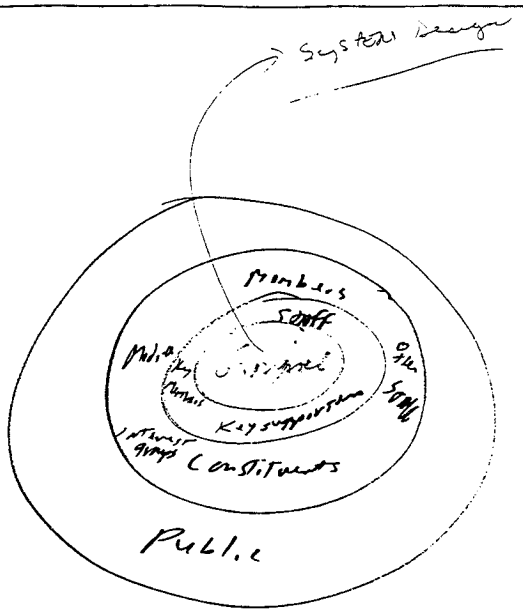
House Calendar No. 1

105TH CONGRESS, *1st Session* | HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES | REPORT 105–1

IN THE MATTER OF REPRESENTATIVE NEWT GINGRICH--
pages 401 to 500



18 DEC 1992 #2

Exhibit 42

HAN 02105

[illegible] the mission, so [illegible] a [illegible]
compelling way - understand it
believe in it and become committed
it

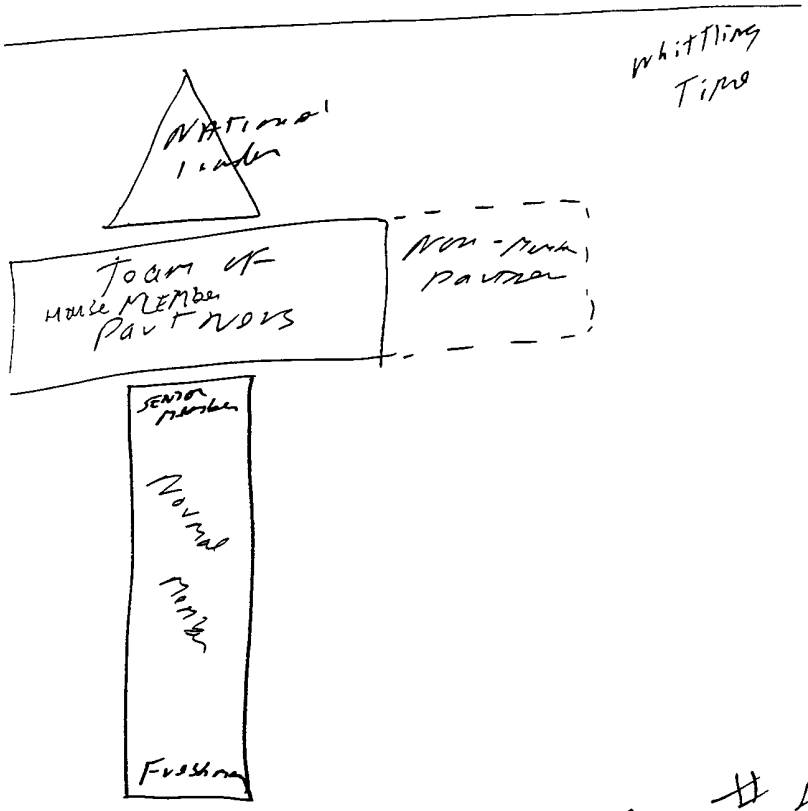
Define the rules and principles of the mission, describe
the goals to be achieved by
the mission
Distinguish between the mission and the movement
Define the goals to be achieved by the
movement
Define the process ~~and~~ activities and
structure of the movement
Define the method and system of
achieving the mission and
sustaining the movement
within normal politics - government
in Bengia 6, ~~[illegible]~~ Washington and
the nation

This page is the highest value assignment/task/goal
of 1993

18 DEC 1992 #3

HAN 02106

Exhibit 42



18 DEC 1992 # 4

HAN 02107

Exhibit 42

FIRST FOCUS 1993

1 Getting the vision right and communicating it to key staff, supporters, members

2 Developing the mission step by step

3 building a Team in the House GOP

4 building a Team in Georgia 6

and then 5 building a Team through GOPAC (www.?)

all the above are far more important than media through June 1993

How do we build the personnel schedule and staff support to achieve 1 to 5 and do so while consolidating our strength in the House GOP leadership and in the 6th District?

#5
18 DEC 1992

HAN 02108

Exhibit 42

1.A Getting the vision right

~~Now~~

I drafting Group
Newt-Steve-Rachel, Nancy Desmond,

II editing -
Gaylord, Eisenach, Blankley, Marianne ~~Phillips~~
Meyer, Swinehart, Thompson, Wansley, Tucker and [illegible]
Alan, Owen-Terry, Lubbers, Zylas

III improving group
Walker, Weber, Payne, DeLay, Kristol, Pinkerton
The Koblers

IV murder boards or critiquing groups
Dick Fox

1B.

~~IV~~ disseminating groups and system
of communications and education

#6
18 DEC 1992

HAN 02109

Exhibit 42

Nationalizing House Republicans

Message to attract voters, resources and candidates

MECHANISM for winning seats

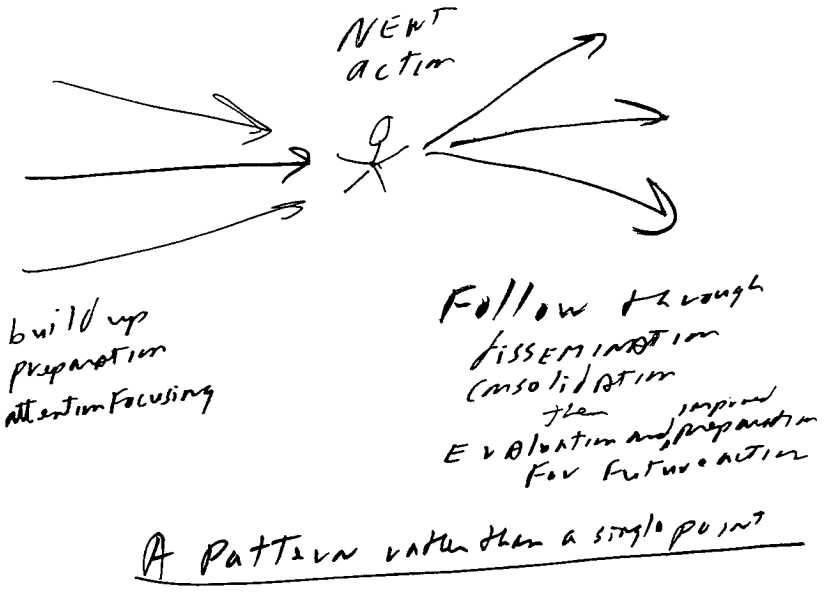
METHOD of daily-weekly activity built in the legislative process and beyond

Team building for the key members elected leadership, ranking members, activists key staff, key allies

19 DEC 1992 #

HAN 02110

Exhibit 42



18 DEC 1992

HAN 02111

Exhibit 42

Increase effectiveness by

1. better staffing and scheduling

2. patterns of activity not isolated poin

3. Team building and partnership creation so many people can play key roles

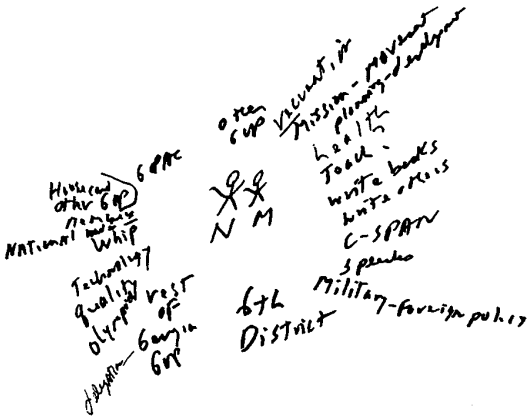
4. Magnifying impact of events by scale of institution or effort (big rally, network TV, etc)

5. creating a movement in which people already understand the basics so any given act or decision requires minimal communications

18 DEC 1992 #9

HAN 02112

Exhibit 42



#

18 DEC 19

HAN 02113

Exhibit 42

Key Question of the next 30 years

~~By~~ to achieve progress and civilization

We ~~mean~~ must ask:

How do we help people

be productive

safe

and responsible

- Destructive ideas
- constructive ideas

not right/wrong

So they can be

prosperous and Free

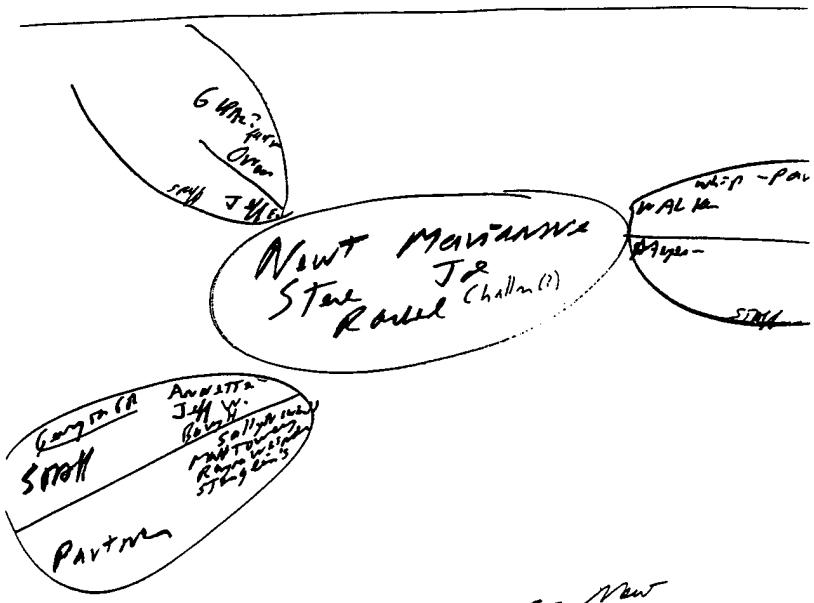
so they can pursue happiness?

#11

18 DEC 1992

HAN 02114

Exhibit 42



INT independent - STAFF - PARTNERS - New partner - a person who is voluntarily helping us. implement something we mutually agree on to reach a goal we mutually val

#12

18 DEC 199:

HAN 02115

Exhibit 42

- Tasks to be completed
- Priorities
- Structures needed
- Schedule 93-4
- Meeting cycles
- Retreat schedule to June 93
- Learning Time Frames
- Lifestyle - vacation
- Support systems
- personnel

#B

18 DEC 1992

HAN 02116

Exhibit 42

2018 – 1

A body of rules and examples
that is a doctrine of Freedom,
self government, safety and prosperity

~~Self~~ pro-Freedom (name) people in every country

an electronic wire system (?) of F, SG, S and P
with an associational bent and a
strong feedback mechanism for constant
self renewal from the grassroots

an America constructively supporting
right behaviors in its loans and
govt

a Republican majority that is the heart of the
American Movement for F, SG, S and P

Saturday
19 DEC 1992 #14
~~18 DEC 1992~~

HAN 02117

Exhibit 42

1993 - 2018

A series of books ("the history of Freedom prosperity and safety)

Possibly a series of courses with audio and videotape followers

possibly a text-book (plus audio, video, computer) series

C-SPAN lecture series

Campus (intellectual) appearances on "the histories" 6 in which the historian applying the lessons of history to public life

radio show (possible TV follow-on) weekly

which inc. to pay for staff support (ethics committee approval)

GOPAC - Republicans Abroad - the Republican Overseas Foundation (new)

British Conservative - Bob Krieble → associational effort to launch Freedom, prosperity and safety

An intellectual-policy-political team that monitors current policies against the backdrop of these values and ~~help shape~~ recommends tactical positions within this general vision and framework

A Quality-Technology - Entrepreneurship association dedicated to FPS and helping both think through and teach the 21st century model, raise the resource, provide current examples, and help shape current policies (our version of Heavy Industry 1860-96 and labor unions 1932-48)

Sat
19 DEC 1992 #15

HAN 02118

Exhibit 42

We are in the business of transforming the United States from a welfare state into an opportunity society - the opportunity society is based on the basic principles of #11 -

If the next topic, action, speech etc is not transformational why are we doing it?

Every non-transformational event divert, and distorts our effort and may block people from seeing and supporting the transformational effort.

Sat
19 DEC 1992 #1

HAN 02119

Exhibit 42

1993 TASKS - I

Quarterly mtg to set up monitoring of How we doing / [illegible] of Tasks

1. Design vision and its communication
Newt and communicate it with modification
+ Steve after feedback

2. Design general planning-management system
Joe and set up quarterly review
at the general level

3. Design and implement mission planning-communicating-training
Newt + Steve / Joe

4. Design and implement the intellectual-visionary leadership component
Steve and the shift in publicity focus to that level

5. Design and implement the ~~House~~ Republican national
information-idea sharing systems
quarterly coordinating council
annual tidewater

6. Design and implement the House Republican Team
a. leadership (includes NCC & communications ideally)
Joe / Meyer b. whip organization
c. ~~[illegible]~~ ranking members -
d. activists DAN ~~[illegible]~~ LEN JEFF JOE ED MARTHA
e. special ~~concerns~~ concerns (women, moderates, New England, California, etc.)
f. the Transformational-Tactical Monitoring Team

SAT
19 DEC 1992 #17

HAN 02120

Exhibit 42

1993 - TASKS - II

7 - Design and implement the Georgia 6th District

a. Congressional
b. Campaign (Fong)
c. The movement
d. Georgia
   a. Dean of House delegation
   b. Olympics
   c. Georgia GOP especially elected officials
e. Georgia media - Georgia understanding of what we are doing

8. Design and implement the NATIONAL - INTERNATIONAL movement support systems

Whole Team
a. GOPAC
b. Quality - Technology - Entrepreneurial assoc
c. Republicans Abroad
d. Republican International Foundation (?)
e. Foundation ?
f. other

SAT
19 DEC 1992

HAN 02121

Exhibit 42

1993 - TASKS III

9. Design Gingrich schedule, support mechanisms
Whole team and lifestyle modifications.

10. Develop a staff recruiting - orientation - training
Joe + Owen + others system

11. Search for, recruit and develop now on
allies (looking for Sherman and Sheridan,
Mark Hanna, etc.) Allies: Real assignments
Do take care of your Zone
Huffington - Does Steve Kenny
know about

SAT
19 DEC 1992 # 19

HAN 02122

Exhibit 42

PRIORITIES to 6/30/93

1. ~~STAT~~ Articulate the vision of civilizing humanity and recivilizing all Americans (TASK 1)

2. Design general planning-management systems and set up quarterly review at the general level (TASK 2, 9, 10, 11)

3. build a House Republican Team committed to professionalizing the House GOP and to becoming a majority and in particular building a team among the leadership and with our active House member partners (TASKS 5, 6)

4. building a volunteer-staff team in the 6th District (TASK 7)

5. Define, plan and begin to organize the movement for civilization and the effort to transform the welfare state into an opportunity society, to help people achieve productivity, responsibility and safety so they can achieve prosperity and freedom so they can pursue happiness (TASK 3, 5, 8)

6. Diet, exercise, recreation and renewal with maximum (TASK 9)

7. begin to plan and develop the intellectual-educational effort to sustain the vision of civilizing humanity and recivilizing all American (TASK 4)

Sat 19 DECEMBER #20

HAN 02123

Key Questions For 1993

Reporting
Measuring
recruiting delegating-Training
planning
coordinating
meetings

ey → How does Now and his staff plan in advance of each meeting and following on each meeting

#6

Sat
19 DEC 1992

HAN 02124

Exhibit 42

-eporting — directly to Newt/JQ

Daily

1. Georgia report
   staff + clippings (include 2428?)

2. Congressional - House GOP report
   staff + Congress Daily, Hotline, Rollcall etc

conf. Report on what pickup wire up. feed back on what's going on on the hill

3. National clippings (+ White House daily? + Hotline?)

Weekly

1. GOPAC

Unified Weekly Report

2. ~~Civilizing Movement~~
   Movement report
3. Fang report (in addition to contributing to Daily Sc

Need to know

- tout Clips. MDJ/const. Pro Journal Editorials
- 10-11 Staff Reports
  Gossip
- Bullets what did you learn today

Sat #22
19 DEC 1992

HAN 02125

Exhibit 42

EXHIBIT 43

MEMORANDUM

TO: Gay Gaines
Lisa Nelson

FROM: Newt Gingrich

DATE: October 26, 1993

Welcome aboard! (I am writing this at 6:05am and the Delta flight attendent just said that so I thought it appropriate)

I really enjoyed our meeting last week (and my earlier breakfast with Gay). We may very well make history together. It is an exciting prospect.

As I thought about our conversations one particular element seemed worth stressing. The Gingrich team is an extensive, established system with an amazing array of activities, efforts and personalities. We do a lot of different things pretty well every day. There are a number of things we can do better.

However, the things we can improve must be improved within the larger context of a generally effective, very purposeful effort to renew American civilization by replacing the welfare state. Electing local government, state legislative, and congressional majorities are steps toward this ideafistic, moral goal of renewing American civilization.

You two are tremendous additions to the team. You will bring energy, ideas, creativity and leadership to GOPAC. I know from conversations around the country that you have already brought renewed interest and renewed resources to GOPAC.

My only major concern is that you both take the time to thoroughly understand what we are trying to do and how we have grown to this point. I would strongly suggest you use Joe Gaylord, Steve Hanser, Rachel Phillips, Jeff Eisenach and Hardy Lott as resources to learn why we do a lot of the things we do.

Let me be very clear. I am not asking you to accept any of our current structures, habits or systems as written in stone. I am excited that you are joining us precisely because I believe your creativity and your leadership will strengthen our team. Frankly, the better Joe and I come to know you and understand you the more freedom you will have to run GOPAC.

Because we are a system and there are many interactive parts it is important in the early days that you check with Joe on significant changes to see how they effect other political, legislative, legal and ethical concerns.

My system, at its core, is very clear cut and I hope you will ask questions of the five key people I rely on most:

Exhibit 43

1. Joe Gaylord is empowered to supervise my activities, set my schedule, advise me on all aspects of my life and career. He is my chief counselor and one of my closest friends. Early on I strongly suggest you share all of your ideas and questions with Joe.

2. Steve Hanser is my chief ideas adviser, close personal friend of twenty years, and chief language thinker. If there is something Joe or I are doing that we don't seem to be explaining very well Steve is the best person to discuss things with (404-834-7387 or 706-632-7416 are the two numbers he can be reached at 90% of the time). He stays up late so you can talk to him at your convenience.

3. Rachel Phillips is my executive assistant. She tactically coordinates my daily activities while Joe strategically coordinates them. She works directly with the senior management of my organizations and she speaks for me when I am in meetings. You can tell her anything and ask her anything. She knows Joe and me remarkably well.

4. Jeff Eisenach is our senior intellectual leader and an entrepreneur with great talent and determination. He has studied Joe and me systematically and talked at length with Hanser. He can give you insights both about GOPAC and about Joe and me.

5. Hardy Lott is a superb scheduler who knows Marianne and me very well and can tell you a lot about the rhythms of my schedule and how to use me effectively.

You both have direct access to me at any time. You are senior leaders and you can come to me without going through Joe or anyone else (although on major decisions I will promptly consult Joe and Steve and on minor ones I will inform Joe and Rachel).

Please feel free to call me. During the daytime and when I am traveling Rachel can set up a call and checking with her is the fastest way to get it done. If you want to talk at night or on weekends (I travel about half of all weekends and am in Georgia the other half) please just call me at home. (Georgia: 404-984-1826, DC: 202-544-4764)

We <u>are</u> going to renew American civilization.

We <u>are</u> going to replace the welfare state.

We <u>are</u> going to elect a Republican majority in the House.

You two <u>are</u> going to be a key dynamic duo in these historic achievements.

Again, welcome aboard!

GDC 11551

Exhibit 43

to Gay Gaines
Lisa Nelson

Have
Jil
Steve edit
then send

~~10/26/93~~

From Newt 10/26/93

Welcome aboard (I am writing this at 6:05 AM and the Delta flight attendant just said that so I thought it appropriate).

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MRL

GDC 11552

Exhibit 43

Gaines-Nelson -2

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GDC 11553

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—More

Exhibit 43

Gaines - Nessen -3

all of your ideas and questions with Joe. ~~[illegible]~~ You can assume that any ideas or concerns you share with me I will share with Joe. He and I have talked and he is very eager to help you succeed at GPTC and believes the two of you are a tremendous team who will ~~[illegible]~~ have a very positive impact.

2. Steve Hansen - he is my chief ideas adviser, close personal friend of 20 years, and chief lightning rod inside. If there is something Joe or I are doing that we don't seem to be explaining very well Steve is the best ~~[illegible]~~ person to discuss things with (404-834-7387 or 706-632-7416) ~~[illegible]~~ two numbers he can be reached at 90% of the time. He stays up late so you can talk to him at your convenience.

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More

Exhibit 43

Gaines-Nelson-4

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Again, welcome aboard.

GDC 11555

Exhibit 43

EXHIBIT 44

PFF
14473

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now, 16 years later, here we are again.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Second, "decay of American civilization" asserts that we can make a distinction between decay and progress. Clinton tried to describe change as our friend in his inaugural, but he couldn't use the word progress because it is banished from the liberal lexicon.

Exhibit 44

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Exhibit 44

1970's.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Third, entrepreneurial free enterprise is an attitude, a way of life and a system of productivity. In most areas the development of entrepreneurship increases wealth and productivity. For poor minorities, entrepreneurship in small business is the key to future wealth. For women, entrepreneurship is the most powerful way to break the glass ceiling. If you own it you can change it. In government, the entrepreneurial approach through decentralization, privatization, and a focus on outcomes instead of inputs can lead to a dramatic decline in cost and increase in productivity. In services, entrepreneurship will

Exhibit 44

consistently beat bureaucracy. Entrepreneurial health care could lower costs and create better health for less.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Exhibit 44

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

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

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

Let me congratulate Gay Gaines and Nat. Rev.

NR-1 [illegible] January 16 years ago John O'Sullivan

In 1977 there were 2 events in Washington with Nava speakers

I was Jimmy Carter's inaugural

I was Ronald Reagan's speech to a conservative ~~[illegible]~~ conference

In history it is ~~the~~ Reagan ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible] that will be seen as decisive and ~~[illegible]~~ Carter's inaugural will be seen as the aberration.

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

Now 16 years later here we are again

Our primary effort should NOT be to focus on what's wrong with the liberals bad ideas.

Our primary effort should be to develop and communicate a positive vision, to create positive strategies, to develop positive projects and to spend each day on positive tactics. We should spend 3/4 th of our time on our positives and 1/4 on liberals error

If we convince the American [illegible] we have better solutions for their problems. They ~~[illegible]~~ will insist the Democrats adopt our ideas. If the Democrats refuse they will be defeated.

Walmart, McDonald's and Microsoft did not become dominant by attacking their competitors.

Exhibit 44

They became dominant by offering better value to the customer and greater opportunities to the customer.

-MW-

~~But what we must do is farm on important [illegible] commercial venture~~

NRC² to quote FDR

Our generation has a rendezvous with destiny.

In 1940 the greatest threats to Freedom was the Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. The American people rose to the challenge and Freedom won.

In 1946 the greatest threat to Freedom was the Soviet Empire. The American people rose to the challenge and for nearly a half century we contained the Soviet Empire until it collapsed. My Dad spent years serving in the US army to protect and preserve Freedom. It worked.

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

Decay of American civilization.

Among liberal elites that would be a horrifying assertion. It has several politically incorrect assumptions.

First, Decay of American Civilization asserts there is an American civilization. We are the successor to Western civilization. We are more open, more future oriented, more inclined toward technology and entrepreneurialism and less hierarchical, we are optimistic and integrationist. From Colin Powell to Pat Saike, from Gary Franks to Henry Bonilla, from Ileana Ros-Lehtinen to Louis Sullivan America is the most universal, most integrationist, most opportunity oriented

— More

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society offering more hope to more people than any society in the history of the world.

Second, Decay of American civilization asserts that we can make a distinction between decay and progress. Clinton tried to describe change as our friend but in his inaugural but he couldn't use the word progress because it is banished from the liberal lexicon.

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

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

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

Once we have mastered the principles and practices of American civilization we should study other civilizations. As a PhD in European History I

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NRY

Favor studying other cultures. But other culturism is very different from multi-culturalism because we start with the belief that American civilization is the most powerful creator of prosperity freedom and safety in human history and must be studied first.

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

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

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

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

Renewing ~~Re-establishing~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~freedom, productivity and safety is the cent~~ American civilization is the central challenge of the rest of our lives.

Fortunately for us most Americans ~~[illegible]~~ want to sustain and renew American civilization.

"As Everett Carll Ladd noted ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ recently

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Only 22% of the in 1992 voters favored expanding government while 68% favor restraint in government.

In the Atlanta Constitution poll last year, when asked "Do you believe all welfare recipients should be required to work, including women with young children" 51% of southern blacks said yes while only 11% said.

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

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

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

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

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

There are 5 pillars of 21st century American civilization. If we systematically study them and use them to transform government and the law we can offer a better lifestyle with a higher standard of living at lower cost and with greater

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freedom for virtually all Americans except bureaucrats, trial lawyers, liberal academics and lobbyists and the ~~municipal~~ gov employee unions.

These 5 pillars actually will increase productivity ~~at~~ and services. They allow us to break out of the welfare state dilemma of more taxes or less government.

In fact they ~~[illegible]~~ can create progress and replace decay. The five pillars are Quality, Technological advance, EFE, Prin of Americ & Psych. Strength

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

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

Edison wright

Third, entrepreneurial free enterprise is an attitude, a way of life and a system of productivity. In most areas the development of entrepreneurship increases more

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NR7

wealth and productivity. For poor minorities entrepreneurship in small business is the key to future wealth. This is understood strongly by most Jews, Blacks and Asians, particularly by Latinos and to a tragically small degree by most of the American black community. ~~For women entrepreneurs~~ For women entrepreneurship is the most powerful way to break the glass ceiling. If you own it you can change it. In government the entrepreneurial approach through deregulation, privatization and a focus on outcomes instead of inputs can lead to a dramatic decline in cost and increase in productivity. In services entrepreneurship will consistently beat bureaucracy. Entrepreneurial health care could lower costs and create better health for less. In job training McDonald's Idea says

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

Does it help people be more responsible, productive and safe so they can be more prosperous and free so they can pursue happiness? If the answer is yes it is a constructive proposal. If no

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NR-8 it is a destructive proposal - note that American civilization offers the opportunity to pursue happiness but no secular state can provide happiness. Note also that prosperity and freedom are products of responsibility, productivity and safety. civilization matters and we must renew it.

Fifth, and finally, we must emphasize psychological strength. there is no substitute for courage, hard work, persistence, discipline and integrity. In fact the past need psychological strength even more than the rich. ~~[illegible]~~ in our current system outside ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~

Every thing else will fail if we fail to inculcate, encourage and reinforce psychological strength. ~~[illegible]~~

~~Now~~ we face the challenge of translating these 5 pillars of 21st century American civilization into reality -

Reagan taught us the virtue of focusing narrowly and with great discipline on no more than 3 big goals at a time. Clinton's bad ideas will force us to spend some time ~~stop~~ opposing destructive ~~ideas~~ proposals that will increase the decay. However we must vigorously discipline ourselves to ~~spend~~ spend no more than 25% of our time on stopping the left.

The more important 75% of our time should be spent applying the 5 pillars of Quality, Technology, entrepreneurship, American principles and psychological strength to more

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NL-9

Just three big topics.

~~If we will solve the problems of economic growth~~

If we will develop solutions for economic growth, health, and saving the inner city we will decisively trump the left. At that point either Clinton will adopt our solutions or the country will fire the President who ~~pups~~ subsidizes decay and blocks progress.

~~The [illegible] is [illegible]~~

~~[illegible]~~

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

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

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NR-10 Given that choice our ~~[illegible]~~ movement for ~~of~~ renewing American civilization will not just win the White House in 1996 ~~it~~ we will elect people at all levels dedicated to constructive proposals.

~~[illegible]~~ the Nazis lost to Freedom. the Soviet Empire lost to Freedom. With our courage and our ~~perseverance~~ persistence we can ensure that the decay of the welfare state will lose to Freedom. that is what is at stake

Why it matters.

I moment to
renew American
your [illegible]
your [illegible]
your [illegible]

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EXHIBIT 45

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 103d CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 139 WASHINGTON, MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1993 No. 7

Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Tuesday, January 26, 1993, at 12 noon.

House of Representatives

The House met at 12 noon.

DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,
January 22, 1993.

I hereby designate the Honorable STENY H. HOYER to act as Speaker pro tempore on Monday, January 25, 1993.

THOMAS S. FOLEY,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O gracious Lord, from whom comes every good gift, we offer our thanks for this new day and all its possibilities. May we use our time and energies to heal and not hurt, to seek unity and not division, to respect and not disparage, and to discover anew the bonds of solidarity and harmony that give us purpose and strength. Bless us this day and every day, we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1993

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COBLE] to lead us in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. COBLE led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

RESIGNATION FROM THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following resignation from the House of Representatives:

JANUARY 22, 1993.

Hon. THOMAS FOLEY,
Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: It has been a pleasure and honor for me to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives. As you know, I have resigned today to serve in the President's Cabinet as Secretary of Agriculture. I hope to continue to work with you in my new position and I thank you for your leadership through the years.

Please find enclosed my resignation letter to Mississippi Governor Kirk Fordice. As I have written to Governor Fordice, I have accepted my new position with enthusiasm but also with a sense of tremendous gratitude and humility for the trust and confidence that the voters of my district have placed in me over the years. In the many votes I have cast and the many actions I have taken on their behalf, I have always tried to reflect credit on the 2nd Congressional District and on the great state of Mississippi.

It has been the ultimate honor for me to be a part of our country's history by serving in the U.S. House of Representatives. I look forward to continuing to serve my country in my new position and working with you and my former colleagues in Congress.

Sincerely,

MIKE ESPY,
Secretary of Agriculture.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, January 21, 1993.

Hon. KIRK FORDICE,
Governor of Mississippi, State Capitol, Jackson, MS.

DEAR GOVERNOR FORDICE: For the past six years, I have had the privilege of representing the people of the 2nd Congressional District in the Congress of the United States. In the many votes I have cast and the many actions I have taken on their behalf, I have always tried to reflect credit on the 2nd Congressional District and on our great state of Mississippi.

As you are aware, I recently have been nominated by the President of the United States and confirmed by the United States Senate to serve in the President's Cabinet as Secretary of Agriculture. As such, I am requesting and do hereby submit my resignation as United States Congressman effective upon my taking the oath of office on Friday, January 22, 1993, at approximately 10 a.m. EST.

Although I have accepted the new position with enthusiasm, I leave my House seat with a sense of tremendous gratitude and humility for the trust and confidence that the voters of my district have placed in me over the years.

I assure you and the citizens of Mississippi that I will continue to be an advocate and strong ally for all legitimate needs of the people of Mississippi.

Sincerely,

MIKE ESPY,
Member of Congress,
Secretary of Agriculture-Designate.

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RESIGNATION FROM THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following resignation from the House of Representatives:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, January 21, 1993.

Hon. THOMAS S. FOLEY,
The Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, DC:

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Attached is the letter I have sent to the Governor of California notifying him of my resignation from the U.S. House of Representatives effective 6 p.m. today.

Sincerely,

LEON E. PANETTA,
Member of Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, DC, January 21, 1993.

Gov. PETE WILSON,
State Capitol, Sacramento, CA.

DEAR GOVERNOR: Having been nominated by the President, and confirmed by the Senate, as the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, I resign as U.S. Representative of the 17th Congressional District of California effective 6:00 p.m. today.

Sincerely,

LEON E. PANETTA,
Member of Congress.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

Mr. MOAKLEY, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-1) on the resolution (H. Res. 19) to establish the Select Committee on Aging, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

Mr. MOAKLEY, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-2) on the resolution (H. Res. 30) to establish the Select Committee on Aging, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN, YOUTH AND FAMILIES

Mr. MOAKLEY, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-3) on the resolution (H. Res. 23) to establish the Select Committee of Children, Youth and Families, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER

Mr. MOAKLEY, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-4) on the resolution (H. Res. 19) to establish the Select Committee on Hunger, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON NARCOTICS ABUSE AND CONTROL

Mr. MOAKLEY, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 103-5) on the resolution (H. Res. 20) to establish the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

WASHINGTON, DC,
January 22, 1993.

Hon. THOMAS S. FOLEY,
The Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 5 of Rule III of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, I have the honor to transmit a sealed envelope received from the White House on Thursday, January 21, 1993 at 6:40 p.m. and said to contain a message from the President whereby he notifies the Congress of his decision of the maximum deficit amount under the Balanced Budget and Emergency Control Act of 1985.

With great respect, I am

Sincerely yours,

DONNALD K. ANDERSON,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

NOTIFICATION OF ADJUSTMENT OF MAXIMUM DEFICIT AMOUNT OF BUDGET—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to section 254(c) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended ("Act") (2 U.S.C. 904(c)), notification is hereby provided by my decision that the adjustment of the maximum deficit amount, as allowed under section 253(g)(1)(B) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 903(g)(1)(B)), shall be made.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *January 21, 1993.*

TRIBUTE TO JUSTICE THURGOOD MARSHALL

(Mr. EDWARDS of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, it was with great sadness that we read in the morning paper of the passing of Justice Thurgood Marshall. Justice Marshall was truly one of the giants of the civil rights movement in the United States. He was born in Baltimore 84 years ago of modest family background. His mother was a schoolteacher and his father a steward in a yacht club. He fought his way through college, through law school, and in 1954 was the NAACP lawyer that went to the Supreme Court and won very probably the greatest civil rights decision in history, Brown versus Board of Education.

In 1967, Lyndon Johnson appointed Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court. From then until his retirement 1½ years ago because of ill health, he continued as truly one of the great giants in American history.

I can remember many times going before the Court in the modest duties that we have in Congress when we must swear in a constituent. It was always a great thrill to see Thurgood Marshall sitting on the Court and to reflect on the great contributions he had made throughout his life for equality, for fair play, and for our constitutional rights as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD the well-written article from the Washington Post this morning about his life.

THURGOOD MARSHALL, RETIRED JUSTICE, DIES
(By Joan Biskupic)

Retired Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, a relentless voice for minorities whose six-decade legal career was emblematic of the civil rights revolution, died yesterday of heart failure.

He was 84 years old and had been retired since June 1991. Marshall had been in failing health in recent months. He died at the National Naval Medical Center in Bethesda, where he had been since Thursday. He had planned to administer the oath of office to Vice President Gore last Wednesday, but could not because of his condition.

Marshall, who was born in Baltimore the son of an elementary school teacher and yacht-club steward, went on to become one of the most important figures in civil rights history, first as a lawyer for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and then as the first black Supreme Court justice. He was known for both his sense of humor and his impatience over the ongoing struggle of blacks in America.

"He was somebody who had absolutely no sense of his own importance," said Louis Michael Seidman, a former Marshall clerk who is now a Georgetown University constitutional law professor. "He held an unusual combination of reverence for the American justice system and a realization that his people were excluded."

In 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Marshall to the court. During his 24-year tenure, he was the only black justice. He was replaced by Clarence Thomas, also a black man, but one who adopted a judicial approach that is the opposite of Marshall's liberalism.

Marshall's record on the court was consistent: Always the defender of individual rights

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know what that means. If a populist means to be a liberal, of course; if a liberal means what the World Dictionary means, and that is a friend of the people, absolutely. They are the ones that elect me.

□ 1330

I want to be their friend because I have a trust, and I maintain that trust. They have entrusted me. I will keep faith with them. That is it. It is no more complicated than that.

In fact, I will remind my colleagues that those of us in this great American democracy that have been entrusted on our judgment day will have only one question to answer, and none other, and that is, were you for the people or were you against the people? That is all, nothing more, nothing less. That is what the shooting is all about, but you would not recognize it nowadays.

In this letter to President Clinton I asked him to help with another reform that I have been espousing for years, and that is reform of our regulatory system. We have the OCC, the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, that goes back to 1865. Then we have the Federal Reserve Board that wants to be our central bank, setting the monetary policy and the related policies that only a central bank does in any country, and at the same time a regulator. I said, "You cannot serve two masters faithfully and well. Either you are one or you are the other." The Office of the Comptroller of the Currency is under the Secretary of Treasury. That is a political office, so it is not immune from political pressures. Then we have the FDIC and we have the others.

Therefore, we find these agencies sometimes fighting for turf, overlapping, but none doing the job that late 20th century America demands and will have, and if it won't, it is doomed, let me tell you that.

It sounds ironic, as we are reaching the end not only of a century but of a whole thousand-year period, that we would be looking back at one of the bloodiest and dreariest centuries for mankind in its history, and looking into the 21st century with not much more unless we change.

America, facing a reversion, ironically, and I have said this several times, we have gone back to the mercantile system we were in during the colonial period up until 1914, when we for the first time became a creditor nation.

In 1985, on September 16, the Department of Commerce announced that the United States was again a debtor nation for the first time since 1914.

Mr. Speaker, for the record I include a memorandum related to these subjects:

To: Member House Banking Committee.
From: House Banking Committee Staff.
Date: January 25, 1993.
Subject: Banking Committee—1993 Issues.

This memorandum briefly outlines major issues the Banking Committee addressed in the 102nd Congress and is likely to address in the 103rd Congress.

A. FUNDING THE THRIFT RESOLUTION PROCESS AND THE DEPOSIT INSURANCE FUNDS

The Resolution Trust Corporation (RTC) was established in 1989 to resolve all savings associations which are declared insolvent through September 30, 1993; the RTC itself will terminate not later than December 31, 1996. The bulk of the RTC's work after September 30, 1993 will be asset disposition and closing out receiverships.

The Resolution Trust Corporation (RTC) was initially provided with $50 billion in the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act of 1989. The RTC received an additional $30 billion in March, 1991 and an additional $25 billion was provided in December, 1991 with an April, 1992 cut off date for using the funds. The RTC was able to use only $7 billion of the $25 billion. Last year, the RTC requested a total of $43 billion, composed of $25 billion of new money plus the remaining $18 billion that would be freed by lifting the April date cap. That funding request was approved by the Banking Committee but rejected by the House. Consequently, the RTC has been operating without funds since April, 1992; since that date, the RTC has been able to place institutions into conservatorship but not resolve them.

SAIF—After September 1993, the cost of resolving insolvent savings associations will be borne by the Savings Association Insurance Funds (SAIF). The SAIF has not been funded by the Bush Administration; it has virtually a zero net worth. SAIF funding should be included in RTC funding to ensure that additional amounts are not needed down the road.

Current estimates of how much is needed to complete the savings association resolution process vary widely. The best guess of how much is needed for the RTC and the SAIF is $30 to $45 billion.

Policy issues surrounding the RTC include asset dispositions—securitization and bulk sales and whether to extend or accelerate the termination date of the RTC.

B. FAIR CREDIT REPORTING ACT

H.R. 3596, introduced last Congress and considered on the House floor, reformed the credit reporting industry in several important aspects: (1) it increased consumer access to credit reports by establishing a toll free number for consumers to communicate with the major credit bureaus, by providing for standardized forms for credit reports, and by capping the costs of consumer reports; (2) it provided for enhanced privacy protection for consumers by limiting target marketing and prescreening; and (3) it enhanced the accuracy of information in credit reports by holding furnishers of information accountable for the quality of information they provide to credit bureaus.

H.R. 3596 was passed by the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs and Coinage with an amendment to override any related state laws, including those laws that provide stronger consumer protections than the federal standards. That preemption provision was strongly opposed by the consumer advocacy groups and every state attorney general. The preemption provision remained intact at the full committee level, and ultimately remained in the bill during floor consideration by a vote of 203-207. Following the vote, Chairman Torres of the Consumer Affairs Subcommittee pulled the bill and prevented further consideration.

Congressman Torres plans to introduce similar legislation in the 103rd Congress where it is likely to be considered by the Consumer Affairs Subcommittee.

C. INTERSTATE BANKING AND BRANCHING

The Banking Committee reported comprehensive banking legislation in the 102nd Congress which included authority for interstate banking and branching. The legislation was defeated by the House. Legislative proposals to permit interstate banking and branching are likely to be presented to the Committee this year.

Interstate banking—permitting bank holding companies to own banks in several states—is currently accomplished through regional compacts. Legislation to impose conditions on interstate banking may be considered.

Interstate branching would permit a bank to branch nationwide. The questions of whether this should be permitted and, if so, what conditions should be imposed, remain contentious. Policy issues include whether states should be allowed to affirmatively permit (opt in) or affirmatively reject (opt out) interstate branching; how to ensure credit availability to traditionally underserved groups and communities; increased concentration, safety and soundness; and the export of state powers such as bank insurance powers, to other states.

D. FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1991

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Improvement Act of 1991 (FDICIA) was the major legislation passed by the Committee in the 102nd Congress. The legislation provided a $30 billion line of credit to the Bank Insurance Fund, which line has not been drawn on to date, required least cost resolution of failed banks and thrifts, and instituted a system of prompt corrective action. Prompt corrective action is a system of mandatory regulatory interventions designed to ensure that institutions have sufficient capital, that they not be given the opportunity to grow out of problems, and are closed in a timely manner, reducing the losses to the deposit insurance funds.

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KOPETSKI). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, I want to talk about renewing American civilization. American civilization is decaying and it must be renewed. In Franklin Delano Roosevelt's words, our generation has a rendezvous with destiny, and I believe for our generation that rendezvous is to renew American civilization.

In 1940 the greatest threat to freedom was from Nazi Germany and imperial Japan. Americans rallied and freedom won. In 1946, the greatest threat to freedom was from the Soviet empire. Americans committed themselves to nearly a half century of containment, to maintaining a strong military, and at the end of that time the Soviet empire collapsed and freedom won. My dad spent 24 years in the U.S. Army during that period, clearly seeing his career in defense of freedom.

Today the greatest threat to freedom is here at home. The decay of American civilization is undermining our very capacity to have economic productivity, our capacity to have a decent, safe society here at home, our capacity to project assistance abroad to help other people.

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Exhibit 45

It is impossible for a country in which 15-year-olds have children, in which neighborhoods are dominated by violent gangs, in which drug addiction runs rampant, many schools graduate people who cannot read, and there is a crisis of an AIDS epidemic in that environment it is impossible in the long run to sustain American civilization.

Yet, the future of freedom is at stake. Without America, there will be more Bosnias, more Somalias, more Iraqs. We are the only country large enough, complex enough, multiracial enough, to truly provide leadership for freedom across the planet. If we weaken, if we lose our will, if we lose our economic strength, if we lose our capacity, there is no one to replace us.

We see grimly already in Sarajevo and Mogadishu, across the planet, the dangers of what will happen if American civilization falters and weakens. Yet, without renewing American civilization here at home we cannot continue to promote and sustain freedom abroad, because power assistance abroad requires a powerful, healthy society and economy here at home.

Yet the objective fact is that American civilization is decaying. This simple statement, American civilization is decaying, will be politically incorrect on many campuses for three reasons. First, it implies there is an American civilization. Second, it implies that civilization takes learning; third, it implies that American civilization is particularly worth learning about.

Let me expand on each of these three. First, American civilization implies that there is an American civilization, yet we are the successor to Western civilization. Western civilization, in many ways, with roots in Greek and Roman culture, coming up through the Judeo-Christian tradition, was a Northwestern European Caucasian civilization. It projected power across the planet beginning around 1500, but in fact, ultimately it was and remained a European phenomenon.

American civilization is quite different. It is continentwide, not simply an area the size of Europe but the size of all America, extending into the Pacific. It is multiracial, not merely Caucasian. It has many cultural traditions blended into one unifying civilization.

It is impossible to think of being American without recognizing that, whether it is in our food, in our music, in our clothing, in our history, in our anecdotes, in our movies, again and again, we are a blend from many places into this one magnificent system. We are in fact the most integrating society in the world. Colin Powell, Pat Saiki, Henry Bonilla, Jack Kemp, all are Americans, although Americans with different historic backgrounds.

American civilization is more optimistic, more future-oriented, more open, more upwardly mobile. It has less class consciousness. It is more concerned, as Martin Luther King, Jr., said, about the content of our character than the color of our skin. I think that is a very important point to remember. This is a society that, more than any society in history, has attempted to reach out to every person of every background and attempted to provide the opportunity to rise, and while in many ways we fail, we recognize it is a failure because our standard, our goal, our yardstick, is to give every American an opportunity to live a better future, something which virtually no society applies to all of its people.

Therefore, I would assert there is an American civilization, and it stands on the shoulders of Western civilization, but it includes in its heritage many other cultures, histories, and ethnicities.

Second, civilization takes learning. It takes time and effort to learn to be an American. I was really struck with this in looking at Somalia. A friend of mine, Owen Roberts, who is a management consultant and long-range planner of great wisdom, was telling me how struck he was by the early pictures of our efforts in Somalia when it hit him that the day before the Americans arrived there were going to be 8 million hungry Somalians, 3 million in danger of starving to death. After we arrived, there would be 8 million Somalians being fed, but they would not have learned any of the additional habits of self-government.

□ 1340

They would not have learned any of the additional requirements of productivity. They would not have learned any of the additional needs of being able to live together in a responsible way. But while they would not be fed, they would still lack the basic necessities of civilization which are the structure we take for granted which allow us to live together to be productive.

Now, what is true in Somalia is also true in Anacostia right across the river here in Washington. To learn to be productive, to learn to be responsible, to learn to live in safety by enforcing the rules within your community, to learn to have self-government: each of these requires a considerable amount of time and effort and can be learned, but are not automatic.

To learn to abide by the rules of self-government, that is why the power of last week's inaugural ceremony was so emotional. There is a magic to our ability to have one party, one side, in the White House, in the Oval Office with the most powerful military machine in the history of the human race, and magically, at exactly 12 o'clock on January 20, under our Constitution, to transfer all of that power, to transfer that office to the other party.

I was here as a sophomore in 1980, and I saw that magic when President Jimmy Carter left, and President Ronald Reagan came in, and I was here again last week as the second-ranking Member of the House Republican leadership watching the same magic, as after 12 years, the Republicans walked out of the White House and the Democrats and President Clinton walked in. And it is magic.

If you think it is not, look at Bosnia, look at Haiti, look at Iraq, look across the planet. There are very few places in the history of the human race where those with power have voluntarily subordinated themselves to the abstract rules of giving in to their opponents. Only in the last 300 years has it begun to be relatively common, and it is still not the fate of a majority of humans. We are getting close to a majority, but as all of us know, in many of the countries it is very fragile and very thin, and in fact, again, here at home we face these dangers not only by other countries like Bosnia and Haiti and Iraq, as grim reminders of the cost of civilization collapsing, but we were the gangs in east Los Angeles and the gang violence in Twelwood Housing in Atlanta.

The fact is to know how to grow up, to discipline yourself, to subordinate yourself to the rules, to be part of a larger process of self-government, to focus your energy and drive and discipline on trying to be productive within a framework of not harming others, all of that is a set of learned skills and learned behaviors, and for two generations we have failed to strengthen them, to teach them, and to assert them.

So I just want to say that if you will agree that there is an American civilization, that requires that you also agree that this is a civilization worth learning, because after all, you cannot sustain any civilization beyond one generation. All it takes is the next generation refusing to learn or not being taught, and the whole process begins to fall apart. I would suggest that to study American history is to study a set of attitudes and values of practices and principles which are at the heart of prosperity and self-government.

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

Let me break this into two key parts. First, all we can guarantee in a free society is the pursuit of happiness. One of the great failings of totalitarian regimes, of all too many of our friends of the counterculture on the left is that they want to guarantee happiness. They seek equal outcomes when, in fact, you cannot guarantee happiness. Happiness is between you and your God. Happiness is of the spiritual world, not the secular. The most the secular state can do, is create a framework in which there is a greater chance

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to be happy, and clearly if you are in an American suburb in a good job, in a nice neighborhood with your kids in a good school, living in safety, you are more likely to have a chance to pursue happiness than if you are starving in Somalia or being shot at in Bosnia. But the key principle which is that government can create a framework in which you can pursue happiness and you can seek, through your own religious beliefs, to accommodate yourself to life and to come to understand what happiness is, but the state cannot guarantee or give you happiness is a very key part of American civilization.

The second point I would make about that sentence is that prosperity and freedom are not gifts. All too often we hear politicians say, "Elect me, and you will be prosperous." I want to suggest to you that except for a brief period where we transfer wealth, where we steal from one to give to another, there can, in fact, be no prosperity in and of itself, nor can there be freedom in and of itself. Prosperity and freedom are contingent on the habits of responsibility, productivity, and safety.

Only by helping people become responsible, helping them become productive, and helping them become safe can we truly help them achieve prosperity and freedom.

All too often politicians and academics focus on how we get to prosperity and freedom without building the underlying foundation, the key structure, which is at the essence of prosperity and freedom. So I would argue that every policy should be looked at, and the question should be asked: Does this policy help people become more responsible, more productive, and more safe so they can be prosperous and free, so they can pursue happiness?

And then I would apply not the issue, is it ideologically right or ideologically wrong, but, rather, is it constructive to people, or is it destructive to the way they behave. By the way, I really got turned on to this approach by reading the 1913 Girl Scout Manual. My wife and I were in Savannah a number of years ago; we went to Juliette Low's house. They sell a reproduction of the 1913 Girl Scout Manual, and when you read the ground rules for life written for girls in 1913, it is a very profound document.

First of all, it is entitled "What Every Girl Can Do For Her Country," and in that sense it is a clearly patriotic, pro-American national view, pro-American concern, trying to teach every young girl, and this, by the way, was in one of our peak periods of immigration when the effort to assimilate and bring everyone together as Americans was particularly important.

Second, it had two rules which I remember reading in 1981 that were just stunning. The first was, and this was pre equal rights amendment, this was pre what we think of in the modern age as women's liberation, and the first one was this, according to the 1913 Girl Scout Manual, that every girl should learn two trades so that if one dies, she can earn a living at the other. Now, think about how many people know who have taken 26 weeks of unemployment, gone deer hunting and bass fishing, not spent the 26 weeks in college, not spent the 26 weeks at a vocational school, not spent the 26 weeks getting a new vocation or starting a new business or learning a new trade, but then turned around at the end of the 26 weeks and said, "I need 26 more, because I am still waiting."

By contrast, in 1913 for young girls, the Girl Scout Manual was saying, "You need to always know a minimum of two trades so you can always earn a living even if one of your trades becomes obsolete."

Second, the manual emphasized saving a minimum of one penny a week. Now, a penny back then would probably be, in inflated money, 25 cents today, but the principle that drove that was this, that the act of budgeting and saving changes your perspective on life and changes your perspective on time, and teaches you discipline and teaches you over time how you can get ahead.

Now, I would suggest to you to go into any elementary or high school in America today and say to people, "You had better plan to learn two trades so that if one of them dies, you are going to have the second one, and you had better be saving at least a quarter a week, because you need the discipline, you need the experience, you need the long-term time perspective." You would be laughed at as terribly old-fashioned.

I would also suggest that the basic underlying lessons of the Girl Scout Manual of 1913 apply directly to how America got sick and why American civilization is decaying, and you cannot renew American civilization until we have the moral courage to go back and to insist on these core lessons of how people ought to behave and what people ought to do.

Let me say that civilization can be learned, and American civilization must be learned. In fact, it is the key to assimilating immigrants.

Let me say again that the key challenge in America with people who come from all over the world is not how many arrive but how fast do they become American. If we go back to being a country that is truly a melting pot, a country in which every immigrant learns English, a country in which everybody becomes habitually and, by practice, an American, a country in which we integrate and assimilate and bring together everyone, then, frankly, there is no worry about immigration. They are just new Americans with new energy and new drive and new hopes and new dreams, creating new wealth and new prosperity, and they make the whole country stronger.

It is only when the assimilating and integrating capacities of America start to slow down, it is only when we fail to teach the principles and practices and habits of being American that there has to be any kind of concern about immigrants. But that concern is not just about immigrants. Note the problems that we have in teen gangs. Teenage gangs are a function of the failure to structure schools, government, the law, and society, to teach American civilization.

□ 1350

And it is every one of those. It does you no good to have a textbook in a classroom and have every lesson learned out in the real world undermine the textbook. We have to have laws which encourage the work ethic, we have to have laws which encourage families and encourage male responsibility for their children, we have to have laws to encourage learning and encourage retraining, we have to have laws which are very, very tough on criminals and drug dealers.

Only by having the law as a great teacher do we enforce the school, can we in fact expect people to truly learn American civilization. If effect, because we have not had the courage and the integrity and the discipline to insist on American civilization, what we have happening in all too many of our greater cities is the equivalent of the "Lord of Flies," supplied with submachine guns. Young males who do not have a hierarchy to join will form one on their own if adults do not create hierarchies and bring males into those hierarchies; this is why initiation rites matter. It is why in every healthy society there is a conscious effort to worry about young males of puberty and to bring them into adult society in a way which makes them adult. By creating a gap in which there is no way for young males to become bonded and to become initiated into being an adult American, we have created literally "Lord of the Flies" at a level of incredible violence and incredible savagery that has to sadden every single person.

Let me also say, the ability to integrate and assimilate, to initiate into American civilization, is not automatic. There are many countries in the world which do not accept outsiders almost no matter how long they stay. We are the most unique country in our willingness and our ability to bring people in and absorb them. But we are losing that ability both with our young in the cities and with immigrants across the board. We have to go back and rethink carefully how can we reestablish American civilization in its full dynamic as the most integrating society on the planet.

Third, having asserted first that there is an American civilization and, second, that American civilization must be learned by each generation, I believe that it is necessary to replace multiculturalism with other culturalism. This is not just a play on words, not just putting "other" in front of "culturalism" instead of "multi" and walking out with a gim-

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mick. The difference is very, very clear and very simple.

Multiculturalism is the equivalent of situation ethics applied to civilization. It assumes cultures are equal morally and it assumes you can lump American civilization in with other cultures and other civilizations so that we can devote one-fifth or one-tenth or one-fifteenth of our students' time to America while concurrently studying other, equally important and equally useful cultures, so that each student would sort of invent their own version of civilization by taking what they thought was useful from all of them.

Let me say, first, American civilization must be studied first and be thoroughly mastered before we can move on to other topics; and, second, that American civilization is in fact a more powerful, a more humane, and a more desirable form of civilization. Let me first explain why American civilization should be studied first and thoroughly mastered before moving on to other topics.

The biggest and most important reason for doing that is because this is where we live, it is where we are, it is our home. Learning to be American, learning to succeed as an American, learning to participate in self-government, to live in a diverse, complex society has to take precedence if our children are to grow into responsible, productive, safe citizens capable of sustaining the civil life of a free society.

When you read the entry level exams of freshmen at some of the elite colleges and universities and you realize that a quarter of them were not aware that Lincoln gave the Gettysburg Address, that a significant number were not sure whether the Revolutionary War and the Civil War were the same event; that on item after item naming both Senators for your State, naming one or more Supreme Court Justices, knowing where the Supreme Court is between the State and Federal Government, if you take item after item of the most basic principles of American life and the current education system has collapsed so disastrously in terms of teaching American civilization that we are literally not giving young people, even elite young people going to the best schools with the best education, the kind of grounding in American civilization which they need.

But, second, I would argue you should learn American civilization thoroughly first because it is in fact better than its predecessors. The racism of Western civilization, the savagery of Aztec sacrifice, the caste system of classic Indian civilization, the oppression of women in Iran, the mutilation of young women in some societies, these practices are less humane, less decent, and less desirable than American civilization.

I think it is useful to first learn about ourselves and about what we do and about what we value, and then, frankly—and I have a doctorate in European history, I taught both world history and European history—I believe you should learn about other civilizations, but you should learn about them within the framework of your own American civilization and after having first thoroughly come to understand it.

Establishing the legitimacy of American civilization as a yardstick is important because it is the basis of reestablishing two key words, the word progress and the word decay. And I have to thank Jeff Eisenach, a brilliant young intellectual who first pointed this out to me.

Progress as a word is very, very common in the Western World up to 1914; it died somewhere between the trenches of France on the western front in World War I and the horrors of Auschwitz in Eastern Germany and Poland in World War II. Progress disappeared. We got into a system that said, "Well, there is no progress." In fact, there is a book entitled "The Death of Progress," which is a study of how the word disappeared.

Now, if you do not have progress, you also do not have decay. It is inappropriate to talk about the decay of the inner cities, the decay of our schools, the decay of our government bureaucracies, because this again implies a standard, and who are we to judge. And yet if you do not have progress and you do not have decay, you do not have the yardstick, you have no way of saying whether the next thing is better or worse. If there is no yardstick, there is a long-term tendency for people in fact to drift into barbarism and savagery.

Progress is linked to constructive and decay is linked to destructive. And the two have to come together and have to be part of the same system and the same procedures. Without progress, how do you know something is destructive? Without decay, how do you know something is destructive?

So we need a yardstick.

Now, if there is an American civilization, the question is: Is it decaying? I have talked in the last month or so about the decay of American civilization, and I have yet to have a single audience in which somebody got up and said, "Oh, we are really not decaying." In every audience I have talked to there is virtually universal agreement that we are in fact in enormous danger of decay.

Let me give you one example. There was a teachers' survey, this is in school, and they were asked the question, "What are the leading problems in your school?" In 1940 here are the three answers, in 1940 the teachers said the top three problems in school were: One, littering; two, noise; three, chewing gum.

In 1992, the same survey was asked of teachers. Here are their answers: One, rapes; two, assault; three, teenage suicide.

Let me just suggest to you unequivocally—and I would debate anyone anywhere on the following assertion—to go from littering to rape is decay, to go from noise to assault is decay, to go from chewing gum to teenage suicide is decay.

We are faced with the objective fact that, available every night on virtually every television newscast all over America that, American civilization is in fact decaying.

The National School Board Association is in town. They asked the question this year, "What do you think is the biggest single problem in education?" And like all good educational bureaucracies, they would hope the people would respond, "We need more money." Well, 22 percent said underfunding is the key problem; 48 percent said it was drugs, discipline and gangs. Forty-eight percent said drugs, discipline and gangs are the biggest problems in America schools. And in fact 9 percent listed gangs as their biggest problem.

Now, think about an America where 9 percent of the schools list teenage gangs, 9 percent of the parents list teenage gangs as the biggest problem in their school. If that is not decay, what is?

Science magazine reported about a month ago that in the last 10 years the ability of Americans to do math as compared to the Japanese and Chinese has not improved one bit. We have had 10 years of a nation at risk, we have had 10 years of politicians talking about education, we have had 10 years of spending more money on education, we have had 10 years of discussion, and the fact is that as of today we have not improved our mathematical abilities compared to Japan and China at all.

Now, I would suggest to you unequivocally that American civilization cannot survive as a country in which 12-year-olds have children without preparation, schools give people diplomas when they are illiterate, a significant number of our young are drug-addicted, there are neighborhoods so violent that we cannot create new jobs, there is an AIDS epidemic which is 90 percent avoidable by behavioral change, and all too many of our young have a sense of hopelessness which leads them to assume, accurately in some cities, that since they are going to die before they are 20, there is no point in planning for the long run.

□ 1400

That collection of problems is in fact the crisis for the future, so I do assert American civilization is decaying.

To paraphrase Franklin Delano Roosevelt, our generation's rendezvous with destiny is to dedicate ourselves to renewing American civilization. We need a movement dedicated to renewing American civilization.

I think it will take 2 million or more active citizen leaders to insist on and insure the renewal of American civilization.

Let me say, I think that renewal needs to be cultural. It needs to be societal. It needs to be educational. It needs to be economic. It needs to be

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governmental and it needs to be political.

This is not just an act of renewing involving politics and politicians and votes. It is everywhere from what does your local school teach to what does your alma mater teach, to what do you hear on radio and television, to what happens with your local club and your local civic organization, to what are your governments and your politicians doing.

I believe that when you look at the 21st Century that there are five pillars of renewing American civilization. The five are simple.

First, quality as defined by Edwards Deming.

Second, technological advancement.

Third, entrepreneurial free enterprise.

Fourth, the principles of American civilization.

Fifth, psychological strength. Let me expand on those for just a moment.

First, quality as defined by Edwards Deming. Deming is the man who taught the Japanese the concept of quality. He describes it as profound knowledge. It is truly quality with a capital Q. It is not just doing things right. It is an entire way of thinking about your customers, your supplier, your business, your job, your relation with your fellow employees. It is a set of behaviors which allows us to provide for less cost, faster service, higher quality, greater satisfaction.

I would assert and I do not know of any quality expert who disagrees with me that if we were to apply quality to education, to health and to government we would lower the deficit by 20 percent within 3 or 4 years while actually improving services, improving health, improving learning and creating a better customer satisfaction with the bureaucracy.

Quality is a dramatically different way of approaching things, and I will be talking about it more in the next few weeks. Let me give just one or two quick historic examples.

The Ford Motor Co., and this is described by Peterson in a tremendous book called "A Better Idea," very simple, easy understandable reading, in which he outlines how quality and Deming applied profound knowledge to the Ford Motor Co. The Ford Motor Co. last year had 9 of the 10 most efficient factories in the United States in the auto industry. Nissan had the 10th. The Ford Motor Co. now rivals Toyota as the most productive automotive company in the world.

Why? Because they profoundly reexamined what they were doing, how they were working, how they related to their customers, how they related to suppliers, and they have changed the fundamental culture of the Ford Motor Co. Peterson describes it brilliantly in his book. I would simply suggest that every American citizen has to become familiar with the concept of quality and with Deming's work. Every American citizen has to think how does this apply to my life, to my neighborhood, to my community, to my government.

In education, we need to rethink learning from the ground up.

In health, we need to re-think the entire process of having a healthy nation from the ground up, and in government there is no reason that we cannot have as large a downsizing of the New York City bureaucracy, the Georgia State bureaucracy and the Federal bureaucracy, downsizing comparable to Ford, IBM, General Motors, or Xerox.

Let me just point out one of the great intellectual failures of the welfare state is the fact that sacrifice was talked of in the inaugural address last week, but the only people so far who are going to sacrifice are working taxpaying Americans. Nobody has yet said let us have basic change in the fundamental structure of the bureaucracy. Let us apply Deming's concepts of profound knowledge.

This is not a question of more or less. With quality, you actually get better services and better customer satisfaction and more productivity, while using fewer resources and fewer people. It is as big a revolution for the 21st century as the assembly line and Henry Ford and Taylor's scientific management were at the beginning of the 20th century. It is a fundamental revolution.

Second, technological advance. You know America has been the most protechnological society in the history of the world. The fact is that Desert Storm was largely a victory of technology. It was 19- and 20-year-old Americans in M-1 tanks with infrared night seeing 3,000 meters out or a foggy morning to kill a T-72 tank which literally could not see them. It was F-117's that were invisible to the Iraqi radar sitting over Baghdad with laser-guided bombs and television-guided bombs putting them in windows of buildings when the Iraqis could not even find the F-117s.

It was a level of electronic information, command and control that put us in a different world from the Iraqis.

Technology has always been good for Americans, from Benjamin Franklin who invented the bifocal glasses, the Franklin Stove, the lightning rod, up through Eli Whitney and the cotton gin, Samuel Colt and the revolving pistol, Morse and the Morse Code and the telegraph, all the way up to the present. Americans have been proud of the idea that we are the most pragmatic, the most technology-oriented, the most futuristic of all people; and yet today the bureaucracy of the welfare state is slowly and steadily grinding down our ability to be technologically advanced and the cultural attitudes of the left and the counter-culture are so antitechnology that they are slowing down the development of new medicine, the development of new learning systems, the development of new ways of getting things done.

It is very important to understand in terms of cost, that the only two places in American life where the cost of technology goes up are the Defense Department and those aspects of health dominated by government. Microwave ovens, the cost goes down. Color televisions, the cost goes down. Cellular telephones, the cost goes down, but if you are a government bureaucracy, like the Pentagon or the Health Care Finance Administration and in charge of cellular telephones and microwave ovens, the cost would go up.

So first of all, keeping technology moving, inventing a better future, creating better ways of doing things, is at the heart of being American.

Imagine if you will, just to show you how sad the situation has become and how sad the decay is, imagine that Thomas Edison invented the electric light today in the welfare state. It would be reported by major news networks, a report which would begin: "The candle-making industry was threatened today."

At least three liberal Senators would jump up and introduce a bill to protect the candle union. Ralph Nader would hold a press conference to announce that electricity can kill and the entire development of electric lights as applied by General Electric would be blocked.

If you think I exaggerate, look at the newspapers and see how many examples you can find.

Or consider a different approach to the problem of regulation, to an antitechnology bias if the Wright brothers showed up today. Can you imagine the Wright brothers at the Environmental Protection Agency. They had invented a brand new machine which went through the air and had a propeller that chopped through the air. The EPA bureaucrat, of course, would immediately say: "And how many insects do you kill? And when you kill those insects, how many of them are endangered? You want go at Kitty Hawk and irresponsibly fly that thing without even having done a census of insects?"

So the Wright brothers leave the EPA with a folder full of forms to fill out in triplicate, walking down the hall suddenly encounter the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

Can you imagine Orville and Wilbur walking in, saying to the OSHA inspector: "We're bicycle mechanics. We have invented this thing. We're pretty sure it goes up and we think it will come down. We're not sure about that yet, never tried it before. We are not exactly sure what the safety conditions are, but Wilber said he would get in it and we will go down and see what happens."

By the time OSHA got done with all the different safety equipment they would want to put on the original Kitty Hawk flier, which you can see by the way right down here in the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum. Go down and imagine that plane, thin, frail, light, experimental, after OSHA got done with the seatbelts and the

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time because by the time they came back around again, people had forgotten that they had been there 4 years earlier

Imagine that we had a meeting of vaudeville actors in 1903 and we said to them that there were three events in 1903: the Great Train Robbery which was made as a film, and the first feature was a film with a plot 4 minutes long and that still shows down in Disneyworld, Henry Ford produced his first assembly line automobile; and the Wright brothers flew at Kitty Hawk. Now, imagine that we tried to explain to these vaudeville actors that everything they had been doing live in front of people would be replaced by a screen with a flickering black and white image, with no voice, and people would read the subtitles, and they would actually prefer to go to that silent movie rather than see a live vaudeville show next door, and that that film would be actually something which had happened 3 or 4 months earlier in New York or in Los Angeles and had been edited and put together so it did not even occur the way it looked on the film, that they had just shot different scenes and some other person put them together, and that some people like Charlie Chaplin were going to get richer on screen than they ever could have gotten in vaudeville.

And imagine that we tried to say to them:

Wait until 30 or 40 years later (follows The movie is going to become color, and it is going to have voices and music, and you are going to be able to watch it sitting in an airplane, and that airplane is going to be bigger and longer than the entire flight at Kitty Hawk in 1903

You would say that literally a Boeing 747 is longer than the entire initial flight by the Wright brothers, and that 450 Americans are going to sit in this airplane and eat food which is prepared in a microwave. I would not even want to try to explain what a microwave was And we would say they are going to fly from Atlanta to New York or from Atlanta to London, and it is going to be so common that they are not even going to say it is a miracle; they are just going to get off, and their only comment is going to be that the food was not that good and they had already seen the movie.

Now, how could you consciously get those vaudevillians to understand the scale of change that was about to overwhelm them? I do not know, but I believe that is where we Americans are—the computer, fiberoptics, biotechnology satellites, worldwide transmission

If you read President Clinton's inaugural address, everything he said about change and technology and the world market and information was exactly right It was not particularly new, except for the part about politicians, and it took great courage on his part, I think, to say it, and it will take even greater courage to live it out and to follow it

But if you read Alvin Toffler's "Future Shock" or his later book, "The Third Wave," Kenneth Boulding's "The Meaning of the 20th Century," Peter Drucker's "The Age of Discontinuity," or Naisbitt's "Megatrends," all these books tell you the same things over and over again. We are at a turning point where all changes are going to be so amazing that we who are in public life—and all citizens should be in public life; every American has an obligation to care about their country—will have to try to develop the answers that allow us to renew the American civilization in the middle of that scale of change.

I do not have the answers. I would say to any of my colleagues or anyone else who sees this or who reads it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that if you would like to send me success stories applying the five principles of quality technological advance, entrepreneurial free enterprise, the principles of American civilization, and psychological strengths, I would love to get those success stories If you have horror stories that illustrate why we need to renew American civilization, send them to me because they are often useful in illustrating why we must change If you can develop some good ideas that are attempts to apply these principles to renewing American civilization, send me your ideas

We have to create a movement to renew American civilization We have to do it at every level We have to have a vision of American renewed civilization We have to have specific projects that are the building blocks of renewal, and we have to work every day tactically at renewal

Let me just close with this thought Every night on television we are reminded of what is at stake for ourselves and our children We cannot rear our children and grandchildren in a world in which they can be shot going to school We cannot give them a world in which their chances of becoming pregnant, of dying of AIDS, of being trapped in poverty, of going to a school that fails, of not being able to compete, become overwhelming We cannot leave our children a country that is decaying economically, decaying educationally decaying on health care, decaying in welfare, and decaying in its great cities

And more is at stake than just America or just our children. In the last 20 years we have been the last best hope of mankind We have gone from a tiny strip of 13 colonies on the eastern part of the North American Continent to the most powerful universal civilization in the history of the human race All across the planet people want to be more like Americans All across the planet people want human rights, without regard to sex, without regard to race, and without regard to religion, which is at the essence of being American All across the planet people want the right to free elections, to free speech, to productivity and prosperity which is the essence of being American. If we fail, we are being warned every night by Bosnia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Iraq, Somalia, Haiti, and a host of other countries that the fabric of civilization which we have slowly helped sew will come apart and that the 21st century will be a century of horror and brutality unimaginable to most of us.

I believe that every American citizen has to confront the fact that it is not just their political leaders, it is not just their educational leaders, and it is not just their business leaders, but that every American has an obligation, and that obligation is to be committed to a renewal of American civilization, and that, as I said earlier, in Franklin Roosevelt's words, our generation has a rendezvous with destiny and we have to keep that rendezvous

THURGOOD MARSHALL DIES

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KOPETSKI) Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan, Mr CONYERS, is recognized for 15 minutes

Mr CONYERS Mr Speaker, yesterday Thurgood Marshall, retired member of the Supreme Court, passed away It is my intention to announce that there will be special orders in this body commemorating his life and works In addition, I am pleased to announce that the Congressional Black Caucus is planning a memorial tribute to him, for which details are forthcoming

Thurgood Marshall was the first black African-American member of the U S Supreme Court. He was a historic figure who will always be remembered as an incredibly accomplished individual with varied interests He was widely recognized as the most effective member of the Supreme Court in this century

As the great-grandson of a slave and born in Baltimore from working class parents, Marshall understood the importance of hard work It was this source of inspiration that positively influenced all his future decisions and achievements Even after his appointment to the U S Supreme Court, Marshall still maintained these beliefs Though he worked with some of the most prestigious individuals of our time, he never forgot the plight of the impoverished, the struggling, and the suffering

It is appropriate that we remember Marshall not only as the effective Supreme Court Justice I have just described, but also as an advocate of school desegregation It was Marshall who, as counsel for the NAACP legal fund in 1954, took his life in his hands to argue that everyone, regardless of race, creed, or color deserved to be educated He also led the charge to eliminate white-only primary elections and explicit discrimination in housing contracts As a civil rights attorney and Justice of the Supreme Court, Marshall became the principal architect of a strategy of using the courts to provide the equality that African-Americans were not otherwise afforded

Marshall is a uniquely special individual who deserves to be honored by this body and who will continue to serve as a reminder of everything that we must all strive to become

Mr Speaker, I include the following articles for the RECORD

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extra things and the this's and the that's and the structural reinforcements, the sucker would never have gotten off the ground and we would have no problem of airplane crashes today, because we would not have any airplanes.

If you think I exaggerate, talk to anybody in the pharmaceutical industry who is trying to get a new drug to come to market to help people with terminal diseases. You cannot get the drug to be experimented with because the people who are dying might be sick. So literally what happens is the bureaucracy says that we cannot allow mature adults to try this out because, after all, it might worsen them. And you say to them, "Well, these people are going to die in the next two months."

"It does not matter. We cannot allow you to take this risk, even if they want to take the risk."

Or go talk to people who make the most minor modification and are then forced to get back in line at the bureaucracy and wait for 1 year, 2 years or 3 years to get some bureaucrat to approve the paperwork in order to put something on the market which, in fact, is clearly, by any commonsense standard, already demonstrably safe.

I would just suggest to you that between the culture of the left and the welfare state bureaucracy, we have become a much more antitechnology society than it should be, and it is a tragedy because technology could revolutionize health care and radically lower the cost of taking care of yourself and give you a great deal more diagnostic information without having to go to the doctor.

Technology could explode the capacity of humans to educate themselves and to learn without having to show up at school during certain hours. So we should be very technologically oriented and we should reestablish technological advance as a key part of our future.

Third, entrepreneurial free enterprise is of the essence not just of being productive, the essence of not just being prosperous, but it is the most powerful method for getting government to work.

□ 1410

When government in the 19th century wanted to build railroads, they encouraged private enterprise to do it. When government in the 1950's wanted to have jet aircraft for transportation uses, it was private companies who did it. You can make a very powerful argument that if the shuttle were being built by a private company rather than by NASA, it would be cheaper, faster, less expensive to maintain, and come in ahead of schedule and under budget. Instead, the longer we bureaucratize the space program, the more we make it a socialist space program, the more expensive it gets, the more bureaucratic it gets, the slower it gets, and the less efficient it gets.

Now entrepreneurial free enterprise is important in a number of levels. First of all, it is the most powerful way for minorities to rise and become wealthy. We can see this with Asian-Americans who have the most entrepreneurial orientation of all the ethnic groups currently coming to the United States. We also see this with the West Indian blacks who have a higher average income in the United States than do whites. Any group which starts out trying to set up small businesses, working very hard, saving, developing a better future, is, in fact, going to rise in America. In America, if you will get a job, keep a job, work, if necessary, at a second job and live 10 percent below your take-home pay, even if you are very poor, it is amazing how rapidly you can accumulate.

Mr. Speaker, that is not just a homily. That is true for Laotians, Cambodians, Vietnamese, Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, Indians, and Pakistanis. Virtually every group which comes to America with a strong work ethic and a strong extended family rises very rapidly.

As I said earlier, it is true for West Indian blacks. It is true for most Hispanics. It is only when the welfare state starts to break down the work ethic, starts to break down the savings ethic, starts to break down the willingness to go out on your own and set up a business, starts to break down the family—only when the welfare state takes over an ethnic group and breaks down those habits do we in fact see them trapped in poverty.

When you look at entrepreneurial free enterprise, there is another way to look at it. McDonald's has the most powerful job training system in the world. More young people get more entry level training in McDonald's than anywhere else. Yet the tragedy of the welfare state is that our attitude is to raise the taxes on McDonald's to transfer the money to a bureaucracy to pay for the Job Corps even though in recent studies it has been proven that you will have a lower lifetime earning level if you go to the Job Corps than if you avoid it.

My point is this:

We should be encouraging job training through the businesses that are productive and entrepreneurial. We should be encouraging the maximum number of small businesses. We should be encouraging every minority group and every woman to go out and start a business because the best way to break the glass ceiling is to own the glass. We should be rethinking government, rethinking health care, rethinking learning, rethinking all the different aspects of bureaucracy, applying entrepreneurial free enterprise before we talk about a single penny in tax increases.

Mr. Speaker, until we have reformed the New York City bureaucracy, the worst single bureaucracy in the country in work rules, until we have reformed the Federal bureaucracy in Washington, until we have really taken apart and rethought what we are doing in terms of the system we currently have, we should not raise a penny in taxes on working Americans because government has not yet sacrificed by developing new ideas and new approaches.

Fourth, after equality, technology, technological advance, and entrepreneurial free enterprise are the principles of American civilization. We simply have to be committed to teaching people the work ethic. It was fascinating to me and one of the things that allowed me to feel comfortable giving this talk to realize that when the Atlanta Constitution in January 1992 asked in 10 States—they asked southern blacks the following question: "Do you believe that everyone should be required to work who gets welfare, including women with young children?" Eighty-one percent of southern blacks said yes, everyone should be required to work if they get welfare. Interestingly that was actually two points higher than southern whites. Seventy-nine percent of southern whites said yes.

Mr. Speaker, there is a basic core belief still in a strong family, in male responsibility for their children, in the work ethic, in the importance of saving, and yet our Tax Code, our welfare code and, all too often, our school systems fail to reinforce and fail to strengthen precisely these behaviors. We should replace welfare with workfare. We should have a school system which rewards learning. We should have a system which is aimed at health care, at rewarding wellness. We should change the Tax Code to encourage savings rather than to punish people who save by raising their taxes. On every front we should reestablish the principles of American civilization so that it replaces the welfare state with an opportunity society and so the law reinforces the right values.

Last and fifth, Mr. Speaker, after quality, technological advance, entrepreneurial free enterprise, and the principles of American civilization, we need to emphasize psychological strength. Five simple words: Courage, hard work, perseverance, discipline, and integrity. I want to repeat those: Courage, hard work, perseverance, discipline, and integrity.

Let me say bluntly, Mr. Speaker, if you do not have psychological strength in a free society, you are not going to get there. You will not be able to hold a family together, you will not be able to learn a trade, you will not be able to open a small business, you will not be able to rise economically, and you will not be able to do the hard work of freedom that is the essence of citizenship.

For two generations we have failed to be honest with the poor about the fact that you need more courage, more hard work, more perseverance, more discipline, and more integrity if you are poor. The rich can afford to buy substitutes, but in a free society every cit-

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izen has to have psychological strength.

I was first turned on to this by Gary Wills in his book, "Inventing America," which is a study of the Declaration of Independence. Wills describes George Washington, a passage that I will bring over in the near future, and I will read it into the RECORD, and he says:

Nobody in the modern age can appreciate the importance of George Washington because it wasn't that he was brilliant in I.Q.; it wasn't that he was a charismatic leader in speaking. It was that his personal integrity, his personal character, his personal commitment were so powerful that people felt they could lean on him, and he could truly be the Father of the Nation, and he could truly be the general in charge of the Revolutionary Army.

And Wills goes on to say:

No modern historian can truly explain George Washington because they can't explain these psychological strengths. They don't fit the way modern liberal culture talks about the world.

And so I want to suggest to my colleagues that every young person needs to study George Washington, and they need to study people who rose in one generation, whether it is Andrew Carnegie or Henry Ford. They need to understand people that are successful at invention such as Thomas Edison and the Wright brothers. They need to learn over and over again the importance of psychological strength and the very fabric of life, and I would say to my colleagues, whether it is the problem of males having to be responsible for their children, the problem of getting people to start small businesses when they are poor, the problem of stopping the AIDS epidemic, which is largely, frankly, an avoidable disease, based on behavior, and the problem of stopping teenage pregnancy, which is as avoidable as other behaviors and in many societies has been avoided; all of these have to come back in the end to psychological strengths and teaching people that they have to find within themselves the courage, and hard work, the perseverance, the discipline, and the integrity.

Now I think, as we focus on renewing American civilization, we have to remember President Reagan's great lesson, that you cannot do too many things at once. We have to focus on a couple of big projects at a time. I want to suggest for every American three areas to focus on in the next couple of years until we solve it.

First, economic growth; second, health; and third, saving the inner city.

First, economic growth is vital because in a free society you need to keep growing to bring everybody into prosperity to avoid the kind of bitterness and hatred we see in Bosnia, and in Serbia and in Croatia. We need an economy that is growing so everybody can have a better future. We need an economy that is growing so there is more wealth to sustain and help government institutions. We need an economy that is growing so we can lead the planet and so that we can have the strength to provide power, assistance overseas.

Now, as subsets of economic growth we have to worry about the deficit, we have to worry about incentives for saving, and investment and job creation. We have to worry about creating a culture, an educational system and changing the bureaucracy so that it is proeconomic growth. But I think the topic and the goal ought to be growth, and that ought to be our first goal.

Second, Mr. Speaker, we need to focus on health. Notice that I did not say health care. Health care is subordinate to health. If we have good enough prenatal care, we are going to have healthier babies who need less health care. If we have good enough emphasis on wellness, we are going to have fewer heart attacks and need less health care. We need to look at the totality of having a healthy America. That means more preventive care, more emphasis on wellness. It means entrepreneurial health care rather than bureaucratic health care. It means returning power to the citizen in health care, making such that the citizen, as patient, is able to choose who their doctor is, what kind of services they want, and that the citizen has information. I will spend a good bit of time in the near future talking about the medisave account concept that JOHN KASICH, and RICK SANTORUM, and Pat Rooney have developed, the concept of a medical savings account, and I will talk about ways in which we can change behavior, lower the cost of health care; not just cap it, lower it. We can have better health with better health care at lower costs with greater customer satisfaction if we are prepared to look at entrepreneurial health care and replace the bureaucratic health care system if we are prepared to talk honestly about the requirements of prevention and wellness and if we are prepared to go to some system like medical savings accounts or medisave accounts to give people an incentive to change their behavior.

□ 1420

I will spend a good bit of time in the near future talking about health.

Third, we must save the inner cities. Conservatives and Republicans must have the courage and the responsibility for all Americans, no matter what their background, no matter where they live, no matter what their circumstances. At the same time, liberals and Democrats must care enough about the inner city to put aside ideology and interest groups and come to the table and talk openly about how together we can save the inner city. I believe if we apply the five pillars I have described, if we apply quality as defined by Deming, if we apply technological advance, if we apply entrepreneurial free enterprise, if we apply the principles of American civilization, and if we apply psychological strength, I believe it is possible to save the American city. And I would say that there is no greater moral challenge to this Congress and this city than to take passionately, deeply, and intensely the challenge of saving the American city.

The human face of pain, the loss of life, the tragedies near this Capitol are heartbreaking. More Americans have died in DC, than have died in Somalia since the Marines and the Army landed there. Think about that. That is the objective factual reality, and I will report on it in a special order later on this spring. More Americans have died here in the National Capital than have died in Somalia. Does that not shock you, alarm you, sicken you?

We read about 5- and 6-year-olds killed by stray bullets. We read about a principal in New York who was out walking the neighborhood looking for a truant he wanted to save and get back to school, and he is killed by a stray bullet. We had a teacher in the Atlanta area just a week ago, raped and brutalized because she went to school at 7 in the morning and the guard does not come until 8. She was assaulted in the school. At what point are we going to say, "Enough"?

We have children here within 2 miles or within 1 mile of this building who are not getting educated, but who are trapped in classes that do not work. We have families that do not have adequate food. We have 14- and 15-year-old males who have 1, 2, and 3 children, none of whom they are responsible for. We have a civilization which is decaying and on the verge of breaking down. Every American has an obligation. I believe, to come to the table and talk about how we reestablish American civilization so that every child of God who is an American can be changed for the better. I do not care if they are black, white, yellow, red, or brown. I do not care if they are male or female. I do not care what their circumstance was yesterday; I care about the fact that we can change them today so their circumstance tomorrow can be better.

I think there is no more heart-rending requirement than that we focus on saving the inner city. We cannot renew America until we reclaim, rebuild, and renew the inner city.

All this is a huge challenge. I have talked about renewing American civilization. I have described the five pillars of that civilization. I have suggested three areas that we have to focus on. It is a huge challenge.

Let me say this: I say this after 2½ months of thinking about where we have to go, and I do not have the answers. I have ideas, I have insights, and I see possibilities. I feel a lot like a futurist in 1903 who met with a bunch of vaudeville actors. Remember, vaudeville actors earned their living on a live stage with a band and with people out front, very often in a saloon. They went around the country on a circuit by train. They could get one good act and they could keep that act for a life-

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EXHIBIT 46

D-R-A-F-T

"RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION"

Vision Statement
March 19, 1993

In order to renew American civilization we need new language to explain our new vision, to arouse new human and financial resources, to create a new party system so we can defeat the Democratic machine and transform American society into a more productive, responsible, safe country by replacing the welfare state with an opportunity society.

In the absence of a great crisis (the Civil War, the Great Depression) the four best examples of this kind or popular effort to renew America are:

1) the Jefferson-Madison-Burn invention of the Democratic Party to replace the Federalists;

2) the Jacksonian coalition to replace John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and the National Bank, and;

3) the McKinley business-progressive-urban coalition to defeat the threat to modern industrialism.

Any effort smaller than these is doomed to fail. Therefore, we must learn to speak, to recruit, to organize and to arouse on a scale and in a 21st Century system no one has yet dreamed of or developed.

What is at stake is literally our country, our American civilization, and the future of the human race (which is pulled between freedom, Chinese style dictatorship and the chaos of Bosnia and Somalia and Haiti).

Our courage and our commitment must match the scale of the challenge. Only then do we have a chance to succeed.

Exhibit 46

D-R-A-F-T

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION:
A PROPOSAL FOR CITIZEN ACTIVISM
March 19, 1993

Where we are: by Newt Gingrich
The Current Civilization

American civilization is decaying. Most Americans know that the combination of twelve year old kids dying of AIDS and eighteen year old students, who cannot even read, receiving high school diplomas, threatens the very fabric of our civilization.

Most Americans believe in the core values of American civilization (81% of Southern blacks favor work requirements, for all welfare recipients, including women with young children, 75% of all Americans favor a balanced budget, by 75 to 14 Americans believe hard work is more important than luck in succeeding).

There is a 70% to 80% majority for the principles we believe in (reduced to about 60% in the 1972 and 1984 Presidential elections by the Republican failure to reach out to minorities who share our values).

The political system is rigged by the Democratic machine so a center-right national majority among the American people is distorted into a solid Democratic majority in the Congress. The combination of incumbent advantages, big city machines special advantages for labor unions, Democratic domination of the Washington lobbying, PAC communities and a remarkable network of leftwing activist groups (such as dominated the Bork and Clarence Thomas nomination fights) have made it impossible to shake liberal domination of the Congress (in the House the Democrats have controlled since 1954). This forty year monopoly of power by one party is the largest in American history.

Now the Democrats have added control of the White House to their control of the House and Senate.

While Clinton is very good at disguising his very liberal goals with centrist language, the objective facts of his personnel appointments and the details of his Executive Orders and legislative proposals make clear the fact that this is the most leftwing Administration in American history.

The big surprise about the Democrats is that anyone is surprised. Assume the same Democratic control of the Senate (six years) and House (forty years) that enraged the American people, led to the term limitation movement, and reinforced the Ross Perot

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phenomenon. Add to that Democratic machine the first McGovern field staff to win the Presidency. Throw in a combination of Carterites on foreign and defense policy, of Washington Democratic lobbyists and staffs, of pro-centralized government academics (our equivalent of modern British Labor and European Socialists), of economic redistributionists (tax the rich, tax virtually everyone and give it to the planners and bureaucrats), of counter culture and gay rights activists, and of Democratic big city mayors with a generous helping of lawyers and you have the Clinton Administration.

The Democratic machine will be pro-spending, pro-pork, pro-tax increase, anti-defense, erratic on foreign policy, pro-litigation, pro-regulation, in favor of government enforced social experiments, and in favor of government domination of the private sector and the family, in favor of income redistribution by government fiat based on class, race, and geographic (and occasionally just on political whim) and amazingly unethical as a routine.

The Democratic machine will be anti-business, anti-success, anti-religion, anti-traditional values, anti-white male, anti-family, anti-rural, anti-suburb, and anti-military.

These two paragraphs explain over 90% of the first two months of the Democratic machines monopoly of power in Washington.

Those of us who believe in the work ethic, the free enterprize system, the desirability of success, the importance of American civilization and the necessity of strength in a dangerous world are now faced with a challenge of historic proportions.

We know American civilization was decaying before the Democrats took the White House. We now know after two months of the Democratic machine that they will accelerate the decay and make it worse.

We have three choices:

One, decide the challenge is too great, withdraw from the fight, and hope the decay does not effect our personal lives and our families too badly or too quickly.

Two, continue to fight within the political framework that has defined American politics and government since 1968. Accept the structure of a minority Republican Party opposing the policies of a dominant Democratic Party. In this system we at least oppose the worst proposals and slow down the rate of decay. While American civilization will lose in the end at least we will have done our duty.

Three, recognize that the entire future of American civilization and the American people is at stake (and depending on America's economic and cultural strength is

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> literally the future of the human race). If we renew American civilization we will almost certainly lead the human race to freedom, safety and prosperity. If American civilization continues to decay there is no country powerful enough and ethnically diverse enough to lead the world. With a decaying America the future will almost certainly be a host of Bosnias, Somoalias and Haitis, and at home our violence levels will continue to grow and our economic and societal distress will increase.

The human stakes are immense and the resources required to renew American civilization will dwarf anything we have seen.

The Democratic machine is entrenched. It has rigged the rules of the game to keep itself in power. It routinely lies, is regularly unethical and on occasion simply breaks the law.

Franklin Roosevelt left the Democratic machine three great assets:

> First, it has a vision and language which are coherent, widely understood and give it great advantage in political debate (e.g. fairness, tax the rich, help the victims, compassion, the bureaucracy as national nanny).
>
> Second, it has a structure of raising and focusing resources which helps it dominate the news media, the legislative process and elections (total resources on the left dwarf the Republican coalition).
>
> Third, it has a tradition of apprenticeship and a doctrine of self government which make its elected officials vastly more effective at acquiring and using power than their Republican counterparts.

Any successful citizen's revolt will have to overcome those three legacies to defeat the Democratic machine, replace the welfare state with an opportunity society, and renew American civilization.

Any program which is not comprehensive enough, large enough and mentally tough enough to achieve that scale of replacement will simply fail and America will fail with it.

WHERE WE MUST GO:
A VISION OF A RENEWED AMERICA

We must communicate a vision of renewing American civilization and a language of renewal. We must convince citizens that renewal is necessary (most already believe that) and doable (most have no

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idea of how). We must reestablish freedom and progress as our goals.

We must give citizens the tools to rethink and reshape their governments from local and state to federal. The government and law should strengthen and reinforce habits of productivity, responsibility and safety so Americans can be prosperous and safe so they can pursue happiness.

Enough Americans must come to share the need for renewal that they can create an echo effect on talk radio, in letters to the editor, and in local meetings, speeches, and campaigns.

The general vision of renewal must be developed into specific legislative proposals, specific actions, and specific activist groups so people can see in practical every day terms how their lives will be better.

The contrast must be made clear between the decay, corruption, inefficiency and arrogance of the Democratic machine's bureaucracies (e.g. New York City, OSHA, EPA) and the extraordinary opportunities for citizen satisfaction made possible by the five pillars (personal strength, Deming's profound knowledge of quality, technological progress, entrepreneurial free enterprize, and the principles of American civilization).

We can offer better health, better learning, safer lives, more jobs with better take home pay, and a higher quality of life with greater individual choices at less governmental cost with a lot less bureaucratic hassle and red tape and dramatically less waste in government.

Our job is to bring alive these possibilities in terms people can understand, believe and apply to their own lives. It is the equivalent of making the transition from a lecture on nutrition to an ad for "Egg McMuffins".

We must also recognize that all across America millions people are already working to renew American civilization. In my Georgia district 23% of the citizens have had some contact with ideas on quality in their work place. There are millions of computer users who know how obsolete the government is. There are more small business owners than union members in California.

A major part of our challenge is to identify, encourage, reinforce, arouse and network together the millions who already believe in and are working to improve their lives and their communities. As we recognize each other and learn how big a majority we are our courage will grow and our determination will increase.

While we are developing and communicating our positive vision of renewing American civilization and arousing and strengthening

the positive efforts of our citizens we must also stop the decay and destruction brought about from the Democratic machine.

Our energies should be 75% long range and positive, and only 25% short range and opposed to the decaying Democratic machine. This will take real discipline and constant reminders. The Democratic machine is going to be so unethical (sometimes illegal), so patently dishonest in its communications, so wrong in its policies, destructive in its proposals and outrageous in its actions that we will be tempted to consume all our time and energy in opposition. Fights against the Democratic machine generate vastly more attention and are much easier to cover than creating a positive new vision and movement (by about a nine to one ratio). It takes tremendous effort to balance the inevitably confrontational and negative courage of trying to expose and stop the destructive efforts of the machine with the positive efforts to renew American civilization.

On the side of stopping the Democratic machine the following principles should be applied:

1) Encourage everyone who has a disagreement with the Democratic program to join a grand coalition. At the optimum the anti-gays in the military anger, anti-tax increase anger and the anti-government waste anger should all be drawn into a broad front of opposition to the Democratic machine. While this will never be perfect and many will focus only on their grievance, the general principles of building the broadest possible understanding and alliance is correct;

2) Appeal to the American people over and over. Highlight again and again the gap between the Democrats words (reasonable) and their deeds (outrageous). Hold the maximum number of town hall meetings. Get every detail to talk shows, micromedia and every group that will use it. Defeat the big lie with equally big truth. For example:

a. Join with the Ross Perot volunteers in town hall meetings on the tax increases in April and May.

b. Insist that every Congressional committee and subcommittee hold hearings around the country on the Clinton health plan and open scrutiny of a secret plan.

c. Every time the Democrats cheat on ethics, the law or simply act secretly and in defiance of the public anger against Washington we must highlight it and protest it. We are the guardians of the public's right to know.

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3) Create specific projects on issues large enough to rally the nation. By picking our fights on the most favorable terms we can maximize popular support, make the Democrats' defense the least believable, and increase public pressure on the swing Democrats to stick with the American people against the machine.

For example "Cut Spending First" is the right strategy to fight the Democratic tax increases. By 76 to 9 (The Washington Post poll, March 1993) the American people want more spending cuts. Perot has been emphasizing $2 in spending cuts for every $1 in tax increases. Only 21% of the American people trust Washington to do the right thing (The Washington Post poll, March 1993). The lowest number in the 35 year history of the poll, lower than Watergate or Carter. The most powerful 1992 campaign statement was "government is too big and it spends too much". Virtually every American knows that Congress has consistently cheated on its promise to cut spending but has kept its word on raising taxes.

We need a "Cut Spending First" national movement:

1) The coalition should include everyone opposed to tax increases, everyone opposed to waste in government, every conservative who wants smaller government and every citizen who wants the deficit cut and will pay more taxes but only if the spending is cut.

2) Virtually every radio talk show host will support the "Cut Spending First" theme.

3) Every business association can be forced by its members to join (even the US Chamber and the National Association of Manufacturers would probably have to join).

4) The House and Senate Republicans could introduce resolutions, rule changes and procedural motions to insure that permanent real spending cuts of at least $2 for every $1 in proposed tax increase was signed into law before the tax increase came to the floor of either the House or the Senate. This would require the President to sign into law billions in spending cuts before even bringing up his tax bill. The Republicans on the two Budget Committees would certify the cuts before the tax bill came to the floor.

5) Petition drives would be launched in every Democratic Congressional district and in every state with a Democratic Senator asking them to sign on to the "Cut Spending First" resolution and to pledge not to vote for any taxes before the spending was signed into law.

6) Republicans in the House and Senate would have a daily "Cut Spending First" dialogue in which they re-

explained the strategy, reminded citizens of the history of Congress breaking its word on taxes and spending, cite specific examples of pork barrel and waste that should be cut before a penny is taken from the American family budget and listeners would be urged to join the petition drive and check with their Senator and Congressman to make sure they had pledged to "Cut Spending First".

7) Republicans would turn each appropriations bill and the reconciliation bill into an assault on the deceptiveness and dishonesty of the Democratic machine. The House Democratic Budget has $246 billion in tax increases and a phoney $264 billion in spending cuts. However, $36 billion was already cut in the 1990 budget deal for which earlier tax increases have already paid. Another $68 billion is in unspecified domestic spending cuts. Yet another $113 billion is in unspecified defense spending cuts. Thus only $47 billion in the House Democratic Budget is in actual specified spending cuts. To meet the Perot $2 in spending cuts for $1 in tax increases the Democratic machine has to either reduce its tax increase to $23 billion total or find $445 billion in additional real spending cuts.

8) The Democratic machine should be challenged over and over to be honest about its spending cuts. Even at only $113 billion in additional unspecified defense cuts and $63 billion in additional unspecified domestic cuts that is a huge potential threat to an amazing number of communities and constituencies. Every hearing, every Presidential speech, every town hall meeting should include demands to tell the truth about the secret spending cuts.

9) The world is once again dangerous enough to begin arguing for a strong national defense. The combination of an anti-military President, gays in the military, drastic defense cuts, and crises around the world are all beginning to rearouse public support for a strong defense. Serious studies, articles, speeches, and forums that link Iraq, Bosnia, Somoalia, Haiti, North Korea, Russia, and Middle Eastern fanatics and terrorists, into a pattern of dangers will rapidly win the intellectual debate with the Carterites who dominate the Democratic national security posts. This will shrink the defense cuts (Panetta is already quietly promising Democrats they will be well below $113 billion) and will put pressure on for more domestic cuts and make even more clear the Democrats failure to achieve a $2 for $1 spending cut to tax increase ratio.

10) The success of John Kasich and the House Republican Budget Committee members in developing a serious, no tax increase, real specified spending cut budget needs to be

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highlighted and emphasized. Both The New York Times and The Washington Post editorialized that the Kasich Budget was intellectually superior and more honest than the Democratic Budget. The House Republican Budget proves you can cut the deficit by cutting spending without a tax increase. This message needs to get to every Perot voter and editorial writer.

11) Really intense anti-tax groups should be encouraged to aggressively buy advertising and fight for the "Cut Spending First" strategy.

12) April 15th should become a national "Cut Spending First" rally day.

13) If the Democratic machine ignores all these efforts there should be organized picketing at their district, state offices and in Washington during the actual mark up of the legislation. If Italians can invent a Lombard League, the Russians, Rumanians and others can take back their countries then it should be possible for enraged, honest, hard working, tax paying Americans to fight against the political machine that is lying to them and taking their money.

14) As momentum builds, the Washington lobbyists who are trying to cozy up with the Democratic Administration (like seeking a place at the table with cannibals) should be embarrassed with their constituents until they join the "Cut Spending First" coalition (the AARP and US Chamber are the first two key problems).

These fourteen ideas are simply project examples of how a "Cut Spending First" strategy might reach out to the American people, arouse their sovereign power and put maximum pressure on the Democratic machine.

To renew American civilization we will have to have many strategies and innumerable projects.

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11) New Cover Page

"Renewing American Civilization"

Vision Statement
March 19, 1993

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In the absence of a great crisis (the civil war, the great depression) the 4 best examples of this kind of ~~[illegible]~~ popular effort to renew America are:

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2. the Jacksonian ~~[illegible]~~ coalition to replace John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and the National Bank, and McKinley

3. the business-progressive-urban coalition to defeat the threat to modern ~~[illegible]~~ industrialism.

Any effort smaller than these is doomed to fail.

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Exhibit 46

MAR 19 '93 13:52 [illegible] PAGE.003

12 New cover page continued

therefore we must learn to speak, to recruit, to organize and to arrange on a scale and in a 21st century system no one has yet dreamed of or developed.

What is at stake is literally our country, our ~~civili~~ American civilization, and the future of the human race (which is poised between Freedom, Chinese style dictatorship and the chaos of Bosnia or Somalia and Haiti).

Our courage and our commitment must match the scale of the challenge. Only then do we have a chance to succeed.

End of New cover page

Exhibit 46

WGC 00183

3)

hold hearings around the country on the Clinton health plan. Demand open scrutiny of a secret plan.

2. Every time the Democrats cheat on ethics, ~~[illegible]~~, ~~[illegible]~~ the law, or simply act secretly and in ~~[illegible]~~ defiance of the public anger against Washington we must highlight it and protest it. We are the guardians of the public's right to know.

3. Create specific projects on [illegible] large ~~[illegible]~~ enough to rally the nation. By picking our fights on the ~~[illegible]~~ most favorable terms we can maximize popular support, make the Democrats' defense the least believable, and ~~[illegible]~~ increase public pressure on the swing Democrats to stick with the American people against the machine.

For example "Cut Spending First" is the right strategy to ~~[illegible]~~ fight the Democratic tax increases. By 76 to 9 (Washington Post poll March 1993)

MCM

Exhibit 46

14) The American people want more spending cuts. Perot has been emphasizing $2 in spending cuts for every dollar in tax increases. Only 21 percent of the American people trust Washington to do the right thing (same poll, the lowest number in the 35 year history of the poll, lower than Watergate or Carter). ~~Virtually every American~~ The most powerful 1992 campaign statement was "Government is too big and it spends too much." ~~[illegible]~~ Virtually every American knows that Congress has consistently cheated on its promises to cut spending but has kept its word on raising taxes.

MORE

WCC 00185

Exhibit 46

'5

We need a "cut spending first" national movement.

~~1. Every group that opposes taxes should be asked to~~ join

~~2. Every group that opposes wasteful spending~~

~~3.~~

1. The coalition should include everyone opposed to tax increases, every one opposed to waste in government, ~~and~~ every conservative who wants smaller government and every citizen who wants the deficit cut and will pay more taxes but only if the spending is cut;

2. virtually every radio talk show host will support the "cut spending first" theme;

3. Every business association can be forced by its members to join (even the Chamber and the National Association of Manufacturers would probably have to join);

4. The House and Senate Republicans could introduce resolutions, rule changes and procedural motions to insure that permanent real spending cuts of at least $2 for every $1 in proposed tax increase ~~[illegible]~~ was signed into law before the tax increase came to the floor of either the House or the Senate. This would require

- more -

Exhibit 46

WGC 00186

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16)

the President to sign into law billions in spending cuts before ~~bringing up~~ even bringing up his tax bill. The Republicans on the two Budget committees would certify the cuts before the tax bill came to the floor.

5. Petition drives would be launched in every Democratic Congressional District and in every state with a Democratic Senator asking them to sign on to the "cut spending first" resolutions and to pledge not to vote for any taxes before the spending was signed into law.

6. Republicans in the House and Senate would have a daily "cut spending first" dialogue in which they re-explained the strategy, reminded citizens of the history of Congress breaking its word on taxes and spending and cite specific examples of pork barrel and waste that should be cut before a penny was ~~raised on~~ taken from the American family budget and listeners would be urged to join the petition drive and check with their Senator and Congressman to make sure they had pledged to "cut spending first"

Exhibit 46

WGC 00187

17)

7. Republicans would turn each appropriations bill and the reconciliation bill into an assault on the deceptiveness and dishonesty of the Democratic Machine. The House Democratic Budget ~~had~~ has $246 billion in tax increases and a phony $264 Billion in spending cuts. However $36 Billion was already cut in the 1990 Budget Deal for which tax increases have already paid. ~~[illegible]~~ [earlier] Another $68 Billion is counted in interest savings but none of the Perot voters believe interest avoidance is the same as a spending cut. Another $63 Billion is in unspecified domestic spending cuts. ~~[illegible]~~ Yet another $113 Billion is in unspecified defense spending cuts. Thus only $47 Billion ~~is [illegible]~~ in the House Democratic Budget is in actual specified spending cuts. To meet the Perot $2 in spending cuts for $1 in tax increases the Democratic Machine had to either reduce its tax increase to $23 Billion total or find $445 Billion ~~[illegible]~~ in additional real spending cuts ~~8. Every military base, every defense industry and every possible domestic spending~~

Exhibit 46

Mark

WGC 00188

5)

8. The Democratic Machine should be challenged over and over to be honest about its spending cuts. Even at only $113 billion in additional unspecified ~~spend~~ defense cuts and $63 billion in additional unspecified domestic cuts that is a huge potential threat to an amazing number of communities and constituencies. Every hearing, every Presidential speech, every townhall meeting should include demands to tell the truth about the secret spending cuts.

9. The world is once again dangerous enough to begin arguing for a strong national defense. The combination of an anti-military President, gays in the military, Draconian Defense cuts, and crises around the world are all beginning to reassure public support for a strong defense. Serious studies, articles, speeches and forums that link Iraq, Bosnia, Somalia, Haiti, North Korea, ~~and~~ Russia, ~~[illegible]~~ and Middle Eastern Fanatics and Terrorists, into a pattern of dangers will rapidly win the intellectual debate with the Carterites who dominate the Democratic National Security posts. This will shrink the Defense cuts (Panetta is already quietly promising Democrats they will be well below $113 Billion)

Exhibit 46

MN

19)

and will both put pressure on for more domestic cuts and make even more clear the Democrats failure to achieve a $2 for $1 spending cut to tax increase ratio.

10. The success of Kasich and the House Republican Budget committee members in developing a serious, no tax increase, real specified ~~[illegible]~~ spending cut budget ~~[illegible]~~ needs to be highlighted and emphasized. Both the New York Times and the Washington Post editorialized that the Kasich Budget was intellectually superior and more honest than the Democratic Budget. The House Republican Budget proves you can cut the deficit by cutting spending without a tax increase. This message needs to get to every Pent voter and editorial writer.

11. Really ~~[illegible]~~ intense anti-tax groups should be encouraged to aggressively buy advertising and fight for the "cut spending first" strategy

12. April 15 should become a national "cut spending first" rally day

13. If the Democratic machine ignores all these efforts there should be organized picketing at their district and state offices and in Washington during the actual markup of the ~~[illegible]~~

More

WGC 00190

Exhibit 46

20/

legislation. If Italians can invent a London League, the Japanese can revolt against the Liberal Democratic Party, the Russians, Rumanians and others can drive back their communists then it should be possible for energized honest, hard working, tax paying Americans to fight against the political machine that is lying to them and taking their money.

14. As momentum builds the WASHington lobbyists who are trying to ~~get a place at the table~~ cozy up with the Democratic administration (like seeking a place at the table with conditions) should be embarrassed with their constituents until they join the "cut spending FIRST" coalition (the AARP and US Chamber are the ~~two~~ FIRST two key problems).

~~All~~ These 14 ideas are simply present examples of how a "cut spending FIRST" strategy might reach out to the American people, arouse their sovereign power and put maximum pressure on the Democratic majority.

To renew American civilization we will have to have many strategies and innumerable projects.

Exhibit 46

MGC 00191

1

~~Proposed 1993-1997~~

~~Effort~~

Renewing American Civilization:
a Proposal for citizen activism
March 19, 1993

Where we are: by Newt Gingrich

The Current Situation

American civilization is decaying.
Most Americans know that 12 year olds having babies, 15 year olds shooting each other, 17 year olds dying of Aids and 18 year olds receiving high school diplomas [illegible] threatens the very fabric of our civilization.

(1) The combination of

Most Americans believe in the core values of American civilization (81% of Southern Blacks have work [illegible] including women with young children [illegible] recipients) [illegible] 75% of all Americans from a balanced budget, by 75 [illegible] Americans believe [illegible] have work is more important than luck in succeeding).

There is a 70 to 80% majority for the principles [illegible] believe in Credited to about 60% in the 1972 and 1984 Presidential elections by the Republican failure to reach out to minorities who share our values.

The political system is rigged by the Democratic Machine so a center-right National majority [illegible] among the American people is distorted into a solid Democratic majority in the Congress. The combination of incumbent advantages, big city machines, [illegible] special advantages for labor unions

More

Exhibit 46

2)

Democratic domination of the Washington lobbying and PAC communities and a remarkable network of leftwing activist groups (such as dominated the Bork and Clarence Thomas nomination fights) have made it impossible to shake liberal domination of the Congress. In the House the Democrats have controlled since 1954. For this 40 year monopoly of power by one party is the largest in American history.

Now the Democrats have added control of the White House to their control of the House and Senate.

While Clinton is very good at disguising his very liberal goals with centrist language, the objective facts of his personnel appointment and the details of his Executive orders and legislative proposals make clear this is the most leftwing administration in American History.

The big surprise about the Democrats is that anyone is surprised. Assume the same Democratic control of the Senate (6 years) and House (40 years) that ~~[illegible]~~ enraged the American people, led to the Term limitation movement, and reinforced the Ross Perot phenomenon. Add to that Democratic machine the first McGovern field staff ~~[illegible]~~ to win the presidency. Throw in a combination of Carterites on Foreign and Defense Policy, of Washington Democratic lobbyists and staffs, of pro-centralized government academics (our equivalent of modern British Labor and European socialists), of Economic redistribution.

MORE

Exhibit 46

2)

(tax the rich, tax virtually everyone and give it to the planners and bureaucrats), of counterculture ~~advocates~~ and gay rights activists, and of Democratic big city mayors with a generous helping of lawyers and you have the Clinton Administration.

The Democratic Machine will be pro-spending, pro-pork, pro-tax increase, pro labor union, anti-Defense, Erratic on foreign policy, ~~[illegible]~~ pro litigation, pro-regulation, in favor of government enforced social experiments, and in favor of government domination of the private sector and the family, ~~and~~ in favor of income redistribution by government fiat based on class, race, and geographic (and occassionally just on political whim) and amazingly unethical as a routine.

The Democratic machine will be anti-business, anti-success, anti-religion, anti-tradit. values, anti-white male, anti-family, anti-rural, anti-suburb, and anti-military.

~~Any actions which fit this pattern should be seen~~ as

~~[illegible]~~ these two paragraphs explain over 90% of the first two months of the ~~Clint~~ Democratic Machines monopoly of ~~[illegible]~~ power in Washington.

~~Citizens who~~

Those of us who believe in the work ethic, ~~the fa~~ the free enterprise system, the ~~[illegible]~~ desirability of success, the importance of American civilization and the necessity of strength in a dangerous world are now faced with

MORE

WSC 00174 Exhibit 46

4)

a challenge of historic proportions.

We know American civilization was decaying before the Democrats took the White House. We now know after two months of the Democratic Machine that they will accelerate the decay and make it worse.

We have three choices:

One, decide the challenge is too great, withdraw from the fight, and hope the decay does not effect our personal lives and our families too badly or too quickly.

Two, continue to fight within the political framework that has defined American politics and government since 1968a accept the structure of a minority Republican Party opposing the policies of a dominant Democratic Party. ~~and losing most~~ In this system we at least oppose the worst proposals and slow down the rate of decay. While ~~we~~ American civilization will ~~[illegible]~~ lose in the end at least we will have done our duty.

Three, recognize that the entire future of American civilization and the American people is at stake (and depending on America's economic and cultural strength is ~~the~~ literally the future of the human race). If we renew American civilization we will almost certainly lead the human race to freedom, safety and prosperity. If American civilization continues to decay there is no country

More

WGC 00175

Exhibit 46

5

powerful enough and ethnically diverse enough to lead the world. With a decaying America the future will almost certainly be a host of Bosnias, Somalias, and Haitis and at home our violence levels will continue to grow and our economic and societal distress will increase.

The human stakes are immense and the resources required to renew American civilization will dwarf anything we have seen, ~~[illegible]~~.

The Democratic machine is entrenched. It has rigged the rules of the game to keep itself in power. It routinely lies, is ~~a~~ regularly unethical and on occassion simply breaks the law.

Franklin Roosevelt left the Democratic machine three great assets:

First, it has a vision and language which are coherent, widely understood and give it great advantage in political debate (e.g. Fairness, tax the rich, help the victims, compassion, & the ~~government~~ bureaucracy as national nanny).

Second, it has a structure of raising and focusing resources which helps it dominate the news media, the legislative process and elections (total resources on the left dwarf the Republican coalition).

Third, it has a tradition of apprenticeship and a doctrine of ~~poli~~ self government which make its

More —

Exhibit 46

WGC 00176

6

elected officials vastly more effective at acquiring and using power than their Republican counterparts.

Any successful citizens' revolt will have to overcome those three legacies to defeat the Democratic Machine, replace the welfare state with an opportunity society, and renew American civilization.

Any program which is not comprehensive enough, large enough, and mentally tough enough to achieve that scale of replacement will simply fail and America will fail with it.

WHERE WE MUST GO:
A VISION OF A RENEWED AMERICA

We must communicate a vision of renewing American civilization and a language of renewal. We must convince citizens that renewal is necessary (most already believe that) and doable (most have no idea of how). We must reestablish freedom and progress.

Our goals

We must give citizens the tools to rethink and reshape their governments from local and state to federal. The government and law should strengthen and reinforce habits of productivity, responsibility and safety so Americans can be prosperous and safe so they can pursue happiness.

Enough Americans must come to share the need for renewal that they can create an echo effect on

—more

Exhibit 46

7)

talk radio, in letters to the editor, and in local meetings, speeches, and campaigns.

The general vision of renewal must be developed into specific legislative proposals, specific actions, and specific activist groups so people can see in practical every day terms how their lives will be better.

The contrast must be made clear between the decay, corruption, inefficiency and arrogance of the Democratic Machine's bureaucracies (e.g. New York City, OSHA, EPA) ~~has~~ and the extraordinary opportunities for citizen satisfaction made possible ~~[illegible]~~ by the 5 pillars (personal strength, ~~[illegible]~~ Deming's profound knowledge of quality, Technological Progress, entrepreneurial free enterprise, and the principles of American civilization).

We can offer better health, better learning, safer lives, more jobs with better take home pay, and a higher quality of life with greater individual choices at less governmental cost with a lot less bureaucratic hassle and red tape and dramatically less waste in government.

Our job is to bring alive these possibilities in terms people can understand and believe and apply to their own lives. It is the equivalent of transitioning from a lecture on nutrition to an ad for Egg McMuffins.

~~Thus~~ We must also recognize that all across America millions of people are already working to renew American

~~More~~ —

Exhibit 46

8/

civilization - In my Georgia district 2370 of our citizens have had some contact with ideas on Quality in their work place. There are millions of computer users who know how obsolete the government is. There are more small business owners than union members in California.

A major part of our challenge is to identify, encourage, reinforce, arouse, and network together the millions who already believe in and are working to improve their lives and their communities. As we recognize each other and learn how big a majority we are our courage will grow and our determination will increase.

While we are developing and communicating our positive vision of renewing American civilization and arousing and strengthening the positive efforts of our citizens we must also stop the decay and destruction of the Democrat machine.

Our energies should be 75% long range and positive and only 25% short range and opposed to the decaying Democratic machine. This will take real discipline and constant reminders. The Democratic machine is going to be so unethical (sometimes illegal), so patently dishonest in its communications, so wrong in its policies, destructive in its proposals and outrageous in its actions that we will be tempted to

-more-

Exhibit 46

9

consume all our time and energy in opposition. ~~[illegible]~~ Fight against the BRM work machine generates vast by more attention and is much easier to cover than creating a positive new vision and movement (by about a 9-1 ratio). It takes tremendous effort to balance the inevitably confrontational and negative coverage of trying to expose and stop the ~~bad~~ destructive efforts of the machine.

NOT FINISHED
I'll call

Exhibit 46

WGC 00180

10

[eliminate period after machine on page 9]

with the positive efforts to renew American civilization.

On the side of stopping the Democratic Machine the following principles should be applied:

1. Encourage everyone who has a disagreement with the Democratic program to join a grand coalition. At the optimum the anti-boys in the military anger, ~~and the~~ anti-tax increase anger and the anti-government waste anger should all be drawn into a broad front of opposition to the Democratic machine. While this will never be perfect and many will focus only on their grievance, the general principles of building the broadest possible understanding and alliance is correct;

2. ~~Organize spe~~ Appeal to the American people over and over. Highlight again and again the gap between ~~Gto~~ the Democrats words ~~an~~ (reasonable) and their deeds (outrageous). Hold the maximum number of Town hall meetings. Get every detail to talk shows, micromedia and every group that will use it. Refer the big lie with equally big truth. For example:

a. Join with the Ross Perot volunteers in town hall meetings on the tax increases in April and May.

b. Insist that every Congressional committee and subcommittee MORE

WSC 00181

Exhibit 46

EXHIBIT 47

FEBRUARY 15, 1993

Attendees

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

Agenda

I. General Planning/Renewing American Civilization

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

II. Political/GOPAC Issues

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

Exhibit 47

Mission · STATEMent

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

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

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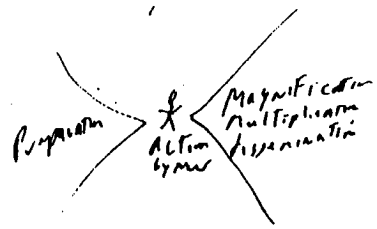
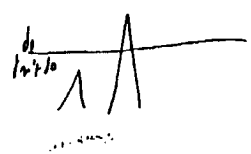
Exhibit 47



Formations more powerfully developed
If it's not important enough to do right
don't do it



RAC course
Legal-Ethical
Course development
Course follow-up
Course publicity and marketing
Course dissemination
Next year's course

10 lectures
1. Introduction to RAC
2 Personal Strength
3 Quality (Quinn's Profound Knowledge)
4 Technological Advance
5 Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise
6 Principles of American Civilization
7. Economy
8. Health
9. Saving the Innocent
10. Citizenship and community and business leadership
11 (?) movement

Exhibit 47

MISSION STATEMENT

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

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

Exhibit 47

EXHIBIT 48

Office of the Dean
School of Business Administration
Post Office Box 444
Marietta, Georgia 30061
(404) 423-6425
Fax (404) 423-6539

Mescon
0278

February 2, 1993

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

Dear Krister:

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

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

Sincerely,

Timothy S. Mescon, Ph.D.
Dean

TSM/tl

cc: Frank Dadzie
Terry Cox
Rhonda Stephenson

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EXHIBIT 49

03 24 93 08:45 FAX 4044236567 KSC CON ED 03/23/93 11:00 PM 2/5 001

Dr Violet A. Towne

Mescon
0664

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

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

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

Questions I have. . .

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

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

c: Clif Roberts

Exhibit 49

EXHIBIT 50

GOPAC

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

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

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

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

KOHLER 137

June 11, 1993

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

Dear Mary:

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

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

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

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

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

Authorized and paid for by GOPAC on recycled paper

Exhibit 50

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

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

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

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

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

That brings me to the good news.

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

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

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

Exhibit 50

another GEORGIAN at GOPAC!)

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

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

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

* Updating the core GOPAC video training tapes. (I taped new editions of two 60 - minute tapes at the Virginia Republican Convention June 5, and you will be receiving copies of the edited version in the next 30 days or so.)

* Creating a new "winners" recruiting tape, based on interviews with several winning 1992 Congressional challengers.

* Preparing to teach state parties how to implement the tremendously successful teleconference training program GOPAC pioneered in 1991 and 1992, so that they can undertake similar programs with state legislative candidates.

* Working with both the New Jersey and Virginia state parties in developing plans for their 1993 off-year state legislative election this November.

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

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

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

Exhibit 50

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

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

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

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

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

Your friend,

Newt

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EXHIBIT 51

TUESDAY
4 P.M. GOPAC
MTG.

March 29, 1993

TO: Various Gingrich Staffs

FROM: Newt

"Renewing American Civilization as a defining concept"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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2. Developing a national news media strategy that explains the concept of renewing American civilization so reporters, editors, and citizens can understand it;

3. Getting Republican activists committed to renewing American civilization, to setting up workshops built around the course, and to opening the party up to every citizen who wants to renew American civilization;

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

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

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

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

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Various-1

to the various Gingrich staffs (Hanser Eisenau Gaylord edit ASAP)

From Newt 3/29/93

~~Vision of Renewing American~~

Renewing American Civilization as a defining concept

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

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

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

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

More —

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Various-2

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

~~Knitting together a range of~~

A five ~~[illegible]~~ other strategies that would help move us toward the vision of Renewing American Civilization are:

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

2. developing a national news media strategy that explains the concept of renewing American civilization so reporters, editors and citizens can understand it;

3. Getting Republican activists committed to renewing American civilization, to setting up workshops built around the course, and to opening the party up to every citizen who wants to replace the welfare state and renew American civilization;

More

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various-3

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

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

It would be a big help if during
the Easter break the various
staffs would work on a vision-strategies-
projects-tactics paper to implement this.
If Dan Meyer, Annette Dempsey,
Jeff Wheatley, Barry Hutchinson, Jeff Eisenach
and Joe Baylor could coordinate this
planning process I would really like to
review some initial efforts when we get
back from Russia.

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EXHIBIT 52

DRAFT

Renewing America

Vision

Renewing America will require an opportunity society which can:

1. Ensure the physical safety of all Americans;

2. Maximize health at minimum cost with all Americans able to use the highest technology, highest quality and most personalized health care system in the world;

3. Educate young Americans to a world market standard of excellence while optimally re-educating and retraining adults as their careers change in a changing world;

4. Create the framework of working, saving, investing and entrepreneurially creating the new jobs and better jobs that are the key to rising take home pay, economic security, and a steadily-improving quality of life;

5. Create local jobs through world sales because the reforms in education, in economic policy and in government structures will enable Americans to compete successfully with any nation;

6. Maximize the invention and development of America's future in high technology, scientifically intense fields such as space, the oceans, computers, information technology and biotechnology so Americans produce both the best defense system and the highest value jobs with the highest level of productivity because we are consistently at the cutting edge of new frontiers;

7. Establish the world's standard in environmental health

Exhibit 52

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

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

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

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

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

Renewing America is possible because the tools now exist to

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Exhibit 52

replace the bureaucracy, the values and the laws of the welfare state with a vastly more productive system. This system has been tested in American history and its components are currently revolutionizing American business.

The 5 pillars of freedom and progress that will enable us to replace the welfare state with a vastly better, more customer oriented, more productive and more effective opportunity society-they are:

1. Personal strength
2. Quality as defined by Edwards Deming's Profound Knowledge
3. Technological progress
4. Entrepreneurial free enterprise applied to both the public and private sectors.
5. The lessons of American history on what works for Americans in America.

These 5 principles, properly studied and understood, can be applied to develop a revolutionary change in government. The opportunity society can use personal strength, quality, technology, entrepreneurship and basic American principles to dramatically improve safety, health, education, job creation, the environment, the family and National defense.

Instead of "hard choices" and "sacrifices" we can offer America improvements, opportunities and better value at lower cost. By requiring the government bureaucracy to change instead of the citizen-customer we can bring about a revolution in quality life for all Americans.

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Exhibit 52

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

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

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

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

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

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