

House Calendar No. 1

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

IN THE MATTER OF REPRESENTATIVE NEWT GINGRICH--
pages 129 to 200

IN THE MATTER OF
REPRESENTATIVE NEWT GINGRICH
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OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

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EXHIBIT 1

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GOPAC

1990 has been a trying year for the nation and the party. In the face of a difficult election, we hold true to our programs, our ideas and our ideals.

The Mission is still sound . . .

"GOPAC's mission for the 1990's is to create and disseminate the doctrine which defines a caring, humanitarian reform Republican Party in such a way as to elect candidates, capture the United States House of Representatives and become a governing majority at every level of Government."

Exhibit 1

GOPAC

An Overview

Exhibit 1

OVERVIEW

We can only characterize the 1990 election as an opportunity lost. Opportunity lost for GOPAC, for the Republican Party, for the country.

What should have been the "breakthrough" election turned, in the last month or two, into a state by state, campaign by campaign, no trend, no message election.

GOPAC election results mirrored the nationwide results. Where Republican gubernatorial candidates were weak, our legislative candidates lost by razor-thin margins.

The great news is that at least 9 members of the GOPAC farm team are brand new members of Congress. These are candidates who have been part of the GOPAC family. They have received training, tapes and/or cash, some beginning as far back as 1982.

Election year 1990 continued the farm team building process. We supported 91 candidates in 19 states and trained 2835 activists in 32 states.

Even though the election results were not all that we had expected, 1990 was an exciting and productive year for GOPAC. Our Charter Member report contains a brief section on each of the GOPAC 1990 projects.

The political report lists all of the candidates we supported, reports on the states where we were active, and gives results and contribution amounts. We think our Charter Members can be very proud of what we did.

The training and tape program continues to be our most effective and cost-efficient method of spreading the unique GOPAC message. We sent out 36,000 audio tapes to legislators, candidates and activists in 1990. Everywhere we travel, the tapes are praised and appreciated (and copied).

The GOPAC focus group project, one of the largest ever undertaken in the Republican Party, identified language and ideas that would motivate young people to become active in the political process and encourage them to vote Republican.

And for a real learning experience, GOPAC got into the television production business. Our May 19th American Opportunities Workshop was, we believe, the largest satellite network ever put together. The success of that broadcast led to the American Citizens' Television series, as you will see in that report.

Our shirtsleeves sessions continue to grow and inspire. If you have not rolled up your sleeves and participated, you are missing a special experience.

Exhibit 1

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The last section in this report will give you a brief look at preliminary plans for GOPAC 1992. We believe that the unique capabilities of our General Chairman Congressman Newt Gingrich means that GOPAC will take the lead in planning for 1992.

The unparalleled opportunity in 1992 because of redistricting, and because of retirements means that there will be some 170 districts where no incumbent is running or where an incumbent is running in a very different district from the one when he was elected.

Because the opportunity is so great, the planning has already begun, and GOPAC Charter Members and Congressman Newt Gingrich are the motivating force behind the planning.

1990 has been an exciting, productive year for GOPAC. We could not have done any of it without the ideas, the inspiration and the support of our Charter Members. We can't wait to see what 1991-92 will bring.

And yes, we will control the U.S. House. We'll do it in the next election or the one after that. We're serious about it.

Kay Riddle
Executive Director

Exhibit 1

EXHIBIT 2*Attachment #5**Draft (11/1/89)***GOPAC IN THE 1990s**Introduction

During the 1980s, GOPAC has continued its original mission, laid out under the leadership of Pete du Pont, of developing a "farm team" of state legislators and other state and local officeholders from which the next generation of Republican congressmen will emerge. Through contributions to state legislative candidates, GOPAC has helped literally hundreds of candidates to achieve a foothold on the political ladder.

Since 1986, under the leadership of Newt Gingrich, GOPAC has grown into a nationally-recognized center of training and doctrine for grassroots Republican activists and candidates. Through its training seminars, its widely-distributed video and audio tapes and its project to develop and communicate "An Agenda Worth Voting For," GOPAC has taken the lead in communicating the next generation of conservative ideas and in creating a caring, humanitarian, reform Republican party.

Thanks in part to GOPAC's past efforts, the Republican party has an opportunity during the 1990s to become a governing majority in America, at every level of government. The center-right coalition that has carried every Presidential election since 1968 is ready, finally, to seize control of the rest of government at well, from the Congress to the school boards.

Based on its history and experience, its capabilities and strengths as an organization and its assessment of the vast opportunity available to the Republican party, GOPAC has developed the following Mission Statement for the 1990s:

GOPAC's mission for the 1990s is to create and disseminate the doctrine which defines a caring, humanitarian, reform Republican party in such a way as to elect candidates, capture the U.S. House of Representatives and become a governing majority at every level of government.

Exhibit 2

This mission statement, it should be noted, is consistent with the entire range of current GOPAC activities, from training to giving funds to individual state and local candidates. But it goes much further. The Mission Statement for the 1990s provides the basis and the motivation for a GOPAC that can serve as the catalyst for political realignment at the grass-roots level.

"Creation" and "Dissemination": The Operational Principles

GOPAC's new Mission Statement translates immediately and directly into operational principles for GOPAC activities. Its role is to both create and disseminate the doctrine of a majority Republican party.

The creation of new doctrine is essentially a research function, involving the development of new ideas at the strategic, operational and tactical level. Strategic doctrine, in this context, consists of the language, policies and programs that will define the caring, humanitarian, reform Republican agenda of the 1990s. Operational doctrine consists of the political message and image which will attract voters and elect state and local candidates in support of this new agenda. And, tactical doctrine consists of the specific political techniques Republicans will use to win elections and enact governing conservative policies.

Under the leadership of General Chairman Newt Gingrich, GOPAC as played a central role in developing the Republican doctrine of the 1990s. From developing the Conservative Opportunity Society, to creating the GOPAC tapes ("We Are A Majority," "Listen, Learn, Help, Lead," and "Visions, Strategies, Projects, Tactics"), to teaching the party how to "define the left," Gingrich has led the way towards defining a new Republican doctrine.

The challenge for the party, and for GOPAC in particular, is to flesh out these ideas into a full-fledged, intellectually complete doctrine -- one that offers specific policies and programs, comprehensive tactical guidance for the party, and usable operational guidance for specific state and local campaigns.

Exhibit 2

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GOPAC's new Mission Statement calls for it to take up this challenge by undertaking the research activities needed to create a complete Republican doctrine for the 1990s.

As important as the creation of new doctrine is its dissemination. During the 1980s GOPAC and Newt Gingrich have led the way in applying new technology, from C-SPAN to video tapes, to disseminate information to Republican candidates and political activists. And, GOPAC has successfully used the "old technology," (e.g. sponsoring meetings and seminars, mailing materials to farm team members, direct mail, etc.) to get its message out.

But the Mission Statement demands that we do much more. To create the level of change needed to become a majority, the new Republican doctrine must be communicated to a broader audience, with greater frequency, in a more usable form. GOPAC needs a bigger "microphone."

Fortunately, the information revolution provides the needed tools. The successful dissemination techniques of the 1990s will involve increased use of teleconferences, television "narrow-casting", "900" numbers, computer bulletin boards, broadscale faxing and other technologies not yet explored -- or even invented. If GOPAC is to be successful in disseminating the new doctrine as widely and frequently as required, it must remain on the cutting edge of the information revolution.

Advanced technology will be a supplement, not a replacement, for the successful communications techniques GOPAC has developed during the 1980s. Continuing the training seminars, creating a new set of video tapes, increasing the frequency and quality of the audio tape program and sponsoring additional meetings and seminars will remain essential to disseminating the message. Giving funds to state and local candidates can also play an important role. By increasing the probability of electing aggressive, eloquent spokesmen for the new Republican party, GOPAC can help to create effective advocates for the changes that must be made. And, by choosing its candidates effectively, GOPAC can send a message to the party and to the world about the Republican party's commitment to attract new voters among minorities, in inner cities, in the South and elsewhere.

Exhibit 2

GOPAC Projects

In August 1989, GOPAC received commitments for funding of six specific projects designed to create and disseminate the new Republican doctrine of the 1990s:

1. **Overall Planning:** Oversee the development of the strategic, operational and tactical doctrine of the new Republican party and disseminate it to Republican candidates and activists.

2. **No-Tax-Increase Coalition:** Energize the no-tax-increase movement at the grassroots level as well as in Washington.

3. **National COS Movement:** Create the communications network for a national Conservative Opportunity Society movement, working with existing state COS groups.

4. **Create an Inner City COS Agenda:** Develop and disseminate the strategic-level doctrine for COS-based progress in urban areas.

5. **Create a Rural COS Agenda:** Develop and disseminate the strategic-level doctrine for COS-based progress in rural areas.

6. **Education Choice Coalition:** Energize the education choice movement at the grassroots level as well as in Washington.

Each of these projects involves both the creation and dissemination of new doctrine, with some weighted more heavily towards creating new doctrine and some more towards doctrine dissemination. (The National COS Movement, for example, is essentially a communications/dissemination project; the Inner City and Rural COS projects are more heavily weighted towards research/ doctrine creation.) Each is an integral part of GOPAC's mission for the 1990s.

To carry out these projects, GOPAC will expand and reorient two its existing divisions.

Exhibit 2

GOPAC will reorganize and expand its research, development and planning division, which will undertake the research-intensive Overall Planning, Inner City COS and Rural COS projects. The research division will not involve on-staff GOPAC employees, but will rely on consultants working under the direction of a Research Projects Director (Jeff Eisenach), who will be hired on a contract basis. Newt Gingrich will be extensively involved in the design and direction of these activities.

GOPAC will also expand and reorient its communications division. A full-time GOPAC staff person will be hired, working in the Washington office, to coordinate the dissemination of doctrine from the three research-intensive projects, manage the three communications-intensive projects (No-Tax-Increase Coalition; National COS Movement; Education Choice Coalition) and, most importantly, aggressively develop new technology for political communications. Some or all of these activities may also involve the use of outside consultants or part-time staff. Bo Callaway will be extensively involved in designing and directing this expanded communications program.

Ongoing GOPAC Activities

GOPAC's current activities will continue under the remaining three GOPAC divisions: Political, Finance and Administrative.

The political division will continue and expand the existing training seminar program, and oversee the direction of funds to state and local candidates, under the direction of Political Director Tom Morgan. The training program will be expanded in two ways: First, an additional staff person will be added to the program (possibly from existing GOPAC staff - Mark Colluci?) to enable it to provide training to local candidates and Republican activists, as well as to state legislators. Second, the Political Director will work directly with the communications division to develop ways of distributing the GOPAC training program via television, teleconferences, etc.

With respect to funding candidates, the political division will direct its efforts specifically to identifying state and local candidates that meet the two

Exhibit 2

criteria discussed above – effective spokesmen for the new doctrine, and candidates representing new GOP voter groups.

The finance division will continue to oversee the Charter Member program, the National Leadership Council (\$1,000 donors) and the direct mail program. The direct mail program will be substantially reoriented, in keeping with the new mission, to aggressively market new doctrine through GOPAC "products" (e.g. the audio and video tapes).

In addition, the finance division will aggressively market existing and prospective research and communications projects to Charter Members, with the objective of identifying funders to maintain the current set of activities and undertake additional ones. Through high-dollar donations, GOPAC will aim to double its annual funding base each year through 1992.

The administrative division will continue to manage GOPAC's financial and legal affairs under the highest possible financial, legal and ethical standards.

Exhibit 2

EXHIBIT 3

Eisenach
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GOPAC

REPORT TO SHAREHOLDERS

April 26, 1993

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

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

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

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

Exhibit 3

1993 GOPAC Charter Member Events

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

Exhibit 3

1993 GOPAC POLITICAL PROGRAMS

**Status Report
April 26, 1993**

Exhibit 3

MAJOR PLANNING ASSUMPTIONS

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

Exhibit 3

MAJOR PROJECTS OVERVIEW

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

Eisenach
2540

Exhibit 3

CURRICULUM UPDATE AND EXPANSION

Background

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

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

1993 Objectives

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

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

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

Eisenach
2541

Attachment Two

"TORY (FRANCHISE) MODEL" R&D

Background

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

1993 Objectives

1. Identify "Marginal" Districts: In 1992, we identified 176 Congressional districts which were either "open seats" or held by Democratic incumbents. Republicans were elected in 45 of these 176 districts, leaving 131 districts where our initial analysis suggests Republicans should be electable. Our first task this Spring is to review that initial analysis (based especially on 1992 results) and produce a revised list of 100-150 marginal districts Republicans should target during the 1990s. First cut target list is complete.
2. Developing a Doctrine for "Franchise" Districts: Through various efforts over the past several years, we have already done a significant amount of research into how a "franchise" model would work and even tested several elements that will no doubt be included in a final doctrine manual. Over the next few months, we need to (a) formally study the British model and analyze which elements might be adapted to U.S. campaigns, (b) talk with potential "franchisees" (i.e. customers) about what they need and (c) take a first cut at actually writing down the key elements of a franchise district doctrine (e.g. training, funding, recruiting, etc.). **Next steps here depend on the outcome of the April 24 planning session.**
3. Identify 1994 Test Districts: We have had exploratory conversations with a dozen or more Republican leaders around the country, including several Charter Members, who are prepared to devote time and energy to establishing permanent campaigns in Congressional districts where they live. From among these franchise candidates, and others we may identify over the next few months, we need to select 6-12 Test Districts in which to test the franchise model doctrine. **This selection -- including the development of explicit franchise agreements with district leaders -- should be complete by November 1993.**

Finch
2542

Exhibit 3

Attachment Three

OFF-YEAR STATE LEGISLATIVE RACES

Background

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

1993 Objectives

1. **Recruiting and Training State Legislative Candidates:** We have contacted state legislative leaders and offered to assist with candidate recruiting in both New Jersey and Virginia, and we expect that Newt will be asked to assist personally in persuading some of the stronger potential candidates to run. In addition, we are currently working to schedule major training seminars in both New Jersey and Virginia for June/July 1993, and will use these seminars to "roll out" the new GOPAC training curriculum now under development. In addition, we are developing a teleconference training curriculum for both states which we expect to roll out in late Summer. (Recall that we first tested the teleconference training program, which was so successful in 1992, with state legislative candidates in New Jersey and Virginia in 1991.) On track, with Newt Gingrich training seminar scheduled for June 5 at the Virginia Republican Convention.
2. **Research and Strategic Consultation:** As in 1991, we will work directly with the Republican leaders in New Jersey and Virginia to determine how GOPAC can best meet their needs for research and strategic consultation at both the candidate-specific and the state-wide party level. **Discussions with state leaders are already underway; specific projects will be developed over the course of the next several months.**
3. **In-Kind and Cash Contributions:** GOPAC's most effective program in 1991 was the "Wilder Index" ad campaign we developed for Virginia state legislative candidates. In September, we mailed camera-ready art, tailored specifically to each campaign, to every Republican challenger. The ads demonstrated that the Democratic incumbent they were running against had voted with Governor Wilder (the most unpopular political figure in the state at that point) on a large proportion of key votes. As we survey the situation in New Jersey and Virginia this year, we will be looking for similar opportunities. Of course, we will also be evaluating state legislative candidates for possible cash contributions, and tentatively expect to contribute about \$25,000 in each of the two states.

Eisenach
2543

Exhibit 3

MESSAGE DEVELOPMENT/RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

Background

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

1993 Objectives

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

Exhibit 3

ONGOING POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Background

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

Specific 1993 Objectives

1. On-Site Training Seminars: We are currently working to schedule roughly two dozen on-site training seminars during 1993. In addition to the states with off-year state legislative races, we expect to be active in Mississippi (where there is an important race for governor and where GOPAC has been active in the past) and in several other states (e.g. Texas, Pennsylvania, California) where GOPAC training has been well-received in the past. First GOPAC training session of 1993 will be conducted at the Southern Republican Exchange meeting in Louisville on May 8; additional seminars now being scheduled.
2. Audio Training Tapes: We have planned and budgeted for six audio training tapes to be mailed during 1993, including two or three tapes including our updated training curriculum. At present, we are working on updating the mailing list to reflect results of 1992 state and local races and are preparing to mail a customer satisfaction/needs survey to the entire farm team list. Mailing list has been updated and survey is in preparation; first tape scheduled for June on "Renewing American Civilization" and "Entrepreneurial Health Care."
3. Wisconsin Support: In the category of "targets of opportunity," there are a series of special elections for the State Senate in Wisconsin coming up this Spring -- the outcomes of which will determine control of the Senate. We are currently working to schedule trips for Newt to make appearances on behalf of the Republican candidates in these races. Trip completed April 23.

Exhibit 3

EXHIBIT 4

GOPAC3 180

GOPAC

Community Activism

**ACTV
&
AOW**

Exhibit 4

AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES WORKSHOP: REWRITING GRASSROOTS POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

A new chapter in the history of American political movements was written on May 19, 1990.

That was the day GOPAC launched "The American Opportunities Workshop." The American Opportunities Workshop (AOW) brought together citizen activists at 650 workshops across the country, linked together by television and satellites.

In 50 states, and hundreds of thousands of homes (via The Family Channel), activists listened as Congressman Newt Gingrich challenged the country to solve local problems by using common sense. The model became known as "the triangle of American success" -- harnessing high technology, entrepreneurial free enterprise and basic American values in searching for community based solutions to the country's problems.

AOW far exceeded our goal of 300 workshops in 20 states with 650 workshops in all 50 states. We knew that we could not let this "electronic town meeting" end on May 19th. Indeed, it was just the beginning.

Taking To The Airwaves

The decision was made to produce three pilot programs over the course of the summer. The project became known as American Citizens' Television (ACTV) and was sheparded by the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, a non-profit 501 (c) 3 organization chaired by Bo Callaway. Though legally no longer a GOPAC project, ACTV did rent space and operate out of the GOPAC office.

Our mission is to establish ACTV as a new, interactive information network. By using the latest in communications technology, we have already put together an impressive network of thousands of activists across the country.

The first pilot aired live on July 21st, again, on The Family Channel. The program centered on activists' involvement in television, specifically cable access television.

Because of this show, 200 activists contacted us about enrolling in television production courses at their local cable access stations. Our goal is to ultimately have thousands of community leaders producing their own local programming, tagged on to the end of our show and serving as the local portion of American Citizens' Television in their community.

Exhibit 4

American Citizens' Television: Creating a National Dialogue

Our next ACTV program aired in September; back to school month. We used the opportunity to showcase the provocative idea of "education choice." Choice in education allows families to send their children to any school they choose, public or private, with government education funds following students to the school of their choice.

With dozens of education groups around the country supporting the program, over 400 citizens joined us for workshops on September 29th. Hundreds of thousands more saw our program "Education Choice: The Citizens' Solution" on The Family Channel. Our program was hosted by The Honorable Pete du Pont, a strong advocate of choice in education for America's children and former chairman and founder of GOPAC.

Activists took advantage of the subject to invite school superintendents, PTA Presidents and teachers to local workshops and discuss the merits of the program. These workshops made it possible to advance the cause of education choice in communities across America.

Imitation -- The Sincerest Form of Flattery

Word quickly spread across the Washington community of the success of the American Opportunities Workshop and American Citizens' Television.

On September 22nd, Dr. Alan Keyes, President of the Council for Citizens Against Government Waste approached ACTV about heading up a new project.

Dr. Keyes wanted ACTV to take a leading role in organizing and planning the national "Taxpayer's Action Day." The plan called for hundreds of rallies across the country on October 27th, protesting high taxes and government waste and corruption. The goal was to recruit thousands of activists to protest in front of local, state and federal government offices and focus national media attention on the mood of angry taxpayers. Of course, the launching point for these rallies would be "Taxpayer's Revolt," the third and final ACTV pilot, aired on the morning of October 27th on The Family Channel.

With 4 weeks to go the project was nothing but an idea. Within days of taking on the project, ACTV made the idea a reality. Using techniques learned from earlier projects, ACTV organized rallies in 250 congressional districts. The rallies ranged in size from 3,500 in Detroit to 5 in Rome, New York.

Congress voted on the Federal budget voted on Taxpayer's Action Day. The timing couldn't have been better. All three networks carried news of the rallies and the public's outrage over the tax increases and the government's lack of spending discipline.

Exhibit 4

GOPAC3 183

Ultimately, Taxpayer's Action Day would not have been possible without the expertise developed by GOPAC and ACTV in grassroots organization. The innovative American Opportunities Workshop has opened up new doors for mobilizing citizen activists.

Getting Out the Message

	May 19	July 21	Sept. 29	Oct.
27				
Workshops:	650	350	400	N/A
Affiliate producers:	N/A	212	35	N/A
Rallies:	N/A	N/A	N/A	250+
***Estimated attendance:	40,000	9,000	16,000	
	50,000+			

*** Does not include television audience estimated at 250,000 per show.

Exhibit 4

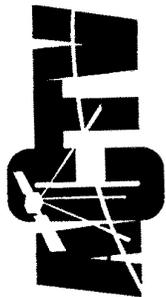
ACTV
UPCOMING PROGRAMS

Saturday, September 29: "Focus on Education" -- Featuring Gov. Pete du Pont, Brookings Institution Scholar John Chubb and leaders of the education choice movement.

(Date TBA): "Veterans Solving Problems for Veterans" -- Veterans going outside the bureaucracy to solve problems in health care, education and retirement.

(Date TBA): "The Privatization Solution" -- Local governments are leading the way in privatization, cutting bureaucracy and improving services.

September 29th show airs on the Family Channel at:
10:00 a.m. Eastern
9:00 a.m. Central
8:00 a.m. Mountain
7:00 or 10:00 a.m. Pacific (check local listing)



AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION

GOPAC3 184

440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20001
Phone: (202) 484-2312 Fax: (202) 783-3306
A Project of the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation

American Citizens' Television is a project of the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, Bo Callaway, Chairman.
For information, write or call:
ACTV
440 First St. NW, Suite 400
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 484-2312

PLEASE
PLACE
STAMP
HERE

AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION
440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20001

Exhibit 4



ORGANIZING

A

WORKSHOP

Exhibit 4

440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20001



Step 1: CALL US!

Call us at A.C. T.V. and let us know that you are interested in hosting a workshop. We will add you to our National Directory so you can be linked up with other activists. We will also send you a press release. Use this to attract media attention and community interest.



Step 2: CONTACT COMMUNITY LEADERS

Contact community leaders and get them interested in your workshop. The group can work on finding solutions for local problems.

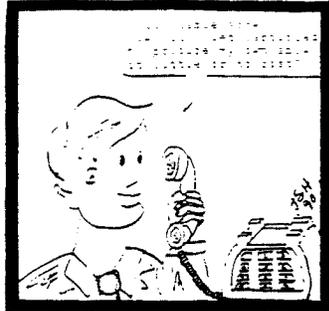


Step 3: FIND A ROOM

Find a room, school room, church hall, community center, hotel room, small business, any room that you can use as a meeting place. Make sure it is a facility where you can watch t.v. and receive the Family Channel on cable.

Exhibit 4

GOPAC3 188



Step 7: CONTACT YOUR CABLE ACCESS STATION

Talk to the station manager about the cable access station and ask him/her to air the program. Find out how you can produce a local version of the national show.



Step 8: SHOWTIME!

On the day of the workshop, have the room prepared, refreshments available (coffee, donuts, etc.), materials ready. (clippings from newspapers about your topic, sign-in sheets, etc.) Also have your To-Do list for a project or projects you would like to see the group undertake after the broadcast.

Step 9: CALL US FOR HELP

Call us any time with your questions. We are here to help you every step of the way.

Call American Citizens Television at:

1-800-872-2798

or call:

Mark Colucci, Executive Director,
American Citizens Television.
Tel.#: (202) 484-2312.

American Citizens Television is a project of
the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation

Produced and Illustrated
by J. Stefanie Hess

Exhibit 4

EXHIBIT 5**GOPAC**

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

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

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

JUN 12 1990

GERALD R. FORD
HONORARY CHAIRMAN

NEWT GINGRICH
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
CHAIRMAN

FAM 0011

May 31, 1990

Mr. Tim Robertson
The Family Channel
1000 Centerville Turnpike
Virginia Beach, Virginia 23463

Dear Tim:

I enjoyed talking with you last Friday. I especially want to thank you for your offer to contribute one hour per month on the Family Channel to us.

On May 19th GOPAC launched the beginning of a new citizens' movement in America. The American Opportunities Workshop was a great success. We're very pleased about the depth of our television coverage and estimated that our audience at these workshops was over 40,000. The telecast focused on the experiences of citizens solving local problems in innovative ways by applying the principles of common-sense alternatives to bureaucracy and examining specific examples where these principles have been put to work.

I'd like to take a moment and introduce you to the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, a new non-partisan foundation that will continue building on the grass roots movement which began on May 19th. One of the projects ALOF is undertaking is the "American Citizens' Television" which will feature success stories of those individuals who were able to affect positive change in their communities by using alternatives to the failed methods of the bureaucratic welfare state.

These broadcasts will offer common-sense programming to be used by grass roots activists on local community access cable TV channels. This "American Citizens' Television" will be an ideal opportunity for a citizens' movement that is dedicated to the principle that American citizens, recruiting their friends and neighbors to solve local problems, are the key to success in the 1990's and essential for driving positive change in America.

By creating a citizens' movement, my fellow activists and I hope to communicate the principles of entrepreneurial free enterprise, basic American values and technological progress to the general public.

I want to invite you to share with me my deep commitment to changing America in a positive and innovative way -- by empowering the private citizen. Please join me today as a partner in this dynamic, educational project and bring America back. I am very excited about this foundation and the many important projects they are undertaking. We are now working very hard to get the seed money necessary to begin funding this new entity.

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Exhibit 5

FAM 0012

The Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation is a non-partisan, non-profit educational foundation and corporate as well as individual contributions are accepted. This organization has been given 501(c)(3) status by the Internal Revenue Service and your contribution is deductible on your income tax form. I have enclosed a letter from the Internal Revenue Service for your review. Please contact Stacey Oswald at 484-2282, if you have any questions or would like more information.

Again, thank you for your generous and important contribution. I'm sorry things got so confused at the end with the workshop but everything went extremely well. I look forward to working with you and hope to see you in the near future.

Sincerely,



Newt Gingrich

000061

Exhibit 5

EXHIBIT 6

Eisenach
0357

AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION



*Prospectus
for*

AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION

September 17, 1990

Exhibit 6

440 First Street, N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20001
Phone: (202) 484-2312 Fax: (202) 783-3306

A Project of the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

o The Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation (ALOF), a 501(c)3 organization chaired by former Congressman Bo Callaway, has launched an exciting new project -- American Citizens' Television (ACTV) -- to produce and distribute television programming designed to inform grass-roots citizens groups about the need and opportunities for replacing failed government programs with opportunity-oriented, citizen-based solutions.

o Working in conjunction with grass roots groups such as Citizens Against Government Waste, ACTV produces 30 minutes of reform-oriented programming each month. Programs are distributed to cable systems and shown nationally on the Family Channel on the third Saturday of every month.

o ACTV is more than a TV show. It is an intrinsic part of a broader movement to educate citizen activists and teach them the communications tools that will be needed to get a reform-minded message across in the 1990s. Thus, ACTV helps local community activists work with their own cable systems to have the show re-broadcast on local community access channels in conjunction with local meetings of citizen activists. And, ACTV is helping nearly 200 local citizen activists become cable access producers, so that they can produce their own locally-oriented programming.

o American Citizens' Television's near-term objectives are (a) to create a network of monthly "electronic meetings" of citizen activist groups across the country, each functioning as a nexus for communication between local reformers and, simultaneously, being networked together on a national basis through ACTV, and (b) to create a vehicle through which to attract broader interest in the need and opportunities for common-sense alternatives to bureaucratic government.

o ACTV begins with a base of over 600 groups of community activists who organized workshops as part of the American Opportunities Workshop (AOW) project. AOW is a nationwide teleconference/television show airing on May 19, 1990, hosted by Congressman Newt Gingrich and sponsored by GOPAC, a national political organization led by Gingrich and chaired by Bo Callaway. Each of the approximately 20,000 people who attended workshops received materials about ACTV.

o ALOF estimates that approximately \$50,000 will be needed to complete production and distribution of each monthly show, with additional (non-production) costs of \$20,000-\$25,000 per month. ALOF believes this budget can be met, eventually, through grants, co-sponsorship by other interested organizations, etc.

Exhibit 6

OVERVIEW

The Starting Point: American Opportunities Workshop

The immediate predecessor of ACTV is the "American Opportunities Workshop (AOW)," a nationwide, non-partisan teleconference/television show which aired on Saturday, May 19, 1990. AOW was sponsored by GOPAC, a national political organization chaired by Bo Callaway and led by Congressman Newt Gingrich (General Chairman). GOPAC was successful in building a network of more than 600 individual sites at which more than 20,000 people gathered to view the American Opportunities Workshop program and participate in follow-on workshops. AOW was shown nationally on cable TV's Family Channel and, importantly, was also aired by approximately 50 cable access stations across the country.

AOW received substantial favorable coverage in the national press. (See Attachment A.)

In addition, GOPAC was successful in attracting more than two dozen major co-sponsors and coordinating organizations to the AOW project, including the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the U.S. Business and Industry Council and National Review magazine (which published a special supplement specifically for AOW participants).

GOPAC's decision to undertake AOW was based on two simple propositions. First, restoring America's tradition of citizen activism is essential to accomplishing the reforms needed in America in the 1990s. Second, the best, if not the only, means of inspiring the needed level of activism in the electronic age is television.

What Happens After May 19?

From the outset, GOPAC saw the May 19 AOW project as the beginning of something larger, not as an end in itself. Thus the question: "What Happens After May 19?"

As the AOW project proceeded, it became increasingly clear that the best follow-on mechanism would involve the continued use of television and, specifically, the use of community access television on cable systems. (There are more than 1,500 cable systems in the United States which operate community access channels for the benefit of local citizens' groups. These stations are required to make time available to any group which wishes to show community-oriented programming that is not obscene and meets minimal additional standards.)

Exhibit 6

Community access television provides a unique opportunity for networking together individuals in local, grass-roots level with one another, and, in turn, with other grass-roots groups across the country. It also offers a medium to get the reform message out to the broader public and thereby increase participation in the reform movement. Finally, the experience with AOW indicates that the national media is interested in the concept of using television as a grass-roots organizing tool and will provide ample coverage to such an effort, thereby further increasing its exposure.

Exhibit 6

AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION

The Transition from AOW to American Citizens' Television

With these thoughts in mind, the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation -- a 501(c)3 organization incorporated in Colorado and chaired by Bo Callaway -- has established a new entity, American Citizens' Television, that will undertake to build on the momentum created by the American Opportunities Workshop. As was the case with AOW, ACTV programming will be educational and non-partisan in nature, emphasizing the need and opportunities for reform.

To ensure a smooth transition, packages of information regarding American Citizens' Television and were distributed to each of the 20,000 AOW participants. These packages provided information about the project, and solicited the names of any participants who wish to be involved. (See Attachment B.) In responses received to date, the majority of the AOW participants are interested participating in the ACTV project, and more than 100 individuals have indicated they are interested in producing local cable television programs.

In addition, the Family Channel has indicated its desire to participate in American Citizens' Television by carrying ACTV shows on a regular basis. The Family Channel is one of the largest cable television networks in the U.S., reaching into 53 percent of all American homes -- i.e. virtually all homes wired for cable television.

American Citizens' Television: Near Term Activities

The first broadcast of American Citizens' Television occurred on July 21, 1990. The one-hour program was produced in the studios of Prince George's Community Television and focused on the opportunities presented by community access television. Ms. Sharon Ingraham, National Chairperson of the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers, was among the participants in the show, which was hosted by Congressman Newt Gingrich. (See Attachment C.) Workbooks were mailed to AOW participants, and nearly 300 workshops were held across the country in conjunction with the July 21 show, involving several thousand active participants.

Exhibit 6

The Fall programming schedule has also been set. On September 29, 1990, ACTV will air a 30-minute show focussing on the movement towards education choice. Former Delaware Governor Pete du Pont, an active leader of the education choice movement, will be hosting the show, which will also include Brookings Institution scholar John Chubb, the author of Politics, Markets and America's Schools. Leaders of the education choice movement have been active participants in the May 19 and July 21 efforts, and have played a significant role in formulating and promoting the September show.

ACTV's October 27 show will be entitled "The Taxpayer Revolt," and will be hosted by Alan Keyes, chairman of Citizens Against Government Waste. The program will be aired in conjunction with "Taxpayer's Action Day," an effort to unite citizen activists from around the country for one day in a single act of protest against federal waste, fraud, ineptitude and abuse. Local organizers will bring activists together to view the television show and then hold their own rallies to express voter dissatisfaction with federal mismanagement of taxpayer's money. The rallies will give the citizens the opportunity to express their anger over the government waste and corruption that will be detailed in the October 27 show.

We are now developing programs for the coming year that will include such topics as crime, child care, privatization, the environment, housing and other important topics. Each show will focus on citizen-based solutions to community problems.

As a general matter, near-term activities will fall into four distinct categories: Planning and Design; Program Production; Coordination and Promotion; and Fundraising.

Planning and design will be overseen by Bo Callaway and carried out, to a large extent, by many of the same personnel who worked on the American Opportunities Workshop (working, in this capacity, for American Citizens' Television on a contract basis). Mr. Mark Colucci, formerly Deputy Political Director of GOPAC, has been hired as Executive Director of ACTV and will supervise all activities on a day-to-day basis. Obviously, major co-sponsors are also expected to play a major role in the planning and design phase of the project.

Program production has been contracted out to a production company, Prime Time Design. Prime Time Design is an established production company, and its work on the July 21 show was superior. Like the July 21 show, future shows will be produced in the studios of Prince George's Community Television, both to save money and to highlight the importance of community access television to our effort.

Exhibit 6

Coordination and promotion will be carried out by a small staff based in Washington, DC. The AOW workshop hosts and attendees thus far form ACTV's base of local producers and workshop leaders, but this base is expected to expand significantly as the project moves forward and additional co-sponsors add their own grass-roots activists to the ACTV fold. A pamphlet has been prepared and distributed to thousands of grass-roots activists and others who might be interested in participating. (See Attachment D.)

Fundraising for American Citizens' Television will be designed to raise as much "outside" money as possible, as soon as possible. ALOF plans to begin fundraising activities immediately, and Ms. Stacy Oswald has been hired on a full-time basis to carry out this function. Efforts will be targeted at five major groups: (1) Foundations; (2) Corporations; (3) High-dollar individual donors; (4) Small (i.e. direct mail) donors; and (5) Cooperating Co-sponsors from within the conservative/reform community.

American Citizens' Television: Long-Run Goals

In the longer-run, American Citizens' Television faces two challenges: To maintain and build on the base for its 60-minute monthly program, and in the long-run, to grow into a comprehensive television-based vehicle for citizen activism in the 1990's.

The early challenges will be to expand the "reach" of the program, coordinate local efforts to create follow-on local programming, sign up as many co-sponsors from within the conservative/reform movement as possible and build a stable long-term funding base. By the end of 1990: The program should be seen on as many as 300 community access stations; 100 or more local groups should have created follow-on programming that airs in conjunction with the national show; a dozen or more major co-sponsors should have signed up; and, the program should be fully funded through 1991.

If these near-term objectives are met, then 1991 can be a year of building for American Citizens' Television -- towards an ultimate (blue-sky) objective of becoming a 24-hour-a-day national cable network. Obviously, such ambitious thoughts depend on near-term success, which is where all of our efforts will focus.

Exhibit 6

1990-1991 Budget Requirements

American Citizen's Television will operate at the lowest possible cost, minimizing overhead and contracting out as much work as possible while maintaining management control.

While this is a pathbreaking project, and costs are therefore somewhat difficult to predict, the experience with the American Opportunities Workshop project and the July 21 ACTV program provide a solid basis for estimating the costs involved in American Citizens' Television. In the near-term, these costs can be divided into the four categories noted above: Planning and Design; Program Production; Coordination and Promotion; and, Fundraising.

Monthly budget estimates for each activity are as follows:

Planning and Design	\$ 7,500
Program Production (incl. distribution)	30,000
Coordination and Promotion	30,000
<u>Fundraising</u>	<u>5,000</u>
TOTAL	\$72,500

These estimates include all overhead costs (e.g. space, phones, stationery, postage and printing, etc.).

Exhibit 6

SUMMARY

American Citizens' Television, like the American Opportunities Workshop, is an experiment. It may fail for any number of reasons. And, if it does, everyone involved should be prepared to recognize that failure and walk away -- happy in the knowledge that it was an experiment worth trying.

The reason this experiment is worth trying is because it has the potential to produce a very significant increase in citizen participation in the democratic process and, in turn, substantial reform of a government that is currently failing at so many levels. No medium, other than television, has the potential to reach a large enough audience, with a powerful enough message, to produce this result.

If American Citizens' Television succeeds, it will be seen as one of the defining elements of American civic culture in the 1990's -- the vehicle that gave American citizens the chance to retake control of their government.

Exhibit 6

ATTACHMENT A

Eisenach
0367

A24 SUNDAY, MAY 20, 1990

The Washington Post

GOP-Backed Teleconference Stresses Community-Based Solutions

By Paul Taylor
Washington Post Staff Writer

DETROIT, May 19—At the stroke of 10 a.m. today, the "Citizen opportunities movement of the 1990s" was launched here in the Rev. Keith Butler's crowded inner-city church.

And in a barbecue restaurant in rural Newman, Ga.

And in a Hispanic neighborhood in San Diego, a community center in Orange City, Iowa, and an auditorium in Portland, Maine.

Community workshops in these five sites were strung together by satellite into a live, televised, interactive, hour-long national town meeting that married conservative ideology with modern technology and old-fashioned grass-roots organizing.

The \$500,000 satellite teleconference was the brainchild of House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), who explained from his perch on a stool at Strawberry's Barbecue in Newman that the point was to demonstrate that solutions to common problems of poverty, drugs, crime, education and the environment "will not come from one big decision in Washington."

"The age of the centralized state is over," President Bush added in a brief taped speech. "We must address problems not with bureaucracies, but at the community level, one citizen at a time."

Here on the east side of Detroit, the featured community problem-solver was a guest from Milwaukee, state Rep. Pilly Williams, who described how she pushed the most advanced school voucher program in the nation through the Wisconsin state legislature earlier this year.



City Councilman Keith Butler, right, takes question from a woman in the Detroit audience during yesterday's live broadcast originating from five cities.

Vouchers are a favorite approach of conservatives because they give individuals more choice and make public bureaucracies face stiffer competition. Under the Wisconsin plan, which goes into effect this fall, almost 1,000 low-income Milwaukee students will be given \$2,500 apiece to cover their full tuition if they choose to attend a private nonsectarian school. For every child who exercises that option, the Milwaukee school system will lose \$2,500 in state funding.

Williams, a Democrat, a former

welfare mother and a state coordinator in 1984 and 1985 for Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign, said only "bureaucrats" and "white liberals" fought the change.

Among her most interested listeners here was Butler, 34, the pastor of the 5,000-member Word of Christ Christian Center and a rising political force in Detroit. Two years ago, Butler, who is black, organized a grass-roots movement that defeated a casino gambling referendum favored by Mayor Coleman Young (D) last year he became the first Republican in recent history elected to the City Council.

Butler is supporting a slate of candidates for school board this year who advocate a similar vouch-

Exhibit 6

er plan for Detroit. "There is a realization that what is going on in the schools right now just isn't working," he said.

Although today's program was funded by GOPAC, a Republican political action committee, there were no references to partisan politics. "This isn't about politics," Butler said. "It's about helping people learn how to succeed. If you do that, they'll listen to what you're talking about in other areas too."

The hour did not go flawlessly. A glitch made the satellite-fed pictures arrive on the two large television screens in Butler's church a split second ahead of the audio—so when Bush spoke or when a Georgia sheriff described how he maneuvered past local bureaucrats to build a new low-cost modular jail or when a Maine entrepreneur talked about his environmentally safe coolant for re-

frigerators, reading everyone's lips was no small feat.

The question-and-answer segment between cities didn't produce much in the way of soaring exchanges. "What advice would you give to citizens who want to get involved?" a Hispanic restaurateur from San Diego asked Butler midway through the program. "Roll up your sleeves and go to work," he responded.

But the workshop here grew much more animated—full of name and phone number exchanges—once the show was over, and the Detroiters spent another hour talking among themselves.

"As a race, we are not trained to become entrepreneurs, we are trained to work for other people," Terry Wynn said to the applause of the overwhelmingly black audience. "A lot of our people think we are doomed to just work for GM [Gen-

eral Motors] for 40 years and then die. We have to change the way we think."

Wynn, 27, who started a business that places temporary workers in law offices, asked Butler if he would use his church to teach entrepreneurial skills to the community. "We already do," Butler said. "Now all of you here tell your pastors to do that too. If you ask, they'll respond."

The exchange captured what Gingrich hopes will happen on an ongoing basis. Starting in July, his plan is for community activists to have monthly town meetings, shown on local community access cable channels across the country. GOPAC's American Opportunities Workshop provides programming to assist them. "What we are really creating here is an American citizen's television," said Howard "Bo" Callaway, chairman of GOPAC.

Organizers of today's teleconference said it was sent by satellite to about 600 community workshop sites around the country. Several dozen cable stations also picked it up.

Exhibit 6

G.O.P. Conservatives Take Grass-Roots Road

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

NEWNAN, Ga., May 19 — Representative Newt Gingrich's vision of the conservative future came to Sprayberry's Barbecue here today. Satellite trucks rolled up in the parking lot, Mr. Gingrich took his spot before the cameras, and a national teleconference began, grandly aimed at inaugurating a "citizens opportunity movement."

The one-hour program featured a tough, jail-building county sheriff, a black woman who fought for the right of parents to choose which schools their children could attend and a Hispanic entrepreneur, all presented as success stories of people solving problems close to home.

The program, carried by cable stations and by satellite to more than 500 sites around the country, repeated the message that Mr. Gingrich and other conservatives have been advancing in recent months. "All of us know the bureaucratic welfare state has failed," said Mr. Gingrich, a Georgia Republican, House minority whip and a leading theoretician of the right.

The future, he and others argued over the hour, depends on citizens solving problems at the grass roots, technological innovation, entrepreneurial drive and a resurgence of basic American values like hard work, education and responsibility.

While organizers of the conference sought a non-partisan, nonideological tone — former Attorney General Griffin B. Bell, a Democrat, was one of the guests — it reflected the attempt by many conservatives to redefine their movement for the 1990's.

"We can't be successful unless we find a replacement for the bureaucratic welfare state," Mr. Gingrich said after the conference. "I mean, we are trapped into being basically a cheap welfare party versus a lavish welfare party."

The solution, in the view of some conservatives, is "a new paradigm" for American politics that emphasizes a decentralized, grass-roots approach to dealing with many social needs. Mr. Gingrich spent much of today talking about the unique nature and responsibilities of American citizenship, quoting texts from de Tocqueville to the Declaration of Independence.

Republican Leaders on Tape

Today's session also included taped messages from President Bush, Vice President Dan Quayle and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Jack Kemp. Mr. Quayle talked about unleashing the American spirit in "the exploration, conquest and development of space." Mr. Bush talked about the power of "a thousand points of light," the cumulative impact of individuals doing good deeds. "What

you're doing this morning really matters," the President said. And Mr. Kemp talked about giving "opportunity to help people help themselves."

Democrats were watching the effort with interest. "We don't pooch-pooch the idea of progressive action by citizens to deal with problems locally," said Michael McCurry, a spokesman for the Democratic National Committee. "We think that's an idea with a lot of potential in the Democratic Party."

Mr. McCurry suggested, however, that today's event could also be serving Mr. Gingrich's personal political needs, providing him with a national forum and potentially a new national network.

Today's session was principally sponsored by a political action committee, Gopac, devoted to building the Republican Party at the local level. Former Representative Howard H. (Bo) Callaway of Georgia, chairman of the committee, said today that a non-partisan organization would be established to produce and distribute future programming like today's for use by citizens groups.

Exhibit 6

DONALD LAMBRO

5/24/80

Turning the right to new challenges

Apart from conventional wisdom, Ronald Reagan's rebranding of the political arena and the Soviet empire's independent collapse signal the end of conservatism as a major force in American politics.

Conservative power has been no longer iterations national security and a number of conservative lawmakers like Texas Sen. Phil Gramm are now supporting deep U.S. defense cuts, the pillars of conservative thought would appear to be crumbling, and with it the foundation of a movement that has dominated national politics for the past decade.

But recent events suggest that the conventional wisdom is wrong. Ambitious conservative leaders are working to expand their once-narrow political boundaries into the electoral arena, Democratic primary especially among university municipalities. If new success, they will have dramatically changed American politics for many years to come.

Donald Lambro, chief political correspondent of The Washington Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.



Newt Gingrich

To a large degree, conservatives here are shifting their attention and resources away from Washington and returning to the great roots from whence they came. Only this time they are using the media technology of the 1990s to reach a broader audience of potential converts.

Georgia Rep. Newt Gingrich's "American Opportunities Workshops" last Saturday is the latest manifestation of what is happening on the political right. The House Republican whip's \$200,000 satellite teleconference, which hooked up about 400 community workshops around the country, was the GOP's first real attempt to reach out to urban constituencies from Detroit to San Diego, with new ideas to combat old problems.

Mr. Gingrich's bold drive into uncharted territory, funded by GOPAC, his political action committee, failed to attract the broader grass-roots groups whose support he had originally hoped to get. Yet it was an important first step that could mend his party's rich political dividends down the road and perhaps make him the conservative movement's acknowledged new leader.

They are taking their innovative capitalist wares on the road.

The GOP leaders attending President Bush's Vice President Dan Quayle and Department of Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Fiedel appeared on the program in which Mr. Bush set the theme by declaring, "The job of the conservative is to govern. That is a large extent, it is the philosophical credo that binds us together through the nation's problems. Mr. Gingrich and a number of other conservatives are pushing.

Democrats participated too, including former Attorney General Griffin Bell and new Urban State leader Joe Detroit City Council Member Keith Butler, a Republican, and Wisconsin state Rep. Polly Williams, a Democrat, who explained how she won enactment of her groundbreaking Milwaukee school-choice voucher program.

Mrs. Williams, a spirited, articulate conservative activist who rose out of poverty to win election to the state legislature, told how "government bureaucrats" and "white liberals" "bought" her school choice proposal at every turn.

Significantly, her voucher plan, which will help send low-income students to their district to private sectarian schools, has won strong support from conservatives and is spreading surprising interest around the country. Mr. Butler, for example, is backing a slate of school-board candidates and supports a similar plan for Detroit.

Despite GOPAC's central role, a conscious effort was made in the program to avoid partisan political rhetoric. "This isn't about politics. It's about helping people learn how to succeed. If you do that, they'll listen to what you're talking about in other areas too," Mr. Butler said.

This isn't a one-shot deal, either. Mr. Gingrich believes the next phase for the conservative movement is an all-out, sustained assault on the bureaucratic, liberal welfare state that he blames for decaying cities, poverty, rampant crime and failing public schools.

Believing that television is the most effective way to reach out to these new constituencies, he is launching a daring new Citizens Opportunities Network in July. It will begin distributing programs promoting new conservative initiatives to grass-roots activists on local community access cable TV channels.

Naturally, Mr. Gingrich's "Citizens opportunity movement" is not acting alone. The Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank, has mounted its own "New Realities" outreach program to promote ideas like Polly Williams' vouchers and enterprise zones to inner-city activists around the country.

Similarly, Mr. Kemp has been selling his proposals for tenant-management and ownership of public housing to black leaders from Chicago to Atlanta.

In short, the conservatives are far from dead. Like good entrepreneurs everywhere, they are taking their innovative capitalist wares on the road and seeking new markets — changing the face of conservative politics forever.

Exhibit 6

ATTACHMENT B

Eisenach
0372

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
JULY 19, 1990

CONTACT: Mark Colucci
202-484-2312

AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION PREMIERS THIS WEEK

Washington, DC: Former Congressman Bo Callaway announced today that the premier edition of **American Citizens' Television (ACTV)**, a monthly television program hosted by Congressman Newt Gingrich, will be aired live on **The Family Channel** on Saturday, July 21, at 10:00 a.m. EDT. The program, sponsored by the **Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation**, which Callaway chairs, focusses on the need for increased citizen participation in the democratic process.

Saturday's program will originate from the studios of **Prince Georges Community Television**, in Landover, MD, and will focus on the potential of community access television in organizing and empowering citizen activism. Sharon Ingraham, the Chairman of the **National Federation of Local Cable Programmers**, will be featured on the show, as will Patrick McGuigan, who hosts a cable access program in Fairfax, County, VA. One of ACTV's major objectives is to create a nationwide network of cable access producers, each utilizing the national programming ACT will create as well as producing local shows focussing on local issues.

The show will run for 60 minutes, with the last half-hour dedicated to discussion with the audience and call-ins from viewers.

American Citizens' Television is an offshoot of the widely acclaimed **American Opportunities Workshop**, which took place nationwide on May 19, and was also seen on the Family Channel. Like the May 19 workshop, the ACT premier show will be seen by thousands of people meeting in workshops across the country to discuss the show's content and develop local initiatives. Callaway indicated that nearly 300 workshops will be held in conjunction with the July 21 broadcast.

The next ACT show will be aired in late September, and will focus on the movement for parental choice in education. Thereafter, the program will air on a monthly basis, providing a constant source of information on opportunity-oriented solutions to local problems such as crime and drugs, excessive bureaucracy and veterans affairs.

Exhibit 6

ATTACHMENT C

Eisenach
0373/0374

An Introduction to
**THE CITIZENS' OPPORTUNITIES NETWORK:
 AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION**

The success of any citizens' movement hinges on two things: Its ideas and its ability to communicate those ideas to the general public. Simply put, a successful movement is a "noisy" movement. That's why a group of activists (including many of the same folks who organized the American Opportunities Workshop) is organizing The Citizens' Opportunities Network.

The Citizens' Opportunities Network (CO-NET) will be a nationwide satellite television network offering common-sense programming to community access channels on cable television systems across the country. Now being organized, CO-NET will be a project of a broad array of national grass-roots groups.

CO-NET will offer to community access stations more of the kinds of programming seen on the May 19 American Opportunities Workshop -- exposure of bureaucratic welfare state abuses, the principles of common-sense

reform and specific examples of success stories where those principles have been put to work.

Just like the American Opportunities Workshop, CO-NET is founded in the belief that local activists, recruiting their friends and neighbors to solve local problems, is the key to success in the 1990's. Based on that belief, CO-NET will work with you to help you set up your own community access television show that, in effect, will serve as a monthly electronic meeting of the citizens' opportunities movement in your community.

Every month, CO-NET will provide at least 30 minutes of national programming that you can use on your show -- but it will be up to you to fill out the rest of the program (with interviews, call-in opportunities, or video tape that you produce locally). And, CO-NET will take the best of all the locally produced programs and make them part of its national show: "American Citizens' Home Videos."

CO-NET will broadcast its first show on July 21, 1990, and begin monthly shows in September. Its success depends on you. The next few pages are designed to help you get started in getting CO-NET on the air in your community.

***IF YOU WANT TO LEARN MORE ABOUT CO-NET, BE SURE TO CHECK
 THE APPROPRIATE BOX ON YOUR REGISTRATION CARD.***

Exhibit 6

Getting Started: Immediate Objectives

It is important to be realistic about what is involved in producing your own show for community access television. Don't expect to walk into the community access office at your local cable system and be on the air with your own show the next week. On the other hand, be assured that with a reasonable commitment of time on your part, you can be on the air within a couple of months, or even sooner.

If you are willing to make this small commitment, you will be amazed how many people will watch your community access show. The appetite for public affairs programming is unlimited -- consider that, at any given moment, hundreds of thousands of people are tuned in to C-SPAN. This is your chance to tap into that market.

In the short run, you will want to accomplish a few basic objectives. (NOTE: As you work through these points, refer to the worksheet on the back of the next page.)

1. First, decide before you leave today who in your American Opportunities Workshop will take primary responsibility for getting CO-NET's first broadcast -- on July 21 -- on the air. It may not be possible for you to have your own show in place by that date, but that's OK. Both the July 21 broadcast and those that follow will be complete stand-alone shows, so that follow-on local programming is optional rather than necessary. Many community access stations agreed to air the American Opportunities Workshop,

many will be more than willing to carry "American Citizens' Home Videos."

2. To get started creating your own show, contact your local cable TV system and find the phone number and location of the community access office. Call them and request a package of information on procedures for getting on the air, training programs, etc. (In many cases, your workshop leader already has this information -- especially if you are in one of the dozens of communities in which the American Opportunities Workshop is being carried live on community access TV.)

3. Identify people you know -- maybe people in your workshop -- who already have experience producing television programs. For example, we know that several of the hosts of the American Opportunities Workshop program already have shows on community access television.

4. Decide who among you, or among people you know, would be most interested in being part of an ongoing community access television show. Put together a production team, and arrange with the community access office at your cable system to sign up for training. Before you leave today, assign primary responsibility to one or two people to take charge of the project and make it happen.

5. Ask your community access office for a list of people who have already taken the station's training programs.

Exhibit 6

Call them and see if they would be interested in helping produce your show. (This is more likely to produce results than you may think: many people involved in community access TV are there because they are interested in the technical side of TV production. They may be just waiting for a chance to put their technical skills to work on your project.)

6. Determine who will participate as "talent" -- i.e. who will actually be the host of your local show. Ideally, this will be someone (an elected official or well-known activist, for example) who feels comfortable speaking in front of groups and whose participation in the show will guarantee a built-in audience.

7. Decide which examples of success stories in your community -- examples like those shown in the American Opportunities Workshop -- most deserve national attention. Using equipment from your community access station, or your own video cam-corder, produce a short documentary-style video and send it to CO-NET. The best videos received will be included in CO-NET's July 21 broadcast, "American Citizens' Home Videos."

Some Basic Facts About Community Access Television

Community access channels were created to give every citizen an opportunity to produce and show programs about local events. More than 1,500 cable systems across the country have community access stations (i.e. they have allocated one or more channels on the cable to community-access programming and they will make available production facilities and equipment for local people to produce local shows).

There are very few restrictions on what kinds of programs can be shown on community access TV. Programs cannot be obscene or libelous, and many systems also discourage programming that is narrowly political or advocates the election of particular candidates. Some stations also require that programs contain at least some locally-produced material.

Most community access stations require that people who want to produce their own shows take a training course to become familiar with the equipment, and they generally offer excellent courses for a nominal fee.

**HELP INVENT THE CITIZEN ACTIVISM OF THE 1990'S.
HOST YOUR OWN TV SHOW AND
BE A PART OF AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION!**

Exhibit 6

*CITIZENS' OPPORTUNITIES NETWORK
WORKSHEET*

1. WHO WILL TAKE CHARGE OF GETTING THE JULY 21 SHOW ON THE AIR:

2. OUR COMMUNITY ACCESS STATION IS: _____

3. PEOPLE WE KNOW WHO HAVE TELEVISION SKILLS: _____

4. WHO AMONG US HERE TODAY WILL TAKE CHARGE: _____

5. WHO WILL CALL TO GET NAMES OF PRODUCTION PEOPLE FROM THE CABLE ACCESS CHANNEL: _____

6. WHO WILL BE THE "STAR(S)" OF OUR SHOW: _____

7. WHAT LOCAL EXAMPLES OF SUCCESS STORIES SHOULD WE NOMINATE FOR "AMERICAN CITIZENS' HOME VIDEOS": _____

MAKE SURE TO INDICATE ON YOUR REGISTRATION CARD
THAT YOU WANT MORE INFORMATION ABOUT CO-NET

Exhibit 6

What is American Citizens' Television?

American Citizens' Television ACTV is a unique blend of 1990's communications technology, grassroots activism and an opportunity-oriented approach to America's problems. Sponsored by the Abraham Lincoln Opportunity Foundation, ACTV is a non-partisan effort to empower citizens to create effective solutions to problems facing their communities.

ACTV is not about top-down solutions from Washington or anywhere else. It is about local citizens creating common-sense solutions to their own problems. ACTV is a forum in which citizen activists can share information on local problems and -- more importantly -- on how to create opportunities through local solutions.

ACTV produces and distributes programs that show how citizens across the country are solving specific problems in their own communities -- education, crime and drugs, housing, environment, veterans issues, etc. ACTV's programs are distributed to activists, community access television stations and, nationally, via the Family Channel, one of America's largest cable networks.

ACTV and Citizen Activism

ACTV is dedicated to the idea that only an application of citizen activism -- a citizens' opportunities movement -- can create the solutions to America's problems. By encouraging citizen participation in the democratic process, ACTV aims to make the 1990's a decade of reform and set the stage for a 21st century in which opportunities are available to all Americans.

ACTV and Cable Access

ACTV is also distributed through local public access channels on cable television systems. There are more than 2,000 such cable access facilities, offering citizen-produced programming in communities all across the country.

In fact, each ACTV program is designed to be used as part of a local cable access program that you can produce in your own community. One of ACTV's goals is to build a national cable access network with producers across the country using ACTV's monthly programs as part of a local show focusing on local problems and solutions -- a sort of monthly electronic meeting of the citizens' opportunities movement in each community.

How Can You Get Involved in ACTV?

The key to ACTV is citizen participation. Only if thousands and ultimately millions of Americans get involved to create common-sense solutions will ACTV have achieved its goals. Get involved by:

- o Watch ACTV. Write or call ACTV and let us know you're interested. We'll send you a program guide to ACTV shows airing in your area, showing what topics are being covered.
- o Participating in an ACTV Workshop: All over the country, citizens are holding workshops in conjunction with each ACTV monthly show. They meet -- in homes, businesses, libraries or anywhere that's convenient -- to watch the show and design local activities based on what they learn. Call ACTV to find out if there's a workshop in your area or, if not, how you can start one.
- o Becoming An ACTV Producer: Write or call ACTV and find out how you can produce your own local ACTV show on cable access. It's easier than you may think. Most cable access stations offer training programs that will prepare you to be producing your own show in as little as four weeks. And, ACTV staff are prepared to work with you every step of the way.
- o Sending Us Your Success Stories: Each month, ACTV will highlight the success stories of local citizens solving local problems. Use your home video camera and produce a short story on what you've done in your community.

YES . . .

I WANT MORE INFORMATION ABOUT AMERICAN CITIZENS' TELEVISION!

Please send me information on:

- ___ Dates and topics of ACTV programs.
- ___ Participating in or hosting an ACTV workshop in my community.
- ___ Becoming an ACTV affiliate producer and hosting my own cable access television show.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Daytime Phone: _____

Detach and Return This Page

or

Call Mr. Mark Calucci
Executive Director, ACTV
(202) 484-2312

Exhibit 6

EXHIBIT 7

MEMORANDUM

TO: Kay, Jeff, Don, Joe, Eddie, Tom, Mark, John, Steve, Dan Swillinger, Dan Meyer

FROM: Bo

SUBJECT: Project Launch - the first meeting and follow up.

DATE: January 20, 1990

Most of you were at the initial meeting to launch Project Launch on January 18, 1990. Jeff will have minutes to all of you shortly. The minutes will outline decisions made and actions to be taken. This memo is to give some of my thoughts that might add to the minutes that you will receive.

DECISIONS AGREED TO:

1. The project will be called "American Opportunity Workshop - New Solutions for the '90's".
2. The date will be May 19, 1990 - Saturday morning.
3. There will be some kind of national TV access, probably through an uplink to one or more satellites and downlinks to dishes available in individual homes and meeting places such as hotels and chambers of commerce.
4. A major aspect of the project will be press coverage. This is the only way that we will enlarge those who are effected beyond activists into our target group of those who do not currently vote. The initial press briefing should be national in scope and held around the end of February.
5. Newt will have primary responsibility for the content of the program, but will not otherwise be involved in the implementation of the project other than to give ideas that may or may not be accepted.
6. Although we should do everything possible to achieve as much participation as possible, success is defined as at least 300 sites with hosts or hostesses in at least 20 states.

PROCEDURE:

1. All actions will be clearly defined and reported in minutes. Every action will have the person(s) responsible and a date for completion of the action.
2. All meetings will begin with a report on all previously assigned actions.
3. Bo will preside - Kay will preside in his absence.

COMMENTS ON WALK WITH NEWT - Friday, January 19

1. Newt is very pleased with the enthusiasm that all of us and the others that he has contacted have for the project. He feels confident that we will achieve success.

WGC2-01025

Exhibit 7

2. Newt reacted to several of my concerns as follows:
 Concern: It will be very hard to have a high quality television program that lasts as long 90 minutes.
 Response: Newt is not wedded to 90 minutes or to any particular length. If 45 minutes would do the job better, he would be all for that.

Concern: "Network Quality Television" is so expensive that several in the meeting said it might cost as much as \$500,000. At even half of that cost, the production cost would be too much for us to consider the kind of follow up that we otherwise might want. Even if we could get a project donor to pay for a \$500,000 program, this is not the way to launch a movement. It is too expensive and too generated from the top. As an example, if we got 10,000 at our 300 sites (33 per site, a high number), we would be paying \$50.00 per person viewing the program, clearly inappropriate.

Response: Newt felt that it would be absurd to spend that kind of money on production. If the words "Network Quality" are the problem, let's use the words "Public Broadcasting Quality" or some words like that. Let's use the common sense approach - go to all tape if necessary - use a studio that is donated or cheap, either NRCC or RNC or elsewhere in Washington - get the examples around the country by asking people such as Gov. Campbell, Keith Butler and even the housewife with a success story to submit their own tape. Most of them will have access to someone who can do a pretty good quality job if we give them the specifications of what we want. Then the main job that we will need to have done centrally is a first class editing job. Newt has some firm ideas on the kind of production that he wants which is appropriate since he is responsible for content. He wants to be involved in the RFP from the initial draft.

*The next meeting is
 Jan 31 at 9:00 at
 COPAC*

Exhibit 7

EXHIBIT 8

G O P A C				
REVENUES AND EXPENSES				
CHARTER GROUP, AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES WORKSHOP, & FOCUS GROUP				
JAN - JUN				
YEAR: 1990				
	RECEIPTS	% OF TOTAL	EXPENSES	AS % OF TOTAL EXPENSES
INCOME:				
CHARTER GROUP MEMBERSHIP	504,656	51%	204,588	24%
AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES	401,062	36%	217,998	62%
FOCUS GROUP PROJECT	150,000	13%	113,451	14%
		0%		
		0%		
TOTALS	1,115,718	100%	835,437	
			835,437	100%
* A.O.W. INCOME				
T. KOHLER *	100,000		GILDER - HAR	50,000
R. GILLETTE	25,000		- APR	50,000
D. ROBERTS	100,000		- MAY	50,000
V. GILDER	25,000			
T. ANDERSEN	50,000			
E. KRIBBLE	50,000			
T. KOHLER	50,000		TOTAL	150,000
ROW TAPE SALES	1,062			
TOTAL A.O.W. INCOME	401,062			



Exhibit 8
1273

EXHIBIT 9Eisenach
3907

April 19, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR NEWT GINGRICH
 FROM: Jeff Eisenach 
 SUBJECT: AOW Production Status Report

Production for the AOW show is going well. There are some issues, however, that you need to be aware of.

Family Network

After failing to return phone calls for a week, the Family Network has said no. I have talked with Judy Lyons, the Programming Executive in charge of special programming. She discussed the AOW show with Paul Krimsier, the VP for programming (and the name given us by Pat Robertson), who simply indicated they were not willing to break into their children's programming for this. In talking with me today, Judy was very frank in indicating that Pat Robertson often tells people that they can get on the Family Network, but that he doesn't often really "mean it" -- i.e. that absent a call from Pat to Paul Krimsier, we won't be taken seriously.

They also indicated that a price of \$30,000 or thereabouts would compensate them for lost revenue, if they were to carry the show (but, absent a call from Pat, they don't want to do it even for \$30,000).

Bottom line is: For us to get on the Family Network, you are going to have to call Pat Robertson and tell him that Paul Krimsier needs to hear directly from Pat that this is important. I believe that I will get a call from Paul Krimsier about 30 seconds after Pat makes that call and that things will go smoothly from there. Robertson's number is 804/424-7777.

Script

A copy of the current working draft of the script is at Attachment A. You may want to refer to it as you read the following paragraphs.

1. We have not been able to make contact with Raymond Kurzweil, and my conversation with George Gilder suggests he may not be the right story at this particular moment anyway. (He's started a new business which is having a tough time of it, and therefore is very focussed on other things.)

Exhibit 9

Page 2

As an alternative, we have identified an inventor/small businessman in Maine, Doug Sukeforth, who has invented sludge de-watering technology and also makes an environmentally sound refrigeration system. He checks out with EPA and the Chamber, and Ron feels he will make a good story. I am also checking him out with McKernen's office. He's also sympathetic to what we're about, and would be able to come to Portland. Background on Sukeforth is at Attachment B.

Barring other thoughts or concerns from you or others who receive this memo, Ron will fly to Maine to tape the Sukeforth story sometime next week.

2. With Babbitt's pullout in San Diego, we are without a co-host at that site. Rose Mofford has been suggested, but Jon Kyl reports she probably would be better on tape than live. Having her on tape, however, would (a) increase the program's tilt away from live versus taped material, (b) conflict with Kemp's taped segment, which is to be introduced out of San Diego, and (c) increase the production budget by \$3,000-5,000.

Unless I hear from you to the contrary, I intend to make one more pass at Jon Kyl on the notion of Gov. Mofford appearing, however briefly, live at the San Diego site. Her role would be to co-host the site (which basically means standing next to Kyl) and to say (following the Luis Garcia video) something about how she sees Hispanics all over Arizona succeeding in much the same way, using the same entrepreneurial spirit and basic American values. If Jon feels this is just not workable, I recommend we don't proceed further.

3. The veterans story that makes far and away the most sense involves "BRAVO," the veterans affairs show broadcast through a network of cable access channels. BRAVO has also been involved in putting together a "buddy-finder" system for Vietnam veterans to locate people they served with. (See script at Attachment C.) The plan is for Tony Diamond (BRAVO) to take a camera crew to Davenport, IA on Tuesday and Wednesday of next week. Ron will then shoot a story that shows BRAVO shooting the "buddy-finder" story for showing later on the BRAVO network.

At the same time, Fred Grandy has expressed strong interest in our covering a story on the "Orange City 21 Foundation," an economic/community development group that is just getting started in Orange City, IA (the workshop site). (See materials at Attachment D.) Orange City 21 is, in some ways, not that strong a story. First, it doesn't appear to be particularly unique in any way. Second, it is just getting started, and therefore doesn't have any notable success stories to be told. On the other hand, I'm pretty confident that the leaders of an economic/community development foundation in Orange City must be (a) "real Americans" and (b) applying common sense focussed on opportunity and success.

Exhibit 9

Eisenach
3908Page 3

One possibility is to use the Orange City 21 story to explain common sense focussed on opportunities and success, and to use the BRAVO piece as a way of explaining the use of cable access TV to build a movement.

Ron can shoot both the BRAVO and Orange City 21 stories while he is in Iowa next week, and we can then decide how to use each. This is how we will proceed unless we hear from you.

Follow-Through/Post-May 19

Through a series of discussions involving Jim Tilton, Daryl Connor, Steve Hanser, Eddie Mahe, Bo, Kay and myself, a consensus has developed that a 501(c)3 organization should be created (or, alternatively, an existing 501(c)3 organization recruited) for post-May 19 activities associated with the Citizens Opportunities Movement. Further, it is universally agreed that that organization should be in place on May 19, that its existence should be announced on the show (if not before), that it should monitor and assist specific projects that may be discussed on the show or in the workbook and that funding for the organization should be solicited on the show (this last point is less clear than the first three).

The people noted above have appointed themselves the "design committee" for creating this entity. Jim Tilton, Bo Callaway and I are meeting with Alan Keyes on Monday, April 23 to discuss his interest in participating in and helping to fund such a project. And, Jim Tilton is actively exploring re-activating Bo's 501(c)3 in Colorado as another option.

Our belief is that your formal participation in this organization should be quite limited, due to the inevitable conflicts associated with a politician participating in an explicitly non-political, tax-exempt organization. However, this whole zone is something we need to discuss as soon as possible -- e.g. on April 27, a day you have set aside for AOW planning purposes.

Attachments

cc: Bo Callaway
Kay Riddle
Daryl Connor
Steve Hanser
Ron Hersh
Eddie Mahe
Jim Tilton

Exhibit 9

EXHIBIT 10

**COUNCIL FOR
CITIZENS AGAINST
GOVERNMENT WASTE
1-800-USA-DEBT**

FAM 0024

1301 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone 202-467-5300
Fax 202-467-4253

October 21, 1990

Mr. Paul Teja
The Family Channel
1000 Centerville Turnpike
Virginia Beach, Virginia 23464

Dear Paul:

Please find enclosed a check from the Council for Citizen's Against Government Waste (CCAGW) for the amount of \$25,500 to pay for the airing of "Taxpayer's Revolt." As you know, "Taxpayer's Revolt" is an ACTV special on October 27 at 10:00 a.m. (est), sponsored by CCAGW.

This check should replace the payment made on September 26th by American Citizens' Television (check number 1171).

After review of the program, both parties agree the content reflects an agenda better suited to a 501(c)4 organization like the Council for Citizens Against Government Waste. ACTV is a 501(c)3.

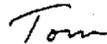
Please rebate the original payment made to The Family Channel on September 26th to American Citizens' Television by Wednesday, October 24 so that we can proceed with the program.

Thank you for your understanding!

Sincerely,



Mark Colucci
American Citizens' Television



Tom Schatz
CCAGW

Exhibit 10

EXHIBIT 11

WASHINGTON POLICY GROUP, INC.

ROUTING SLIP

Eisenach
4254

DATE: 10/16/90

TRANSMIT BY: FAX HAND FEDEX MAIL

FROM: JEFF EISENACH

TO: MARY BROWN	<input type="checkbox"/>	LINDA NAVE	<input type="checkbox"/>
BO CALLAWAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TOM MORGAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BILL DYKE	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAY RIDDLE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
JOE GAYLORD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FRED STREEPER	<input type="checkbox"/>
MARIANNE GINGRICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	DAN SWILLINGER	<input type="checkbox"/>
NEWT GINGRICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	LEN SWINEHART	<input type="checkbox"/>
STEVE HANSER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PAUL WEYRICH	<input type="checkbox"/>
EDDIE MAHE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	OTHERS <u>MARK COLLIER</u>	
DAN MEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>Stacy OSWALT</u>	

COMMENTS ^{YESTERDAY} HEW ASKED IN PRACTICE THAT THIS
COMES DE ACTU'S OCTOBER SHOW. TENTATIVELY
SCHEDULED FOR 10/27. CANW ASKING ALL
OUT-OF-POCKET COSTS. LET'S DISCUSS.

Exhibit 11

TAXPAYER ACTION DAY ... OCTOBER 20 1990

Goal : To focus the general dissatisfaction with Congress and Washington.

American citizens are increasingly angered over the Congressional Pay Increase, the threat of higher taxes, a Congress without term limitation that has been transformed into a virtual "House of Lords," pork-barrel and wasteful spending -- our tax dollars used to finance obscene "art" -- and they are frustrated by a sense that they cannot control this mess.

Our goal is to help direct this anger at incumbents and to ensure that the last few weeks of the 1990 campaign focuses on these questions and whether or not Congressional incumbents are part of the problem or a potential part of the solution.

October 20 :

A one hour television show from Washington, going out over the Family Channel listing the bill of particulars -- the indictment of the behavior of Congress.

Local organizers will bring activists together to view the television show and the hold a demonstration outside the district office of the incumbent member of Congress.

Pre-October 20 Activities :

- 1) Press conference to announce the coalition and its plans for Taxpayer Action Day.
- 2) Select an organizer for each targeted Congressional district.
- 3) Provide the organizer material for the demonstration.
- 4) Radio talk show blitz to outline criticisms of Congress.
- 5) Repeated contact with the local organizer.
- 6) Press work, friendly Congressmen.
- 7) Friends in Congress to speak to this day on the floor.

Exhibit 11

Post-October 20 Activities :

- 1) Local press work by organizer.
- 2) Continue Radio talk show appearances.
- 3) Op/Ed column work.

What other resources/opportunities are available :

- What member newsletters can echo the themes of Taxpayer Action Day ?
- What columnists, radio or television appearances do our member organizations have ?

Exhibit 11

**On October 13,
Carry This Message
To Your Least Favorite
Politician**

For years, you've been... (text partially obscured)

On October 13, taxpayers all across the country will march through the streets of their towns and cities carrying... (text partially obscured)

Think about it. People at all ages, races, creeds and political... (text partially obscured)

If you're read on both and would like to take part in this... (text partially obscured)

We'll tell you how you can register or participate in a march in... (text partially obscured)

Go ahead. Make the call. Politicians everywhere are... (text partially obscured)

**October 13
Taxpayer's Action Day**

Call 1-800-OUTRAGE

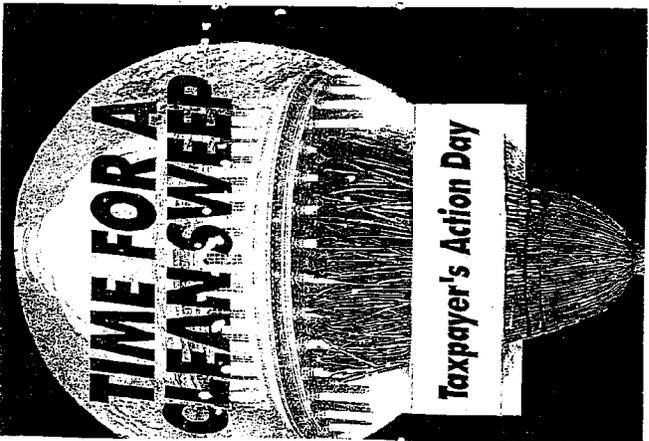


Exhibit 11