
Albert S. Mason
Lawrence A. Kurland
Evelyn Carl Ladd
Samuel B. Lorton
W. ... Langhry
M. ... K. Mason
Larry Sabers
Col. R. Wilmsley
James Q. Wilson

*Progress & Freedom
Foundation*

George A. Keyworth
Chairman

Jeffrey A. Elmanach
President

Robbery A. Hobbie
Vice President

The Progress & Freedom
Foundation is dedicated
to creating a positive
vision of the future
based in the
honorable principles
of the American ideal.

TO: Jeff Eisenach
FROM: John McDowell
DATE: June 20, 1994
CC: Pattie Stechsulte
SUBJECT: Summer conference update.

Jeff, this memo is to update you on summer conferences where we should have a presence and my recommendations regarding each.

1. Eagle Forum Collegians, National Meeting.

June 23-25.
Washington, DC.

100+ to attend. Attendees consist of national and chapter leaders.

They will allow us to pass out a Newt letter, articles and RAC brochures. These items are already sent.

Contact: Lisa Dickert (202) 547-6996

Recommendation: P&FF/RAC Washington representative should stop by to say hello and obtain a participant list if possible.

Sent brochures

2. National Review Institute's Conservative Summit.

June 25-26.

Charleston, SC.

200+ attendees. Attendees consist mostly of conservative business, academic and professional people.

Contact: Kelly Forsberg (212) 679-7330

Missed

Recommendation: Newt has been invited to speak. RAC Atlanta to make sure that brochures are shipped to Charleston upon confirmation of Newt's schedule. Note that Larry Kudlow is a confirmed speaker.

3. Accuracy in Academia, National Summer Conference.

July 8-9.

Washington, DC.

200+ to attend. Attendees consist of students and other academics and activists.

*Sent brochures
AFF staff
attendees*

They will allow us to provide RAC brochures for the registration packet.

Contact: Rob Bullock (202) 364-4401

Recommendation: P&F/RAC Washington representative should stop by to say hello and obtain a participant list, if possible.

4. Young Republican Leadership Conference.

July 13-17.

Washington, DC.

600+ attendees. Attendees consist of national, state and local Young Republican leaders (mostly 25-35 years old).

*John
to attend*

Newt is a confirmed speaker on July 14th. We can pass out RAC brochures after his speech and provide material for the registration packets.

Contact: Jill Richards (202) 662-1340.

Recommendation: I will be attending this conference in my role as a national Executive Board member and chair of the Issues

Exhibit 117

and Resolutions committee. I will be attempting to pass a resolution that the YR's adopt and promote RAC to its membership.

5. **Young America's Foundation, National Conservative Student Conference.**

July ~~24-30~~ 
Washington DC.

300+ attendees. Attendees consist of conservative college students.

Newt is a confirmed speaker. We can pass out RAC brochures after his speech and provide material for the registration packet.

Contact: Peter Schweizer (703) 318-9608

Recommendation: P&FF/RAC Washington representative should stop by to say hello, pass out brochures after Newt's speech and obtain a participant list, if possible.

6. **College Republican National Conference.**

July 28-31.

Oklahoma City, OK.

1,000+ attendees. Attendees consist of national, state and local College Republican activists.

A vendor booth, two registrations and quarter page ad in the program are \$500. A quarter page ad in "The Broadside" their national publication conference issue (circ. 100,000) is \$400.

Contact: George Fondren (202) 662-1330.

Recommendation: RAC Atlanta representative to attend and staff a vendor booth. These 1,000 college students represent a good source of future "Greg Sikorskis"...in the sense that they can promote RAC on their campus! Total attendance cost forecast at \$1,200.

Send Scott
Kamins?

Exhibit 117

7. American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting.

September 1-4.

New York City.

5,000+ attendees. Attendees are political scientists, other academics and their spouses.

Recommendation: Stick with our original decision and find an attendee who would be willing to pass out our literature at the Claremont Institute panels. Note that the Atlanta Dr. Jeffrey's will not be attending.

8. Christian Coalition, Road to Victory.

September 16-17.

Washington DC.

3,000+ attendees. Attendees are Christian Coalition activists from around the nation.

Newt is a confirmed speaker. A vendor table with a full page program ad and four banquet tickets is \$1,695, which is negotiable.

Contact: Ralph Reed (804) 424-2630

Recommendation: This conference is a perfect opportunity for RAC-our people and a large national crowd. Nonetheless, \$1,695 is too much for a vendor table. The price has dropped to \$695 (maybe) if we don't advertise in the program. I will negotiate further in hope confirming a lower price. If we do, I suggest that Washington P&FF/RAC personnel staff the table.

Have CC show
promo video + have
brochures at tables

Exhibit 117

EXHIBIT 118**Renewing American Civilization
Site Host Listing**PFF
7493

August 18, 1994

*A comprehensive listing of businesses, community groups, cable stations, and others who have participated***Community Groups**

Alabama Family Alliance
Samford University
1 Independence Plaza, Ste. 322
Birmingham, AL
Michael Ciamarra
(205) 870-4407

Arizona Republican Party
Headquarters
3501 North 24th Street
Phoenix, AZ 85016
Dodie London
(602) 957-7770

Athens Christian Coalition
268 Frederick Drive
Athens, GA 30607
Andy Hines

Capitol Hill Club
300 First Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003
Lisa Myer-Hagen
David Thompson
(202) 225-2976

Clarksville Community Library
Clarksville, GA
Barbara Hodges
(706) 754-6548

Common Wealth Forum
(Chamber of Commerce)
P.O. Box 757
Camphill, PA 17001
David Brown
(717) 975-2081

Concerned Citizens of Columbus
3018 University Avenue
Columbus, GA 31907
Dan Menefee
(706) 561-8935

Conservative PAC
(at Riverside Hotel)
1532 NE 62nd Street
Fort Lauderdale, FL 33334
Jean Hansen
(305) 772-7238

Cornelia Community Library
Cornelia, GA
Barbara Hodges
(706) 754-6548

Embassy Suites
Scottsdale, AZ
Astoria Wong
(602) 423-1233

Family Foundation
4033 Ferguson Drive
Ashland, KY 41101
Robert Queen, Jr.
(602) 324-3578

Foundation for Youth Leadership
855 Beacon Street
Boston, MA 02215
Clark Bowers
(617) 859-3180

Henry County Republicans
P.O. Box 1075
Stockbridge, GA 30281
Ed Norwood

Houston Young Republicans
3935 Westheimer, #201
Houston, TX 77027
Lark Blum

Huron County Republican Party
Norwalk, OH
David Kniffin
(419) 668-4622

Las Rancheras Republican
Women
1011 E. Orange Street, #55
Tempe, AZ 85281
Marguerite Dehn
(602) 951-8538

Leadership North Fulton
11225 Crosshatch Drive
Roswell, GA 30075

Louisiana Republican Legislative
Delegation
P.O. Box 44422
Baton Rouge, LA 70804-4422
(504) 342-6287

Nevada Orthopaedic Institute
633 N. Arlington Avenue
Reno, NV 89503
Dr. Stephen Dow
(702) 329-8423

North Georgia Forum
Rt. 3, Box 3304
Clarkesville, GA 30524
B. Aycock

North Long Beach Foursquare
Church
5601 Orange Avenue
Long Beach, CA 90805
Rev. Paul Jessen
(310) 428-1042

Northern Illinois Conservative
Council
Rock Valley College
804 E. Buffalo
Polo, IL 61064
Kim Gouker/Susan Bothe
(815) 946-3419

Northeast Georgia Forum
Mount Airy, GA
Barbara Hodges

Exhibit 118

(706) 754-6548

Rancho Cucamonga Fire District.
Station 174
11297 Jersey
Rancho Cucamonga, CA 91730
Mike Eagleson
(909) 987-2535

Republican Party Headquarters
Frankfort, KY 40242
John McCarthy, III
(502) 875-5130

River of Life Family Church
201 Soaring Lane
Lawrenceville, GA 30244
Bryan Lash
(404) 978-1386

Suffolk Republican Party
P.O. Box 1189
Suffolk, VA 23439
Kit Webb
(804) 934-8022

Woodpark Urgent Care Center
203 Woodpark Pl., Ste. A-100
Woodstock, GA 30188
Dr. Michael Katopes
(404) 926-4150

Businesses

Ad-Ventures Video
5671 West 74th Street
Indianapolis, IN 46278
Teresa Fishback
(317) 298-9107

Apex Microtechnology Corp.
5980 N. Shannon Road
Tucson, AZ 85741
Denise van Zijll
(604) 690-8600

Blue Cross/Blue Shield of Ohio
2060 East Ninth Street
Cleveland, OH 44115
John Berry, Jr.
(216) 687-6016

Central Vacuum Systems, Inc.
P.O. Box 2574
Ponca City, OK 74602
Dan Phillips
(405) 762-2720

Congressman Jon Kyl's Office
2440 Rayburn HOB
Washington, DC 20515
Kay Watson

Furnas Electric Company
1000 McKee Street
Batavia, IL 60510
Tom Caughlin/Janet
(708) 879-6000 ext 251

Health South
Two Perimeter Park South
Birmingham, AL 35243 -
Richmond, VA; Miami, FL;
Charlotte, NC; Little Rock, AR;
Lorain, OH; Roanoke, VA;
Tucson, AZ; Columbia, SC; Fort
Worth, TX; Largo, FL
Jenny Burleson
(205) 967-7116

Karlsruhe US Library
324th Co./72nd SIG BN
Unit 3112 Box 101
APO, AE 09164
ILT Kopko

LaRoche Chemicals, Inc.
Airline Highway at Old
Mississippi River Bridge
Baton Rouge, LA 70805
(504) 358-2803

Lincoln Electric Company
22801 St. Clair Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44117
Richard Sabo
(216) 382-2126

Medical Alliance Group
3621 Shoreline Drive
Portsmouth, VA 23703
Eileen Thomason

Medical Association of Georgia
938 Peachtree Street, NE
Atlanta, GA 30309

Richard Green
(404) 876-7535

Micro Control Company
7956 Main Street NE
Minneapolis, MN 55432
Harold Hamilton
(612) 786-8750

Mallinckrodt Specialty Chemicals
Co.
16305 Swingley Ridge Drive
Chesterfield, MO 63017
David Kupferer
(314) 530-2023

New York Stock Exchange
11 Wall Street
New York, NY 10005
Richard A. Grasso
(212) 656-5151

Northwestern National Life
Insurance Company
20 Washington Avenue, South
Minneapolis, MN 55401
Mike Conley/Sharon Clark
(612) 372-1172

Oak Brook Psychiatric Group
1200 Harger Road, Suite 718
Oakbrook, IL 60521
Dr. Mary Zesiewicz
(708) 572-1780

Plastic Engineering Company
3518 Lakeshore Road
Sheboygan, WI 53082
Raiph Brotz
(414) 458-2121

Prince Corporation
One Prince Center
Holland, MI 49423
M. Ulrich

Senator Connie Mack's Office
517 Hurt SOB
Washington, DC 20510
Greg Waddell
(202) 224-5274

Senator Paul Coverdell
Washington, DC 20510

PFF
7484

Exhibit 118

Source Capitol
4 Gateway Center, Suite 1700
Pittsburgh, PA 15222
James C. Bly, Jr.

Southwire Corporation
Learning Center
One Southwire Drive
Carrollton, GA 30119
Don Baker
(404) 832-4242

Individuals

Bauer, Beate
12820 SW Tarpan Drive
Beaverton, OR 97005
(503) 524-3303

H. Biede
3301 Wake Robin Trail
Atlanta, GA 30341

Robert M. Brown
3360 Jackson Drive
Jackson, WI 53037

T. Brush
47 Red Top Circle
Emerson, GA 30137

Steve Cadman
694 Brookwood Drive
Forest Park, Ga 30050

D. Cargill
590 Shirley Lane
Santa Maria, CA 93455

Michael Dunn
9060 Martin Road
Roswell, GA 30076

Erik Duus
1123 Beaconsfield
Grosse Pointe Park, MI 48230

Paula Dyba
423 Watters Station Road
Evans City, PA 16033

John Hall
1840 Lantern Drive
Ashboro, NC 27203
(910) 879-3623

Charles Hix
3613 Sweethorn Court
Fairfax, VA 22033

Suzanne Littlefield
3802 Austell Road
Marietta, GA 30060

P. Mann
2117 Fay Street
Durham, NC 27704

McIlroy, Linda
2701 Calle Los Altos
Tuscon, AZ 85718
(602) 299-3290

Millard, Terry
974 Antelope Avenue NE
Albuquerque, NM 87122
(505) 292-4802

Keith A. Morris
25066 Graduar Court
Moreno Valley, CA 92557

James Murphy
6701 Thomas Court
Fredericksburg, VA 22407

William Nelson
3916 Marsh Avenue
Rockford, IL 61114

Shirley A. Petty
423 Sunrise Drive
Belton, MO 64012

Saley, Dr. Robert
30 Griffen Avenue
Scarsdale, NY 10583
(914) 723-6099

Muriel Schmidt
Rt. 2, Box 452
Berryville, AK 72616

Randy See
P.O. Box 247

Harrisonburg, VA 22801

Alex Smith
8111 Meadville
Houston, TX 77061

Tom Spicer
2201 Skyview Drive
Rock Springs, WY 82901
(307) 362-7751

Diana Tabbitt
229 Highland Avenue
Trucksville, PA 18708
(717) 696-3534

Cable Companies

Access America
3200 Chartress Street
New Orleans, LA 70117
(504) 942-9200
Shari Clements

Cartersville Cable
Cartersville, GA
Bob Maize
(404)

Continental Cable
Channel 19/21
41 W. Wilson Street
Palatine, IL 60067
Rick Pearson
(708) 991-2000

Crown Cable
Channel 38
SC

Dimension Cable
Phoenix Educ. TV Channel 20
191 South Central, Suite 400
Phoenix, AZ 85004

Dimension Cable
Public Access, Channel 22
17602 N. Black Canyon Hwy
Phoenix, AZ 85023

Educational TV Cooperative
Admin. Bldg. 139

PF
7485

Exhibit 118

355 North Lansing Street
Indianapolis, IN 46202
Earl Harris
(317) 274-2518

Greenville Technical College
Greenville, SC

Insight Cable
Channel 13
21200 N. Black Canyon Hwy
Phoenix, AZ 85027

Insight Cable
Channels 3 and/or 19
511 West Guadalupe Rd, Ste. 3
Gilbert, AZ 85234

Multnomah County Access
P.O. Box 1941
Lake Oswego, OR 97035
Roderick Saxey, M.D.
(503) 257-5551

Paragon Cable
1130 S. Main Street
Horseheads, NY 14845
William Bushnell
(607) 524-6437

Pepperdine University
Education TV Channel 3
24255 Pacific Coast Hwy
Malibu, CA 90263
Adam Thompson
(310) 456-4276

Pima College Comm. Cable
1901 North Stone
Tucson, AZ 85705
Ben Jacobs
(602) 884-6943

Smyrna Cable
Channel 9
P.O. Box 1587
Smyrna, GA 30081
Rhonda McGalary
(404) 433-2338

Summit Cable
Channel 5
P.O. Box 220
Woodstock, GA 30188

Delores Jones
(404) 926-9573

TCI Cable
7661 E. Gray Road
Scottsdale, AZ 85260

TCI Cable
Scottsdale School District,
Channel 16
2501 North 74th Street
Scottsdale, AZ 85257

TCI Cable
Scottsdale Community College,
Channel 17
9000 E. Chaparral Road
Scottsdale, AZ 85250

Telecable
Channel 40
Upstate SC

University of South Carolina
Educational TV
Columbia, SC

Urbana Univ. Comm. Cable
579 College Way
Urbana, OH 43078
Ed Corwin
(513) 652-1301 ext 314

WBH
Channel 48
Statesboro, GA 30458
Mark Loyd
(912) 681-8610

WOMETCO Cable
Channel 2
1145 Powder Springs Road
Marietta, GA 30064
Pete Tinkham
(404) 427-0010

WOMETCO Cable
Channel 2
Duluth, GA

Gwinnett County
Department of Corrections
Lawrenceville, GA

Gwinnett County
Sheriff's Office
2900 Hwy 316
Lawrenceville, GA

London Correctional Institute
Urbana University/SIFE Chapter
579 College Way
Urbana, OH 43078
Ed Corwin
(513) 652-1301 ext 314

Maricopa County Jail
162 W. Madison
Phoenix, AZ 85003
Chief Wendt

Correctional Facilities

Exhibit 118

EXHIBIT 119Reinhardt College
0160CHC
+ - 37

[B - H]

Benedictine CollegeGary Myrick
Assistant Professor
1020 North 2nd Street
Atchison, KS 66002Phone: 913-367-5340
Ext: 2423ID/Status : Credit
Current sta. : Fall '94 3 credit bus.**Clemson University**Dave Woodard
Professor
230-B Bracket Hall
Clemson, SC 29634

Phone: 803-656-3551

ID/Status : Credit
Current sta. : Fall '93 credit Pol. Sci.**Cumberland University**Quentin Lane
Vice President for Development
South Greenwood Street
Lebanon, TN 37087

Phone: 615-444-2562

ID/Status : Credit
Current sta. : Summer '94 for credit**Graceland College**Kevin Prine
Assistant Professor
700 College Avenue
Lamoni, LA 50140

Phone: 515-784-5179

ID/Status : Credit partial use
Current sta. : Partial use of tapes; Fall '94 Credit Grad Econ**Hillsdale College**Mickey Craig
Professor
33 East College Street
Hillsdale, MI 49242

Phone: 517-437-7341

ID/Status : Credit partial use
Current sta. : Partial use of tapes, set in library; Credit Fall '94, partial**Hope College**Pete Hoekstra
Congressman
42 West Tenth Street
Holland, MI 49423

Phone: 616-395-0030

ID/Status : Credit
Current sta. : May teach Spring '95; Credit Spring '94, non93

Exhibit 119

Illinois College

Gary Davidson
Student
1201 West College Avenue
Jacksonville, IL 62650

Phone: 217-245-3840

ID/Status : Credit partial, library

Current sta. : Showed to College Republicans and set in Library; Partial in Dr. Alvin Soc.

Kennesaw State College

Tim Mescon
Dean, School of Business
3455 Frey Lake Road
Kennesaw, GA 30144

Phone: 404-423-6425

ID/Status : Credit

Current sta. : Dr. Christine Jeffrey may teach Fall '94; Live, credit Fall '93

Lee College

Dr. Robert Herron
PO Box 3450
Cleveland, TN 37320

Phone: 615-478-7303

ID/Status : Credit

Current sta. : Credit Fall '93; Trying to place in external studies

Michigan State University

Marylee Davis
Associate Vice President
102 Linton Hall
East Lansing, MI 48824

Phone: 517-353-1717

ID/Status : Credit

Current sta. : Political science, Credit Fall '94 partial

Morehouse College

Tobe Johnson
Professor
329 Wheeler Hall, #329
Atlanta, GA 30314

Phone: 404-215-2622

ID/Status : Credit partial use

Current sta. : Credit Fall '93, Partial use of some tapes in American National Government

Pennsylvania State University

Anne Beighey
Student
PA

Phone: 814-862-1432

ID/Status : Credit

Current sta. : Independent study, Credit Fall '93

Exhibit 119

Porterville College

Young Kim
Professor
100 East College Avenue
Porterville, CA 93257

Phone: 209-781-3130
Ext: 217

ID/Status : Credit
Current sta. : Will offer Fall '94; Credit Spring '94

Potomac State College of W. Virginia

Bill Edel
Professor
Keyser, WV 26726

Phone: 304-788-6961

ID/Status : Credit
Current sta. : Will offer Fall '94; Credit Spring '94 Econ

Reinhardt College

Kathleen Minnix
Professor
250 Canton Street
Waleska, GA 30183

Phone: 404-479-1454

ID/Status : Credit
Current sta. : Live Spring '95; Credit Spring '94 Live

Southern Arkansas University

David Rankin
Puterbaugh Professor of Free Enterprise
P.O. Box 1370
Magnolia, AR 71753-5000

Phone: 501-235-4000

ID/Status : Credit
Current sta. : Credit Fall '94 econ 4003

Southwestern Virginia Community College

Ann Bartholmey
Coordinator, Learning Laboratory
Box SVCC
Richlands, VA 24641

Phone: 703-964-7258

ID/Status : Credit
Current sta. : Credit: Sue Captain, Humanities Spring '94, Jim Gibbon, Management Fall '94

Tulane University

Jeffrey Barach
Professor
Freeman School of Business
Goldring-Woldenberg Hall
New Orleans, LA 70118

Phone: 504-865-5400

ID/Status : Credit
Current sta. : Credit Fall '94

Exhibit 119

University of California at Berkeley

Vincent Galindo
Student
P.O. Box 4027
Berkeley, CA 94704

Phone: 510-548-5522

ID/Status : Credit

Current sta. : Student initiated, political science; Credit '93, F/S '94 pol s

University of California at Davis

John Lofland
Professor
523 E Street
Davis, CA 95616

Phone: 916-758-5258

ID/Status : Credit partial use

Current sta. : Credit Fall '93, partial, Used in sociology class

University of Hawaii

Steve Miller
2222 Citron Street, #1402
Honolulu, HI 96826

Phone: 808-942-7697

ID/Status : Credit

Current sta. : Credit Fall '94, Partial use in Intro to Politics

Exhibit 119

Harvard University, JFK School, Institute of Pol.
Marty Connors
Fellow
Southern Exchange
4833 Caldwell Mill Lane
Birmingham, AL 35242

Phone: 205-991-6223

ID/Status : Non-credit
Current sta. : Fall '93 non credit sem.

Piedmont College
Mark Gardner
Assoc. Professor of Economics
165 Central Avenue
PO Box 10
Demorest, GA 30535

Phone: 706-778-8500
Ext: 250
Fax: 706-776-2811

ID/Status : Non-credit seminar
Current sta. : Non-credit SIFE seminar, Fall '94

Rock Valley College
Rolland Westra
Northern Illinois Conservative Council
Technology Center
3301 North Mulford Road
Rockford, IL 61114-5699

Phone: 815-654-4250

ID/Status : Non-credit
Current sta. : Non credit sem. Fall '93

Southwest Missouri State University
Jim Scott
Assistant Professor of Finance and Business
901 South National Avenue
Springfield, MO 65804-0094

Phone: 451-836-5362

ID/Status : Non-credit
Current sta. : Non credit SIFE '94-'95

University of California at Santa Barbara
John Maxwell
Dean, Extended Learning Services
Santa Barbara, CA 93106-1110

Phone: 805-893-2944

ID/Status : Non-credit
Current sta. : Non credit USLA seminars

Exhibit 119

EXHIBIT 120

PPF
766

THE
ARIZONA
REPUBLICAN

Volume II, Issue I

Official Publication of the Arizona Republican Party

February, 1994

Winners All....



Alice and Harris Fehman
received the Sen. Barry
Goldwater Award.

Gov. Symington presides
at Dinner with the
Lifetime Achievement
Award



Bernice Roberts is
presented the Chairman's
Trophy by Gov. Symington



State committeemen, leaders meet in Phoenix

More than 500 State Committeemen from every county gathered at the Holiday Inn Oriole Plaza in Phoenix January 29th to hear our distinguished state leaders. Governor Symington, Senator John McCain, Congressman Jim Kyj, Congressman Bob Simey (Congressman Jim Kolbe was on an occasional surprise in Scottsdale), and Assembly General Greg Webb, Bureau Corporation Commissioner Dale Morgan was honored for his many years of service. State Treasurer Tuffy West presented his address to seek the office again.

We congratulated the State Officers elected without opposition:

Pres. Vice Chairman - Ray Dusen from Mohave County

Second Vice Chairman - Duane Erving from Yuma

Third Vice Chairman - Diane Plaque from Phoenix

Assembly Secretary - Mary Margaret McElaine from San City West

Assembly Treasurer - Tim Smith from Yuma

Sergeant At Arms - James Hise from Tucson

Atm. Sergeant At Arms - Jimmy Neil from

Issues

Representatives adopted included:

1. Support of the Governor and his efforts in the advancement of State Rights and the rights of its citizens.
2. Opposition to the continued taking of privately owned rural lands and governmental ownership.
3. Urging the Arizona Congressional Delegation to oppose any legislation which restricts the Public Rangelands Improvement Act formula. This process formula saves the maximum results of both the citizens and the Federal government.

AWARDS DINNER

It was just delightful to have the honor of awarding our Lifetime Working and serving volunteers at Policy night's dinner. Nearly 200 guests from around the state enjoyed the ceremony and the delight of watching their fellow precinct committee members honored. Some of the honorees have been around the Party a long time and a couple of the winners just turned their work a year or so ago. Whether questions their contributions or not measured just in words or trophies, but in the pride felt at the hearts of everyone there.

Published by
Arizona Republican Party
3301 N. 24th Street
Phoenix, AZ 85016
602-937-7770

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It was a very good year, but let's do more in '94

By Dodie Londen
State Party Chairman

I am glad we don't use the term "off election year" anymore. There was nothing "off" about 1993 and it was certainly a year of real preparation for 1994. We saw many positive things happen in the Republican Party and one of the best was the willingness to grow our differences and work together. Live it just a word but when you feel it happening it becomes a real living thing.

The end of the year found us fairly close to being debt-free. Our fundraising efforts, Truth 'N' Task memberships went well over 300, direct mail and telemarketing increased. Senator Phil Crayton, Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison, Kathy Barlowe, Frank Pavoncello all came for events and a golf tournament was held during the Republican Governors Conference.

Our first statewide major event for 1994 will be the Truth 'N' Task appearance of JACK KEMP at the Radisson (formerly the Regency) in Scottsdale on February 26th. Your invitation is to mail us please respond with your membership. We are also looking forward to the appearance of Lyle Hutzler as the speaker for the Campaign School (single appears in that issue). We expect to have other major speakers throughout the year held as special events.

We're especially proud of the volunteers who are the backbone of the efforts at State Headquarters. Bernice Roberts, Headquarters Coordinator, brings a ready stream of more than 100 volunteers working on the mailings. We were able to save over \$40,000 because we do not have to use mailing houses for anything. In addition to that, volunteers conducted an instant survey on C.D. I and C.D. A.

The new computer is arriving now!

This system will allow us to provide much more information with speed and accuracy. We have up a steady communication with Party and political leaders throughout the state to bring you the updated calendar, political developments, issue papers and pertinent information.

We face some serious challenges this year and what an exciting time it is! Today the registration figures came out for the end of January. We are still ahead by 47,749 statewide. But this does not mean we can rest. With the federal motor voter registration now going into effect, we will have to do much more to encourage Republican registration.

With the beginning of almost nationwide registration in all federal offices, we may see an increase in the Democrat numbers. We CANNOT LET THEM PASS US. I hope every Republican will take seriously the example of Michael Cuda who just keeps on working his civic going door to door. Let's all get out into our own neighborhoods and REGISTER REPUBLICANS.

Events are being held in districts and counties around the state raising money to open headquarters and get in the all important Get-Out-The-Vote process. We plan to have our phone banks go into heavy use starting this summer. Candidate phone signing will begin before too long. And with the quality of this year's candidates we should have no problem getting all the required signatures.

So join me in cheering for Republicans. We have a big job ahead but we know we can do it!

Symington addresses the 'State of the State'

By Pat Tankersley
Editor

Governor Symington came out swinging in 1994, tackling controversial issues and talking tough. Not surprising for Symington, his perhaps unusual for political newcomers in an election year.

His formal State of the State message, on January 10th, was praised in the press as an "ambitious but highly focused agenda" which articulated themes "high among the list of concerns of the public." (Arizona Republic, January 11, 1994)

Mark Gerovich in the Phoenix Gazette went even further. "Over the last year the Governor's sense of possessing an in-depth of states—not parties of the state but his critics might describe as him—has been just right." Since taking office, Symington has

carried on his agenda of tax reduction, economic development, and fiscal accountability in Congress. During the 1993 legislative session, Symington introduced through a second consecutive decrease in Arizona personal income tax. He has proposed another one in 1994, most of it for middle-income families and citizens.

Since 1991, seventy-eight companies have moved to Arizona investing \$560 million and creating over 19,000 new jobs. Unemployment stands at 5.7 percent, down from 9.7 percent three years ago.

State Government has been streamlined through the Governor's Office for Excellence in Government, a budget surplus is expected and Symington has proposed a pay raise for state employees.

Cont. page 3

Exhibit 120

2

And the winners are...

PPF
7387

Chairman's Awards

Chairman's Trophy
Bernice Roberts

Senator Barry Goldwater Award
Alice and Harris Feltham

Harry Rosenzweig Memorial Award
(formerly the Howard Pyle Award)
Burt Kruglick

Volunteer Excellence Award
Fran Rigo

Lifetime Achievement Award
Al Driscoll

Achievement in Registration
Michael Cude

Outstanding Individual in Fundraising
Tom McClain

Outstanding County in Fundraising
Mohave County

Most Outstanding Party Worker in the State
(under the Incentive Plan)
Sister Michael Claire Wilson
First Runner-up Ed Cottingham
Second Runner-up Michael Sanders

Persons who have given Untiring Work and
Devotion to the Party

Ginny St. John
Joyce Jones
Joseph Abate
Ron Carmichael
Lori Davies Marsh

Incentive Plan Awards

Individual Achievement
First Place T. O. Beach
Second Place Phil Hazlett
Third Place Jim Garcia

Individual Winners Submitted by Counties
Michael Cude District 6
Eloise Sakmar District 21
Ed Cottingham Cochise
Sister Michael Claire Wilson and Mayor
Georgia Metzger Navajo County
Rex Waite Pima County
Michael Sanders & Richard Burke Yavapai

Outstanding County Overall
First Place Cochise County
Second Place Yavapai County

Outstanding District Overall
First Place District 28
Second Place (tie) Districts 21 and 30

Outstanding County in Voter Registration
First Place Yavapai County
Second Place Coconino County

Outstanding District in Voter Registration
First Place District 6
Second Place District 30

Outstanding County in Highest Number of Vacant
Precincts Filled
Cochise County

Outstanding District in Highest Number of Vacant
Precincts Filled
District 25

Outstanding County in Precinct Committeeman
Increase
First Place Cochise County
Second Place Yuma County
Third Place Coconino County

Outstanding District in Precinct Committeeman
Increase
First Place District 28
Second Place District 30
Third Place District 22

"Register 10 to Win" Contest Winners

Bob Bogie
Eric Brown
Scott Bundgaard
Chris Udall

Mary M. McMiller

Each of the five winners won a certificate for dinner for two at a local
restaurant. Three participants—Scott Bundgaard, Michael Cude and Chris Udall—
registered over 50 each and won a Carcare Club membership as Travel 'N Treat.
The next drawing is March 2, 1994. Entries must be at State Headquarters
by 5 pm March 1st. Call Headquarters for more information—957-7770.

Exhibit 120

4

So you want to run for office in 1994?

Campaign Strategy II Seminar is for you

Are you thinking about running for office? Do you know how to evaluate your chances of success? Do you know how to put together a winning team? The Arizona Republican Party can help you answer these questions and many others.

Over 100 potential candidates and volunteer workers attended the Fall Campaign Seminar held in November at the Tucson Rarson in Tempe. This annual seminar focused on current political trends, early organization of a campaign and setting the decision to run.

Luncheon speaker, Mayor Bires Schindler of Jersey City, New Jersey, was recognized as he told the audience how he campaigned on Republican beliefs and won election against overwhelming odds.

His second seminar will be held Friday and Saturday, March 18 and 19th, with more in-depth information on how to prepare a successful campaign and how to prepare a candidate for victory.

The two-day seminar will again feature two nationally known political strategists, Richard McBride and Gary Lawrence. Richard McBride, currently a consultant with the Republican National National Committee, will address campaign organization, developing a campaign plan and selecting the proper message. Gary Lawrence of The Lawrence Group in Santa Ana, CA, will speak on current issues and political trends.

Other breakout sessions will include:

- *campaign finance laws & reporting
- *designing brochures
- *effective campaign signs
- *dealing with the media
- *surcharging campaign dollars
- *public speaking & hostile interviews
- *how to recruit and reach volunteers
- *consumer communications for incumbents
- *targeting your voters

Individual video coaching will be held for candidates and a special session planned for incumbents on constituent communications and tips on tracking constituents concerns.

Friday's lunch will feature former White House political strategist Lyn Nofziger. A longtime strategist and political advisor to Presidents Reagan, Mr. Nofziger is currently associated with The Carman Group in Washington, D.C.

"This seminar showed me how much my party cares for future candidates. I now feel I can successfully run for office and am listed in the Republican Party as a runner," was just one of the positive comments made by attendees of the first seminar.

Space is limited for the March seminar, so plan now to attend by making us the application below. For further information, call Mike Helton at 602-577-5188, ext. 3770. Write at Republican Headquarters, 957-7770.



State Mine Inspector brings wealth of experiences to the office

which he received an accommodation by the U.S. Air Force. His next endeavor was at Project Enterprise for the building of Metro Center Shopping Mall in Phoenix.

As time progressed, he moved more into the profession of his forefathers and established a mining and engineering firm in the mid-1970s. He has explored and developed many mines throughout the Southwest, building a solid relationship with miners, engineers, geologists and mine owners alike.

In 1988 Martin began to look for new challenges and someone suggested he run for State Mine Inspector. "I knew immediately that I would be the best mine inspector. I had been supervising them for years," Martin said. He was elected this year and re-elected in 1992.

There are 867 operating mines in Arizona with 19,000 employees. The role of the State Mine Inspector is to ensure safety in the mines, educate and train employees, locate abandoned mines to mine (the total now numbers 95,000), and investigate mine accidents and fatalities.

Martin remains very active in many mutual safety and community organizations. He represents the Governor and the State of Arizona on many local and national boards. He also serves as Chairman of the National Safety Council, Mining Division which oversees operations in 114 countries and provinces.

Douglas K. Martin, Arizona's State Mine Inspector is one of the more colorful characters in the State. A third generation Arizona Native, he graduated from ASU with a BA in Education and accomplished his graduate work at the University of Arizona, UCLA and San Diego State University, obtaining his Construction and Mining Engineering Degrees. During this time, he paid for his schooling by mining and performing stunts in the movies, and is still a member of the Screen Actors' Guild. As of the stunts and movies were not exciting enough, he took a two-month hiatus for some adventure and toured the U.S., Canada and Mexico by motorcycle. This journey ended with only one broken arm, which Doug considered a small price to pay.

His engineering career began at Glen Canyon Dam as a junior engineer and safety inspector. During the Vietnam War, he was an instructor at the Air Force SAC Command Base. Remaining in California for a few years, Martin taught science and math in public schools and earned the Teacher of the Year Award in 1971.

Moving back to his home state, he continued teaching and now holds a covered Lifetime Teaching Certificate from the State of Arizona. Finding it impossible to support his family on teacher's wages, he returned to engineering and approved construction at both Lockheed and Williams Air Force Bases for

Registration Form Campaign Strategy II

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (home) _____ (office) _____ Fax# _____

\$125 2-day seminar and luncheons

\$25 additional fee/video coaching

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____

Please charge my VISA/MASTERCARD

Exp. Date _____

Please return to:

Arizona Republican Party
3501 N. 24th St.
Phoenix, AZ 86016 Attn. Mike Helton

Potential candidate lists grow in CD races

Each day brings a new announcement from a candidate or possible candidate. We have listed here the names of persons who have indicated they may be running for these offices. Officially announced candidates (at the time of going to press) have been so indicated.

Congressional District 1

Eric Davis
Ben Harmon-announced
Linda Reavis-announced
Mae Salmon-announced
Suzanne Baez Smith
Ben Tolofson-announced

Congressional District 2

James Crews
Ed Miller

Congressional District 6

Werna Guilote
J. D. Hayward-announced
Gary Huitt
Carl Kumbie
Ramona Larson-announced
Tom McGovern
Mills Meyer
Esther Morales
Lester Porter
David Schwilke
David Smith-announced

Congressional District 4

Jim Bruner
Sandra Downing
Trent Frenke-announced
Mark Healy
Joan Joffert
Draig Mathews
John Shadegg-announced

Republican Forum available on CompuServe

The Republican National Committee is going head-to-head with the White House and the Democratic National Committee down the fast lane information highway, with the launching of the Republican Forum on CompuServe. The Forum is a library for important documents, such as Monday Briefings, Senate Republican Policy Committee Resally Checks, Health Care Side by Side, Chairman's Report and many more.

Call Clark Benson or Stephanie McMahon at RNC, Computer Services at 202-863-8670 to enter your free CompuServe membership list (for DOS or Windows).

Exhibit 120

West announces re-election bid

At the Mandatory Meeting of the Arizona Republican Party, State Treasurer Tony West announced his plans to seek re-election in November. Stating a desire to continue serving the people of Arizona as the chief financial officer, West added that his experience will provide the leadership needed to take advantage of a brightening financial future. "Even before the calling for re-nominating government, the Treasurer's Office has improved and modernized operations in order to better serve the people of Arizona," West said. "I'm asking the people of Arizona to allow me to continue to build on the foundation of hard work, vision and good government we have put in place over the last three years."

West said that his main areas of accomplishment in the past three years have been:

- *Successful promotion of economic development
- *Improved efficiency and accountability in the management of public monies
- *Safety and yield in the management of a portfolio of over \$ 2 billion dollars.

"My primary job for the people of Arizona is to keep their money safe and earning the best possible return. The main thrust of the past year has been the identification and resolution of a state-of-the-art automated investment accounting system in order to further ensure that we maximize safety and yield."

"This past year I have been pleased to have been recognized by my peers who elected me President of the Western State Treasurers Association as well as Vice President of the National Association of State Treasurers. I have consistently received that Washington needs to recognize that there is a partnership with the state, and the Treasurers Association is an important vehicle in delivering that message."

West was first elected to the Office of State Treasurer in 1990 after serving for many years in the State Legislature. The treasurer is the Chief Financial Officer of the state and acts as the investment officer for all state agencies as well as operating a Local Government Investment Fund for the state, trusts and accounts. The Treasurer is also responsible for the banking operations of the state, overseeing more than 75 accounts for various state agencies managing over the entire area of the state. In addition, West serves as Chairman of the State Board of Deposits.

West and his wife of 33 years, Maggie, live in Phoenix. They are also at the University of Arizona and earned some living in Newport Beach, California and Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Kyl launches his "Living Rooms and Backyards" campaign

When you think of most campaigns, images of candidates, banners, rallies, and other political fanfare come to mind. Short of a brief door-to-door visit, you don't necessarily think of candidates making house calls, unless it's Rep. Jon Kyl's campaign for the open U.S. Senate seat in Arizona.

Kyl, a 33-year resident of Anzonia, launched his campaign last October.

At a recent news conference in Tucson, Kyl announced his "Living Rooms and Backyards" campaign. At the home of Mo and Ellen Dale. The campaign, Kyl said, will take him to all parts of the state to meet with people where they're most comfortable, in their homes.



"This effort will be the spirit of my campaign for the Senate," Kyl said. "It's a chance for me to listen to the concerns of Arizona residents and share my ideas with them in their own homes and neighborhoods," he said.

Since kicking off the "Living Rooms and Backyards" campaign, Kyl has held such meetings in Tucson, Globe, Central, Clifton, Casa Grande, Green Valley, Nogales, Sierra Vista and Benson.

"People are very willing to let me know what they think about Congress, the issues and the future of America," Kyl said. He noted most of the comments focus on taxes, health care and crime.

"Folks are fed up with high taxes, and plans that would take away their choice in health care," Kyl said. "They're also concerned about their safety and the alarming increase in crime."

Kyl said he expected to hold hundreds of these meetings with Arizonians before the election next November. "This campaign will allow Arizonians to have an active voice in this campaign," he said.



Dramatic campaign finance law change impacts clubs, districts and candidates

By John Shadegg

This year, for the first time in almost a decade, "political organizations," including legislative district committees, as well as women's and men's clubs, will be able to make financial contributions to our Party's nominees for state and local office. For the past three election cycles, as a result of Prop. 302, the Clean Water Act, campaign finance reform measure adopted in 1986, district organizations and clubs have been effectively prevented from making contributions to candidates.

The new law establishes a new category for "political organizations" rather than placing them in the same category with businesses and other PACs. Contributions will now come under a new, separate set of laws and candidates will be able to accept

money from these groups.

The change dramatically strengthens the ability of Republican women's and men's clubs, and other political organizations, to participate in the political process. The maximum contribution a club may make to a candidate for local office is \$250 and to a candidate for statewide office is \$640. The maximum contribution for local office will be allowed to accept from the Party and all political organizations combined is \$6,390. The maximum for a candidate for statewide office is \$63,880.

To be able to make contributions under this provision, the organization must be "formally affiliated with and recognized by" the Party. It must also establish a "political committee." If a group decides to form a "political committee," it should open

a separate bank account to be used exclusively for monies which will be given to candidates. The account should not be used for monies the organization collects to pay for meals, meetings, or other expenditures.

To establish a "political committee," the organization must file a "Statement of Organization" designating a chairman and a treasurer. These may be the existing chairman and treasurer of different individuals. Once the organization begins to collect money it will have to file reports of its contributions and expenditures. Reporting can be kept to a minimum if only monies that are going to be used for making contributions to candidates are placed into the account. Also, if the organization disallows all monies raised, it may "normalize" the political committee and avoid fil-

ing future reports.

A political organization can file as a "political committee" itself and use its existing treasury. However, the disallowance of doing so is less an endorsement and expenditure reports will have to include all monies received, not just those to be used to make contributions to candidates.

The significance of this change for Republican candidates and organizations is obvious. Political clubs and district committees, that were so drastically upon the political process through cash contributions, will now be able to do so.

Mr. Shadegg is a former Senate Assistant Attorney General. He advised the Arizona Secretary of State's Office on election laws from 1983 to 1990.

Exhibit 120

6

Legislature tackles crime and other weighty issues

By George Davis

As our newspapers, television, radio and other media are telling us, the Arizona Legislature, the Governor and his staff are meeting to provide Arizona with a budget and grapple with a series of issues which will affect our State and our future for years to come. The Governor has delivered his State of the State Address which includes the issues listed below. The State Senate and House are meeting to establish a working relationship and discuss and promote legislation which the 1994 Legislature will bring before both Houses.

Lead items are some of the priority issues facing the legislators during the 1994 session, catalogued in no particular order and not necessarily in the heading which they will appear.

1. Budget and Taxes—which will include a tax cut, primarily for the middle class.
2. Public Safety—which includes juvenile justice and gang violence.
3. Educational Reform—which includes teachers, open enrollment and charter schools.
4. Welfare Reform—providing child support collections.
5. Economic Development—including privatization and regulatory reform.

In a recent survey, crime (public safety) was ranked as the number one issue facing our citizens today. Several proposals were released this fall. These include recommendations from Governor Symington, Attorney General Green, Woods, and 57 members sponsored by the Supreme Court and the Arizona Juvenile Justice Commission. Some of these recommendations include:

"placing at least one Children's Action Center in every county. These centers would have jurisdiction over the child and his/her family for matters relating to abuse and neglect,

"a program to handle dangerous juvenile offenders, with an emphasis on a special facility and training,

"a proposal to make it a felony to sell firearms to a minor,

"insurance returned to an adult court for violent and chronic juvenile offenders,

"making available the death penalty for gang-related murder,

"Expansion of Gang Enforcement Task Force,

"establishment of personal responsibility and liability for the actions of our children,

"In an effort to help our neighborhoods, some of the proposals include:

"placing police officers in some of the most violent schools,

"development of after-school programs for children,

"in partnership with the Neighborhood Blockwatch Program,

"providing \$10 million for at-risk preschool children,

"giving students the authority to sue county-wide teachers for juveniles.

As you can see, that isn't an easy issue facing the Legislature but some complex questions involve the Legislature. The above list contains only some of the many proposals offered to help mitigate some difficult issues.

Call or write your Senator, Representative and the Governor to let them know how you stand on this and other issues being considered during this session of the Legislature.

College Republican groups put aside differences, join forces

By Michael Judd

1st Vice Chairman, ASU CRs ; The College Republicans and the Campus Republicans of Arizona State University have decided to join off on this crucial election year by joining the two organizations. By doing so the College Republicans hope to help with the party, giving it strength and working towards the goals it faces.

After extensive discussion between Patrick Greene (President, Campus Republicans), Paul Clark (Chairman, ASU CRs) and Michael Judd (1st Vice Chairman, ASU CRs) an agreement was reached on January 14, 1994, and the two organizations merged.

GOP-TV now available

Dimension Cable is carrying GOP-TV on channel 28 (Phoenix area only) on a delayed broadcast on Mondays 7 pm, Wednesdays 8 pm and Saturdays at noon. Watch for the Reagan/ Thatcher special in February.

GOP-TV is a Republican news and information network designed to put you in touch with the Republican Party from an "insider's" perspective.

Thanks to District 16 precinct commissioner Lars Fields who was instrumental in arranging this programming.



AFRW begins new year with new leadership, plans

Kay VanSant
President

PF 7301

The Arizona Federation of Republican Women held its Biennial Convention in Lake Havasu City in October. Officers for 1994-5 were elected at the convention. Kay VanSant of Scottsdale District 28, was elected president of the State Federation.

The Arizona Federation of Republican Women is one of the oldest Republican Women's organizations in the country. We were founded in 1920—the same year that women were given the right to vote and 18 years before the National Federation of Republican Women was founded. A small group of women met weekly for the purpose of "study and promotion of the American system of government, as exemplified in Republican Party principles and candidates."

In 1994 our goals are not significantly different. The major thrust of the Federation is still to promote an informed electorate through political education. We are committed to the belief that through education, we can foster loyalty to the Republican Party and promote its ideals. What we do encourage our members to run for office, we are dedicated to the concept of electing all Republican candidates to public office.

From our training programs provided by the National Federation to seminars and workshops held at the state and local levels, we provide training to our membership to prepare them to hold responsible positions in various campaigns and we encourage them to become involved at all levels of the Party. Through active participation in the party, we can further enhance our education objectives.

The new administration dedicated to continuing its emphasis on education and party involvement. We encourage our members to get involved at the grass roots level. We need to register more Republicans to vote and fill precinct vacancies with well-informed persons. To this end, one of our two new special projects will be a P.C. Recruitment Liaison to work throughout the state with County and District Republican Committees to identify well-informed persons to fill vacancies in our Precincts. Marge Carr of Coconino and Sharon Giese of Mesa will co-chair this project, and representatives from all regions will be recruited to work on this project.

The second of our new committees will be the Women's Issues Committee chaired by Jean Holman. This project will involve cooperation between the AFRW and the Governor's Office for Women on issues involving women such as domestic violence, sexual abuse and harassment in the work place. The AFRW needs to become more proactive rather than reactive in these areas.

Our members are trained to get involved with campaign and active work for Republican candidates. We want to develop effective communication skills and develop a speakers bureau so that our members can speak for our Party and for Republican candidates throughout the State in the 1994 campaign. We look forward to working with the State Party and with all Republican candidates and to celebrating VICTORY IN 1994.



From row Warren Edmonson, Mark Commissioner Mike Helton, Tom Helton, Russ Farnelle, Betty Bigwood, Rex Scott, Cindy and Steve Sweet

Practicing the Republican philosophy of less government and more individual responsibility, Arizona Republicans join the 'Adopt a Highway' Program



Chairman John Wade, 1st Vice Chairman Chuck Ross and 2nd Vice Chairman Tommy Trapp

Exhibit 120

AROUND THE STATE

Navajo teacher wins State Outstanding Party Worker

Apache County held a winter precinct committeeman training session led by State Chairman Dodie Lindner and husband Gene. CD 6 potential candidates I. D. Hayworth, Ramona L. Stone and David Schweickon spoke at a regular meeting on late fall Lincoln Day Dinner is planned for first part of March. Governor Symington will be the featured speaker. The Cochise County Republican Committee was given recognition under the state Republican Party's Incentive Plan for its political activity including voter registration, the County Fair booth and the summer barbecue. The award, a weekend for two at La Posada in Paradise Valley, was presented to Party Broomea, secretary of the County Committee for her untiring efforts in these areas. Graham County held its December meeting at the home of County Chairman Mark Bruce, in keeping with featured speaker Congressman Jon Kyl's "Living rooms and back yards" Sonora campaign... Green Valley Republican Club has accepted the challenge of filling precinct committeeman slots in 13 empty precincts in their area. As last count they had filled 58 of the available 78 positions. Congratulations... Greenlee County Chairman John Wade met again in December anticipating a move to Tucson. First Vice Chairman Chuck Ross moved into that position... Mohave County hit the ground running in 1994 as Chairman Sharon Rae High promised some aggressive goals at the mandatory meeting January 5. Four certified coordinators are already busy setting up headquarters in all three districts and organizing GOTV programs. Lillian Hezler and Jack Shaw were recognized as Man and Woman of the Year at the same meeting... Lincoln Day Dinners are scheduled for all three districts in the upcoming weeks (check calendar on page 11)... Pima County Chairman Kate Lynch resigned her position in January. First Vice Chairman Larry Lattinow is filling that position until an election can be held in March... District 12, Pima County—Precinct Committeemen Paul and Angie Jullien held an Open House for their Precinct 23 to meet their neighbors and introduce them to Rep. Jon Kyl and his wife Cheryl. About 30 people attended... The district's annual food drive for the Salvation Army netted 20 bags of food in November... District 14, Pima County held a FUN (d) Raiser in November at the home of Chairman Wanda Anderson. The event raised nearly \$800. The District Adopt-a-Highway crew was out on its assigned area in December. Next clean-up day is scheduled in March... District 25, Maricopa County adopted two needy families for its Christmas project. So much money, food and clothing was collected that the surplus was given to a Mexican church and a local half-way house. Chairman of the event was Fran Alpa... Districts 26 and 28 sponsored a registration drive at Scottsdale Saguaro High School in December. The drive was coordinated by Lois Fleck, T&T's volunteer. Ally Boyd and Robbie Shaw of Dis. 26 and Paul Macdonald of Dis. 28 registered over 100 students during the drive... Yuma County held its first "mini" Thank & Thank event featuring Governor Symington. Approximately 100 guests attended. The T&T is an effort to raise money for a computer system for the County Committee. Lincoln Day Dinner is planned for February 17 with Jon Kyl as featured speaker. Chairman T. O. Beach and wife Dorothy celebrated their 50th anniversary January 8th. Congratulations!

Sister Michael Clare Wilson, a product of an American from Navajo County was honored at State Outstanding Party Worker at the Mandatory Meeting held in Phoenix January 29th. Sister Michael directs an enrichment program in the Winslow school system for which she won a National award. Through her efforts Navajo youngsters and their parents are making Republican candidates, starting issues and registering to vote. She makes certain all the Navajo Americans in the Winslow schools are registered to vote when they graduate from high school. She also sponsors a "Meet Your Candidate Night" for every city and county election.



Navajo County Committeeman Mike Hoffman congratulates Sister Michael as the precinct worker of the award.

ASU Gammage Hosts Maricopa GOP

By Marvin Weide
County Chairman

ASU Gammage was the site for the recent Maricopa County Committee's Mandatory Meeting, 1716 in person and proxies were in attendance. The theme of this year's event was "A Caring Party," focusing on Republican involvements in the community. County committeemen made the Sheriff's Youth Foundation their constituency outreach. New articles of clothing for 5th and 6th graders were collected. Those committeemen who forgot their donations can still take them to the county headquarters.

Members at large were elected and by-law changes approved. The meeting ended with fireworks as a resolution passed concerning County taxes during a basketball exhibition.



We know you recognize the man on the left, but do you recognize the man on the right? It's Pat Casey County Chairman George Shaffer who created Former President Reagan as helping shape his conservative political philosophy. Shaffer worked in politics in both Texas and California beginning in his college days.



By Pat Tankersley Editor

Wasting 60 days in the middle of the night our committee had a press to conference tomorrow. As all Pat Patterson, the new Congressman Howie Chynoweth announced at the National Young Republicans Conference in February, 1993, Georgia's results were brief, but the message is loud, in Eastern American Civilization.

Holloman said, "I agree with the essence of a reform to demand, which included: free, unopportunity and discipline in which health care health care, revitalization of the Joint Camp through an economic, EPA, National Empowerment of individuals in the form, value of families, commitment to Christ, and American Growth was not a word! This is going to save the economy. This is essential theme was designed to replace the

"Renewing American Civilization" becomes project for Party worker

collaboration in America with an Opportunity Party.

Holloman was enthusiastic about bringing the events in Arizona, particularly for the Republican Party, and appointed Sam Chynoweth District Leader. Although the program is complete, Holloman believes that the party should be established without the help of Lincoln and the New Republican Party.

Miss Johnson made arrangements were prepared to carry the entire which began in September, 1993.

Holloman and Anne Wing, a first-generation American Indian and native Republican, established a Meet Site at Estimote Suite in Scottsdale, secretary of Senator Tom Shroyer. Renewing American Civilization topics were purchased for the group, follow-up events and set up above Society message through November 27th. Group members followed with their presentation, with the question "How can that information affect my economy today?"

The State Party headquarters in Phoenix also served as a Meet Site for the meeting, thanks to Linda and Eugene Dwyer. John Lynch was named as Leader of the Meet Site.

As Holloman worked with RAC in Georgia, they became convinced with all the fact based information at hand by establishing the course on Cable television. She was able to create a manual on her premises for use by other state committees.

The RAC organization distributed copies of the manual at an national symposium December 1st at Miami. They invited Holloman to the meeting in San Jose. In attendance was college professor who had served as spokesman at other conservative conferences and others whose works are included in the course book, as well as others participating in the program.

The course is now at an second showing which began January 21, 1994. The plan is for the 300-hour course to be presented through 1994, beginning in January. The course is being shown live by satellite on NET, Galaxy 7, Transponder 30 Vertical, Wednesday at 11 am, Arizona time, and on tape. Saturday morning, and night to 2 am, as well as on cable.

And what is Holloman doing now? "The Assembly Party of 1993 Meet Site Assistant was in early January in Arizona was, we had had, everyone was so excited about the material and



State Senator Tom Patterson with Pat Patterson of Renewing American Civilization prepare before the Arizona Opportunity Society.

Exhibit 120

8

CALENDAR OF FUTURE EVENTS

PHF
7/83

FEBRUARY

- 14 Coconino Lincoln Day Dinner
Woodlands Plaza Hotel
Flagstaff
- 15 Governor Symington Fundraiser
Speaker: President George Bush
- 17 AZ YR League Candidates Night
Wrigley Mansion Club
Phoenix
- 25 Kingman Lincoln Day Dinner
Kingman Country Club
Speaker: Governor Symington
- 26 1st Trunk 'N' Tusk Dinner
The Radisson Resort, Scottsdale
Speaker: Jack Kemp
- 26 Cochise County Lincoln Day Dinner
Bella Union in Tombstone
Speaker: Attorney General Grass Woods
- 27 Carolyn Allen Campaign Kickoff
Big Tens—Celebration of Fine Arts
Highland Ave. & Scottsdale Rd., Scottsdale

MARCH

- 3,4 Arizona Governor's Conference on Women in
Business
Phoenix Civic Plaza
For more information: 602-285-6268
- 5 Kyl Fundraiser with Glen Campbell
The Radisson Resort
Scottsdale
- 12 Bullhead City Lincoln Day Dinner
Speaker: Congressman Jon Kyl

APRIL

- 9 Preview Art Show
Special Work of Robert McCall
Princess Resort
- 17 Kolbe Fund Raiser
Arizona Biltmore, Phoenix
- 19 Mohave County Republican Meeting

This calendar is a work in progress. We depend on you to keep us informed as to events and dates. Call Kathy at State Headquarters with your information.

Looking for a way to express your political bent?

State Headquarters has a variety of items for sale. We have the popular Clinton Backwards-Raising Watch for only \$25 or the 1994 Bill Clinton "Broken Promises" Calendar, for \$8, along with great bumper stickers, buttons, coffee mugs, posters, tee-shirts and a variety of tote bags, wallets, etc. with the Republican Elephant logo.

LOOK FOR THE BULLY AND GOV. BILLARY

FOR THE BULLY '96



Call Kathy at Headquarters (957-7770) or come by and take a look. (3501 N. 24th St.) These items make great door prizes, raffle prizes, or gifts for your like-minded friends.



Phil Haskins, District 17 Chairman, pictured here with Sen. Bob Dink at the Western States Leadership Conference last fall. Haskins was honored with an Individual Achievement Award at the State Mandatory Meeting.

National Commissioner Mike Mallon, National Commissioner Sam Swanson, State Treasurer Tony Wex, Cindy McCain, wife of Sen. John McCain, Attorney General Grass Woods and ASB ParBanshri Ann Lapan, along with other Party leaders, were seated at the head table at the State Mandatory Meeting.



Exhibit 120

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

- VISION - TO REPLACE THE WELFARE SYSTEM IN AMERICA WITH THE OPPORTUNITY SOCIETY.
- STRATEGY - ENLIST 200,000 PEOPLE IN AMERICA IN THIS EFFORT
- PROJECTS - ENCOURAGE AS MANY PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE TO SEE "RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION" THRU SATELLITES AND TAPES.
- ENCOURAGE ALL ELECTED OFFICIALS IN AMERICAN CULTURE TO WORK TOWARD THE VISION
- TACTICS - OFFER THE 20 HOUR COURSE FOR ACADEMIC CREDIT
- OFFER COURSE BOOK, SYLLABUS, AND READING LISTS
- OFFER THE COURSE THROUGH VOLUNTEER HOST SITES
- OFFER THE COURSE THRU PUBLIC BROADCASTING SYSTEMS THROUGHOUT AMERICA
- OFFER THE COURSE THRU TELEVISION CABLE SYSTEMS THROUGHOUT AMERICA
- PREPARE FOR THE OBVIOUS INTEREST WHICH WILL BE GENERATED BY MONITORING NEW ORGANIZATIONS FOR CITIZENS INTERESTED IN REPLACING THE WELFARE SYSTEM: (ORGANIZATIONS CALLED "RENEW")
-

DES 00999

Exhibit 120

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION TRAINING MANUAL

CABLE TELEVISION: PUBLIC ACCESS CHANNELS

Contact Program Directors of local cable television companies.

Using the suggested marketing conversation, ask them to schedule Renewing American Civilization on their Public Access Channel. (EXHIBIT: I-A; I-B)

Be prepared to FAX the standard information immediately. If they prefer, deliver the information or mail it to them. (EXHIBITS: II; II-A, B, C, D, E; VI-A; II-F. XI, H, I, J)

Most cable networks will only provide Public Access to residents living in their particular subscriber area. If you are a resident of a different cable area, you may have to promise you'll find another person to sponsor the tape series, in order to get the program telecast.

Some cable networks require persons requesting Public Access to attend a school for training which they provide, so that their parameters are clearly understood and people become a "Producer" if they use the Public Access Channel. Other cable networks require you to "join" the cable company, which means you (a) attend training for a required number of hours; (b) pay a fee of \$50 or \$100; (c) agree to volunteer service at their cable company. However, you can ask for a name from their membership list and prevail upon that member to be your surrogate "Producer."

If you have not heard from the cable company in a week, concerning their decision on use of the Tape Series, call the Program Director back. (The only refusal I have experienced, is due to their parameters: tape size, length of each taped program, late scheduling, or no "ending" at close of 1st hour, etc.) We can overcome all of these objections now, except late scheduling. (Cable companies prefer two to six months for scheduling programs.)

Assure cable companies that they can have the three-quarter tapes, (Industrial Quality), ten seconds of countdown and one minute of black, tape delivery five to seven days prior to telecast, and labels in whatever form they use.

Some cable networks do not require a contractual agreement for use by Public Access. However, most cable networks have contracts for Public Access users to sign. Some are two pages, and some are 30 pages. If in doubt as to the content, you can FAX or mail a copy of the contract to Renew for their approval. (There may be technical aspects which Renew needs to review and which may be unfamiliar to you.)

DES 01000

When using tapes for television, which have been produced out-of-state, you may find yourself in a different "pool" or "lottery" for time-slots. Tapes are usually scheduled on "first come, first served" basis. Therefore, you must continually re-request air time, as this series runs for more than eight weeks. (Over eight weeks runs into another "grid" and must be re-requested.) Keep request forms on hand and be sure you are the first request in the next pool. (EXHIBIT: III-A; III-B)

Do not tell each cable network what other "channels" you have scheduled, unless you need to "name-drop" to get their interest in the program. They never ask, and it might be cause for them to refuse to air the tape series, if they believed it was being seen too frequently.

Keep scheduling the program on as many channels as you can at the same cable company. It is not redundant to schedule Renewing American Civilization on many channels, because each channel has its own viewership. Channels may be perceived as "College," "Public Access," "High School," "City," "Public Broadcasting Network," etc., and have their own following.

Prime Time is considered to be Wednesday and Thursday nights, 7:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. Try to schedule, then, for one of your series. Weekday afternoons are also desirable, as VCR taping on a bi-weekly or a weekly basis is possible. Monday night is considered "football" night, Tuesday is "organizational" night, Friday night is "family" night. Saturday mornings are "cartoon" times. Sundays are possible as Prime in afternoons or early evening. Be creative, and try different scheduling; your area's interests and culture may dictate a significantly different "Prime Time."

Using an "Air-play Week" means "the entire series of ten tapes is telecast once." Therefore, if you have the opportunity to schedule "four Air-play Weeks" you have the privilege of telecasting the entire series four different times, for a total of 40 weeks altogether. This may take six months and a lot of scheduling on your part, but definitely worth the effort, because you never know who will be watching, or when!

Cable network studios do not have a lot of storage room for tapes, so you may find they are happy to return the tapes to Renew, following the end of the scheduled series. Keep the tapes together, until the entire series or "Air-play weeks" have been completed, before returning them.

Some educational institutions, and TV cable companies want to keep tapes for their libraries or possible future use. Some cable companies make copies of the master tape so that if there is an equipment problem during telecast, only the dubbed copy is damaged and they still have the master for copying a new tape. Check with Renew before returning tapes as it may be unnecessary to return them.

Exhibit 120

DES 1000A

After scheduling the Tape Series with a television cable network, call the Program Director prior to the first week's scheduled telecast (in time to get a Federal Express package duplicating the first tape, in case of non-delivery) and make sure all is on schedule for the airing of the first program.

Call the cable companies weekly or bi-monthly as a follow-up to keep the program on schedule. You may not know what has gone awry otherwise, and others are depending on specific times to see the series or to record it.

Use the "Community Calendar" on various cable networks to publicize the tape series or the Host Sites in your area. There is no charge but it must be re-scheduled or changed every two weeks, or will be "killed." (EXHIBIT: IV)

Mail out letters of confirmation to cable TV companies and educational institutions after they have given you a verbal commitment. (EXHIBIT: V)

Deliver a packet of information concerning Renew to the receptionists at each cable television studio. They need to be informed, as they are the person with whom the public comes in contact, when questions are asked concerning the programs on television.

Publish a television schedule for your area prior to the beginning of the proposed series, for distribution in your community. (EXHIBIT: VI-A). Send press releases to media, similar to example of newspaper announcement. (EXHIBIT: VI-B)

EDUCATIONAL CABLE CHANNELS:

Credit is offered for high school, college and graduate work. Independent Study is available in four fields: History, Political Science, Education or Business. (Use Site Hosts and College List to pique interest.) The Course has been approved for staff development credit for teachers and is being used in Georgia to meet teacher re-certification requirements. (EXHIBIT: VII)

When you contact a School District or College, you may discover they are thrilled to have access to 20 hours of a taped series which they can use, at no cost to them. Do try to help them schedule the tapes for "In-Service Teacher Training," in addition to the cable TV programming. Teacher training may be of more long term value, when you consider the number of children being taught by those teachers!

Currently all Colleges and Universities seem to have a "Television Specialist" who schedules educational programs. Contact the Television Specialist instead of the Dean of Instruction. You can always go "up" if you get a "no." You may find a delay in scheduling because the Educational Specialist

DES 01001

is looking for a Department sponsor and cannot find one quickly.

Offer to help the Specialist with the name of a particular professor you know or with a contact you have, who might find the best professor for sponsorship.

Some Colleges or Universities have a "federal mandate" to serve the rural areas. Therefore they usually have downlink and uplink capabilities. Perhaps you can get them to downlink the satellite and uplink to their other "mandated" educational institutions, which may then be picked up for satellite or cable programs in the up-linked area.

Investigate whether your particular state has an "Educational Telecommunications Cooperative." If one exists, it may be very helpful in providing access to the names and telephone numbers you need to proceed. A cooperative may make time available for you to present Renew at a meeting, or they may distribute information concerning Renew for you. (EXHIBIT: (VIII))

Some educational institutions require a one-page information sheet, including names of curriculum writers. (EXHIBIT: IX)

 PRISONS:

County and State Prisons are obviously housing people who were never acculturated into American Civilization. Many prison systems have their own downlinking facilities and can produce tapes for their closed circuit TV to each cell.

Call the Sheriff, for County Prison System and he may ask you to speak with the Assistant Sheriff or the Educational Specialist. After you explain the program, they should arrange to purchase whatever tapes and course materials they need, by calling: 1-800-TO-RENEW. Hopefully, they will purchase at least one course book and syllabus.

Call the State Superintendent for the Department of Corrections. He will ask you to speak with the Educational Specialist. They often have their own downlink satellite facilities, but should be encouraged to purchase one course book and one set of reading assignments to properly use the course.

Assure the Prison System Educational Specialists that Nancy Desmond, Course Coordinator, can provide guidance for tape or satellite use in their Educational Programs such as GEDs. Her telephone number is: (404) 423-6606.

Each state has a different prison system, but try to get the tape series viewed by the County prisoners because 98% will be released to rejoin our American Civilization!

DES 01002

HOST SITES:

Always use name tags, for yourself and all in attendance, it is the "great equalizer".

Ask people to register with their name, address, and telephone number. Do this even though they may plan on attending only once, or are from another state. Keep a running attendance record from this registration, to award a Certificate of Completion for the 20 hours of classroom work at the end of the course, at your Host Sites. (EXHIBIT X)

Mail out weekly meeting reminders. This takes less time than telephoning participants. Give them any room change in scheduling, etc. Plan the reminder mailing to be delivered at least two days prior to the meeting time. This will increase attendance and participants will be encouraged to bring new people.

When publishing a Host Site flyer, use dates instead of "Week 1", "Week 2", etc. This is less confusing for people to read. (EXHIBIT: XD)

There is usually "someone" who knows "someone," so put out your luck lines and it will happen. Provide your supporters with packets or material to convince the State Senator or Representative he or she knows, to help us replace the Welfare System in America. Challenge your supporters to become involved in recruiting others for Host Sites.

Suggested Procedures for Tracking Progress with Program:

Set up a filing system. Duplicate papers you may need to place in more than one file. If the subject is available in more than one place, you will be more efficient.

Create your own alphabetical list of names and addresses and telephone numbers. It will be more efficient for recall than spending time looking for names of contacts. Update it continually for maximum use. If you wish, becomes a short portable list.

You will need access to a photocopier and a fax machine.

Create your own FAX Cover, particularly since this is a non-partisan program. (EXHIBIT: XII)

It is advantageous to have printed stationery for correspondence and to use business cards for enclosures or personal presentations of Renew.

Whenever you promise to write, deliver, mail, etc., to someone: do it quickly. Their interest span is short and

you need all the integrity you can build.

 OTHER SUGGESTIONS OF PROJECTS OR OF GROUPS TO CONTACT:

- Candidates for office: they have more time, now, to become informed and they may win today to become lawmakers tomorrow
- Chambers of Commerce: contact officers; business and government committees
- Cities: contact Mayor; City Councilmen; city government employees
- Churches: as Host Sites with congregational involvement, or as information dissemination in bulletins, newsletters, etc.
- Concerned Women of America: contact members; address meetings
- County Government; contact Supervisor members; County government personnel
- Homeless shelters and charities: they usually have television available in lounges. Try to get tapes scheduled there for as much viewing as possible. These people are already the clients of the Welfare System and perhaps will discover the Opportunity Society sooner when they have seen the series. Investigate use of tapes for Salvation Army, Goodwill Industries, Church Missions, local City Government's Welfare Agencies, etc.
- Indian Reservations or other ethnic communities: offer information; encourage Host Sites
- Industry: use current list of industries in America applying Renew for employee training, to interest local industry in their own employee training
- Legislators; individuals, or in groups: invite them to your Host Site as guest speakers; encourage them to view tapes alone or in group sessions (as lawmakers they have the power to replace the welfare system)
- Libraries: raise funds to provide Renewing American Civilization taped series as a permanent part of your Library
- Lobbyists: in field of Education or Business interest them in Renewing American Civilization
- Newsletters: give Renew information to your organizations and areas of activities for publications; local or statewide

Newspapers: offer course information for editorials and news; write press releases; organize letters-to-the-editor

Optomist Clubs: by their very nature are receptive to Renew ideas; provide guest speakers for meetings and distribute literature giving information concerning Host Sites or television schedules

Radio talk shows: cities in your area can gain publicity for Host Sites and television schedules; contact the Program Director for Radio or TV Talk Shows; (they want controversy so mention Newt Gingrich's name; it is imaginary controversy but will get a show scheduled)

Political Precinct Committeemen: attend District meetings; provide information on Renew Course; arrange to show a Demo tape for them to view

Speaker's Bureau: develop a Speaker's Bureau for presenting Host Site information and TV schedules to the community

State government: contact Governor; staffs; government workers, Boards, and Commissions; both members and personnel

State Fairs: rent a booth and distribute the Renew Registration flyers and your local television schedules so the general public can view Renewing American Civilization

State-wide conventions: arrange to show 10 to 15 minutes of a tape on a large screen at conventions; offer books and materials for introduction to the course; distribute flyers and information for Renew Host Sites and television schedules

YRS and CYRS: target College Young Republicans and motivate them to arrange for College credit on their campuses

EXAMPLE I - A

SUGGESTIONS FOR MARKETING "RENEW"

Remember, you are a "VOLUNTEER" for Reinhardt College. This must be stated early, or your prospect believes you are being paid!

This is a NON-PARTISAN course. It is NOT "Republican."

Always discuss "Reinhardt College" rather than Newt Gingrich. This will keep the conversation focused on the course content, rather than "Republican, Congressman Newt Gingrich."

Use the Academic Credit aspect: (High School, College, or Graduate with the writing of an research paper) to get your "foot in the door" and begin a dialogue.

When they open the Registration Flyer, they will see Newt Gingrich's name, but they will be curious enough to investigate further. And that's when you say, "he was a college professor for 8 years prior to becoming a Congressman." And, "He has a Doctorate in modern European History and is well-qualified to teach this course."

While looking at the flyer, they are quick to see "Enrollment Fee." Be sure to explain that there is no enrollment fee, and that those words are listed under "Course Materials."

The basic sentence, is: "This course will replace the Welfare System in America, with an "Opportunity Society."

 Conversationally, your approach could go something like this:

"I am a volunteer for a program which is available for high school, college, and graduate credit. It is called "Renewing American Civilization." and originates from Reinhardt College in Georgia.

The course is applicable to History, Education, Political Science and to Business. It is also designed for small groups who will view it together and then remain for 30 minutes to discuss "How does this information apply to my community today.?"

The course begins with a description of American Civilization, do we have one, is it in decay, and is it worth saving? Then moves on to Personal Strength as evidenced in the lives of our founding fathers. For instance, George Washington was not particularly brilliant, but he had such personal strength that people trusted him to be the leader of the Revolutionary War and to become our first President. And, we need more leaders, fathers, and husbands with Personal Strength in American today.

Then Free Enterprise is described as "knowing what to do when the system breaks down." Next, the Spirit of American Inventiveness and Creativity reminds us that Americans are creative and that we need to maintain this attribute in order to remain technologically

DES 01006

Exhibit 120

advanced and to enjoy economic growth in world markets. Therefore, we must be sure not to stifle our inventors with too much government regulation and bureaucracy. After all, where would the Wright brothers be with their airplane today, if they had first to go to Osha and EPA for permission to test their machine? They would be told it would be necessary for a "bug study" because they risk killing endangered bugs with their proposed propellar. We would not have to be concerned about airplane crashes today because there would be no airplanes!

Then there is a discussion on Quality as described by Edwards Deming. He taught the Japanese quality. If we Americans were committed to quality in our lives, and businesses, we could improve profits and increase economic growth. If our Federal Bureaucracy was committed to Quality, we could lower the deficit 5% in 3 or 4 years.

After learning about the five pillars, (American Civilization, Personal Strength, Free Enterprise, Invention and Discovery, and Quality), the course teaches us to apply these pillars to all that we do. We are qualified to judge our culture's institutions, homes, schools, clubs, government, etc. We then spend the last four weeks applying these lessons to Economic Growth, Health, and Saving the Inner City. Then we are ready to be citizens in the 21st Century.

If they are on board, tell them that the course will be updated and re-written each year for the next three years. It will be reproduced beginning in Januarys: '94, '95, and '96. Because no course will be identical, they really need the pilot program which is being offered at this time.

They can view it on television, if they have cable in their areas, or if they have satellite dishes. Very important that they know the satellite begins 1:00 p.m., E. T. on consecutive Wednesdays. It can be VCR taped and played later. You can furnish local TV Channel Schedule for them three weeks prior to the first telecast.

Or, they may purchase the tapes for \$119.95, plus \$2 Postage and Handling. There are also Reading Assignments, Syllabus and a Course book for \$24.95. These enhance the course for those who want to take it for credit or for further reference study. The \$119.95 covers 20 hours of tapes, which is quite reasonable. Only three or four, 6 1/2 hour tapes are required to record the entire series, at a cost of \$2.30 per tape. With all the TV channels available, it should be no problem to record the series because nothing is copyrighted, and dubbing of tapes is encouraged.

DES 01007

Exhibit 120

TELEFAX COVER PAGETO: Nancy Diamond, Renew - Kansas St. CollegeFROM: PATTI HALLSTROM, FAX: (602) 951-4052TELEPHONE: (602) 998-2766DATE: 05/93NUMBER OF PAGES: (INCLUDING THE COVER): 3Dear NancyHere is partial media list
of talk shows for Phoenix and
Tucson Arizona radio.K.F.Y.I. is very popular in
Phoenix as is K.N.S.T. in Tucson.I hope it is helpful for future
referenceSincerely,Patti Hallstrom5842 E. REDWING RD.
PARADISE VALLEY, ARIZONA 85253FAX or TELE* (602) 951-4052
or TELE** (602) 998-2766

DES 00262

Exhibit 120

PARTIAL NEWS MEDIA LIST-STATIONS WITH NEWS/TALK RADIO

PHOENIX RADIO STATIONS:

KTAR RADIO 620
301 W. Osborn
Phoenix, Az. 85013
(502) 274-6200

(Mr. Pat McMahon would be favorable
to RENEW or Gingrich. Shows air
9 a.m. to noon, Mon. thru Fri.)

KFYI RADIO 910
631 N. 1st Avenue
Phoenix, Az. 85003
(602) 258-6161

(Features Rush Limbaugh: 12 noon
to 3 p.m., Mon. thru Fri.)

Most conservative talk show hosts:

Bob Mohan, 3 p.m. to 6 p.m., Mon.
thru Fri.
John Dale, 6 p.m. to midnight,
Mon. thru Fri.
Barry Young, 9 a.m. to noon, Mon.
thru Fri.

TUCSON RADIO STATIONS WITH TALK RADIO

KTUC
2716 N. Country Club
Tucson, Arizona 85716
(602) 326-8788

most conservative show hosts:

John C. Scott, 9 a.m. to noon
Mon. thru Fri.
Vic Caputo, 12 noon to 2 p.m.
Mon. thru Fri.
Victoria Steele is more liberal
and hosts 2 p.m. until 6 p.m.
Mon. thru Fri.

KNST
4400 E. Broadway, Ste. 200
Tucson, Az. 85711
(602) 323-9400

(Features Rush Limbaugh 10 a.m.
until 12 noon; 12:30 p.m. to 1:30 p.m.)

most conservative show hosts:

Bob Lee and Brian Jeffries, 6 a.m.
to 9 a.m., Mon. thru Fri.
Don Wallace, Pat Porter and Paul
Johnson: 4:30 p.m. to 6 p.m., Mon.
thru Fri.

DES 00263

Exhibit 120

PHOENIX AREA TV - PUBLIC SERVICE PROGRAMMING

KTVK TV 3
3435 N. 16th St.
Phoenix, Az. 85016
(602) 263-3430

KPNX TV 17
1101 N. Central
Phoenix, Az. 85001
(602) 257-1212

KTSP TV 10
511 W. Adams
Phoenix, Az. 85003
(602) 257-1234

KPHO TV 5
4016 N. Black Canyon
Phoenix, Az. 85017
(602) 264-1000

Exhibit 120

DES 00264

EXHIBIT 121

Memorandum

DATE: September 1, 1993
TO: Jeff Eisenach, Nancy Desmond
FROM: Jana Rogers
RE: UC Berkely

UC Berkely may be able to offer the class for credit this fall.

I spoke with the site host coordinator, Gregory Sikorski, who told me about the student run courses there. To get a class for credit, a student must get a faculty member to sponsor the class who will seek approval from the dean of that professor's school. Then the professor applies for a room and a course number. Credit of 1 - 4 units is assigned to the class.

Gregory is meeting about this tomorrow with political science professor William "Sandy" Muir, former speechwriter for President Bush. He says if Sandy will sponsor the class, then there should be no problem getting it for credit.

Do we have any other contacts at Berkely that we should talk to?

Exhibit 121

JR-0000117

Gingrich begins class today, teaching to the 'converted'

But satellite link lags behind plans

By Jeanne Cummings
WASHINGTON BUREAU
and Doug Cumming
STAFF WRITER IN ATLANTA



Rep. Newt Gingrich said his staff is constantly adding and deleting host sites and that he is satisfied with the course's modest beginning.

ical volunteers to influence the outcome of the 1996 presidential campaign.

Gingrich's class, called "Renewing American Civilization," will last 10 weeks and is expected to outline his vision of how to save the country, both morally and economically.

His first lecture will give an overview of the course and include footage of 14,000 people taking the oath of citizenship at the Orange Bowl in Miami, Arnold Schwarzenegger explaining why he came to the United States, and portions of a speech given by Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas on the importance of focusing on solutions rather than differences.

J. Gregory Sikoraki of Berkeley said he will supplement Gingrich's class with guest lectures from other Berkeley professors holding more liberal views.

But the professor, a Republican, added, "If Gingrich is preaching to the converted, he's not going to get any recruits. In a way, that's a shame."

In speeches and interviews, Gingrich often has tried to boost the credibility of the course by noting that Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government is taping his class.

But an official there laughed and said, "You're talking to the Kennedy School. We're political junkies. We make C-SPAN watchers look like rookies. We'll mainline anything."

At least a dozen cable companies, including Wometex in suburban Atlanta, plan to air the class, and that may be Gingrich's best hope of reaching outsiders this fall.

Washington — House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich's controversial class on "Saving America" is scheduled to begin this morning at Kennesaw State College, but his goal of reaching an army of prospective converts across the country via satellite won't be realized this fall.

Gingrich, who has hawked the class in magazine ads, speeches and on the Rush Limbaugh radio show, will spend most of this fall teaching and preaching to the converted.

A survey of the 124 satellite host sites provided by Gingrich's staff last week shows that one-third are not taking the class. Some sites could not be confirmed because of inaccurate telephone numbers or unavailable spokespersons.

Nearly 40 percent of the groups that signed up for the class are college Republican clubs, state party offices, Christian Coalition affiliates or private individuals who support the Marietta congressman's style of conservative Republicanism.

Although the program is sold as a college course, only eight colleges and universities, most of them small, are offering credit for the course. The notable exceptions are Clemson University and the University of California at Berkeley.

Tobe Johnson, chairman of

Morehouse College's political science department, said he will use part of the course in a political science class.

"Since Newt's views are diametrically opposed to mine and most of my students, I thought it would be a good way of evaluating our positions on a number of issues," he explained.

Gingrich, in an interview Friday, said his staff is constantly adding and deleting host sites and that he is satisfied with the course's modest beginning.

"Different places are using it to a different degree," Gingrich said. "Getting something like this off the ground is a lot of work. You always wish there were more, but I'd rather have a four-year project start at this size and keep growing."

A former teacher at West Georgia College, Gingrich hopes to conduct his course for four years, but it's unclear where next year's class will originate. The Georgia Board of Regents earlier this month voted to end it at Kennesaw next year after the board learned that Gingrich's political action committee was deeply involved in fund raising and designing the class.

Despite the academic trappings, Gingrich acknowledges that his goal is to use the class to recruit 200,000 grass-roots polit-

gunman, n. 29, shot lers and s later. His Lismid in Hospital, both 12.

T TRIAL: ast two e trucker art of the r weeks and tion closed tion of de-arg along 1992, at-

AULTI: ted of as- ad told the use drugs, e of burning se, the jury ne to a won- at his Holly-

NOCENTI: stars," o a new la- ing and drug next issued s filed last s, accused of ring causing ducers and

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r news services

s: Food fight gets with Koger's move

LEASE A '94

Exhibit 121

JR-000655

EXHIBIT 122

~~1035~~ 1035

SEP-10-1993 14:37 FROM RAC

TO

9565624 P.13



SCHOOL OF
BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
KENNEBEC STATE COLLEGE

FAX Number: (404)499-3256

Telephone Contact: (404)423-6606

SENDER INFORMATION

Today's Date: September 10

Sender's Name: Jana

Department: RAC

Number of pages (including cover page): 12

RECIPIENT INFORMATION

Organization: _____

Individual Recipient: Allan

FAX Number: _____

MESSAGE

I have stated the locations
which are the best to refer to
the pres. Hope this helps!

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Renewing American Civilization Site Hosts

September 13, 1993

Alabama

Auburn University
Foy Union
Auburn, Alabama 36800
CONTACT: Cory Pharr
PHONE: (205) 826-0205

*to be shown
in student
union to
undisturbed
of people*

Jacksonville State University
Jacksonville, Alabama 36265
CONTACT: A. J. Richards
PHONE: (205) 435-4380

Samford University
Samford Television
Stockham Building
Lakemore Drive
Homewood, Alabama 35229
CONTACT: Deen Paul Blackwell
PHONE: (205) 870-2898

*40 maximum
in classroom
not sure
about
TV*

Troy State University
Troy, Alabama 36082
CONTACT: Brian J. Bizzar
PHONE: (205) 377-1457

30+

Jerry Larose's Home
108 Lee Road 770
Smiths, Alabama 36677
CONTACT: Jerry Larose
PHONE: (205) 291-5460

@5

HealthSouth
Two Perimeter Park South
Birmingham, Alabama 35243
CONTACT: Jonny Burleson
PHONE: (205) 967-7116

*primarily
video to
HealthSouth
offices
nationwide*

@100

Arizona

Grand Canyon University
3300 West Camel Back
Phoenix, Arizona 85017
CONTACT: Robert McNally
PHONE: (602) 483-2127

25

Dimension Cable Service
Public Access Channel 22
17602 N. Black Canyon
Phoenix, Arizona 85022
CONTACT: Dee Young
PHONE: (800) 834-6752

*124 799
subscribers*

Linda McIlroy's Home
2781 Calle Los Abos
Tucson, Arizona 85718
CONTACT: Linda McIlroy
PHONE: (602) 299-3290

@5

Arizona State Party Headquarters
3501 North 24th Street
Phoenix, Arizona 85016
CONTACT: Paul Hallstrom
PHONE: (602) 937-7770

20+

Insignit Cable Television
Public Access, Channel 13
21200 N. Black Canyon Highway
Phoenix, Arizona 85027
CONTACT: Sandy or Dispatch
PHONE: (602) 582-8282

*25,000
subscribers*

Scottsdale School District
TCI Cable Channel 16
2501 N. 74th Street
Scottsdale, Arizona 85257
CONTACT: Ross Ramsey
PHONE: (602) 990-4340

*some
subscribers*

Insignit Cable Television
Public Access, Channels 3 and 19
311 West Guadalupe Road, Suite 3
Gilbert, Arizona 85234
CONTACT: Linda
PHONE: (602) 944-3229

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subscribers*

Scottsdale Community College
TCI Cable, Educational TV Channel 17
9000 E. Chaparral Road
Scottsdale, Arizona 85250
CONTACT: Terry McGowan
PHONE: (602) 423-6370

Dimension Cable
Phoenix Educational TV, Channel 20
101 South Central, Suite 400
Phoenix, Arizona 85004
CONTACT: LaVonna Morris
PHONE: (602) 282-6051

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subscribers*

Arkansas

Onechita Baptist University
Arkadelphia, Arkansas 71998-0001
CONTACT: Mark White
PHONE: (501) 246-7221

California

University of California - Berkeley
Berkeley, California 94720
CONTACT: J. Gregory Silenrubi
PHONE: (510) 648-9313

@25

FootHills Christian Fellowship
345 West Bradley
El Cajon, California 92021
CONTACT: Ken Pappas
PHONE: (619) 448-1350

50+

LIP 00230

Hoover Institute at Stanford University
Stanford, California
CONTACT: Richard Sousa
PHONE: (415) 723-1501

15+

* Rancho Cucamonga Fire District
Station Number 174
11297 Jersey
Rancho Cucamonga, California 91730
CONTACT: Mike Eagleson
PHONE: (909) 987-2335

30

Loile & Tracy Norton's Home
1830 Cornelia Road
Woodward Vista, California 95712
CONTACT: Loile & Tracy Norton
PHONE: (916) 878-7879

Pepperdine University
Educational Television
Channel 3
24255 Pacific Coast Highway
Malibu, California 90263
CONTACT: Allan Thompson
PHONE: (310) 456-4276

*@6000
subscribers*

* North Long Beach FourSquare Church
1830 Orange Avenue
Long Beach, California 90805
CONTACT: Reverend Paul Jenson
PHONE: (310) 428-1042

100+

Pomerville College
100 E. College Avenue
Pomerville, California 93257
CONTACT: Young Kim
PHONE: (209) 784-4779, ext 217

15-20

British Christian Fellowship
3295 School Street
Oakland, California 94602
CONTACT: John Patterson
PHONE: (510) 944-9416

100+

Colorado

Richard Harrington's Home
14530 River Oaks Drive
Colorado Springs, Colorado 80921
CONTACT: Richard Harrington
PHONE: (719) 488-3826

5

Connecticut

Business Education Concepts
Cable Television
Sousville
CONTACT: Gary Savol
PHONE: (203) 877-3148

*one million
subscribers
on all system*

Exhibit 122

SEP-18-1993 14:33 FROM RAC 404 499 3256 TO

Florida

J. Michaels' Rummage
4018 W Hwy 98
Pompano City Beach, Florida 33061
CONTACT: Robert Martin
PHONE: (904) 233-9687

25x

TBA
Newville, Florida
CONTACT: Wendall Griffith
PHONE: (904) 729-7664

University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida 32601
CONTACT: Jay Raden
PHONE: (904) 372-9121

James Harmon's Home
605 Minnesota Avenue
Lynn Haven, Florida 32444
CONTACT: James Harmon
PHONE: (904) 265-2599

510

Riverside Hotel
Las Olas Blvd.
Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33334
CONTACT: Jim Watson
PHONE: (305) 772-7238

50

Georgia

Darlene Van Meter's Home
4189 Highway Drive
Tucker, Georgia 30084
CONTACT: Darlene Van Meter
PHONE: (404) 938-7332

5x

Woodpark Urgent Care Center
203 Woodpark Place, Suite A-100
Woodstock, Georgia 30188
CONTACT: Dr. Michael G. Katz
PHONE: (404) 926-4150

will be shown down town in a place in widening road

River of Life Family Church
601 Rockbridge Road
Liberty, Georgia 30247
CONTACT: Bryan J. Lash
PHONE: (404) 978-1386

100Y

Durton College
Albany Towers Building
Suite 110 Roosevelt Avenue
Albany, Georgia 31701
CONTACT: Dr. James Seville
PHONE: (912) 435-2546

30-50

Kennesaw State College
Homes W. Georgia Library
3455 Frey Lake Road
Kennesaw, Georgia 30144
CONTACT: Dr. Christine Jeffrey
PHONE: (404) 422-2563

up to 900

Valdosta State University
Valdosta, Georgia 31602
CONTACT: Jim Hunter
PHONE: (912) 244-4412

Joan Ransom's Home
1952 South Riverview Circle
Albany, Georgia 31705
CONTACT: Joan Ransom
PHONE: (912) 434-1380

10

Massa College
180 College Station
Macon, Georgia 31217
CONTACT: Jack Ragland
PHONE: (912) 471-2725

Wade Brock's Home
1124 Redus Trail
Sweet Mountain, Georgia 30083
CONTACT: Wade Brock
PHONE: (404) 489-5702

5x

North Metro Technical Institute
5198 Ross Road
Acworth, Georgia 30102
CONTACT: Sandy Thompson
PHONE: (404) 975-4010

20

Durton State College
Educational Television
Channel 19
Albany, Georgia 31701
CONTACT: Lin Klumman
PHONE: (912) 432-9924

Frederick Fox's Home
8194 Paul Harris Road
Dalton, Georgia 30132
CONTACT: Frederick Fox
PHONE: (404) 445-7828

4x

Scripps-Howard Cable Television
Rome, Georgia 30161
CONTACT: Susan Wasson
PHONE: (706) 295-6485

West Georgia College
Peachtree Cable Television
Channel 13
Covington, Georgia 30119
CONTACT: Dr. Mal Stuey
PHONE: (404) 836-6518

60-80 in afternoon do not have 8 up cable outscrubed

Mike Price's Home
377 West Oak Road
Adairville, Georgia 30103
CONTACT: Mike Price
PHONE: (404) 779-3239

Southern Company
One Southside Drive
Lawrenceville
Covington, Georgia 30119
CONTACT: Don Baker
PHONE: (404) 833-6242

20-50

9565624 P.02

Teresa Jean-Chappell's Home
96 Thirdland Avenue, SE
Atlanta, Georgia 30315
CONTACT: Teresa Jean-Chappell
PHONE: (404) 323-5418

5-10

The Lac Group
4520 Janine Drive
College Park, Georgia 30237
CONTACT: Vida Lac
PHONE: (404) 766-8226

5-10

Troy McCoy's Home
9582 Turn Boulevard
Jonesboro, Georgia 30236
CONTACT: Troy McCoy
PHONE: (404) 900-1495

5+

Georgia Public Policy Foundation
2900 Chambliss Tucker Road
Building 50
Chamblee Tucker, Georgia 30341
CONTACT: Matthew Glavin
PHONE: (404) 453-7600

Rome Housing Authority
141 E. 14th Street
Rome, Georgia 30161
CONTACT: Marlene McClure
PHONE: (706) 234-9069

Dan Mendon's Home
3018 Coody Road
Columbus, Georgia 31907
CONTACT: Dan Mendon
PHONE: (706) 561-8935

5-10

St. Paul CME
1401 Bernard Street
Savannah, Georgia 31401
CONTACT: Rev. Delaney
PHONE: (912) 233-2849

25+

Wallace Coopwood's Home
3862 Mulkey Circle
Marietta, Georgia 30061
CONTACT: Wallace Coopwood
PHONE: (404) 732-8329

Illinois

Illinois Wesleyan University
Bloomington, Illinois
CONTACT: David M. Bernstein
PHONE: (309) 556-2230

Western Illinois University
Macomb, Illinois 61455
CONTACT: Brian Hanz
PHONE: (309) 382-2448

Exhibit 12

Illinois College
1201 West College Ave.
Jacksonville, Illinois 62650
CONTACT: Gary K. Davidson
PHONE: (217) 245-3840

will have tape to prep

SEP-10-1993 14:33

FROM RAC

TO

9565624 P. 23

Texas
 Teaburn Center
 7301 North Midland Rd.
 Rockford, Illinois 61107
 CONTACT: Susan Bothe
 PHONE: (815) 946-3419

25x

College Activities Building
 301 Largo Road
 Largo, Maryland 20772-2199
 CONTACT: Debra I. Thomas
 PHONE: (301) 459-9054

15

Iowa

Open Door Christian Church
 440 South 15th Street
 Marion, Iowa 52302
 CONTACT: Glenn Modrnoch
 PHONE: (319) 377-2791

50

Kansas

Gregg Wolgan's Home
 Wichita, Kansas 67220
 CONTACT: Gregg Wolgan
 PHONE: (316) 684-9227

Kentucky

Telacomb Cable Television
 Frankfort, Kentucky 40242
 CONTACT: Katherine Holt
 PHONE: (505) 432-0639

Republican Party Headquarters
 Frankfort, Kentucky 40242
 CONTACT: John T. McCarthy III
 PHONE: (502) 875-5130

Western Kentucky University
 Bowling Green, Kentucky 42103
 CONTACT: Brian Smith
 PHONE: (502) 782-1360

75

Maine

University of Southern Maine
 96 Salmouth Street
 Westbrook, Maine 04103
 CONTACT: Jason Bellevue
 PHONE: (207) 856-2369

Independent activity

Maryland

Catoctin Community College
 Cable Television
 Channel 20
 Catoctin, Maryland
 CONTACT: William Plank
 PHONE: (410) 455-4292

St. Mary's College of Maryland
 Student Activities Building
 St. Mary's City, Maryland 20686
 CONTACT: Rae A. Edmondson III
 PHONE: (301) 863-0145

Massachusetts

Kennedy School of Government
 Harvard College
 The Lincoln Building
 79 JFK Street
 Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
 CONTACT: Marty Connor
 PHONE: (617) 495-1360

10-20x

Michigan

University of Michigan
 Ann Arbor, Michigan
 CONTACT: Bill Lowery
 PHONE: (313) 747-8959

* Word of Faith Christian Center
 7616 East Nevada
 Dearok, Michigan 48234
 CONTACT: Andrea Harris
 PHONE: (313) 365-8100

100x

Hillsdale College
 33 East College Street
 Hillsdale, Michigan 49242
 CONTACT: Dr. Melvin Craig
 PHONE: (517) 437-7341

25x

Minnesota

Northwestern National Life Insurance Co.
 20 Washington Avenue, South
 Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401
 CONTACT: Sharon Clark
 PHONE: (612) 372-1172

Mississippi

University of Mississippi
 Oxford, Mississippi
 CONTACT: Bryan Cox
 PHONE: (601) 236-2544

*

Coastland Christian Center
 343 Poppe Ferry Road
 Biloxi, Mississippi 39531
 CONTACT: David Rogers
 PHONE: (601) 388-3081

Southeast Missouri State University
 1000 Towers Circle
 Towers South 1212
 Cape Girardeau, Missouri 63701
 CONTACT: Nathan Cooper
 PHONE: (314) 338-3816

75

Mrs. Roberta Moore's Home
 309 Carnot Dr.
 Liberty, Missouri 64068
 CONTACT: Mrs. Roberta Moore
 PHONE: (816) 781-3471

Shirley Pety's Home
 423 West Sunrise Drive
 Belton, Missouri 64068
 CONTACT: Shirley Pety
 PHONE: (816) 331-0240

Nevada

University of Nevada
 Instructional Media Services
 Reno, Nevada 89507
 CONTACT: Michael Armitage
 PHONE: (702) 674-3291

The Nevada Orthopaedic Institute
 555 North Arlington Avenue
 Reno, Nevada 89520
 CONTACT: Dr. Stephen Dow
 PHONE: (702) 786-3040

20

New Mexico

Terry Millard's Home
 974 Antelope Avenue, N.E.
 Albuquerque, New Mexico 87122
 CONTACT: Terry Millard
 PHONE: (505) 292-4802

35

New York

Colgate University Cable Television
 13 Oak Drive
 Hamilton, New York 12060
 CONTACT: Robert C. Johnson
 PHONE: (518) 443-9284

Khan College
 Student Activities Center
 Khan, New York 14850
 CONTACT: Jennifer Bess
 PHONE: (607) 275-8081

Sun University of New York (SUNYA)
 Albany, New York 12222
 CONTACT: Christopher Sander
 PHONE: (518) 432-6899

10x

LIP 002:1

Exhibit 122

SEP-18-1993 14:34

TO 75656824 P. 84

Mothers University
 Dunsmuir Hall for Communications
 Hempstead, New York 11550
 CONTACT: April Leigh Dunsmuir
 PHONE: (516) 463-2100 (dial O for
 operator)

TBA
 Kingston, New York
 CONTACT: Ken Formicola
 PHONE: (914) 338-8679

Episcopal Mothercare Pregnancy Center
 210 E. 23rd St., Suite 512
 New York, New York 10010
 CONTACT: Chris Slattery
 PHONE: (212) 683-3320

Paragon Cable Television
 Channel 4
 1130 E. Main Street
 Horseheads, New York 14845
 CONTACT: Programming Department
 PHONE: (607) 796-2164

Ohio

Seisio Institute
 892 High Street, Suite B
 Worthington, Ohio 43083
 CONTACT: Dawn Winkler
 PHONE: (614) 436-4117

Urbana University Television
 579 College Way
 Urbana, Ohio 43078
 CONTACT: Edwin Corwin
 PHONE: (313) 652-1301 ext 314

Oklahoma

Central Christian Church
 Claremore, Oklahoma 74018-0928
 CONTACT: Larry Conway
 PHONE: (918) 341-5617

Halcyon Communications
 4823 South Sherman #312
 Tulsa, Oklahoma 74145
 CONTACT: Lou Harrison
 PHONE: (918) 627-9406

Oregon

Beats Bauer's Home
 12820 SW Terpan Drive
 Beaverton, Oregon 97005
 CONTACT: Beats Bauer
 PHONE: (503) 324-3303

Pennsylvania

Commonwealth Forum
 Campbell, Pennsylvania 17001-0737
 CONTACT: David Brown
 PHONE: (717) 973-2081

Pennsylvania University
 103 Osmond Lab
 University Park, Pennsylvania 16802
 CONTACT: Will Esacore
 PHONE: (814) 862-2876

Source Capital, Ltd.
 4 Gateway Center, Suite 1700
 Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222
 CONTACT: James Bly
 PHONE: (412) 392-2612

Geneva College
 College Avenue
 Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania 15010
 CONTACT: Leonard Weaver
 PHONE: (412) 728-1646

Diana Tabbi's Home
 229 Highland Avenue
 Truckville, Pennsylvania 17708-1909
 CONTACT: Diana Tabbi
 PHONE: (717) 696-3334

South Carolina

University of South Carolina
 Columbia, South Carolina 29223
 CONTACT: Kris Whetson
 PHONE: (803) 504-3692

Clemson University
 Department of Political Science
 230-B Brantley Hall
 Clemson, South Carolina 29634-1509
 CONTACT: Dr. David Woodard
 PHONE: (803) 656-3222

Greenville Technical College
 Educational Television
 Greenville, South Carolina
 CONTACT: Alex Kirakides, III
 PHONE: (803) 232-1885

University of South Carolina
 Educational Television
 Columbia, South Carolina
 CONTACT: Alex Kirakides, III
 PHONE: (803) 232-1885

Upland
 Telecable Channel 40
 Crown Cable Channel 58
 Greenville, South Carolina
 CONTACT: Alex Kirakides, III
 PHONE: (803) 232-1885

Clemson University
 Educational Television
 Clemson, South Carolina
 CONTACT: Alex Kirakides, III
 PHONE: (803) 232-1885

Tennessee

Lee College
 N. Ocoee Street
 Cleveland, Tennessee 37320-3450
 CONTACT: Dr. Robert Stearn
 PHONE: (615) 473-3484

Vanderbilt University
 Nashville, Tennessee 37235
 CONTACT: Call RAC
 PHONE: (604) 423-6606

J.R. Raichle's Home
 Rt. 2, Box 75
 Liberty, Tennessee 37095
 CONTACT: Mrs. J.R. Raichle
 PHONE: (615) 529-2821

Texas

Texas A & M
 College Station, Texas 77840
 CONTACT: Tiana Hopkins
 PHONE: (409) 696-8347

Jeff Waguestack's Home
 1423 Tully Avenue
 McAllen, Texas 78502
 CONTACT: Jeff Waguestack
 PHONE: (210) 631-6783

Alex Smith's Home
 811 Meadowville
 Houston, Texas 77061
 CONTACT: Alex Smith
 PHONE: (713) 643-7691

Virginia

Southwest Virginia Community College
 Electronic Classroom
 Learning Resources Center
 Richlands, Virginia 21641
 CONTACT: Ann C. Bartholomay
 PHONE: (703) 964-7258

Old Dominion University
 105 Hughes Hall
 Norfolk, Virginia 23529
 CONTACT: Karne Chisnak
 PHONE: (804) 683-5065

LIP 00233

Exhibit 122

SEP-18-1993 14:34 FROM RAC

TO

95656824 P.05

Eastern Shore Community College
29300 Lankford Highway
Melba, Virginia 23410
CONTACT: Irvin O. Jackson
PHONE: (804) 787-3894

Canada

Bob Cook's Home 5-
R.R. #1
Whyoomagh, Nova Scotia BOE JMO
CONTACT: Bob Cook
PHONE: (902) 258-2271

Fort Monroe
 Ft. Monroe, Virginia
CONTACT: George Beebeven
PHONE: (804) 727-3239

15
②/5
probably
managing

West Virginia

Marshall University
Huntington, West Virginia 25074
CONTACT: Robert Payne
PHONE: (304) 429-3510

45+

West Virginia Institute of Technology
Maclim Hall
Montgomery, West Virginia 24941
CONTACT: Demian Wiles
PHONE: (304) 442-3841

* Potomac State College of West Virginia
340 South Water Street
Keyser, West Virginia 26726
CONTACT: Bill Edel
PHONE: (304) 788-2235
(304) 788-6961

50+

Wyoming

University of Wyoming
Laramie, Wyoming 82071
CONTACT: Jay Rewers
PHONE: (307) 766-7141

Tom Spicer's Home
2201 Skyview Drive
Rock Springs, Wyoming 82901
CONTACT: Tom Spicer
PHONE: (307) 362-7751

will have
large loan
program

Washington D.C.

Capitol Hill Club
300 First Street, SE
Washington, DC 20003
CONTACT: Sally Ulrich
PHONE: (202) 484-4590

50+

American Trucking Association
Satellite Network
Washington, DC
CONTACT: Sandy Lynch
PHONE: (301) 951-6286

downlinked
to their offices
in all 50 states
and several trucking
companies

NASA
300 E. Street S.W.
Washington, DC 20546
CONTACT: Kelly Wilcoxin
PHONE: (202) 358-1010

10-20

LIP 00234

Exhibit 122

SEP-10-1993 14:35 FROM RRC

TO

36656224 P.06

U 1 1/2" 1.1.1.
PRESS RELEASE

September 3, 1993

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT:

LIZ KLEMMANN - THE RESOURCE CONNECTOR, INC. 432-5924

JIM SAVELLE - DARTON COLLEGE - 803-8730

DARTON COLLEGE - RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

Darton College is presenting Congressman Newt Gingrich's course entitled RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION on Cable 19 Monday mornings from 8:30 - 10:30 and Tuesday evenings from 8:30 to 10:30. The course focuses on the historical development of the American Civilization, seeking to define who we are and to find solutions to current problems based on the parameters of our civilization experience.

"The course, itself, will feature nationally recognized personalities, internationally recognized reading lists and a course of study designed to help our citizens know who we are, what are our roots and what makes us uniquely united in our American Civilization," says Liz Klemann, coordinator for the course. "Newt hopes that by focusing the national thought process on our unifying uniqueness we, the American civilization,

M O R E #

LIP 00236

Exhibit 122

SEP-18-1993 14:35 FROM RRC 484 499 3256 TO 95656824 P.87

PAGE TWO OF SIX PAGES
PRESS RELEASE (CONT).

will be able to address - positively and with the innovation for which we are known - issues of immediate importance."

"The course is divided into two segments. The first segment leads us in developing a definable national identity within whose parameters we can begin to seek solutions to current problems. The second segment calls for thoughtful analysis and solution seeking within those parameters for three of our most pressing current national problems."

The whole community will have access to Congressman Gingrich's course through the Cable 19 presentations. Those interested in developing the ideas further can join the discussion group sponsored by the Intercampus Unit Continuing Education program. This group will meet on Wednesday evenings from 6:30 until 8:30. Interested participants should register in advance by contacting the Intercampus Unit at 430-4235 or by registering in person Suite 110 in the Albany Towers. The cost of the ten week course is \$30.

"We are extremely excited by the outstanding individuals who are volunteering to come to Albany to lead our discussion group

MORE

LIP 00237

Exhibit 122

PAGE THREE OF SIX PAGES
PRESS RELEASE (CONT.)

for this course," continued Liz Klemann "They are leaders in their own rights with expertise in each field, leaders capable of helping us find our own thought processes and solutions."

The first segment on September 22, "Understanding American Civilization" will be led by Liz Klemann, herself, and will encompass the organization process for the course and an overall look at our civilization, itself. Liz has a degree from Agnes Scott College in French with a minor in History, is the Chairman of the International Task Force for the Albany/Dougherty Chamber of Commerce and is the President of the Resource Connector, Inc., a public relations, business research firm also involved in international business ventures. "This international experience has made me even more aware of the uniqueness and of the value of our American Civilization," says Liz in explaining her involvement in the course.

The second segment on September 29 explores our concepts of "Personal Strength". This discussion will be led by Charles Tanksley, an Atlanta lawyer who recently ran a statewide race for US Senate, and by Pat Gartland, who is an employee of the US Chamber of Commerce and who is the president of the Georgia

MORE

LIP 00238

Exhibit 122

PAGE FOUR OF SIX
PRESS RELEASE (CONT)

Chapter of the Christian Coalition.

The third segment on October 6 explores our history of Entrepreneurship. This segment will be led by Rusty Paul, a Public Relations executive in Atlanta who was the Congressional Liaison officer for the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Jack Kemp, during the Bush Administration.

The segment exploring our "Spirit of Invention and Discovery" will be led by Ralph Hudgens, known to the Second District of Georgia as the Republican Congressional Candidate in 1988. Ralph is currently in Athens and welcomes this opportunity to discover with Albany area residents our history of invention and discovery.

The October 20 segment focuses on "Commitment to Quality." This segment will be led by Walter Gilbert of Thomasville. Mr. Gilbert is recognized for his consulting work with TQM (Total Quality Management), a concept espoused by Deming and taught by Gingrich on this program.

October 27 will feature Dr. Mel Steely leading the discussion on "Applying the Lessons of American History." Dr.

MORE

LIP 00239

Exhibit 122

PAGE FIVE OF SIX
PRESS RELEASE (CONT.)

Steely is the head of the history department at West Georgia College and is friend and confidant to Congressman Gingrich who was a professorial colleague of his during the Congressman Dr. Gingrich's teaching years.

Alec Poitevint, a well known businessman from Bainbridge dealing in Agrichemicals, will lead the segment on Economic Growth on November 3. Mr. Poitevint has developed his homegrown business to an international one and has developed his own personal leadership from local to state to national to international levels. Mr. Poitevint acted as an International Observer for Russia's recent elections, and was even pictured behind Mr. Gorbachev by CNN as the Russian President cast his ballot.

Albany's own Joel Wernick along with a representative from the Medical Association of Georgia will lead the discussion November 10 on "Health and Wellness." Mr. Wernick is the CEO of Phoebe Putney Memorial Hospital.

Rusty Paul will be back for the segment November 17 on "Saving the Inner City."

MORE

LIP 00240

Exhibit 122

PAGE SIX OF SIX
PRESS RELEASE (CONT.)

And Norman Bishop of Bishop and Associates will wind up the program on November 24 with the program "Citizenship for the 21st Century." Mr. Bishop is a nationally known political consultant and was the former communications director for the Republican National Committee. He wrote the training manuals for that organization many of which are still being used. In addition, Mr. Bishop is working with Decision Data Fastrack, Inc., a survey research firm based in Atlanta.

"With this panel of experts, we can expect lively discussion, open opportunity for brainstorming, a format for learning and exploring and experience to question," says Liz. "This is an opportunity for Albany to participate at the base level in the rethinking of who we are and of policy for the future. We have told Newt we will make the results of our discussion group available to those, like Congressman Gingrich, who need to know."

END

LIP 00241

Exhibit 122

TO: All NMTI Faculty and Staff
Floyd College Faculty and Staff

FROM: Sandy Thompson

DATE: August 20, 1993

SUBJECT: Host-Site for video Class offered by Kennesaw State College

Dr. Allen has approved a video course, "Renewing American Civilization", to be offered Fall Quarter, 1993 at North Metro Tech in conjunction with Kennesaw State College.

This course is being taught by U.S. Congressman Newt Gingrich. We have the opportunity to offer this video course on:

Thursday evenings - 6:30-8:30 p.m.



Friday mornings - 10:00-12:00 noon

I have been asked to administer/proctor both class sessions. Attached is information relative to the course beginning on:

Thursday, September 23 and Friday, September 24
 COST: \$28.95 (covers readings, syllabus and background materials)
 Registration Deadline: August 31, 1993

This course is designed and approved for any employee training program (TQM), college class, independent study or as staff development through Kennesaw State College or staff development from North Metro.

If you are interested in registering, see me as soon as possible by AUGUST 31 for a registration form. Remember, many of you may need Staff Development hours for this next academic year. Hopefully, during this next year, I will be able to develop other such activities designed to increase opportunities for staff development here on campus.

ST/th
 pc: Dr. Ken Allen
 Jana Rogers, coordinator
 Kennesaw State College

LIP 00242

Exhibit 122

EXHIBIT 123

10/14/93 10:48 617 496 4344 INST OF POLITICS

001

NEWT PUT

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University

79 John F. Kennedy Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
Telephone: 617-495-1360

Just send home

F A X

617-496-4344

*Newt
10/15/93*

DATE:

10/14/93

TO:

*Newt Gingrich (Jeff Wansley - Jeff please)
get this to Newt*

FAX NO:

404-565-6824

PAGE 1 OF

PAGE(S)

FROM:

Marty Connor

MESSAGE:

*Newt - in addition to the
study group - every Thursday night at
6pm we have a group watching the
lecture series*

WGC 06780

Exhibit 123

October 13, 1993

TO: Lamar Alexander
 Newt Gingrich 12/2
 Ed Rogers 10/19
 Jeff Eisenach 10/26
 Paul Weyrich 11/2
 Mika Baroody 11/9
 Bill Harris 11/16
 FROM: Marty Connors
 (617) 495-1360

Dear Study Group Leaders:

I wanted to write before you attend our study "working" group here at The JFK School of Politics at Harvard to encourage you about our progress. At the risk of sounding too exaggerative, I truly believe we have stumbled across a series of ideas that could have significant consequences in building a new "Interactive" communication system and message for the Republican Party and the conservative movement.

Those of us closely working on this effort have coined the phrase "Manhattan Project" for this study group as we are building something that might significantly change the way we approach politics in the future. It could be used for good or bad.

What is most interesting about this project, is that from a technological perspective, no one is doing it to date. Most technological advances in telecommunications and cable/satellite television are directed at consumers and not applied to politics, therefore, there is no background or reading material that applies to this situation. We are plowing new ground.

To put it in a nutshell, we are working on two projects simultaneously. First, we are taking the concept of Lamar Alexander's Republican Exchange Satellite Television Network, Paul Weyrich's National Empowerment Television and Newt Gingrich's "Renewing American Civilization" lecture series and ratcheting them up a few degrees technically. While the concept of satellite television is powerful and very, very progressive politically, it has barely scratched the surface technologically. To that end, we are researching a series of ways to make each of these systems significantly more interactive and user friendly. Instantaneous, continuous polling, 1-800 and 1-900 telephone systems, Compu-Serve and InterNet (E-Mail and a GOP idea library service) will join the more traditional call in formats and town meetings to inexpensively give a far greater ability

WGC 06781

Exhibit 123

for "participatory" party building in the immediate future. I want to cost out each of these new ideas and suggest that Lamar, Newt and Paul consider their adoption. In addition, Ed Goetas, who has contracted with U.S. News and World Report as their polling service, will be asking their editorial board to consider running an article on these new interactive communications concepts.

Second, we are assuming that the Reagan/Goldwater coalition was dealt a near death blow with the demise of the Soviet Union and that a new coalition of voters must be adopted using innovative new approaches to domestic and foreign policy (ie: Newt's, Paul's and Mike's messages). Overlay this concept on the current political landscape (a. Perot independent factor, b. 77% favoring national referendums according to Tarrance/ Gallup, c. general anti-Washington sentiment, detachment ect.) and we might discover a new form of populism that can now be engaged by electronics.

To that end, I am especially looking forward to Rogers, Weyrich, Eisenach, Baroody and Harris to help us figure out how to marry these new technologies and next world policy ideas to a strategy that will help us win back the Senate and beyond. New ideas and new technology.

So how can this be applied? I have asked Chuck Greener to join with Mike Baroody to consider satellite television and instantaneous polling in the next GOP platform process. Why shouldn't we ask America to directly participate in the shaping of the next Republican agenda? I will ask Bill Harris to suggest that every Senate candidate learn from Lamar's success and use satellite television technology as an organizational and consensus building tool. Newt, Paul and Jeff Eisenach can enhance their satellite systems by using additional interactive devices thus creating real "community cells" that drive their messages out of Washington to the neighborhood level.

Friends, I truly believe the next major political advantage will go to the group that figures out how to use "interactive" communications in building a new Republican coalition. Remember the old adage about the tree falling in the woods? Without real interaction, I am afraid we are not making a sound..... Let's take advantage of the current frustration in the country to build a new populism using the most current technologies available.

To date, 45 students, faculty members and mid career people have joined the study group. In addition I have collected a smaller working group of grad students who are available to research anything you need. Already we have a handful of senior thesis papers in progress on this subject. Please help me help you take advantage of this incredible reservoir of talent.

WGC 06782

Exhibit 123

I hope to talk to each of you before you arrive. Thank you again for your interest. We look forward to your visit.

WGC 06783
Exhibit 123

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WGC 06784

Exhibit 123

EXHIBIT 124

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION PROJECT

July 19, 1993

The Foundation's involvement to date with the "Renewing American Civilization Project" being conducted by the School of Business consists of managing gift income restricted to supporting the project. A separate checking account within the Foundation was established to accept and distribute gift funds as per directives from the dean of the School of Business.

Our precedents in this matter were the "Shaw Industries Carpet History Project" and the "Georgia Pacific Project." As with those projects, 2.5% of gift income is retained by the Foundation as a management fee.

Development office staff are not involved in managing the project or raising funds. Also, no Foundation funds are appropriated or utilized for this project. The required \$290,000.00 budget is projected new money being raised by the dean and the Gingrich organization.

Summarily, the Foundation's involvement is purely of a banking nature as is the case with many fund accounts restricted to various special projects of the academic community.

At this point, the Foundation is being asked to enter into contractual arrangements to handle book and video and audio sales for the project. This activity will not involve managing inventory but rather accepting electronic transfer of funds into the "Renewing American Civilization Project" account and remitting invoices. These contracts would be with First of Omaha Bank, Innerserve of Atlanta, and McGraw Hill Publishing Co. The Foundation will not execute these contracts without modifications designed to limit its (KSC Fnd.) financial risks and liability in all circumstances.

Exhibit 124

COPY

KSF 001269

MEMO OF AGREEMENT

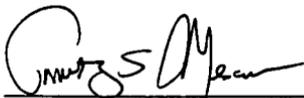
This Memo of Agreement is between the Kennesaw State College Foundation and Dr. Timothy S. Mescon, Dean of the School of Business at Kennesaw State College, and Principal Manager of the "Renewing American Civilization Project."

The Kennesaw State College Foundation agrees to accept and manage gift funds restricted to the support of the "Renewing American Civilization Project" from all sources. The Foundation will retain 2.5% of gift income as a management fee.

Further, the Kennesaw State College Foundation agrees to execute contracts with First of Omaha Bank, McGraw Hill Publishing Company, and Interserve and Video Tapes Associates of Atlanta, Georgia to serve as the merchandiser of textbooks, and audio and video tapes relative to the "Renewing American Civilization Project" under the following conditions;

The Kennesaw State College School of Business does hereby agree to indemnify Kennesaw State College Foundation for all charged acts on the credit card sales involved in the "Renewing American Civilization Project" and further for all damages arising out of or connected with the venture.

All financial obligations and liability associated with the aforementioned contracts will be limited to the "Renewing American Civilization Project" account set up within the Foundation. Under no circumstances will the Foundation assume financial obligations and liability beyond the balance in that account.



Timothy S. Mescon, Dean
School of Business
Kennesaw State College and
Project Manager,
Renewing American
Civilization Project

J. Larry Stevens, President
Kennesaw State College
Foundation

Exhibit 124

MEMORANDUM



Office of
Development
Kennesaw
State College
Foundation, Inc.
P. O. Box 444
Marietta, GA
30061-0444
(404) 423-6027

TO: KSC Foundation Trustees
FROM: Jack Gibson *Jack Gibson*
DATE: September 2, 1993
RE: "Renewing American Civilization Project"

In reference to the course being taught here at Kennesaw State by Newt Gingrich a few points need clarification.

First, the foundation was established to provide support and assistance to official college projects. The "Renewing American Civilization Project" is an approved college function, having gone through appropriate internal approval procedures. The foundation's involvement in the project was approved by the Executive Committee. Enclosed you will find Dean Mescon's response to the faculty on this matter.

Secondly, the foundation is the conduit for all private funds relative to Kennesaw State College and therefore is involved in the project as the official manager of gifts received. This is no different than managing any other restricted gift account for any academic unit or program on campus. Further, none of the foundation's funds are supporting the program. The program is self-supported through gifts made specifically for that purpose.

Third, the foundation as the fiscal agent for the project has not received or distributed any funds from or to a registered political action committee.

Throughout the process of working with Dean Mescon and various individuals associated with the project, we have taken extreme care to protect the 501(c)3 status of the foundation, to live up to our fiduciary trust, and to support the college in approved activities.

In conclusion, we must inform you that pursuant to the Georgia Open Records Act we have been requested to provide a copy of the foundation's by-laws, minutes from meetings for the last nine months, and the names and addresses of all officers and trustees. We are required to comply.

If you have any concern, please do not hesitate to call any of the staff here at the college.

With kind regards.

COPY

KSF 003804

Exhibit 124

⇒ Patty S., Nancy S.
 W. H. H. J.B.

PFF
 18934



Office of
 Development
 Kansas
 State College
 Foundation, Inc.
 1000 S. 17th
 Wichita, KS
 67202-4444

The Executive Committee
 President
 Tom E. H.

Executive Vice President
 Ronald E. M. J.
 Vice President, C. D.
 James A. Fleming
 Immediate Past President
 W. H. H.

Executive Secretary
 Tom E. H.
 Treasurer
 Tom E. H.
 Secretary
 Tom E. H.
 Director of Development
 Tom E. H.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jack Eisenach
 FROM: Jim Fleming
 SUBJECT: Your October 2 and 3, 1993 Memos to Dean Mescon
 DATE: October 6, 1993

Thank you for sharing copies of your recent memos to Tim with me.

Many of the issues you raise are academic ones which are best addressed by Tim and others; however, I am happy to share with you my best judgment on issues concerning the KSC Foundation for clarification.

It seems to me that, procedurally, you ought to include Jack Gibson in the communications loop. Bobbie Davis reports directly to Jack, who is executive secretary of the foundation and director of development for the college. A substantial amount of his time in the last several months has been devoted to the RAC project.

I don't completely understand your budget figures, but since we do not really "manage" the budget I am not familiar with the amount of any encumbrances or commitments, nor the duration of such obligations. In any event, I suspect more funds will need to be raised.

This morning I have reviewed receipts and expenditures by line item and will have a copy of these with me Friday morning for your review and information. Briefly, "Income" is \$251,745.08, "Expenditures" total \$197,881.75, leaving a current balance of \$53,863.33. However, I understand Ms. Lavelle has about \$28,000 in requests coming over today.

cc: Tim Mescon
 Jack Gibson

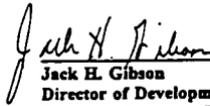
Exhibit 124

Statement Referencing Conversation with
IRS Concerning the KSC Foundation's Role in the RAC Course

In the fall of 1993, I received a telephone call from a representative of the Internal Revenue Service inquiring about the Foundation's role in the RAC course. The individual stated that they (IRS) had become aware through the print media of the course being taught at Kennesaw State College by Representative Newt Gingrich and wanted to talk directly to a representative of Kennesaw State College Foundation about the matter.

I informed him the course was a college-approved activity and the Foundation's role was to treat the activity like any other restricted fund in support of a college function. The Foundation was not the sponsoring agent of the course and its only role was that of serving as a financial conduit for a college activity. The Foundation was requested and did enter into contracts with vendors (text books, video tapes, etc.) as that function was determined to be necessary by program management.

The Foundation received, accounted for, and distributed funds (upon request by the dean of the business school) which were raised specifically to support the course. The Kennesaw State College Foundation retained 2.5% of gift income as a management fee.



Jack H. Gibson
Director of Development and
Executive Secretary KSC Foundation

Exhibit 124

KSF 001246

EXHIBIT 125

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

PFF
 22963

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

A. Stephen Dow -

September 3, 1993



MEMORANDUM FOR RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION SITE HOSTS

FROM: Jana Rogers, Site Host Coordinator *JR*

SUBJECT: Media Inquiries

Over the course of the past few days, several news organizations have written stories suggesting that Renewing American Civilization is somehow controlled by GOPAC -- a national Republican grassroots organization chaired by Newt Gingrich -- and that there is a significant partisan political agenda that will be part of the class. It is entirely possible that you, as a site host, will receive a call from one of these news organizations, and we wanted you to be aware of the following facts:

1. The class is entirely non-partisan in tone and content. It will include comments by such well-known Democrats as former President Carter and Georgia Representative John Lewis. Respected scholars such as James Q. Wilson, Everett Carl Ladd and Larry Sabato will contribute to and review the course content.
2. The class is regular part of the curriculum at Kennesaw State College and students taking the class and students taking the class will receive credit. Newt has been appointed Adjunct Professor of Management and Entrepreneurship on the Kennesaw State Faculty. Newt is receiving no compensation of any kind for teaching the class.
3. All funds raised to support the satellite broadcast of the class have been raised legally and ethically -- mostly from well-known Atlanta corporations such as Coca-Cola, Turner Broadcasting and Equifax and from respected charitable foundations such as the Randolph Foundation. The funds have been raised by and for the Kennesaw State College Foundation, a "501 (c)(3)" educational foundation.

If you receive a call from a reporter about the class, we have one simple recommendation: Tell the truth about what you are doing, why you are participating in the class, etc.

Please do not hesitate to call me if you have any additional questions. Best of luck with your site and let me know if I can help with anything. Thanks!

Exhibit 125

EXHIBIT 126

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES



UCLA

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO

SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

PFF
5894

September 28, 1993

THE JOHN E. ANDERSON GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT AT UCLA
405 HILGARD AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90094-1481

Jeff Eisenach
School of Business Administration
Kennesaw State College
P.O. Box 444
Marietta, GA 30061

Dear Mr. Eisenach:

I read the chapter on "Personal Strength in American Culture" for the Renewing American Civilization course. I have not yet seen the program itself.

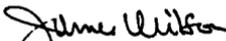
I am troubled by the chapter. Perhaps I don't understand the purpose of the course, but if it is to be a course rather than a series of sermons, this chapter won't do. It is bland, vague, hortatory, and lacking in substance. I do not deny that personal character is important; I have spent much of the last ten years making that argument in some detail. But this chapter does not strike me as a thoughtful examination of the sources or importance of character in American life. Philosophically, it is a mishmash of undefined terms ("the universal immune power"), misleading claims ("principles are natural laws"), and unclear distinctions (e.g., between principles and values). Scientifically, it is filled with questionable or unsupported generalizations (e.g., standards of acceptable conduct are influenced more by the media than by the family, broadcasting cannot continue to live by the numbers, since World War I Americans have lost sight of right and wrong in favor of "quick-fix mentality, etc.}).

Historically, it does not represent Adam Smith correctly. It is true that in The Theory of Moral Sentiments he wrote about sympathy but it is not true that he ever linked this very clearly to the argument he made in The Wealth of Nations about competition. The "inner man" never appears in the latter book, and in places he seems to say that mere self-interest will suffice to produce economic growth. So important is the apparent gap between the two books that scholars have spilled oceans of ink trying to explain it. The two books can be reconciled, I think, but it is misleading to do so in the way that this chapter intends. Indeed, Smith at many places says that capitalism will produce moral decay (idle preening among the rich, stupid parochialism among the workers). The Founders are also treated somewhat cavalierly. It is true that George Washington spoke often of the importance of virtue, but he didn't write the Constitution; Madison and a few others did. In the Federalist papers, Madison defends that Constitution by saying that it is does not require virtue for its operation: ambition will be made to counteract ambition.

Exhibit 126

I could go on, but I dare not for fear I have misunderstood what this enterprise is all about. I am a professor, and so I bring the perspectives (and limitations) of a professor to bear on this matter. If this is not to be a course but instead a sermon, then you should get a preacher to comment on it.

Sincerely,



James O. Wilson
Collins Professor of Management and Public Policy

Exhibit 126

EXHIBIT 127

KENNESAW STATE COLLEGE
P.O. Box 444
Marietta, Georgia 30061

KSC
3550

July 12, 1993

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dean Beggs
Dean Mescon
Dean Beineke

RE: Proposed Course

We are disappointed and outraged to hear that the college is permitting, in fact promoting, use of college time, equipment and personnel for the advancement of the political ideas of an elected official. If what The Sentinel reports is correct, considerable effort on the part of faculty and staff has already been committed and will be further utilized to promote the views of Newt Gingrich under the guise of education. Our concerns deal with several aspects of this arrangement, from financial to political.

According to this report, \$290,000 has been allocated to date. While we understand that most of this money has been solicited from private firms, it has been solicited by state employees on public payrolls for a political purpose. Moreover, we have been solicited for our contribution to this project by a memo from the Dean of the Business school earlier in this academic year. Technical support has been provided by state employees and employees of the KSC Office of Development are also apparently involved. Needless to say, we feel that this is an inappropriate use of the time of state employees as well as foundation money.

Anyone who would support this "class" as education need only to read the comments of Gingrich as quoted in the article. According to Gingrich, Democrats will be "allow(ed)...but not liberal ideas". Suppose other professors were to announce prior to the start of their classes that only one opinion was to be voiced and that dissent was not allowed. I doubt that the college administration would be supportive of such a faculty member. Moreover, as state employees we are prohibited from running for state office in order to protect students from potential bias. Why then do we turn around and offer politicians soap boxes on which to espouse their own views?

While we agree with Dean Mescon's observation that we all have political biases that we bring to the classroom, consciously or not, we are not running for office, nor are we supported by a technological network to promote those biases. As far as Mr.

Exhibit 127

Dean Beggs
 Dean Mescon
 July 12, 1993
 Page 2

KSC
 3661

Gingrich's "donation" of his time, we feel that any politician would be equally happy to "donate" time for the political exposure that this would provide. Also noteworthy is that the donation does not involve the regular commitments of ordinary faculty, such as preparing a syllabus, which will apparently be done at state expense. In short it appears that we are all acting as a part of the re-election campaign for Mr. Gingrich, or laying the groundwork for his future political ambitions.

What we think of Mr. Gingrich's ideas is not the issue here. This is an inappropriate arrangement, one that is not suited to a public institution. It is most regrettable that it is even being discussed as a potentiality, much less so near to inevitability.

Carl Hanson
 Political Science
John S. Kilday (Pols)
Paula Wackelak (Doc)
Tom W. Allen (History)
~~*Healy*~~ (Pols)
Jerome Kabetford (Doc)
Judith Ann Mitchell (Edsm)
Thomas L. Healy (Edsm)
By 4 2000 (Edsm)

Exhibit 127

POLITICS, POLICY AND ANALYSIS

Course by Gingrich splits faculty at Georgia college

By Joyce Price
The Washington Times

As some faculty members at Georgia's Kennesaw State College circled a petition opposing House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich's plans to teach there, others were signing a declaration endorsing the conservative's right to teach.

"We're a little amused as to why some faculty members are exercising their free speech rights by trying to stifle someone else's," said Kurt Schulze, assistant professor of accounting at the college and co-author of the Declaration in Support of Academic Freedom.

"These are people who are supposed to be unbiased, impartial scholars, who are running around, acting as if Newt Gingrich has pro-

duced a film titled 'The Last Temptation of Hillary Clinton,'" Mr. Schulze said.

But Carol Piaromunski, an assistant professor of political science who has been a leader in the anti-Gingrich fight, said his opponents have been unfairly depicted as trying to muzzle free speech.

"The fact that set us off in the beginning is that he's an active politician who'll be teaching a for-credit course, not that he's a conservative," she said.

She added, "This is Cobb County, Georgia, which is not some hotbed of liberalism. We've had (former Attorney General) Ed Messer on our campus to speak, but not for academic credit." (Mr. Messer appeared in a debate with George McGovern.)

As for stifling academic discus-

sion, Mr. Piaromunski suggests Mr. Gingrich is the one who wants that: "He said in the student newspaper that no liberal views would be allowed to be expressed in the classroom. . . . That's what set us off."

One unnamed faculty member, who did not want to be identified, said senior members of the political science department were pressuring him to sign a petition asking the school's president to call a meeting to review the decision to allow Mr. Gingrich to teach.

Allen Lipsett, a spokesman for Mr. Gingrich, said the congressman told the newspaper "liberal ideas" would not be allowed in the course, titled "Renewing American Civilization," because "liberal ideas have failed."

If "you're teaching a cooking course, you teach how to produce a

good dinner. You don't teach your students how to produce a bad dinner," Mr. Lipsett said.

Mr. Gingrich will teach the course on Saturdays, beginning Sept. 18, and his lectures will be transmitted by satellite to 130 schools nationwide. He will touch on issues such as jobs and economic growth, health care, urban renewal, entrepreneurship, the political process and American politics in the 21st century, Mr. Lipsett said.

Questions have been raised over the fact that a Republican political action committee led by Mr. Gingrich and committed to the election of Republicans nationwide helped plan, seek contributions for and market the course.

Mr. Gingrich, a former history professor, told the Atlanta Constitu-

tion he hopes the class will shape presidential campaign debate in 1996 and help recruit 200,000 campaign workers: "It's not partisan, it's political. . . there's a difference."

Timothy Messer, dean of Kennesaw State College's School of Business, which will be offering the course, said Mr. Gingrich will not be paid for his teaching. Mr. Messer said he'll be co-teaching the course with the Georgia congressman.

"Is there a faculty member who doesn't bring ideological ethos to the class? None that I've met," Mr. Messer said in a telephone interview.

As for concerns that financial contributors to Mr. Gingrich might influence course content, Mr. Messer said, "Everyone has said there is absolutely no link. . . I would not allow that to occur."

Christina Jeffrey, an associate professor of political science who supports Mr. Gingrich's right to teach, said, "I'm not a Gingrich clone, but I'm a defender of the First Amendment."

Mrs. Jeffrey said she believes in "total jealousy" is behind some of the animosity. "The political science department likes everything on politics to come out of their shop," she said.

The course has a budget of about \$291,000 for the fall term and is being funded through the Kennesaw State College Foundation.

Mr. Schulze said he didn't hear any complaints last year when the foundation paid \$18,000 for Jesse Jackson to lecture. "This is mega hypocrisy," he said.

1063

*Kurt,
You did an outstanding job of representing our
position on this issue. I'm sorry I
was out of town for the followup meetings.
Tom Kolbe*

Exhibit 127

KSC
3341

September 2, 1993

MEMORANDUM

To: Betty L. Siegel, President
Kennesaw State College

From: Robert W. Hill, Chair
Department of English



Re: Today's Revelations about the Newt Gingrich Course

In light of the information published in the Atlanta paper this morning, I must register my strong objection to what has come to be known as the KSC Newt Gingrich course.

I have said from the beginning, publicly and privately, that the academy must be open to the whole marketplace of ideas. I would have had no policy objections if the course had been offered through Continuing Education.

Because of Mr. Gingrich's congressional incumbency and because of his direct statements against "inviting" opposing viewpoints into his course, and now, with the evidence of GOPAC's direct and improper involvement, I do firmly object to its bearing academic credit.

Let there be no mistake, I also object to intellectual tyranny in others' classrooms. And I do understand the need to connect with and otherwise to reflect, as well as teach, the community we serve.

But this course--its genesis, its motives (which are politically biased and heavily laden with the baggage of one elected congressman's partisan standing), and its academic validation by our "rising star" of an educational institution--this course is hurting Kennesaw State College, no matter how much money it draws or how much applause from its partisans.

I'm past saying it's embarrassing. It's just wrong.

xc: George Beggs
Tim Mescon
Ed Rugg
Dot Graham

Exhibit 127



Department of Mathematics
Post Office Box 444
Marietta, Georgia 30061
(404) 421-6127

KSC
3460

September 2, 1993

Dr. Betty Siegel, President
Kennesaw State College
Marietta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Siegel,

We urge you to carefully reconsider the appointment of Congressman Newt Gingrich to our faculty and the offering of the course Renewing American Civilization. In view of the information we have, we fear that this could adversely effect our college for the following reasons.

1) This constitutes a clear conflict of interest (as also pointed out in the 9/1 letter to the editor of the Atlanta Constitution by Sheila Spector). The fact that Mr. Gingrich currently holds office should be enough. But the involvement of GOPAC places an obvious partisan bias on this course, not to mention the implications of their monetary support and suggestions for course material.

2) Mr. Gingrich has been quoted in the newspapers as saying that he will not quote viewpoints of "liberals". "Our goal is to replace the welfare state. Why would I quote someone who does not believe in that?" This outrageous statement proves his partisan agenda. It also violates all aspects of free academic inquiry; the higher education classroom must be kept open to all ideas and opinions.

One newspaper article stated, "Mr. Gingrich's course could put Kennesaw State on the map." True, but it could be in the form of an insidious black dot. We and other faculty have worked hard on national projects under the support of the college, private institutions, and numerous federal grants. We do not want to jeopardize the positive reputation, notoriety, and support which our college has recently enjoyed as a result. Therefore, we cannot support the implementation of this project by Kennesaw State College.

Sincerely,

Chris Schaufele
Christopher Schaufele

Nancy Zumoff
Nancy Zumoff
Professors of Mathematics

cc: Ed Rugg, VPAA

Exhibit 127

EXHIBIT 128Reinhardt College
0225

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Facsimile Transmission

DATE: 11-11-93 PAGE: 1 of 1 RESPONSE REQUIRED: Yes
 TO: Jeff Eisenach
 FAX NO.: (202) 942-7648
 FROM: Floyd Falany
 Reinhardt College, Waleska, GA 30183 Phone: 404-720-5500
 Fax No.: 404-720-5602
 SUBJECT: Course overview and budget
 This fax has 1 PAGE, including this page. If you do not receive
 all fax sheets satisfactorily, please call 404-720-5505.

Below are some general suggestions as well as specific budget adjustments. Please make arrangements to meet with Paul Milano and Bill Majure, before 2:00 p.m. if possible, when you are on campus tomorrow.

1) One of the focuses of attention last quarter was the relationships among Kennesaw, GOPAC, Progress and Freedom Foundation, etc. I feel that our relationship with the course can be better defined thus thwarting any unjustified concerns. I offer several suggestions.

First, there seems to be a "project", which is Renewing American Civilization, of which the "course" is a part. This distinction is blurred at times in the Project Overview. When you refer to the "project" it seems to imply a broader political objective (a non-welfare state). This is not to say that this political objective should be perceived as being negative, but it should, in fact, be seen as broader than and distinct from the simpler objectives of the "course".

Second, in the fourth paragraph of section I, it should state in the second sentence that "the Progress & Freedom Fdn. will distribute the course by means of satellite...". This is truer to the actuality of Reinhardt's responsibilities.

Last, the first sentence of paragraph one in section IV should read "Renewing American Civilization is conducted under the auspices of The P&FF and hosted by Reinhardt College".

2) I also believe you could take more advantage of the different outreaches that will be accomplished by the distribution of the course. You may want to discuss in more detail the fact that the course can be a stand alone credit or non-credit offering, in either a formal educational setting or elsewhere, or the core of a larger course offered by businesses or organizations to groups or individuals. I would stress its applicability for high school students, employers, continuing education, or economic, social or political interest groups.

3) In terms of the budget I refer you to attachment three of your earlier fax. Production facilities should be increased to \$20,000. \$2,500 in travel expenses for video production personnel should be added. Equipment rental should be increased by \$1,500. This adds a total of \$14,000 to the previous subtotal of \$187,500 allocated for "course research and production".

Hope this is helpful. Please respond with any comments.

i: F 200

Exhibit 128

EXHIBIT 129

H.A. 1. 6. 3

Reinhardt College
0264MEMORANDUM

REINHARDT COLLEGE

November 4, 1993

TO: Faculty and Staff
 FROM: Floyd Falany 

This letter concerns Congressman Newt Gingrich's course entitled "Renewing American Civilization." This is a subject which has received much publicity, thus we felt that information on Reinhardt's involvement with the course should go to all members of the faculty and staff right away.

This Friday, November 5, 1993, Reinhardt will issue a press release concerning "Renewing American Civilization." Before you read it in the newspaper, I would like to present the facts associated with our involvement.

Approximately two weeks ago, Dr. Falany was approached by the Congressman and The Progress and Freedom Foundation to see if we would be interested in offering the course to our students. They also wanted to explore the possibility of teaching and broadcasting the course to a number of off-campus sites throughout the United States. As a result of this request, Dr. Falany met with the College Curriculum Committee (the seven division heads, the interim dean and the library resources director) and asked them to seriously consider whether or not this course should become a part of the Reinhardt College curriculum. All Reinhardt courses go through this standard approval process.

Members of the Curriculum Committee met with appropriate faculty at Kennesaw College on Friday, October 22, to learn all the course particulars and find out how it was being taught for credit at Kennesaw. Other Reinhardt faculty members on the Curriculum Committee called faculty members at Clemson University and discussed with them the same questions. The Curriculum Committee also reviewed copies of the course materials and the televised lessons presented to date at Kennesaw.

On Monday morning, October 25, Congressman Gingrich, the President of The Progress and Freedom Foundation, members of the Foundation staff, and the editor of the course textbook came to Reinhardt College and met with College Administrators, members of the Curriculum Committee and the Chairman of the Board of

Exhibit 129

Trustees for breakfast. After breakfast, the Congressman and his invitees met alone with the Curriculum Committee (without the Administration or Board Chairman) to discuss course content and the possibility of offering it for credit. At the conclusion of this meeting, the Curriculum Committee voted to include the course as a "for credit" offering at Reinhardt College for winter quarter 1994.

On Wednesday, October 27, I presented a proposal concerning the possibility of teaching and taping the course to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees. After extended discussion which included the Project Course Director from The Progress and Freedom Foundation, the Executive Committee voted unanimously to endorse the Faculty's decision to offer the course, to invite Congressman Gingrich to teach the course at Reinhardt, and to videotape the course.

It is important to understand that, for the Winter Quarter 1994, the College will offer the course and teach it -- that is the extent of our commitment. At the present time, The Progress and Freedom Foundation will handle all of the fund raising associated with the course; the distribution of tapes, text and materials; the broadcasting; and the handling of all information including the coordination of off-campus sites.

It is important to know that Reinhardt's offering and teaching of the course will be done by a contract with The Progress and Freedom Foundation and, therefore, Reinhardt will not be responsible for raising any funds for the support of the course and will not be receiving donations on behalf of the course.

For your information, we are enclosing a copy of the Executive Committee resolution and the Curriculum Committee minutes.

As you all know, Reinhardt is a very special place to learn and work, and we are pleased with the opportunity to invite a distinguished member of the United States Congress to become an adjunct faculty member (he has agreed to teach the course at no cost to the College.) I honestly feel that this is a bold step forward in our effort to provide a quality education for our students and for the community at large.

FAF/bd

Exhibit 129

CURRICULUM COMMITTEE MINUTES
October 25, 1993 7:30 a.m.

Members Present: Dan Burkholder, Curtis Chapman, Dick Feehery,
Joel Langford, Doug Lindsey, Harriett Lindsey,
Sylvia Robertson, Thelma Rogers, Bill Wolfe

Members Absent: Eddie Robertson (out of town)

The Committee attended a breakfast meeting with members of the administration and Congressman Newt Gingrich and members of his staff.

Congressman Gingrich discussed the history, rationale, content and formulation of his course, Renewing American Civilization, which is currently being televised from Kennesaw College and offered for credit to students at Kennesaw and other institutions. After a lengthy question and answer period the curriculum committee went into a private session to discuss the course.

The committee members had previously been furnished with a videotape of session one of the course and other pertinent documentation. In addition, some members had met with Dr. Mescon at Kennesaw (host and team instructor of the current course) and had done other research.

It was proposed that Reinhardt College make the course, Renewing American Civilization, available to students as a 5-hour credit course during the Winter Quarter 1994. In a secret ballot, the course was approved.

A decision was not made as to where the course will fit into the college curriculum or which department(s) will oversee the course.

Respectfully submitted,



Dan Burkholder

DVB/lld

Exhibit 129

PROPOSED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE RESOLUTION

October 27, 1993

The Executive Committee approves the administration's recommendation that Reinhardt College enter into an agreement with Congressman Newt Gingrich and The Progress and Freedom Foundation (the "Foundation") to offer Renewing American Civilization as a credit course on the College campus beginning Winter Quarter, 1994. It is understood that the College will video tape and/or broadcast each classroom presentation to be used at off-campus sites. The resolution envisions incremental stages of College involvement (taping and recording only for the Winter Quarter, 1994) to insure that the scope of the project enhances rather than overwhelms the resources and programs of the institution. It is also understood that our involvement will come at no cost to the College.

This course shall be subject to the same review, evaluation, and supervision as the other courses, and the curriculum, of the College.

The President is authorized to prepare a contract with the Foundation that is consistent with the academic standards of the College.

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EXHIBIT 130

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jeff Eisenach
FROM: Newt Gingrich
DATE: July 31, 1995

I was frankly very surprised after our conversation on Thursday that you believe I have an obligation to raise \$250,000 for a project you were in charge of that ran over budget. This reminds me precisely of our experience with GOPAC and is frankly very disturbing. It is disturbing that you think it is someone else's responsibility to relieve a debt when that person has had no share in the decision making process. If you take it upon yourself to make the decisions you take the responsibility of the debt also.

Owen Roberts is prepared to review the books and the decision making process on Friday. I am prepared to accept responsibility for the amount of money Owen believes I should be responsible for. Without such a thorough outside review, I would be very uncomfortable accepting any responsibility. You may want to discuss this more after the taping on Tuesday.

GDC 11325

Exhibit 130

JK
7/31
AF

EXHIBIT 131

NEWT GINGRICH
9TH DISTRICT GEORGIA
REPUBLICAN WHIP

1620 LINDBERGH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
202-225-0187

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN WHIP
Washington, DC 20515-6538

May 12, 1993

The Honorable Jim McDermott
The Honorable Fred Grandy
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct
HT-2, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Jim and Fred:

I am writing to ask your guidance on the development of an intellectual approach to new legislation that will be different from our normal activities. I want to make sure that my activities remain within a framework that meets the legitimate ethics concerns of the House.

Over the last few years I have become convinced that our major domestic problems can only be resolved within a much broader framework of change than we have been working on. The works of Dr. Edwards Deming on quality and profound knowledge, Alvin Toffler's The Third Wave and Stephen Covey's The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People are examples of the scale of change we need to be developing within our legislative initiatives and in performing oversight functions.

The recent trip to Russia and Ukraine reinforced my conviction that we need to be considering bold dramatic changes in our own bureaucracies and structures.

The work I have done as Co-Chairman of the Republican Leader's Task Force on Health has also convinced me that we can't provide the solutions the American people want within the current intellectual framework.

In many ways my approach was influenced by Jim Pinkerton (Bush White House domestic long-range planner) and his concept of the need for a new paradigm. Similarly, on the Democratic Party's side the work of then Governor Clinton and Sam Nunn in developing the Democratic Leadership Council and in working with David Osborne's concept of Reinventing Government has played a major part in influencing my commitment to a fundamental change in the intellectual framework within which we operate.

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93 MAY 14 AM 10: 11
COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS

Exhibit 131

On January 25 I outlined these new concepts in a special order on "Renewing American Civilization" (attached). Since then I have begun the research to create the framework for a series of twenty special orders on renewing American civilization this fall. Concurrently I am going to teach the special orders as a course at Kennesaw State College in my district.

Just to ensure that there can be no question of motivation or intent I am accepting no money for teaching the course. Also, the actual cost of developing the course itself will be financed by Kennesaw State College and the Kennesaw College Foundation. No congressional money will be involved in the course itself.

However, the course clearly overlaps with my official functions in many ways. One section of the course will be on health. As Republican Whip and Co-Chairman of the Leader's Task Force I have been working with two of my staff on that issue. I would draw on their ideas and research for the special orders and the lectures (which will be identical). Similarly, when I speak with groups and individuals concerned about health care and they ask how we can develop bold new approaches I tell them about the course and give them a copy of the January 25th special order.

When meeting with constituents and others I share information on the course and encourage them to consider participating in it. I also would like for my staff to do this with groups and individuals with which they meet.

In developing a section of saving the inner city (course outline attached) I hope to work with many members of the Black and Hispanic caucuses and their staffs.

In developing the section on technological progress I have already been talking with the ranking Republican on the Science and Technology Committee.

I will do no mass mailings about the course. I will have completed the course before filing opens for the 1994 elections, so I will not be a candidate.

The course will be completely non-partisan. Neither Democrat nor Republican will be mentioned in the lectures (although I can't guarantee what will happen during question and answer sessions, it is my hope that we will focus on positive and fundamental principles in a way that avoids critiques of either the Congress or the Clinton Administration).

I have already mentioned the course to both Speaker Foley and Majority Leader Gephardt. I will be writing every member of both parties inviting them to offer ideas, examples, etc... and asking if they would like to participate this summer to critique the concepts before the special orders and the course are finalized.

My goal is to develop the broadest non-partisan range of

Exhibit 131

EXHIBIT 132~~1074~~ 1074

DAVID J. MCCARTHY
12 SOUTH HUDSON STREET
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA 22204

December 1, 1994

Dear Dave,

This is a follow up to our conversation yesterday when you asked me questions about the advice I gave Mr. Gingrich on his college course in Georgia. After he had written the Committee in the Spring of 1993 asking for approval to teach the course, Committee staff drafted an advisory opinion response which Mr. Grandy signed, but which Chairman McDermott did not want to sign until obtaining additional information from Mr. Gingrich.

Consequently, in early June I met with Mr. Gingrich, Annette Thompson (his A.A.), Linda Nave, and Jeff Eisenach who was in town from Georgia. I explained that the Committee was interested in obtaining some additional information about Mr. Gingrich's teaching plan, and offered my advice on every facet of the plan that I could identify, along with some facets that Mr. Gingrich and the others raised.

I explained the Committee's criteria for granting teaching waivers, i.e., Committee approval to accept compensation for teaching. I told Mr. Gingrich that his plan met the criteria, even though it had some novel collateral features. His response was that he was going to decline the college's compensation, in any event, so I advised him he did not need a teaching waiver.

I then asked him several specific questions to determine 1) whether he planned to use any official resources to support the teaching and, 2) whether he planned to use any unofficial resources to subsidize his official business. I recall some conversation about his interest in repeating his lectures in Special Orders on the House floor and how much he could refer to the course in official correspondence. He had explained that he would draw from lots of sources for his lectures but that, ultimately, the lectures would be his. I advised him that in my opinion he could deliver the Special Orders, but that if he were still concerned he might check with the Parliamentarian. I also told him that mailings mentioning the course should be cleared by the Franking Commission.

The discussion eventually turned to fundraising for the course. Jeff Eisenach began to volunteer details of how he contemplated fundraising, and I interrupted his explanation with a question, "are you on the House payroll?" When he answered that he was not, never had been, and did not ever expect to be I shifted the focus of the discussion by explaining that I was not interested in what Eisenach was planning to do, I was only interested in what Mr. Gingrich and any House employees were going to do. So I began to ask questions of Mr. Gingrich: "will you be signing any fundraising letters? Will you be making phone calls to prospective contributors? Will your name appear in any pamphlets or other

Exhibit 132

materials used for fundraising? If so, what entity will receive the donations?

Once it was clear that donations would be made to the college foundation, I advised them that Mr. Gingrich would be permitted to raise money for that purpose because the Standards Committee Advisory Opinion explicitly approved solicitations for organizations that the IRS qualified as tax exempt charities. In short, I told him that if the donor could deduct the donation from taxable income, then Mr. Gingrich could solicit the donation.

Then Mr. Gingrich again brought up Eisenach and asked whether he should not get the Committee's written advice that Eisenach would be permitted to engage in the fundraising. His concern seemed to be that Eisenach's identity with GOPAC, along with his fundraising for the course through the college foundation, could open him to criticism that the motivation for the course was political. I replied that, in my judgment, Mr. Gingrich should not ask the Committee to pass on the activity of Eisenach.

First, I explained that because Eisenach was not a Member, officer, or employee of the House his activity was really outside the Committee's jurisdiction. Secondly, I told him that, to my knowledge of tax law, the issue of whether the contributions in support of the course would keep their tax-deductible status would turn not on who did the fundraising but on how the funds were spent, and that the educational nature of the course spoke for itself. I told him that I was aware of no law or IRS regulation that would prevent Eisenach from raising charitable contributions, even at the same time that he was raising political contributions. In any event, I advised him, I expected the Committee to stick by its advisory opinion in the Ethics Manual and not get into second-guessing the IRS on its determinations of tax-exempt status. 1350

I also felt that because the Committee's written answer might decline to offer advice on Eisenach's fundraising activity -- it being outside the Committee's purview -- he might be just as well off not to raise the question in his letter. My experience was that Members found it annoying when the Committee in a written advisory opinion would explicitly decline to answer a question. I believe there was some brief discussion about Eisenach leaving GOPAC, in any event, in order to focus on the course fundraising.

The discussion on Eisenach actually consumed a small fraction of the time at this meeting.

I met again with Annette Thompson and Linda Nave in early July. At that meeting they showed me a draft of a follow up letter from Mr. Gingrich to the Committee. It included a lot of information that Mr. Gingrich had gathered to help the Committee answer his original letter on the subject. The purpose of the meeting was to determine if there was anything that had been left out or if there was yet any additional information the Committee needed. My reaction was that it was exhaustive.

Exhibit 132

Now, to your second question, how much of this did I share with the Committee? I remember describing the first meeting to Bernie in some detail, including both Mr. Gingrich's information in response to my questions, and my advice to Mr. Gingrich. I mentioned Eisenach's plans but did not dwell on that subject. I focused on Mr. Gingrich's activities and the questions whether official resources would be used for the course and whether unofficial resources would be used for official activities.

At some point during that time frame I remember Bernie showing me a newspaper article mentioning, among other things, Eisenach and his fundraising for the course. My reaction was, essentially, "So?" I still saw no illegal or improper activity on the part of Mr. Gingrich or anyone else.

I hope this answers your questions. Please call me at 639-8815 if you have any more.

Warm regards,

Dave

The Honorable David Hobson
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Exhibit 132

EXHIBIT 133

1077

NEWT GINGRICH
 State District Georgia

THE REPUBLICAN WHIP

WASHINGTON OFFICE
 2428 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.
 WASHINGTON, DC 20515-1008
 (202) 225-4501



3033 REDWELL ROAD
 SUITE 100
 MARIETTA, GA 30067
 (404) 586-4268

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

July 21, 1993

The Honorable Jim McDermott
 Chairman, Committee on Standards
 of Official Conduct
 HT-2, The Capitol

Dear Mr. Chairman,

This letter provides some additional information to clarify several issues about "Renewing American Civilization," the class I am teaching at Kennesaw State College this fall.

First, at present I have a formal agreement with the College to teach the class only for the Fall Quarter of 1993. (See Attachment 1.) However, it is my strong expectation, based on conversations with the President of the College and the Dean of the Business School, that I will be offered the opportunity to teach the class again during the Winter Quarters of 1994, 1995 and 1996, and I intend to accept that offer when it is made.

Second, the Kennesaw State College Foundation, a 501(c)(3) organization affiliated with Kennesaw State College, is providing me with a Content Coordinator to coordinate the videotape inserts and other materials that will be used in the presentations. While the Content Coordinator obviously will be involved in finding these materials and coordinating their use in the presentations themselves, she is not in any sense writing or drafting the presentations, which I am doing entirely myself.

Third, I expect that we will invite many people to comment on the content of the course, at every stage of the four-year process. Commentators will include people involved in state and local government, the private sector, academia and the Federal government, including Congressional staff (my own and others). These commentators will also include members of both major political parties. (For example, I have recently talked with both Pat Moynihan and John Lewis, who have agreed to serve in this capacity.) I expect to ask many people to review drafts of lectures and comment on them.

Fourth, to the extent my own staff are asked to comment on the class presentations, it will be in the same capacity as the dozens of other commentators -- i.e. to give their thoughts and offer broad comments and suggestions within their areas of expertise. I will not ask my staff to perform specific tasks

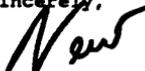
associated with researching or writing the presentations. Indeed, they understand they are not permitted to do this. Nor will congressional staff be required to attend the class or appear in connection with it.

Fifth, the class presentations are almost entirely new and original material and will not be derived in any direct or significant way from previous work by my staff or, for that matter, anyone else. (See the very early draft notes for the first presentation, and the "generic" outline for subsequent lectures, attached. These notes are entirely my own work, as all the lectures will be.)

Sixth, and finally, while I do intend to include much of the material from the class in Special Orders on the House floor, the Special Orders will, by their very nature, differ somewhat from the presentations. For example, the class presentations will include videotaped inserts on topics covered in the class, and these inserts will form the basis for much of the class discussion. Obviously, the Special Orders will not include these portions of the class presentations. Also, spontaneous student discuss and questions cannot be duplicated in a Special Order.

I hope this information is useful in your deliberations, and I look forward to hearing back from you in the near future.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Newt". The letters are cursive and slanted to the right.

Newt Gingrich

Exhibit 133

EXHIBIT 134

ONE HUNDRED THIRTY CONGRESS
 ASHLEY HUNTER, WASHINGTON, CHAIRMAN
 GEORGE HANCOCK, BRANFORD, CONNECTICUT
 DEBRAHANN L. GARDNER, MASSACHUSETTS
 BARRY FELDER, CALIFORNIA
 STEVE SPINALE, MARYLAND
 ROBERT A. SHARPE, PENNSYLVANIA
 DONALD S. BARNETT, OHIO

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
 COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT
 SUITE MT-2, THE CAPITOL
 WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6328
 (202) 225-7103

FRED GRANDY, OHIO
 RALPH L. JOHNSON, CONNECTICUT
 JIM BURNETT, KENTUCKY
 JOHN L. PYLE, ARIZONA
 PORTER J. BOGGS, FLORIDA
 RAYE L. HENSON, OHIO
 STEVE SCOTT, NEW MEXICO
 BERNARD MANN, CHIEF COUNSEL

August 3, 1993

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
 U.S. House of Representatives
 2428 Rayburn House Office Building
 Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Colleague:

This responds to your letter of May 12, 1993, as supplemented by your letter of July 21, 1993, requesting advice on your proposal to teach a course on public policy issues at Kennesaw State College and to present the course material in a series of Special Orders in the House. You have also asked whether you may help Kennesaw State College raise funds for the course. Based on the facts that you have presented in your letters and in discussions with Committee counsel, our guidance is as follows.

Federal law (5 U.S.C. app. 7, § 502) and House rules (Rule XVII, cl. 2.(5)) require that Members who teach for compensation obtain the prior written approval of this Committee to do so. Since you propose to teach on an uncompensated basis, you do not need this Committee's approval. Moreover, your intention to present your views in a series of Special Orders is well within your official prerogatives. As to your question on fund raising, the Committee has previously determined that Members may solicit funds on behalf of charitable organizations qualified under § 170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code, provided that no official resources are used, no official endorsement is implied, and no direct personal benefit results. Assuming that your plans comply with these standards, no rule or law subject to this Committee's jurisdiction would prohibit you from raising funds for Kennesaw State. However, as would be true of any proposal to raise money, we suggest that you consult with the FEC to determine whether the regulations administered by that agency might apply.

If you have any further questions concerning this matter, please contact the Committee's Office of Advice and Education at extension 5-3787.

Sincerely,


 Jim McDermott
 Chairman


 Fred Grandy
 Ranking Minority Member

Exhibit 134

fundamental rethinking that we can develop. Both Dr. Deming and Stephen Covey have indicated they will help with the course content in their areas. I am currently recruiting several other people to help in their specialties.

This is an unusual approach to the job of legislator but it is my deepest belief that we need this type of rethinking. Both as the Representative of the Sixth District of Georgia and as the Republican Whip, I believe the development of these ideas is a crucial part of my job.

If the committee has any concerns about this project, I would be glad to meet with your staff and develop a set of guidelines that will protect both the integrity of the House and the integrity of the intellectual project.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Newt Gingrich

Exhibit 131

EXHIBIT 135**BEN JONES FOR CONGRESS**

P.O. BOX 671956

MARIETTA, GEORGIA 30067-0033

(404) 498-7942

September 7, 1994

RECEIVED

94 SEP -7 PM 8:24

COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS

The Honorable James McDermott
 Chairman
 Committee on Standards of Official Conduct
 HT2 The Capitol
 Washington, D.C. 20515

Re: Ethics Complaint Against Representative Newt Gingrich

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This letter constitutes a formal complaint against Representative Newt Gingrich for improper and unethical behavior in connection with his involvement in the operations and the solicitation of contributions for the Kennesaw State College Foundation [KSCF] and the Progress and Freedom Foundation (PFF). Although further investigation is necessary, the information contained in this letter is based upon published press reports as well as other widely disseminated documents.¹

As the following fully documented presentation will show, Mr. Gingrich fabricated a "college course" at KSCF intended, in fact, to meet certain political, not educational, objectives. Because the college did not have or wish to make available funding, Mr. Gingrich directed the creation of a tax-exempt organization which claimed a charitable educational purpose, but which operated under the control of Mr. Gingrich's political organization, GOPAC, for purely political purposes. As a result, through the tax-exempt, tax-deductible contributions solicited through this charity, the tax-payer paid the cost of Mr. Gingrich's political mission.

The presentation will show also that Mr. Gingrich used his office and in particular the prospect of legislative access and favor to secure contributions for this enterprise. The enterprise began, in fact, with a favor performed by Mr. Gingrich for an official of the college, in return for which Mr. Gingrich made clear his expectation of support for the "course" project. GOPAC officials were then actively involved in soliciting contributions from legislatively interested persons for the "course", making clear by their

¹Attached to this complaint are the documents that were relied upon in filing this complaint. The reader will note that many of these documents contain underlying, circling and other means of emphasis. Since these documents were received by complainant as photocopies in this condition it is impossible to know at what point and by whom these marks were made.

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September 7, 1994

Page 2

participation the personal and political importance to Mr. Gingrich of funding for this project. And, as will be seen, the contributors were evidently not mistaken about the quid pro quo available to those participating with their monies in the college project.

Throughout all of this, moreover, Mr. Gingrich made extensive use of government resources--all paid by the taxpayer--to advance this scheme. These illicitly used recourses included full-time salaried employees, use of office telephone service and fax machines, and use of supplies.

A. Background

Since 1986 Congressman Gingrich has been chairman of GOPAC, a national Republican political committee whose goal is achieving a Republican majority in the House of Representatives. As GOPAC's chairman, one of Mr. Gingrich's primary responsibilities is the solicitation of contributions from various corporate and individual donors.

In September 1992, Timothy Mescon, Dean of Kennesaw State College's School of Business Administration, wrote to Congressman Gingrich seeking "assistance" in becoming introduced to the Director of the Bureau of Private Enterprise at the Department of State. In his response letter, Mr. Gingrich stated that he was pleased to help Mr. Mescon, and that he was also "very interested in working with you after the election." Mr. Gingrich's interest, however, was unrelated to the African development project Mr. Mescon had written him about. Instead, it was the use of a college foundation and the establishment of a political foundation--under the guise of a charity--that would help spread Mr. Gingrich's name and political message through the establishment of an ostensible college "course."

The first step in the scheme was for Mr. Gingrich to "teach" a "course" at Kennesaw State College. This course bore no similarity to courses that students typically enroll in at colleges across America. In fact, the course--called the Renewing American Civilization [RAC] project--was less an academic enterprise than a platform for Mr. Gingrich to promote both his ideas and himself to thousands of individuals well beyond the walls of Kennesaw State. In a letter to potential "students," Mr. Gingrich describes the class as a "four year project, and our goal is to have 200,000 committed citizen activists nationwide before we're done." In a similar vein, GOPAC's Executive Director and RAC's Project Director, Jeffrey Eisenach, wrote one potential donor: "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."

Exhibit 135

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As these quotations indicate, this was a Kennesaw State "course" in name only. The underlying purpose of the RAC project was to raise Mr. Gingrich's national exposure and organize Republicans for the 1996 congressional elections. For this reason, the RAC project was offered via satellite and video tape to state Republican parties, Republican student groups and other Conservative organizations and individuals. The documents are replete with examples of solicitations to local and state Conservative and Republican groups to fund Mr. Gingrich's political objectives by "enrolling in" RAC. Apparently, no attempt was made to solicit Democratic Party entities or even non-partisan or bi-partisan organizations.

Meanwhile, at Kennesaw State College like-minded individuals were being strongly encouraged to enroll in the class, while those with dissenting views were told to stay out. In an interview with the College's newspaper Mr. Gingrich stated explicitly that while Democrats would be tolerated in the classroom, "liberal ideas" would not.

The logistical problems associated with RAC were substantial. First and foremost was the problem of where to get the nearly \$400,000 necessary to fund this effort for one quarter. The solution was to use charitable foundations that would solicit and receive donations to fund the project. One existing foundation -- KSCF -- was to serve as the "fiscal agent" for the RAC project. Another foundation -- PFF -- was created to, among other purposes, produce material for the enterprise. Through the use of tax exempt foundations, Mr. Gingrich could offer his contributors tax deductions for contributions that would help spread his political message and image. As charitable foundations organized under Section 501(c)(3), however, KSCF and PFF could not engage in political activities. Gingrich and those assisting him therefore contrived to have KSCF pay a "project fee" initially to the Washington Policy Group (WPG) and later to PFF--both affiliates of GOPAC--to manage RAC. In early 1993, both WPG and PFF shared offices with GOPAC and personnel supplied by WPG and PFF to KSCF were also GOPAC employees and consultants. Personnel included Jeff Eisenach, Steve Hanser, Mike DuGally, and Jana Rogers. Through this project fee agreement Mr. Gingrich was able to use tax exempt contributions to subsidize with public funds the salaries of GOPAC employees as well as achieve his political goals.

From start to finish the RAC project was a GOPAC sponsored and run endeavor. An article from the Atlanta Constitution in November of 1993 states, what at the time was the obvious, that GOPAC, Gingrich's "political action committee helped design and find funding for the course." In fact, the documents are replete with example after example of GOPAC personnel and resources being used to organize, develop and raise money for the RAC project. As noted above, for example, Jeff Eisenach and Mike DuGally were GOPAC employees who were transferred to the KSCF payroll under the WPG fee arrangement. GOPAC employee Jana Rogers was transferred directly to the KSCF payroll and later returned to the GOPAC payroll. Nancy Desmond of PFF also

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was directly added to the KSCF payroll. Other GOPAC employees simply worked for KSCF as a part of their normal GOPAC duties. GOPAC's Financial Director and fundraiser Pamla Prochnow was one example.

In short, GOPAC, WPG, and PFF were essentially one in the same. It is no surprise therefore that PFF, WPG and GOPAC shared the same address. Or that WPG and PFF facsimiles were routinely sent from GOPAC fax machines. A perfect example of the muddled and intertwined nature of the relationship was the role of GOPAC Executive Director and PFF President, Jeffrey Eisenach. In June 1993, he signed a letter regarding the project fee agreement on WPG stationery as "President." That same month, Mr. Eisenach authored a memorandum on RAC stationery upon which his title is printed "Project Director." Not surprisingly his phone number printed on that stationery is in area code 202 not 404.² Similarly, Mr. Eisenach's travel records show that his airplane tickets were sent to GOPAC one month and to WPG the next (both at the same address). Given the overlap between these organizations, it is no surprise then that when, in June, Mr. Eisenach gets his WPG American Express Corporate Card Statement, he has to divide the charges between GOPAC, WPG, PFF and KSCF.

GOPAC, WPG and PFF operated as alter egos of each other. Even GOPAC's Michael DuGally makes an occasional appearance on Kennesaw State College stationery. It appears that Mr. DuGally is one of the GOPAC employees principally responsible for coordinating with KSCF. Yet, on August 3, 1993 he signs a letter on Kennesaw State College stationery. Once again, the phone number he gives is in the Washington D.C., rather than Georgia, area code.

As the RAC project grew in size and complexity so too did its needs for expertise, personnel and resources. GOPAC/KSCF was aided by Mr. Gingrich's official staff whenever GOPAC lacked the resources or expertise to do the job. For example, Joe Gaylord identified by a vendor as Mr. Gingrich's Chief of Staff, was responsible for pricing and coordinating the satellite uplink services for KSCF. He was also listed, along with Desmond, DuGally and Eisenach, among others, on the routing slip for information pertaining to the RAC project. Both Gingrich's congressional, as well as his Whip, office were used to distribute brochures advertising the RAC project. The degree of coordination between Gingrich's various organizations and his congressional office is significant. Brochures were sent to: GOPAC farm team, Gingrich's congressional office, the Republican Whip's office, Friends of Newt Gingrich, the Christian Coalition leadership, and College Republicans.

²This phone number is now the main number for PFF.

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This reliance on congressional resources became all the more pronounced when GOPAC/KSCF became increasingly unable to cope with the barrage of press criticism and inquiries about the RAC project. In order to find help GOPAC turned to Mr. Gingrich's congressional Press Secretary Alan Lipsett. Thus, when GOPAC's Michael DuGally needed a press release about the project, he solicited one from Alan Lipsett. According to a GOPAC fax cover sheet, Ms. Desmond then sent this draft press release to Mr. Mescon at Kennesaw State. Interestingly, the next day Mr. DuGally facsimiles a note to Mr. Mescon suggesting that the press release be put on College letterhead because "[t]he more 'Kennesaw State College' is emphasized, the greater the likelihood will be that the class is viewed as an 'academic' rather than 'political' endeavor."

The use of Congressman Gingrich's staff is not limited to this one individual or incident. In June, 1993 GOPAC/KSCF also turned to Mr. Gingrich's congressional staff for help with press relations. In a June 25 memo to congressional staffer Tony Blankley, Mr. Eisenach compliments Blankley's "media strategy memo" as "excellent." Similarly, in a September 8, 1993 memorandum Mr. Lipsett offers his advise on how to deal with the onslaught of media criticism of the RAC project. In that memorandum, printed on official stationery, Mr. Lipsett references a September 7, 1993 meeting that he and others had with representatives of Kennesaw State College including its president Betty Siegel. Upon receipt of this memorandum on September 8, Mr. Gingrich faxes it to the College, again on official stationery, using an official facsimile machine. That same day, Amy Clark sends another fax to the College. Again, the fax was on official stationery and was sent from an official facsimile machine.

In an apparent attempt to introduce levity into the matter, Mr. Gingrich then faxes a note to Ms. Siegel on official White House stationery. The fax cover page is official congressional stationery. By this time, it appears that Kennesaw State officials had realized that while most of the RAC project was being run out of GOPAC, the press relations were being run out of the congressional office instead. Thus, in response to the previous facsimiles, Ms. Siegel sends a draft of a Kennesaw State College press release to Mr. Gingrich's congressional office. Finally, Mr. Gingrich faxes back a confirmatory note indicating that he had read and approved the press release. Once again, this was sent from an official fax machine on official stationery.

The fact that GOPAC controlled and, with the help of the Congressman's official staff, operated RAC serves to explain why so many large corporations and wealthy individuals were willing to donate such a large amount of money for one course at one college in Georgia. These contributors thought they were simply giving money to Mr. Gingrich the way they always had. Whether it be his official campaign committee, GOPAC or RAC the vast majority of these donors were simply looking for a way to further contribute to Newt Gingrich. The fact that he found a way to make their

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contribution tax deductible only sweetened the pot. It is no coincidence therefore that many of the large contributors to KSCF had also contributed to GOPAC and FONG and, importantly, had significant business before Congress.

Several examples are illustrative of this point:

- According to press accounts, at least \$100,000 of the money raised came from GOPAC supporters.
- In perhaps the most notorious example, Mr. Berman of the Employment Policies Institute, sent a \$25,000 check for KSCF directly to Mr. Gingrich at his congressional office. Along with the check was a cover memo upon which was handwritten: "Newt - Thanks again for the help on today's committee hearing."
- Turner Broadcasting attached the card of their Government Affairs Director to a check for \$5,000.
- A recent Roll Call article lists GOPAC's largest donors. Number 4 on that list is Roger Milliken who has given \$255,000 to GOPAC since 1985 (\$345,000 including contributions given by his brother). Not surprisingly Mr. Milliken also appears on the July 21, 1993 "RAC donor update" list. Of greater significance is the fact that Mr. Gingrich acknowledged that he raised questions regarding a key GATT provision after meeting with textile magnate Milliken.
- Mr. Eisenach solicited contributions for KSCF by clearly associating himself with his GOPAC fundraising as well as Congressman Gingrich. In a letter to a Chevron executive Mr. Eisenach notes that "[l]ast year at about this time, you and I talked about the possibility of Chevron supporting GOPAC's 'Tribute to Lee Atwater' at the Republican National Convention."
- In another incident, Mr. Eisenach wrote to a lobbyist for the Tobacco Institute stating that "Newt Gingrich asked me to send you some background information" and "[y]our support for Newt and his efforts over the years has meant a lot to him."

All of these examples demonstrate the attitude prevalent among KSCF donors and solicitors. The message was clear: Contributing to KSCF is just another way of contributing to Mr. Gingrich himself. Or, as one candid donor stated when asked why he contributed to GOPAC: "I'm buying the man."

While most donors were simply interested in contributing to anything sponsored by Mr. Gingrich, there were some that also cared about the substance of the course. For these donors Mr. Gingrich also provided a reward. To begin with, it is worth noting that

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in order to divert any inquiries about whether this was a "real" college course, Mr. Gingrich provided for some Kennesaw College students to actually be registered for credit in the class. That was not the only way to earn entry into the classroom however. In addition to being one of the 150 enrolled students, one could gain entry into the class by donating \$25,000 to KSCF.

Not only were classroom seats for sale, but so too was the content of the course itself. For example, a \$50,000 contribution, not only entitled one to register 3 students, but guaranteed them the right to "work directly with the leadership of the Renewing American Civilization project in the course development process." It appears that at least one donor took advantage of this latter opportunity. In a May 1993 memorandum GOPAC employee Pamla Prochnow writes that one potential contributor, Richard Berman, was considering giving "\$20,000-\$25,000 if the course can incorporate some of the ideas mentioned in the Journal of Labor Research, Volume XIV, Number 3. . . . His primary concern is a discussion of what he calls "genesis employment opportunities." On June 30, 1993 Mr. Berman issued a check to KSCF for \$25,000. A couple of weeks later in July, a "RAC Donor Update" list stated that Mr. Berman "[i]s preparing material for class."

In October of 1993, the Georgia Board of Regents closed the loophole in its policy that allowed Mr. Gingrich to use college facilities for his activities. In January 1994, RAC was moved to private Reinhardt College in Waleska, Georgia from which its satellite broadcasts and video tape production continues. As a result of the move all KSCF involvement was terminated, and PFF took over all fundraising and financial responsibility for RAC.

B. Possible Violations

Mr. Gingrich's strategy of selling seats, selling content and, of course, selling access, was not only obvious, but was improper and potentially illegal as well. The potential violations involved in this matter can be divided into four categories.

First, Mr. Gingrich violated House Rules prohibiting the use of Congressional staff members' time and other resources in connection with his teaching activities. The House Ethics Manual states explicitly that a Member may only teach a course if "[n]o official resources, including staff time, are used in connection with the teaching." Manual, p. 107. See Rule 47. In this case there is no doubt that Mr. Gingrich knew and approved of his staff and his office's resources being used to support KSCF and the College in connection with his teaching. As outlined above, such support generally included the use of the congressional office's press relations personnel, the use of Mr. Gingrich's Chief of Staff to secure equipment and services for the project, and the use, by Mr. Gingrich and others, of facsimile machines and stationery. It also appears that Mr. Gingrich's office may have been used to distribute as many as 5,000 fliers

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advertising the RAC project. Each of these would constitute a direct and flagrant violation of House Rules.

Of course, Mr. Gingrich may elude this rule by denying that his "course" involved "teaching". This maneuver would have the undeniable virtue of partaking of the truth. But it would involve also the admission that the "course" was indeed a sham, designed to serve a political and not educational mission. This admission would seal the case that Mr. Gingrich committed a wide range of offenses in establishing a charity for a supposedly educational purpose--one funded with tax deductible monies--when his purpose was indeed a flagrantly political one for which public support was secured on false pretenses.

Second, Mr. Gingrich violated House Rules prohibiting the use of official resources (including staff time) for the sake of political campaign activities. Although the House Ethics Manual recognizes that "[t]he line between official and political duties may not always be easy to pinpoint," in this case the facts are clear that Mr. Gingrich crossed that line. Manual, p. 201. As noted above, Mr. Gingrich boasted that his goal in teaching the course was "to have 200,000 committed citizen activists nationwide before we're done." Jeffrey Eisenach echoed that by stating that the goal was "to train, by April 1996, 200,000+ citizens into a model for replacing the welfare state and reforming our government."

The purpose of this course was not the education of the 150 Kennesaw State College Students enrolled in the class; but rather, to start building a base of political support among Republicans in time for the 1996 presidential primaries. That is why Mr. Gingrich and GOPAC targeted Republican organizations and individuals for the project. In light of this, any staff time or office resource that went toward organizing and supporting his course was improper under the Rules of the House.

Third, Mr. Gingrich's conduct in soliciting and accepting contributions for KSCF and PFF from individuals with interests before Congress violated the House Rules which require a Member "to avoid situations in which even an inference might be drawn suggesting improper behavior." Manual, p. 25. See Rule 43. Specifically, with respect to solicitations on behalf of a charity the House Ethics Manual states that "[t]he official should discourage any suggestion that donors will receive favorable consideration in official matters." Manual, p. 51-52. While there is no allegation of a formal quid pro quo, Mr. Gingrich has, by accepting a large contribution, sent to his congressional office, with a note attached suggesting that it might be connected to help the Congressman had recently provided him during a committee hearing, created a situation in which an "inference might be drawn suggesting improper behavior." In any case, Mr. Gingrich certainly did not "discourage any suggestion" that official favor would result from such a substantial contribution to a charity that directly benefited Mr. Gingrich and his political aspirations. The inference of impropriety was further strengthened when Mr. Gingrich

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agreed to raise questions regarding the GATT after meeting with RAC and GOPAC contributor and textile manufacturer Milliken. The inference grows even stronger in light of the fact that other organizations who donated money, such as Turner Broadcasting, did so through their political representatives or lobbyists.

The heavy involvement of GOPAC, moreover, flavored the entire enterprise with politics--and also laid bare that the intended beneficiary of the funds was Newt Gingrich, not the college. GOPAC individuals made no effort to distinguish their GOPAC and KSCF roles. A number of solicitations made specific reference to GOPAC and past contributions to that Gingrich-directed organization. At least on contribution was delivered to the Congressman's official office. Vendors addressed letters confirming their arrangement to work on the RAC project to individuals they believed served as the Congressman's "Chief of Staff". Further, the RAC project continues today, and the staffer originally assigned to the KSCF payroll now directs the Congressional District Office staff of the Congressman.

Finally, Mr. Gingrich's conduct in this manner, when examined as a whole, fails to meet the standard set for Members of the House of Representatives. Members of the House are instructed to avoid even the appearance of impropriety and to "conduct themselves at all times in a manner that reflects creditably on the House." Manual, p. 1. Rule 43. Mr. Gingrich set up a political training program for his partisans and proclaimed it a "course." He set up a bogus funding operation directed by a political committee, calling it a "charity" and claiming for it the advantages under the tax laws reserved for true charities. His solicitations clearly created the impression that contributions might secure favor with the Member in the conduct of his office--and in the case of the Berman contribution, there is evidence that they did. By then selling seats in the class and the courses content for large donations he further compounded the appearance of impropriety. Finally, by having GOPAC and congressional staffers organize and run the course, Mr. Gingrich created a picture of impropriety that was not just apparent but was obvious. In conducting himself this way he has failed to act in such a manner as to bring credit to the House.

Instead, Mr. Gingrich through his actions and inaction has reinforced the American public's worst image of Congress. By selling the course's seats and message to large donors and granting them tax deductions to boot, Mr. Gingrich has reinforced the notion that the rich can buy Congress.

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After all that is what Mr. Kriebel said: "I'm buying the man."

In light of these reported facts and upon these grounds, it is hereby requested that the Committee issue a statement of preliminary inquiry and fully investigate the facts and circumstances of this matter. It is urged that the Committee then consider and impose any appropriate sanctions under the rules of the House and refer any possible criminal violations to the proper authority.

Very truly yours,



Ben Jones
1608 Cornish Mountain Road
Covington, Georgia 30209

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Subscribed and Sworn to before me
this 7th day of September 1994


Notary Public
My commission expires _____

DAVID J. ROBINSON
Notary Public
District of Columbia
My Commission Expires September 14, 1997

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

This is to certify that I have today, by hand delivery, provided an exact copy of this complaint and all attachments to the Respondent in this matter, Congressman Newt Gingrich, at the following address:

Office of the Republican Whip
H-219
The Capitol
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



Ben Jones
Complainant

Dated: September 7, 1994

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EXHIBIT 136

NEWT GINGRICH
SIXTH DISTRICT GEORGIA

THE REPUBLICAN WHIP

WASHINGTON OFFICE
RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-1006
(202) 225-4501



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
October 4, 1994

RECEIVED

94 OCT -4 PM 5:12
COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS

3822 NEWELL ROAD
SUITE 200
MARIETTA, GA 30067
(404) 866-6261

The Honorable Jim McDermott
Chairman
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct
Room HT2, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Jim:

Pursuant to Rule 15(d) of the Rules of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, I would like to take this opportunity to provide the Committee with information relevant to the complaint recently filed against me. I believe that this complaint is pure politics, based on false assumptions and innuendo and 4 human errors made by my staff. I respectfully request the Committee to review this response and dismiss the complaint.

On August 3, 1993, I received a letter from the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct which outlined the relevant rules of the Committee regarding the college course which I was about to begin teaching at Kennesaw State College in my district. At that time, my staff was briefed by staff members of the Committee who described what involvement my congressional staff may have in the preparation of the college course. After that meeting with Committee staff, my Administrative Assistant briefed all members of my staff as to what proper conduct would consist of. In addition, my District Director also briefed my district staff and advised them of what activities they may not be involved in with regard to the class at Kennesaw State. I believe that my staff did and continues to adhere to the advice we sought from the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

The complaint filed by Ben Jones, my general election opponent, alleges that I used my office and "full-time salaried employees" to promote the college course. This is not true. Mr. Jones apparently bases this allegation on a letter that was sent to Joseph Gaylord, who serves as my political advisor and has never been on any official congressional payroll. Mr. Jones alleges that this letter and subsequent phone calls were made to my congressional office and answered by my congressional staff. At no time did my staff involve themselves in the preparation of this course nor did they make phone calls, write letters in support of or solicit donations for the Kennesaw State Foundation.

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The complainant also makes references to a memo by Mike Dugally where he stated that brochures advertising "Renewing American Civilization" were delivered to my various offices on Capitol Hill. No brochures were delivered, stored, or distributed from either of my Whip offices nor my congressional office by my congressional staff. Any brochures present on government property were for my personal distribution. In addition, no staff members were asked to promote the course or to distribute materials and no official resources were used. Indeed, my congressional office referred all phone calls to the "800" number that the Kennesaw State Foundation installed and all mail was forwarded by stamp to the college.

I would like to make it abundantly clear that those who were paid for course preparation were paid by either the Kennesaw State Foundation, the Progress and Freedom Foundation, or GOPAC. At no time were any official funds used to reimburse, pay salaries of, nor was there any promise of compensation from my official resources as the Congressman of the 6th District of Georgia. Those persons paid by one of the aforementioned groups include: Dr. Jeffrey Eisenach, Mike Dugally, Jana Rogers, Patty Stechschultez, Pamla Prochnow, Dr. Steve Hanser, Joe Gaylord and Nancy Desmond.

Another point of clarification that needs to be made is the reference in the supporting documentation that refers to the "Gingrich File." I can assure the Committee that my congressional office only maintained one file with regards to this academic endeavor. That file contains the correspondence with this very Committee I submitted for their opinion outlining the parameters as to how I would teach this course. I am unaware of where or if this "Gingrich File" exists.

Also in the supporting materials is a hand-written note which references the "Gingrich file." This note was not written by any member of my staff. In reviewing the content of the note, it appears to have been written in the early stages of course development and from the content appears to have been written by an official of Kennesaw State College.

In the documentation, there is mention in a memo of an alleged press release that was written by my district press secretary, Allan Lipsett. This memo was discussed by Jeff Eisenach and Allan Lipsett and it was decided that it would be improper for Mr. Lipsett to be involved in the development of such a release for the college. Mr. Lipsett does not recall ever

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writing a press release for Kennesaw State.

In addition, there was also mention in a memo from Jeff Eisenach to Tony Blankley, my D.C. press secretary, which referenced a strategy memo that Tony had apparently written to Jeff. This memo was written by a staff member at home, on his home computer using no official time nor resources. I would also add that neither press secretary was advised nor directed to write memos by me or any other member of my congressional staff.

On page "A" of the documents included in the complaint, there is a name that has been blocked out. In checking with the staff at the Progress and Freedom Foundation, it appears that the name was "highlighted" rather than blocked out and the repeated copying of the documents has produced this rather cryptic memo. The name appears to be that of Philip Smith.

On page "B", there is a fundraising letter from Jeff Eisenach to Tom Bresnahan of the Chevron Corporation. This letter was written and mailed by Dr. Jeff Eisenach without my signature nor knowledge. In reviewing the document, I would suggest that Jeff used typical fundraising semantics and no legislative benefits were implied for either the Chevron Corporation or Tom Bresnahan.

On page "C", there is a faxed expense reimbursement request by Jana Rogers for her rent in Atlanta. This was an arrangement that was made between the Kennesaw State Foundation and Miss Rogers who was unable to be released from her lease in the Washington, D.C. area. Therefore, her rent was paid for a time certain in Atlanta until which time her lease expired in D.C. I believe this compensation to be a proper use of 501(c)(3) funds and the contract was reviewed by attorneys prior to enactment.

On page "D", there is a letter written by Jana Rogers of the Kennesaw State Foundation in which she references scheduling a lunch between me and Raymond Lewis, of Holiday Inns International, which have their world headquarters located in the 6th district of Georgia. Ms. Rogers called Mr. Lewis. The call originated from Kennesaw State Foundation and the purpose was to solicit funds for the Foundation. However, Mr. Lewis denied this request. During the conversation, Mr. Lewis requested to have lunch with me to discuss matters relevant to the 6th district of Georgia. I did not have lunch with Mr. Lewis during the month of September nor did the Progress and Freedom Foundation or the Kennesaw State Foundation direct my congressional scheduler as to whom I would or would not meet with. Ms. Rogers was merely

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attempting to pass along to my Georgia scheduler (and to verify with Mr. Lewis that she had done so) a pending request from a constituent and in no way was attempting to violate or circumvent the rules of the House.

Page "E" is the Georgia Open Records Act request that Kennesaw State College received from Steven Bruning. While I do not know Mr. Bruning personally, it is my understanding that he is a former Cobb County democratic party chairman and is an attorney in private practice.

Page "F" lists the host sites receiving the broadcast of the course. No congressional staff members solicited host sites nor served as such. It is my understanding that all of the site hosts either volunteered or were recruited by the Kennesaw State Foundation.

Page "G" is a memo that was written by my Georgia Press Secretary, Allan Lipsett. Mr. Lipsett wrote this memo after the inordinate amount of local press that "Renewing American Civilization" received during a 10 day period in early September 1993. Mr. Lipsett produces an analysis of any non-campaign related story in which I figure prominently in the local media and this analysis was no exception. Because of the impact this course had on the mail and phone calls in the district and D.C. offices, it merited his attention. This memo was meant for internal use only and should not have been faxed to Kennesaw State College. When my Administrative Assistant returned from vacation, she reprimanded Mr. Lipsett for this error.

In addition, during this same time period, a Kennesaw State student who was also a part time employee in my district office typed and faxed a memo (page "H") to the State Board of Regents. She also was advised that this was an error and was not repeated.

Page "I" was a note I had written to the President of Kennesaw State College while at a White House Leadership meeting. I regret that this was faxed from my Whip Office. Again, the relevant staff member was informed that this was an error and was not repeated.

Page "J" was a press release that Kennesaw State College faxed to my district office in Georgia. I might remind the committee that I receive an inordinate amount of faxes each week that are unsolicited and I cannot be held accountable for everything that my office receives.

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Page "K" was again a human error committed by my district Press Secretary. He believed that since the President of the college was a constituent, official resources could be used to correspond with her.

Another issue which the Committee has expressed interest would be the Kennesaw State Foundation and the Progress and Freedom Foundation. I am not on the Board of Directors nor do I have any official involvement with either of these two organizations.

While serving as an unpaid adjunct professor at Kennesaw State College in 1993, the Kennesaw State Foundation (which is a 501(c)(3) foundation established in 1967 to supplement those items which are not covered by the budget set by the State of Georgia) had a contractual agreement with 3 employees who served as the coordinators of the course "Renewing American Civilization." Should you desire any additional information about this organization, please contact either Dean Tim Mescon of the School of Business Management who co-taught the course or the public relations department at Kennesaw State.

In addition, I have also enclosed a letter and supporting documents (page "L") which I requested from the Progress and Freedom Foundation. Again, I do not serve on their board of directors. I believe that Dr. Eisenach's letter and the information he has enclosed from the IRS will answer whatever questions you may have regarding the involvement of the Progress and Freedom Foundation and its role in the Renewing American Civilization program.

The last issue is the letter I received from the Employment Policies Institute that had a handwritten note from Rick Berman. Let me assure the Committee that this letter and contribution had nothing to do with the committee hearing that Mr. Berman mentioned in his post script.

Mr. Berman heard me speak of the course in the early part of 1993 and expressed a great deal of interest in the course. In turn, he was solicited for funds by the Kennesaw State Foundation. He obtained permission for the contribution and prepared the letter to accompany the check. At no time did I solicit Mr. Berman using official resources nor did I request that he deliver the check to my congressional office.

Regretfully, Mr. Berman sent the check to my congressional office. Upon receipt of the letter, my Administrative Assistant

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called Jeff Eisenach and requested that a courier be dispatched immediately to pick up this envelope. This happened within hours of the contribution's arrival.

According to Mr. Berman, he had been notified of a Hearing before a House Subcommittee in which he wished to testify. Unbeknownst to me, Mr. Berman contacted the chief of staff of my whip office and requested that he contact the relevant staff director to see if Berman could be included in the witness list. At no time did he mention his involvement with the course. Indeed, the Whip office cannot recall even making a phone call on behalf of Mr. Berman.

Mr. Berman was notified by the Committee that he had indeed secured a position on the panel and, at his own admission exercised poor judgment and penciled a courtesy note of thanks at the bottom of the letter which contained the contribution. I did not make any phone calls on behalf of Mr. Berman nor was I appraised of his pending request before the relevant subcommittee. Indeed, I have attached a letter (page "M") of explanation from Mr. Berman in which he, too, describes this coincidental course of events.

I have never used official resources to raise money for any political or educational endeavor.

I hope that this clarifies the questions raised in the complaint. I have enclosed a check for \$12. which covers the cost of the stationary and faxes that were inadvertently sent from my office.

If further clarification is needed, please don't hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,



Newt Gingrich

NG:aet

Exhibit 136

EXHIBIT 137

JIM MCDELMOTT, WASHINGTON
 CHAIRMAN
 GEORGE (BUDDY) BARDEN, GEORGIA
 BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, MARYLAND
 NANCY PELOSI, CALIFORNIA
 KEWESHI INFILME, MARYLAND
 ROBERT A. ROSEN, PENNSYLVANIA
 THOMAS C. SAWYER, OHIO
 (202) 225-7103
 SUITE HT-2, THE CAPITOL

FRED BRANDY, IOWA
 RANKING REPUBLICAN MEMBER
 NANCY L. JOHNSON, CONNECTICUT
 JIM BUNNING, KENTUCKY
 JOHN L. RYAN, ARIZONA
 PORTER J. GOSS, FLORIDA
 DAVID L. HOSSON, OHIO
 STEVEN SCHIFF, NEW MEXICO
 BERNARD RAINO, CHIEF COUNSEL

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct
 Washington, DC 20515-6328

October 31, 1994

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
 U.S. House of Representatives
 2428 Rayburn House Office Building
 Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Gingrich:

Thank you for your letter of October 4, 1994, responding to the ethics complaint which was filed against you by former Representative Ben Jones, on September 7, 1994. The Committee has reviewed your letter and the documents enclosed with it, and believes that these materials sufficiently answer most of the allegations raised in Mr. Jones' complaint. Specifically, in light of your letter the Committee believes that there is no need to look any further into the allegations that you used congressional resources for unofficial purposes, or that you used congressional resources for political purposes. While you have acknowledged that some congressional resources were used for unofficial purposes, you have reimbursed the U.S. Treasury, and have taken steps to ensure that these violations will not be repeated.

There is, however, an allegation which requires further explanation before the Committee can finalize its evaluation of the complaint. This is the allegation that, in seeking and obtaining funding for your course on Renewing American Civilization, you improperly used tax-exempt foundations to obtain taxpayer subsidization of political activity. (This allegation is specifically made on page 1 of the complaint: "Mr. Gingrich directed the creation of a tax-exempt organization which claimed a charitable educational purpose, but which operated under the control of Mr. Gingrich's political organization, GOPAC, for purely political purposes," and again on page 9: "Mr. Gingrich set up a bogus funding operation directed by a political committee, calling it a 'charity' and claiming for it the advantages under the tax laws reserved for true charities.") Mr. Jones alleges that this conduct violated House Rule 43, clause 1, which requires a Member to "conduct himself at all times in a manner which shall reflect creditably on the House of Representatives."

Set forth below are a number of questions and concerns which relate to this allegation and to some of the documents submitted with the complaint. Your answers to these questions, as well as any other information you may wish to provide, would be helpful to the Committee in deciding what formal action to take with respect to the complaint. You should take as much time as you need to answer these questions. However, you should be aware that we anticipate

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The Honorable Newt Gingrich
 October 31, 1994
 Page 2

that the Committee will be meeting on November 29, 1994. Any information you can provide in advance of that date would be appreciated.

In responding to these questions, you may wish to refer to the legal authorities which are enclosed with this letter, and which the Committee believes are relevant to the allegation in question. Enclosed are copies of 26 U.S.C. § 501(c)(3), 26 C.F.R. § 1.501(c)(3)-1, and the U.S. Tax Court's decision in American Campaign Academy v. C.I.R., 92 T.C. 1039 (1989), in which the court revoked the tax-exempt status of an educational organization which ran a school to train political campaign professionals. The court held that, because more than an insubstantial part of the school's activities benefitted private interests, i.e., partisan Republican candidates and entities, the school was not entitled to tax-exempt status. In reaching this holding, the court noted that, while purportedly non-partisan, the school had contacts with the Republican party; that the school took steps in the application process to ensure that at least the majority of its students would be Republicans; that the courses taught at the school had a Republican focus to them; and that its graduates went on to work exclusively on Republican campaigns.

* * *

On May 12 and July 21, 1993, you wrote letters to this Committee regarding your plan to teach your course on Renewing American Civilization at Kennesaw State College. Your May 12 letter stated that the course "will be completely non-partisan," and that you planned to "avoid[] critiques of either Congress or the Clinton Administration." More significantly, the legal authorities cited above restrict the ability of a tax-exempt foundation to engage in activities which are intended to benefit (or which actually benefit) private interests, such as a political party or its candidates. A number of documents submitted by Mr. Jones, however, raise questions as to whether the course was in fact exclusively educational in nature, or instead constituted partisan political activity intended to benefit Republican candidates. The following is a list of questions which arise from a review of those documents:

1. A number of documents reflect the involvement of GOPAC and GOPAC employees in developing and raising funds for the course. GOPAC's role in seeking funding for the course was not disclosed to the Committee in your letters. Among those documents are the following:

A. A March 1, 1993, memorandum from yourself to Dean Tim Mescon of Kennesaw State College. (Exhibit 1.) On page 2, you state that Jeff Eisenach was working on obtaining funding for the course. You also refer to the need to arrange a meeting with Joe Gaylord to discuss an uplink system and "how to develop the course." News accounts have stated that Mr. Eisenach was GOPAC's Executive Director until June 1, 1993 (a fact which is also alleged in the complaint), and have identified Mr. Gaylord as

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The Honorable Newt Gingrich

October 31, 1994

Page 3

a consultant to GOPAC. Mr. Gaylord has also been identified as one of the founding directors of the American Campaign Academy, the foundation whose tax-exempt status was revoked in the case cited above.

B. A March 12, 1993, letter from Glenn Martin (Video Tape Associates) to Joseph Gaylord, sent to GOPAC's offices. (Exhibit 2.)

C. A March 25, 1993, GOPAC fax cover sheet from Jana Rogers at GOPAC to Dr. Mescon. (Exhibit 3.)

D. An April 23, 1993, memorandum, with a GOPAC fax cover sheet, from Pamla Prochnow (who is identified in the complaint and in the documents as GOPAC finance director) to Dr. Mescon, summarizing Ms. Prochnow's efforts to raise funds for the course from Cracker Barrel, and her discussions with Mr. Eisenach about the course budget. (Exhibit 4.)

E. An April 29, 1993, fax cover sheet from Dr. Mescon to Jeff Eisenach at GOPAC. (Exhibit 5.)

F. An April 29, 1993, GOPAC fax from Ms. Prochnow to Dr. Mescon, regarding Ms. Prochnow's efforts to raise funds for the course. (Exhibit 6.)

G. An April 29, 1993, GOPAC fax from Ms. Prochnow to Dr. Mescon, enclosing materials to be used to raise funds for the course from Cracker Barrel. (Exhibit 7.)

H. A May 3, 1993, GOPAC fax from Ms. Prochnow to Dr. Mescon, regarding Ms. Prochnow's efforts to raise funds for the course from Richard Scrusby of HealthSouth. (Exhibit 8.)

I. A May 3, 1993, draft letter from you (drafted at GOPAC and bearing Mr. Eisenach's initials) to be sent to "1000+" College Republican chapters. (Exhibit 9.)

J. A May 3, 1993, GOPAC fax from Ms. Prochnow to Dr. Mescon, transmitting a draft letter seeking funding for the course from Cracker Barrel. (Exhibit 10.)

K. A May 4, 1993, GOPAC fax from Ms. Prochnow to Dr. Mescon, regarding fundraising proposals and requesting a response to GOPAC. (Exhibit 11.)

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The Honorable Newt Gingrich
October 31, 1994
Page 4

- L. A May 4, 1993, memorandum from Ms. Prochnow to Dr. Mescon, Mr. Eisenach and Mr. Gaylord, regarding Ms. Prochnow's efforts to raise funds for the course from various contributors. (Exhibit 12.)
- M. Two May 10, 1993, memoranda from Ms. Prochnow to Mr. Gaylord, Dr. Mescon, and Mr. Eisenach, regarding Ms. Prochnow's efforts to raise funds for the course from Coming and from Richard Berman. (Exhibit 13.)
- N. A May 24, 1993, GOPAC fax from Mr. Eisenach to Dr. Mescon regarding the budget for the course. (Exhibit 14.)
- O. A June 4, 1993, memorandum from Ms. Prochnow to Dr. Mescon, faxed from GOPAC, regarding funding for the course from Cracker Barrel. (Exhibit 15.)
- P. A June 8, 1993, letter from Mr. Eisenach to Dr. Mescon on the letterhead of Washington Policy Group, Inc. (and signed by Mr. Eisenach as President of WPG), regarding WPG's role as project manager of the Renewing American Civilization course. Among the names on the routing slip to which the letter was attached are those of Ms. Prochnow and Mr. Gaylord. (Exhibit 16.)
- Q. A June 15, 1993, memorandum from Michael DuGally to Dr. Mescon on GOPAC letterhead regarding fundraising for the course. The words "College Republicans" (apparently from a fax transmittal) appear in the upper left corner of the document. (Exhibit 17.)
- R. A June 15, 1993, invoice for WPG's project management of the Renewing American Civilization course. WPG's address on the invoice is the same as GOPAC's. The invoice was faxed to Dr. Mescon from GOPAC on GOPAC letterhead. (Exhibit 18.)
- S. A June 27, 1993, GOPAC memorandum from Mr. DuGally to Dr. Mescon regarding putting Nancy Desmond and Jana Rogers (who at the time, according to the complaint and news accounts, were on the Progress and Freedom Foundation and GOPAC payrolls, respectively) onto the Kennesaw State College payroll from July 1 through October 1, 1993. (Exhibit 19.)
- T. A July 7, 1993, Renewing American Civilization weekly report indicates that 19,000 registration flyers will be included in a "GOPAC Farmteam mailing." (Exhibit 20.)
- U. A series of July 15, 1993, fundraising letters sent by Mr. Eisenach on Kennesaw State College letterhead, but faxed from GOPAC. (Exhibit 21.)

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The Honorable Newt Gingrich
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 Page 5

V. Federal Express records show that GOPAC's Federal Express account number was used by Renewing American Civilization, and that numerous Federal Express packages were sent from Kennesaw State College to GOPAC. (Exhibit 22.)

W. Handwritten notations on Mr. Eisenach's American Express account statement appear to indicate that, within the space of three days in early June 1993, he was doing work on behalf of WPG, PFF, the Kennesaw State College Foundation, and GOPAC. (Exhibit 23.)

In addition to the above, various other documents related to the course were sent out on GOPAC letterhead, were sent from GOPAC's fax machine, used GOPAC's address as a place to mail materials related to the course, and referred to registration materials being included in GOPAC Farmteam mailings.

- In light of the restrictions on the activities of tax-exempt educational organizations, why was a Republican political action committee involved in developing and obtaining funding for the course?
- Describe your involvement in fundraising for the course, from its conception through its execution.
- Who designed the marketing strategy for the course? What was that strategy? Describe your role in designing, implementing, and/or reviewing that strategy.

2. On September 2, 1993, a draft letter to the editor was sent from Mr. Eisenach to Dr. Mescon (for Dr. Mescon's signature). (Exhibit 24.) This letter addressed the involvement of GOPAC employees in the course. With respect to Ms. Prochnow's involvement, the letter stated:

Pamla Prochnow, GOPAC's new finance director, had just joined the organization from the Peace Corps, where she coordinated foundation support for their programs. I talked with her about the kinds of foundations that might be interested in supporting us, and she made a few calls to charitable foundations -- but made no efforts to contact GOPAC supporters.

The letter also noted that Mr. Eisenach had resigned his position at GOPAC on June 1, and "has no ongoing relationship with GOPAC."

On September 3, 1993, a memorandum was sent out to site hosts for the course from Jana Rogers, laying out points to make in response to press inquiries about GOPAC's

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The Honorable Newt Gingrich
 October 31, 1994
 Page 6

involvement in the course. (Exhibit 25.) One of these was to note that the funds for the course had been "raised by and for the Kennesaw State College Foundation."

The documents described above appear to indicate that Mr. Eisenach was aware that Ms. Prochnow's involvement in fundraising went beyond making "a few calls to charitable foundations," and that his own role with GOPAC had not been terminated on June 1. Nor were all funds for the course raised by the Kennesaw State College Foundation; GOPAC's role in raising funds is documented above.

- ▶ Was anyone connected to the Renewing American Civilization course instructed to deny that GOPAC had played a role in developing or raising funds for the course? If so, why?
- ▶ Was GOPAC's involvement in the course ever disclosed to the Internal Revenue Service?
- ▶ Why was GOPAC's involvement not disclosed to this Committee?

3. A July 21, 1993, letter from Mr. Eisenach to Ralph Vinovich of the Tobacco Institute states that the goal of the course is "[t]o train, by April 1996, 200,000+ citizens into a model for replacing the welfare state and reforming our government." (Exhibit 26.) Similarly, an August 4, 1993, letter which you signed states that "our goal is to have 200,000 committed citizen activists nationwide before we're done." (Exhibit 27.) Neither of these documents makes reference to specific political parties or politicians. However, other documents concerning the focus of the course and efforts to target certain individuals to enroll in it, appear to be overtly partisan in tone.

For example, the May 3, 1993, draft letter to be sent to College Republican chapters (Exhibit 9), states in part: "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." The letter also addresses its recipients as "fellow Republican[s]," and urges them to ask their "fellow CRs" to join in taking the class. A June 25, 1993 memorandum written by Mr. Eisenach concerning the media strategy for the course proposes a more direct anti-Clinton pitch:

We think [Clinton's] vision of the future is fundamentally at odds with the American idea and the underlying consensus in current American culture -- which is what makes him, by necessity, a liar (if he told the truth, he'd be rejected by

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The Honorable Newt Gingrich
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 Page 7

75 percent of the people the next day). We believe our vision of the future -- once stated -- will win the day, and we are going, finally, to enter the fight.

(Exhibit 28.) While you never actually took steps to exclude Democrats from the course, you were quoted in the August 4, 1993, issue of the Kennesaw State College Sentinel as saying that you would not allow "liberal ideas." (Exhibit 29.) Other documents describe efforts to encourage College Republican chapters and other Republican organizations to subscribe to the course.¹ Still others show that registration materials for the course were sent directly to a number of Republican organizations. A number of local Republican party headquarters became sites for viewing the course.

These circumstances -- the stated goal of the course to "train" more than 200,000 citizen activists to "replac[e] the welfare state and reform[] our government," the overtly partisan tone of some of the documents, the fact that you (as well as other course organizers) are readily identified with the Republican party, and the fact that the course appears to have been targeted exclusively at groups and individuals predisposed to support a Republican agenda -- together can be seen as giving rise to the inference that the goal of conducting the Renewing American Civilization course has not been exclusively educational, but has rather been to promote Republican party activism and a Republican agenda.

► What was the goal of conducting the Renewing American Civilization course?

► Do you know whether, during the period of time that the course was affiliated with Kennesaw State College, the Kennesaw State College Foundation renewed its tax-exempt status with the Internal Revenue Service? If so, what was disclosed to the IRS by the Foundation? Do you know whether the IRS commented on or questioned the Foundation's involvement with the course or efforts to raise funds for the course? If so, what did the IRS say with respect to these issues?

4. In order for the Committee better to understand the material which you discussed in the Renewing American Civilization course, please provide copies of your course materials, including textbooks, outlines, and discussion topics.

¹For example, a July 7, 1993, Renewing American Civilization Weekly Report (Exhibit 20) lists as an agenda item: "Will recruit volunteers at 7/8/93 KSC College Republican meeting." The July 21, 1993, Weekly Report (Exhibit 30) states: "The response to Renewing American Civilization at the College Republican National Convention was overwhelming. . . . I also handed out 400 Site Host Guides to College Republicans . . . NCRNC says it will work aggressively with their state chairmen to help us set up sites know [sic] that the convention is over." A July 31, 1993, Renewing American Civilization expense report (Exhibit 31) shows a number of expenses incurred in connection with the college Republican convention.

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The Honorable Newt Gingrich
 October 31, 1994
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5. How was it decided what entities and individuals would be solicited for contributions to Renewing American Civilization? How did Ms. Prochnow decide whom she would contact? Were you consulted in advance about Ms. Prochnow's fundraising activities? If so, did you approve them?

6. When and how did the Progress and Freedom Foundation become involved in raising funds for the course? What relationship, if any, exists or existed among the following organizations: the Progress and Freedom Foundation; Washington Policy Group; and GOPAC?

7. Other than documents submitted by Mr. Jones with his complaint, have you reviewed or approved any documents concerning efforts to raise funds for the Renewing American Civilization course (including fundraising letters and internal memoranda concerning fundraising) which refer to any of the following:

- A. GOPAC;
- B. the Republican or Democratic party;
- C. any Republican or Democratic candidate for any public office;
- D. efforts to recruit candidates for any public office; or
- E. President Clinton or the Clinton Administration?

If so, please provide copies of any such documents to the Committee.

Your comments regarding the above documents and questions, and any documents you wish to provide, will be very helpful to the Committee in deciding what action to take with respect to Mr. Jones' complaint. If you would like to discuss any of these questions, please contact us. We look forward to receiving your response.

Sincerely,


 Jim McDermott
 Chairman

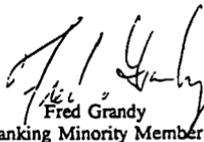

 Fred Grandy
 Ranking Minority Member

Exhibit 137

EXHIBIT 138

HEWT GINGRICH
Sixth District, Georgia

THE REPUBLICAN WHIP

WASHINGTON OFFICE
CAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-1006
(202) 225-4501



3822 Reynolds Road
Suite 200
Marietta, GA 30067
(404) 585-8388

FILE COPY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
December 8, 1994

The Honorable Jim McDermott
Chairman
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct
Room HT2, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Jim and Fred:

I am again responding to questions you have raised regarding the pending ethics complaint by my election opponent, Mr. Ben Jones.

You have already found that there was no misuse of congressional resources. Only your inquiries into alleged "improper use of a tax-exempt organization for a political activity" persist. To put these concerns to rest once and for all, I shall again attempt to clarify how:

- (1) "Renewing American Civilization" is an "educational activity," not a "political activity;"
- (2) GOPAC did not create, fund, or administer "Renewing American Civilization;" and
- (3) Funding of "Renewing American Civilization" by tax-exempt foundations was at all times consistent with tax law and policy.

I respectfully urge you to reconvene the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct and dismiss this complaint.

BACKGROUND OF EVENTS.

As you know, I have long been concerned by what I perceive as the decaying of American civilization. In response I have sought new visions of the future to serve as organizing paradigms for our nation's progress over the next several decades. I outlined such concepts in a special order of January 25, 1993, and decided to further develop and explore these philosophic topics via an educational forum.

From the beginning, I have fully informed you of my actions and sought your advice unsolicited. My staff and I conferred

The Honorable Jim McDermott
December 8, 1994
Page 2

with David McCarthy, then counsel to the Committee, to discuss the proper contents of my request for a Committee opinion letter. Mr. McCarthy's recommendations were followed when I requested such an opinion letter on May 12, 1993. He specifically recommended that any GOPAC personnel's involvement in fundraising for the Foundation was irrelevant to the Committee. You responded on August 3, 1993, informing me that Members who "teach on an uncompensated basis...do not need this Committee's approval." Further, you stated that "Members may solicit funds on behalf of charitable organizations qualified under Section 170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code."

Entitled "Renewing American Civilization," the course I subsequently taught at Kennesaw State College was, by design and application, completely non-partisan. It was and remains about ideas, not politics. To prevent even the appearance of improper motivation or conduct, I did not accept any compensation for my teaching.

Sixty-two days before the 1994 general election and just two days prior to the deadline for filing complaints to this Committee, Ben Jones -- my electoral opponent -- filed the complaint at issue. Mr. Jones alleged misuse of congressional resources for unofficial or political purposes and improper use of a tax-exempt foundation to subsidize political activity. Despite immediate electoral obligations, I conducted an extensive investigation to respond to the complaint. My investigation revealed twelve dollars in stationary and faxes inadvertently sent from my Congressional office. I promptly repaid the twelve dollars.

One week prior to the election you agreed that no misuse of congressional resources had ever occurred. In the subsequent material you received from Mr. Jones, he further alleges that a former part-time employee of my Georgia district office (Dr. Steve Hanser) was involved in inappropriate "staff overlap." This is not true. I have enclosed a copy of the Clerk of the House Report from 1992 as well as the termination papers for Dr. Hanser which prove to the Committee that Dr. Hanser was terminated from my Congressional staff prior to any involvement in "Renewing American Civilization."

Your letter on the eve of the election -- which was regrettably but promptly leaked to the papers -- asked only for further clarification regarding the nature of "Renewing American Civilization" and its alleged association with GOPAC. Republican Leader Bob Michel attempted to address your concerns earlier, as

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The Honorable Jim McDermott
 December 8, 1994
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did I, but we were apparently unsuccessful.

"RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION" IS AN "EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY."
 NOT A "POLITICAL ACTIVITY."

"Renewing American Civilization" is a graduate-level educational course, formerly offered at Kennesaw State College's School of Business Administration for five quarter-hours credit. By design and in application, the course was and remains completely non-partisan.

Unfortunately, my status as an active political figure invited certain uninformed observers to presume that the course entailed political indoctrination, rather than educational exploration. No such charges could credibly have been raised by any objective observer familiar with the contents of the course. The fact is, no such allegations would ensue if this exact course were identically taught by Stanford University's Hoover Institute Professor Milton Friedman. Nor should former Representative Stephen Solarz's current course at George Washington University, entitled "Challenges to U.S. Foreign policy," be automatically dismissed as political, irrespective of its tone or content. The political versus educational nature of academic exercises may only be determined by what it said, not who says it.

I urge you to review the course materials (ENCLOSED) and actual presentations (ENCLOSED on VIDEO), for they surely will demonstrate the non-partisan, apolitical nature of the course. Specifically, please note:

- * There are as many references to Franklin Roosevelt, Jimmy Carter, and Martin Luther King, Jr. as there are to Ronald Reagan or Margaret Thatcher.
- * None of the course material addresses specific political parties, nor are any critiques of modern leaders included.
- * Respected scholars such as James Q. Wilson, Everett Carl Ladd, and Larry Sabato continue to contribute to and review course content.
- * Course registration materials target neither Democrat nor Republican, speaking instead to those who "believe it is impossible to maintain civilization with: 12-year-olds having babies; 15-year-olds killing each other; 17-year-olds dying of AIDS; and 18-year-olds

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The Honorable Jim McDermott
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 Page 4

getting diplomas they can't read." (Attachment #1)

GOPAC DID NOT CREATE, FUND OR ADMINISTER
"RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION."

The idea to teach "Renewing American Civilization" arose wholly independent of GOPAC, because the course, unlike the committee, is non-partisan and apolitical. My motivation for teaching these ideas arose not as a politician, but rather as a former educator and concerned American citizen, one who is deeply committed to restoring the intellectual vitality of our nation. This course neither benefits GOPAC nor originates therefrom.

GOPAC never contributed any funds in support of the "Renewing American Civilization" project. Contributions for the course came primarily from educational foundations and from Atlanta-based businesses such as Coca-Cola, Lockheed-Georgia, Cracker Barrel and Turner Broadcasting. I have enclosed a Summary of the 1993-1994 Contributions to the Kennesaw State College Foundation for the "Renewing American Civilization" project. (Attachment #2)

As a political action committee, GOPAC never participated in the administration of "Renewing American Civilization." Where employees of GOPAC simultaneously assisted the project, they did so as private, civic-minded individuals contributing time and effort to a 501(c)(3) organization. Conclusions drawn from the fact that these individuals inadvertently or ill-advisedly continued to use GOPAC stationary and fax machines and continued to work out of GOPAC mailing addresses -- the entire basis of Mr. Jones' complaint -- are superficial and irrelevant.

The fact is, "Renewing American Civilization" and GOPAC have never had any official relationship. Anticipating media or political attempts to link the Course to the Committee, "Renewing American Civilization" organizers went out of their way to avoid even the appearances of improper association with GOPAC. Before we had raised the first dollar or sent out the first brochure, Course Project Director Jeff Eisenach resigned his position at GOPAC. Local site hosts were reassured as to the lack of GOPAC involvement and were urged to "(t)ell the truth about what you are doing, why you are participating in the class, etc." because there is nothing to hide. (Attachment #3) Most significantly, David McCarthy was specifically asked whether Course organizers who simultaneously worked at GOPAC need reveal their dual employment to this Committee. Mr. McCarthy assured my staff that

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The Honorable Jim McDermott
December 8, 1994
Page 5

such coincidences were irrelevant and not within the Committee's jurisdiction.

FUNDING OF "RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION" BY TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS WAS AT ALL TIMES CONSISTENT WITH TAX LAW AND POLICY.

"Renewing American Civilization" supporters contributed to two organizations -- the Kennesaw State College Foundation and the Progress and Freedom Foundation. GOPAC, as a political action committee, never contributed to either foundation. GOPAC's decision not to contribute to these foundations could not have been based on tax law considerations, however, since the law currently allows such donations. Logically, GOPAC must not have contributed because it is a political organization whose interests are not directly advanced by this non-partisan educational endeavor.

I am sure that all foundations and entities in question are fully-prepared to allay any concerns, should they be expressed by the government agency charged with administering the tax laws -- the IRS. To date, however, IRS inquiries have not exceeded a telephone call, despite the considerable election-eve press generated by Mr. Jones' eleventh hour complaint. The fact is that the IRS is not asleep, this Committee's commendable vigilance notwithstanding. Rather, Mr. Jones' allegations have no merit and no basis whatsoever in tax law or policy.

To be thorough I asked former Internal Revenue Commissioner Donald Alexander to examine this question. I have enclosed Mr. Alexander's analysis for your review. (Attachment #4) He confirms that GOPAC expenditures on behalf of "Renewing American Civilization" -- were they intentional or inadvertent -- would have been allowable under the tax laws. He asserts "that the fundraising methods and sources of funds complained of in the letter of October 31 are irrelevant to the question whether Kennesaw College Foundation, the sponsor of the Renewing American Civilization course, is entitled to tax-exempt status."

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The Honorable Jim McDermott
December 8, 1994
Page 6

In conclusion, I once again suggest that all the facts necessary for your consideration of this matter are in your possession. I respectfully urge you to reconvene the Committee on Standard's of Official Conduct and dismiss this complaint.

Sincerely,



Newt Gingrich

NG:aet

EXHIBIT 139

BORSKI TAB 2

DAVID E. BONIOR
MICHIGAN

H-307, The Capitol
Washington, DC 20515-6130
(202) 225-6130

One Hundred Fourth Congress
U.S. House of Representatives
Office of the Democratic Whip

January 26, 1995

RECEIVED
95 JUN 26 AM 9: 57
COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS

The Honorable Nancy Johnson
The Honorable James McDermott
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct
U.S. House of Representatives
HT-2 U.S. Capitol
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Representatives Johnson and McDermott:

Attached to this letter for consideration by your Committee is an exact copy of a complaint alleging violations of the House Ethics Rules by Congressman Newt Gingrich.

I am transmitting this complaint to the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct pursuant to Rule 14(d) for the purpose of initiating a Preliminary Inquiry into the matters set forth in the complaint.

If you have any questions or need additional information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Very truly yours,



David E. Bonior
Democratic Whip

enclosure

Exhibit 139

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

This is to certify that I have today, by hand delivery, provided an exact copy of this complaint and all attachments to the Respondent in this matter, Congressman Newt Gingrich, at the following address:

H-232
The Capitol
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dated: *January 26, 1995*



Complainant

Exhibit 139



BEN JONES
1608 CORNISH MOUNTAIN ROAD
COVINGTON, GEORGIA 30209
(404) 385-9325

January 26, 1995

The Honorable Nancy Johnson
The Honorable James McDermott
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct
HT2, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

**Re: Amended Ethics Complaint Against Representative
Newt Gingrich**

Dear Madam Chairwoman and Congressman McDermott:

Introduction

This Amended Complaint is brought against Speaker Newt Gingrich pursuant to House Rule X, cl. 4(e)(2), which authorizes the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct to investigate "any alleged violation, by a Member, officer or employee of the House, of the Code of Official Conduct or of any law, rule, regulation or other standard of conduct applicable to the conduct of such Member . . . in the performance of his duties or the discharge of his responsibilities, and after notice and hearing to recommend to the House . . . such action as the committee may deem appropriate . . ." The complaint is supplemented by new information recently available described herein.

Exhibit 139

As detailed in previous complaints and press accounts, Mr. Gingrich has violated House rules, statutes and standards of conduct in: 1) misusing official resources in pursuance of assertedly non-official "educational" purposes, 2) securing assistance, compensation and financial support from outside sources with interests in legislation and on whose behalf he intervened before the federal government; 3) negotiating and intending to consummate a book contract which is inconsistent with the full time responsibilities of holding high public office, 4) securing a lucrative book deal from a publishing company and its principal while contemporaneously discussing and meeting with them at a time the company and its principal had significant matters pending before Congress and federal agencies; and 5) soliciting the purchase of products of entities he controlled by outside business interests and seeking to supplement official staff resources from those outside interests.

As has been fully documented in the prior complaints, Mr. Gingrich fabricated a so-called "college course" intended to meet certain political, not educational objectives. The college did not have or wish to make available funding for the lectures, so Mr. Gingrich directed his political committee, GOPAC, to solicit contributions for two purportedly tax-exempt entities which managed and directed the planning of the course. One of these entities, the Progress and Freedom Foundation ("PFF") is closely linked to Mr. Gingrich and his political organization.

Through tax-exempt, tax-deductible contributions, solicited by his political committee and with the assistance of official government resources, taxpayers have subsidized the cost of Mr. Gingrich's political mission, and the essential research which makes possible a lucrative, multi-million-dollar book contract which will directly benefit him personally.

Mr. Gingrich made extensive use of government resources to advance this scheme,

Exhibit 139

including the use of full-time salaried employees, and the use of telephone service, facsimile machines and official supplies. Congressman Gingrich also used his office and in particular the prospect of legislative access and favor to secure contributions for this elaborate, political enterprise, and created the appearance of impropriety by offering promotional time in the course lectures to donors. Further, Mr. Gingrich has brought discredit upon himself and the House of Representatives through his refusal to comply with unanimous rulings of the Federal Election Commission to fully disclose the activities of his political committee, GOPAC.

Prior complaints have documented that from start to finish, GOPAC sponsored and ran this enterprise. As the scheme grew in size and scope, Mr. Gingrich authorized the creation of a tax-exempt entity, the Progress and Freedom Foundation, which now completely manages the lecture program. The President of this foundation, Mr. Jeffrey Eisenach, served as the "Project Director" for the initial version of the lecture series, and subsequently used his position at the foundation to initiate negotiations with an agent to represent Mr. Gingrich in a book contract based upon the lectures.

So important was this enterprise to Mr. Gingrich that he wrote to one donor, "There is nothing in my professional life to which I am more committed than making this class a success, and nothing I think I could do that would make a bigger difference for our country's future." (Letter to Mr. Richard J. Fox of August 10, 1993). An extraordinary statement by a public official with the important official responsibility of representing the 6th Congressional District of Georgia.

This second amended complaint specifically reincorporates and realleges the previously filed complaints and additionally alleges as follows:

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COUNT I**GOPAC AND RELATED ENTITIES USE OF
OFFICIAL RESOURCES CONSTITUTES A
VIOLATION OF HOUSE RULES AND STATUTES**

Mr. Gingrich has formed an interlocking group of entities whose purpose was to advance his political and ideological goals under the guise of charitable and educational activities. One of these entities -- Renewing American Civilization -- is the vehicle for the course Mr. Gingrich taught at Kennesaw State College, and now teaches at Reinhardt College. From the beginning, the RAC project was a GOPAC sponsored and run endeavor.

As the documentation submitted with the prior complaints clearly shows, the RAC project has used official resources, contrary to House rules and ethical precedents, including:

- 1) congressional aide Linda Nave was tasked by Gingrich to meet with course officials on legal compliance and House rules;
- 2) congressional press secretary Alan Lipsett drafted press releases about the RAC project;
- 3) Tony Blankley, a congressional aide, participated in, directed and supervised the RAC project on government time;
- 4) official stationary and facsimile facilities were used on June 25, September 7 and 8, 1993 all relating to the RAC project, and
- 5) Hundreds of phone calls were placed and received on official phones and facsimiles to and from course officials in Georgia.

House Rule XLIII, cl. 6 requires that campaign and personal funds be kept separate; House Rule XLIII, cl. 11 requires that official letterhead not be used by outside organizations or lent in a way that conveys sponsorship or endorsement. The foregoing use of official resources by GOPAC and RAC, violates these rules; in addition, the ethics committee has

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proscribed use of official resources to teach courses like RAC. In the alternative, if the foregoing is not entitled to the "teaching" exemption, then it constitutes use of official resources for partisan campaign purposes and accordingly is barred by House Rule XLIII, cl. 6 which prohibits a Member from commingling official and campaign resources.

More importantly, Mr. Gingrich has twice before been admonished by the Committee for inappropriate use of official stationery for private ventures. In the most recent instance, the Committee warned the Congressman " . . . a future recurrence of improper use of mail and resources may result in more severe Committee action."

COUNT II

TENDER OF A \$25,000 CHECK IN CONNECTION WITH A LEGISLATIVE HEARING VIOLATES HOUSE RULES AND STATUTE

On July 1, 1993 Richard Berman, Executive Director of the Employment Policies Institute, tendered a check to Mr. Gingrich for \$25,000 payable to the Kennesaw State College Foundation. In a handwritten note on the letter transmitting this check, Mr. Berman inscribed "Newt - Thanks again for the help on today's Committee hearing."

The federal anti-bribery statute, 18 U.S.C. § 201 (b)(1), provides:

(b) Whoever -

(1) directly or indirectly, corruptly gives offers or promises anything of value to any public official or person who has been selected to be a public official, or offers or promises any public official or any person who has been selected to be a public official to give anything of value to any other person or entity, with intent -

(A) to influence any official act; ... shall

be fined not more than three times the monetary equivalent of the thing of value, or imprisoned for not more than fifteen years, or both, and may be disqualified from holding any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.

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Mr. Berman's note thanking Mr. Gingrich for "help" on a committee hearing is prima facie evidence of the tender of something of value to influence an official act in violation of the anti-bribery provisions of 18 U.S.C. § 201 (b).

In addition, 18 U.S.C. § 201(b)(2) also provides that whoever -

(2) being a public official or person selected to be a public official, directly or indirectly, corruptly demands, seeks, receives, accepts, or agrees to receive or accept anything of value personally or for any other person or entity, in return for:

(A) being influenced in the performance of any official act:

is also guilty of a violation of its provisions. Mr. Gingrich's receipt of the \$25,000 is also a violation of section 201 (b)(2).

COUNT III

THE SOLICITATION AND USE OF TAX DEDUCTIBLE FUNDS FOR PARTISAN POLITICAL PURPOSES VIOLATES TAX LAW AND HOUSE RULES

Both the Kennesaw State College Foundation (KSCF) and the Progress and Freedom Foundation (PFF) are organizations to which contributions are tax-deductible because they purport to meet the requirements of Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, including: a) they may "not participate or intervene in . . . any political campaign on behalf of (or in opposition to) any candidate for public office ; and b) they must be "organized and operated exclusively for [exempt] purposes."

Despite these legal restrictions, Mr. Gingrich used his official staff and GOPAC consultants in the curriculum, fundraising and implementation of the programs fostered by these groups. The Renewing American Civilization course has been marketed primarily through Republican organizations; fully 80% of the course funding came from contributions to GOPAC or Gingrich's own campaign committee.

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In addition, the persons solicited for support are primarily partisan Republican groups, including College Republican chapters.

Mr. Gingrich's own statements about the course indicate his partisan purposes:

"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."

Both Congressman Gingrich and Mr. Eisenach wrote to interested parties that the purpose of the RAC project was to recruit 200,000 partisans for the 1996 elections. These partisan motives reveal the true purpose of these organizations and constitute a blatant violation of tax exempt funds. This constitutes a violation of the Internal Revenue Code which is a statute applicable to the conduct of Members under House Rule X, cl. 4(e)(2).

COUNT IV

PROVISIONS OF THE "TO RENEW AMERICA" BOOK DEAL VIOLATE HOUSE RULES AND STANDARDS

1. The Book Deal Violates House Rules Requiring Member to Devote "Full Time" to Their Duties.

According to press accounts and public disclosures, Mr. Gingrich negotiated a book deal with HarperCollins, a subsidiary of the Rupert Murdoch media empire. Originally structured to yield a \$4.5 million "advance" to Mr. Gingrich before sale of a single book, the deal now apparently has been modified to forego the colossal advance -- characterized by The Washington Post as one of the largest public official book deals ever and which The Wall Street Journal called "unprecedented for a sitting Member of Congress" -- and is now expected to yield upwards of \$2 million in sales.

First, the book deal violates existing House Rules, limiting income from writing for

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publication to "the usual and customary value of such services". House Rule XLVII, cl. 5. In addition to exceeding the "usual and customary" value for such publications, it violates the proscription that Members pursue "full time" their official and representational duties and no others.

As the House ethics manual states "... it is inconsistent with the concept that being a Member... is a full time job to permit substantial earnings from other employment." Advisory Op. No. 13 (Oct. 1978). In further narrowing the outside activities in which a Member may engage, the House banned all honoraria outright and prohibited Members from practicing law, medicine or any profession involving a fiduciary relationship or from serving on the boards of corporations, associations or other entities. Ethics-in-Government Act of 1989, 5 U.S.C. App. 7, § 502. Abusing the limited "copyright royalty" exception from the earned income ban to produce a multi-book contract of these proportions violates the "full time" standard, particularly given Mr. Gingrich's ascension to the Speakership -- the highest ranking constitutional House officer -- with its myriad and weighty additional responsibilities. See House Rule I."

2. **The "Bidding" for the Book Contract at the time that Murdoch Interests Were Embroiled in Government Decisions and Had Initiated a Lobbying Campaign Raises Prima Facie Violations of House Rules.**

As The Wall Street Journal reported on January 13, 1995: "Shortly before Rupert Murdoch's publishing firm offered House Speaker Newt Gingrich a \$4.5 million book deal, the two men discussed the media baron's high stakes battle over whether his television stations violated foreign ownership rules, Mr. Murdoch's spokesman said."

It was after this meeting on November 28, 1994 that Lynn Chu, Mr. Gingrich's agent, created an unorthodox bidding war on the book designed to drive up the price without

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genuine competition. Other putative bidders have been quoted in the press as stating, for example, that: "The price had increased by another million and something dollars... Little, Brown did not participate because the price tag was too high for what we believed we could earn back." The Washington Post, Jan. 13, 1995 D8, col. 1. The Associated Press reported on January 12, 1995 that HarperCollins original bid \$2 Million but the "price ballooned after Gingrich started a bidding war . . ." which ultimately ended with Harper Collins more than doubling the original advance.

However, another publisher stated "The frustration was not that we didn't bid, but that we couldn't. It's the only time I've ever participated in an auction and could not get a bid in." (emphasis added) Id. An "auction" without competing bids is not an auction and further colors this Murdoch controlled largesse as the kind of non arms-length deal which demands scrutiny under House rules.

Just like the "royalty" contract in the Wright case, which the Committee pierced to find was nothing more than a "joint venture between two friends who together created, published and marketed Wright's book in order to provide Wright with income", Wright Report at 12, this "auction" appears to be an arrangement to steer Murdoch largesse to Mr. Gingrich at the very time Murdoch had begun his efforts to beat back adverse government action.

As the Wright Report concluded "the mere existence of a 'royalty' contract between Wright and Moore's Madison Publishing does not mean that Wright's income may be properly characterized as royalty income". Mr. Gingrich has even compounded his dependence upon Mr. Murdoch's largesse when he altered the agreement to accept only a one dollar advance and accept royalty payment based upon actual sales. As the deal is now structured, Mr. Gingrich is dependent upon the resources HarperCollins decides to devote to

marketing the book, or in the words of another publisher, "...how hard the HarperCollins people push will be one of the factors in determining Gingrich's profits." New York Daily News, January 17, 1995, 7C. This transaction violates the Code of Ethics for Government Service because Mr. Gingrich's book deal could be deemed to constitute accepting favor or benefits that might be construed as influencing the performance of his official duties.

3. Rupert Murdoch's Lobbyist Has Admitted that the November 28 Meeting Had As Its Purpose Influencing Mr. Gingrich In Connection With Its Fight With NBC.

On January 16, 1995, The Wall Street Journal revealed that Rupert Murdoch's lobbyist, who attended the November 28th meeting with Murdoch and Gingrich, admitted that the meeting was part of an intensive lobbying effort by Murdoch surrounding a pending FCC proceeding. The Associated Press reported Murdoch's spokesman as saying Murdoch met "with 17 other officials" the same week as his meeting with Gingrich to discuss "issues involving the entertainment industry." Taken together with the previously described rigged "auction" designed to advantage Mr. Gingrich personally, the Murdoch largesse constitutes a prima facie violation of the Code of Ethics for Government Service and the Code of Official Conduct House Rule XLIII, cl. 3.

COUNT V

IMPROPER SOLICITATION OF OUTSIDE CORPORATE INTERESTS (BUSINESS ROUNDTABLE/MANAGED FUTURES ASSOCIATION)

In December, 1994, according to press accounts, Mr. Gingrich attended a meeting of the Business Roundtable, an association of corporations and business interests, and solicited assistance from these private interests to supply staff support in connection with his performance of official duties. In addition, he solicited and requested directly and through

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an agent that these private participants purchase tapes and other products created by entities affiliated with him or in which he has a direct interest. Similarly, Mr. Gingrich invited attendees at a Florida convention of investment managers on January 11, 1995 to purchase copies of tapes produced by a foundation which underwrites his political activities. First, the solicitation of assistance from private outside resources to supplement or augment official staff resources constitutes the creation and operation of an unofficial office account prohibited by House Rule XLV. In addition, he "urged the Roundtable executives to buy videotapes of the college class he teaches in Georgia to learn more about his agenda." Wall Street Journal, Dec. 23, 1994, A1, col. 5. He also invited the Florida convention attendees to "Just call 1-800-TO-RENEW in a "pitch for video and audio tapes of his lecture series." Knight Ridder Financial News, Jan. 11, 1995.

House Rule XLIII, cl. 3 provides that a Member "shall receive no compensation to accrue to his beneficial interest nor shall he permit any compensation to accrue to his beneficial interest from any source, the receipt of which would occur by virtue of influence improperly exerted from his position in Congress." (emphasis added) The purchase of videotapes, receipts from which go to Gingrich related entities, and possibly to Gingrich himself in the form of royalties, accrue to his beneficial interest in that they permit him to expand his political and partisan campaign beyond the limits of officially delineated resources. Also, the marketing and sale of Gingrich related products to lobbyists and businessmen with an "interest in legislation" was precisely the issue found by special counsel in the Speaker Wright case to have stated a violation of House rules. See Report of the Special Outside Counsel in the Matter of Speaker James C. Wright, Jr., House Comm. on

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House Rule XLV, effective January 3, 1978 prohibits the maintenance or reliance on outside sources of funds to defray activities in the operation of a congressional office.

marketing the book, or in the words of another publisher, "...how hard the HarperCollins people push will be one of the factors in determining Gingrich's profits." New York Daily News, January 17, 1995, 7C. This transaction violates the Code of Ethics for Government Service because Mr. Gingrich's book deal could be deemed to constitute accepting favor or benefits that might be construed as influencing the performance of his official duties.

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where the public could construe official action as favoritism, particularly where they neither reside nor conduct business in the Member's district. The company assisted by Mr. Gingrich is neither located or conducting business within his district. The House ethics manual incorporates the standard imposed by the Senate in the so-called Keating five case, cautioning that "every Senator always must endeavor to avoid the appearance that the Senator... may be influenced by campaign contributions or other benefits provided by those with significant legislative or governmental interest." House Ethics Manual quoting S. Rep. No. 223, 102d Cong., 1st Sess. 11-12 (1991).

Contributions to the Foundation by the company and employees on whose behalf Mr. Gingrich intervened is similar to and within the preliminary finding of the special counsel in the Wright case that Speaker Wright's intervention with federal banking agencies on behalf of four Texas savings and loan executives violated House Rule XLIII, cl. 1 as interpreted by Advisory Opinion No. 1. See Wright Report, *supra* at 24, 192-197.

COUNT VII

THE CONDUCT DESCRIBED IN DETAIL IN THIS COMPLAINT AND PRIOR COMPLAINTS VIOLATES RULE XLIII, CL. 1

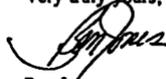
House Rule XLIII, cl. 1, makes it a violation of the Code of Official Conduct for a Member to act in a manner that fails to reflect credibly on the House. The course of conduct described herein, including misuse of official resources, the acceptance of things of value in return for the performance of official acts, the abuse of special tax exempt status and funds to promote partisan political purposes, the promotion of donors within the lectures of a purported "educational" enterprise, the negotiation through a rigged bid of a multi-million dollar book deal from an entity and a company controlled by a principal with legislative interests, intervention with federal agencies on behalf of contributors and financial

Exhibit 1:

supporters, and the flagrant disregard of Federal Election Commission unanimous judgments in the GOPAC case, taken together fails to reflect credibly on the House consistent with House Rule XLIII, cl. 1 and the precedents established thereunder.

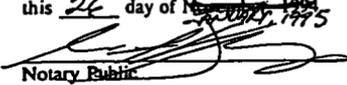
Representative Gingrich's expansion of his activities relating to his so-called college "course", and his efforts since becoming Speaker to promote the ancillary products of this project serve to reinforce the need for a professional, independent investigation of these charges. Taken together with the prior complaints, it is once again requested that the Committee issue a statement of preliminary inquiry and fully investigate the facts of circumstances of these matters. The Committee should act expeditiously to then impose the appropriate sanctions under the rules of the House.

Very truly yours,



Ben Jones
1608 Cornish Mountain Road
Covington, GA 30209

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 26 day of November, ~~1994~~ November, 1995



Notary Public
My commission expires:

Caroline F. Kiemp
Notary Public, Dist. of Columbia
Commission Expires April 30, 1996

Enclosures

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EXHIBIT 140PFF
4347**WILEY, REIN & FIELDING**1776 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
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TELEX 248349 WRYN UR

March 27, 1995

Representative Nancy Johnson
Representative James McDermott
House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515Re: Response to Request for Investigation of Speaker
Newt Gingrich Regarding the Speaker's "Renewing
American Civilization" College Course and Other
Related Matters

Dear Chairwoman Johnson and Congressman McDermott:

This office represents Speaker Newt Gingrich. We have been asked to respond to a complaint filed with the Committee on January 26, 1995 by Democratic Whip David Bonior and Ben Jones ("amended complaint"). This complaint amended a September 7, 1994 complaint ("initial complaint") filed against Mr. Gingrich by Ben Jones during their election campaign.

The Speaker has already filed two extensive responses to the initial complaint. See Gingrich Oct. 4, 1994 Letter to McDermott (attached hereto as Exhibit 1); Gingrich Dec. 8, 1994 Letter to McDermott (Ex. 2). In addition, on March 15, 1995, this office filed a response to the charge in the amended complaint that the Speaker's pending book contract

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violates House Rules. This Response addresses the remaining allegations in the amended complaint.

INTRODUCTION

The amended complaint is one of four complaints that have been lodged against Mr. Gingrich in recent months. On February 13, 1995, Gary Ruskin and Ralph Nader filed a complaint regarding the Speaker's relationship to Mr. Joseph Gaylord. On February 23, 1995, this office submitted a response demonstrating how the Speaker's professional relationship with Mr. Gaylord is entirely proper and lawful under House rules and applicable federal law.

Even as our response to the Nader-Ruskin complaint was being submitted, Representatives Pat Schroeder, Cynthia McKinney and Harry Johnston were filing a new complaint regarding the cablecasting of the Speaker's academic lectures on certain educational cable channels. On March 3, 1995, this office submitted yet another response establishing that the cablecasting arrangement is consistent with House rules and standards. Finally, on March 8, 1995, Minority Whip David Bonior filed a fourth complaint alleging that the Speaker has used improper official resources to promote his

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academic lectures. This office plans to submit a response to that complaint next week.

In responding to each of the foregoing complaints, the Speaker has sought to file timely and comprehensive submissions, and has provided the Committee with substantial supporting documentation to allow efficient and full review all of the allegations. As with each of the prior complaints, if the Committee during its review of the amended complaint should require any additional information, please do not hesitate to contact either this office or the Speaker's office.

In a March, 1993 speech, Mr. Gingrich stated that he wanted to resume teaching while serving in Congress out of the belief that an intellectual renewal of core American values was critical to solving the nation's major domestic challenges. Dr. Tim Mescon, an acquaintance of the Speaker and dean of the Kennesaw State College School of Business Administration, heard Mr. Gingrich speak and invited him to teach a course at the college. George Tobin, "Mud Path: The Baseless Accusations Against House Speaker Newt Gingrich Show How Much He Worries the Liberal Establishment -- And How

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Little His Critics Really Care About Ethics," National Review, Apr. 3, 1995 at 44 (Ex. 3). As a result, in the autumn of 1993 the Speaker began teaching a 20-hour course on American public policy entitled "Renewing American Civilization."

The amended complaint alleges that the Speaker's academic activities violate House rules and federal law. The complainants also lodge the unrelated charge that the Speaker improperly solicited outside corporate interests in an attempt to establish an unofficial office account.

These allegations are baseless, malicious and without merit. The Speaker's academic endeavors are entirely appropriate under all applicable House rules and standards and were approved by this same Committee. Mr. Gingrich and his staff sought out the Committee's advice on how to lawfully teach Renewing American Civilization. He received a written opinion letter from the Committee approving his participation in the course after verbal recommendations from Committee counsel on what should and should not be brought to the Committee's attention. With the exception of a few de minimis errors which have since been corrected and dismissed by the Committee, the Speaker and his staff have followed the

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Committee's opinion letter and guidelines on how to design and implement the course consistent with all ethical standards. The charge that the Speaker sought to create an unofficial office account is equally baseless.

Accordingly, Mr. Gingrich strongly urges the Committee to dismiss the amended complaint.

FACTUAL BACKGROUND

As the Committee knows, the Speaker has long been concerned by what he perceives to be the decaying of American civilization. In response, during the early 1990s Mr. Gingrich spent considerable time thinking about how the American people as a nation can revitalize and improve themselves over the next several decades.

In exploring this important subject, the Speaker read several major philosophical works on quality and profound knowledge, studied David Osborne's concept of reinventing government, and reviewed the work of many leading public officials, including Senator Sam Nunn and then-Governor Bill Clinton. Gingrich May 12, 1993 Letter to McDermott at 1 (Ex. 4).

On January 25, 1993, Mr. Gingrich outlined these concepts in a Special Order entitled "Renewing American

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Civilization" (Ex. 5). During the winter and spring of 1993, Mr. Gingrich began researching, drafting and editing 20 special orders on renewing American Civilization, and the Speaker decided to explore these important intellectual matters in depth by teaching a college course. Gingrich May 12, 1993 Letter to McDermott (Ex. 4).

1. Mr. Gingrich Informed the Committee of His Proposed Academic Activities and Actively Sought the Committee's Advice

As he has done with prior outside projects, Mr. Gingrich, before beginning any academic work, contacted the Committee to confirm that his proposed activities were consistent with all applicable House rules and standards.

a. The Speaker Sought an Opinion Letter.

The Speaker first sought an opinion letter from the Committee to ensure that his proposed academic activities were lawful. In a May 12, 1993 letter to the Committee, the Speaker indicated that:

[T]o ensure that there can be no question of motivation or intent I am accepting no money for teaching . . . [Renewing American Civilization and] [n]o Congressional money will be involved in the course itself. . . . The course will be completely non-partisan. Neither Democrat nor Republican will be mentioned in the lectures (although I can't guarantee what will happen during question and

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answer sessions, it is my hope that we will focus on positive and fundamental principles in a way that avoids critiques of either the Congress or the Clinton Administration) If the committee has any concerns about this project, I would be glad to meet with your staff and develop a set of guidelines that will protect both the integrity of the House and the integrity of the intellectual project.

Gingrich May 12, 1993 Letter to McDermott at 2-3 (Ex. 4).

In addition, Mr. Gingrich's letter to the Committee made clear that he anticipated his staff would play a role in developing the course's content, but only if the staff could participate consistent with House rules:

[T]he course clearly overlaps with my official functions in many ways. One section of the course will be on health. As Republican Whip and Co-Chairman of the Leader's Task Force I have been working with two of my staff on that issue. I would draw on their ideas and research for the special orders and the lectures. . . . When meeting with constituents and others I share information on the course and encourage them to consider participating in it. I also would like for my staff to do this with groups and individuals with which they meet.

Id. at 3. Finally, Mr. Gingrich informed the Committee that he would be involved in raising funds for the course, but

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that he would not use any taxpayer-financed mass mailings to obtain donations. Id. at 2.^{1/}

- b. The Committee Asked the Speaker for More Information and the Speaker and his Staff Consulted With Committee Counsel David McCarthy.

After reviewing Mr. Gingrich's May 12, 1993 letter, the Committee informed the Speaker that it could not issue an opinion letter without obtaining additional information on his proposed course. Accordingly, during June and July of 1993, Mr. Gingrich and his staff met twice with then-Committee Counsel David McCarthy and "exhaustive[ly]" reviewed the Speaker's proposed academic plans. McCarthy Dec. 1, 1994 Letter to Representative Hobson at 1-3 (Ex.

^{1/} The Speaker's letter specifically stated: "I will do no mass mailings about the course." Id. (emphasis added) As the Committee knows, "mass mailing" is a term of art under the franking statute that refers to mailings Members make pursuant to the franking privilege.

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6);² Gingrich Oct. 4, 1994 Letter to McDermott (Ex. 1);
 Gingrich Dec. 8, 1994 Letter to McDermott (Ex. 2).

During these summer 1993 consultations with Mr. Gingrich and his staff, Mr. McCarthy indicated that the Speaker could lawfully include his course lectures in Special Orders on the House floor. McCarthy Dec. 1, 1994 Letter to Representative Hobson at 1 (Ex. 6). In addition, Mr. McCarthy advised that because Mr. Gingrich was going to teach without receiving any compensation, the Speaker did not need the Committee's approval to teach the course. Id.; Gingrich Dec. 8, 1994 Letter to McDermott at 2 (Ex. 2).²

² At Rep. Hobson's request, Mr. McCarthy memorialized the consultations he had with Mr. Gingrich and his staff during the summer of 1993 concerning the Speaker's proposed academic activities. The Speaker has repeatedly sought to obtain a copy of Mr. McCarthy's letter, but to date the Committee has declined to provide him with a copy. Exhibit 6 is a computer print-out of Mr. McCarthy's December 1, 1994 letter to the Committee that the Speaker's counsel received from Mr. McCarthy on March 22, 1995.

² Mr. McCarthy further informed the Speaker that because the Renewing American Civilization course is academic in nature, the Speaker could teach the course consistent with House rules even if he were being compensated. McCarthy Dec. 1, 1994 Letter to Representative Hobson at 1 (Ex. 6). See also id. at 2 (concluding that "the educational nature of the course . . . [speaks] for itself").

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Moreover, after being informed that the Speaker planned to raise funds for the course through charitable organizations, Mr. McCarthy confirmed that the Speaker could solicit funds through organizations duly qualified by the Internal Revenue Service. McCarthy Dec. 1, 1994 Letter to Representative Hobson at 1-2 (Ex. 6). The Speaker informed Mr. McCarthy that Jeffrey Eisenach was planning to leave GOPAC to direct fundraising efforts for the course; Mr. McCarthy advised that because Mr. Eisenach had never been a House employee, any fundraising on his part was outside the Committee's jurisdiction and therefore would not violate any House standards. Id. Mr. McCarthy also informed the Speaker that regardless of who solicited support for the course, the tax-exempt status of the project "would turn not on who did the fundraising but on how the funds were spent" Id. at 2.⁴ Finally, Mr. McCarthy outlined what involvement

⁴ Mr. McCarthy concluded that any possible GOPAC involvement in course fundraising "was irrelevant to the Committee." Gingrich Dec. 8, 1994 Letter to McDermott at 2 (Ex. 2). Mr. McCarthy was specifically asked

whether course organizers who simultaneously worked at GOPAC need reveal their dual employment to [the Committee]. Mr. McCarthy assured [the Speaker's staff] that such coincidences were irrelevant and not within the Committee's jurisdiction.

(continued...)

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Mr. Gingrich's staff could have consistent with House rules in preparing and administering the course. Gingrich Oct. 4, 1994 Letter to McDermott at 1 (Ex. 1).

- c. **The Speaker's Aides Briefed his Staff on House Rules Requiring Strict Separation Between Course and Official Business.**

Following these extensive consultations with the Committee's counsel, Mr. Gingrich's Administrative Assistant, Annette Thompson, briefed the Speaker's Washington, D.C. staff on what role they could appropriately play in contributing to the Speaker's course. Gingrich Oct. 4, 1994 Letter to McDermott at 1 (Ex. 1). Similarly, Mr. Gingrich's District Director, Linda Nave, briefed the Speaker's district staff on what course activities in which they could lawfully engage. Id. Finally, the Speaker's staff relayed Mr. McCarthy's guidelines to all of the charitable organizations which were planning to be involved in the course. In this way, Mr. Gingrich and his staff made great efforts to ensure that all of the people and entities planning to be involved

*(...continued)

Id. at 4-5.

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in Renewing American Civilization acted consistently with House rules and standards.

d. The Speaker Provided Further Information to the Committee.

Mr. Gingrich next wrote the Committee and provided additional information on his proposed academic activities. Gingrich July 21, 1993 Letter to McDermott (Ex. 7). The Speaker reiterated that he planned to allow some members of his congressional staff to comment on the course's content but that

I will not ask my staff to perform specific tasks associated with researching or writing the [course] presentations. Indeed, they understand that they are not permitted to do this. Nor will congressional staff be required to attend the class or appear in connection with it.

Id. at 1-2.

In his July 21, 1993 letter, Mr. Gingrich also informed the Committee that the Kennesaw State College Foundation ("KSCF") would be providing him with a content coordinator to develop video and other materials for the course. Id. at 1. Finally, Mr. Gingrich indicated that he planned to include class lectures in Special Orders on the House floor. Id. at 2.

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2. The Committee Approved the Speaker's Participation
In Renewing American Civilization

On August 3, 1993, the Committee approved the Speaker's plans to develop, promote and teach Renewing American Civilization. McDermott and Grandy Aug. 3, 1993 Letter to Gingrich (Ex. 8).

Specifically, the Committee confirmed what Mr. McCarthy had indicated earlier that, because Mr. Gingrich was not being compensated for teaching the course, the Speaker did not need the Committee's written permission to proceed.² Well aware that Special Orders are published in the Congressional Record, the Committee also informed Mr. Gingrich that his plan to include course materials in Special Orders was "well within . . . [his] official prerogatives." Id. Finally, the Committee concluded that the Speaker could raise funds for the course through duly-qualified charitable entities, provided that

no official resources are used, no official endorsement is implied, and no direct personal benefit results. Assuming that your plans comply with these standards, no rule or law subject to

² The Speaker is hardly the first Member of Congress to teach a class while in office. Peter Applebome, "In Gingrich's College Course, Critics Find a Wealth of Ethical Concerns," New York Times, Feb. 20, 1995 at A12 (Ex. 9).

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this Committee's jurisdiction would prohibit you from raising funds for Kennesaw State.

Id.

3. The Speaker Developed, Promoted and Taught Renewing American Civilization Consistent With the Committee's Guidelines

Following the Committee's approval, Mr. Gingrich began teaching Renewing American Civilization at Kennesaw State College during the fall, 1993 semester. The course was offered in the School of Business Administration for five quarter-hour credits. While the Speaker taught the course at the college, KSCF collected donations to support the course.

The KSCF, a duly-qualified 501(c)(3) educational organization, collects all private donations to Kennesaw State College. Serge Kovaleski, "Ethics Complaint Places Gingrich in Odd Position," Washington Post, Dec. 1, 1994, at A11 (Ex. 10). The KSCF reportedly received one telephone inquiry from the Internal Revenue Service ("IRS") in November, 1993 concerning the foundation's relationship to Mr. Gingrich's course. According to James A. Fleming, KSCF's Chief Operating Officer, after college officials explained that the KSCF "was a repository for all private funds given

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to the school, including those for Gingrich's course, there were no follow-up [IRS] inquiries." Id.

Since 1994, the Speaker and Professor Kathleen Minnix have co-taught Renewing American Civilization at Reinhardt College in Waleska, Georgia. Since the course moved to Reinhardt College, financial support has been provided by the Progress & Freedom Foundation ("PFF").

The PFF was formed in April, 1993 by Jeffrey Eisenach and George "Jay" Keyworth, III, and is recognized by the IRS as a bona fide § 501(c)(3) educational organization. Neither Mr. Gingrich nor GOPAC had any involvement in founding the PFF, and the PFF has never received any funds or services from GOPAC, nor has it provided any funds or services to GOPAC.*

* It should be noted that when the PFF was formed in April, 1993, the Speaker had not yet decided whether to teach Renewing American Civilization. In addition, when Mr. Gingrich taught the course in the fall of 1993, the course was receiving full financial support through the KSCF. Accordingly, any allegation that the PFF was established solely to support the Speaker's course is baseless.

In fact, the PFF is currently involved in a wide variety of scholarly projects apart from the Speaker's course, including providing support for the Center for Political Renewal, funding a study of the federal system for approving drugs and medical devices, and supporting a project to rewrite the federal communications laws. Lee A. Sheppard,
(continued...)

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In the summer of 1993, before Renewing American Civilization had ever been taught, Mr. Gingrich's opponents sought ways to prevent the course from being offered at Kennesaw State College. Former Georgia Democratic Party county chairman Stephen Brunning attempted to derail the project by attacking the course in the press. Certain Kennesaw State College faculty members, insisting that Renewing American Civilization was politically biased, demanded that the Board of Regents for the Georgia State University System review all course materials before the course was taught. But when the Georgia Board of Regents and Kennesaw State College President reviewed the course materials, they rejected assertions of political bias and expressly approved the teaching of Renewing American Civilization. Tobin at 45 (Ex. 3).

*(...continued)
"Is Gingrich Think Tank Too Partisan for Exemption?" Tax Notes, Dec. 5, 1994 at 1173, 1174 (Ex. 11).

Although not legally required to do so, earlier this year the PFF disclosed extensive donor and funding information. The PFF reported that it raised a total of \$1.67 million in 1993-94 from nearly 100 donors. Of this amount, only 25% was used to support the Speaker's course. Glenn R. Simpson, "Gingrich Aided Pharmaceutical Firm That Later Contributed to Foundation," Roll Call, Jan. 5, 1995 at 1, 26 (Ex. 12).

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Having failed in their initial frontal assault, Mr. Gingrich's opponents next assailed the course through the back door. Juanita Powell Baranco, a former Clinton fundraiser, proposed legislation before the Board of Regents to bar elected officials from teaching at Georgia state colleges, regardless of whether the elected officials were compensated or of the officials' academic credentials and teaching experience. Without any prior notice, the Board of Regents approved this proposal, which affected Mr. Gingrich alone. Id. Thereafter, Mr. Gingrich began teaching Renewing American Civilization at Reinhardt College.

4. Renewing American Civilization is a Demanding Academic Seminar That has Been Offered for College Credit at Leading American Colleges and Universities

The Speaker's course has been offered for academic credit at over 20 colleges and universities in the United States, including the University of California at Berkeley, Clemson, Emory and Penn State. Tobin at 44 (Ex. 3). At each of these schools, students enrolled in the course work with full-time faculty members. Applebome at A12 (Ex. 9).

As a scholarly seminar offered for academic credit at the college level, the Speaker's course is non-partisan in tone and content. The Speaker holds a Ph.D. in history and

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previously taught for eight years in the Political Science Department at West Georgia College. In designing and writing the class lectures, Mr. Gingrich drew upon his prior experience as a scholar and teacher. Additionally, leading American political scientists, such as James Q. Wilson and Everett Carl Ladd, contributed to and reviewed the course's content and authored essays in a 250-page textbook which students read in conjunction with the Speaker's lectures.

In Mr. Gingrich's December 8, 1994 response to the initial complaint, he provided the Committee with video tapes of all course lectures and copies of the accompanying course textbook. The Speaker urges the Committee to review these materials and to note that:

- There are approximately as many references to Franklin Roosevelt, Jimmy Carter, and Martin Luther King, Jr. as there are to Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher;
- None of the course material addresses specific political parties, nor are any critiques of modern leaders included; and
- Course registration materials do not target members of the Democratic or Republican parties, but instead reach out to those people who "believe it is impossible to maintain civilization with: 12-year-olds having babies; 15-year-olds killing each other; 17-year-olds dying of AIDS; and 18-year-olds getting diplomas they can't read." Renewing

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American Civilization Course Registration Materials (Ex. 13).²

Prominent scholars who have seen the Speaker's Renewing American Civilization lectures have concluded that the course is academic and not political in nature. David King, an assistant professor of public policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, has concluded that the course is "not partisan It touts conservative ideas, but those ideas are never explicitly linked to the Republican Party." Peter Applebome, "Educators Divided on Course by Gingrich," New York Times, Feb. 20, 1995 at A12 (Ex. 14). Professor King has also concluded that no one can teach a political science course "without someone interpreting what you say in partisan terms." Kathy Alexander, "Gingrich's Notorious Course at End: For Now Students Praise Teachings and Teacher as he Takes Two-Year Break," Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Mar. 11, 1995 (Ex. 15).

Many of the students who took the Speaker's course for academic credit at Reinhardt College were highly enthusiastic about the course and regarded it as one the most challenging

² As Ex. 13 demonstrates, the course solicitation and registration materials are completely non-partisan.

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and meaningful classes of their college careers. Student evaluation forms for the Spring 1995 term are attached as Exhibit 16. Many students found the reading and writing workloads excessive, commenting: "The scholastic demands are much more involved than I anticipated." Id. Some students viewed Renewing American Civilization as proper for those with a "true interest in history," while others saw it as "really a business course." Id. Students were universal, however, in answering course evaluation question number three. Question number three asked, "Is your experience of the course the same as what has been reported in the press?" Every single student evaluation answered "No," that "The course is not a political forum for Newt." Id. One student even complained that "I really was ready to argue political points, but I'm glad that he stayed away from those." Id. Students were likewise universal in their evaluation of the Speaker's rapport with students, commenting that they "knew he was a college professor, but [they] didn't really appreciate his vast knowledge and ability to use it in such a natural manner." Id. One student concluded, Mr. Gingrich "[o]bviously loves teaching." Id.

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5. The Renewing American Civilization Lectures
Reference Certain Individuals, Entities and
Companies for Their Unique Contribution to American
Society

Periodically during the twenty-hour course, Mr. Gingrich makes brief reference to individuals, entities and companies who in their own way exemplify the Speaker's notion of American exceptionalism, inviting the specious allegation that Mr. Gingrich made these references in return for course donations. In fact, only four of the course's two dozen corporate sponsors were mentioned in the Speaker's lectures. Of the approximately \$660,000 that donors have contributed to the course to date, less than \$50,000 came from companies mentioned in the lectures. Applebome at A12 (Ex. 9).^{1/}

Additionally, all of the references to corporate entities in the course trace to examples of successful entrepreneurs and effective company practices that the Speaker cited in his original speeches on renewing American

^{1/} It should be noted that the Speaker, the KSCF and the PFF have solicited support for Renewing American Civilization from a broad range of prospective donors, including some which do not customarily support Republican or conservative projects. See Lee A. Sheppard, "Is Gingrich Think Tank Too Partisan for Exemption? Tax Notes, Dec. 5, 1994 at 1173, 1176 (Ex. 11) (noting that the American Political Science Association was solicited to support the course).

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civilization, which were conceived and written long before
Mr. Gingrich decided to teach a college course. Tobin at 45-
46 (Ex. 3).

All of the colleges which have offered the Speaker's course for academic credit, including Reinhardt College, are independent of Mr. Gingrich, as is the PFF. Mr. Gingrich has been appointed Adjunct Professor at Reinhardt College, but otherwise holds no title at the college. He has never been a salaried employee of either Reinhardt College or of Kennesaw State College. Other than co-hosting a television program it produces, Mr. Gingrich has no formal affiliation with the PFF, nor does he exercise control over it by informal means. Mr. Gingrich has received no personal or financial benefits whatsoever for teaching Renewing American Civilization.

From the time the Committee approved the Speaker's course in August, 1993 until the initial complaint was filed 13 months later, Mr. Gingrich's office did not receive any questions or concerns from the Committee regarding the Speaker's development, promotion and teaching of Renewing American Civilization.

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6. Ben Jones' Complaint and the Speaker's Extensive Responses

On September 7, 1994 -- just 62 days before the 1994 general election and two days prior to the deadline for filing complaints with the Committee -- Ben Jones, the Speaker's election opponent, filed the initial complaint.

Despite immediate electoral obligations, Mr. Gingrich conducted a thorough review of the development and implementation of Renewing American Civilization and submitted a detailed response to the initial complaint. Gingrich Oct. 4, 1994 Letter to McDermott (Ex. 1). The Speaker's review revealed that on exactly four occasions, human errors made by Mr. Gingrich's staff had resulted in the inadvertent use of \$12 worth of Congressional stationery and faxes for course purposes. To allay the Committee's concerns, Mr. Gingrich carefully explained each of the occasions in question -- including how each accident occurred and what measures were subsequently taken to prevent future mistakes. Mr. Gingrich promptly repaid the \$12 involved, and the staff errors have not been repeated.

On October 31, 1994, the Committee responded to the initial complaint and the Speaker's response thereto. The Committee informed Mr. Gingrich that

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{t}he Committee has reviewed your letter and the documents enclosed with it, and believes that these materials sufficiently answer most of the allegations raised in Mr. Jones' complaint. Specifically, in light of your letter the Committee believes that there is no need to look any further into the allegations that you used congressional resources for unofficial purposes, or that you used congressional resources for political purposes. While you have acknowledged that some congressional resources were used for unofficial purposes, you have reimbursed the U.S. Treasury, and have taken steps to ensure that these violations will not be repeated.

McDermott and Grandy Oct. 31, 1994 Letter to Gingrich at 1 (Ex. 17) (emphasis added).

After concluding that Mr. Gingrich did not misuse congressional resources in developing and teaching Renewing American Civilization, the Committee requested additional information on the charge that the Speaker improperly used tax-exempt foundations to obtain financial support for his academic activities.

On December 8, 1994, the Speaker provided the additional course information sought by the Committee. Gingrich Dec. 8, 1994 Letter to McDermott (Ex. 2). Specifically, Mr. Gingrich explained that:

- (1) "Renewing American Civilization" is an "educational activity," not a "political activity";
- (2) GOPAC did not create, fund, or administer "Renewing American Civilization"; and

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(3) Funding of "Renewing American Civilization" by tax-exempt foundations was at all times consistent with tax law and policy.

Id. at 1. The Speaker's December 8, 1994 submission to the Committee also included an opinion letter from former Internal Revenue Commissioner Donald Alexander, who confirmed that the manner in which funds were solicited to support Renewing American Civilization was consistent with federal tax law. Alexander Dec. 5, 1994 Letter to Gingrich (Ex. 18).

Despite the Committee's October 31, 1994 finding that Mr. Gingrich did not misuse congressional resources in developing and teaching Renewing American Civilization, and the Speaker's exhaustive submission on his appropriate use of tax-exempt foundations to support the course, on January 26, 1995 Democratic Whip David Bonior and Ben Jones filed the amended complaint.

Many of the allegations in the amended complaint are nothing more than regurgitations of the same charges that were included in the initial complaint, many of which the Committee found to be baseless months ago. Other charges, while formally presented for the first time, have been answered by the Speaker's prior two responses in this matter.

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Nevertheless, the Speaker hereby responds to these charges for the third time.

DISCUSSION

I. THE COMMITTEE HAS PREVIOUSLY DETERMINED THAT THE SPEAKER DID NOT MISUSE OFFICIAL RESOURCES IN DEVELOPING AND TEACHING RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

The complainants charge once again -- without providing any additional evidence -- that the Speaker improperly used official resources to teach Renewing American Civilization.

On October 31, 1994, the Committee ruled that there was "no need to look any further into the allegations that . . . [Mr. Gingrich] used congressional resources for unofficial purposes, or that . . . [Mr. Gingrich] used congressional resources for political purposes." See McDermott and Grandy Oct. 31, 1994 Letter to Gingrich at 1 (Ex. 17). Despite the Committee's express ruling, the complainants reallege the same charges in their amended complaint.

The complainants cite five "examples" of alleged instances in which official resources were used to subsidize the Renewing American Civilization course. Four of these examples were included in the initial complaint and were

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addressed in depth in the Speaker's prior responses. See Gingrich Oct. 4, 1994 Letter to McDermott in passim (Ex. 1).

Unbelievably, the complainants now contend that even Mr. Gingrich's good-faith efforts to ensure strict separation between the course and official business also constitute improper use of official resources. Specifically, the complainants charge that "Congressional aide Linda Nave was tasked by Mr. Gingrich to meet with course officials on legal compliance and House rules" and that these meetings constituted the illegal use of official resources. Amended Complaint at 4.

As noted above, following the Speaker's consultations with Mr. McCarthy, members of Mr. Gingrich's staff -- including Ms. Nave -- briefed the Speaker's Washington, D.C. and district staff on the course guidelines that the Committee had established. See Gingrich Oct. 4, 1994 Letter to McDermott at 1 (Ex. 1). Incredibly, the complainants now seek to characterize the Speaker's efforts to educate his staff on complying with the House Ethics Committee's advice as an impermissible use of official resources. We strongly urge the Committee to reject this absurd contention.

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The Committee should also reject the allegations that GOPAC impermissibly supported Renewing American Civilization and that the Speaker commingled official and campaign funds. As was noted above, the Speaker's course received all of its financial support through the KSCF and the PFF, two duly-qualified § 501(c)(3) educational organizations; GOPAC has not been involved in course fundraising and has never contributed any money or services to the course. During a period of time, GOPAC and course organizers shared office space and equipment in Washington, D.C. However, strict accounting measures were employed to keep GOPAC and course expenses separate, and course officials reimbursed GOPAC for the course's share of office expenses. See July 21, 1993 Renewing American Civilization Expenditure Approval Request Form (Ex. 19) (reimbursing GOPAC for Federal Express expenditures). See also Jeffrey Eisenach American Express Corporate Card Account (Ex. 20) (separating course and GOPAC expenditures).

Mr. Gingrich also has employed strict measures to ensure that official and course resources are not commingled. As noted above, the Speaker uncovered four minor staff errors that resulted in the inadvertent use of \$12 worth of

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Congressional stationery and faxes for course purposes. See Gingrich Oct. 4, 1994 letter to McDermott (Ex. 1). Given that Mr. Gingrich has reimbursed the United States Treasury the \$12 involved and that these minor errors have not recurred, the Committee rightly rejected this allegation last October and should do so again now.

Finally, the Committee should reject the charge that Mr. Gingrich unlawfully sponsored Renewing American Civilization through the use of official letterhead. Mr. Gingrich has never stated or even suggested that his academic activities bear the endorsement of the United States Congress, and the complainants offer no evidence to the contrary. Renewing American Civilization is an academic seminar that has been offered at many of the nation's leading universities and has been supported by duly-qualified § 501(c)(3) educational organizations. The allegation that the Speaker has unlawfully sponsored the course is frivolous and should be dismissed.

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II. THE COMMITTEE HAS ALSO ALREADY RULED THAT RICHARD BERMAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE KENNESAW STATE COLLEGE FOUNDATION WAS CONSISTENT WITH HOUSE RULES AND FEDERAL LAW

The complainants reallege -- again without offering any additional evidence -- that Mr. Gingrich helped Mr. Richard Berman secure a position as a witness at a House committee hearing in return for a \$25,000 donation to the KSCF.

The Speaker fully addressed this charge in his first response to the initial complaint. See Gingrich Oct. 4, 1994 Letter to McDermott at 5-6 (Ex. 1). Specifically, in early 1993, Mr. Berman heard Mr. Gingrich speak of his plans to teach Renewing American Civilization, expressed an interest in supporting the course, and was solicited to make a donation to the KSCF. Neither the Speaker nor any of his staff used any official resources in soliciting Mr. Berman's donation. Unfortunately, Mr. Berman inadvertently sent his donation to Mr. Gingrich's office in Washington. The KSCF promptly removed the donation from the Speaker's office. More importantly, Mr. Gingrich did not assist Mr. Berman in any respect in his attempt to appear as a witness at the committee hearing. Moreover, no one in Mr. Gingrich's Whip Office can recall assisting Mr. Berman either. In fact, Mr. Berman has been quoted as saying:

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The crime here is that I save 29 cents and
penciled one note on top of another
Anybody who understands this town understands that
people do not pay \$25,000 to appear at a
subcommittee hearing on drunk driving.

Stephen Engelberg, "Top Democrat Seeks Outsider for Ethics
Inquiry on Gingrich, New York Times, Dec. 9, 1994, A30 (Ex.
21).

In light of these facts, the Committee ruled last autumn
that there were no grounds to pursue the matter further. See
McDermott and Grandy Oct. 31, 1994 Letter to Gingrich (Ex.
17). Given that the complainants provide no additional
evidence for this charge, the Committee's earlier ruling
should stand.

III. THE MANNER IN WHICH FUNDS WERE SOLICITED IN SUPPORT OF
THE SPEAKER'S COURSE WAS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH FEDERAL
TAX LAW AND HOUSE RULES

The amended complaint charges that because Renewing
American Civilization is a partisan political activity, the
fundraising efforts of the KSCF and the PFF violate federal
tax law.

As noted above, Mr. Gingrich sought and obtained the
Committee's advice on how to lawfully solicit funds in
support of Renewing American Civilization. Prior to the

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Speaker teaching the Course, the Committee, relying on the Ethics Manual for Members, Officers, and Employees of the U.S. House of Representatives, 102d Congress, 2d Session at 51 (1992) ("House Ethics Manual"), informed Mr. Gingrich that he could lawfully solicit funds for the course through duly-qualified charitable entities. See McDermott and Grandy Aug. 3, 1993 Letter to Gingrich (Ex. 8). The Committee specifically informed Mr. Gingrich that:

Members, officers, and employees of the House may solicit funds on behalf of charitable organizations qualified under §170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code, provided that no official resources are used, no official endorsement is implied, and no direct personal benefit results.

Id. (emphasis added).

The Speaker relied on and complied in good faith with the Committee's advice.² Mr. Gingrich's solicitations on

² It should be noted that under Rule 3(b) of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, "[t]he Committee may take no adverse action in regard to any conduct that has been undertaken in reliance on a written opinion if the conduct conforms to the specific facts addressed in the opinion." See also House Ethics Manual at 173 (noting that "[a]n individual who acts in good faith in accordance with a written advisory opinion shall not be subject to any sanction under the [Ethics in Government] Act." These provisions act to encourage public officials, as Mr. Gingrich did here, to seek Committee approval confirming that their proposed outside activities are consistent with all House rules and standards. These provisions are also designed to protect (continued...)

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behalf of KSCF and PFF strictly adhered to the Committee's August 3, 1993 guidelines and are otherwise permissible under House Rules and standards. Both the KSCF and PFF are duly-qualified § 501(c)(3) educational organizations, and all of Mr. Gingrich's fundraising efforts for Renewing American Civilization were through these two foundations. In addition, the Speaker employed scrupulous measures to ensure that no official resources were used to support the course. Moreover, the Speaker has never stated or even implied that the United States Congress is sponsoring his academic activities. Finally, Mr. Gingrich has derived no financial benefits whatsoever from teaching the course.

Revealingly, the IRS has not seen fit to investigate the charge that the KSCF's and PFF's support of the Speaker's college course violates federal tax law, despite the considerable publicity this matter has received. As noted above, the KSCF has received only one telephone inquiry from the IRS concerning Renewing American Civilization. After the

²(...continued)
from prosecution those officials, again like Mr. Gingrich, who act in conformity with a Committee opinion letter. Clearly the on-going prosecution of Mr. Gingrich in this matter threatens the integrity of the Committee and runs counter to these provisions.

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KSCF provided information on the Speaker's course, the IRS has conducted no follow-up inquiries. See Kovaleski at A31 (Ex. 10). Moreover, the IRS has made no inquiry concerning the PFF's role in raising funds for Renewing American Civilization.

Finally, former IRS Commissioner Donald Alexander has recently confirmed that the manner in which funds were solicited to support Renewing American Civilization complied with federal tax law. See Alexander Dec. 5, 1994 Letter to Gingrich (Ex. 18).¹⁹

The allegation that GOPAC funded and sponsored the Speaker's course in violation of federal tax law is also unfounded. As noted previously, GOPAC has had absolutely no role in funding, promoting, or administering Renewing

¹⁹ As Commissioner Alexander points out, the IRS broadly construes the term "educational" in § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code:

An organization may be educational even though it advocates a particular position or viewpoint so long as it presents a sufficiently full and fair exposition of the pertinent facts as to permit an individual or the public to form an independent opinion or conclusion. On the other hand, an organization is not educational if its principal function is the mere presentation of unsupported opinion.

Reg. § 1.501(c)(3)-1(d)(3)(i).

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American Civilization. The course has been entirely funded through the KSCF and the PFF. A list of the course's 1993-1994 donors is included in Exhibit 22. GOPAC's decision not to contribute to the KSCF and PFF was not based on tax law considerations, as the law currently allows such donations.¹⁴ GOPAC did not become involved in the Speaker's academic affairs because it is a political organization whose interests are not advanced by this non-partisan educational endeavor.

As a political action committee, GOPAC likewise did not assist in course administration. Conclusions drawn from the fact that certain individuals inadvertently continued to use GOPAC stationery and fax machines and that GOPAC and course organizers shared office space -- which appears to be the sole basis of the complainants' allegations -- are superficial and irrelevant.

The Renewing American Civilization course and GOPAC have never had any relationship, official or otherwise. GOPAC's business is politics. The Speaker's course is educational

¹⁴ In fact, money collected by GOPAC for the purpose of contributing to the KSCF, PFF or any other § 501(c)(3) educational foundation would be excluded from GOPAC's taxable income under Internal Revenue Code § 527. See IRS Letter Ruling 9409003, Feb. 26, 1993.

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and non-partisan. Anticipating media or political attempts to link the course to GOPAC, course organizers went out of their way to avoid even the appearance of associating with GOPAC. Prior to becoming Course Project Director, Jeffrey Eisenach resigned his position at GOPAC and has not returned.

Most importantly, prior to teaching the course, Mr. Gingrich asked the Committee's counsel, Mr. McCarthy, whether course organizers who worked at GOPAC needed to reveal their prior employment to the Committee. The Committee's counsel assured the Speaker that such coincidences were irrelevant and not within the Committee's jurisdiction. See Gingrich Dec. 8, 1994 Letter to McDermott at 2 (Ex. 2). Accordingly, the Committee should dismiss these allegations.¹⁷

¹⁷ It should be stressed that the Renewing American Civilization course bears absolutely no relation to the course at issue in the American Campaign Academy case. First, as a course designed to train individuals for careers as political campaign professionals, the American Campaign Academy was never recognized by the IRS as a 501(c)(3) entity. As noted above, both the XSCF and PFF have been certified by the IRS as 501(c)(3) educational foundations.

Second, unlike the American Campaign Academy course, the Speaker's course is a bona fide academic undertaking that has been offered for full or partial credit at leading colleges and universities throughout the country. The course textbook, a copy of which was included in the Speaker's December 8, 1994 response to the initial complaint, includes scholarly articles written by leading academics and
 (continued...)

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W (...continued)
 political theorists.

Renewing American Civilization provokes ideological debate that transcends party lines. As the course textbook indicates

[The Renewing American Civilization course] is a four-year effort to understand the Pillars of American Civilization and to engage in a conversation -- ultimately with tens of thousands of American citizens -- about how those pillars can be applied to renew our civilization and create progress and freedom for our descendants. Its goal is to profoundly redirect the American civic discussion by focussing on solutions, not problems, and by constructively debating the nature of the future rather than arguing pointlessly about the mistakes of the past.

Eisenach and Hanser, eds., "Readings in Renewing American Civilization" at 5 (1993).

Project director Eisenach reiterated this philosophical mission in at least one solicitation letter to potential course contributors:

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

Eisenach July 21, 1993 letter to Vinovich (Ex. 23). Because Renewing American Civilization has never been a partisan endeavor, no mention of partisan politics was made in Mr. Eisenach's solicitation letter.

Moreover, the complainants have not identified a single partisan political operative who was trained by taking the Speaker's highly academic course. By contrast, the entire mission of the American Campaign Academy was to train party operatives.

(continued...)

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IV. THE SPEAKER DID NOT IMPROPERLY SOLICIT THE BUSINESS ROUNDTABLE AND THE MANAGED FUTURES ASSOCIATION.

On December 22, 1994, Mr. Gingrich addressed several CEOs from the Business Roundtable. On January 11, 1995, the Speaker appeared via satellite hook-up before members of the Managed Futures Association. During these two speeches, the Speaker indicated that the Republican Party could benefit from the private sector's downsizing expertise and stated that people in the audience who wanted to learn more about his political philosophy could purchase and watch videotapes of the Renewing American Civilization course lectures. Neither one of these meetings was clandestine, and both were subsequently reported in the press. See Wall Street Journal, Dec. 23, 1994 at A1 (Ex. 24); Kevin Pendley, Knight-Ridder Financial News, Jan. 14, 1995 at 1 (Ex. 25).

Based solely on the news coverage of these two speeches, the complainants charge that the Speaker's remarks constituted: (1) "operation of an unofficial office

W(...continued)

In light of these facts, any attempt to equate the Speaker's course with the course at issue in the American Campaign Academy case is unavailing.

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account;" (2) receipt of compensation through improper exertion of influence; and (3) acceptance of favors or benefits that might be construed as influencing performance of governmental duties. Amended Complaint at 10-12. These allegations lack foundation and should be dismissed.

A. Mr. Gingrich Neither Received Nor Solicited Assistance from Private Outside Resources to Supplement His Official Staff Resources

House Rule XLV prohibits Members from maintaining "unofficial office accounts." An "unofficial office account" is formally defined as:

[A]n account or repository into which funds are received for the purpose of defraying otherwise unreimbursed expenses allowable under section 162(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 as ordinary and necessary in the operation of a congressional office.

House Rule XLV(4)(a).

As the Committee has clearly stated, Rule XLV simply prohibits "private supplements to the funds available to Members through their clerk hire and official expenses allowances." House Ethics Manual at 195. Prohibited supplements include both goods and in-kind services. See Select Committee on Ethics Advisory Opinion No. 6 (May 9, 1977).

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The complainants' initial accusation is based on two sentences in a Wall Street Journal article that describes the Speaker's meeting with the Business Roundtable CEO's. See Wall Street Journal, Dec. 23, 1994 at A1 (Ex. 24). The article states that:

[Gingrich] asked the executives to lend the new GOP Congress their best "downsizers" to help him trim the deficit and the bureaucracy. Congressional aides try to figure out how the detailees could be used under House rules, and the executives wonder how seriously to take the request.

Id.

As the complainants are well aware, the attendees at these two speeches did not subsequently establish a "downsizing" task force at the Speaker's disposal, nor did they lend or give the Speaker's offices any personnel or supplies. No private supplements were made to the funds and resources available to the Speaker. No surreptitious staffers swelled the House's ranks. Thus, even if the Speaker had sought to publicly flaunt House Rules and establish an unofficial office account, no such account was ever created.

The facts clearly show that Mr. Gingrich did not seek to supplement his staff or its resources by enlisting the assistance of the Business Roundtable or Managed Futures

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Association. The Speaker's remarks to these organizations merely sought to impress upon them his long-standing belief that the federal government bureaucracy and federal deficit are too large, and that the Republican Party is best able to remedy these problems. Needless to say, the allegation that the Speaker's speech to these two corporate entities violates House rules is utterly preposterous and utterly without foundation.

B. Mr. Gingrich's Solicitations on Behalf of the
Renewing American Civilization Course Were Entirely
Proper

The complainants also allege that the Speaker's reported promotion of course videotapes violated House Rule XLIII's prohibition against receiving compensation "which would occur by virtue of influence improperly exerted from one's position in Congress." Amended Complaint at 13.

Mr. Gingrich has received absolutely no compensation for teaching Renewing American Civilization, and he has not benefitted financially from the sale of any course materials. In addition, the Speaker does not receive any royalties for the sale of course text books and videotapes. Moreover, Renewing American Civilization has been funded entirely by

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the KSCF and PFF, both of which are duly-qualified tax-exempt educational foundations.

Speaker Gingrich's solicitations on behalf of these two educational foundations are quite proper under House Rules, as the Committee properly advised the Speaker before he began teaching Renewing American Civilization. See McDermott and Grandy Aug. 3, 1993 Letter to Gingrich (Ex. 8). The House Ethics Manual plainly states that:

Members, officers, and employees of the House may solicit funds on behalf of charitable organizations qualified under §170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code, provided that no official resources are used, no official endorsement is implied, and no direct personal benefit results.

Id. at 51 (emphasis added).

In deciding to help raise funds for Renewing American Civilization, Mr. Gingrich relied on and complied in good faith on the House Ethics Manual and on the Committee's oral guidance and written opinion letter. Mr. Gingrich's suggestion that members of the Business Roundtable and Managed Futures Association purchase course videotapes to

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learn more about his academic ideas falls squarely within the Committee's guidelines and advice and is otherwise lawful.^{12'}

V. THE SPEAKER DID NOT IMPROPERLY INTERVENE WITH FEDERAL AGENCIES ON BEHALF OF ANY COURSE CONTRIBUTOR

The PFF is involved in a wide variety of scholarly projects apart from the Speaker's course. See note 6, SUPRA. One of the PFF's best known undertakings since the 1994 mid-term elections has been the Medical Innovation Project, a nonpartisan academic study of the Food and Drug Administration's ("FDA") process for reviewing and approving drugs and medical devices. See Lee A. Sheppard, "Is Gingrich Think Tank Too Partisan for Exemption?" Tax Notes, Dec. 5, 1994 at 1173 (Ex. 11). As would be expected, the PFF's Medical Innovation Project has received research funding from several biomedical companies that share the PFF's desire to

^{12'} Nor can complainants characterize these listeners' subsequent purchases, if any, of course videotapes as an illegal "honorarium" to the Speaker. The House Ethics Manual provides that:

[w]hile no honorarium may be received by a Member, officer, or employee, a payment may be made directly by the sponsor of an event to a qualified charitable organization in honor of an individual's speech, appearance or article.

Id. at 151.

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develop a less burdensome regulatory alternative to the current FDA bureaucracy. Contributors have included Burroughs Wellcome, the Genzyme Corp., Glaxo Inc., Solvay Pharmaceuticals, and Searle. See Simpson at 1, 26 (Ex. 12).

A number of leading politicians also support streamlining the FDA's burdensome regulatory processes. For example, Representative Thomas Bliley, Chairman of the House Commerce Committee, has declared: "My goal is to speed up approval of drugs and devices for the American people." Peter H. Stone, "Ganging Up on the FDA," National Journal, Feb. 18, 1995 at 410-14 (Ex. 26). The Speaker is another political leader who has long advocated FDA reform. Not surprisingly, when the Speaker read a New Republic article describing the inordinately lengthy pending FDA hearings on a home AIDS test, he decided to act. Hanna Rosin, "Bad Blood: AIDS Activists vs. the HIV Home Test," New Republic, June 27, 1994 at 12 (Ex. 27). The Speaker wrote a letter to Clinton Administration Chief of Staff Leon Panetta, urging swift FDA approval of the product. See Stone at 410-14 (Ex. 26).

Some time thereafter, unbeknownst to Mr. Gingrich, the manufacturer of the home AIDS test, Direct Access Diagnostics, made a contribution to the PFF, perhaps in

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support of the Medical Innovation Project. Like so many other biotechnical companies, Direct Access Diagnostics seeks more efficient regulatory review for pharmaceutical products. The PFF Project undoubtedly offered an ideal scholarly vehicle to explore alternatives.

Mr. Gingrich did not solicit Direct Access Diagnostics' contribution to the PFF. In addition, Direct Access Diagnostics did not consult with the Speaker when it made its donation to the PFF.¹⁴ As with any private company that independently decides to contribute to a charitable organization, Direct Access Diagnostics saw no need to consult with the Speaker before donating to a § 501(c)(3) educational foundation that was providing support to a scholarly project.

Moreover, the PFF has never sought the Speaker's approval before accepting a contribution from any private company. Although Mr. Gingrich supports some of the PFF's nonpartisan projects, the Speaker is not involved in making policy decisions for this educational foundation. Finally,

¹⁴ In fact, Mr. Gingrich was not even aware that Direct Access Diagnostics had contributed to the PFF until the newspaper account relied on by the complainants was published.

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the PFF does not provide Mr. Gingrich with any salary, royalties, honoraria or financial compensation whatsoever.

The complainants nevertheless allege that the PFF's acceptance of a donation from Direct Access Diagnostics after Mr. Gingrich wrote his letter to Mr. Panetta concerning the in-home AIDS test creates the appearance that the Speaker was improperly influenced. This allegation is specious. Mr. Gingrich had already acted on behalf of Direct Access Diagnostics before any donation was made. In addition, the Speaker did not personally benefit from the company's donation to the PFF. Moreover, the Speaker did not solicit the company. Most importantly, Mr. Gingrich was not even aware that Direct Access Diagnostics had made a contribution to the PFF until the complaint and amended complaint were filed. Therefore, the charge that Mr. Gingrich acted on the company's behalf in return for the contribution is totally implausible. The Committee should promptly dismiss the allegation.

VI. THE SPEAKER'S PARTICIPATION IN RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION REFLECTS CREDITABLY ON THE HOUSE AND OTHERWISE DOES NOT VIOLATE HOUSE RULE XLIII.

The final accusation levelled by Minority Whip Bonior and former Representative Jones is that Mr. Gingrich's

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academic activities violate House Rule XLIII, cl. 1. Amended
Complaint at 13. House Rule XLIII, cl. 1, declares that

[a] Member, officer, or employee of the House of
Representatives shall conduct himself at all times
in a manner which shall reflect creditably on the
House of Representatives.

The complainants have cited absolutely no examples in
which this provision has served as an independent basis --
without the violation of other applicable House rules or
standards -- for prosecuting a Member. Because Mr.
Gingrich's participation in Renewing American Civilization
does not violate any applicable House rule or standard, Rule
XLIII is not triggered.

If anything, the complainants' conduct in bringing a
series of baseless and unsubstantiated ethics charges against
the Speaker fails to reflect creditably upon the House. More
than one observer has suggested that the multitude of ethics
complaints that have been lodged against Mr. Gingrich are
purely political prosecutions intended to reduce his
legislative effectiveness and derail his conservative agenda.
See John Henderson, "We'll Find Some Dirt on Gingrich,
Democrats Promise Party Faithful," Miami Herald, Feb. 21,
1995 (Ex. 28); Hugh McDiarmid, "Gingrich-Bonior Feud Has Deep
Roots," Detroit Free Press, Jan. 24, 1995 at 1B (Ex. 29).

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Specifically, Florida Representative Harry Johnston -- who filed one of the pending ethics complaints against the Speaker -- recently acknowledged that people have been assigned by House Democrats to "investigate" Mr. Gingrich on a daily basis. Johnston has reportedly stated that Democrats meet once a week to go over what [Gingrich has] done through the week. . . . We're going to stay on his back until [an independent counsel appointment] is done.

See Henderson (Ex. 29). And still another observer suggests that "[t]he fact that the allegations are false is immaterial to [Representative David] Bonior, so long as the polling data turns out right." See Tobin at 48 (Ex. 3).¹⁴ Finally, Democratic leaders and the Democratic National Committee have

¹⁴ In fact, the New York Times recently reported that Mr. Bonior himself did not appear to have researched all of his charges [against the Speaker] thoroughly. . . . In response to questions from reporters, Mr. Bonior said he did not know who Mr. Berman was or what was being referred to in the handwritten portion.

Engelberg, at A-30 (Ex. 21). Mr. Bonior's failure to adequately research the baseless and unsubstantiated charges he has lodged against the Speaker may itself violate House rules. See Rule 14(4) of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct (prohibiting Members from filing complaints which contain "innuendo, speculative assertions, or conclusory statements").

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reportedly established "The Project," which has been described as a "coordinated, calculated effort that would culminate in the political destruction of Newt Gingrich." Robert Novak, "Democrats Target the New Speaker," Washington Post, Feb. 27, 1995 at A19 (Ex. 31).

Surely it does not "reflect creditably on the House of Representatives" to file groundless and unsubstantiated ethics charges purely out of partisan motives. In addition to dismissing the pending complaints against the Speaker, the Committee may wish to consider whether disciplinary action against these complainants is warranted.

CONCLUSION

In 1993, between May and August, this Committee extensively reviewed and approved in writing Newt Gingrich's ambitious plan to teach Renewing American Civilization. The Committee told Mr. Gingrich that:

1. He could teach the course;
2. He could raise unlimited funds to finance the course; and
3. He could even teach all 20 hours of the course on the floor of the House during Special Orders.

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The complainants seek to retroactively repeal the Committee's approval. Last week Mr. McDermott, the chairman of the Committee in 1993, was quoted in the press comparing the Committee's approval as permission to take a "trip to Seattle." Phil Kuntz, "Gingrich Offers First Detailed Defense Against Ethics Complaints by Democrats," Wall Street Journal, Mar. 24, 1995 (Ex. 30). Aside from the dubious propriety of a current member of the Committee commenting on and seemingly prejudging this case, the analogy is silly on its face. A more accurate analogy would be the committee granting broad permission to a member to take a trip to Seattle, to raise money to finance the travel, and then to give speeches on the floor of the House describing each minute of the six or seven hour flight to Seattle and its significance. Would the Committee, upon the filing of a complaint, subsequently suggest that it only gave approval for "a trip to Seattle"?

The complaint, Mr. McDermott's public statements, and indeed the steady leaks of selected information from the Committee, have made a mockery of the Committee's advisory function. There is more at stake in this case than Newt Gingrich. Every Member of the House is affected. How can a

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Member of Congress ever rely on the Committee's advice if the Committee will not stand by it? To what extent are Committee Members and staff prepared to repudiate their own knowledge and actions to fan the flames of partisan mischief and personal animus?

If the Committee has concluded that its written and oral advice to Newt Gingrich was mistaken, it prospectively can recommend changes to the House rules. If Members should not teach courses on either a paid or unpaid basis, the House rules should be modified accordingly. If Members should not solicit donations from bona fide charitable and educational organizations, the House rules should likewise be modified.

Yet, until and unless the House rules are changed, they should be applied fairly to all Members. It does not reflect creditably on the House for the Ethics Committee to abdicate its duties to accurately advise Members on whether their proposed conduct is consistent with all applicable House standards. The Committee should accept responsibility for its advice and maintain a commitment to a reliable advisory process for all Members of the House.

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For all the foregoing reasons, the Committee should
dismiss the amended complaint.

Sincerely,



Jan Witold Baran

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EXHIBIT 141

N&D

WT GINGRICH
SIXTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

THE SPEAKER

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

October 31, 1996

The Honorable Porter Goss and The Honorable Benjamin Cardin
U.S House of Representatives
Committee On Standards of Official Conduct
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Goss and Mr. Cardin:

In response to your letter of October 1, I have searched my memory for any conversations or documents which relate to the preparation of the three letters (October 1, 1994, December 8, 1994 and March 27, 1995) you cite in your document request. I signed the first two letters and the third letter is signed by Jan Witold Baran.

As you know the first letter of October 4, 1994 was written during a Congressional campaign in response to allegations filed by my election opponent. At that time we were finishing up the congressional session and in addition to my duties as Republican whip and a candidate for re-election in my own district I was in the middle of a travel schedule which ultimately included over 130 congressional districts.

In this context of exhaustion and focused effort, I was surprised by my opponent's allegations and regarded them as totally spurious because I had already extensively consulted with the Standards Committee about teaching the course and raising money for the course on Renewing American Civilization.

As you may remember, the former Standards Committee attorney David McCarthy has reported that my staff and I wrote the Committee in the Spring of 1993 and met extensively with him. As he described our conversations he "offered my advice on every facet of the plan that I could identify, along with some facets that Mr. Gingrich and the others raised." McCarthy went on to note that I was so concerned that "Mr. Gingrich again brought up Eisenach and asked whether he should not get the Committee's written advice that Eisenach would be permitted to engage in the fund-raising. His concern seemed to be that Eisenach's identity with GOPAC, along with his fund-raising for the course through the college foundation, could open him to criticism that the motivation for the course was political. I replied that, in my judgement, Mr. Gingrich should not ask the committee to pass on the activity of Eisenach." (The letter is attached and explains more of Mr. McCarthy's reasoning).

When McCarthy was asked by the Democratic staff of the Committee about Eisenach's involvement he remembers, "My reaction

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was, essentially, 'So?' I still saw no illegal or improper activity on the part of Mr Gingrich or anyone else."

After meeting with the Committee's attorney, I submitted letters to the Committee (e.g., July 21, 1993 attached), and on August 3, 1993 I received an answer from Chairman McDermott and Ranking member Grandy which stated "you do not need this Committee's approval. Moreover your intention to present your views in a series of Special Orders is well within your official prerogatives. As to your question on fund-raising, the Committee has previously determined that Members may solicit funds on behalf of charitable organizations qualified under #1701(c) of the Internal Revenue Code, provided that no official resources are used, no official endorsement is implied, and no direct benefit results." (letter attached).

Since I knew that we had proactively approached the Standards Committee, that, as Mr. McCarthy's letter notes, I had personally proactively raised every question I could think of, and that we had answered every question the Committee had raised I was frankly not very concerned about the overtly political charges of my election opponent.

I asked my Administrative Assistant, Annette Thompson, to consult with the appropriate people, including the Republican attorney for the Standards Committee and develop an accurate factual response. She showed me the draft of the response and I read it, found it accurate to the best of my knowledge, and signed it.

By the time of the December letter we had won control of the House and for the first time in forty years were in the transitional process of taking control. We were making literally hundreds of decisions including abolishing three committees, picking Committee chairmen, writing the proposed Rules of the House, planning to implement the Contract with America, including an intense opening day period of reform which included nine reforms in a session which would last until two in the morning.

In this setting we were puzzled by the Committee's continuing requests for more information. Note the attached letter from Bob Michel, the Republican Leader who had helped establish the Ethics Committee process and had both long and intimate knowledge of the Committee and an impeccable reputation for his concern about the ethical standards of the House (letter of November 15, 1994 attached).

In this context I asked my staff (led by Annette Thompson again, since on this topic she had been in the original meetings with Committee staff in 1993 and had the deepest institutional knowledge), and she worked with the law firm of Wiley, Rein and Fielding in developing the letter. Again I would have read the letter carefully and concluded that it was accurate to the best

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of my knowledge and then signed it.

In the case of the March letter, we had developed a thorough relationship with Mr. Baran and his associates and I read the letter to ensure that it was consistent with my recollection of events at that time.

Thus, although I did not prepare any of the letters in question, in each case I reviewed the documents for accuracy. Further, in each case I relied upon staff or counsel who have a solid reputation for honesty, thoroughness and professionalism. Finally, in each case I was operating within a framework in which I knew we had proactively asked the Committee's advice and we had persisted in asking questions beyond those requested by the Committee staff.

We have relied upon tax attorneys, ethics attorneys, and campaign attorneys to ensure that we followed the rules and obeyed the law. We have proactively sought to cooperate.

I look forward to hearing from you in that spirit of cooperation.

Sincerely,


Newt Gingrich

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DAVID J. MCCARTHY

3-27

Pat,

The enclosed print-out of my
12-1-94 letter to Dave Hobbes is
still in my word processor. I did not
photocopy the original.

Dave

Exhibit 141

December 1, 1994

Dear Dave,

This is a follow up to our conversation yesterday when you asked me questions about the advice I gave Mr. Gingrich on his college course in Georgia. After he had written the Committee in the Spring of 1993 asking for approval to teach the course, Committee staff drafted an advisory opinion response which Mr. Grandy signed, but which Chairman McDermott did not want to sign until obtaining additional information from Mr. Gingrich.

Consequently, in early June I met with Mr. Gingrich, Annette Thompson (his A.A.), Linda Nave, and Jeff Eisenach who was in town from Georgia. I explained that the Committee was interested in obtaining some additional information about Mr. Gingrich's teaching plan, and offered my advice on every facet of the plan that I could identify, along with some facets that Mr. Gingrich and the others raised.

I explained the Committee's criteria for granting teaching waivers, i.e., Committee approval to accept compensation for teaching. I told Mr. Gingrich that his plan met the criteria, even though it had some novel collateral features. His response was that he was going to decline the college's compensation, in any event, so I advised him he did not need a teaching waiver.

I then asked him several specific questions to determine 1) whether he planned to use any official resources to support the teaching and, 2) whether he planned to use any unofficial resources to subsidize his official business. I recall some conversation about his interest in repeating his lectures in Special Orders on the House floor and how much he could refer to the course in official correspondence. He had explained that he would draw from lots of sources for his lectures but that, ultimately, the lectures would be his. I advised him that in my opinion he could deliver the Special Orders, but that if he were still concerned he might check with the Parliamentarian. I also told him that mailings mentioning the course should be cleared by the Franking Commission.

The discussion eventually turned to fundraising for the course. Jeff Eisenach began to volunteer details of how he contemplated fundraising, and I interrupted his explanation with a question, "are you on the House payroll?" When he answered that he was not, never had been, and did not ever expect to be I shifted the focus of the discussion by explaining that I was not interested in what Eisenach was planning to do, I was only interested in what Mr. Gingrich and any House employees were going to do. So I began to ask questions of Mr. Gingrich: "will you be signing any fundraising letters? Will you be making phone calls to prospective contributors? Will your name appear in any pamphlets or other

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materials used for fundraising? If so, what entity will receive the donations?

Once it was clear that donations would be made to the college foundation, I advised them that Mr. Gingrich would be permitted to raise money for that purpose because the Standards Committee Advisory Opinion explicitly approved solicitations for organizations that the IRS qualified as tax exempt charities. In short, I told him that if the donor could deduct the donation from taxable income, then Mr. Gingrich could solicit the donation.

Then Mr. Gingrich again brought up Eisenach and asked whether he should not get the Committee's written advice that Eisenach would be permitted to engage in the fundraising. His concern seemed to be that Eisenach's identity with GOPAC, along with his fundraising for the course through the college foundation, could open him to criticism that the motivation for the course was political. I replied that, in my judgment, Mr. Gingrich should not ask the Committee to pass on the activity of Eisenach.

First, I explained that because Eisenach was not a Member, officer, or employee of the House his activity was really outside the Committee's jurisdiction. Secondly, I told him that, to my knowledge of tax law, the issue of whether the contributions in support of the course would keep their tax-deductible status would turn not on who did the fundraising but on how the funds were spent, and that the educational nature of the course spoke for itself. I told him that I was aware of no law or IRS regulation that would prevent Eisenach from raising charitable contributions, even at the same time that he was raising political contributions. In any event, I advised him, I expected the Committee to stick by its advisory opinion in the Ethics Manual and not get into second-guessing the IRS on its determinations of tax-exempt status.

I also felt that because the Committee's written answer might decline to offer advice on Eisenach's fundraising activity -- it being outside the Committee's purview -- he might be just as well off not to raise the question in his letter. My experience was that Members found it annoying when the Committee in a written advisory opinion would explicitly decline to answer a question. I believe there was some brief discussion about Eisenach leaving GOPAC, in any event, in order to focus on the course fundraising.

The discussion on Eisenach actually consumed a small fraction of the time at this meeting.

I met again with Annette Thompson and Linda Nave in early July. At that meeting they showed me a draft of a follow up letter from Mr. Gingrich to the Committee. It included a lot of information that Mr. Gingrich had gathered to help the Committee answer his original letter on the subject. The purpose of the meeting was to determine if there was anything that had been left out or if there was yet any additional information the Committee needed. My reaction was that it was exhaustive.

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Now, to your second question: how much of this did I share with the Committee? I remember describing the first meeting to Bernie in some detail, including both Mr. Gingrich's information in response to my questions, and my advice to Mr. Gingrich. I mentioned Eisenach's plans but did not dwell on that subject. I focused on Mr. Gingrich's activities and the questions whether official resources would be used for the course and whether unofficial resources would be used for official activities.

At some point during that time frame I remember Bernie showing me a newspaper article mentioning, among other things, Eisenach and his fundraising for the course. My reaction was, essentially, "So?" I still saw no illegal or improper activity on the part of Mr. Gingrich or anyone else.

I hope this answers your questions. Please call me at 639-8815 if you have any more.

Warm regards,

The Honorable David Hobson
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Exhibit 141

THE REPUBLICAN WHIP

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

July 21, 1993

The Honorable Jim McDermott
Chairman, Committee on Standards
of Official Conduct
HT-2, The Capitol

Dear Mr. Chairman,

This letter provides some additional information to clarify several issues about "Renewing American Civilization," the class I am teaching at Kennesaw State College this fall.

First, at present I have a formal agreement with the College to teach the class only for the Fall Quarter of 1993. (See Attachment 1.) However, it is my strong expectation, based on conversations with the President of the College and the Dean of the Business School, that I will be offered the opportunity to teach the class again during the Winter Quarters of 1994, 1995 and 1996, and I intend to accept that offer when it is made.

Second, the Kennesaw State College Foundation, a 501(c)(3) organization affiliated with Kennesaw State College, is providing me with a Content Coordinator to coordinate the videotape inserts and other materials that will be used in the presentations. While the Content Coordinator obviously will be involved in finding these materials and coordinating their use in the presentations themselves, she is not in any sense writing or drafting the presentations, which I am doing entirely myself.

Third, I expect that we will invite many people to comment on the content of the course, at every stage of the four-year process. Commentators will include people involved in state and local government, the private sector, academia and the Federal government, including Congressional staff (my own and others). These commentators will also include members of both major political parties. (For example, I have recently talked with both Pat Moynihan and John Lewis, who have agreed to serve in this capacity.) I expect to ask many people to review drafts of lectures and comment on them.

Fourth, to the extent my own staff are asked to comment on the class presentations, it will be in the same capacity as the dozens of other commentators -- i.e. to give their thoughts and offer broad comments and suggestions within their areas of expertise. I will not ask my staff to perform specific tasks

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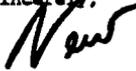
associated with researching or writing the presentations. Indeed, they understand they are not permitted to do this. Nor will congressional staff be required to attend the class or appear in connection with it.

Fifth, the class presentations are almost entirely new and original material and will not be derived in any direct or significant way from previous work by my staff or, for that matter, anyone else. (See the very early draft notes for the first presentation, and the "generic" outline for subsequent lectures, attached. These notes are entirely my own work, as all the lectures will be.)

Sixth, and finally, while I do intend to include much of the material from the class in Special Orders on the House floor, the Special Orders will, by their very nature, differ somewhat from the presentations. For example, the class presentations will include videotaped inserts on topics covered in the class, and these inserts will form the basis for much of the class discussion. Obviously, the Special Orders will not include these portions of the class presentations. Also, spontaneous student discuss and questions cannot be duplicated in a Special Order.

I hope this information is useful in your deliberations, and I look forward to hearing back from you in the near future.

Sincerely,



Newt Gingrich

Exhibit 141

PHOTO FILED: CALI BUREAU
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 THOMAS S. SHAW, PRESIDENT
 THOMAS S. SHAW, PRESIDENT

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
 COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT
 SUITE HT-2, THE CAPITOL
 WASHINGTON, DC 20515-8228
 (202) 226-7103

STAFF: JAMES H. HARRIS
 STAFF: JAMES H. HARRIS
 STAFF: JAMES H. HARRIS

August 3, 1993

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
 U.S. House of Representatives
 2428 Rayburn House Office Building
 Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Colleague:

This responds to your letter of May 12, 1993, as supplemented by your letter of July 21, 1993, requesting advice on your proposal to teach a course on public policy issues at Kennesaw State College and to present the course material in a series of Special Orders in the House. You have also asked whether you may help Kennesaw State College raise funds for the course. Based on the facts that you have presented in your letters and in discussions with Committee counsel, our guidance is as follows.

Federal law (5 U.S.C. app. 7, § 502) and House rules (Rule XVII, cl. 2.(5)) require that Members who teach for compensation obtain the prior written approval of this Committee to do so. Since you propose to teach on an uncompensated basis, you do not need this Committee's approval. Moreover, your intention to present your views in a series of Special Orders is well within your official prerogatives. As to your question on fund raising, the Committee has previously determined that Members may solicit funds on behalf of charitable organizations qualified under § 170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code, provided that no official resources are used, no official endorsement is implied, and no direct personal benefit results. Assuming that your plans comply with these standards, no rule or law subject to this Committee's jurisdiction would prohibit you from raising funds for Kennesaw State. However, as would be true of any proposal to raise money, we suggest that you consult with the FEC to determine whether the regulations administered by that agency might apply.

If you have any further questions concerning this matter, please contact the Committee's Office of Advice and Education at extension 5-3787.

Sincerely,


 Jim McDermott
 Chairman


 Fred Grandy
 Ranking Minority Member

Exhibit 141

Office of the Republican Leader
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-6537

November 15, 1994

Honorable Jim McDermott
 Chairman
 Committee on Standards of Official Conduct
 Washington, D.C. 20515

Honorable Fred Grandy
 Ranking Republican Member
 Committee on Standards of Official Conduct
 Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Messrs. McDermott and Grandy:

After the Washington Post story appeared, Congressman Gingrich provided me a copy of your October 31, 1994 letter and I feel compelled to respond.

First, I am deeply disturbed at the fact that this letter was leaked to the press. It is a violation of the rules of the Committee and demeans our procedures.

Second, the information you request goes to the legal status of a 501(c)(3) entity, an entity that I believe is outside the jurisdiction of the Committee on Standards. To my knowledge, there is no precedent for such an inquiry. The Committee has never launched a formal or informal investigation of such an entity. The Internal Revenue Service might be interested in the tax status of this particular group but it appears outside of your jurisdiction.

Furthermore, information is requested of individuals who are not currently Members, Officers, or employees and never were employees of the House, and, therefore, again outside the jurisdiction of the Committee.

Perhaps you are intrigued by the legal status of this 501(c)(3) given your interest as members of the Ways & Means Committee. In fact, the Ways & Means Committee is the proper forum to review whether the code properly defines the roles of tax exempt organizations.

Because I strongly believe that the Committee should not engage in determinations that are the clear responsibility of the Internal Revenue

Exhibit A1

Page Two

Service, nor should they inquire into the activities of non-Members, officers, or employees of the House, this matter should promptly be dismissed by the Committee.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bob Michel". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "B" and a long, sweeping underline.

Bob Michel
Republican Leader

Exhibit 141

EXHIBIT 142

Rep. Newt Gingrich Interview
By The Sentinel of Kennesaw State
Early July 1993

Gingrich: I can talk faster through the tape recorder than you can possibly write.

Interviewer: I hope you take pity on your future students too.

Gingrich: You brought a tape recorder. That's a good thing. You should bring a tape recorder to class.

Interviewer: O.K. When did you first come up with this idea?

Gingrich: Let's not for all dismiss it. Let's have for all the students to come to the class at Kennesaw to audiotapes for free, O.K., because I think your point's right. I guess that means the video stuff [inaudible]. I began to work with my wife Marianne in September of 1981 trying to figure out what we would have to do to complete the changes that Ronald Reagan had begun and in December of last year after the election we spent two days in a long lunch planning meeting and it just seemed to me that until we were able to explain the basic rules of American Civilization and how to renew American Civilization, until we were prepared to really talk about replacing the Welfare State and lay out the principles of how to replace the Welfare State that everything we were doing in politics was just noise -- that it wasn't solving anything and that we had to really -- it's sort of like when your car breaks down -- and you walk around and kick the tires -- you can slam the door but until you take out the manual and learn what's wrong with the engine you're not going to get it fixed and there is something that has gone wrong with the basic engine of America and so I decided that you couldn't do it in politics. You had to go back to the classroom because you had to talk intellectually about the framework of American Civilization and then -- I think it takes 20 hours and that's why we're doing a 20 hour lecture of material ...

Exhibit 142

and then once you have laid it out intellectually I think you can take that back into politics and start talking about legislation and bills and ideas. But, you first have to create the structure of ideas and I think that takes a college setting and a college environment to do it in.

Interviewer: Is this going to be a learning experience for you also?

Gingrich: It has been so far. I would not have believed in December when we set out to do this how much we would have to learn to just to get to do it. I'm reading things, talking to people. I just talked to Alvin and Heidi Tofler (SP?) the author of Future Shock in the Third Wave. He's helping us with ideas. I talked to Bill Bennett yesterday and Jack Kemp. I've had breakfast with Clarence Thomas at the Supreme Court and everyday I turn around and I'm learning new things and getting new ideas and it has truly been -- I feel almost like a guy whose at the end of a fire hose. All these ideas coming at me. It's very exciting. I think the most exciting thing I've ever done in my public career.

Interviewer: Are all these people confirmed to help you?

Gingrich: The ones I mentioned are all helping us.

Interviewer: Clarence Thomas.

Gingrich: Clarence Thomas I think will be on videotape. He said he would be and Bill Bennett and Jack Kemp will be on videotape. Alvin Tofler and Heidi will be on videotape. And Al and Heidi have agreed to critique the course. Bill Bennett and Jack Kemp are going to critique the course. So we've got some really first rate talent helping us.

Interview: And what about Dick Williams(sp?)? I read somewhere in some literature Mescon gave me.

Exhibit 142

Gingrich: Dick Williams is a great friend. I was with him last night when we brought home the Kamodo(sp?) dragons. He and his daughter came out to watch us and Dick said he'll be one of the critics - We're going to have a review panel that looks at the whole course and helps us think it through - and Dick says he'd be delighted to help us.

Interviewer: Now is this before or during?

Gingrich: Before

Interviewer: Before

Gingrich: We are going to spend August and early September. Right now what we're doing. I thought you might be interested - See - we're working right now on laying out the course. That's the general reviewer's. We are putting together the list of reviewers - a list of review people. Can you show her an example of sort of the first cut of the syllabus? This will give you a sense or taste of what we're doing. And we are going to work this afternoon on sections 2, 3, and 4 I hope. Section 2 for sure. So, we are going through and we're laying out step by step the whole course.

Voice: I'm glad I'm not taking it.

Gingrich: That's what July is like, okay. Then we spend August with our reviewers taking apart and telling us what to change and how to improve it and what to do with it.

Interviewer: Now these are just readings for each class?

Gingrich: Yes. Now they are not required readings. We will have a book of required readings that will be available; but that gives you a taste of the scale of the intellectual resources we're bringing to bear on the course.

Interviewer: All right. [Inaudible].

Exhibit 142

Gingrich: I think it's probably accurate that between Doctors Eisenach, Hanser and Gingrich, we have read every book on the list. This is not sort of go through the library and write books down. This is stand up and think to yourself, "What is it I read that somebody ought to be able to refer to?" So, it's a pretty massive project.

Interviewer: Are you finding new books also, besides —?

Gingrich: Yes. I have about 25 books I'm trying to read right now, which given my schedule is just crazy.

Interviewer: At one time?

Gingrich: No. I'm trying to read six of them at one time. But see I'm partly in Georgia, partly in Washington and partly in airplanes so I have different books in differently places.

Interviewer: Okay. All right. Now is this going to be like a persuasive speech to convince your students?

Gingrich: No. It's going to be a presentation. I hope it will be persuasive in that -- Let me say first of all I am senior student - no one knows enough to teach Renewing American Civilization. The most you can do is start a dialogue -- so think of me as sort of the scout whose been down the trail further than anybody else in the room but nobody knows what the end of the story is and I hope to outline persuasively a general way of thinking but then we're going to teach this course four years in a row and one of my goals is going to be to say to the students -- we're going to repeat this everytime we teach it, every session -- this will be part of our opening -- that we hope everybody who is participating will feel free to contribute improvements and when we recruit reviewers we are just not recruiting them for the first course we are recruiting to help us think it through again each time so that over four years we will have a much stronger course in '96 than at the opening of '93.

Exhibit 142

Interviewer: And you and all these reviewers are doing this for free - you're just donating your time.

Gingrich: I'm doing it on my time. Different people I guess - Several people are basically working full time to hold this together. But we will probably have 5,000 people review in one form or another for free. A good example is a person like Alvin and Heidi Tofler who have coauthored now three best sellers. I mean this is not --They don't need the money but as patriots they want to help their country.

Interviewer: And, I heard that your going to televise just the first two hours of the broadcast.

Gingrich: Everyday, Every Saturday and then you're going to have the following two --

Interviewer: Every Saturday and

Gingrich: And I think Dr. Mescon is going to be teaching it at Kennesaw. In other words, I talked today with the Dean at DeKalb College. They are very excited about taking the course over there. They'll take the two hours by satellite and then they'd have a Professor on Campus teach the rest of it and Dr. Mescon will be teaching the rest of it here.

Interviewer: Oh, I see.

Gingrich: And, I think it will go more into a seminar-style at that point. What does all this mean? How to make it work. What do you think of it?

Interviewer: So Dr. Mescon will be the routine teacher at Kennesaw.

Gingrich: Right. And we've had inquiries from I guess the University of Michigan. Talked to somebody at Berkeley. I've talked to somebody at Harvard, I've talked to somebody at Claremont.

Voice: [Inaudible]

Exhibit 142

Gingrich: We've had about 300 inquires so far.

Interviewer: How are you going to test us in messages if your message gets across?

Gingrich: I don't know yet to be honest. Actually I would draw that into two parts. One is how do we test factually? Did you understand the concepts? The other is do you think they're right? How can you improve them? There are two different tests here. I suspect that we actually may have pretty standard tests. What is American civilization -- what does personal strength mean -- Give five examples of personal strength. I do think one of the things we underestimate under Reagan modern education is that you just simply have to learn the basics. You have to memorize them because there is no other way to learn them and you have to be able to put them together, and if you can't do that then being able to talk in a glib pleasant way about it a generality you don't understand is not very useful. Now once you've learned the basics then we want you to critically come back and say now let me tell you what I think about that. But first we would like you to learn it.

Interviewer: Will you be lecturing?

Gingrich: Part lecture, part videotape.

Interviewer: But you won't be an interactive thing with --

Gingrich: They'll be some interactivity in terms of questions, but we are not going to get into a debate during the two hours because frankly we are barely going to have enough time in twenty hours but I would encourage all of the team-taught parts to be a lot of dialogue and a lot of questions and a lot of clarification and we're working now on a system to tie together all the team teachers so that I will be getting feedback from everywhere on what didn't make sense, what makes sense, what was confusing.

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Interviewer: How do you plan to control those who sign up for the course - just to argue with you?

Gingrich: That's easy. I'm not going to try to control. I don't think anybody is going to try to just argue. I feel this is not a course about arguing. This is a course about laying out a way of thinking about renewing American civilization and I think there is enough material there that I will be very surprised if very many students will want to argue once they understand how interesting it is.

Interviewer: Now _____ [inaudible] about American culture. Do you think your TV audiences might get more out of those you lecture.

Gingrich. I don't think so, I'm old fashioned enough to think that actually being live in person is more powerful than being on television. Television is very effective and I use it a lot but I think for the 150 students at Kennesaw it would be a slight additional attractiveness plus I suspect and we don't have this worked out yet, but I suspect that we will actually have sort of a precourse get together for anybody who wants to come early and this is after all 8:30 on a Saturday morning so we'll see how many - but I suspect they'll be 45 minutes of just chatting beforehand so that the students at Kennesaw will have a unique opportunity to have interaction prior to the lecture itself.

Voice [inaudible]

Gingrich: okay, then we go up on television at 8:30a.m. So is that 8:00 to 10:30 then? Ok., good So the first half hour. In other words, what I want to make real sure of, because of my own background as a college teacher is that there is some opportunity for the students to interact directly with me and that the students who are at Kennesaw in the class have that unique extra opportunity.

Exhibit 142

Interviewer: Well, what are you doing with your political career while you're researching all this?

Gingrich: I do that while I'm researching all this. It's a big workload. I think ... I would guess that I average between 90 and 100 hours a week between the two.

Interviewer: When do you sleep?

Gingrich: Midnight to six.

Interviewer: That's a lot for what you're doing. Goodness gracious. Well about I've seen Dick Williams and Clarence Thomas. Are you going to have a balance of liberal ideas also.

Gingrich: No. I'm going to have Democrats but not liberal ideas.

Interviewer: O.K.

Gingrich: There is a difference. This course it's like a cooking course. Imagine you went up to a chef and said I know you're going to show us how to fix a really fine vichyssoise but aren't you also going to show us how to fix a bad one?

Interviewer: Uh-huh.

Gingrich: Okay, and my answer is no and the whole point of this course is that failed and I say to every audience if you don't think it failed, watch the evening news. I mean, if the murders and the savagery and the brutality you watch tonight on Atlanta television isn't a portrait of failure what would it take. I don't pick on some guy whose philosophy has failed. The Welfare state is going, it's failed, it's a joke, but it's a joke which kills people and ruins lives so no I have no interest, I'll be perfectly happy to debate a liberal outside the course on the course ideas but not in the course, this is a cooking course, this is about a philosophy and a formula for making America healthy again.

Exhibit 142

Interviewer: Is that what you hope it accomplishes?

Gingrich: Not the first year but I hope that by the end of the fourth time we teach it in April of 1996 that we will have created a movement which will do for the entire country what is happening for example in Jersey City where you have a reformed mayor whose changing the city dramatically and we are going to share his story and similar stories. He's already agreed to be on the program. Brett Schundler, the mayor of Jersey City. We hope to have those kinds of stories grow every year from now to 1996.

Interviewer: Now, how does your ideology from the one you're going to teaching in this course different from the general Republican?

Gingrich: Much more aggressively positive. I believe that we are in the business of replacing the Welfare state not opposing it. We are in the business of taking responsibility for the inner city not just talking about how bad it is. But I also say that as the Chairman of GOPAC which is the largest _____ in the country for Republicans that there is an amazing number of Republicans that share this ideology. Now if you were to talk about Jack Kemp, Bill Bennett, Governor Weld of Massachusetts, Governor England (sp?), Gov. Thompson in Michigan and Wisconsin, as I said Brett Schundler of Jersey City – we have a lot of people who now share these ideas.

Interviewer: They will all be in the inserts?

Gingrich: Not necessarily. We'll get as many of them in as we can. All those guys have said they'd like to so we are going to try to work it out with as many as we can. But we first have to say what do we want to say in twenty hours? And then who says it best? And then how do we get them on videotape?

Exhibit 142

Interviewer: So it is truly a presentation.

Gingrich: It really is. Yeah, in fact we dropped the term lecture. It's a presentation rather than a lecture.

Interviewer: And, do you have any more names to give me?

Gingrich: Well they're sort of randomized right now.

Interviewer: Well how long will the inserts be?

Gingrich: I think pretty short. Generally between 40 seconds and four minutes.

Interviewer: 40 seconds?

Gingrich: To 4 minutes. You watch the evening news. The average sound bite in 1988 in presidential campaign was nine seconds. If you can get 40 seconds done right that's a lot on television.

Interviewer: And how is GOPAC involved in this?

Gingrich: It's not involved in this at all.

Interviewer: Are you going to bring a lot of your ideas to GOPAC though?

Gingrich: Absolutely. Every single one of them.

Interviewer: Is GOPAC going to be. Are they going to set up a downlink satellite?

Gingrich: I don't know. I guess they legally could. Frankly, the Democratic National Committee could. We'd be very happy if they wanted to. I sent a copy of my basic speech over to the President today and I talked to him briefly about the course yesterday.

Interviewer: What did he have to say?

Gingrich: He's interested. We were talking about how much the World is changing. How to use the changes. I have a call into Pat Moynihan. We've been swapping calls for a week because I want Moynihan, I'm really going to try to talk Moynihan into being on the course. He's the guy

who first pointed out that the Welfare system was destroying the family and I'm going to beg him to do a couple of minutes on tape for us. And I'm also going to beg him to do one of our critics. He is one of the smartest guys in America and the fact that he's a Democrat doesn't matter to me. He's a guy who really tried to think and just not be bound by the liberal ideology. So my position is if the Democratic Leadership Council wants a set of the tapes, we'll sell them to them at the same price as anybody else. If they want to doubt me they can _____ that the goal here is about America -- this is not renewing Republican civilization -- This is renewing American civilization and any American of any background is interested in renewing it. We want to have engaged(?)

Interviewer: Why did you choose Kennesaw for your site?

Gingrich: Ah, to be very honest, I'm very impressed with Betty Siegal (sp?) and Tim Mescon. I've know Tim's Dad for years and they are just a fabulously entrepreneurial, creative family. Andy Betty and I talked on several occasions. I have ties with Kennesaw people going all the way back to 1974 when I participated in a planning program for the faculty of Kennesaw on expanding the college. I was brought in along with a guy named Darryl Connor(sp?). We went to Rocky Bufford (sp?) 2 and ½ days of faculty on a retreat so I've had a long personal affectionate relationship with the college. I wanted to do it here at home. I wanted it to be a Georgia based, Georgia originated program and candidly I wanted to do it at a public school. And, I thought either Kennesaw or Southern Tech would have been wonderful places. But it just seemed to me given the tremendous growth of Kennesaw and the fact that it's really a little more of a liberal arts rather than a science and technology orientation. I love the people at Southern Tech and I don't want to put anything in that would in any way imply that they're not fabulous people because they're great. I work with them on their quality program but it just seemed to me

that it just somehow fit with Tim and Betty were trying to do and the minute I talked to Tim about it he just was extraordinarily helpful and has been very positive all through it. He has been a great host and a great sponsor and so I just. It's really grown. The guys at Emory told me that they were sort of upset that they didn't think of calling me first and I'm an Emory graduate so there is a certain affection there and I had dinner one night with the President of Georgia Tech which is a great national institution and we talked about it a little bit but I just felt better about keeping it here at home and having it at a state college, open to everyone with a population of working students who really represent I think the core of what it is going to take to renew American civilization.

Interviewer: Those are all my thoughts.

Gingrich: O.K.

Interviewer: Do you have any more comments?

Gingrich: You tell me for a second, what is your reaction to all this?

Interviewer: Well I'm glad you picked Kennesaw and I hope it helps Kennesaw grow and I would be interested to see what you come up with.

Gingrich: So will we. We are excited by the _____ ourselves.

Interviewer: But also, I have to admire you for putting all this work in. Goodness, you guys are going to be exhausted by the end.

[laughter]

Gingrich: We will. We're measuring it. We are pacing ourselves. But it is really --If you want sometime look at my schedule. I think literally we schedule ninety hours a week

Interviewer: I'm a little upset that Kennesaw has not become a university.

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Gingrich: I think that will happen.

Interview: My boss says we are so close to it now. That we'll probably be a university by now.

That it's around all these other schools.

Gingrich: What has to happen is DeCalb and Cherokee and the larger delegations have to decide that as a collective group that that is one of their major goals. Don't quote me.

[Inaudible here]

New Voice:

In the Continuing Education Department, Clif Roberts -- His first name is one F -- and Sharon Jones Baron have been great. Sharon is the head of their Marketing Division in the Continuing Education Department and she's doing an ad that's going to be in National Review so their using it for their national advertising.

Interviewer: okay.

Voice: and then, I don't know if you have the names of the others that I mentioned. Dr. Jeffries

Interviewer: yeah, I've got those.

Voice: and Dr. Goldman, Dr. Roberts. I think I talked to you about both of them too.

Interviewer: Do you have a list of the names you've definitely got confirmed involved in the program. I didn't want to bother him with that. But my editor is, like, hammering at me. Get a confirmation on Thomas.

Voice: He says Clarence Thomas is confirmed, Jack Kemp is confirmed, I can get a list from him. But what I will do is -- today, we are meeting today again and I'll tell him I need a list of people who are definitely confirmed as being involved. Because obviously we don't want to mention people who really aren't. I think most people that have expressed will end up being

Exhibit 142

involved, but until they say for definite and for sure I don't want you to put it in your story because.....

Interviewer: That's what I want to be sure of too. I worship accuracy, I must tell you.

Voice: Good, you'll be a nice addition to the newspaper staff.

Interviewer: I hope so. There's a couple of other questions I have. I have written down over here. I'm a list writer. It's the only way I keep sane.

Voice: Oh, I know, Me too. Otherwise you try to keep everything in your head and it drives you crazy.

Interviewer: It does, I truly believe that it does. That's why we have so much _____ in the world. OK. The continuing education thing – we got that. The budget thing. I have written down over here.

Voice: Okay, you know who I would have you talk to about that is Jeff. Jeff has a better -- he's more the head of planning the budget and everything. Let me see if I can get him back. Is there something else you wanted to ask me about.

Interviewer: I think that's ... Budgets. Fun talk.

Voice - Jeff?

Interviewer: About how much is this costing total.

Voice: About \$290,000.

Interviewer: \$90,000?

Voice: \$290,000.

Interviewer: Now. How much is it costing Kennesaw State College?

Voice: Whatever the cost of the classroom is - that's it. I have no idea. Basically providing the lecture hall.

Interviewer: And what about the Kennesaw Foundation?

Voice: That's the \$290,000.

Interviewer: That's all.

Voice: Yes.

Interviewer: O.K. that pays for all of it. And they're getting it from ...

Voice: Foundations. General places - the Kennesaw State College Foundation is a 501(c)(3) research and educational institution and they can take contributions from individuals from foundations and corporations. So far we've had contributions from both ... let's see... we've had individual contributions - we've had contributions from foundations and corporations and I expect it to be through corporations and foundations that make those kinds of contributions happen.

Interviewer: Will the money from the first three classes go back into the American Renewing - the class?

Voice: The money from the first three classes.

Interviewer: From all, the videotapes?

Voice: The audiotapes. The videotapes, video - all of that will - if any money is made on any of those things which is an open question it will go back into the Kennesaw State College Foundation. And the \$290,000 does not include the audiotapes, it doesn't include the videotapes, what we've done is price those to try and basically cover the cost of providing _____ so the satellite is free, the videotapes are \$119.95 for ten two hour video tapes, the audiotapes are \$69.95 for the two audio tapes and those are mailed priority mail the week after each class. It also includes frankly more mail costs than there is tape costs in there and one of the problems is there is a big difference, for example, between somebody who calls the 800 number which costs

money. uses a MasterCard which costs money because there is a master card fee as opposed to somebody who sends in a check and they pay for the stamp and they pay for ... there's no MasterCard fee. So you have to throw a dart at it. Dartboard and say how many do each of those things then make a guess about how much you have to charge them in terms of money. My guess is it has to about break even because if we were to sell a large number of them and lose money on each one we would have a problem so we price them so at worst it should break even and at most it may generate some money for the foundation.

Interviewer: And what is your I guess you say maximum expectation?

Voice: I don't know maximum. We're working off assumptions of about 50,000 students around the country altogether about 500 organized sites around the country altogether for this fall but at this point it is very conjectural, the 800 number just got up and running yesterday and we've just gotten our little flyers printed and so forth so I think those are good guesses but there is no way to know with certainty. At this point they are still discussing it.

Interviewer: And, how many downlink sites did you say?

Voice: 500 would be my guess, would be my guess.

Interviewer: That's your expected on what you have now.

Voice: No that will be my guess of what we will have for this fall class and then hopefully that will build over the next three years.

Interviewer: All right, I think those are all my questions.

Voice: Okay.

Interviewer: It's a lot to absorb ... do you have anything else to add?

Voice: I don't think so. I think it is a neat project. I'm very excited to be a part of it.

Interviewer: Nancy told me you were also helping with the course.

Voice: Yes. Yes.

Interviewer: What is your role in that?

Voice: For the last about 4 and ½ years I've been one of three or four people around Newt, who serve as kind of intellectual advisor and planner if you will and so we are very ... I'm an economist by training, he's an historian so we come at it from different backgrounds but we have very similar kind of views of the world and so we are good complements to one another -- I'm a good complement to him -- so I'm working with him in designing the syllabus, designing classes, the message and so forth. Newt is unique in the sense that no one writes for him. In the four and ½ years of working for him I don't think -- I've never written a speech for him in the sense that a speechwriter writes a speech for a politician. But it is much more than a nature of an informal conversation where there is a lot of give and take and hopefully what comes out in the end is better than what we started with.

Interviewer: So you're just advising readings and things like that and he's doing this the word planning on how things are going to be phrased?

Voice: It is a deeply personal - teaching a class - I've taught myself before and it is a deeply personal exercise. You can't get up there and spout somebody else's beliefs. You have to know what your saying and understand why your saying it because you're the person who is going to be answering the question to the students who hold up their hand and says why do you think that that point has anything to do with this and you say that so and so -- you say such and such a book and such a such a quotation to make this point but doesn't it really mean thus and so--well you better know [laughs] the answer to that questions or your in trouble. So even much more so than any kind of a political environment you can't -- no one can design a class for somebody

else. And so this will be very much a personal product of Newt's background, Newt's thinking and what Newt believes. But in order to kind of bring out what it is you believe, what it is you know, it is useful to have people to talk to.

Interviewer: And you're one of his advisors then?

Voice: Yes.

Interviewer: How do you think it is going to help him. -- politically like, the last race you must have done some really good advising because he won?

Voice: Actually I was not -- I was not much -- I was not involved in the Congressional race at all. I don't know that there's a narrow political benefit to it. I think the benefit to him personally is the benefit of understanding much better what direction he believes the country needs to go in and therefore being able to explain that much better in the political environment and hopefully being a better representative of the Sixth District and his larger role as a leader in the House. In terms of a narrow political benefit it is a pretty academic project. I mean the people who will be involved, there is no sort of natural, immediate like boy this is going to help people to vote for him or get people to -- I will say one thing that I think -- Newt is -- most people when you tell them Newt has a Ph.D. in History and taught History for eight years before coming to Congress raise their eyebrows and say "Gosh I didn't know that." People don't understand that there is a big part of it which is a History professor and an intellectual who thinks about things and to the extent that people come to have a more rounded and complete view of who he is as a person, I think that can't hurt. Ultimately when you're running for election you're running on the basis of who you are as well as what you are and what you believe and what your going to do and the more people can understand the wholeness of who you are as a person and at a minimum the better the chance they have voting the right way in the sense that more information is better and

in Newt's case Newt's a pretty good person and this will be a way for people to understand more about why he is a good person but again I think it's all so vague that there's ... it comes back to what is the political benefit in the narrow sense in which people say what is the political benefit, I'm not sure there is one.

Interviewer: Now what is your background? You say you're an economist?

Voice: I've spent actually 15 years in Washington DC. I'm from Ohio. I have a Ph.D. in Economics from Univ. Of Virginia. And, I've worked in the White House in the Office of Management and Budget and taught economics at the Univ. Of Virginia and George Mason University and I've spent the last four years working with Newt on ideas and language and general big picture planning.

Interviewer: So you're his big picture planning advisor?

Voice: Yes.

Interviewer: I can understand better now.

Exhibit A2

EXHIBIT 143**GOPAC**

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In Gingrich's College Course, Critics Find a Wealth of Ethical Concerns

By PETER APFLEBOME

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Feb. 19 — The letter delivered to 1,000 college Republican chapters in May 1993 did not sound like a promotion for a typical academic course.

It began by noting with approval "the recent tribulations of the Clinton Administration," talked about the need for conservatives to define a future that would capture the imagination and votes of the American people and then said, "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.'"

"The letter, signed by Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia and sent out by his political action committee, GOPAC, went on to say: 'Let me be clear. This is not about politics as such. Do 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?'"

The distinction may be a fine one, but such fine distinctions are at the heart of a complaint before the House Ethics Committee and other questions levying the course. Mr. Gingrich now teaches each Saturday at Reinhardt College in Waleska, Ga. The course is also televised via cable around the nation.

Members of the Ethics Committee said last week that they were close to agreeing on a procedure for investigating the accusations about the course. At the same time, Mr. Gingrich has a publishing house with a publishing house owned by Rupert Murdoch. The committee is to meet again on Wednesday.

Ben Jones, Mr. Gingrich's Democratic opponent last fall, who filed the complaint with the Ethics Committee, questions Mr. Gingrich's use of his House office and political contributors to set up the course. Other critics raise the same concerns. They also question the use of political allies to staff the course, Mr. Gingrich's history of using the course to laud political contributors and his goals in creating it.

The details of the way the course was conceived and hundreds of thousands of tax-exempt dollars raised to bring it to a nationwide audience also provide a powerful illustration of the innovative methods Mr. Gingrich, now the Speaker of the House, has used to build the fund-raising empire often referred to as Newt Inc.

More broadly, the debate touches the question of whether Mr. Gingrich is the crusader for ethics he has cast himself as, or someone who bends the rules to pursue his own agenda.

Many tax and campaign finance experts say the way the course is financed comes perilously close to the line of what is not permissible for a tax-exempt organization, although few fully say it crosses that line.

Jeffrey Eisenach, former head of GOPAC and now head of the Progress and Freedom Foundation, which produces the course, denies that the financing is in a gray area, but Mr. Gingrich seems even less concerned.

"Whoa," he said, when asked after class one recent Saturday if the course nears the edge of what the law allows. "Goes right up to the edge. What's the beef? Doesn't go over the edge, doesn't break any law, isn't wrong. It's aggressive, it's entrepreneurial, it's risk-taking."

Mr. Gingrich, a former college professor, says the 20-hour course is a serious academic undertaking and is taught in conjunction with a full-time faculty member 811 the dozen or so colleges where it is offered for credit via television. The course is also televised via satellite to at least 26 million cable subscribers on the Mind Extension University and 18 million on the National Empowerment Network.

A broad soup of anti-government conservatism, traditional values, management theory and "third-wave" futurism, the course is an interdisciplinary evocation of Mr. Gingrich's ideas on how to revamp American civilization and end "the welfare

state."

"It's not narrowly partisan, it's not narrowly electoral, but it is broadly political in the best sense of a free society," Mr. Gingrich said in an interview. "The current political process is so sick that attempting to talk in a serious way for 20 hours with an earned Ph.D. is automatically dragged into the mud."

Mr. Gingrich, who has a Ph.D. in history, is not the only member of Congress to teach a class while in office. But televising the course nationwide is unique, and critics say everything about the class has more to do with politics than education.

"This is like all the other Gingrich scams," said David Worley, an Atlanta lawyer who as the Democratic candidate narrowly missed unseating Mr. Gingrich in 1990. "He gets a small group of wealthy political supporters to underwrite whatever pet project he has at the time, and his desire is always to amass as much power and influence as possible."

But even some critics of Mr. Gingrich say that rather than an aberration, the course is just one example of the myriad ways money finds its way into politics — and of how little effort Democrats or Republicans have devoted to changing the rules that benefit them both.

"There is a growing trend of political foundations out there that are in essence a tax-exempt pocket where political contributors can support a candidate and at the same time get a tax write-off from it," said Josh Goldstein of the Center for Responsive Politics, a Washington research organization. "It's not just Gingrich, but I think he's moving into unexplored territory. He's leading the way."

The Beginning

With Big Money, An Idea Blossoms

In 1991, Timothy Meason, dean of the business school at Kennesaw State College, in Mr. Gingrich's suburban Atlanta district, invited Mr. Gingrich to deliver a lecture. Mr. Gingrich was not available to do so, but the two kept in touch and in March 1993 began discussions about a course Mr. Gingrich could teach at the school and televise around the country.

This idea for expanding the classroom's reach required big money — an estimated \$400,000 for the first semester, mostly for leasing production equipment and satellite time.

Mr. Gingrich tapped into some well-worn channels. Much of the staff and leadership was made up of former GOPAC employees and longtime Gingrich associates, and most of the money came from people who had contributed to GOPAC or Mr. Gingrich's campaigns.

For example, one GOPAC staff member, Jane Rogers, became "the best coordinator" for the course, working with Republican groups, Christian Coalition chapters and what she called the "GOPAC farm team" to secure satellite sites showing the course. When the work was done, she went back to working full time for GOPAC.

The course was coordinated by the recently formed Progress and Freedom Foundation, led by Mr. Eisenach. In the foundation's first year, more than half of its \$1.2 million budget went to pay for the course, its first endeavor.

A 420-page stack of documentation on the course forwarded to the Ethics Committee is full of letters, faxes and phone records from GOPAC, where Mr. Eisenach had his office in the course's early days; from Mr. Gingrich's House office; from Mr. Eisenach and from GOPAC employees who were transferred to work on the course.

"The facts that GOPAC controlled and, with the help of the Congressman's official

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Exhibit 144

staff operated PAC serves to explain why so many large corporations and wealthy individuals were willing to donate such a large amount of money for one course at one college in Georgia," the ethics consultant says. "These contributors thought they were simply giving money to Mr. Gingrich the way they always had."

Mr. Eisenach and Mr. Gingrich say it made perfect sense for the course to employ people familiar with Mr. Gingrich and his operation. Mr. Eisenach said the foundation was wholly separate from GOPAC.

"The question is, is this a college course or not, and everyone who has looked at it says it's a college course and it's not partisan," he said. "Here we have politicians confined in a narrow box of 30-second commercials, and when Newt tries to do something of real substance there's supposed to be something dirty about it? That's just crazy."

Jeffery Yablon, the tax lawyer for Mr. Eisenach's foundation, said the relative youth of the Progress and Freedom Foundation had allowed some critics to contend — inaccurately, Mr. Yablon said — that there was a partisan link with Mr. Gingrich. But as the foundation grows, attracts more scholars and publishes more books over time, he said, Mr. Gingrich will become a smaller part of its activities.

The Criticism Issues of Politics And Purpose

The attacks against the course began even before the first class.

Some 40 faculty members at Kennesaw signed a petition when the course was announced in 1993, saying that it was essentially political.

The Chancellor of the University System of Georgia originally said that the course did not violate any ethical standards. But after the course became a political issue, the Georgia State Board of Regents, which is dominated by Democrats, in 1993 changed its policy to bar public officials from being

unpaid, as well as paid, employees at state colleges. That forced Mr. Gingrich to move the course to Rebarbari, a tiny private college recently upgraded from a junior college and whose only four-year degree program is in business.

Mr. Gingrich said the board's move was a political decision by Democrats. But critics have focused on statements and records relating to two elements of the course's history.

The first is explicit statements about a political mission. In a July 21, 1993, letter on the stationery of the course at Kennesaw College, Mr. Eisenach wrote to Ralph Vinovich, vice president for legislative affairs at the Tobacco Institute, seeking support for the course.

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

In an Aug. 4, 1993, letter on the same stationery, Mr. Gingrich ended with a postscript saying, "Our goal is to have 200,000 committed citizen activists nationwide before we're done."

Mr. Eisenach said anyone who watched the course would realize that it gave credit to as many Democrats as Republicans and that neither of the statements in the letters was inconsistent with an academic mission.

"It is unambiguously not a political or a partisan course," he said. "What it says very clearly is training people into a model, not training them to be Republicans."

Questions have also been raised about whether contributors bought more than Mr. Gingrich's good will.

Those who contributed \$50,000 were entitled to register three students and "work directly with the leadership of the Renewing American Civilization project in the course development process." Those who put up \$25,000 would be "invited to participate in the course development process."

Moreover, several GOPAC, Gingrich or foundation contributors, like the textile magnate Roger Milliken, HealthSouth, Scientific Atlanta and Golden Rule Insurance, are mentioned in lectures extensively and favorably, sometimes including taped materials prepared by the companies.

In at least one case the possibility of financing was explicitly linked to the content of the course.

"I think there is a very real possibility here of \$20,000 to \$25,000 if the course can incorporate some of the ideas mentioned in the Journal of Labor Research, Volume XIV, Number 3," Pamela Prochown, GOPAC finance director, wrote in a memo on May 19, 1993. The reference was to a request from a lobbyist for the Employment Policy Institute to cite the point of view that low-level jobs in restaurants and fast-food outlets are not necessarily dead-end jobs.

There is no way to know if the institute's subsequent support affected the course content. But in last year's tapes of the course, Mr. Gingrich says: "The welfare state, they say, well, you're just going to worry about getting a hamburger flipping job. Well, it's a first step. It's not a last step. It's not the journey. It's the first step."

Mr. Eisenach disputed any notion that the course was for sale. He said correspondence on behalf of the course explicitly stated that "complete editorial control of course content lies of course, with Congressman Gingrich. In conjunction with Kennesaw State College." He said that of the roughly \$600,000 that sponsors have contributed, less than \$50,000 came from companies mentioned in the course. Only four of the two dozen corporate sponsors of the course were mentioned in it, he said.

"In the cases of the companies mentioned in the course, there are places that he's talked about for years and years and years," Mr. Eisenach said.

This year, however, the course deleted many of the taped segments used earlier.

The Tax Question Hazy Parameters Of Exempt Status

While Mr. Gingrich has dismissed most of the criticism as "noise," he has said that the only issue conceivably raised by the course was whether it was valuably operating under a tax-exempt status.

Experts say there are a number of questions about whether the course complies with the letter of section 501(c)(3) of the tax code, which prohibits tax-exempt organizations from engaging in partisan politics and from providing private benefits or private inurement to any individual or group.

"Clearly, it's an aggressive position," said Chella Ready, a Washington lawyer and chairman of the American Bar Association's committee on tax-exempt organizations, who stressed that she was not talking for the association. "Whether it's too aggressive and crosses the line, I don't know. Clearly, it's more aggressive than many exempt organizations would go forward with."

But many also say the law is broad and hazy, and a case easily can be made that the course is not partisan and serves a valid educational purpose. Donald C. Alexander, a Republican and former Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service who reviewed the issue for Mr. Gingrich, said neither the opinionated content nor the impression that the course promotes political activity conducive to Mr. Gingrich's views raised serious concerns.

"I found no attacks on one party or no hymns of praise to another," he said. "Instead, the discussion was self-reliance and individual initiative and things Mr. Gingrich believes in. Expressing conservative views is not necessarily partisan. It might produce conservative activists for Ross Perot."

A study by Frances Hill in the January 1993 issue of The Exempt Organization Tax Review says that "under current law, a politician who benefits from a political charity faces little or no personal risk — he is rolling someone else's dice." Indeed, the worst that could happen is that an organization could lose its tax exemption, a process that could take years and would not include sanctions for the person who benefited.

It is scarcely surprising that Gingrich has insisted that questions about his lectures are purely tax matters," she wrote. "To the extent that he and other candidates are tested only under tax law, they can avail themselves of its ambiguities to treat themselves as their political supporters' favorite charities."

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Educators Divided on Course by Gingrich

ATLANTA, Feb. 19 — David King teaches in what Newt Gingrich might consider the heart of the Evil Empire of liberal academia, the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard.

But after viewing videotapes of "Renewing American Civilization," Professor King says Mr. Gingrich's course may not be to everyone's liking but is clearly more than a partisan screed.

"The course is not polished, it is repetitive, it's not muddled and it's not partisan," Professor King said. "It touts conservative ideas, but those ideas are never explicitly linked to the Republican Party."

Other academics, including 40 faculty members at Kennesaw State College who signed a petition calling the course a political vehicle, disagree. But, as with everything else about the course, its academic validity is subject to debate — perhaps neither the unalloyed sham many critics of Mr. Gingrich might expect nor the pristine example of disinterested scholarship Mr. Gingrich projects.

The most detailed analysis of the course is a largely admiring review in the

January-February issue of *Lingua Franca*, which usually examines intellectual and university issues from the left.

"Professor Gingrich's reading of American history is overtly partisan and sometimes bizarre," writes David Samuels, a Mellon Fellow in the Humanities at Princeton. "What historians might find surprising is that it is also the product of a first-rate mind. Like his fellow professor turned politician, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Gingrich has a scholar's range of interest and reference."

Professor Samuels is, however, harshly critical of Mr. Gingrich's use of tapes provided by corporate sponsors and contributors.

Also troubling to some is the degree to which the course presents only one point of view. Before beginning to teach at Kennesaw, Mr. Gingrich said he was "going to allow Democrats, but not liberal ideas."

"I don't particularly want some guy whose philosophy failed," Mr. Gingrich said.

"That's outrageous," said James A. Thurber, a professor of political science

and director of American University's Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies. "That's indoctrinating people rather than educating them. I would say, bottom line, his course would not pass muster at the top 300 to 400 institutions of higher education in America."

In a letter in *The Marietta Journal* today, Lois Kubal, a graduate student who helped design the course at Kennesaw said she was taken aback when efforts to provide diverse viewpoints were dismissed by Mr. Gingrich.

"If the course was to be academic, it would have to allow for diverse opinion," she wrote. "Therefore, the class at KSC was intended to be partisan and very political."

On the other hand, Professor King at the Kennedy School said he thought Mr. Gingrich might be onto something valuable in taking his wares to the Ivory tower. "Maybe Dick Gephardt should do something similar at Washington University in St. Louis next semester," he said.

PETER APPLEBOME

EXHIBIT 145

Eisenach
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CAMPAIGN FOR A SUCCESSFUL AMERICA

November 13, 1990

Exhibit 145

PREFACE

The Democrat party is unable or unwilling to do what is necessary to ensure a successful America. Therefore, the task logically falls to the Republican party.

Despite holding the White House for 19 of the past 24 years, and despite the spectacular vitality Ronald Reagan brought to the party, and his control of the Senate for six years, the Republican party has not been able to impose a dynamic new agenda -- an agenda for a successful America. The key to implementing such an agenda must be the House of Representatives, thus breaking the Democrats 4### year control of that body is critical to the future of America -- hence the goal.

But Republicans cannot win control of the House of Representatives one seat at a time. As often as a candidate emerges to win a tough seat, another loses a seat that was already held. Since 1980, at one time or another, Republicans have been elected in at least 221 out of the 435 districts. In other words, the voters have elected enough Republicans for control, but not in any single year. This fact underscores the one absolute that must always be a constant in any national planning effort to win House seats -- namely that these are elections based on local dynamics, personalities and applications of national issues and themes and, thus must be won as such.

Three times in the past 20 years, there have been major shifts in Congress, although these were much smaller than had been fairly routine in the lower House during earlier decades. On each of these three occasions, a national mood precipitated the shift; once in a positive way that truly impacted people's votes and twice in a negative sense that reduced Republican turnout, resulting in heavy losses, even while the total Democrat vote remained relatively unchanged.

A growing sense within the electorate that a real choice between alternative directions must be made in the leadership of the nation could intensify during fractious 1992 elections. Every effort must be made to take advantage of that opportunity because as noted by Haynes Johnson, a syndicated columnist, "In the future, take no race for granted."

Additionally, any effort must also simultaneously ensure the best possible environment for incumbent Republican Members to retain their seats.

This requires two things. In order to retain current seats and make the gains needed for Republicans to win control of the House, a national environment must be molded by Election Day that makes such a shift possible, which is seen as desirable by the electorate. Secondly, campaigns must be created at the local level which have the capacity to benefit from any such national environment. In short, a new national

pattern for campaigns must be created, from which a series of unique local campaign models, distinctively tailored to specific local issues and realities, must be developed.

This means that past and present campaign models must be dramatically changed with the intent of developing a new national pattern that encourages hybrid local models to grow. The highest quality candidates must be recruited who are fully committed to an agenda that would dramatize the different alternative futures facing this nation, and that Americans be forcefully made aware of the choice they must make.

In summary, it means that it cannot be business as usual, because to do so would inevitably mean an opportunity lost; lost until some future uncertain date. And, as Washington Post columnist Haynes Johnson noted three days after the 1990 elections, the lesson of 1990 is that no seat can ever be taken for granted again.

Following is an initial concept of how a Republican majority might be achieved in the House and thus allow enactment of an Agenda for a Successful America. This outline is intended as a starting point for discussion and thought – to be improved and refined through ongoing meetings and discussions, finalized and then set into action.

The Eddie Mahe Company, in cooperation with Republican state and national committees as well as other allies, would like to acknowledge those who have made this initial effort possible. Without the confidence, support, commitment and resources

of Terry and Mary Kohler and Buddy and Lois Teich this effort could never have gotten underway. Likewise, the vision and path laid out by Congressman Newt Gingrich charted the course for the plan. Bo Callaway, Kay Riddle, Joe Gaylord, Jeff Eisenach and Jim Tilton for providing guidance and invaluable direction in developing much of the framework this document was formulated from and for discussions that took place during the 1990 North Pole Basin retreat hosted by Bo and Beth Callaway.

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I. OVERVIEW

In 1992 a number of circumstances will converge to create an unparalleled period of dislocation and potential turnover in the House of Representatives:

- Redistricting based on the 1990 census which means that no fewer than 21 states will gain or lose a cumulative total of no fewer than 38 seats.
- An additional 11 to 14 states which will neither gain nor lose seats, but which could experience significant boundary changes due to changing population patterns within them.
- The 1983 Civil Rights Act mandates that, whenever possible, districts should be drawn so as to virtually assure the election of a minority, i.e. minority communities can no longer be distributed within several districts if geographically a minority-controlled district can be created. No fewer than 15 states could potentially be impacted by this factor.
- Any member who seeks re-election in 1992 loses the opportunity to convert any unused campaign funds to his or her personal use. Currently,

109 members have sufficient surplus funds to at least be sensitive to this fact or are otherwise rumored to be possible retirees.

The combination of these factors suggests there will be no fewer than 176 districts in 1992 in which either no incumbent will be running, or an incumbent will be running in an area where he or she will have previously represented less than 50% of the residents.

At no time in modern history will there have been so many seats open or relatively open. Thus, in an age when 96 percent or more of incumbents get re-elected, it is unlikely that a similar opportunity will soon present itself.

The challenge which must be met is to have competitive Republican campaigns in each of the "open" districts, plus, at least all marginal Democrat districts, and then create a national environment that will provide the final momentum for victory. This will require that the following major objectives be accomplished:

Develop a prototype agenda that Republicans commit to enact into law during the first 100 days of the 103rd Congress if they control the House of Representatives. This agenda cannot be based on incrementalism, but rather on putting in place the radical changes that are needed to deal with fundamental problems. The agenda must be the basis for governing,

rather than simply a party platform and it must attract candidates, financial support, media attention and votes. The Agenda should appeal to candidates, voters, contributors and Americans on the most basic level and must address their most basic concerns. In short, the Agenda must clearly show how it will keep Americans: safety, personally and collectively, domestic and foreign; working and productive; saving for their personal and collective futures; investing to assume the best jobs; learning in order to be competitive; healthy personally and environmentally; And the totality of the Agenda must be based on personal and governmental honest and integrity.

Specific issues which must be explicitly addressed to meet such a test would include: balancing the budget by cutting federal, not family, spending; providing an effective educational system; addressing the collapse of the infrastructure in America's major cities; winning the war on crime and drugs; improving the cost, availability and quality of health care; initiating true budgetary and tax reform; managing government so that it works; and, radically reforming the military procurement system.

Attract and encourage hundreds of prospective quality candidates so that no matter how the lines are drawn in any state, or when they are drawn,

no possible "opportunity district" ends up without a quality candidate who supports that Agenda.

- Provide a new national pattern which will spawn radically different campaign models which grow from the unique characteristics of each district and focus the full energy of the campaign within the district and delay any significant expenditures or traditional organizing efforts until very late in the campaign cycle.
- Create a new training program keyed to these models which focuses considerable attention on local empowerment and communication skills (including sufficient knowledge on which to base that communication).
- Establish a national fundraising mechanism with a very strong district activist component which is designed to appeal to those committed to an alternative agenda which could attract resources of specific congressional districts and candidates.
- Put in place a program that guarantees sufficient dollars will be available to launch a massive advertising campaign keyed to the Agenda and those candidates who support it.

Achieving these objectives must be planned for in the context of the political, issue and governmental environment that will exist at that time. An initial assessment of 1992 is included in Appendix C and may in fact be somewhat more optimistic than is totally warranted at this time.

As noted in the preface, business as usual must be avoided if the potential opportunity that 1992 represents is to be achieved. These objectives as outlined, and the following detail for each of them, is a first step towards assuring that the effort will truly meet the criteria of being business NOT as usual.

GOAL:

Elect a majority of the House of Representatives which supports the enactment of a revolutionary Agenda for a Successful America in the first 100 days of the 103rd Congress.

GOAL:

Elect a majority of the House of Representatives which supports the enactment of a revolutionary Agenda for a Successful America in the first 100 days of the 103rd Congress.

Exhibit 145

II. AGENDA FOR A SUCCESSFUL AMERICA

In order to maximize its gains in the 1992 elections, the Republican party must formulate an "Agenda for a Successful America" which reflects basic Republican/conservative principles, presents a powerful political platform that attracts strong voter support and is adopted by many, if not most, Republican candidates and political leaders. The Agenda must pass the test of being worth working for, contributing to, running on and voting for.

The Agenda must be broad enough to act as a de facto platform, specific enough to be quickly translated into implementing legislation, simple enough to be communicated to voters in an easily understood and comprehensive message, and keyed to the local circumstances in each district. As mentioned above, the Agenda must set a national pattern from which local models, uniquely tailored to specific districts, will grow and succeed.

The Agenda must represent a clear break with "politics as usual", and therefore offer voters a real choice in the 1992 elections. Also, by definition, an Agenda for a Successful America must address personal and collective safety, keeping Americans working, encouraging Americans and America to save and invest, creating a radically

improved educational system and environment, ensuring personal and national health, and a climate of honesty and integrity in government.

The Agenda must be both substantive and a political product, and must therefore meet two separate (but parallel) sets of criteria. Substantively, the Agenda must meet at least six criteria:

Guiding Principles: It must be founded on conservative principles of basic American values, entrepreneurial free enterprise, technological progress, optimism about the future, honest self-government, the primacy of the individual over the state and the need for a strong national defense.

Breadth: It must be comprehensive enough to address the most significant challenges facing the country, possibly including issues that may not be high on the current list of priorities.

Specificity: It must be specific enough to be translated quickly into legislation.

Boldness: It must be bold enough that, if enacted, it produces noticeable (even dramatic) change for the better within a reasonable period (1-3 years) and

address issues that have been traditionally ignored by the Republicans e.g. the environment and child care.

Consensus/Support: It must be based on and supported by solid analysis, capable of withstanding scrutiny by and gaining the support of "experts" on the issue-areas it addresses.

Local Application: It must enhance the local focus of the campaign, correlate directly to local concerns and augment the local empowerment aspect of the national pattern.

Politically, the Agenda must also meet seven criteria, which are parallel to but clearly distinct from the six substantive criteria:

Basic Message: Its overall message must attract (or, at a minimum not repel) core GOP constituencies and, equally important, bring significant numbers of new (probably young) voters into the GOP camp.

Breadth: It must be broad enough to serve as a de facto party platform, not a set of individual proposals to be accepted or rejected piecemeal (even though some of the Agenda's supporters may not endorse every specific proposal).

Specificity: It must be specific enough to be seen as a real, substantive program, not just more rhetoric from the politicians.

Boldness: It must be bold enough to be perceived as a dramatic departure from the status quo and to offer real hope for significant, rapid improvement in the lives of individual voters.

Consensus: It must be backed up with solid political analysis and fully vested among key political leaders to ensure that it garners their support.

Support: The Agenda must be "real" so it can be translated and applied as principles to those local issues which are the linchpins of success in a Congressional race.

Local Application: The consensus of support sought for the Agenda will be found at the local level and across the country -- not in Washington. Both the general framework and the specific elements of the agenda must reflect this local nature.

These parallel sets of criteria can be translated directly into a set of principles for the Agenda's design process:

Guiding Principles/Message: Immediate control over the process must rest firmly in the hands of an individual or small group that is sensitive to both political and substantive/ideological objectives the Agenda must achieve.

Breadth: The process must involve political and policy generalists, capable not simply of "seeing the forest" but, indeed, growing it.

Specificity: The process must also involve political and policy issue-specific experts, capable of growing the individual trees that will make up the forest.

Boldness: The process must ultimately be controlled by a "lean" and "decisive" decision making body willing to risk consensus for the sake of boldness.

Consensus/Support: The process must reach out broadly to the policy and political community leadership, as early as possible, both for real help in producing the product and to create a sense of "ownership" over the product. The resulting Agenda must then be applied to the test of local issues.

Local Application: The process must be driven by the need to attract majority support, recruit candidates, and design and win campaigns at the local level. The Agenda will play a major role in refocusing the traditional model from one of central command to local empowerment.

The Agenda for a Successful America will act as a magnet for support rather than a wedge, and those candidates attracted to run under it should be offered some meaningful symbol to present voters -- a "Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval" of sorts. The seal would be something that candidates take for themselves and the potential power and potency of the Agenda could well make the seal itself a valuable campaign tool.

By its very nature, the creation of this agenda will be an on going dynamic process but the basic outline must be quickly arrived at as it will provide the foundation for much of this effort.

The Agenda must then be communicated to the voters in the critical decision making periods through a paid and earned media campaign thus providing individual campaigns a positive offsetting environment to the probable Democrat attacks on "the Party of the Rich."

Exhibit 145

III. LOCAL EMPOWERMENT

Throughout the last several election cycles, while the Republican party was advocating local control at the governmental level, it was transferring all power to Washington at the political level.

This approach did not address the concerns of local constituencies, thus resulting in losses and not victories.

The intent of this effort is to create a national pattern which candidates can utilize and interpret to create unique, locally-driven campaigns in each district all under the banner of an Agenda for a Successful America. That interpretation will focus on identifying, understanding and meeting the needs and attitudes of the specific district by applying the national pattern to its unique circumstances. The result will be a series of new campaign "models." In order to encourage that to happen, serious effort must be given to "empowering" local campaigns. Steps that must be taken to create the conditions where local empowerment can be generated would include:

Creating new campaign models that reflect the fact that they are not national campaigns;

- Providing candidate training on how to identify and solicit resources at the local level;
- Creating a resource base that can serve as a first step in identifying for candidates resources and assistance from allies and party organizations;
- Providing national background information regarding any local issue which has national ramifications in order that local translation and application can be accomplished;
- Establishing a mechanism to provide maximum training and other support within the district (rather than in D.C.) to candidates, staff, and volunteers to enable them to adapt the national models to their own campaigns;
- Where a Democrat incumbent is involved, providing raw voting data to the campaign with directions on how to analyze, and interpret the data;
- Identifying and providing professional expertise to assist campaigns and candidates; and,

- Using campaign timelines and objectives to evaluate progress and not generic national benchmark measurements.

Once a national pattern for winning campaigns and an Agenda for a Successful America have been developed, all aspects of this project would be oriented to encouraging the spawning of locally derived campaign models maximizing local empowerment, from the recruitment effort to identifying potential national resources for the campaigns to access at the local level.

Exhibit 145

IV. RECRUITMENT

There are many compelling reasons why the recruitment process for the 1992 elections must be approached in a radically different manner than has been done in the past, including:

- o 100 plus open seats create unprecedented opportunity;
- o The lines in dozens of other districts will be somewhat to substantially changed; and,
- o The species known as the entrenched incumbent may, in fact, be vulnerable in 1992 to a candidate committed to the Agenda for a Successful America.

Recent years have seen both fewer candidates and fewer candidates of substance put themselves forward for Congressional races.

This cycle must be broken by reaching out beyond those for who have shown an interest in being a candidate for congress. Dozens of individuals who have not previously considered such an option must be attracted by the idea that a commitment

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Candidate-related activities will be undertaken for the express purpose of influencing their elections. Educational activities will be undertaken for the purpose of persuading American society, and particularly the American electorate, that the Agenda represents America's best hopes and dreams for the future.

There are several ways to achieve this, but only one type of organization may engage in all of them: a federal political committee.¹ Other entities may do some parts of the program, but not all. These include tax exempt organizations like social welfare organizations, usually called "(c)(4)s" because they are nonprofit corporations which are tax exempt under Section 501 (c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code.

¹ 2 U.S.C. Section 431 (4)

In addition, some educational organizations, tax exempt under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, have engaged in activities which affect the outcome of elections, though that is theoretically not supposed to occur.

Following is a discussion of generally what each may do. Party organizations at the national and state levels (technically "political committees" with certain enhanced spending rights) are also important components.

Political Committee

For the Campaign for a Successful America, the only entity which can absolutely engage in all the activities is a free-standing political committee. It has one significant advantage - it may do everything it can afford to do. The disadvantage of this entity is "what it can afford to do," i.e., its ability to raise and spend money is limited by the Federal Election Campaign Act.² No single contributor may give it more than \$5,000 per year, and it, in turn, may give only \$5,000 per election (generally, \$10,000 per cycle) to any candidate.

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Political committees have the advantages of being effectively tax exempt (though its income can be taxed under certain circumstances) and no formal requirements for its establishment or operations. Its contributors' and vendors' names will be made public.

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A (c)(4) is organized and operated for the public welfare, which includes educating the general public, or specific portions of it, as proposed above. In this context, it may publicize the Agenda in every congressional district where a supportive candidate is running, so long as it does not engage in what is called "express advocacy."³ In addition, depending on how it is organized and whether it takes contributions from businesses, it may be involved directly in some races to a limited extent. So long as its political activities are not its primary activity, it may do them, subject only to some limited taxation.⁴

A (c)(4) may also establish a separate segregated fund, commonly called a PAC, which may get involved in campaigns just like the free standing political committee. It may, however, raise money only from its "restricted class," which could limit its funding. The restricted class includes the organization's members.

³ 2 U.S.C. Section 431(18)

⁴ 2 U.S.C. Subsection 501(a), 501(c)(4), 527

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A very controversial program is being undertaken by a (c)(3), indicating that it may have involvement in the electoral process, notwithstanding the express prohibition on it. At this time, a (c)(3) is not recommended because it would have to be truly independent of the (c)(4) and its PAC.

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Exhibit 145

ENTITIES ELIGIBLE TO PARTICIPATE
IN A CAMPAIGN FOR A SUCCESSFUL AMERICA

I. Federal Political Committee

A. Permitted Activities

1. Create Agenda
2. Publicity and Education
3. Recruit Candidates
4. Train Candidates

B. Fundraising/Spending Limitations

1. Subject to entire Federal Election Campaign Act
2. \$5,000 per year incoming contributions
3. \$5,000 per election contribution to any candidate
4. No corporate contributions

C. Miscellaneous

1. No independent expenditures (because of relationship to candidate)
2. Reports regularly to FEC
3. All contributions and expenditures in the public record

II. Non-Profit: Social Welfare Organization

A. Permitted Activities

1. Create Agenda
2. Publicity and Education
3. Establish and Administer PAC -
PAC may solicit membership
PAC may recruit and train candidates
Candidates may have to pay fees

B. Fundraising/Spending Limitations

1. May solicit general public for membership
2. No limit on incoming contributions
3. No limit on expenditures for publicity/education

C. Miscellaneous

1. Tax exempt Section 501(c)(4)
2. Direct political activity should not exceed 15% of expenditures
3. File Form 990 in lieu of tax return, names contributors (names are not made public)
4. Candidates may have to pay fees for some services

III. Party Committees

A. See above for "Political Committees"

B. Additional Activities

1. Coordinated Expenditures (General Election)
2. Non-allocable Expenditures

(Prepared by Gordon Strauss of Thompson, Hine & Flory)

B. ENVIRONMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS

- George Bush will be running for re-election.
- Dan Quayle will be his running mate.
- Bush will be challenged in the primaries which will preclude early allocation of resources to general election.
- George Bush approval by convention time will be in the 55% to 60% range.
- Democrats will go through a spirited nomination process involving at least five candidates at the beginning.
- Democrats will again nominate a Left-of-Center candidate.
- Jesse Jackson will have less influence than he did in '88.
- Doug Wilder will be one of the potential Vice Presidential nominees for the Democrats.

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Exhibit 145

- David Duke will continue to be a political player causing speculation regarding the country's vulnerability to a demagogue, as well as some measure of grief within the party.
- There will be a major effort by Republicans to capture the Senate and make significant gains in the House.
- Limitation of terms movements will be reflected in state initiatives in no less than a dozen states and will have significant sponsorship in Congress.
- There will continue to be some schism within the House Republican Conference.
- There will have been no campaign finance reform bill passed which will have any impact on the '92 elections.
- A tremendous number of House retirements plus redistricting will increase at least the perception and probably the reality of significant electoral competitiveness.
- The pressure on political dollars will be extreme (two U.S. Senate races in California adds to this pressure considerably).

- The decision making period for voters will continue to be very late in the campaign.
- The base philosophy of many special interest groups will increasingly dominate their own specific issue agenda.
- Tribalization/balkanization of American society will be underway at an increasing pace.
- Economy will be in recovery by Labor Day 1992.
- The alienation of voters to all things political/governmental will continue to increase.
- Mideast crisis will have been satisfactorily resolved and will quickly be receding into the history books.
- The recovering economy coupled with a relatively tranquil scene internationally will mean that the issue focus will be very diverse with quality of life issues tending to be dominant.

- If the economy is in recovery, the issues which will have considerable focus in 1992 will be most of the recent ones, including environment, education, crime/drugs, etc.
- Free trade agreement with Mexico will be in place and there will be a movement towards a hemispheric free trade agreement beginning.
- Consummation of European Community '92 will have crystallized America's thinking, making us more aware of increasing international/regional competitiveness on the one hand vs. increasing one world order on the other.
- An anti-tax revolt will be very much alive and well across the country but will be driven more at the state level than at the national level.
- The Right to Life issue will continue to be the cutting edge in a handful of races.
- There will be a growing inter-generational conflict underway in the country (i.e. young versus old on retirements benefits/payments).

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Exhibit 145

- The Democrats' effort to create class warfare with their fairness theme will not have been unsuccessful but will have resulted mostly in once again just sticking Republicans with the "party of the rich" label.
- Right Track/Wrong Direction data will still be negative.
- The mood in the country will continue to be fairly sour with a continued belief that Washington is out of touch with reality.

to enacting the Agenda for a Successful America, is critical to America; individuals who, when considering the idea, believe that, if elected, and by serving not more than one or two terms that they could make a difference and who can also see that there is some realistic possibility of winning.

As such individuals are attracted, whatever the source of information and stimulus for that initial interest, there must be easy avenues available to them to identify themselves and a mechanism to quickly and totally respond to any expression of interest. This mechanism should include everything from printed materials that could be sent out in great quantity to individuals willing to respond in person when appropriate.

Because there will be so many opportunity districts in 1992, the effort, in order to be successful, must incorporate at least these components:

- o A massive communications effort geared towards reaching the maximum number of individuals which presents and explains the Agenda, always with language suggesting only by electing new people to the House can it be enacted;
- o A two-way outreach program that will surface the names of prospective candidates and/or make it easy for such individuals to make themselves known;

Eisenach
3110

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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA OFFICE
1000 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

September 28, 1995

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Mr. Jeffrey Eisenach
10706 Vale Road
Oakton, Virginia 22124

Re: FEC v. GOPAC, Inc.

Dear Mr. Eisenach:

I enclose herewith the original transcript of your deposition in the captioned case, together with instructions concerning corrections to the transcript. It would be appreciated if you would read the transcript, list any corrections necessary on the errata sheet and then return the package to me.

Thank you for your courtesy in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

PYNE & DERRY, P.C.

Peter E. Derry, M.C.
Peter E. Derry

PED/mr
Enclosure

Exhibit 145

- o A broad-based communications effort supported by specific stimuli designed to generate local citizen committees which will seek out prospective candidates; and,
- o Specific individuals assuming responsibility to assure that, in fact, candidates do file.

These can be accomplished by undertaking the following steps on whatever repetitive basis is needed:

- o Prepare and disseminate information on the Agenda for a Successful America through all normal and unique communications channels, including:
 - full use of C-Span
 - releases directly to other than major metropolitan dailies
 - short featurettes for cable use
 - audio featurettes for radio PSA use
 - seeking maximum visibility in publications and materials of all allies

Following is a series of initial activities for each component. A final category, designated as "Project Management", lists coordination activities which must be undertaken immediately as well. The accompanying Estimated Budget is representative but would be refined when specific plans are finalized.

Agenda for a Successful America

- o Identify Project Coordinator
- o Determine scope of document
- o Identify team to develop Agenda
- o Identify and analyze existing work
- o Develop draft document
- o Circulate to GOPAC Charter Members, Members, party officials and other allies for reaction and input
- o Translate to candidate application
- o Present to Republican Conference
- o Print and distribute Agenda for a Successful America
- o Present to public through mass distribution and earned media

National Pattern - Campaign Models

- o Identify Project Coordinator
- o Analyze competitive open and challenger '90 races
- o Analyze cost-effective technology software, communications systems, etc.
- o Identify coalition allies at the state and district level
- o Develop national pattern and concepts for local translation
- o Develop national newsletter, electronic bulletin board, other interactive communications systems for allies and campaigns

Education/Training

- o Identify Project Coordinator
- o Develop Agenda, candidate and campaign training materials in video, audio, and print for candidate, committee, staff and volunteers
- o Develop candidate guides for low dollar, no staff start-up
- o Distribute materials to candidates and party organizations
- o Design and host training seminars

Project Management

- o Determine financial resources and commitments available
- o Determine and establish appropriate legal entities and relationships
- o Design program consistent with projected funding
- o Based upon available resources, determine priorities for action
- o Designate overall coordinator who will then begin the process of determining responsibility for each component
- o Identify and recruit Charter Project Coordinators for each component
 - Agenda
 - Recruitment
 - Model campaign development
 - Education/Training
- o Charter Chair and Project Coordinators meet
- o Finalize plan, timeline and proposed budget for each component
- o Distribute draft documents to review committee
- o Coordinate execution of projects
- o Provide Charter Members progress reports
- o Coordinate working group sessions of Charter Chairs, Project Coordinators, review committee, and allies -- monthly conference calls -- quarterly meetings
- o Provide regular communications with interested and/or prospective candidates

VIII. DRAFT SUMMARY BUDGETAgenda for a Successful America

Analysis of existing policy papers, coordination and discussion with allied organizations and Members, writing and analysis of Agenda, production of document, initial publicity and distribution of Agenda (4 months): \$75,000

Recruitment

Outreach and response to prospective candidates, including direct mail and individual contact, development of generic and specific recruitment packages, travel and recruitment support, management and coordination of recruitment process (20 months) \$300,000

Development of a National Pattern

Analysis of successful 1990 campaigns, assessment of applicable technology and communications system, development of national

pattern with models for local application, determination
of resources and tools needed for each model (6 months) \$75,000

Education

Development of training components, development and production
of audio and video tapes, training guides, seminars and conferences

10 videos w/ 250 dubs
20 audio tapes w/ 1,000 dubs
10 training guides for 1,000
5 seminars

coordination and direction of educational program (20 months) \$400,000

Program Administration and Coordination

Support staff, communications, overhead, miscellaneous travel
expenses and legal and accounting fees (22 months)* \$350,000

TOTAL BUDGET \$1,200,000

* Assumes space and program management is provided through existing programs or consultants.

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