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IN THE MATTER OF REPRESENTATIVE NEWT GINGRICH--
pages 901 to 1000

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Renewing American Civilization

**ALEC Seminar
August 7, 1994**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. Limited but effective government.

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

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

V. The five building blocks of American civilization

1. **Personal Strength.** Without personal strength it is impossible to maintain a free society. Every policy should be examined to see if it increases personal responsibility, productivity, safety and self reliance or if it undermines them.
2. **Entrepreneurial Free Enterprise.** The application of personal strength to the pursuit of happiness by fostering a spirit of "can do" enthusiasm and determination to get the job done. Often used for economic enterprise but vital to getting things done in any aspect of life.
3. **The spirit of invention and discovery.** The zest for new ideas, new inventions and new learning which made Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Edison, the Wright Brothers, Henry Ford and in our times Bill Gates, Steven Spielberg and Jack Homer are great examples of the spirit of learning, inventing and discovering.
4. **The system and culture of quality and profound knowledge** as developed by Edwards Deming. Deming's systematization of a culture of productivity and teamwork provides a framework for extraordinary breakthroughs in productivity by virtually any system in virtually any endeavor. Popularized first in Japan it is in fact based in the classic American virtues of the period 1910-1940 (hard work, integrity, commitment to achievement, etc...) Joseph Juran and Phil Crosby are important contributors to this movement emphasizing somewhat different approaches than Deming.

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

VI. Further steps toward Renewing American Civilization

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

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

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

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

VII. Zones of invention and creativity

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

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

VIII. Last Thoughts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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 2. The world market is real and will shape our lives. Our children will compete with workers in other countries the way our parents competed with workers in other American states. South China will set the price of labor for the next two generations. If we want our children to have the highest standard of living with the highest take home pay and the greatest range of options we will have to be very market oriented, very entrepreneurial and very focused on the requirements of competition. This will require rethinking litigation, regulation, taxation, education and the delivery systems and bureaucracies of government to reshape each so it contributes to rather than undermines our ability to compete in the world market.
 3. The welfare state has failed. It is impossible to maintain civilization with twelve-year-olds having babies, fifteen-year-olds killing each other, seventeen-year-olds dying of aids and eighteen-year-olds receiving diplomas they cannot read. All of these things are happening in America today and American civilization is decaying. The Great Society experiment in replacing families with social workers, the work ethic with government payments, the neighborhood with a public housing bureaucrat and police with social workers has simply failed.

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

4. The combination of the transformation of the third wave information revolution, the economic pressures of the emerging world market, the failures and dangers of the collapsing welfare state, and the bankruptcy of the political-intellectual elite of the old order have led to a level of citizen alienation that may be deeper than anything America has seen since the American Revolution. From term limits to ratings of Congress to virtually universal cynicism and contempt for both the process of self government and for the people who participate in it, the simple fact is that Americans feel alienated, unrepresented and in many ways betrayed by those to whom they have loaned power. Inventing the third wave information revolution self government system that rebounds the voter to those who are entrusted with public office may be one of the most important and most difficult challenges of our time.

5. We must find a new path to replace the welfare state with an opportunity society and to replace a centralized government approach with a dramatically, even radically decentralized approach that relies on each citizen and each community to provide leadership and creativity. This requires a degree of devolving power out of Washington that virtually no one has thought through at this point. Furthermore this devolution of power cannot just be to shift responsibility and resources between Washington and the state capitals. It is not enough just to return power to state and local governments. We must think through the process of returning power to local citizens, local voluntary associations, private businesses and only then to the local, state and finally federal governments.

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

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

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

Decentralization only works if people have a clear sense of their

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

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

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

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

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 - C. Recruiter of talent and energy and gatherer of community resources to achieve goals you believe in.
 - D. Administrator and manager of government. Note that in the welfare state managing the government has crowded out the three most important roles of community leadership. Remember that the urgent drives out the important. Leadership is forcing the important ahead of the urgent. The best book to help you learn to distinguish between the important and the urgent and to teach you to delegate the less important so you can focus on the more important is Peter Drucker's The Effective Executive. You should buy a copy read it, apply it and reread it every five years.
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The leader's job is to draw upon each of the four sectors as appropriate and to weave them together into a synergistic whole. Only by seeing yourself as the leader of all four components can you truly draw on all the resources and strengths of a free society. By overemphasizing the role of government the Great Society experiment undermined the other three. Sometimes conservatives so ignore the role of limited effective government that they weaken the potential synergism. Economic conservatives often overstate the importance of section three while social conservatives prefer to focus on one and two.

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

V. The five building blocks of American civilization

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

Exhibit 98

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

Exhibit 98

PFF
37187

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

VII. Zones of invention and creativity

1. Health
2. Jobs
3. Public Safety
4. Learning
5. The culture and system of poverty and violence
6. The patterns of government and bureaucracy

Exhibit 98

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

VIII. Last Thoughts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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EXHIBIT 99

Hoekstra
0259

MEMORANDUM

Office of Congressman Pete Hoekstra

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

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

Summary:

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

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

Next Steps:

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

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

Exhibit 99

Example/Illustration:

This is just one scenario of what might occur:

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

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

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

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

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

Objectives: (our goals for public policy are)

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

Implementation:

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

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

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EXHIBIT 100Boekstra
0140a

June 3, 1993

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

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

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

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

My summary of the material's contents is:

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

Five pillars/principles of freedom and progress
 personal strength
 quality/profound knowledge
 technological progress
 entrepreneurial private and public sectors
 conform to basic American principles

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

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Thirteen things to do:

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

These are my reactions:

Reaction One: Maybe We Have Bypassed The Initial Stages

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Exhibit 100

L/

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Two Key Next Questions:

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

Institutional Question

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

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

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

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

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

Policy Question

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

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

Reaction Five: Who is a credible messenger?

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

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

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

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EXHIBIT 101

Hoekstra
0264

Renewing American Civilization (RAC) Working Group

July 23, 1993

H-219
11:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.

Notes

1. Newt's presentation:

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

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

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

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

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

E. Three key policy areas:

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

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

2. Reactions/Discussion:

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

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

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

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

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

EXHIBIT 102

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

PAGE 5

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

July 30, 1993

H-236

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

Notes

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

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EXHIBIT 103Hoekstra
0266

September 8, 1993

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

Changed Goal:

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

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

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

The Big Problem:

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

The Big Opportunity:

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

The Group's Underlying Perspective:

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

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

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

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335-9823

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

Group Mission Statement:

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

Longer Term Objectives:

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

What Is A Measurable Success?

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

Product Lines:

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

EXHIBIT 104 934Hoekstra
0147

November 3, 1993

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

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

I. How I See the Problem.

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

A few comments on each are appropriate.

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

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

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

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

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

5. Projects. I will just comment on some projects for the member-focused objective. I like the idea of the work product for Salisbury being an alternative State of the Union. A logical extension would be a videotape presentation of whatever we come up with. A second logical follow on would be to set up task forces on our agenda items -- perhaps paralleling Cabinet agencies -- tapping into our party's experts and using this to reshape our image.

- a. Let's assume that task forces are our main projects. I suggest task forces on (this is suggestive, not exhaustive):

Workplace Transitions/Job Training
Reclaiming the Inner City
Health Care
Participation in Government
Crime
Economic Growth
Welfare Reform
Congressional/Campaign Reform
Foreign Affairs/Defense

- b. Each task force should adhere to the following rules:

1. Leadership combines Expertise and Image -- i.e., the leaders must know the substance and they also must be articulate and attractive in presenting it. We may get this in the same package a few times, but I doubt it. A delicate but important task is to recruit good image persons to complement the substance persons where necessary. Maybe co-chairs of each task force.

2. Focus on Success. Each task force should identify and publicize a series of stories about what works, where one is being successful in issue areas without federal government control, etc.

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

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

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

II. My Comments on Your Presentations/Memos

A. Don Morrissey.

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

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

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

B. Jerry Climer.

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

Exhibit 104

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

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

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

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

Exhibit 10A

VISION IMPLEMENTATION PARADIGM

Hoekstra
0151

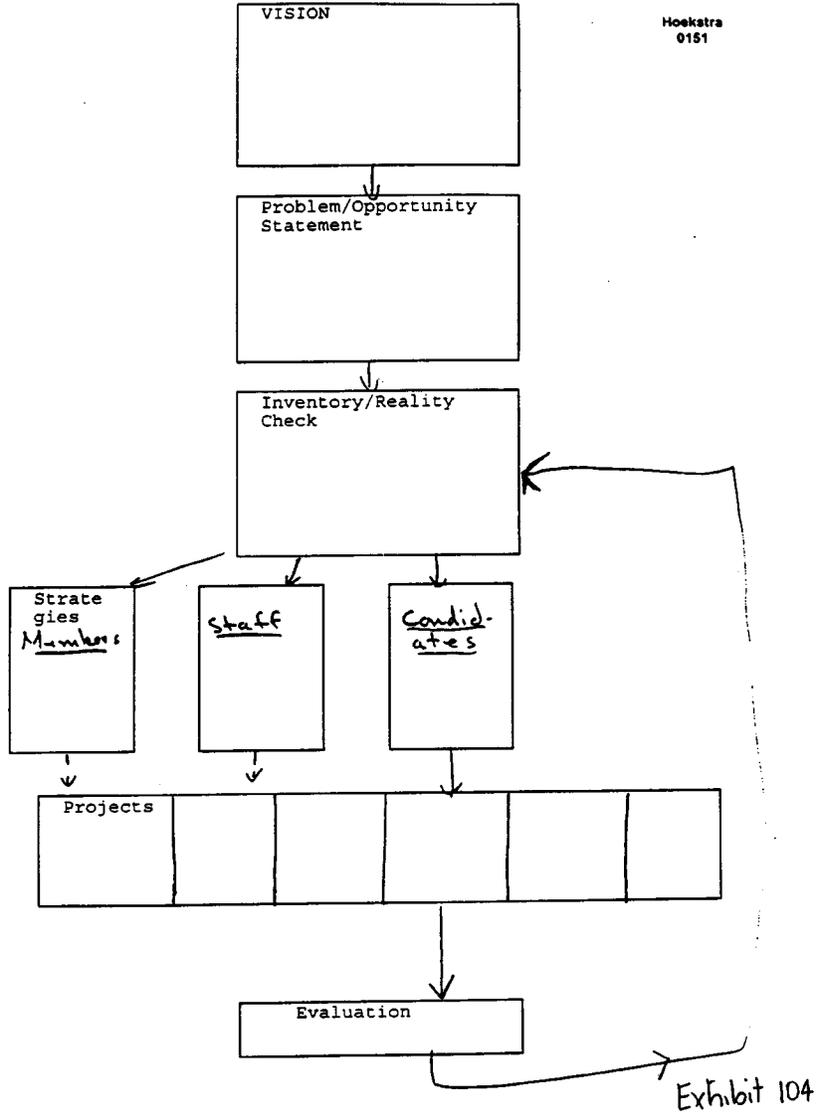


EXHIBIT 105

MEMORANDUM

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

✓ Steve Hanser
Annette Thompson
Dan Meyer
Martha Morrison
Len Swineheart

FROM: Newt Gingrich

DATE: November 30, 1993

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

WGC 03732

Exhibit 105



The Congressional Institute Inc.

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

FROM: Jerry Climer *Jerry*

RE: Staff Training

DATE: October 27, 1993

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

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

WGC 03733

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Exhibit 105

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Staff Training Proposal
October 27, 1993

Renewing American Civilization

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

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

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

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

WGC 03734

October 27, 1993, 1:43 PM

STAFF TRAINING,

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VISION:

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

STRATEGY:

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

OPERATIONS and PROJECTS:

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

Leadership Staff

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

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

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

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

Committee Staff

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

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

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

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

Chiefs of Staff

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

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

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

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

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

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

Legislative Staff

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

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

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

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

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

Media Staff

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

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

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

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

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GENERIC STAFF MEETING OUTLINE
To be tailored for each staff group

(Salisbury Strategic Planning Meeting)

PURPOSE:

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

Introduction: (5 minutes)

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

Gingrich: (15 minutes)

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

Conclusion: (30 minutes)

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

Hoekstra - Action steps and assignments

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STAFF TRAINING,

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MEMBER ACTION

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

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

WGC 03741

Exhibit 105

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Attachment One

November __, 1993

Dear Colleague:

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

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

Please mark your calendars now:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,

Robert H. Michel

Dick Armev

Duncan Hunter

Bill McCollum

Newt Gingrich

Henry Hyde

Tom DeLay

Bill Paxon

Mike Crapo

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FAX, by November 15th, to:

House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich
225-_____

___ YES, I will be participating in the project to write the Republican Vision for America at the Salisbury conference, January 27-29th.

___ My spouse will also attend.

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

___ I (We) will provide our own transportation from our home to Salisbury, Maryland (about 2 1/2 to 3 hours). We may even form a car-pool.

___ I (We) prefer to take the Congressional Institute's bus at an additional cost of \$ __ per person, round trip.

___ No, I will not be participating in the Salisbury retreat.

Member Signature

Please print Member Name

Contact Name

Telephone

FAX Number

Exhibit 105

EXHIBIT 106

PFF
8032

How to be a Team Teacher or Site Host



Exhibit 106

Getting Started

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

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

Commitment from Renewing American Civilization

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

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

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

Finding a Location

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

Suggested Locations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Recruiting Participants

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

Colleges

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

High Schools

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

Work

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

Community Group

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

Registration and Materials

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

Group Orders

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

Bulk Sales

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

College Book Stores

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

Equipment

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

Satellite

EQUIPMENT NEEDED -- C-Band Satellite Dish and Television

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

Satellite Coordinates

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

Video Tapes

EQUIPMENT NEEDED -- Television and VCR

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

Running the Class

Hosting

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

Suggestions for Hosting the Class

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

Team Teacher

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

Special Invited Guests

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

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

Discussion Groups

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

Discussion Questions

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

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

Readings and Assignments

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

EXHIBIT 107

W.K.G.R.

VISION: To Obtain Site Hosts for Winter 1994 Quarter

PF 728

PROJECT: To obtain site hosts from conservative organizations

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

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

PROJECT: To secure site hosts from companies

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

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

PROJECT: To get cable companies to broadcast course.

STRATEGIES: Mailing to cable companies.

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

Exhibit 107

VISION: To Obtain Site Hosts for Winter 1994 Quarter
PROJECT: Have more colleges offer Renewing American Civilization for credit

STRATEGIES:
National Review Mailing

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

STRATEGIES: General College Mailing

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

STRATEGIES: College Republicans Mailing

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

STRATEGIES: College Educational Television Cable Mailing

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

PROJECT: Determine the number of site hosts

STRATEGIES: Current site hosts

TACTICS:

Develop questionnaire which asks if they are inactive/active, when they view the class, how many participate, will they participate in Winter Quarter 1994, etc. Call current site hosts on list. Write and send letter to site hosts that are unable to be reached by telephone. Create report which describes status of site hosts.

STRATEGIES: Video Purchasers

TACTICS:

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

Exhibit 107

EXHIBIT 108



The Progress & Freedom Foundation

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

March 28, 1994

PFF
37320

Mr. McDonald Willis
 Reinhardt College
 Waleska, GA 30183

Dear Mac:

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

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

Sincerely,



Jeffrey A. Eisenach

c: John McDowell, Pattie Stechsulte

Exhibit 108

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION DEBRIEF MEMO

DATE: March 23, 1994
 PREPARED BY: Nancy Desmond

PRODUCTION

A. REINHARDT CLASS

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

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

B. PRODUCTION STAFF

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

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

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

C. PRE-PRODUCTION COMPONENTS

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

Exhibit 108

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

II. CLASS SITES

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

Clemson University
Clemson, South Carolina

Graceland College
Lamoni, Iowa

Hope College
Holland, Michigan

Kennesaw State College
Kennesaw, Georgia

Lee College
Cleveland, Tennessee

Porterville College
Porterville, California

Potomac State College
Keyser, West Virginia

Reinhardt College
Waleska, Georgia

Southwestern Virginia Community College
Richland, Virginia

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

University of California at Berkeley
Berkeley, California

Exhibit 108

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University of California at Davis
Davis, California

III. DISTANCE LEARNING FOR COLLEGE CREDIT

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

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

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

IV. STATE COORDINATORS

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

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

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

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

V. CALL AND ORDER STATUS

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

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

Exhibit 108

VI. TELEVISION/RADIO BROADCASTS

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

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

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

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

VII. ADVERTISING

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

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

VIII. MAJOR UPCOMING/ONGOING PROJECTS

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

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3. Preparation of Instructional Manual March - August, 1994

IX. ONGOING PROJECTS AND RECENT ACTIVITY OF NANCY DESMOND

A. RECENTLY ACQUIRED SITES

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

Cartersville Cable (air time paid for by private donors)
Cartersville, GA
Contact: Bob Mayzes
10 Walnut St.
Cartersville, GA 30120

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

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

Huron County Republican Party
Precinct Committeeman Training Program
Norwalk, Ohio
Contact: David Kniffin
(419)668-4622

Habersham Plantation Furniture (being established as site)
Mt. Airy, GA
Contact: Barbara Hodges
(706)754-6548

Northeast Georgia Forum
Mt. Airy, GA
Contact: Barbara Hodges
(706)754-6548

Woodward Academy (Library site)
1662 Rugby Ave.

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

B. NEW STATE COORDINATORS/RECENT SPECIAL VOLUNTEER ACTIVITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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7

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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C. SPECIAL POTENTIAL COLLEGE SITES/PLEASE FOLLOW UP ASAP

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

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

A. COLLEGE SITE RECRUITMENT

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

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

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

B. SITE HOST STATUS REPORT

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

C. PLANNING FOR CO-TEACHER TRAINING

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

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

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

XI. OTHER RECOMMENDED ACTIVITIES/ATLANTA

A. RECRUITMENT OF NEW SITES

1. Employee Training Sites

- prepare packet, including list of current employee training sites and Week 3 tape
- contact major corps./Chambers of Commerce

2. High School Sites

- start by sending Week 6 tapes to History/Social Studies teachers at high schools in Newt's district and ask for their feedback
- send letter/overview to private high schools in Newt's district, particularly good if we can find alumnus or staff member to support course adoption

3. Community Sites

- start by sending to national headquarters of conservative groups
- contact programs in Atlanta area

B. EXPANSION OF STATE COORDINATORS PROGRAM

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

C. PUBLICATIONS

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

Exhibit 108

D. MISCELLANEOUS

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

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EXHIBIT 109

Jana's Current Projects
June 23, 1993

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

Exhibit 109

JR-0000001

Page 2 (of 3)

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

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

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

Exhibit 109

Renewing American Civilization
Jana Rogers - Site Host Coordinator Activities
Weekly Report
July 7, 1993

1. Making final edits on site host kit. Expect to have it ready for layout tomorrow (7/8/93). Newt asks that we order 3000 copies of the kit for future marketing purposes.
2. Set up 4 site hosts:
 Marshall University (Huntington, WV)
 Shamie Management Corp. (Walpole, MA)
 Darlene Van Meter - either her church or Tucker High School (Tucker, GA)
 Catonsville Community College (Catonsville, MD)
3. Sent out site host letters (@300) with the registration flyer.
4. Set up Wednesday night volunteer program with Dr. Christine Jefferies' political science class beginning tonight from 6:00 - 8:00 p.m. Will recruit volunteers at 7/8/93 KSC College Republican meeting.
5. Mailed 349 registration flyers.
6. Sent 5000 copies of RAC registration flyer to Republican Whip office.
7. Working with Greg Wright about making contacts with the cable television industry. Greg is meeting on 7/9/93 with Turner Broadcasting and will talk to them about broadcasting the class. Sent Greg a package of registration flyers and my business cards to pass along.
8. Had interview with the KSC student newspaper The Sentinel.
9. Hosted a "Meet and Greet" for Newt at KSC on 7/6/93 from 4:30 - 6:00 p.m. Had 50+ people in attendance (KSC faculty, participants in the class, students). Dr. Mescon toured with Newt around the facilities. Briefed Newt on the status of downlink sites and inquired about the existence of previous files.
10. Working with Mike on where to send the 19,000 registration flyers for the GOPAC Farmteam mailing.
11. Working with Nancy on developing home schooling package.
12. FYI - Received a call today from Vin Weber's assistant. Vin wants to take the course and have the credit transferred back to the University of Minnesota. I am trying to talk the Weber Group into hosting a downlink site.

Exhibit 109

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

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

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Page 2 (of 3)

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
COURSE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

NAME: NANCY DESMOND

DATE: JULY 21, 1993

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

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Page 3 (of 3)

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

Exhibit 109

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Renewing American Civilization
Jana Rogers - Site Host Coordinator Activities
Weekly Report
July 28, 1993

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

Exhibit 109

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

1. Made 102 phone calls to potential site hosts to follow up on prospect letters. Volunteers have made an additional 38 calls.
2. Working to lock in Summit Cable's commitment to broadcast the class in East Cobb County. Drafted a letter from Newt to John Howall, General Manager of Summit Cable Services.
3. Dr. Malcolm Cummings, president of the Georgia Association of Christian Schools has agreed to mail site host guides and flyers to 60 member schools next week along with a note from him encouraging the schools to participate. In addition, Cummings will include in the non-member newsletter information about how to get involved with RAC. Newt is addressing the September 15 - 18 national convention of the Association of Christian Schools in Washington and should give a hard sell to the group then. Cummings plans to do a presentation at the state convention on September 30 to encourage the schools to get involved. He especially wants to develop the class into a program for seniors in high school to take the class by video tape. Cummings is extremely excited about RAC and is thinking about GACS involvement over the next four years.
4. Mailed 3000 flyers to Christian Coalition for mailing.
5. Mailed 3000 flyers to Economics America for mailing.
6. Mailed 1000 flyers to Word of Faith Christian Church (site #74 - Rev. Keith Butler's church).
7. Mailed 250 flyers to Lee College (site #7).
8. Volunteer Update:
 - * Rosetta Terry took the bus from Albany, GA, to Atlanta to learn more about RAC and to volunteer her help. So far, she has managed to get 3 sites in Albany: Darton College, the Second Look Live group and the Educational Access Channel. She also recruited 9 sites from a list of 29 people during her day here volunteering.
 - * Attended Sixth District Young Republican meeting where Newt asked for volunteers. So far, one person, Tommy Jackson, has agreed to come in and help. He'll spend a few hours here working with me on Friday.
 - * Continued work with volunteer Larry Handerson by phone and fax. Larry has 5 "hot" site host prospects from his calls. I am in the process of following up with each.
 - * Steve Stechsulte is coming in for a few hours Thursday night to call potential site hosts.
 - * So far I have received one response to my flyer around campus about volunteering to help.
 - * Continuing work on Wednesday Volunteer Nights.
10. Have 31 new site hosts since August 4:

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

Exhibit 109

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

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

Exhibit 109

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

Exhibit 109

Newt said, "Gerry please tell them -

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

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

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

Sincerely,

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

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

Exhibit 110

EXHIBIT 111

PFF
16765

REPUBLICAN NEIGHBORHOOD MEETING

SEPTEMBER 2, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL DUGALLY

FROM: JOHN M. DANIELSON 
RE: LAMAR ALEXANDER MAILING

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

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

Finally, note that we are at present approaching 1100 sites -- instead on the 1000 we had thought -- and we will mail to all as we continue to add new sites. Also, we are in all 30 states, and are confident many of our audience will be interested in Newt and his course.

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

Kind regards.

Exhibit 111

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

Approximate Expenditures

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

Michael -

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

Frank -



Exhibit III



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

PF
 19797

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

August 24, 1993

By Facsimile

TOTAL PAGES: 2

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

RE: Renewing American Civilization Course

Dear John:

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

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

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

Coming to you via two-day mail, are copies of the site-host guide and the brochures we would like you to enclose with each letter (one guide and three brochures for each letter). The postage cost per piece should be 5.98, which we will gladly reimburse you as soon as you wish.

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

Warm regards,

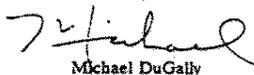

 Michael DuGaly

Exhibit III

DRAFT LETTER FROM LAMAR TO RESN SITES

Name
Address
City, State ZIP

Dear Salutation:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,

Lamar

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

Exhibit III

EXHIBIT 112 992

PFF
10815

DRAFT NOTE TO CHRISTIAN COALITION CHAIRMEN

August XX, 1993

Dear (salutation)

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

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

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

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

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

Exhibit 112

EXHIBIT 113

Republican
National
Committee

Haley Barbour
Chairman

June 28, 1993

RNC
0094

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

Dear :

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

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,

Haley Barbour

Exhibit 113

EXHIBIT 114PFF
7613

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

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

2. Have 27 new site hosts:

Samford University
Homewood, Alabama

Kennesaw State College (library)
Marietta, Georgia

Kansas State University
Manhattan, Kansas

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

Grand Canyon University
Scottsdale, Arizona

Colgate University
Hamilton, New York

UC Berkley
San Francisco, California

University of Nevada - Reno
Reno, Nevada

Auburn University
Auburn, Alabama

University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

West Virgingia Institute of Technology
Montgomery, West Virginia

SUNYA
Albany, New York

Exhibit 114

University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Ithaca College
Ithaca, New York

Illinois Wesleyan University
Bloomington, Illinois

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

Jacksonville State University
Jacksonville, Alabama

Valdosta State University
Valdosta, Georgia

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

University of Wyoming
Laramie, Wyoming

Prince George's Community College
Largo, Maryland

Hofstra University
Hempstead, New York

Troy State University
Troy, Alabama

Ouachita Baptist University
Arkadelphia, Arkansas

Floyd College
Rome, Georgia

Thomas College
Thomasville, Georgia

TBA
Panama City Beach, FL

J.R. Reiche's Home
Liberty, TN

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

Exhibit 114

PFF
7615

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

Exhibit 114

EXHIBIT 115

Mason
0263

Jeremy

3000 carry ^{over} down

275 words -

10,000 pieces

6500 photo legals

3500 ⁺ exhibit

25000 total refusals

DR COURSE

Down line in
Lib 407

Mick Haven - Hijack

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

- 4 options
- videotape ✓
 - a-disk ✓
 - Computer
 - Book

get funding letters

Accepted

memo to book -

hook out a letter

Topic

actual
use

contact
for

Cost

Material can
be used
for summary

Exhibit 115

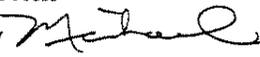
EXHIBIT 116

ATTACHMENT II

PFF
19794

August 11, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR JEFF EISENACH

FROM: Michael DuGally 

SUBJECT: Registration brochure mailing

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

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

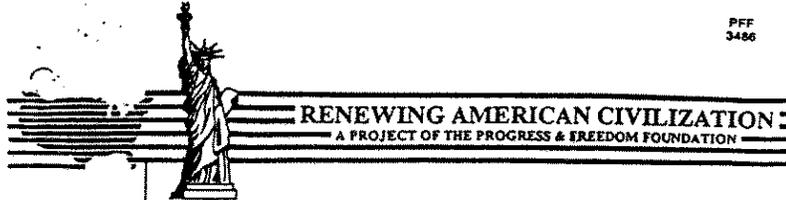
1.	GOPAC farm team	9,000 - 7/5
2.	Cong/FONG/Whip offices	4,000 - 8/10
3.	Sent to site hosts	5,500 - 7/1 - 8/12
4.	College Republicans	2,000 - 7/10
5.	American Pol Sci Assoc.	11,000 - 8/13
6.	Christian Coalition leadership	3,000*
7.	<u>The Right Guide</u> list	3,000*
		=====
	Total brochures sent	37,500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

*Will be sent on or around 8/13

Exhibit 116

EXHIBIT 117

PFF
3466



MEMO

Renewing American Civilization
 News Glagich
 Creator and Professor

Pattie Stechschulte
 Project Coordinator

John McDowell
 Project Coordinator

Senior Advisors
 Keith A. Butler
 Albert S. Hasser
 Lawrence A. Rindow
 Edward Carl Lind
 Barbara B. Lawton
 M. J. Longhery
 J. K. McQueen
 Larry Adams
 Gail A. Wilschky
 James Q. Wilson

Progress & Freedom Foundation
 George A. Keyworth
 Chairman

Jeffrey A. Eisenach
 President

Anthony A. Noble
 Vice President

The Progress & Freedom Foundation is dedicated to creating a positive vision of the future based on the timeless principles of the American idea.

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

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

Sent brochures

1. Eagle Forum Collegians, National Meeting.

June 23-25.
 Washington, DC.
 100+ to attend. Attendees consist of national and chapter leaders.

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

Contact: Lisa Dickert (202) 547-6996

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

2. National Review Institute's Conservative Summit.

Missed

June 25-26.
Charleston, SC.
200+ attendees. Attendees consist mostly of conservative business, academic and professional people.
Contact: Kelly Forsberg (212) 679-7330
Recommendation: Newt has been invited to speak. RAC Atlanta to make sure that brochures are shipped to Charleston upon confirmation of Newt's schedule. Note that Larry Kudlow is a confirmed speaker.

3. Accuracy in Academia, National Summer Conference.

Sent brochures PFF staff attendees

July 8-9.
Washington, DC.
200+ to attend. Attendees consist of students and other academics and activists.
They will allow us to provide RAC brochures for the registration packet.
Contact: Rob Bullock (202) 364-4401
Recommendation: P&FF/RAC Washington representative should stop by to say hello and obtain a participant list, if possible.

4. Young Republican Leadership Conference.

John to attend

July 13-17.
Washington, DC.
600+ attendees. Attendees consist of national, state and local Young Republican leaders (mostly 25-35 years old).
Newt is a confirmed speaker on July 14th. We can pass out RAC brochures after his speech and provide material for the registration packets.
Contact: Jill Richards (202) 662-1340.
Recommendation: I will be attending this conference in my role as a national Executive Board member and chair of the Issues