

House Calendar No. 1

105TH CONGRESS }
1st Session } HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES { REPORT
105-1

IN THE MATTER OF REPRESENTATIVE NEWT GINGRICH--
pages 801 to 900

Monday, April 26 (continued):

- 2:15 - 3:00 p.m. **The American Ideology**
o Everett Carl Ladd
The Willard Ballroom, Lower Level
- 3:00 - 3:45 p.m. **The Clinton Threat to America's Defense**
o Congressman Jon Kyl, Arizona
The Willard Ballroom, Lower Level
- 3:45 - 4:30 p.m. **Empowering Solutions**
o Governor Tommy Thompson, Wisconsin
The Willard Ballroom, Lower Level
- 4:30 - 5:00 p.m. Break
- 5:00 - 6:30 p.m. **Reception in Honor of the Freshman Members of Congress**
The Willard Crystal Room, Lobby Level
- 5:00 - 5:45 p.m. **Winning the House**
o Congressman Bill Paxon, New York
The Willard Crystal Room, Lobby Level
- 6:30 - 9:00 p.m. **Closing Banquet Dinner**
o GOPAC General Chairman Newt Gingrich
The Willard Crystal Room, Lobby Level

Exhibit 78

PP000452

EXHIBIT 79**MAJOR PROJECTS UNDERWAY**
May 3, 1993

<u>Political</u>	<u>Finance</u>	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Planning/Other</u>
Notes From Sunday Charter Meeting Seminars	Direct Mail Prospecting Plan	1993 Budget Into Solomon	Franchise Model Pilot Development
...	Charter Meeting Member/Speaker Follow-Up
"How To" Manual for State Parties on Teleconference Training	May 3 Call Time	Summer Interns	Corporate Council
Computer Bulletin Board R&D	May 7 Dallas Trip	State Report Amendments	Chairman Recruitment
1992 Incumbent Vote Profiles on Computer	Staffing Transition	Cash Management/Accounts Payable	Newsletter/Direct Marketing Development
1993 Farm Team Data Base	Revised Prospect/New Member Package	Records Management System Development	California Charter Political Project
Farm Team Questionnaire/June Tape	"Gavel Club" Plan/Funding	Employee Handbook	Renewing American Civilization Support
May 8 Southern Republican Exchange Training Session	May 21-22 Dinner Group Attendance & Program	Direct Mail Caging	4/24 Franchise Model Program
June 5 Virginia Training Session and Taping	...	On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	Georgia Dinner Group
Training of 1993-1994 Trainers	April/May Invoices	Year-End Financial Reports for Executive Committee	...
VA/NJ Scouting	Delinquent Reminder Invoices	Rough Cut 1993 Quarter Budget	Charter Meeting Report to Shareholders
On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	Readings Package To Charter Meeting Attendees	April FEC Report	
...	4/15 Call Time Follow-up		
AOW:ACTV Video for Charter Meeting	April 20 Get Acquainted Dinner		
	Executive Committee Agenda		
	Finalize Bo Reception Arrangements		
	C. Meeting Speaker Confirmation Letters/Fine Tuning Program		

Exhibit 79

JG 000001135

MAJOR PROJECTS UNDERWAY
May 7, 1993

<u>Political</u>	<u>Finance</u>	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Planning/Other</u>
Direct Marketer Search	May 25 Get Acquainted Dinner	Answering Service/Voice Mail	RAC Part Chart, etc.
...	Doctors Letter
Notes From Sunday Charter Meeting Seminars	1993 Finance Plan	Five-Tune 1993 Budget	Franchise Model Pilot Development
"How To" Manual for State Parties on Teleconferences Training	Direct Mail Prospecting Plan	1993 Budget Into Solomon	Corporate Council
Computer Bulletin Board R&D	May 6 Call Time Follow-up	Sununer Interns	Chairman Recruitment
1992 Incumbent Vote Profiles on Computer	Staffing Transition	State Report Amendments	Newsletter/Direct Marketing Development
1993 Farm Team Data Base	Revised Prospect/New Member Package	Cash Management/Accounts Payable	California Charter/Political Project
Farm Team Questionnaire/June Tape	Georgia Dinner Group	Records Management System Development	Renewing American Civilization Support
May 8 Southern Republican Exchange Training Session	"Working Partners" Plan/Funding	Employee Handbook	...
June 5 Virginia Training Session and Taping	May 21-22 Dinner Group Attendance & Program	Direct Mail Caging	4/24 Franchise Model Program
Training of 1993-1994 Trainees	...	On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	
VANJ Scouting	Charter Meeting Member/Speaker Follow-Up Program	...	
On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	May 7 Dallas Trip	Year-End Financial Reports for Executive Committee	
...		Rough Cut 1993 Quarter Budget	
Letters to Spec. Elec. Candidates		April FEC Report	
CR/RAC Letter			

Exhibit 79

MAJOR PROJECTS UNDERWAY
May 18, 1993

<u>Political</u>	<u>Finance</u>	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Planning/Other</u>
Recruitment Video	RAC Mailing to Charter Members	...	RAC Post Chart, etc.
...	3/19 Call Time	Answering Service/Voice Mail	...
Direct Marketer Search	...	Five-Tune 1993 Budget/Intro Soloman	Franchise Model Pilot Development
Notes From Sunday Charter Meeting Seminars	May 25 Get Acquainted Dinner	Summer Interns	Corporate Council
"How To" Manual for State Parties on Teleconference Training	Doctors Letter	Cash Management/ Accounts Payable	Chairman Recruitment
Computer Bulletin Board R&D	1993 Finance Plan	Records Management System Development	Newsletter/Direct Marketing Development
1992 Incumbent Vote Profiles on Computer	Direct Mail Prospecting Plan	Employee Handbook	California Charter/ Political Project
Farm Team Questionnaire/June Tape	Revised Prospect/New Member Package	Direct Mail Caging	Renewing American Civilization Support
May 8 Southern Republican Exchange Training Session	Georgia Dinner Group	On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	...
June 5 Virginia Training Session and Taping	"Working Partners" Pisa/Feuding	...	
Training of 1993- 1994 Trainers	May 21-22 Dinner Group Attendance & Program	State Report Amendments	
VANJ Scouting	...		
On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	May 6 Call Time Follow-up		
...	Staffing Transition		
1993 Farm Team Data Base			

Exhibit 79

JG 000001173

GOPAC MAJOR PROJECTS UNDERWAY
June 30, 1993

<u>Political</u>	<u>Finance</u>	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Planning/Other</u>
...	Quarterly Early Renewal Letters
Gingrich-Schundler audio	Call Time Followup	Audit Preparation	Franchise Model Pilot Development
"What's Happening" Files Review	...	Cash Flow Projections	Corporate Council
RAC/Leading the Majority Video Tag Tapes	Sept 12/13 Flyaround	Answering Service/Voice Mail	Chairman Recruitment
Recruitment/ Winners Video	Jan 94 California	FEC Reports	Newsletter/Direct Marketing Development
"How To" Manual for State Parties on Teleconference Training	6/30 Conference ✓ Call Executive Cmte.	Summer Interns	California Charter/ Political Project
Computer Bulletin Board R&D	\$1000 Program/ Working Partners	Cash Management/ Accounts Payable	Renewing American Civilization Support
1992 Incumbent Vote Profiles on Computer	June 30 Call Time	Records Management System Development	...
Farm Team Questionnaire	June 21 NY Trip Followup	Employee Handbook	RAC Pert Chart, etc.
VA/NJ Candidate Support	1993 Renewal Analysis	Direct Mail Caging	
NJ Scouting	1996 Finance Plan	On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	
On-Site Data Entry System for Training Seminars	Direct Mail Prospecting Plan	Office Painting	
...	Revised Prospect/New Member Package	...	
	Work C.M. Prospects		
	Work C.M. Renewals		
	Set Up C.M. Monthly Communication Program		
	...		

Exhibit 79

JG 0000012:

EXHIBIT 81

MAY 3-93 MON 10:40 GOPAC

P.01

GOPAC

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

440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001
PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 785-3306

Gingrich

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Mescosin
0918

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

TO *Jim Mescosin*

FROM *Jeff Eisenach / Kelley Goodsell*

DATE *5/3/93*

TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) *3*

REMARKS/MESSAGES

Jim-

We did not receive the schedule

for Winter Semester today per our

conversation. Please send ASAP!

Thank you


Kelley Goodsell

TROUTH E? PLEASE CALL (202) 484-2282.

Exhibit 81

Mescon
0915

Newt
drops to 1000 + C.R. CHAPTERS
ON WEDNESDAY.

 CC: Tom Mescon

Dear _____:

The recent tribulations of the Clinton Administration have made all of us feel a little better about our short-term prospects. But conservatives today face a challenge larger than stopping President Clinton. We must ask ourselves what the future would be like if we were allowed to define it, and learn to explain that future to the American people in a way that captures first their imagination and then their votes.

In that context, I am going to devote much of the next four years, starting this Fall, to teaching a course entitled "Renewing American Civilization." I am writing to you today to ask you to enroll for the class, and to organize a seminar so that your friends can enroll as well.

Beginning Saturday, September 18, 1993, and each Saturday thereafter for a total of ten weeks, I will be teaching a for-credit class at Kennesaw State College in Kennesaw, Georgia. That class will be available to every college campus in America by satellite.

To participate, all you have to do is find a satellite dish on your campus and ask your friends and fellow CRs to join in taking the class. If you can secure a faculty advisor and the necessary approval, you may even be able to have the class offered at your school on a for-credit basis.

Let me be clear: This is not about politics as such. But I believe the ground we will cover is essential for anyone who hopes to be involved in politics over the next several decades to understand. American Civilization is, after all, the cultural glue that holds us all together. Unless we can understand it, renew it and extend it into the next century, we will never succeed in replacing the Welfare State with an Opportunity Society.

With the press of finals and the desire to get on with the Summer, I know this is a busy time for you. But if you do nothing else, please take time to call the number listed below and let us know that you will help us make "Renewing American Civilization" available on your campus this Fall.

Exhibit 81

Specifically, we are prepared to help you:

- o Identify a site
- o Recruit a faculty member to receive "credit" status for the class at the college.
- o Provide you and the site leader with a syllabus, with the book of readings that will accompany the class and with an instructor's manual that will help you and your faculty advisor conduct follow-up discuss.

A few minutes of advance planning this month will save hours of work next Fall. To get started, call Mr. Jerry Stebbins at Kennesaw State College, (404) 423-6125. This number will be working all Summer -- but don't wait -- Call today!

I have devoted my life to teaching and acting out a set of values and principles. As a fellow Republican, I know you share these values. This class will help us all remember what we're fighting for and why it is so essential that we prevail. Please join me in the fight for "Renewing American Civilization."

Your friend,

Exhibit 81

GOPAC

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PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 785-3306

Gingrich

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

Meeks
0038

TELECOPY TRANSMISSION
COVER SHEET

TO *Jim Mascora*
FROM *Jeff Eisenach / Kelley Goodsell*
DATE *5/3/93*
TOTAL # OF PAGES (including cover sheet) *3*

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Kelley Goodsell

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Exhibit 81

Meeks
0039

New -
Leads to 1000+ C.R. CHAPTERS
ON WEDNESDAY -

 CC: TBA
MAGUIR

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⬇
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Your friend,

Exhibit 81

EXHIBIT 82Roberts
0045**GOPAC**THE NATIONAL
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AMERICA'S
FUTURE440 FIRST STREET
NORTHWEST
SUITE 400
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001
PHONE (202) 484-2282
FAX (202) 783-330619 APR 1993
NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

April 16, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARTER MEETING ATTENDEESFROM: Jeff Eisenach
SUBJECT: Sunday Breakout Sessions

As you are probably aware, Newt will be teaching a for-credit class at Kennesaw State College this Fall on the topic of "Renewing American Civilization." The class is organized around his "Five Pillars of American Civilization" -- Personal Strength, Deming's Concept of "Profound Knowledge," Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise, Technological Advance and the Lessons of American History.

During the afternoon of Sunday, April 25, we are asking our Charter Members to participate in a set of breakout sessions, with one session focussing on each of the five "pillars." In particular, we will ask you to critique a draft "vision statement" explaining why we believe each pillar is essential to renewing American Civilization. If past experience is any guide, we expect these sessions to dramatically improve both our understanding of the subject and our ability to communicate it.

Enclosed with this memorandum are:

1. A "near final" agenda for the entire meeting;
2. Newt's "Renewing American Civilization" lecture;
3. Copies of each of the draft vision statements;
4. Some background readings on each of the five pillars.

Obviously, there's a lot of reading here -- so pick and choose what looks interesting. And, let us know if you have a preference for a particular breakout session.

We are all very excited about the program for this Charter Meeting, and I know Newt is looking forward to seeing you.

Exhibit 82

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page 1 of 1 P6
Friday
16 APRIL 1993
~~10 APR 1993~~

Roberts
0046



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NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN
HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

Spring Charter Meeting and Call to Action Washington, D.C.

April 24-26, 1993

(Agenda as of 04/16/93)

The Willard Intercontinental Hotel
1401 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
202/628-9100

Please be advised that check-in time is 3:00 p.m. The Willard will make every effort to accommodate guests arriving earlier in the day.

Invited Speakers, Discussion Leaders and Dignitaries

Hon. Lamar Alexander
Hon. Dick Armey
Ms. Nida Backaitis
Mr. Tony Brown
Hon. Keith Butler
Mr. Tom Clancy
Hon. Terry Considine
Hon. Tom DeLay
Mr. Mark Fullbrook
Dr. John Goodman
Hon. Denny Hastert
Mr. Dan Howard
Ms. Arianna Huffington

Hon. John Kasich
Mr. Jay Keyworth
Hon. Jeane Kirkpatrick
Ms. Anna Kondratas
Hon. Jon Kyl*
Mr. Everett Carl Ladd
Ms. Barbara Lawton
Mr. Gordon Ness
Ms. Peggy Noonan*
Hon. Bill Paxon
Mr. Paul Weyrich

*Confirmation pending

Conference fee is optional for Charter Members and \$300 per person for potential Charter Members and spouses. Business dress is appropriate for all sessions.

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Exhibit 82

2 of 186
16 APR 1993

Saturday, April 24:

- 2:00 - 5:00 p.m. **Planning Session: Franchising Grass-roots Organization**
o Jeff Eisenach, Mark Fullbrook, Joe Gaylord, Gordon Strauss
- 7:30 p.m. **Informal Dutch Treat Dinner with Planning Participants**
o Newt Gingrich
The Occidental Grill

Sunday, April 25:

- 1:00 - 1:30 p.m. **Opening Ceremony and Remarks**
- 1:30 - 2:30 p.m. **Keynote Address: Renewing American Civilization**
o Ms. Peggy Noonan
- 2:30 - 5:00 p.m. **Breakout Sessions: Advancing the Five Pillars of Twenty-first Century Democracy**
Identifying the vision, strategies, projects and community resources
- Personal Strength**
o Keith Butler
- Quality**
o Nida Backaitis, Dan Howard, Barbara Lawton
- Technology**
o Jay Keyworth
- Entrepreneurial Free Enterprises**
o Tony Brown, Gordon Ness
- The Principles of American Civilization**
o Arianna Huffington
- 5:00 - 6:00 p.m. **Working Group Reports**
- 7:00 - 10:00 p.m. **Reception and Testimonial Dinner in Honor of Bo Callaway**
The Sewall-Belmont House
144 Constitution Avenue, N.E.

Exhibit B2
306 186
16 APR 1993

Monday, April 26:

- 8:00 - 9:00 a.m. Breakfast Address: Clear and Present Danger
o Tom Clancy
- 9:00 - 10:15 a.m. Solving the Policy Crises of Today
o Moderated by Congressman Tom DeLay, Texas
Economic Growth
o Congressman Dick Armey, Texas
Health
o Dr. John Goodman
Inner City
o Anna Kondratas
- 10:30 - 11:15 a.m. Legislative Status Report
Health
o Congressman Denny Hastert, Illinois
Economic Growth
o Congressman John Kasich, Ohio
- 11:15 - 12:15 noon Report to Shareholders
o Jeff Eisenach
Franchising Grass-roots Organization
o Mark Fullbrook
Satellite Broadcast Communication
o Paul Weyrich
- 12:30 - 2:00 p.m. Luncheon Address: The Future of the Republican Party
o The Honorable Lamar Alexander
- 2:15 - 3:00 p.m. The American Ideology
o Everett Carl Ladd
- 3:00 - 4:00 p.m. The Clinton Threat to America's Defense
o Congressman Jon Kyl, Arizona
- 5:00 - 6:30 p.m. Reception in Honor of the Freshman Members of Congress
- 5:00 - 5:45 p.m. Winning the House
o Congressman Bill Paxon, New York
- 6:30 - 9:00 p.m. Closing Banquet Dinner
o GOPAC General Chairman Newt Gingrich

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16 APR 1993

EXHIBIT 83

GOPAC
Clinton Agenda Prospect Letter
Revised June 16, 1993

GOPAC

Congressman Newt Gingrich
General Chairman

Dear Fellow American:

Do you share Bill Clinton's vision for America?

If you do, then you don't need to read any further.

But if you're like me and disagree profoundly with the course toward the future that President Clinton has been attempting to chart, then I hope you will read on and participate in GOPAC's National Survey on America's Agenda.

As General Chairman of GOPAC and Republican Whip in the U.S. House of Representatives, I believe it is time to undertake a fundamental national debate about our nation's future.

We as Americans need to determine what our national goals should be, and how we arrive at them.

Even though President Clinton's first months in office have been filled with blunders and mistakes, some things are clear: he and his advisors are committed to big spending, big taxes, social engineering and maintenance of the welfare state.

Indeed, faltering though his steps at times have been, they have consistently been to the left.

I believe it is vital for Republicans to now DEVELOP and put forward OUR agenda for America.

Frankly, I believe a lack of vision and commitment to firm philosophical principle are why our Presidential campaign received only 38% of the vote in 1992, and why Bill Clinton is President today.

We cannot afford to go into the vital 1994 midterm election campaign similarly unprepared. No matter how unpopular President Clinton and his Party become, we Republicans must stand on our own principles and programs to win back the majority of American voters in 1994.

In fact, I believe it's our duty to the voters to let them know where we stand, what we believe in and how we propose to govern our nation.

Exhibit 83

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That's why I have developed the enclosed Survey for you to answer.

It is the opening step in what I want to be an unprecedented mobilization effort for Republicans to begin the process of replacing America's failed welfare state.

And the key political component of that effort will be an all-out drive to end the Democrat's 40 year control of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1994!

Believe me, the potential for a Republican House majority is there.

Even as we lost the White House in 1992, we made a net gain of 10 new seats in the House of Representatives.

And in more than XX districts in which our candidates lost, they did so by less than X% of the vote, presenting us with tremendous opportunities for further gains in 1994.

Here's the political "bottom line:" if in 1994 we can simply replicate the gains we made under Jimmy Carter, or come close to the net gain of 47 seats we made in 1966 in Lyndon Johnson's midterm election, we WILL be the House majority party!

In just the past few months, the political signals have been clear that the voters are rejecting the policies of President Clinton and the Democratic Congress.

* In Texas, Republican Kay Bailey Hutchinson won a Senate special election with 67% of the vote. When that seat had last been contested, in 1988, Democrat Lloyd Bentsen won it with 59% of the vote.

* In Los Angeles, the largest city in the state which was the key to Bill Clinton's victory in 1992, voters in June elected a Republican mayor for the first time in 36 years!

* And in MONTH, a former Democrat turned Republican (who has been trained and supported by GOPAC) was re-elected Mayor of Jersey City with 68% of the vote ... in a city with 12% Republican registration!

Yet despite these storm signals from the public, the national Democratic leadership pursues plans aimed at increasing spending, increasing taxes, bolstering the welfare state and cutting our military preparedness.

Exhibit 83

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It is now OUR moment to capitalize on the voter's frustration with President Clinton and the Democrats, and offer them something better.

That is why it is so important for you to answer your Survey and help our Party develop the themes and ideas that we need to lead us to victory in 1994 and beyond.

Personally, I believe we can and should turn the 1994 midterm elections into not just a referendum on President Clinton, but on whether we maintain or replace the welfare state and the Democratic Party which supports it.

I believe the welfare state which the Democrats have created has failed.

In fact, I challenge anyone to say that it has succeeded, when today in America twelve year olds are having children, fifteen year olds are killing each other, seventeen year olds are dying of AIDS and eighteen year olds are being given high school diplomas they cannot even read.

If you question at all my critique of our society today, just watch three straight nights of your local television news. If what you see isn't a portrait of failure, it's hard to imagine what would be.

I also believe the welfare state must be scrapped, because it is beyond repair.

And what I want to see our Party work to replace it with is a plan to renew America based on what I call "pillars" of freedom and progress:

- 1) Personal strength;
- 2) A commitment to quality in the workplace;
- 3) *Spirit of American Inventiveness*
- 4) Entrepreneurial free enterprise applied to both the private and public sectors;
- 5) Applying the lessons of American history as to what works for Americans to proposed government solutions to our problems.

After being active in politics for thirty years, and being in Congress for fourteen of them, I firmly believe these five principles can develop a revolutionary change in government. Properly applied, they can dramatically improve safety, health, education, job creation, the environment, the family and our national defense.

Exhibit 83

PP000536

As I said, I want to use the enclosed Survey on America's Agenda to begin to build a consensus within our Party about the programs we take to the American voters in next year's midterm elections. Our greatest successes have come when the American people know what we stand for, for our values are the values of the American majority.

I intend to share your tabulated Survey answers with the other members of the House GOP leadership and, through GOPAC, with all our GOP House candidates. My colleagues and our candidates need to know where conservative activists and contributors like you stand on the issues we take to the voters next year.

In addition to participating in our Survey, I strongly urge you to also become a member of GOPAC by making a contribution of at least \$25 when you answer and send back your Survey to me.

GOPAC was founded in 1979, as the Republican Party committee dedicated to helping our state and local candidates. I have been its general chairman since 1986, and during that time we have also become a "federal committee", working directly with our House candidates.

GOPAC's primary mission has always been to train and educate Republican candidates and activists, not only in the nuts and bolts of campaigning but also in developing the broad themes designed to get our Party's message across.

We undertake our training mission through live seminars and also our unique "training tapes", which we send to candidates and activists all over the country.

In the 1992 campaign, we produced and mailed over 70,000 of these tapes, and in the 1994 cycle I want to dramatically expand that number, which is one of the reasons your financial support of GOPAC is so important. I intend for the message we develop through our American Agenda Survey to be a key part of our training effort in 1994.

I believe that the failures of the Clinton Presidency and the Democratic Congress to address the problems facing our nation have given our Party another chance to win control of Congress and fundamentally redirect our nation's future course.

But we cannot sit back and just hope that happens. We must roll up our sleeves, get involved in the process, develop our Party's message and get it out to the voters.

That's why I've asked you to participate in our National Survey on America's Agenda and become a member of GOPAC. Working together, I believe we can scrap the welfare

Exhibit 83
PP000537

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state and create a better future for ourselves and our families.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Congressman Newt Gingrich
General Chairman

P.S. The process of recruiting and training our House candidates has already begun. I urge you to answer your Survey, and make your contribution to GOPAC, as quickly as you can, so that we can tabulate your answers and have the money we need to distribute them to the leaders of our Party and our candidates. Thank you in advance for your help.

Exhibit 83

PP000538

EXHIBIT 84

GOPAC2
0003

Newt Gingrich

General Chairman
GOPAC

May 5, 1993

Neil Gagnon
Gilder, Gagnon, Howe & Company
1775 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

Dear Neil:

I was glad to have the chance to talk with you this morning, especially since we missed each other in New York.

As we discussed, it is time to lay down a blue print-- which is why in part I am teaching the course on Renewing American Civilization. Hopefully, it will provide the structure to build an offense so that Republicans can break through dramatically in 1996. We have a good chance to make significant gains in 1994, but only if we can reach the point where we are united behind a positive message, as well as a critique of the Clinton program.

Thanks again for your support and thoughts. I look forward to seeing you at your next charter meeting, on November 14-15 in Washington and I appreciate your continued membership.

Your friend,

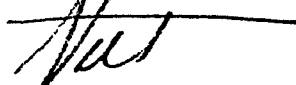


Exhibit 84



EXHIBIT 85

GOPAC

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

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NORTHWEST
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WASHINGTON, D.C.
20001
PHONE (202) 464-2382
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NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

June 21, 1993

Mr. Miller Nichols
J.C. Nichols Company
310 Ward Parkway
Kansas City, Missouri 64112

Dear Mr. Nichols:

Recently you received a letter from Newt updating Charter Members on GOPAC's ambitious program for 1993 through 1996 and introducing the members of the new team ready to aggressively pursue the mission and the goals.

As the new finance director, I want to introduce myself and to assure you of my commitment and enthusiasm to the recruitment and training of grassroots Republican candidates. In addition, with the course Newt will be teaching in the fall - *Renewing American Civilization* - I see a very real opportunity to educate the American voting population to Republican ideals, increasing our opportunity to win local, state and Congressional seats.

A Charter Member Program with 200 members is essential to provide the resources necessary to increase the number of Republican elected officials. For that reason I am asking you to reconsider your decision to lapse your GOPAC Charter Membership and to join again on a quarterly payment schedule. Your support is critical. We will use your contribution wisely in order to achieve our ends and I will keep you apprised of the progress we are making to build your party.

Sincerely,



Pamela Hill Prochnow
Finance Director

Exhibit 85



EXHIBIT 86 828**GOPAC**Newt Gingrich
General ChairmanGay Hart Gaines
ChairmanLisa B. Nelson
Executive Director440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20001

The Education And Training Center For Renewing America

January 3, 1994

Mr. Joseph G. Fogg
Morgan, Stanley & Co., Inc.
1251 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10020

Dear Joe:

For almost nine months I have had the distinct pleasure of being part of the GOPAC team. It has been a dynamic period for the organization, and we have concentrated on building upon what works and forging new paths where opportunities exist. The new team brings years of expertise and success for the challenges ahead. The fact that GOPAC has 32 new Charter Members in 1993, a year with few elections, is directly related to the energy, enthusiasm, attention to detail and plain hard work of everyone here. The result is that GOPAC begins 1994 in a strong and stable position to meet its goals.

During this time, I have also come to learn of the commitment and generosity of the Charter Members. It appears that we will end the year with more than \$1,840,000 in major donor contributions, the second best year in GOPAC's recorded history. Personally, it has been a wonderful experience for me to get to know Newt Gingrich. Everything you know about his intelligence, vision, spirit and willingness to labor is true. When he becomes Republican leader of the House, I believe you will see a new day dawning.

As we begin the new year, we know our goals and have in place the winning strategies. The primary mission is to elect Republicans at the local, state, and congressional level. There, also, is the strong emphasis on broadcasting the message of renewing American civilization to achieve peace and prosperity in this country. Equally important is how we communicate with you, as you are our ambassadors throughout America. We count on you, as I hope you count on us.

In 11 months Americans will be going to the polls to vote. I pledge our best effort, and I look forward to working with all of you, who are truly partners in building a better America.

Sincerely,


Pamla H. Prochnow
Finance Director

Exhibit 86

EXHIBIT 87

GOPAC

440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20001

Newt Gingrich
General Chairman

Gay Hart Gaines
Chairman

Lisa B. Nelson
Executive Director

The Education And Training Center For Renewing America

May 12, 1994

Mr. Marc C. Bergschneider
Chairman
National Fairways, Inc.
71 Arch Street
Greenwich, CT 06830

*Newt
5/17
[Signature]*

Dear Marc:

Thank you for your recent letter and for sharing your views on the current state of affairs in America.

I am encouraged by your understanding that the welfare state cannot merely be repaired, but must be replaced and have made a goal of activating at least 200,000 citizen activists nationwide through my course, Renewing American Civilization. We hope to educate people with the fact that we are entering the information society. In order to make sense of this society, we must rebuild an opportunistic country. In essence, if we can reach Americans through my course, independent expenditures, GOPAC and other strategies, we just might unseat the Democratic majority in the House in 1994 and make government accountable again.

I am impressed by your golf business and wish you luck with the Army bid. With regard to GOPAC, I understand your financial situation and hope that you might consider becoming a Working Partner. This program consists of a \$1,000 annual contribution. By becoming a Working Partner, you will receive all of the GOPAC candidate training tapes, be invited to a briefing in Washington on September 14, and receive other updates on political events across the country. While you will not be considered a Charter Member, you will receive invitations to our bi-annual Charter Meetings and will only need to pay the conference fee to attend.

Marc, I admire your interest in your country and appreciate your support of GOPAC. Already GOPAC has helped Frank Lucas from Oklahoma 6 to win the congressional seat. Now we have only 41 seats left to gain for the first Republican majority in the House in 40 years. Please call Lisa Nelson at (202) 484-2282 with any questions. I look forward to working with you to build a peaceful and prosperous future for our country.

Your friend,

Newt

cc: Peter Smith
Lisa Nelson

Exhibit 87

830

RACHEL-

5/12

JUST AN FYI FOR
NEWT. THE ATTACHED
RESPONSE HAS BEEN SENT.
I THINK NEWT SHOULD READ
THE GOLF PART!
THANKS!
😊 Maura

Exhibit 87

GDC 01136

EXHIBIT 88

The 14 Steps
Renewing American Civilization
by replacing the welfare state
with an opportunity society.

-- Newt Gingrich
May 10, 1994

I. No civilization can survive with 12 year olds having babies, 15 year olds killing each other, 17 year olds dying with AIDS and 18 year olds getting a diploma they can't read.

This is not a liberal or conservative, Democrat or Republican question -- as Americans we are faced with the decay of our civilization.

II. Our generation must deal with three big facts:

1. The information age -- Alvin Toffler's Third Wave of change -- is real and will change our economy, our government, our society and each of us.

2. The world market is real and unescapable. The price of labor for the foreseeable future will be set in south China. If we want to have a higher standard of living than the Chinese, we will have to be more productive, more innovative and more entrepreneurial than our competitors. America will have to re-think taxation, litigation and regulation in the context of world economic competition. From education to welfare to the size of government, every policy has to be reassessed to improve our ability to compete.

3. The welfare state has failed. Every night we see the proof of failure on the local TV news.

The welfare state failed because it is profoundly wrong about human beings.

Our Declaration of Independence states, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

The welfare state reduces a citizen to a client, subordinates them to a bureaucrat, and subjects them to rules that are anti-work, anti-family, anti-property and anti-opportunity.

Any group of humans subjected to treatment like this would develop the social pathologies we see in the news.

III. "Our generation has a rendezvous with destiny" (to quote Franklin Delano Roosevelt).

We must replace the welfare state. Not improve, not repair, not finance -- replace the welfare state.

Exhibit 88

IV. Replacing the welfare state will require a disciplined approach to both public policy and politics. The best model to insure real change is:

- VISION
- STRATEGIES
- PROJECTS (definable, delegatable achievement)
- TACTICS

We must methodically focus on communicating and implementing our vision of replacing the welfare state.

Our strategies should conform to the vision.

Our projects should be the building blocks that implement the strategies.

Our tactics should reinforce and be modeled in our vision.

V. Our replacement must be an opportunity society based on the principles of American civilization. The core principles are:

1. Personal strength;
2. Entrepreneurial free enterprise;
3. The spirit of invention and discovery;
4. Quality as defined by Edwards Deming's profound knowledge; and
5. the lessons of American history.

These principles each receive two hours of introduction in "Renewing American Civilization", a course taught at Reinhardt College. The course is available on National Empowerment Television from 1 -3 P.M. every Wednesday and by videotape or audiotape by calling 1-800-TO-RENEW.

VI. While the welfare state emphasizes government, redistribution of wealth and bureaucratic rules and regulations -- leading to a government that is too big and spends too much, the opportunity society is based on a much broader vision of freedom that emphasizes citizens, and the creation of wealth.

THE STRUCTURE OF FREEDOM:
A CITIZEN-BASED SOCIETY

The culture of American civilization	Free markets and private property
Civic society	Small but powerful government

GDC 1073-

Exhibit 88

The welfare state emphasizes problems victimization and government paternalism.

The opportunity society emphasizes opportunities responsibility and empowerment

The welfare state overemphasizes the role of government and concentrates too much power and responsibility in government.

Renewing American civilization will require substantial improvements in all four sectors. Real solutions will often have components in several sections and some will have components in all four.

VII. America is a huge decentralized country. Replacing the welfare state will take at least 200,000 "partners for progress." From school board, city council and county commission to state legislature, Congress and the White House, there has to be a wave of change at all levels to truly create an opportunity society. Renewing America cannot be a White House focused project.

VIII. There is a huge majority of Americans eager for a "centrist revolution." By 65% to 85%, Americans favor:

- work replacing welfare;
- strengthening the family;
- locking up violent criminals;
- the death penalty;
- reducing the size of government;
- fewer lawsuits;
- for individual opportunity and against quotas;
- a balanced budget;
- line-item veto;
- small business;
- term limits;
- requiring politicians to raise half the money in the district they represent; and,
- allowing taxpayers to designate up to 10% of their taxes to buy down debt.

IX. House Republicans will outline the first big steps to replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society on September 27 when every candidate will gather on the Capitol steps to pledge:

1. a checklist for the opening day
2. a contract with the American people for 10 bills to be voted on in the first 90 days of the 104th Congress.

X. The Democrats have controlled the House for 40 years. It has been 42 years since a Republican majority was sworn in. If you are under 61 years of age, you have never voted in an election which produced a Republican majority in the House.

The Democrats are the party of the welfare state. Too many years in office have led to arrogance of power and to continuing violations of the basic values of self-government.

Only by voting Republican can the welfare state be replaced and an opportunity society be created.

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Exhibit 88

XI. The opening day checklist will begin with:

1. The Shay's act to apply to Congress every law which applies to the rest of the country;
2. an announcement of which "big 6" accounting firm will be hired to audit the House books for the last ten years;
3. a new committee system with fewer committees and a cut of at least 1/3 in the congressional committee staffs.

There will be other items on the opening day check list. The last item will be the introduction of the 10 bills which will be the House Republican contract with the American people.

XII. The House Republican contract with the American people will be a commitment to bring to a final passage vote in the first 90 days of the 104th Congress a set of bills -- each representing bold reform in a particular area. These bills will actually be introduced by September 27 so citizens can critically examine the actual proposed legislation and not rely on mere speeches or campaign promises.

These bills will be based on the opportunities and potential to be found in the information revolutions's "Third Wave" of change, the competitive requirements and job creating potential of the world market and the principles inherent in American civilization.

Key bills will probably include:

- Welfare reform emphasizing work, strengthening the family, and increasing the role of private charities.
- a legal reform bill -- malpractice product liability, strike law firms;
- a "get the job done on violent crime" bill to include the penalties, the prisons, and the effective, believable death penalty the Democrats keep blocking;
- a bill to strengthen families by ending the marriage penalties in the income tax, earned income tax, and social security, by increasing the deduction for children to the Harry Truman level (approximately \$7,500 per child;)
- an economic growth bill to encourage job creation by small business, accelerate the development of new technologies and increase American jobs by competing in the world market;
- a bill to shrink government, cut spending, downsize bureaucracy, cut unfunded mandates and return power to local governments, local communities, charities and individuals; and,
- a market-oriented, medical savings account-focused health reform bill to provide universal access for all Americans if none has been passed this year.

XIII. The American "Centrist Revolution" of replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society is part of a world-wide rebellion by the industrial middle class. From Russia to Poland to Italy to France to Britain to Japan, the voters are demanding decisive, far reaching reforms.

The most stunning change has been in Canada. The governing party went from 153 seats to 2 in one election. The American

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Exhibit 88

equivalent would be a Democratic party collapse from 257 to 5 seats.

The Canadian result was not fantasy or theory -- it happened on November 4, 1993.

Why can't real changes happen in America, too?

XIV. Ultimately each citizen must decide. Every time we see a new murder, a new rape or another barbaric, brutal child abuse story, we are reminded that the welfare state has failed and American civilization is decaying.

The last best hope of mankind is America (in Jefferson's words) and the last best hope of America is the American people.

With each day the need for a centrist revolution grows more obvious.

Each day the details of that potential political revolution grow a little more clear.

It is up to each of us, one by one, to decide.

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PAGE 12

HOUSE REPUBLICAN FOCUS FOR 1994

Eisenach
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House Republicans have two big challenges for 1994.

1. How do we communicate a positive message of real change so the 77% of all Americans who believe things have gone wrong or the 62% who say things are on the wrong track conclude that their only hope for real change is to elect a Republican majority for the first time in 42 years?
2. How do we raise the resources so in open seats and challenging campaigns the Republican effort will be as well resourced as the Democrat. As outlined in Honest Craft, the combination of incumbency advantage, labor unions (both PAC and soft resources), outside activist groups, trial lawyers, big city machines, and PAC bias favoring incumbents all combine so the Democratic party has consistently had a huge advantage in the closing six weeks. Our goal should be to at least have as many resources as the Democrats and their allies in the last six weeks of the 1994 campaign. This will require very imaginative and very energetic efforts on a scale we have never seen.

THE 1994 HOUSE REPUBLICAN MESSAGE

America needs a whole new approach to get back on the right track.

Republicans understand just how big the change has to be:

- make politicians obey the same laws as the rest of us
- lock up violent criminals
- create an effective, believable death penalty *ADMINISTRABLE*
- replace welfare with work
- ~~stop illegal abortions~~
- ~~improve education~~ *INFORM*
- ~~improve government~~ *ADMIN*
- ~~use common sense~~ *INFORM*
- ~~strengthen small business~~ *INFORM*
- strengthen ~~the~~ saving and investment to create good jobs able to compete and prosper in *GET THEM TO* the world market
- ~~people control their own health care~~

See Attached

The Democrats have controlled the House for 40 years. Now they control the White House, the House and the Senate. If Democrats could do it they would have done it. In fact the Democratic machine does everything it can to stop real change.

The only way to get ~~change~~ *PERIODS* is to vote for change. The only change in 1994 is to vote Republican.

- ① VOTE REPUBLICAN FOR A ~~CHANGE~~ *END DEMOCRATIC CONTROL*
- ② VOTE REPUBLICAN TO END 40 YEARS OF ONE PARTY CONTROL
- ③ VOTE REPUBLICAN TO GET AMERICA BACK ON THE RIGHT TRACK.

For Progress and Reason.

Exhibit 89

1994 MESSAGE - BACKGROUND

The American people think things are on the wrong track. By 71 to 24 Americans told the Princeton survey in March that they were dissatisfied with "the way things are going in this country". The same month by 62 to 28 Americans told the Airthin Group the country is going in the wrong direction.

The American people's dissatisfaction is similar to that which has fueled voter rebellions in Italy, Canada, France, Russia and Japan and note John Major's current troubles in Britain).

The working middle class is unhappy in every industrial country on the planet.

The voters are right. They should be dissatisfied.

Government needs to change to take into account three facts:

1. The information revolution (Alvin Toffler's Third Wave of Change) is real and will change everything. It is a great opportunity to improve our economy, our services and the quality of life but government is ~~actively blocking it.~~ *actively blocking it.*
2. The world market is real and we have to replace our current approach to taxation, litigation and regulation if we are to create the best jobs with the highest incomes while competing with the world.
3. The welfare state has failed and the entire redistribution, paternalistic, bureaucratic model has to be replaced with a system based on the lessons of American history - incentives, personal responsibility, volunteerism, decentralization and true citizenship for all (ending the concept of clients controlled by bureaucrats). *charity*

The Republican party can offer a better life for virtually everyone if it applies the principles of American civilization to create a more flexible, decentralized market oriented system that uses the Third Wave of change and accepts the disciplines of the world market.

These ideas are outlined in a 20 hour intellectual framework "Renewing American Civilization" available on National Empowerment Television every Wednesday from 1pm to 3pm and available on audio tape and video tape from 1-800-TO-RENEW.

These ideas need to be translated into specific legislative initiatives and highlighted on September 27th when every Republican House candidate stands on the Capitol Steps and pledges to implement a checklist of reform activities for the first day of the new Congress and to bring 20 bills to the floor for a final passage vote in the first 90 days of the new Congress (our contract with the agenda of the American people).

The key ideas and the key language on page one need to be used in every possible floor debate, press conference, interview, speech, etc., starting now. Then when they show up this fall in 30 second advertisements they will have the indirect effect of people having already heard them.

As a result to the 71% dissatisfied in the Princeton survey and the 62% who said wrong track on the World - ~~them to "VOTE REPUBLICAN FOR CHANGE"~~ *VOTE Republican for Politics.*

If they come to believe we are serious about being different and we will actually pass real change we will have a chance for an Italian-French-Canadian-Japanese style change of power.

We must be different if we expect people to believe we are different. *YES CAPS BOB, UNDERLINE*

It is much harder to communicate a positive message of real change so people can understand it, think about it, trust it, and come to believe it. The news media is accustomed to sending negative not positive signals. We must discipline ourselves to spend 90% of our time focusing on our positive message of real change. Our theme must be "White water must have Congressional hearings but locking up criminals, cutting spending, replacing welfare with work, etc... is far more important and will do far more to change the lives of Americans. White water will not save a single family, educate a single child, help cure a disease or create job - Republican initiatives will - let's talk about these." (see attached two article from Denver newsagent allards office)

We have to work every day so people will believe us on election day.

Exhibit 89

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EXHIBIT 90

**RENEWING AMERICA:
The Challenge for Our Generation**

**by Newt Gingrich
March 21, 1994**

GDC 00132
Exhibit 90

Three big facts are forcing us to change:

FACT ONE: The information revolution (Alvin Toffler's Third Wave of Change) is changing the economy, society and government. These enormous changes provide opportunities and challenges that will affect every aspect of our lives.

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Exhibit 90

FACT TWO:

The world market is real and unavoidable. Americans will have to compete in that world market. Future prosperity will require greater productivity and creativity. Just starting in the right direction will require reforms in welfare, education, taxation, regulation and litigation.

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Exhibit 90

FACT THREE: The welfare state has failed.

It is impossible to maintain civilization with twelve-year-olds having babies, fifteen-year-olds killing one another, seventeen-year-olds dying of AIDS, and eighteen-year-olds receiving diplomas they cannot read.

We must replace -- not repair, not finance, not improve -- replace the welfare state.

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Exhibit 90

KEY PROPOSITIONS:

1. Creating a prosperous safe American future will require replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.
2. The opportunity society must be based on a combination of:
 - The principles of American civilization;
 - The potential created by the information revolution's third wave of change; and
 - The changes required to create local jobs through world sales within the emerging world market.

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Exhibit 90

THE MOVEMENT

The key ingredient for success is a movement to renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.

Change on this scale cannot occur only within the White House and the Congress. America is a huge, decentralized country with literally thousand of independent government activities including city councils, school boards, county commissioners, state legislators, etc.... Washington is only a tiny part of the process of change in America.

Replacing the welfare state will require a decentralized movement of citizen activism oriented toward common principles and a common goal but acting independently with spontaneity and creativity as local conditions evolve and change. These citizen activists can be called "Partners for Progress".

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Exhibit 90

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS

The renewing America movement will require at least 200,000 "partners for progress" committed to the goal of replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.

These "partners" are citizen activists willing to study the principle of American civilization, to work on campaigns, to run for office, to serve on boards and commissions, to write letters to the editor, and to call into radio talk shows, in short to do what it takes to make citizenship effective at the local level where government and society must change.

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Exhibit 90

LEARNING THE PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

The course, "Renewing American Civilization", is designed as a 20 hour introduction to the principles necessary to replace the welfare state with an opportunity society. A series of 10 two hour sessions outlines:

1. The Principles of American Civilization
2. Personal Strength
3. Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise
4. The Spirit of Invention and Discovery
5. Quality as Defined by Edwards Deming
6. The Lessons of American History
7. How to Create Jobs and Economic Growth in the World Market
8. Health and Healthcare for the 21st Century
9. Saving the Inner Cities by Replacing the Culture of Poverty and the Culture of Violence
10. Renewing Citizenship and Community Within the Third Wave of Change Created by the Information Revolution

The course is accompanied by a textbook Readings in Renewing American Civilization from McGraw/Hill.

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Exhibit 90

Connecting the "Partners" to the "Principles"

The course "Renewing American Civilization" (RAC) has been taught for two quarters to over 200 sites with universities such as Berkeley and Clemson offering it for credit. It is based at Reinhardt College in Waleska, Georgia.

The course is currently available on NET (National Empowerment Television) every Wednesday from 1pm - 3pm EST. It will be repeated five times this year on NET.

It is also available on audio cassette and video cassette and is being bought by companies for employee training, by activist groups, and by schools and colleges.

RAC has an 800 number (1-800-TO RENEW) which has received nearly 6000 calls and sold over 500 sets of the 20 hour course. Our goal is to get every potential partner for progress to take the course and study the principles.

Exhibit 90

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WHY RAC MATTERS:

Creating a Revolutionary Centrism

It is vital to create a common framework for describing the opportunity society that can replace the welfare state.

Combining the principles of American civilization with the opportunities created by the information revolution's third wave of change will enable Americans both to replace the welfare state and to meet the challenges of the world market.

This increased creativity and clarity will enable partners both to develop local solutions and to establish a language of success that will reshape the political debate and refocus the news media.

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Exhibit 90

A Movement for Citizen Involvement:

The Crime Petition Drive

Every citizen is threatened by the epidemic of brutal, violent crimes. The political system continues to be too lenient on violent crimes and too willing to endanger the innocent by releasing the dangerous.

The citizen's petition drive (get right title) led by Congressman Bill McCollum is an effort to arouse enough citizen energy and enough citizen involvement to force the political system to be responsive.

It is being reinforced by an April 30th nationwide Town Hall meeting focused on violent crime and will lead to an open discharge petition for a strong anti-crime bill in September if the system has still failed to respond.

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Exhibit 90

A MOVEMENT PROJECT FOR CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT:Earning by Learning

Reading is the most important skill for poor children to acquire. Earning by Learning is an extremely simple, very inexpensive program to help poor children learn how to read by emphasizing the principles of free enterprise and incentives. Implemented in a volunteer system using public libraries with no red tape and no bureaucratic overhead.

Second and third graders in public housing are offered \$2 a book for every book they read. Adult volunteers take them to the public library to get a card and checkout books. Each week adult volunteers question them about the books they have read.

Earning by Learning has been tried in seventeen states. By focusing directly on the children and using volunteers to avoid overhead costs the program maximizes impact per dollar.

If there were Earning by Learning volunteers in virtually every public housing project this summer the impact of:

1. Putting children in touch with adults who care;
2. Teaching children they can earn money doing something honorable;
3. Increasing the reading skills of a large number of poor children;
4. Proving that a decentralized low cost volunteer based system is more effective than the welfare state bureaucratic approach.

Dr. Mel Stealy at West Georgia College, Carrollton, Georgia (404) 836-6508 is the contact for Earning by Learning.

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Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGE

ONE: The Capitol Steps Event, September 27, 1994

Americans are fed up with politics and politicians as usual. The normal Republican Party is seen as no better than (and sometimes worse than) the normal Democratic Party.

On September 27, 1994 the House Republican Party will prove it is committed to change.

On that date every Republican candidate for the House of Representatives will gather on the House steps to pledge very specific actions if the voters create a Republican majority for the first time in 42 years.

Republican House candidates will pledge to implement a specific check list on the opening day and to bring to a final passage vote 10 major bills within the first 90 days.

Both the substance of the Capitol Steps pledge and the procedures for developing that pledge represent real change and a replacement of politics as usual.

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Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGE

TWO: A Participatory Process for Creating the Capitol Steps Pledge

House Republican Conference Chairman Dick Armey will lead a project to develop the Capitol Steps pledge in a participatory process that will involve every Republican nominee for the House and a wide range of advisers, activists, staff, intellectuals and others.

The Capitol Steps Pledge Task Force will develop two separate documents. The first will be a checklist for the opening day. The second will be a contract with the American people to bring to final passage 10 major bills (the American people's agenda) in the first 90 days of the new Congress.

Every candidate, incumbent and other interested activist will be informed of the task force and their advice asked with feed back due by July 1, 1994.

A proposed checklist and contract will be sent to candidates, incumbents, and others by August 15, 1994.

The House Republican Conference will adopt the final draft September 21 and fax it to every candidate.

The Capitol Steps event will occur September 27, 1994.

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Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGE

THREE: The Opening Day Checklist

On September 27 House Republican candidates (including incumbents) will pledge themselves to a checklist of opening day activities which voters can watch on C-SPAN.

This checklist will outline step by step what House Republicans will do on January 3, 1995 if we are a majority for the first time in 42 years.

The checklist will be widely distributed and if money can be raised it will be advertised in TV Guide, People magazine, local newspaper TV guides, etc.... It will allow the voter to follow each step as Republicans bring real change to the Congress.

Sample Checklist:

1. Elect Speaker
2. Pass the Shays Act to apply all laws to Congress that apply to other Americans.
3. Announce which of the Big 6 accounting firms has been hired to audit the House and Architect's books for the last decade.
4. Adopt the Dreier Resolution to cut the number of committees and cut committee staffs by at least one-third.
5. Etc...

We pledge to end politics as usual on the first day of the new Congress and voters will be able to tune in to watch us keep our word.

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Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGE

FOUR: Our Contract with the Agenda of the American People

The last act on opening day will be to introduce the 10 bills that are our contract with the agenda of the American people. These 10 bills will represent real change in directions the American people desire. All 10 will be introduced before the September 27, 1994 Capitol Steps event so the American people will be able to look at the actual legislation and not merely at a campaign promise.

Our commitment will be to bring all 10 bills to a final passage vote in the first 90 days of the new Congress. We cannot guarantee passage but we can guarantee a recorded vote so people will know who kept their word and voted the way they campaigned.

The actual list of 10 bills and the bills themselves probably will not be finalized until September 21, 1994. However, some possible topics include:

1. Welfare reform (workfare, parental responsibility)
2. Legislation on violent crime
3. Health reform
4. Balanced budget amendment
5. Voluntary school prayer
6. Term limits
7. Litigation reform (malpractice, product liability, strike law firms)
8. Downsizing federal bureaucracies
9. Pro-growth, pro-family, pro-work, pro-savings tax reform

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Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGE

FIVE: 40 Years of Democratic Rule in the House --
The First Republican Majority in 42 Years

We must mention in every speech, interview and floor debate the 40 year Democratic Party monopoly of power in the House.

In January, 1995 it will be 42 years since the last Republican majority was sworn in. If you are under 60 years of age you have never voted in an election which produced a Republican majority in the House.

Voters from Italy to Russia to France to Japan to Canada have been rejecting established power structures. Last year the Democrats lost in New Jersey, Virginia, New York City, Los Angeles, Jersey City and a number of the elections as voters insisted on new leadership.

Most voters don't realize how important party control is in Congress and don't know how long the Democrats have been in control.

At every opportunity -- in debate, interviews, speeches and articles we must drive home:
"Return the People's House to the People"
"End 40 Years of Democratic Control"
"Vote Republican for a Change"

GDC 00143

Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGESIX: Taxpayers' Tea Party April 15 and Beyond

On April 15th, 1994 we will launch a citizen's revolt against higher taxes and bigger government. We know that "government is too big and spends too much". The 1993 tax increase passed by one vote in both the House and Senate so every yes vote was the margin of difference.

Rostenkowski's primary victory was a reminder of how the game is rigged against the taxpayer. Millions in taxpayer dollars were pledged to prove Rostenkowski's importance. The President flew to Chicago at the taxpayers' expense to support Rostenkowski. Over 600 city workers (many subsidized by federal tax money) were given a day off with pay to turn out the vote. The day before the primary the Illinois National Guard moved a military helicopter at taxpayers' expense to highlight a Rostenkowski press conference.

In effect the chief tax increaser used your taxes to win re-election to retain the power to raise our taxes.

Taxpayer's Tea Party is a new book by Sharon Cooper and Chuck Assay that outlines how you can take back your government. With an introduction by Rush Limbaugh it outlines how you can use an independent expenditure and work in your spare time to beat the tax increase incumbents.

Taxpayer's Tea Party (the book) will be kicked off with a taxpayers' tea parties (the events) on April 15th.

Grover Norquist at Americans for Tax Reform, is the key contact for April 15th. Sharon Cooper is available to explain her book and independent expenditures for talk radio. You can reach them both through 1-800-MEAN TAX.

GDC 00143

Exhibit 90

COMMITTING OURSELVES TO REAL CHANGE

SEVEN: Renewing Our Nation's Capitol

The District of Columbia is now such a human tragedy and its government is such a disorganized, incompetent mess that every citizen has an obligation to help save the children and save the city.

Republicans will launch a "replace the welfare state – save DC" project open to every citizen who agrees that children are more important than unions and that jobs and safety are more important than ideology or party.

We owe it to our country, to the children and to our conscience to roll up our sleeves and have the courage to work to rebuild our national capitol.

GDC 00..50

Exhibit 90

GETTING THE JOB DONE IN 1994

This paper outlines an enormous but necessary task.

We must rally the American people to renew America by replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.

We must launch a movement seeking at least 200,000 "partners for progress" and recruiting, training and encouraging candidates committed to renewal at every level.

We must encourage our activists and our supporters to study the course "Renewing American Civilization" so they can better develop solutions to replace the welfare state.

We must challenge the news media to study "Renewing American Civilization" so they can learn what we are trying to do and report our ideas in an understandable way.

We must launch a citizen crime petition to insist on safety for all Americans.

We must encourage citizens to participate in Earning by Learning so every poor child can have an opportunity to learn to read, to earn money honestly, and to get to know adults who care and can help.

We must bring together a unified party to make an historic pledge of immediate action and then we must keep our word. If the American people give us power we must give them change.

We must drive home the fact of 40 years of Democratic Party control and arouse taxpayers to take back their own government through independent efforts of an unprecedented scale and creativity.

We must reach out to every decent citizen to reclaim our national capitol and save the children of our capitol. We must make sure that people know we care. Only then will they care that we know.

All of this is a lot and yet it is the necessary job of a great party.

We can do no less.

GDC 00151

Exhibit 90

WHY CHANGE CAN HAPPEN IN 1994

The 1993 Canadian election is proof that decisive, dramatic change is possible. The governing party went from 153 seats to 2 seats. In one night the Prime Minister watched every cabinet officer loose and the governing party shrink to a number below that required to be a legal party. In Italy, Russia, France, Japan similar results have occurred.

In Jersey City, Brett Schundler became the first Republican mayor since 1904. In a 6% Republican city (70% democrat, 41% speak a language other than English at home) Schundler won re-election with 67% of the vote and swept 9 out of 9 reform city council candidates to victory. Flurio's margin in Jersey City dropped dramatically between 1989 and 1993.

Change is possible but it requires courage, commitment and clarity to make it happen.

GDC 00151

Exhibit 90

WHY CHANGE IS NECESSARY

The future of the human race may depend on our ability to renew America by replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.

When the Berlin wall fell and communism collapsed everyone assumed freedom had won. Now after bitter disappointments in Haiti, Somalia, Iraq, Bosnia, China, North Korea, Russia, etc... it should be obvious that the hard work of freedom is still unfinished.

America is the only country multi-racial enough and open enough to lead the human race to freedom.

If America decays in a sea of teen pregnancies, out of wedlock births, teen violence, functional illiteracy, bureaucratic red tape and unionized work rules there will be no leader to replace us. The world will drift between violence and authoritarians.

If America launches a rebirth of freedom by renewing American civilization we will have the personal energy, the multi-racial outlook, the cultural certainty and the economic, political and military strength to lead the entire human race to freedom, prosperity and safety.

When you see Schindler's List, visit the Holocaust museum or watch each day's brutality and barbarism on the evening news just remind yourself "that is why we must replace u... welfare state with an opportunity society and renew America" because that is what is at stake.

GDC 00'

Exhibit 90

EXHIBIT 91



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

EXHIBIT VI-B

Newt Gingrich, Adjunct Professor
Jeff Eisenach, Project Director
Nancy Desmond, Project Coordinator

December 4, 1993
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: Renewing American Civilization
(404) 423-6606

U.S. CONGRESSMAN NEWT GINGRICH'S CLASS ON "RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION" TO AIR ON SUMMIT CABLE IN MARIETTA

Summit Cable in Marietta will begin airing U.S. Congressman Newt Gingrich's class "Renewing American Civilization," on public access Channel 5 on Tuesdays, starting November 2 to January 4, from 9:00 to 11:00 p.m.

"Renewing American Civilization" will focus on identifying and fostering the underlying values and attitudes that enable free market, private enterprise and democratic systems to function and flourish. The course will examine the principles of personal strength, entrepreneurial free enterprise, the spirit of invention and discovery, commitment to quality and the lessons of American history. These five pillars will then be applied to the areas of economic growth and job creation, health and wellness, saving the inner city, and citizenship for the 21st century.

Congressman Newt Gingrich holds a Ph.D. in History from Tulane University and taught at West Georgia College for eight years prior to being elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. He is co-author of the book "Window of Opportunity."

The course is designed to be interactive, in that ideas and suggestions from individuals throughout the country will be sought and utilized in developing and refining the course. If you would like to comment on the content of the course, please send your comments to Renewing American Civilization, Kennesaw State College, P.O. Box 444, Marietta, GA 30061.

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Exhibit 91

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EXHIBIT 92Reinhardt College
0063

11/2/77

SUMMARY OF GINGRICH CONFERENCE: KATHLEEN MINNIX

A-C
A-23

Present at Conference:

Newt Gingrich
Jeff Eisenach
Nancy Desmond
John McDowell
Steven Hanser
Kathleen Minnix

(11/1/77)

The meeting lasted from 1:00-6:00, with the Congressman present for all but around an hour, during which time he went to his campaign headquarters for an interview with CNN. The Congressman began with an overview of his new vision for the course, which would be more like "Renewing American Civilization II" rather than a duplication of last year's course. Gone are the five pillars and the four applications--gone, too, is much of the usefulness of the teacher's workbook prepared around these topics. I expressed my distress at this change, but Gingrich felt that once we delve into the suggested topics, we--and the other teachers, will find much material in common. I told him, as I had told Jeff this summer, that while we can adapt our lectures somewhat to his, with videos, books, and secondary articles prepared, it may be that there will not be the compatibility between his part and our part that I would like. He wants to write the new course in the next sixty days, having it prepared by mid-December. Even if it is totally written before classes in January, Bob Head and I do not have the sort of absolute flexibility that he has, being a staff of two.

Everyone agreed that he needs a director, to help with research, videos, chyrons, etc. I said that I would be happy to work with that person to suggest resources, but that hoped once the course was designed, most of my time could be devoted to developing my own lectures (in other words, I am not open to typing Chyrons at 3 am the night before the course). We did not discuss the controversial videos directly, though Gingrich foresees eliminating virtually all videos for the new course, perhaps keeping only those thought vital to the educational value or the course of having powerful emotional appeal, like the excerpt from the movie "Gettysburg". Steve Hanser strongly made the point that the "didactic" value be the only consideration--in other words, that sponsors not be eliminated because they are sponsors. More on this next week, when we go through video tapes individually.

We talked about the possibility of having classes 3, 5, and 7 off campus; Harvard and Stanford have invited Gingrich for a speech, and he thinks that University of Pennsylvania is open to the possibility, as well. The advantage to this (besides allowing us to sleep in some Saturdays) is that it would strengthen the academic claims of the course and help deflect criticism of Reinhardt. The disadvantage to us is that we lose the live contact, and it may be a problem to Bob Head, also.

Exhibit 92

Gingrich hopes to teach the class here on Saturdays and in Washington Monday evening, trying to attract the freshmen congresspeople, the press--who will be trying to figure out the Republican agenda--and congressional staff looking for the basis of Republican doctrine. "Take the course" will be suggested to those who wonder what a Republican government is going to stand for. He sees the course as a statement of his creed about American history and the American civilization, looking at the past to draw lessons for the future.

Gingrich is very open to "exploiting" (his word) me; and is inviting me to be a part of the total planning of the course. We will meet next week to discuss content and videos again, and probably will meet a number of times before January. I do not get a good feeling about making this into a solid history course, but one of its strengths is the contemporary nature of his experiences and his multidisciplinary approach. I feel that I can be a part of the planning process--perhaps more than I would like--but the two halves of the course will not be as closely meshed as I had hoped. We may still be walking on uneven heels, but I will try to insert as much history as possible.

A concern of mine is the "talking head" phenomenon if Gingrich does eliminate most videos, and I warned him that I thought the students would begin to glaze over at 50 minutes. He suggested that we may want to break up the course even more radically--into 15 or 30 minute segments. I hope that we can have visual interest added. He is a powerful speaker and he is frustrated at surrendering his teaching time to film inserts--he also has a tremendous amount to say. However, if he wants to say it in front of a class, he needs to bring in some discussion and interaction, at least. While eliminating videos would solve our sponsor problem, I think it would lessen the impact and effectiveness of the course.

He liked my list of secondary articles on the ten topics I had selected, but it remains to be seen how many of my lectures I will need to shift to accommodate his changes, and these readings are keyed to what I expected the topics to be. The Progress and Freedom Foundation has condensed "The Third Wave" by Toffler into 100 pages, and he suggested the students read that, along with Drucker's "Effective Executive." We did not have a chance to address the question of offering it as 255/355, assigning a paper and some extra discussion for those wanting to take it as an upper level course.

I felt that Jeff Eisenach is feeling frustrated by Reinhardt not faxing him our press letters as soon as they are composed. He understands our reluctance to consult him before, but feels that the Progress and Freedom Foundation needs to be first on our list of correspondents. He instructed his assistant in Washington to "be snippy" with Marcia White, which I understand she more than achieved. We may again have the situation that their interests

Reinhardt College
0085

and ours are not identical, or he may have a legitimate complaint. He is travelling with Gingrich for the next few days and may contact Reinhardt himself.

Gingrich puts his chances of being speaker at greater than 50% and is making plans for the "transition" between Democratic and Republican rule. He sees the course as vital to this--so vital that no one could convince him to teach it only one time per week and conserve his energy. He is feeling attacked by the liberal press and feeling that they are distorting his past and his positions. However, he was pleased by the Washington Post reporter who said that the Post had ordered its writers to begin preparing articles on the "shattering defeat" of the Democrats. Since our next meeting is election day, from 10:30-1, things should be interesting.

Exhibit 92

EXHIBIT 93

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION: OUR DUTY IN 1994

Given to the RNC Winter Meeting Breakfast
January 21, 1994
Representative Newt Gingrich

The American people are fed up with those politicians and governments that raise their taxes and waste their money while failing to halt the decay of America.

We have rising violent crime, an explosion of births outside the family, growing job insecurity, rising health costs and a collapse in the educational system combined with growing frustration at the lack of honest, systematic political leadership. The predictable result is deep citizen disgust.

People know that traditional policies and traditional politicians can't get the job done. They are turning to new leaders. Brett Schundler in Jersey City (where 6% of the people are Republican, 70% Democrat, 41% speak a language other than English at home) is the first Republican Mayor since 1904. He won the election with 60% of the vote and swept 9 out of 9 city council seats with his bi-partisan reform effort. In New York City and Los Angeles, Republicans became Mayors, the first time in over 60 years Republicans held the 2 largest cities at the same time.

The American search for new leadership is part of a worldwide phenomenon among industrial democracies. In Italy the entire political establishment has been destroyed. In France the Socialists were virtually wiped out. In Japan the LDP has lost power for the first time in over 40 years. In Canada the governing party dropped from 153 seats to 2 seats.

This worldwide force for change is being driven by three realities:

One, there is an information revolution underway that is so powerful it is transforming much of our society. This profound revolution is the third wave of change in human history (the first two being the rise of agriculture and the industrial revolution). This Third Wave (in Alvin Toffler's phrase) will change government, the professions, jobs, lifestyles, communities and much of society. This information revolution has made the current industrial era governments and laws increasingly obsolete and is increasingly causing pain to their citizens.

Second, the world market is a reality. It is causing massive dislocations in every industrial country. The world price of labor is now set by South China. Maintaining a standard of living seven to ten times higher than that of the Chinese will require

substantially greater productivity and creativity. Countries which could formerly afford the welfare state's anti-jobs, anti-entrepreneur, anti-growth, taxation, regulations and litigation system suddenly find themselves in economic difficulties. This again causes their citizens increased pain.

Third, the welfare state has failed. In America, it has spawned frightening levels of violence, ignorance, and births outside the family structure. No civilization can survive with 12-year olds having babies, 15-year olds killing each other, 17-year olds dying of AIDS, and 18-year olds receiving diplomas they can't read. This failed system is causing more and more pain to all its citizens.

The pain of structural obsolescence from second wave industrial era systems, the economic pressures of competition on redistribution oriented welfare states, and the violent collapse of civilization at the heart of the welfare system have combined to create tremendous voter pressures for change.

The overwhelming desire of voters for change (77% favor term limits, 81% favor a work requirement for welfare, 76% favor a balanced budget amendment, etc.) can only be met by a bold program that responds to these new realities with a vision of renewing American civilization by replacing the welfare state.

There are three key steps to this vision:

First, the failed principles of the welfare state must be replaced by the successful principles of American civilization. The current system is wrong in its basic treatment of human beings. It reduces citizens to clients, subordinates them to bureaucrats, and subjects them to rules that are anti-work, anti-family, anti-opportunity, and anti-property. Under these conditions, human beings develop social pathologies. The violence, brutality, and barbarism we see on the television news are the natural products of the welfare state.

On the other hand, we, as Republicans, understand the essence of human beings as it is defined by American civilization. "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." Under these conditions, humans grow and flourish, work and study, raise families and seek greater opportunities.

Only applying the principles of American civilization to replace the welfare state will restore full citizenship to the poor, eliminate massive destructive bureaucracies, save our inner cities, and establish a basis for safety and progress.

By itself, however, re-establishing the principles of American

civilization will not be enough. While that will end the decay of the welfare state, it will not meet the competitive pressures of the world market nor replace the obsolete government structures and systems that block the future by propping up the past.

Therefore, we must also study and learn the principles of the information revolution which is transforming our economies, which transformed warfare in Desert Storm, and which will inevitably transform our society and our governments.

The explosion of new information and new knowledge will decisively change health, learning, and virtually every element of government. Quality focused automobile companies have already forced a revolution in automobile production. The rise of software in companies like Microsoft is forcing a revolution in companies like IBM. The biological revolution must transform our approach to health and health care.

We need to reach out to the pioneers of this information revolution and to observers like George Gilder and George Keyworth. With their help we can replace the second wave industrial government with its taxation, regulation, and litigation with third wave systems of far greater efficiency and effectiveness. We can then offer greater safety, stronger families, better and higher paying jobs in a wealthier society, better health at lower cost and lifetime learning that is effective, convenient and consistently useful.

The revolutions in computing, fiber optics, satellite transmission, DNA research, cellular phones, cable, videotape, CD's, material technology and on to a thousand topics are only the beginning of a new age of opportunity and progress. The challenge to us is to harness the genuine revolutions in productivity that are already occurring in science, industry and the military to society, government and politics.

There is yet another step to be taken. Neither the principles of American civilization nor the principles of the third wave information revolution will be enough if taken in isolation - the two must be brought into a synergistic system which literally replaces the obsolete industrial era welfare state system. We must insist on a systems replacement because isolated reforms will simply drown in the obsolescence and pathologies of the welfare state.

Every inner city reform of the last two decades has failed because it dealt only with one part or another of the destructive system which traps and cripples the poor. Reforming one piece of the education or health system can have only limited impact because the rest of the obsolete structure -- destructive litigation, taxation and regulation and anti-human welfare state attitudes will remain. Changing one part of a bureaucrat's job leads to little

or no improvement because the rest of the bureaucratic system still cripples and distorts productivity while killing creativity.

It is essential that we paint a vivid picture of the positive results of a complete replacement of the welfare state and that we insist on applying the system of principles learned both from American civilization and from the third wave information revolution. With this understanding, a Republican Party committed to 5 values for every American - safety, family, work, health and learning will be able to appeal to at least 85% of the American people.

Republican initiatives will attract attention. Indeed, many Democrats will find themselves supporting Republican initiatives to renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state with an information age America.

If Republicans will focus on listening to Americans, we will have a huge majority. If Republicans will learn from every American who is using the principles of the third wave information revolution to expand knowledge, solve problems, and create wealth, we will have the resources. If Republicans will honestly and earnestly commit themselves to help every American who wants to replace the welfare state, we will find every neighborhood eager to work with us. A Republican Party which listens to, learns from, and helps Americans will find itself in power because the American people will want it to lead.

We have many allies in our effort to replace the welfare state. From Rush Limbaugh to National Review, The American Spectator, National Empowerment Television, the editorial page of the Wall Street Journal (the nation's largest newspaper) and on to hundreds of talk show hosts, thousands of neighborhood activists, millions of computer users, and tens of millions of voters, there is an angry nation eager for positive leadership ready to end the mess we are in, stop the violence, cut out the waste and get into the job of creating progress by acting decisively.

The welfare state will not be replaced simply by action in Washington. It will take at least 200,000 "partners for progress" from school boards, hospital boards, city councils, county commissions and state legislatures to truly begin this process. If we Republicans reach out and knit together all the activists willing to be partners for progress, we can expand our party into a majority while serving our country by helping prepare it for a new century.

Schundler, King, Thompson, Engler, and Weld are the pioneers. Joined now by Riordan, Guiliani, Whitman and Allen, they offer us an example of how to reach out to virtually all Americans with better solutions based on a better understanding both of America's

past and of it's future.

There is a vast overwhelming majority ready to replace the welfare state. There is a vast overwhelming majority that believes in American civilization and rejects the quotas and divisions of the multiculturalists. There is a vast majority of Americans eager and ready to do away with politics as usual and to take bold, decisive steps to re-establish safety, strengthen family, make work rewarding, improve both health and health care and insure the availability of lifetime learning.

America stands at the threshold of a new century, a new era of productivity, and a new generation of opportunity. However, we will never get to this new generation unless our generation does its job. As Franklin Delano Roosevelt said, "our generation has a rendezvous with destiny." If we will lead the movement to renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state, that movement will entrust us with the power to enact that replacement.

The challenge is to us.

The time is now.

Let me focus on the crisis of violent crime and the immediate decisive steps we should take in the next 60 days.

Violent crime is at a crisis level. Since Congress adjourned the day after Thanksgiving, there have been an estimated 3,710 murders. Nearly 40%, 1,410, were committed by people out on early release from prison. In that same time, over 112,000 violent crimes were committed by people on early release from prison.

Every day, 65 Americans are killed, and every day an average of 979 prisoners are released early. Even worse than early release, in 1990, some 30,000 felons were convicted of violent crimes and received no prison or jail time.

The National Institute of Justice estimates five out of six 12-year olds will be the victim of a violent crime in their lifetime. MIT reports that a boy born in 1974 stands a greater chance of being murdered than a soldier in World War II faced of death in combat.

The time has come for decisive, effective, common sense action to end the violence. We know what works. American history is mostly a history of unlocked doors, unbarred windows, and unfrightened people. Reapplying the principles of American civilization will dramatically reduce violent crime. James Q. Wilson outlined many of them in Thinking About Crime, a book he wrote twenty years ago.

Tragically, the Clinton administration is rejecting virtually

every principle that works in fighting crime. While President Clinton talks tough, the Clinton administration acts weak. Consider the facts:

The Clinton budget request proposed a 40% cut in federal prison construction.

The Drug Czar's office was slashed 84%.

A member of the Clinton administration proposed studying drug legalization.

The Clinton administration has announced a drastic cutback on drug interdiction.

The Clinton administration is undermining mandatory minimum sentences and opposes new mandatory minimums for use or possession of firearms by criminals.

The Clinton administration's Deputy Solicitor General was Chief Counsel to a presidential commission that recommended abolishing all Federal and State child pornography laws. The recent Justice Department brief weakens anti-child pornography enforcement.

The Clinton administration opposes the death penalty for drug kingpins.

The Clinton administration favors even more appeals and more delays in executing the death penalty.

No matter what President Clinton says in the State of the Union, what his administration does is undermining law and order and making things easier for criminals.

What then should we do?

Congress should make a decisive, effective, anti-violent crime law our first priority. We should pledge to pass into law a new decisive common sense bill by March 31st. Between the State of the Union and March 31st, an estimated 59,635 prisoners will get early release. An estimated 3,625 Americans will be killed in the same period.

Every day Congress fails to act, 65 more Americans will die, and 979 prisoners will be put back on the streets.

We don't need any more politicians' grab bag of gimmicks and band-aids. We need decisive, overwhelming, effective action.

We must shatter the culture of violence and re-establish safety and security for innocent Americans. That will take intense, overwhelming, powerful steps. You can only get change by

changing.

Here is an outline of the key steps we should take to shatter the culture of violence and overwhelm the relatively small number of truly destructive people in our midst.

One, we should build immediate emergency stockades on surplus military bases. We should build as many stockades as necessary and as quickly as though this were wartime and people were dying -- because they are. We should announce that as of June 1, no violent criminal need be released early anywhere in America for lack of space. States could be billed per diem on a low cost basis. The stockades can be built without television or air conditioning. They will be designed to temporarily hold violent criminals. A new principle of serving full time sentences should be constantly broadcast on all radio and television stations, including MTV and rap radio. Every young person should be intensely warned in the media they listen to that the rules are changing. Violent crime will be punished decisively and effectively. Prevention is better than prison, but the threat of prison is a prerequisite for effective prevention.

A two year crash program should build as many prison beds as is necessary in one decisive step. Peace through strength works both at home and abroad. It is better to have one prison too many and stockpile it rather than release 900 violent felons back on the innocent for lack of space. We don't need five year or ten year plans. Every day, 65 Americans are killed. This is a crisis equal to war in its human cost and we should act accordingly.

In 1986, a crash prison building program in Michigan led over four years to a drop in Detroit's burglary rate by 32% and the robbery rate by 37%. The average prisoner costs \$23,000 a year to keep in jail and an estimated \$452,000 a year when committing crimes. The human cost of early release is horrendous and tragic.

Prisoners should be required to work 48 hours a week and study 12 hours a week. We want criminals to learn new behaviors and you learn by practice. The Japanese require prisoners to learn to read and write Japanese, a language of 1300 characters. We should insist on real learning and real work, so prisoners can learn real habits of change.

Violent felons should face life imprisonment after two convictions for violent crimes.

We should pass a believable, effective death penalty and limit appeals to one unified opportunity to appeal within 18 months of sentencing.

Mandatory sentencing should mean real time for the years sentenced. In 1990, 28% of those convicted of aggravated assault

and 14% of those convicted of rape were sentenced to probation. That policy only encourages rape and assault. It is just plain wrong.

There should be an automatic twenty years in jail if the violent crime is against someone twelve or younger. We must protect our children by keeping off the streets those who would harm them.

There should be no juvenile status for a violent crime. We cannot have young offenders manipulating the system to stay on the street and continue to injure, rape, and sometimes kill other young people.

Kids who take guns to school should face six months in a firm, disciplinary boot camp followed by three months of mandatory community clean-up while wearing a uniform under the control of police. It is vital to establish on the street that 15-year olds are subordinate to authority and the gang hierarchy is subordinate to the adult world. Only visible action in the community will achieve this.

Finally, while locking up criminals is necessary, it is even better to avoid having criminals by suppressing crime in the first place. Recently, I stood in Bryant Park behind the New York Public Library and saw a former crime ridden park in which no crime had been reported in two years. The Grand Central Partnership is a brilliant private sector innovation making a twenty block area around Grand Central Station cleaner and safer than it has been in years.

Local governments and state governments will have more police, have more prosecutors and build more prisons if they can choose how to use their own money. They will be more practical, more flexible, and more effective than a top down Federal bureaucratic program.

We should create a new unfunded mandate budget for State and local government. At local discretion, they should be able to postpone 50% of the mandates and transfer the money to increasing public safety.

It is estimated that Los Angeles alone is required to spend \$1.75 billion a year on unfunded mandates. A 50% postponement at local discretion would allow the city to shift \$875 million to the higher priority of public safety.

By returning control over unfunded mandates to State and local government, we can shift considerable resources toward suppressing crime without raising taxes.

These ten steps are examples of the decisive, common sense, effective actions we could take now to save lives and reduce violence.

These are the kinds of steps I will ask a Republican House to report when, with your help, I become Speaker.

These are the kinds of decisive steps the American people want.

I hope many Democrats will join with us in passing these public safety initiatives. If they do, America will be safer. If they refuse, the American people will be angrier. After all, forty years of Democratic Party rule in the House is long enough.

This is one of many steps we can and must make to renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state. We must do it. We can do it. With your help and the help of the American people, we will do it.

EXHIBIT 94

WHIP OFFICE PLAN FOR 1994

VISION: Renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state which requires the election of a Republican majority and passage of our agenda.

STRATEGIES:

- I. FOR NEWT GINGRICH TO BE UNOPPOSED FOR LEADER
- II. MAXIMIZE REPUBLICAN SEATS IN THE HOUSE
- III. DEVELOP AN AGENDA WORTH VOTING FOR AND ~~DEVELOP~~ IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION
- IV. PREPARE TO BE AN EFFECTIVE LEADER
- V. PREPARE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITIES PROVIDED BY THE 1994 LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR

PROJECTS AND TACTICS:

- I. FOR NEWT GINGRICH TO BE UNOPPOSED FOR THE LEADER
 - A. Assess Style and Focus
 - 1) Allow expression of warm/smiling/softer side (Bentsen not Gramm)
 - 2) avoid "generalissimo" style (less lecturing, more listening)
 - 3) be punctual (set an example for other leaders and members)
 - 4) utilize and listen to personal advisory group
 - B. Maintain highest ethical and legal standards
 - 1) GOPAC, RAC Course, P&FF, Empower America - anticipate possible press scrutiny
 - 2) develop clear understanding between official and personal staff requests
 - C. Steer the leadership toward cooperation and coordination for 1994

- 1) solidify/develop Gingrich/Armey alliance
 - 2) continue to push for professionally run leadership meetings
 - 3) help in coordinating ranking members
 - 4) identify key politically important policy issues for coordinated actions (old strategy whip model)
 - 5) coordinate media for grassroots affect
 - 6) develop mechanism to report to members on leadership activity
- D. Run traditional Whip organization effectively
- 1) continue current operations
 - 2) develop Democrat ties
 - a. occasional meetings with Newt and selected Democrats
 - b. continue to develop Gephardt relationship
 - 3) utilize outside groups
- E. Outreach to activists and freshmen
- 1) listening time for members
 - 2) develop leaders/stars
 - 3) continue attendance in COS
 - 4) advise and help on their projects

II. MAXIMIZE REPUBLICAN SEATS IN THE HOUSE

- A. Assistance/involvement with Paxon and NRCC
- 1) fundraising
 - 2) candidate recruitment
 - 3) member involvement
- B. Outreach to key groups
- 1) Ken Cole
- C. Coordinate with Republican entities at Federal, State and local levels
- D. Schedule adequate time for member/candidate assistance
- 1) maintain mechanism for choosing member requests
 - 2) maintain mechanism for choosing candidate requests (Joe)
 - 3) continue GOPAC "message" program

III. DEVELOP AN AGENDA WORTH VOTING FOR AND IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION

- A. Establish a mechanism to develop and evaluate RAC ideas for possible legislative action
 - 1) have P&FF capture ideas from the lectures
- B. Develop a process to solicit ideas/proposals from:
 - members
 - committees
 - think tanks
 - business and outside allies
- C. Create process to set priorities and develop the product of A and B
 - 1) think through member culling group - Kasich
 - 2) recruit product champions (30 stars)

[THIS NEEDS WORK]

IV. PREPARE TO BE AN EFFECTIVE LEADER *every week*

- A. Develop Leader scheduling strategy
 - 1) Establish scheduling committee
 - 2) Establish priorities
- B. Develop Leader media strategy
- C. Promote "new" ranking member model
 - 1) Develop 1 or 2 new potentials -- Leach/Billey
- D. Develop relationships for effective coordination and cooperation with Senate GOP, RNC, and Governors
- E. Prepare for organizing conference
 - 1) Define successful outcome
 - 2) Coordinate w/Army & core group to manage outcome
 - 3) Analyze needed rules changes
- F. Analyze needed office/staff structure & functions
- G. Prepare for Committee on Committees
 - 1) Define successful outcome
 - 2) Coordinate with allies

IV
Prepare to be an effective leader
every week

- I. Analyze leadership structure:
 - 1) Define what's necessary and what's desirable

V. ~~PREPARE TO CREATE AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OPPORTUNITIES PROVIDED IN THE 1994 LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR:~~

- A. ~~Kasich budget to reflect our blueprint for 1994:~~
- B. ~~Pitts legislative analysis:~~
- C. ~~Solicit input from Committee staff directors on 1994 schedule -- opportunities and problems~~
- D. ~~Create mechanisms to follow-up on recognized/selected opportunities~~
 - 1) ~~Roundtable coordinators; utilizing press forces, committees, etc.~~
- E. ~~Proactively coordinate with Senate GOP (leadership if possible; activists if unsure)~~
 - 1) ~~Kasich budget/reconciliation~~
 - 2) ~~Whitewater~~
 - 3) ~~Health~~
 - 4) ~~Crime bills~~
 - 5) ~~Welfare reform~~

EXHIBIT 95

PLANNING ASSUMPTIONS FOR 1994

- I. Change is the overriding reality
- A. Dramatic change is a worldwide pattern and will almost certainly happen in the United States.
 - B. There are three powerful pressures for change in the United States.
 - 1. The information revolution (Toffler's third wave of change) will transform society, government and the economy.
 - 2. The world market will force continuing change if we are to compete with high value jobs producing high incomes and a good quality of life.
 - 3. American civilization is decaying and it is becoming frightening and painful. No civilization can survive with 12 year olds having babies, 15 year olds killing each other, 17 year olds dying of AIDS and 18 year olds receiving diplomas they can't read.

The challenge is not Republican or Democrat, liberal or conservative. The challenge is to our civilization's survival.
 - 4. The majority of Americans want change (82% of Southern Blacks favor a work requirement for welfare including for women with young children, over 70% of all Americans favor a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment, the death penalty, life in prison for three time losers, term limits, voluntary school prayer, and a host of other changes). A coalition for change could potentially attract 70 to 80% support.
- II. House Republicans have a patriotic, positive role.
- A. American first, Republican second: a program for America not a program for Republicans.
 - B. Renewing American Civilization by replacing the welfare state will appeal to most Americans.
 - C. Our approach should be the positive description of our goals and our initiatives.
 - D. Tactically we should begin every answer and every debate with a positive statement of identification, empathy and solution before we say something

negative, even if we have to reframe the question.

- E. Initiatives - not opposition - not alternatives - initiative should be the trademark of House Republicans.
- F. Solutions to replace the welfare state can be developed by combining the principles of American Civilization with the potential of the information revolution (Toffler's third wave) to offer more rather than less. (The course Renewing American Civilization, the TV show "The Progress Report" on NET and the Progress and Freedom Foundation, are services of this material -- 1-800-TO-RENEW.)
- G. House Republicans should focus on 4 themes:
 1. Jobs and economic growth in the world market
 2. Health
 3. Saving the inner city
 4. citizenship and community in the 21st century
- H. House Republicans should insist on "honest self government" and integrity. "The public's right to know" should be the keystone of our effort.
- I. The economy will be somewhere between okay and declining. People will feel insecure as downsizing and defense layoffs continue. The long term structural problems will not have been solved.
- J. Foreign policy could blow up at anytime. From Korea, to a trade war with Europe or Japan, to Russia there are a lot of potential problems. The odds are one in three that an event or events will remind people that a strong military, good intelligence, and a wise competent leadership are vital.

III. The Clinton Administration

- A. Clinton will always try to steal popular issues and will say anything to appeal to people.
- B. Since our policies and our principles are popular they will show up in polls and focus groups and Clinton will use them from the bully pulpit.
- C. Our best strategy is to run a full court press at Clinton. If he sides with us we are made more important, our allies win, he splits his base, and weakens his allies.

If he rejects us and sides with his allies, risks alienating the American people. This allows us to redefine ourselves and distinguish ourselves from the Democrats.

- D. Everyday we want to push for good hearings, good votes, good actions and force Clinton and the Democrats to choose.

IV. Scale and Orientation

- A. The scale of a nationwide movement needed to shift who controls Washington can be huge. Remember \$1 per American equals \$260,000,000.
- B. There is a growing movement for change. There are others to help us if we learn to work with them - Limbaugh, American Spectator, Wall Street Journal editorial page, Grover Norquist's anti-tax coalition, etc.
- C. House Republicans have to work with outside allies, and encourage feedback from our allies to our conference.
- D. House Republicans must join in a "partnership for progress" with every citizen who is willing to work to replace the welfare state. It will take at least 200,000 "partners for progress" to transform America
- E. Independent expenditures, informed and encouraged by Sharon Cooper's Taxpayers' Teaparty could change the whole environment of 1994.
- F. Americans want to be empowered to be active so they can vent their anger by doing something. Given reasonable opportunities many more people will become active.
- G. A large movement must be led by a loose-knit coalition.
1. Niche marketing specialized micromedia is more intense and often more effective.
 2. Entrepreneurial projects must be decentralized and will often overlap and be uncoordinated or loosely coordinated.
 3. Project management is the key to be effective entrepreneurial efforts.

V. Strategic Rhythm.

- A. We must "pose the question" we want the voters to ask before they vote in November.
- B. Most voters do not pay attention until the last three weeks. We must spend nine months repeating our theme to maximize understanding so the last three weeks can be a crescendo.
- C. The news media will be biased against us so we must reach citizens despite editors and reporters.
- D. Simple consistent repetition is more powerful than any other technique.

VI. Five key methods

- A. For planning:
 - Vision
 - Strategies
 - Projects
 - Tactics
- B. For leading in the information age: Listen -- Learn -- Help -- Lead
- C. Project Management
 - 1. As an entrepreneur on your own
 - 2. As a partner in a contract with the leadership
- D. Use electronic networking over travel whenever possible (e.g. conference calls to Mayors)
- E. Think outside the House and inside the movement.

VII. Persistent leadership can defeat charismatic leadership

- A. Fabius over Hannibal
- B. Grant over Lee
- C. Churchill over Hitler

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.**

Exhibit 96

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

Exhibit 96

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.

Exhibit 96

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, traditional 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).

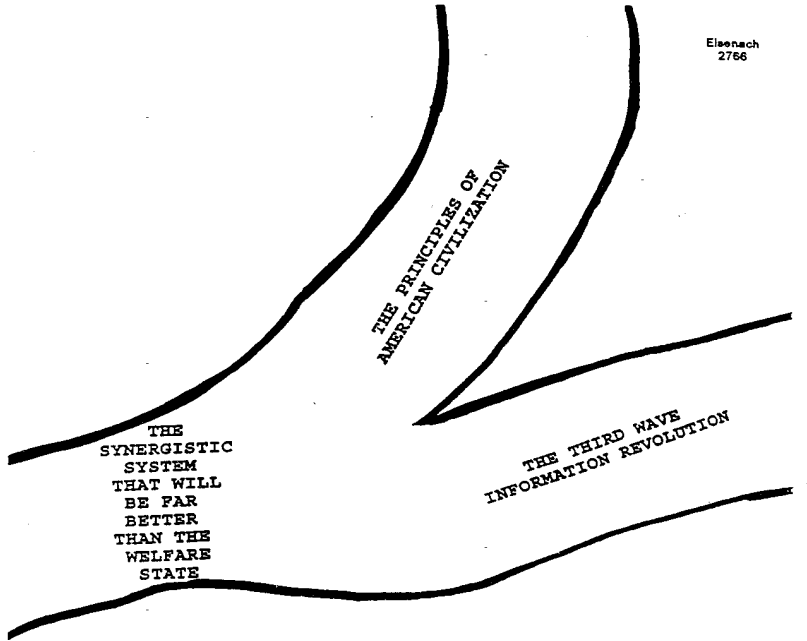
Focusing on an agenda that unifies and avoiding an agenda that breaks up your coalition is vital.

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:

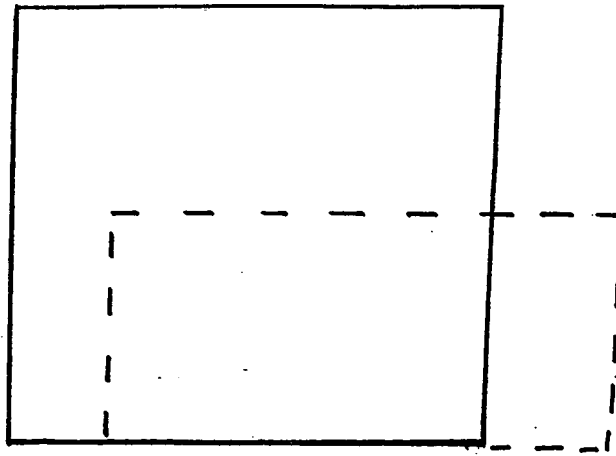
No civilization can survive with twelve-year-olds having babies, fifteen-year-olds killing each other, seventeen-year-olds dying of AIDS and eighteen-year-olds receiving diplomas they cannot read.

Eisenach
2766



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.

Exhibit 9b

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.

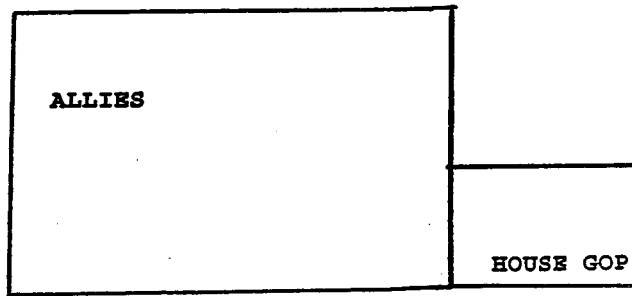
Coordinating projects as they evolve in a bewildering array of diverse areas will take new systems, new habits and new institutions.

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**