AUTHENTICATED
U.S. GOVERNMENT
INFORMATION
GPO

House Calendar No. 1

105TH CONGRESS
1st Session

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REPORT
105–1

IN THE MATTER OF REPRESENTATIVE NEWT GINGRICH--
pages 601 to 700

MAJOR PLANNING ASSUMPTIONS

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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 61

Attachment One

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.

Exhibit 61

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.**

Exhibit 61

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 with 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; specifics 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.

Exhibit 61

Attachment Four

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 61

Attachment Five

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 61

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 62

EXHIBIT 62

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Eisenach 2536

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 62

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Eisenach 2537

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2538

1993 GOPAC POLITICAL PROGRAMS

Status Report
April 26, 1993

Exhibit 62

MAJOR PLANNING ASSUMPTIONS

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- 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.

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Eisenach 2539

Exhibit 62

MAJOR PROJECTS OVERVIEW

Project Line	Status
Curriculum Update and Expansion -- 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.
"Tory (Franchise) Model" R&D -- 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.
Off-Year State Legislative Races (New Jersey, Virginia) -- 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.
Message Development/"Renewing American Civilization" -- 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.
Ongoing Political Activities -- 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.

Exhibit 62

Eisenach 2540

Attachment One

CURRICULUM UPDATE AND EXPANSION

Background

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Exhibit 67

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2541

Attachment Two

"TORY (FRANCHISE) MODEL" R&D

Background

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Exhibit 62

Eisenach 2542

Attachment Three

OFF-YEAR STATE LEGISLATIVE RACES

Background

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Exhibit 62

Eisenach 2543

Attachment Four

MESSAGE DEVELOPMENT/RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

Background

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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 62

Eisenach 2544

Attachment Five

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

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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.

Eisenach 2545

Exhibit 62

EXHIBIT 63

GOPAC POLITICAL REPORT
12/01/93

SEMINARS:

	Type	Date	Place	Trainer
1.	FUD (40)	8 May 93	Louisville, KY	Joe
2.	RAC (65)	5 June 93	Richmond, VA (convention)	Newt
3.	Modified (400)	25-26 June	Marietta, GA	Joe & Newt
4.	Leading the Majority(9)	31 Aug 93	Hampton, VA	Carlyle
5.	FUD (34)	2 Oct 93	New Orleans, LA	Joe
6.	FUD (75)	16 Nov 93	Madison, Wisconsin	Joe
7.	LTM ( )	20 Nov 93	Portland, Maine	Carlyle

Total trained to date: 623

TRAINING TAPES:

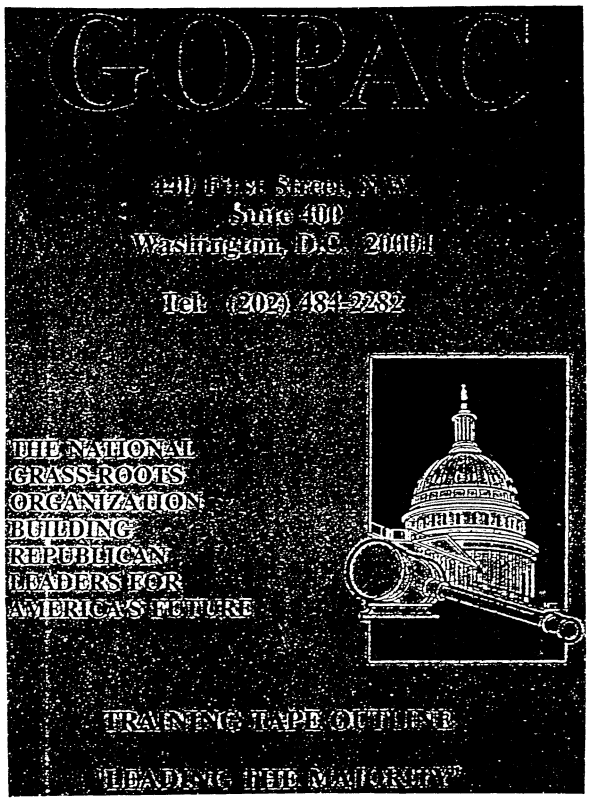
Title	Date Mailed	Number Mailed
RAC	Aug 1993	8,742
Mayor Bret Schundler	Oct 1993	8,700
	Dec 1993	

CANDIDATE MEETINGS (11/24 - 12/01):

Date	Name
Total meetings to date:	30

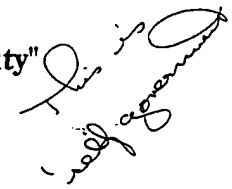
Exhibit 63

EXHIBIT 64



PP000330
Exhibit 64

"Leading the Majority"



The key to Renewing American Civilization lies in four propositions:

1. We are a civilization.

2. The four can'ts - you cannot maintain a civilization with:

   - 12 year olds having babies
   - 15 year olds shooting each other
   - 17 year olds dying of AIDS
   - 18 year olds getting a diploma they cannot read

3. The welfare state has failed.

4. We must replace the welfare state, not repair it.

   - The core values of the welfare state are wrong about the way human beings function.

   - Cannot reduce a citizen to a client

   - Cannot expect citizens to abide by rules which are anti-family, anti-work, anti-property, anti-acquiring, anti-opportunity -- and expect them to succeed.

Exhibit 64

DISCUSSION QUESTION: How do you view the welfare state?

What are the differences between us and the Democrats?

Republicans are the natural majority party.

Percentages for Candidates of the Left Since 1968

1968	Humphrey - 43%
1972	McGovern - 38%
1976	(no left wing candidate)
1980	Carter - 41%
1984	Mondale - 41%
1988	Dukakis - 46%
1992	Clinton - 43%

Washington Post Poll (1993)

Has the President cut spending enough?

No - 77%
Yes - 6%

USA Today Poll (1993)

Are taxes too high? (Before the Clinton tax increases.)

Under taxed - 2%
Too high - 55%
About right - 41%

Exhibit 64

Atlanta Constitution Poll (1993)

Should we require work for welfare payments from women with young children?

Yes - 82%
No - 11%

Washington Post Poll (1993)

Should government be bigger or smaller?

	1984	1993
Bigger	43%	30%
Smaller	49%	65%

The preceding numbers represent a potential majority.

DISCUSSION QUESTION: How can the Republican Party reach out and bring in new people?

Three Steps for a citizen-candidate:

1. **Make clear what you believe**
2. **Wage a campaign that is clear about your commitments**
3. **Keep your campaign promises**

Exhibit 64

FIVE PILLARS OF FREEDOM AND PROGRESS

1. PERSONAL STRENGTH

2. ENTREPRENEURIAL FREE ENTERPRISE

3. SPIRIT OF INVENTION AND DISCOVERY

4. QUALITY

5. LESSONS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

REAGAN PRINCIPLE OF THREE - **Pick <u>three</u> issues to be the focal point of your campaign. They should fulfill 5 characteristics:**

1. **Important to your majority**
2. **Should affect daily life**
3. **Have to be doable**
4. **Pick topics that unify your side**
5. **Pick topics that your opponent can't co-opt**

DISCUSSION QUESTION: Name three issues that satisfy all five characteristics?

Exhibit 64

PP000334

DESIGN A CAMPAIGN AROUND 4 TYPES OF ISSUES

WEDGES: Issues that separate you from your opponent

MAGNETS: Issues that bond you to your supporters

SHIELDS: Issues that will shield you from attacks by your opponent

TURF: Issues that your opponent considers their own turf

DISCUSSION QUESTION: Can you think of a local issue that is an example of

1. Wedge -
2. Magnet -
3. Shield -
4. Turf -

Exhibit 64

PLANNING SHOULD OCCUR AT FOUR LEVELS

1. **VISION**

2. **STRATEGIES**

3. **PROJECTS**

4. **TACTICS**

DISCUSSION QUESTION: Give examples of

1. Vision:
2. Strategies:
3. Projects:
4. Tactics:

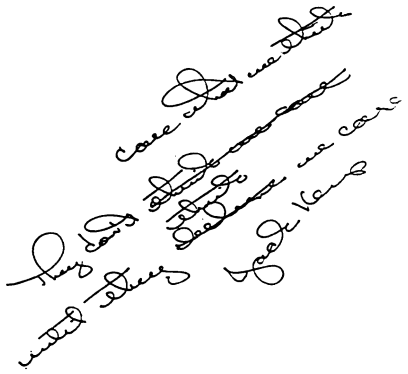
Exhibit 64

1. LISTEN

2. LEARN

3. HELP

4. LEAD



DISCUSSION QUESTION: In your experience, give examples of the process:

Listen
Learn
Help
Lead

THINK OF YOURSELF AS A CITIZEN-LEADER.

1. Repeat our values
2. Protect our own members
3. Manage conflict, recognizing that you can't resolve it
4. Focus on real results

Exhibit 64

THE FIVE C'S

1. **Confidence**

2. **Creativity**

3. **Contrast**

4. **Controversy**

5. **Capital**

DISCUSSION QUESTION: How can you use the 5 C's in your campaign?

- confidence
- creativity
- contrast
- controversy
- capital

Exhibit 64

PP000337

EXHIBIT 65

PFF
38054

December 15, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR NEWT GINGRICH
BO CALLAWAY
JOE GAYLORD
JIM TILTON

FROM: Jeff Eisenach,
Executive Director

SUBJECT: Short- and Medium-Term GOPAC Financial Situation

This memorandum follows up on recent reports I have provided you concerning GOPAC's financial situation.

As you are well aware, a dramatic shortfall in October and November revenues -- about $250,000 less than projected -- has produced a short-run cash shortage.

Previous conversations, memoranda and briefing materials have described the causes and some of the immediate consequences of this situation. This memorandum presents an update on the short-run situation and an analysis of our financial outlook through March 1993.

Short-Run Cash Flow

The "Short-Run Financial Overview" I prepared on December 2 (Attachment 1) showed a need for approximately $143,000 in "minimum cash needed" through January 15, including payroll and "must pay" bills.

Since that analysis was prepared, we have added an additional $15,000 to our short-run cash needs (by agreeing to pay DPCS a total of $20,000 before January 15 rather than the $5,000 budgeted in the December 2 analysis); and, we have deposited $42,188.19 (see Attachment 2). Thus, our short-run financial situation can be summarized as follows:

Est. Cash Needs As of 12/2	$142,720.68
Plus: Additional Cash Needed Per DPCS	15,000.00
Total:	$157,720.68
Less: Funds Raised Since 12/2	42,188.29
Total Funds Still Needed	$115,532.29

Exhibit 65

Current Vendor Situation

Attachment 3 provides a comprehensive summary of our current payables. It shows a total of approximately $361,000 in payables, of which approximately $127,000 is 60 days or longer past due and an additional $114,000 is being paid under agreed-upon payment schedules.

A more useful way of looking at our current situation vis-a-vis vendors is presented in the table below, which shows our largest creditors and summarizes our current status with them:

Creditor	Amount Due	Status
DPCS	$53,311.46	Payment agreement signed 12/11; $5,000 due 12/31.
Media Intl.	26,166.00	Oral agreement; $5,000 due December 1 not paid.
Westin Oaks	25,123.00	Oral agreement; $5,000 due December 1 not paid.
Direct Mail Comms.	22,849.00	Vendor seems content.
Dan Swillinger	22,000.00	Oral agreement.
Cafritz (Rent)	21,130.00	Vendor seems content.
Eddie Mahe Co.	18,314.00	Oral agreement.
Market Strategies	16,700.00	Oral agreement.
P. Alexander	14,554.00	Oral agreement.
Liability Ins.	11,133.00	Must pay ASAP!
Minuteman Press	9,753.00	Oral agreement.
Access Teleconf.	9,200.00	Oral agreement; $2,000 due December 1 not paid.

You will note that we are behind approximately $12,000 on oral agreements we have reached with vendors. We are keeping these vendors apprised of our situation, and we believe they are aware of our best intention to pay them. Of course, any funds raised between now and January 1 above what is needed to make payroll will go directly to satisfy these obligations.

Medium-Term Outlook: January-April 1993

Assuming, as seems reasonable, that we are able to meet our short-run obligations, the next question is whether we have a sound plan to restore GOPAC to full financial health as rapidly as possible. I believe that we do.

Exhibit 65

My current expectations with respect to pre-January 15 revenues are as follows:

Minimal Expectation	
Owen Roberts	$25,000.00
Mary/Terry Kohler	45,000.00
Philip Gelatt	25,000.00
Joseph Petrone	10,000.00
Tucker Andersen	10,000.00
Elliot Vernon	10,000.00
Ed Weiner	6,500.00
Direct Mail	10,000.00
Sub-Total	$141,500.00
Other Strong Possibilities	
Amos McMullian	$25,000.00
Fred Sacher	25,000.00
Pat Rooney	25,000.00
Frank Hanna	10,000.00
Bob Plaster	5,000.00
Charles Parlato	5,000.00
Subtotal	$95,000.00
TOTAL	$236,500.00

In other words, we have good reason to believe we will raise more than the $115,000 or so needed to make it through January 15.[1]

There is one important interim hurdle: We need at least $30,000 before December 31 to make payroll and pay DPCS the $5,000 we have agreed to pay them. I am virtually certain Joe Petrone's $10,000 will arrive before December 31 -- so that leaves $20,000. The sooner we can know with certainty where this $20,000 is coming from, the more comfortable we all will be.

Let me be clear about one additional point. Our vendors are being, for the most part, very patient, and we have an obligation to do everything in our power to pay them as much as we can as soon as we can. I.e. More sooner is better.

---

[1] Of course, there is no such thing as a "certain" contribution until it is in the bank. These projections represent my best sense based on our conversations with each of the individuals listed. I do not expect we will actually deposit much more than $150,000 or $175,000 before January 15 -- but I am almost certain we will deposit more than $120,000.

Exhibit 65

Attachment 4 presents a tentative working budget for the period from January 15 through April 30, 1993. It assumes the full range of budget cuts recommended and now being implemented remains in place. Specifically:

It assumes that GOPAC operates with a full-time staff of 12:

Executive Director + Asst.
Finance Director + 3 staff
Political Director + 1 staff
Admin. Director + 3 staff
Monthly payroll: $50,000

It assumes we retain four consultants and a part-time General Counsel, with total monthly retainers of $20,166.

It assumes that our $50,000 loan from Franklin National Bank is paid off in three increments prior to the due date of April 15.

It assumes that $50,000 in bonuses are awarded to staff sometime during the Spring of 1993, partially as compensation for giving up salary increases for nearly 18 months.

It assumes any projects with significant costs are self-funded. (E.g. This budget does not include a Spring tape mailing.)

Given these assumptions, and beginning with the assumption that we raise only enough through January 15 to pay our "must pay" expenses, with nothing left over, the proposed budget would have all of GOPAC's liabilities paid off by May 1. (Note: The budget for payments on 1992 payables includes all payables we expect to be outstanding on January 15, including the bill for the Fall Charter Meeting, etc.)

To accomplish this objective, we will need to raise a total of about $875,000 during this four-month period. Having done this, we would enter May with virtually no payables (the only exception being the bill for the April 24-26 Charter Meeting).

Obviously, the soundness of this plan rests on whether we can expect to raise $875,000 in the first four months of 1993. One way of estimating what we can expect to raise during this period is to look at what we have raised during these months in previous years:

January-April 1992	$948,000
January-April 1991	$739,000
January-April 1990	$1,004,000
January-April 1989	$688,000
Average	$844,750

Exhibit 65

It is reasonable to ask whether 1993 is "like" any previous year. My sense is that there are good reasons for believing it could be better, good reasons for believing it could be worse -- and overall, good reasons to believe that everything will balance out and we'll come in pretty close to our recent average.

On the positive side:

1. The terrible results from late 1992 are in large part a function of non-renewals -- people who just got tapped out, but who in most cases have told us they plan to stay with us. Thus, some of what we did not get in late 1992 we should get in early 1993.

2. Not having the White House gives us something to be "against" and makes the "grass roots" more important. This should help direct mail in particular.

3. The January 22 event appears to be attracting both prospects and Charter Members.

4. Our prospecting program has given us the most fertile field of qualified prospects and involved Charter Members ever.

5. Since we recruited roughly 15 new Charter Members during the Spring of 1992 (with very little attrition), we have nearly 15 more renewals to expect than we did last year.

6. Our "internal competition" is either less aggressive or gone. At least to the extent "we" are asking for money from actual and prospective Charter Members, we will be asking for money for GOPAC.

7. Newt's re-election and the consolidation of conservative strength in the conference add to his "cache."

8. At least through January -- and probably for a couple of months thereafter -- the two of the other three committees will be in the midst of or completing leadership changes.

9. The economy.

On the negative side:

1. Charter-qualified individuals see their taxes going up and may "feel poor" despite the economic recovery.

Exhibit 65

2. House Republicans are perceived as "irrelevant" -- so Newt may be a bigger fish, but the pond has gotten smaller.

3. It is an "off year."

4. Bo's resignation.

5. Direct mail is in a "secular decline."

6. We have new competition from the "Republican Majority Coalition," the "Bennett-Weber-Kemp-Kirkpatrick Thing," "Change America (whatever it is)" and who knows who else.

Adding up all the negatives and all the positives, I conclude the reasons for optimism are at least as strong as the reasons for pessimism.

One final way of looking at the revenue side is to analyze what we have outstanding in Charter Program renewals, what we expect from direct mail, and what we might get in the way of new members. (See Attachment 5 for background.) From that perspective, the outlook is as follows:

Outstanding 1992 Renewals (assumes half of those outstanding come in)	$104,500
Jan.-Apr. 1993 Renewals (assumes 60 percent renewal rate)	$442,000
Dinner Group Renewals (4 of 8; assumes others renew before 1/15)	$100,000
Direct Mail (Assumes 20% Drop From 1992)	$125,000
New Members (Assumes New Members At 2/3rds of 1992 Pace)	$100,000
TOTAL	$871,500

As with the year-to-year comparisons, you can analyze these numbers to death. The bottom line, though, is that Jan.-Apr. 1993 income of $850,000 seems very likely, even based on relatively pessimistic assumptions (e.g. no new dinner group members, poor renewal rate).

Exhibit 65

Summary - What We Must Do

I believe GOPAC's prospects are good -- but that conclusion rests on some very important assumptions. Whether these assumptions are realistic depends on what we do. In particular, I believe our success depends on accomplishing at least the following three objectives:

1. We must clearly define GOPAC's mission for 1993 and explain what specific projects we are undertaking or are planning to undertake to carry out that mission. Whether it is New Jersey, Mississippi, Virginia; or the "Tory Party" project; or focus groups on what the country wants from conservatives; or a substantially expanded and improved training program; or . . . whatever -- we need to define it clearly and explain it to those we want to fund us. If we get to the end of January without having done this our odds of making the January-April fundraising goal go down very sharply.

2. We must not confuse "spending little" with "doing little" in our 1993 Political Program. While we may not be sending out any tapes or holding a lot of training seminars, we should be actively working on a new curriculum, cleaning up our tape list, designing a new marketing program, developing new software, scheduling training seminars -- etc. -- all of which we can do at virtually no cost and which are essential to prepare us for the time in late Spring when we will be prepared to put more resources behind our efforts.

3. We must carefully think through the implications of Bo's resignation and move very quickly to fill the very large void it will leave. We also need to understand that our decisions here will be as important from a symbolic perspective -- what does GOPAC think it is -- as from the perspective of who fills what specific "niche" in the GOPAC hierarchy.

Exhibit 65

Attachment One

PFF
38061

GOPAC SHORT-RUN FINANCIAL OVERVIEW
12/2/92

Absolute Requirements Through 1/15/93		
12/15 Payroll	$30,905.31	
12/31 Payroll	27,905.31	
1/15 Payroll	27,905.31	
Subtotal, Payroll	$86,715.93	
Liability Insurance	$6,865.00	
Rent (November, December)	21,130.00	
Postage for January Mail Drop	6,000.00	
Telephone	1,500.00	
Data Base/Caging (DPCS)	5,000.00	
Westin Oaks	10,000.00	
UPS	509.75	
Miscellaneous	5,000.00	
Subtotal (Other Requirements)	$49,139.75	
TOTAL CASH REQUIREMENTS THROUGH 1/15		**$142,720.68**
Current Cash on Hand		
Federal Acct.	$3,515.45	
Non-Federal Accts.	2,147.04	
TOTAL CASH ON HAND		**$5,662.49**
Anticipated Cash Flow (Non-Charter)		
December Direct Mail (Gross)	$15,000.00	
TOTAL NON-CHARTER CASH FLOW		**$15,000.00**
MINIMUM CHARTER/OTHER CASH NEEDED 12/1-1/15		**$122,058.19**

Exhibit 65

Attachment Two

Finance Program Report

December 15, 1992

PFF
38062

Year to date Major Donor Revenues:	**$ 2,126,553**
August-December Total Budget:	**$ 1,300,000**
August to date Total Revenues:	**$ 873,883**
Outstanding Balance on Aug-Dec Budget:	**$ 426,117**
New Charter Members December to date:	**One**
New Charter Members August to date:	**Eighteen**

December Revenues Received

12/10	Don Tendick	$ 10,000
12/11	Rayna Weiner	$ 6,500
12/11	Herb Linsenberg	$ 500 New: Dick Fox
12/14	Willard Garvey	$ 5,000
12/14	Philip Uihlein	$ 10,000 New: Charter Member
12/17	Ed Weiner	($ 6,500)
12/17	Joe Petrone	($ 10,000)
		$ 32,000

December Direct Mail Revenues: $ 10,188.29

August High Dollar Revenues:	$ 217,375			
August Direct Mail Revenues:	$ 30,693			
August Total Revenues:	**$ 248,068**	=	**$ 248,068**	
September High Dollar Revenues:	$ 305,825			
September Direct Mail Revenues:	$ 29,267			
September Total Revenues:	**$ 335,092**	=	**$ 583,160**	
October High Dollar Revenues:	$ 162,000			
October Direct Mail Revenues:	$ 32,907			
October Total Revenues:	**$ 194,907**	=	**$ 778,067**	
November High Dollar Revenues:	$ 49,000			
November Direct Mail Revenues:	$ 4,628			
November Total Revenues:	**$ 53,628**	=	**$ 831,695**	**Aug 1 to Nov 30**

Exhibit 65

Attachment Three

TOTAL PAYABLES
AS OF 12-15-92

PFF
38063

NON-FEDERAL

60 DAYS PAST DUE	30 DAYS PAST DUE	CURRENT
$ 91,637.82	$59,374.90	$41,501.20

FEDERAL

60 DAYS PAST DUE	30 DAYS PAST DUE	CURRENT
$35,519.84	$11,983.77	$ 141.85

NOTE These totals do not include rent or payroll.

The vendors below are on a payment schedule:

Access	$ 9,262.53
DPCS	$ 53,311.46
Media Int'l	$ 26,000.00
Westin Oaks	$ 25,122.60
TOTAL	$113,696.59

Exhibit 65

PFF
38064

FEDERAL PAYABLES

60 DAYS PAST DUE

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Apr 15, 1992	List Consulting	$ 1,610.00
Apr 30, 1992	Direct Mail Communications	$ 6,979.20
May 8, 1992	Direct Mail Communications	$ 3,297.63
May 30, 1992	Jensen Press	$ 1,154.70
May 31, 1992	Sisk Mailing Service	$ 144.00
Jun 3, 1992	Corplex	$ 1,354.78
Jun 22, 1992	Saturn	$ 33.46
Jun 25. 1992	Sisk Mailing Service	$ 1,373.75
Jul 14, 1992	Alexander & MacGregor	$ 3,500.00
Jul 24, 1992	Direct Mail Communications	$ 6,219.81
Aug 17, 1992	Alexander & MacGregor	$ 3,500.00
Aug 24, 1992	Direct Mail Communications	$ 6,352.51
	TOTAL	$35,519.84

30 DAYS PAST DUE

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Sep 21, 1992	Alexander & MacGregor	$ 3,500.00
Oct 13, 1992	Jensen Press	$ 2,642.16
Oct 14, 1992	Direct Mail Lithographers	$ 1,620.84
Oct 14, 1992	Alexander & MacGregor	$ 554.64
Oct 14, 1992	Alexander & MacGregor	$ 3,500.00
Oct 16, 1992	Direct Mail Management	$ 166.13
	TOTAL	$11,983.77

CURRENT

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Nov 19, 1992	Southwire Co. (Jim Richards)	$ 141.85
	TOTAL	$ 141.85

Exhibit 65

PFF
38065

ADMINISTRATION PAYABLES

60 DAYS PAST DUE

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Apr 9, 1992	Woodside Employment	$ 140.25
Aug 22, 1992	Jeff Eisenach	$ 133.53
Aug 31, 1992	Gilbert & Wolfand	$ 528.75
Sep 17, 1992	Woodside Employment	$ 204.00
Sep 17, 1992	Woodside Employment	$ 95.63
Sep 24, 1992	Woodside Employment	$ 459.00
Sep 30, 1992	Gilbert & Wolfand	$ 4,014.25
Oct 1, 1992	Woodside Employment	$ 605.63
Oct 1, 1992	Woodside Employment	$ 1,700.00
	TOTAL	**$ 7,881.04**

30 DAYS PAST DUE

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Oct 8, 1992	Woodside Employment	$ 306.00
Oct 13, 1992	Samadhi Systems	$ 641.25
Oct 23, 1992	Thompson, Hine & Flory	$ 3,338.38
Oct 31, 1992	Dan Swillinger	$17,696.83
Oct 31, 1992	Gilbert & Wolfand	$ 858.75
	TOTAL	**$22,841.21**

CURRENT

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Nov 19, 1992	Woodside Employment	$ 116.35
Nov 23, 1992	Solomon Software	$ 595.00
Nov 24, 1992	Thompson, Hine & Flory	$ 2,989.96
Nov 30, 1992	Washington Policy Group	$12,666.66
Nov 30, 1992	Washington Policy Group	$ 1,999.63
Dec 3, 1992	Gilbert & Wolfand	$ 525.00
	TOTAL	**$18,892.60**

Exhibit 65

PFF
38066

FINANCE PAYABLES

60 DAYS PAST DUE

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Aug 27, 1992	Nasau Bay Hilton	$ 1,074.90
Aug 31, 1992	Harry M. Stevens	$ 1,699.45
Sep 4, 1992	Carroll Travel	$ 1,904.00
Sep 10, 1992	Gallery Furniture	$ 1,000.00
Sep 10, 1992	J&S Audio	$ 85.00
Sep 10, 1992	Houston Photo Lab	$ 519.60
Sep 15, 1992	Red Top Transportation	$ 20.23
Sep 21, 1992	Carroll Travel	$ 1,343.00
Sep 29, 1992	Minuteman Press	$ 2,904.00
Sep 29, 1992	The Renaissance	$ 247.19
Sep 30, 1992	Minuteman Press	$ 6,746.90
	TOTAL	**$17,544.27**

30 DAYS PAST DUE

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Oct 5, 1992	Curb Records	$ 3,000.00
Oct 9, 1992	KRY Productions	$ 4,320.00
Oct 21, 1992	Carroll Travel	$ 1,843.00
Nov 1, 1992	Mary Stiles	$ 1,000.00
Nov 2, 1992	Steve Kinney	$ 1,500.00
Nov 10, 1992	Minuteman Press	$ 102.51
	TOTAL	**$11,765.51**

CURRENT

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Nov 24, 1992	Carroll Travel	$ 563.00
Dec 5, 1992	Kathy Lubbers	$ 139.50
	TOTAL	**$ 702.50**

Exhibit 65

PFF
38067

POLITICAL PAYABLES

60 DAYS PAST DUE

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Jun 29, 1992	Denver Dubbing	$ 40.90
Jul 1, 1992	Market Strategies	$ 8,000.00
Jul 21, 1992	Denver Dubbing	$ 374.98
Jul 23, 1992	Design Silk Screen Printers	$ 594.06
Jul 24, 1992	Federal Express	$ 82.50
Aug 1, 1992	The Eddie Mahe Co.	$ 5,800.00
Aug 4, 1992	Nancy Bocskor	$ 818.43
Aug 12, 1992	Philippe Jenney	$ 179.96
Aug 20, 1992	Denver Dubbing	$ 779.46
Aug 20, 1992	Denver Dubbing	$ 76.23
Aug 20, 1992	Korten Communications	$ 1,518.02
Aug 31, 1992	The Bellevue Hotel	$ 1,263.45
Aug 31, 1992	The Bellevue Hotel	$ 688.49
Aug 31, 1992	Media Associates	$ 619.00
Sep 1, 1992	Applied Research	$ 1,500.00
Sep 11, 1992	Bo Callaway	$ 813.15
Sep 14, 1992	John Lacy	$ 2,000.00
Sep 17, 1992	Market Strategies	$ 300.00
Sep 18, 1992	American Political Network	$ 84.00
Sep 21, 1992	Market Strategies	$ 8,000.00
Sep 30, 1992	Applied Research	$ 3,000.00
Sep 30, 1992	Albert Hanser	$ 2,500.00
Sep 30, 1992	The Bellevue Hotel	$ 826.80
Oct 1, 1992	The Eddie Mahe Co.	$12,513.67
	TOTAL	$52,373.10

30 DAYS PAST DUE

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Oct 6, 1992	Rep. Natl Com.	$ 20.00
Oct 9, 1992	Market Strategies	$ 2,700.00
Oct 13, 1992	Al's Pizza	$ 751.86
Oct 13, 1992	Amex	$ 1,426.50
Oct 14, 1992	Lion Recording	$ 786.52
Oct 20, 1992	Lion Recording	$ 111.30
Oct 21, 1992	Market Strategies	$ 6,000.00
Oct 23, 1992	American Political Network	$ 88.00
Oct 30, 1992	Albert Hanser	$ 2,500.00
Oct 31, 1992	The Bellevue Hotel	$ 721.08
Nov 3, 1992	American Political Network	$ 88.00
Nov 3, 1992	Albert Hanser	$ 169.10
Nov 3, 1992	Applied Research	$ 1,500.00

Exhibit 65

PFF
38068

POLITICAL PAYABLES

30 DAYS (CONTINUED)

Nov 9, 1992	Korten Communications	$ 3,000.00
Nov 9, 1992	US Congress Handbook	$ 10.95
	TOTAL	**$19,873.31**

CURRENT

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Nov 13, 1992	American Express	$ 2,298.06
Nov 30, 1992	Albert S. Hanser	$ 345.25
Nov 30, 1992	Albert S. Hanser	$ 2,500.00
	TOTAL	$ 5,143.31

Exhibit 65

PFF
38069

OVERHEAD PAYABLES

60 DAYS PAST DUE

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Jul 4, 1992	NCR	$ 84.80
Jul 31, 1992	US Couriers	$ 15.00
Jul 31, 1992	National News Agency	$ 210.45
Aug 9, 1992	NCR	$ 84.80
Aug 14, 1992	Federal Express	$ 13.00
Aug 20, 1992	CopiTech Plus	$ 13.50
Sep 1, 1992	Southwestern Bell	$ 148.42
Sep 1, 1992	AT&T	$ 200.65
Sep 1, 1992	Southwestern Bell	$ 4.50
Sep 6, 1992	NCR	$ 84.80
Sep 9, 1992	Willis Corroon	$11,133.00
Sep 12, 1992	Federal Express	$ 29.50
Sep 14, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 134.15
Sep 15, 1992	AT&T	$ 28.06
Sep 16, 1992	C&P	$ 535.28
Sep 20, 1992	Pitney Bowes	$ 453.78
Sep 21, 1992	Federal Express	$ 47.10
Sep 22, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 269.47
Sep 23, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 168.76
Sep 25, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 48.76
Sep 28, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 100.38
Sep 30, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 31.25
	TOTAL	**$13,839.41**

30 DAYS PAST DUE

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Oct 4, 1992	NCR	$ 84.80
Oct 4, 1992	Pitney Bowes Credit	$ 259.79
Oct 5, 1992	The Sunspot Cafe	$ 322.31
Oct 6, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 95.13
Oct 9, 1992	Federal Express	$ 290.75
Oct 13, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 28.41
Oct 15, 1992	AT&T	$ 9.70
Oct 15, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 10.09
Oct 16, 1992	Pitney Bowes	$ 293.78
Oct 20, 1992	Pitney Bowes Credit	$ 335.69
Oct 20, 1992	ADC	$ 739.90
Oct 21, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 136.66
Oct 22, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 136.22
Oct 23, 1992	PRO Staff	$ 16.49
Oct 24, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 91.13

Exhibit 65

PFF
39DTC

30 DAYS (CONTINUED)

Oct 24, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 123.97
Oct 26, 1992	Commonwealth	$ 22.14
Oct 26, 1992	The Sunspot Cafe	$ 184.41
Oct 27, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 95.08
Oct 28, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 71.57
Oct 29, 1992	Commonwealth	$ 457.27
Oct 29, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 8.86
Oct 29, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 40.11
Oct 29, 1992	Commonwealth	$ 429.04
Oct 30, 1992	Pro Staff	$ 25.87
Nov 1, 1992	Action Answering	$ 71.50
Nov 1, 1992	Staples	$ 53.03
Nov 1, 1992	Fortis Benefits	$ 358.80
Nov 2, 1992	Commonwealth	$ 6.68
Nov 3, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 95.69
	TOTAL	$ 4,894.87

CURRENT

DATE	VENDOR	AMOUNT
Nov 5, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 503.14
Nov 6, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 32.80
Nov 6, 1992	Pro Staff	$ 29.81
Nov 7, 1992	Allnet	$ 2,051.97
Nov 8, 1992	NCR	$ 84.80
Nov 10, 1992	Federal Express	$ 28.50
Nov 10, 1992	Paychex	$ 119.46
Nov 11, 1992	The Sunspot Cafe	$ 252.80
Nov 13, 1992	Federal Express	$ 304.50
Nov 13, 1992	US West	$ 428.30
Nov 14, 1992	UPS	$ 89.00
Nov 15, 1992	AT&T	$ 12.87
Nov 16, 1992	C&P	$ 1,116.32
Nov 16, 1992	Deer Park	$ 48.70
Nov 19, 1992	MCI	$ 147.99
Nov 19, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 126.88
Nov 20, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 63.60
Nov 20, 1992	Commonwealth	$ 6.94
Nov 20, 1992	Pitney Bowes	$ 684.81
Nov 20, 1992	Pitney Bowes	$ 272.78
Nov 21, 1992	UPS	$ 70.00
Nov 21, 1992	Blue Cross Blue Shield	$ 3,776.78
Nov 23, 1992	Maryland Blueprint	$ 153.88
Nov 23, 1992	Minuteman Press	$ 192.28
Nov 23, 1992	Federal Express	$ 28.00
Nov 24, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 83.59

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PFF
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CURRENT (CONTINUED)

Nov 28, 1992	UPS	$ 72.26
Nov 30, 1992	Green Light Express	$ 78.75
Nov 30, 1992	Commonwealth	$ 591.33
Nov 30, 1992	Commonwealth	$ 794.15
Nov 30, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 59.25
Dec 1, 1992	Action Answering	$ 71.50
Dec 1, 1992	Carroll Publishing	$ 198.00
Dec 1, 1992	Southwestern Bell	$ 4.50
Dec 1, 1992	Pitney Bowes	$ 156.88
Dec 1, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 57.06
Dec 2, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 16.89
Dec 3, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 35.78
Dec 3, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 9.50
Dec 3, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 13.58
Dec 3, 1992	U-Store	$ 110.00
Dec 3, 1992	NACO	$ 418.00
Dec 4, 1992	Pitney Bowes	$ 349.12
Dec 5, 1992	UPS	$ 64.25
Dec 7, 1992	Benjamin Office Supply	$ 47.88
Dec 7, 1992	C&P	$ 95.67
Dec 7, 1992	Allnet	$ 1,179.69
Dec 8, 1992	Commonwealth	$ 400.68
Dec 11, 1992	Federal Express	$ 165.25
Dec 12, 1992	UPS	$ 88.22
Dec 14, 1992	US West	$ 348.36
Dec 15, 1992	Master Lease	$ 425.68
Dec 15, 1992	AT&T	$ 249.03
Dec 30, 1992	US Postal Service	$ 75.00
	TOTAL	$16,762.78

Exhibit 65

Attachment Four

PFF
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GOPAC

JAN 15, 1992 - APRIL 30, 1992

EXPENSES :	JAN 15-31	FEB 1 - 28	MAR 1 - 31	APR 1 - 30	
PAYROLL & TAXES	$27,500	$51,900	$51,900	$51,900	
HEALTH & LIFE INS	$5,656	$5,656	$5,656	$5,656	
PARKING	$965	$965	$965	$965	
JOE GAYLORD	$5,833	$11,666	$11,666	$11,666	
PHIL ALEXANDER	$2,000	$2,000	$2,000	$2,000	
DAN SWILLINGER	$4,000	$4,000	$4,000	$4,000	
A.S. HANSER	$2,500	$2,500	$2,500	$2,500	
RENT	$10,565	$10,565	$10,565	$10,565	
LOAN REPAY (FNB)	$16,666	$16,666	$16,666		
DIRECT MAIL POSTAGE		$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	
CHTP POSTAGE	$2,000		$4,000		
'92 ACCTS PAYABLE	$100,000	$100,000	$100,000	$150,000	
SUPPLIES & SVC	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	$5,000	
BONUS				$50,000	
	$183,685	$215,918	$219,918	$249,252	$868,773

PLAN/ACTUL

Exhibit 65

Outstanding 1992 Revenues

Attachment Five

PFF
38073

Fall Reminder Invoices (10/23/92):

Berg, Al $ 10,000 **(Renewal date: December 1992; February 1993)**
* Uncompleted Newt call 9/16. Completed Newt call 9/23; disgruntled moderate. Sent RNC statement and Newt's convention speech. Rayna to call him but needs another Newt call. Uncompleted Newt call 12/4.

Canning, John $ 10,000 (Renewal date: **September 1992)**
* Unsuccessful setting up Newt calls for 12/1, 12/4.

Chambers, Ray $ 10,000 **(Renewal date: October 1992)**
* Unsuccessful setting up Newt calls for 12/1, 12/4.

Cook, Dan $ 10,000 **(Renewal date: September 1992)**
* Uncompleted Newt call 9/22. Unsuccessful setting up Newt call 12/4. Needs Newt call followed by invoice.

Cooper, Cliff $ 10,000 **(Renewal date: May 1992)**
* Elderly and Ill. No action.

Cox, Claudine $ 10,000 **(Renewal date: May 1992)**
* Completed Newt call from Georgia 11/24. Said would send something. Invoiced 12/03.

Etemad, Mehran $ 2,500 **(Installment date: October 1992)**
* Invoiced in October. Laura unsuccessful reaching prior to Charter Meeting. Uncompleted Newt call 12/4. Laura called 12/07 – mother who lives abroad has leukemia, and he has been travelling trying to shore up sagging business that has also been stalled by the transition in the Administration. Did not press for check.

Garvey, Willard $ 5,000 **(Renewal date: July 1992)**
* Bo called. Incomplete Newt calls 9/22, 9/23. Completed Newt called 10/?. Said sending check. Invoiced 12/03. Following staff follow-up calls, $5,000 arrived on 12/14.

Gooding, Richard $ 10,000 **(Renewal date: July 1992)**
* Bo called 3 times prior to election. Did not reach. Uncompleted Newt call 11/24, 12/1.

Green, Marvin $ 5,000 **(Installment date: November 1992)**
* Uncompleted Newt calls 9/22, 10/?, 11/24, 12/1.

Hanna, Frank $ 10,000 **(Renewal date: November 1992)**
* Completed Newt call 12/1. Invoiced 12/7 with GA CM list.

Milliken, Gerrish $ 10,000 **(Renewal date: January 1992)**
* Unsuccessful setting up Newt call for 12/4.

Nelson, Jerry $ 10,000 **(Renewal date: May 1992)**
* Uncompleted Newt call 9/23. Completed Newt call 11/24. Said would renew after January 1. Sent invoice 12/3.

Nicholas, Bob $ 10,000 **(Renewal date: September 1992)**
* Completed Newt call 9/16. Wife in State Assembly race/no invoice until post election. Uncompleted Newt calls 11/24, 12/1. Sent invoice 12/3.

Parlato, Charles $ 9,000 **(Renewal date: November 1992)**
* Completed Newt call 12/1. Said would not join. Hard follow-up letter with invoice sent 12/3. Responded with letter indicated that he hadn't made final decisions yet and was still considering GOPAC. Will attend 1/22 meeting.

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Plaster, Bob $ 5,000 (Installment date: December 1992)
* Uncompleted Newt calls 9/16, 9/23. Completed Newt call 10/?. Asked to be invoiced 12/1. Invoiced 12/3 and letter sent to his prospect.

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Pursell, Jim $ 10,000 (Renewal date: December 1992)
* Uncompleted Newt call 11/24. Completed Newt call 12/1. Said doesn't have the money right now but would re-evaluate shortly. Newt said to invoice in February. Sent soft sell letter mentioning renewal but without invoice on 12/3.

Redfearn, Bob $ 5,000 (Renewal date: July 1992)
* Incompleted Newt call 12/4.

Rodgers, Joe $ 10,000 (Renewal date: December 1992)
* Completed Newt call 11/24. Said to invoice and would probably renew in January. Invoice sent 12/03.

Slater, Don $ 5,000 (Installment date: October 1992)
* Unsuccessful setting up Newt call for 12/04.

Stumberg, Bert $ 10,000 (Renewal date: November 1992)
* Uncompleted Newt call 12/04.

Weiner, Rayna and Ed $ 13,000 (Renewal date: February 1992)
* Completed Newt call 12/01. Rayna's check arrived 12/11. Eddie's $6,500 was supposedly on its way.

Weismann, Dick and Philippa $ 20,000 (Renewal date: January 1992)
* Completed Newt call 9/16. Mailed RNC statement and Newt speeches. Unsuccessful setting up Newt follow-up call.

$ 209,500

1992 Seriously Delinquent or Ex-Charter Members

Beaudette, Frank	HOT	Last check: July 1990
Bower, Dan	Ex-CM	Last check: April 1991
Burnett, Bob	HOT	Last check: June 1990
Dowling, Dick	HOT	Last check: September 1990
Fetzer, Wade	Ex-CM	Last Check: April 1991
Gilder, Dick and Virginia	Ex-CM	Last Check: May 1991
Guy, Jack	CMD	Last Check: September 1991 ($5,000 only)
Huffington, Michael	Ex-CM	Last Check: October 1991
Johnson, Chris	CMD	Last Check: October 1990
Johnson, Butch	CMD	Last Check: May 1991 ($5,000 only)

* Uncompleted Newt call 9/23, 10/?. Completed Newt call 11/5. Said he was sending check. Sent follow-up letter 12/03.

Jordan, Don	HOT	Last Check: November 1990
Lucas, Harry	Ex-CM	Last Check: May 1989
Marston, Ed	Ex-CM	Last Check: September 1990
Millner, Guy	Ex-CM	Last Check: January 1990

* Uncompleted Newt call 10/?.

Rhodes, Dusty	Ex-CM	Last Check: March 1991

Exhibit 65

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Potential 1993 Revenues

January Dinner Group Renewals

1/93	Cook, Peter	$ 35,000	(January Charter Renewal)
1/93	Gelatt, Philip	$ 25,000	(July Charter Renewal) * Check expected 1/15.
1/93	Kohler, Terry and Mary	$ 45,000	* Check expected 1/15.
1/93	McMullian, Amos	$ 25,000	(March Charter Renewal)
1/93	Roberts, Owen and Susan	$ 25,000	(May Charter Renewal) * Check expected 12/31.
1/93	Rooney, Pat	$ 25,000	(December Charter Renewal)
1/93	Sacher, Fred and Ruth	$ 25,000	(September Charter Renewal) * Completed Newt call 9/16. Newt/Jeff met 12/14.
1/93	Schwan, Marvin	$ 25,000	(June Charter Renewal)
1/93	Thompson, Jack	$ 25,000	(May/September Charter Renewal)
		$ 255,000	- $ 0,000 = $ 255,000

January Charter Member Renewals

1/93	Andersen, Tucker	$ 20,000	* $ 10,000 10/19/92; completed Newt call 9/16. Told Laura 12/12 he would send a minimum of $ 10,000 in January (in addition to renewal sent early. Considering Dinner Group.
1/93	Bean, Linda	$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 12/04. Invoice sent 12/07.
1/93	Bently, Don	$ 10,000	
1/93	Bower, Sook	$ 10,000	* Husband is dying.
1/93	Cray, Bud	$ 10,000	* Uncompleted Newt call 12/04.
1/93	Dillon, Doug	$ 10,000	
1/93	Dineen, Bob	$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 12/04. Invoice sent 12/07.
1/93	Duchossois, Dick	$ 10,000	* Uncompleted Newt call 12/04.
1/93	Etemad, Mehran	$ 2,500	* Also delinquent 1992 (see notes in outstanding)
1/93	Morrow, Joe	$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 12/04. Invoice sent 12/07.
1/93	Nichols, Miller	$ 10,000	* Newt called 11/24.
1/93	O'Neil, Al	$ 10,000	
1/93	Richardson, Heather	$ 5,000	
1/93	Weiner, Sid	$ 10,000	
		$ 137,500	$ 10,000 = $ 127,500

February Charter Member Renewals

2/93	Buchwald, Jim	$ 10,000	$ 10,000 (10/26/92)
2/93	Crouse, David	$ 2,500	
2/93	DeMoss, Nancy	$ 10,000	
2/93	Krieble, Bob	$ 15,000	
2/93	Laster, Ralph	$ 10,000	
2/93	McLaughlin, George	$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 11/24.
2/93	Naftzger, Pauline	$ 10,000	
2/93	Oglesby, B.	$ 25,000	* Completed Newt call 12/04. Invoice sent 12/07.
2/93	Peter, Phil	$ 5,000	
2/93	Phipps, Howdy	$ 10,000	

Exhibit 65

2/93	Plaster, Bob	$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 10/?. Invoice for 1992 faxed 12/04.
2/93	Richardson, Frank	$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 12/04. Invoice sent 12/07.
2/93	Stewart, Robert	$ 5,000	* Uncompleted Newt call 12/04.
2/93	Uhlmann, John	$ 5,000	
2/93	Yohe, Scott	$ 5,000	
		$ 142,500	- $ 10,000 = $ 132,500

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38076

March Charter Member Renewals

3/93	Andreas, Dwayne	$ 10,000	
3/93	DeVos, Rich	$ 10,000	* Uncompleted Newt call 9/16. Completed Newt call 9/23.
3/93	Engel, Don	$ 10,000	
3/93	Grant, Bill	$ 10,000	
3/93	Ingram, Bill	$ 10,000	
3/93	Laughlin, Bill	$ 10,000	
3/93	Liddell, Frank	$ 5,000	
3/93	Loomis, Giny	$ 15,000	
3/93	Loomis, Lee	$ 15,000	
3/93	Martinez, Roman	$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 12/4. Invoice sent 12/07.
3/93	McCormack, John	$ 5,000	* Completed Newt call 9/16.
3/93	McGinnis, Gerald	$ 10,000	
3/93	McMinn, Bill	$ 10,000	
3/93	Nozko, Henry	$ 10,000	* Completed Newt call 9/16.
3/93	Stuart, Bob	$ 5,000	
3/93	Talbot, Tom	$ 5,000	
		$ 150,000	- $ 0,000 = $ 150,000

April Charter Member Renewals

4/93	Adam, Don	$ 10,000	
4/93	Anderson, Travis	$ 5,000	
4/93	Dickerson, Ken	$ 5,000	
4/93	Lupton, Tav	$ 10,000	
4/93	Naegele, Bill	$ 7,000	
4/93	Richardson, Randy	Not expected (Foundation money to ALOF in '92)	
4/93	Simmons, Harold	$ 5,000	
4/93	Stephenson, Dick	$ 10,000	
4/93	Wood, Steven	$ 10,000	
4/93	Wright, Creighton	$ 10,000	
		$ 72,000	- $ 0,000 = $ 72,000

January - April 1993 Base Revenues **$ 737,000**

Exhibit 65

EXHIBIT 66

February 4, 1993

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR NEWT GINGRICH

FROM: Jeff Eisenach

SUBJECT: GOPAC Financial Status

As shown in the first attachment to this memo, GOPAC took in $174,407 during the month of January.

The vast majority of the money was from the Charter Program and the Dinner Group. Only about $3,500 was from direct mail.

There is good news and bad news here.

The best news is that we met our "stay alive" budget through January 15, met payroll on January 31 and have money in the bank to meet payroll on February 15.

It is also good news that our major donor revenues came in slightly above the January average for the past four years (see second attachment), and that there were several encouraging renewals among the checks we did receive (e.g. Doug Dillon, Don Bentley, Bob Dineen).

The worst news is that we raised only enough to "keep the dogs at bay," but not enough to feed very many of them. We entered February with $373,859 in payables -- $12,000 more than in mid-December. While we kept the doors open, came to terms with our most aggressive creditors and paid off some of our oldest bills, we did not make any dramatic progress in paying down our debts.

Our direct mail program represents both bad news and good. On the one hand, we had our third consecutive month of gross revenues below $10,000, which as far as I can tell is unprecedented in GOPAC's history. On the other hand, our membership renewal piece is just now dropping, and we should see $50,000+ in gross revenues in the next three weeks.

Assuming a continued full-court press by you, Joe, me and everyone here, I believe the odds are better than even that we will make our January-April goal of $868,000 in total revenue. If we also stick to our budget on the spending side, we will achieve our May 1 objective of having all the vendors paid off and thus being in a position to resume political operations.

c: Joe Gaylord
Bo Callaway
Jim Tilton
Steve Hanser

WGC 07428

Exhibit 66

EXHIBIT 67

GOPAC

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

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

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

NEWT GINGRICH GENERAL CHAIRMAN

August, 1993

Dear Friend,

We at GOPAC are pleased to send you the enclosed cassette.

"Renewing American Civilization" is excerpted from an address by Congressman Newt Gingrich at a GOPAC training seminar.

No subject could be more profoundly important.

The challenge posed by Newt in this talk goes well beyond philosophy. He raises basic, practical questions we must all answer, as citizens, each in our own way.

Consider, for example, the issue of poverty. How can we restore the values that help individuals triumph over poverty - personal strength, hard work, educational excellence, entrepreneurship, spiritual faith, civic pride and responsibility ?

Ideas matter, and replacing the welfare state with an Opportunity Society is so important that Newt is developing a college course that he'll be teaching this fall on this subject, Renewing American Civilization.

I wanted you to hear his initial thoughts because it seems to me that we can't answer the question "What does the Republican Party stand for?" without considering the issues Newt has raised in this speech.

As the largest Republican candidate - training organization, GOPAC provides tapes like this free of charge to Republican candidates and office holders.

As a grassroots organization, we can't afford to provide them free to all Republican activists. If you would like to keep your subscription to the audio program, please use the enclosed reply card.

For only $50.00 you will receive twelve tapes for the 1993-94 election cycle.

This will be an exciting campaign season. With your help and advice, we are determined to make the most of an unprecedented opportunity for Republican growth.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph R. Gaylord
Chairman

Authorized and paid for by GOPAC on recycled paper

Exhibit 67

EXHIBIT 68

RPTS WATT
DCMN QUINTERO

EXECUTIVE SESSION

DEPOSITION OF JEFFREY EISENACH

Tuesday, July 25, 1995

House of Representatives,
Committee on Standards of
Official Conduct,
Washington, D.C.

The deposition convened, pursuant to notice, at 11:02 a.m., in Room HT-2M, The Capitol, Hon. Nancy L. Johnson [chairman of the committee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Johnson, Bunning, Goss, Hobson, Schiff, McDermott, Cardin, Pelosi, Borski and Sawyer.

Staff present: Ted Van Der Meid, Staff Director; Ed Hosken, Counsel; Chuck Willoughby, Counsel; Bernard Raimo, Counsel; and Greg Narver, Counsel.

Exhibit 68

Kennesaw State College. Mr. Gingrich made clear to Mr. Meskin that he wanted to have the course available nationally through a distance learning kind of process, availability of videotapes, availability on a satellite.

Mr. Meskin agreed to that and said that the Kennesaw State College Foundation, which is a 501(c)(3) adjunct of Kennesaw State College, essentially established as I understand it to permit the raising of private funds outside of the State college budget that the Kennesaw State College Foundation could serve as a vehicle for that. Throughout -- up through -- up through the middle of May, I was not deeply engaged in any of those conversations or deeply engaged in that process at all.

Mr. McDermott. May 1993.

The Witness. 1993.

And up through the middle of May 1993, this process was being handled by Newt and by Mr. Gaylord.

In mid-May 1993, it became clear, frankly, that the process was not well-advanced. No funds had been raised, no production firms had been contacted. Essentially, the work that needed to be done before the course began in September was not where it needed to be.

Mr. Gingrich asked me at that point whether I would resign from GOPAC and take over as project director, project manager for the course and I indicated to him that I would do

Exhibit 68

so.

I resigned from GOPAC effective June 1, resigned as treasurer of GOPAC, retained a consulting arrangement with GOPAC through September, I think, 1993, which allowed me to continue helping them raise money, which they needed to do, and simply put the house in order as I turned the -- as I turned the organization over to Mr. Gaylord who became its chief operating officer on June 1st.

And secondly, my second client became Kennesaw State College, the Kennesaw State College Foundation, who -- both of whom were clients of the Washington Policy Group, which was my consulting firm now with multiple clients.

That was the situation. And this seemed natural incidentally because by this time, of course, I had -- it was clear that I was leaving GOPAC in any case some time in the coming months in order to devote full time to The Progress & Freedom Foundation, and this seemed like a very natural transition out of GOPAC into The Progress & Freedom Foundation, which still remember at this point was not intended to have any role beyond the course book in Renewing American Civilization.

Now --

Mr. McDermott. So at that point The Progress & Freedom Foundation had no intended role beyond the book for the --

The Witness. Precisely.

Exhibit 68

The Chairman. The Book of Readings.

The Witness. Beyond the book -- beyond the Book of Readings.

Ms. Pelosi. Excuse me, may I just ask a question here because I must have misunderstood this morning.

The Chairman. Yes.

Ms. Pelosi. I had the impression this morning that when you began your description of The Progress & Freedom Foundation, you said that it was -- Mr. Gingrich didn't have that much to do with it, he wasn't an officer, he wasn't the main fund raiser, he wasn't the main attraction.

The Witness. Right.

Ms. Pelosi. That there was -- that it had a life apart from him.

The Witness. Right.

Ms. Pelosi. Now I am hearing that its only purpose is the --

The Witness. No, to the contrary. The only connection it had with Mr. Gingrich and the college course was the Book of Readings.

Ms. Pelosi. But it --

The Witness. It had a much -- it was just getting off the ground. At this point, it has no paid employees and if you -- it had a much larger agenda which we had laid out clearly.

Exhibit 68

EXHIBIT 69

PFF
1167

The Progress & Freedom Foundation

March 29, 1995

Mr. Jan Baran
Wiley, Rein & Fielding
1776 K St. NW
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Jan:

Enclosed, per our conversation this morning, please find seven items which provide background on the relationship between The Washington Policy Group, GOPAC and PFF during the period May-September 1995.

1. Letter from Chuck Cooper and Jeffery Yablon to Phil Kuntz, which reviews this entire period in the context of WPG/PFF activities at GOPAC.

2. Letter of agreement between GOPAC and WPG covering this period.

3. Eisenach letter of resignation as Treasurer of GOPAC, dated June 1, 1993.

4. Eisenach letter of resignation as Executive Director of GOPAC, dated June 1, 1993.

5. Gingrich letter to GOPAC Charter Members informing them explicitly that course was not under GOPAC auspices.

6. Original "Prospectus" for The Progress & Freedom Foundation (revised August 1993), which details its planned program of activities. (This was submitted to the IRS as part of a follow-up to our 1023 application for tax exempt status.)

7. Timeline showing "RAC Milestones, June 1, 1993-August 5, 1993."

You will note that these items are largely silent on happenings with respect to RAC prior to May 1993. It is important, I believe, to be clear about the situation prior to that time. Responsibility for the course, as I understood it, rested with Joe Gaylord. Joe was the main point of contact with Dr. Mescon, and worked with Mescon to hire Nancy Desmond (who I did not meet until sometime in late May) and Jerry Stedman. He conducted the initial conversations with Video Tape Associates, and the initial correspondence from VTA was directed to him as "Chief of Staff" for Newt. Joe directed that GOPAC staff participate in fundraising for the course, and Pam Prochnow's work with Tim Mescon in April and May 1993 occurred under his direction

Exhibit 69

1250 H Street NW Suite 550 Washington, DC 20005
Voice: 202/484-2312 Facsimile: 202/484-9326 E-Mail: PFF@AOL.com

as GOPAC's Chairman. My involvement – with the exception of the course book, which was de facto a separate project – was derivative of (a) my ongoing role as "intellectual advisor" to Newt and (b) my role as Executive Director of GOPAC, which led me to keep tabs on what its staff (i.e. Pam) was doing. (Thus, for example, I was aware that she was talking with Joe Rogers, Rick Berman, etc., and even pitched in to help when I could – e.g. with Berman. But I was not directing this activity so much as keeping tabs on it.)

As things progressed, my observation of the process led me to conclude that the project was lacking in clear direction. In a lengthy Saturday morning conference call in April 1993 I made a very strong case to Newt that some stronger coordinating mechanism was needed. (I did not intend that it be me, and said so. In any case, my arguments were forcefully rejected.) However, on May 12, Joe indicated that he had come to share this view, and that his interests were not really so much with RAC as with GOPAC. Thus, we met with Newt that evening and, in a sense, traded jobs: Joe became CEO (as well as Chairman) of GOPAC; I resigned from GOPAC and became project director for the course. It was at this point, and only at this point, that I got involved in any day-to-day aspect of the project's operation.

I point these facts out not in any effort to "share the blame" – since I don't think there's any "blame" to be shared – but rather to help you understand why my ability to speak to activities prior to June 1, 1993 is relatively limited.

Based on our conversation, I have also enclosed are three additional items pertinant to the funding of the course and The Progress & Freedom Foundation.

1. "RAC Donor Update, January 28, 1994" – Fundraising progress during 1993 was tracked through this report, which I updated as information came in. The point it makes is that out of 100+ solicitations made, only approximately 15 were to people/institutions associated with GOPAC. (I've marked these with a "G".) Indeed, GOPAC was still in the process of recovering from the 1992 debacle, which left the institution in difficult financial straits, and was in no position to be subsidizing anything. Thus, fundraising for RAC was conducted almost exclusively outside the GOPAC donor base. (It is perhaps worth noting that when the Wall Street Journal obtained a list of all GOPAC donors, and wrote an extensive story about those it considered most significant, none of the donors listed in the Journal's story had contributed to RAC.)

2. "1993 RAC Donors" – This summary of 1993 contributors to RAC shows that while we did not focus on GOPAC donors, we were more successful with GOPAC-related donors than others, especially with respect to major contributions. Major contributions from The Randolph Foundation (Heather Higgins), Cracker Barrel Stores (Dan Evins), the Metropolitan Atlanta Community Foundation (Rayna Weiner), Richard Fox, SpaceMaster International (Ray Wooldrige), Southwire (Jim

Exhibit 69

Richards) and HBR Capital (Frank Hanna) accounted for roughly 50 percent of first-year RAC funding.

3. "Foundation Releases Year-End Financial Report" – This press release and attachments detail all contributions to PFF from its inception through December 31, 1994, and include a complete listing of all contributors (but not amounts) to RAC as of that date. It is perhaps worth noting that fewer than one-third of all PFF donors and less than one-third of all PFF funding since its inception are associated with GOPAC contributors.

I hope this information is helpful and stand prepared, of course, to provide any additional information you may need.

Sincerely,

Jeffrey A. Eisenach

Enclosures

P.S. The package you submitted yesterday just arrived on my desk. I welcome the opportunity to review it and will let you know if I see any factual or other problems.

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RAC DONOR UPDATE
January 28, 1994

6 **Ms. Heather S. Richardson**
Director
The Randolph Foundation
255 East 49th St.
Suite 23-DE
New York, New York 10017
212/752-7148
212/752-7316

$50,000 received 6/15/93.

6 **Cracker Barrel Old Country Store**
P.O. Box 787
Lebanon, Tennessee 37088
Att: Melissa Cain
615/444-5533
615/443-9480

Street address: 305 Hartman Drive.
Lebanon, TN 37087

$25,000 promised 6/1/93. To come in two installments per Melissa Cain to JAE 6/11/93. JE & JR talked to MC 7/21. JE call 8/19. Left message re second installment. Talked week of 8/19; check will be ordered 9/13 & sent 9/27. NG talked with D. Evins 1/24, follow-up letter 1/25, JE call 2/2. Send RAC PAC 2/2 via UPS. Now considering where to give.

Mr. Rick Berman
607 Fourteenth St. NW
Washington, DC 20005
202/347-3900
202/347-5250

$25,000 discussed with JG/NG/PP. Has talked with Nancy Desmond. Needs cc. of new RFF and call from JAE. JE Letter 6/18. $25,000 received 7/1. Is preparing material for class. Talked 12/22. Will try to renew 12 months after first check (7/1/94)

Mr. C.B. Rogers, Jr.
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
Equifax, Inc.
1600 Peachtree Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
Att: Mr. Scott Dix
404/885-8105

See letter in file. MD has talked with Scott Dix. Need to send RFF ASAP. TM Letter 6/18. Committed $10,000 over four years(!) 7/15. JE call to SDix 7/21.

Ms. Barbara K. Foote
Government Affairs Representative
Corning Incorporated
Suite 500
1455 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20004-1078
202/347-2285

Needs new prospectus and call from JAE. JE letter 6/18. JE calls 7/19, 7/20. Returns 7/21. Will check 7/26 and call back. NG 8/9, will check and let us know.

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Mr. Richard M. Scrushy
Chairman of the Board, President and Chief Executive Officer
Healthsouth Corporation
Two Perimeter Park South
Birmingham, Alabama 35243
205/967-7116
205/969-4719

Needs new prospectus and call from JAE and/or NG. JE Letter 6/18. $5,000 received 6/20. "More" promised. JE & JR to talk with J. Burleson week of 7/26. JB will check; JE call into JB 8/11. Will do $10,000 more per JB 8/16. Invoice faxed 8/16.

Ms. Peggy Binzel
Director of Government Affairs
Turner Broadcasting
820 First St. NE
Ninth Floor
Washington, DC 20002
202/898-7677
202/898-7684
[Geneen Douglas]

Prospectus couriered 7/15 following JE phone call. Called JE to say yes on video library, still discussing producer vs. $. Yes to $5,000 to JE 8/23. Will put in contact with library 8/23. Called/WCB 8/25.

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6

Mr. and Mrs. Ed Weiner
712 West Paces Ferry Rd.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327
404/822-4212
404/262-1538

NG friends. Need RFF from JE. JG sent RFF 6/22. JE follow-up by FEDEX 7/19. JE brief conversation w/Rayna 7/20. NG dinner w/RW 8/9 in for $25,000 now, $25,000 next quarter. Fax from MD 8/13.

Mr. Thomas M. Bengtson, CPCU
Manager, Industry Affairs
AETNA
Securities Centre
3500 Piedmont Rd., NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30305
404/818-4879

No action as of 6/15. Has promised "small" financial support. Need to send RFF. TM letter 6/18.

Mr. Barclay Ressler
Assistant Vice President,
Government Relations
Coca-Cola Company
1627 K Street NW
Washington, DC 20006
202/466-5311

NG friend. Needs RFF from JAE. Sent 7/1. Needs follow-up call. (See also Gillin).

Mr. John J. Gillin
Senior Vice President, McDonald's Worldwide
The Coca-Cola Company
P.O. Box 1734
Atlanta, GA 30301
404/676-4649
404/676-2211
[Secy. = Pam]

Prospectus mailed 7/15. Dick Tash has contacted also. JE call needed. Gillin talked with ND re DTash; JE call 7/23. Talked/faxed info. 7/26. NG call 8/4/WCB. Yes to "something" per JG to NG 8/11. Promised ND $10,000 8/26; ND call 9/8 to check on timing. $10,000 received 12/3. John White, may give $10,000 + more before end of year. Called 12/9. Will check with John W. 12/10 and get back to me or Nancy.

Mr. William E. Sands
Mobil Chemical Company
Plastics Division
P.O. Box 71
Covington, Georgia 30209
404/788-5372

Interested in reviewing quality section. May be vehicle for funding. Send syllabus and RFF. TM letter 6/21. **TM**

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Jerome H. Orlans, FLMI
Group Sales Manager
Chubb LifeAmerica
2 Concourse Parkway
Suite 820
Atlanta, Georgia 30328
404/551-0297

NG 5/8/93 6th dist. b-fast/RAC Downlink, also RFF. TM 6/21 **TM**

Mr. Martin E. Simmons
General Counsel
First American Corporation
First American Center
Nashville, Tennessee 37237
615/736-6738

Met at South Rep. Exchange May 17(?). Needs info. for downlink plus RFF. TM 6/18

Dr. Thomas K. Watt
President
Scientific Research Corporation
280 Interstate North Parkway
Suite 430
Atlanta, Georgia 30339

No action as of 6/15. Interested in input, perhaps support. Need to send RFF with cc of syllabus enclosed. TM letter 6/21. **ND.**

Mr. Mark Leggett
NationsBank
101 S. Tryon St.
Charlotte, NC 28255
704/386-7920

B.B. King prospect. Needs RFF from TM. TM Letter 6/21. **JE call 7/21.**

G

Mr. Joe W. Rogers, Jr.
President
Waffle House, Inc.
P.O. Box 6450
Norcross, Georgia 30091-6450
404/729-5700
404/729-5758

Has talked with Pamla. TM letter 6/21. NG call 8/10. Fax 8/10. JE letter/prosp. 8/10. Rtd. call 8/24. Handed over to Don Balfour. $5,000 check ready to give to Newt upon his return per DB 8/25. JE to send package to:

Dr. David Jones
Childrens' Heart Center
2040 Ridgewood Dr. NE
Atlanta, GA 30322

Mr. A. Richardson Love, Jr.
Education Program Officer
Knight Foundation
One Biscayne Tower, Suite 3800
2 South Biscayne Boulevard
Miami, Florida 33131
305/539-0009

Discuss with Pamla. No known contact as of 6/15. Needs RFF from **TM.**

Mr. H. Laird Walker
Vice President, Federal Relations
U.S. West, Inc.
Suite 700
1020 Nineteenth Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
202/429-3100

Newt bc note. Needs RFF & follow up call from JAE. JE letter sent 7/21.

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Mr. James R. Irvine
Vice
President/Treasurer
National Association of
Home Builders
1201 15th Street NW
Washington, DC 20005
202/822-0200
202/822-0374

Newt business card. Future President of Homebuilders. Interested in downlinks, also needs RFF. JE Letter 7/21

Hon. Guy Vander Jagt
Baker & Hostetler
Washington Square,
Suite 1100
1050 Connecticut Ave.
NW
Washington, DC 20036
202/861-1722
202/861-1783

Newt met with recently, discussed RAC. Need to send RFF. JE Letter.

Mr. John A. Norris
Corporate Executive
Vice President
Hill & Knowlton, Inc.
Public Relations/Public
Affairs
800 South Street
Suite 505
Waltham,
Massachussetts 02154
617/894-3100
617/893-2420

JE knows from previous GOPAC discussions. Send RFF. JE Letter.

Mr. Michael A. Cawley
President
The Samuel Roberts
Noble
Foundation, Inc.
P.O. Box 2180
2510 State Hwy. 199
East
Ardmore, Oklahoma
73402

Mr. James U. Blanchard
President
Jefferson Financial
2400 Jefferson
Highway
Jefferson, Louisiana
70121
504/837-3033
504/837-4885

Newt met at CATO dinner. Send downlink information + RFF. TM Letter 6/21.

Mr. Tom Bresnahan
Chevron Corporation
1400 I Street NW
Washington, DC 20005

B.B. King Prospect. Needs RFF from JE. JE Letter 7/21. NG call 8/9. Forwarded to Bobby Boone. JE call 8/12. Will get back after reviewing 8/12. 404/984-3010.

Mr. Rob Walton
Wal-Mart Stores, Inc.
Corporate Offices
P.O. 116
Bentonville, Arkansas
72716
[Don Shinkel VP Govt
Affs.]
501/273-4210
501/273-1969

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Send RFF from Tim Mescon. Tim Mescon 6/21. NG call 8/4; package faxed 8/5.

Mr. Hardwick Simmons
President & CEO
Prudential Securities
199 Water Street, 34th floor
New York, NY 10292

Mark Melcher/JG contact. TM letter 7/15?

Mr. Richard Tash
Northwestern Mutual Life
1360 Peachtreet Street
Suite 1000
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
404/885-6502
H:404/924-1284
(J.B. Fuqua)

TM sent RFF 6/17. Needs follow up calls from TM/MD/JE. JE talked w/Tash early July, sent materials, good letter back 7/8, needs call **JE.**

Mr. Frank Cantrel
Director of Government Relations
MCI Communications Corp.
1801 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20006
202/887-3112
202/887-3123

Prospectus mailed 7/15 per Greg W. NG call 8/9. JE call 8/17. (Ideas). Sit down with Gerry Kovach (VP ext. affs.) 8/20. Met w/Cantrel for 2 hours. Good talk, have studio, want to provide info. Follow--up Call to FC 8/30. Yes to $10,000 FC to JE 9/2. Check will be in in two weeks. Sent 1994 prospectus 1/4/94. Will look at. Interested. Just got too hot last time. Talked 3/17/94. Discussed info. tech. industry. Bert Roberts = CEO. Package sent 3/17.

Mr. Tony Dinos
519 Solar Drive
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida 33301

Brother met with TM last week. Has Foundation in Atlanta. TM sent letter and packet 6/15. Needs follow-up call. **TM**

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Mr. William P. Roesing
Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc.
1401 I Street NW
Washington, DC 20005
202/898-6400

NG/JE friend. JE gave RFF on 6/17 JE Followup. Probably not a prospect.

Mr. William May
Chevron PAC
575 Market St.
9th Floor
San Francisco, CA
94105

JE/NG friend. Needs RFF from JE.

Mr. Frank Blake
General Electric Co.
1 River Rd.
Bldg 59 East
Schenectady, NY
12345
518/385-9200

JE friend. Needs RFF from JE. JE Follow-up

Mr. Philips Peter
General Electric
1331 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20004
202/637-4000

NG to give RFF 7/21. Phone call to JE 7/26. Will get back to us. Kathleen will talk with Cliff Smith 8/9. Must await Peter's return 9/1 per Kathleen 8/10. Mr. Clifford Smith, President, GE Foundation, 3135 Easton Turnpike, Fairfield, CT 06431y

Mr. Rich Fink
Vice President, Government and Public Affairs
Koch Industries
1401 I St. NW, Suite 300
Washington, DC 20005
202/408-1230

JE/NG friend. RFF from JE 7/21. NG call 8/5;WCB;NG talked 8/13. Will look at. JE talked with Lynn Taylor at Koch Foundation (202/842-4616//202/842-4667) 8/30; sent list of downlinks & press release on reviewers. (Odell Huff called 9/8 to ask for another set of materials; messengered.) Lynn Tayler returned JE call 9/20; asked for cc of video tape/ messengered. Will decide this week. Called 10/1. Out today. WCB Monday. $10,000 committed 10/4.

6

Mr. Roger Milliken
Milliken & Company
P.O. Box 3167
Spartanburg, SC 29304

Mr. John F. Nash
Washington Counsel
Milliken & Company
1100 Connecticut Ave. NW
Suite 1300

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Washington, DC 20036
202/775-0184
202/775-0784

Milliken. NG/JE friend. JE letter 7/21.

G **Mr. Jim Richards**
Southwire Foundation
P.O. Box 1000
Carrollton, Georgia
30119
404/832-4242
404/832-4939

Needs RFF from TM. TM sent 7/1 (yes). **Yes to $10,000 to JE, 7/21.**

Mr. Roy Richards
Southwire Foundation
P.O. Box 1000
Carrollton, Georgia
30119
404/832-4242
404/832-4939

Needs RFF from TM. DID HE GET ONE? Yes. TM.

Mr. Scott Yohe
Vice President,
Government Affairs
Delta Airlines, Inc.
1629 K St. NW
Suite 501
Washington, DC 20006
202/296-6464
202/466-2610

Needs RFF from JE. Called re: airline deal for conference 8/19. Will have marketing rep. call me.

Mr. Fred Smith
Chairman
Federal Express
Corporation
P.O. Box 727
Memphis, TN 38194

Mr. Doug Buttrey
Director of Government
Affairs
Federal Express
Corporation
2605 Nonconnah Blvd.
Memphis, TN 38132
901/369-3600

BB King Prospect. JE letter 7/21 to Fred Smith. Yes to something per FS to NG 8/11.

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PFF
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Mr. Bernard Marcus
The Home Depot, Inc.
2727 Paces Ferry Rd.
Atlanta, Georgia 30330
404/433-8211

Needs RFF from TM. TM letter 6/21. NG follow-up letter 7/6. NG call 8/12. Call when return from Israel.

Mr. Ralph Vinovich
Vice President,
Legislative Affairs
Tobacco Institute
1875 Eye Street NW,
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20006

RFF from JE 7/21.

Mr. George Meany
Manager, Campaign Support
Shell Oil Company
P.O. Box 2846
Houston, TX 77001
713/241-6161

Needs RFF from TM. TM letter 6/21. Needs follow-up call. JE.

Mr. Bruce Bond
Corporate Civic Action Manager
Ford Motor Company
9th Floor WHQ
The American Road
Dearborn, MI 48121

313/322-7985

RFF from JE 7/21; NG 8/5; will walk up to corp. giving; contact is Elliott Hall; 202/962-5371.

6

Mr. M.B. Oglesby
RJR Nabisco
1455 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Suite 525
Washington, DC 20004
202/626-7218

Needs RFF from TM. TM letter 6/21. JE calls not returned in early July. NG call 8/4; new RFF 8/5. JE call 8/16; wcb. $5,000 received 9/3.

6

Mr. Richard J. Fox
Chesterbrook Corporate Center
1325 Morris Drive
Suite 201
Wayne, Pennsylvania
19087-5506
215/640-1400
215-640-5861

NG call 8/10. Will raise $50,000. 5 RFFs sent 8/10.
Committed $20,000 to NG 8/31; Followup letter 9/1; JE call 9/3. Follow-up call 9/20. Faxed proposal/tax letter/will send this week.

Mr. Ted Forstmann
Forstmann, Little & Company
767 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York
10153

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G (DeVos)

212/355-5656
212/759-9059

Needs RFF from TM. TM letter 6/21. Follow up call needed.

Mr. John Gartland
Amway Corporation
214 Massachusetts Ave NE
Suite 210
Washington, DC 20002
202/547-5005

Pat Gartland's Brother. RFF from JE 7/21. NG conversation 8/4; letter to R. DeVos 8/5. JE call 8/19; WCB. Will let us know 8/23. JE Call re: NG calling DeVos 8/30. WCB.

Mr. & Mrs. Raymond Shamie
c/o Shamie Management Corporation
1600 Providence Highway
Walpole, MA 02081
508/660-2666

NG friends. Need RFF from TM. TM 6/21, NG call 8/5; wcb.

Mr. Michael Conley
Northwestern National Life (Rt #6210)
20 Washington Ave. South
Minneapolis, MN 55401-1900
612/372-5432 (direct dial) 612/372-1172

612/342-7592

Met with Newt, got very excited, sure thing (per Richard Hines, 6/18). TM letter 6/18. RH says "call him" NG call 8/9. JE fax 8/9. Yes to "something" to JE 8/12. Yes to $5,000 8/23. Also taking the class. Phil Ricker to contact JR.

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Mr. Robert L. Laszewski
Health Policy and Strategy Associates
1225 Connecticut Ave. NW
Seventh Floor
Washington, DC 20036

No action as of 6/15. See note in file. Need to send RFF. (NW National Life contact. JE to call 7/21)

Richard Hines
Richard Hines Consulting
733 Fifteenth St. NW
Suite 700
Washington, DC 20007
202/393-0720
202/393-0723

Conley contact.

Mr. Robert Patin
Washington National Insurance Company
300 Tower Parkway
Lincolnshire, IL 60069
708/793-3067
708/793-3700

Richard Hines. Needs to do more work. Await Richard call. Met w 7/30 (w/Laszewski, Hines). No to NG week of 8/

Mr. Bill Loughrey
Director of Government Affairs
Scientific Atlanta
Corporate Communications Department
One Technology Parkway, South
Norcross, Georgia 30092-2967
404/903-4629
404/903-4775

Has prospectus. Promised Jeff "something" 6/17.

Mr. Mitchell E. Daniels
President, North American Pharmaceutical Operations
Eli Lilly and Company
Lilly Corporate Center
Indianapolis, Indiana 46285
317/276-9937
317/276-9152

Prospectus mailed 7/15 following JG conversation with MD. Probably no per JE conversation 7/20, but contact head of DC office.

Mr. Stephen Wolf
Chairman and CEO
United Airlines
P.O. Box 66919
Chicago, IL 60666
708/952-5489
708/952-7347
[Jan]

RFF from JE 7/21. JE to schedule NG call week of 8/9. No per letter 8/13.

Mr. Jim Newman
Assistant Vice President
Bell South
125 Perimeter Center West
Atlanta, GA 30346
404/391-4545

TM letter 7/21. NG call 8/5. Will look at. Talking

Mr. William Schambra
Program Officer
Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation
777 E. Wisconsin Ave.
Suite 2285
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

Needs RFF for next quarter.

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Mr. Richard Gilder, Jr.
Gilder, Gagnon, Howe & Company
1775 Broadway
25th Floor
New York, New York 10019

NG call 8/10. NG fax 8/10. JE letter/RFF 8/10. Look at in December per Dusty to NG, 8/11.

The Freedom Forum
1101 Wilson Boulevard
Arlington, VA 22209

No action as of 6/15. Reviewed prospectus, RAC not within guidelines.

Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Cooper
4028 River Ridge Chase
Marietta, Georgia 30067
404/952-7681

Cong. Club members. Want to give $500. Need to send RFF. TM letter 6/21

Mr. Thomas Barnette
690 Atlanta Country Club
Marietta, Georgia 30067
W: 404/952-5151 H: 404/980-1040

Cong. Club member. Expressed interest in giving. Send RFF. TM 6/21

Mr. Larry Alexander
Southwestern Bell Corporation
1010 Pine Street
St. Louis, MO 63101

B.B. King prospect. Needs RFF from TM. TM 6/21. NO, 6/25.

Mr. J.W. Marriott
Chairman, President and CEO
Marriott Corporation
10400 Fernwood Rd.
Bethesda, MD 20058

Needs RFF from TM. TM letter 6/21. NO 7/6.

Mr. John M. Stuckey
Glass, McCullough, Sherrill & Harrold
1409 Peachtree Street, NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
404/885-6774
404/885-6694

TM letter 5/10. See note in file. (Newt note: Improbable, not big money.)

Ms. Lynn J. Farris
Vice President - Corporate Communications
Vought Aircraft Company
P.O. Box 655907
Dallas, Texas 75265-5907
214/266-2695
214/266-3465

See letter in file. Needs RFF from Pamla. (Not a prospect).

Mrs. Marguerite N. Williams
Williams Investment, Ltd.
P.O. Box 378
Thomasville, Georgia 31799
912/226-4300

Needs RFF from TM. TM letter 6/21. NO, 6/25. Letter faxed to NG 7/6.

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Mr. Lawrence M. Parks
President
Systematic Asset Management Corporation
211 East 43rd Street
#2202
New York, NY 10017-4707
212/818-1144
212/818-1197

Met Newt at PCG in New York. Interested in class. Also working with JAE to arrange NG speech in NYC. Needs info on signing up for downlink, also RFF. Saw in NYC on 6/21 – not a likely candidate.

Mr. Roy E. Marden
Manager of Industry Affairs
Philip Morris Management Corp.
120 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017
212/878-2610

JE/NG friend. Newt saw in Dallas. TM 6/21; no to JE 7/20.

William Dahlberg
Chief Executive Officer
Georgia Power
P.O. Box 4545
Atlanta, Georgia 30302
404/526-6526

Letter from JE 7/22
NG call 8/30. Looking at it, good package.

Mr. Robert Bannister
Senior Staff Vice-President
National Association of Home Builders
15th & M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
202/822-0200

Letter/prospectus from JE 7/22. NG says "Jerry Howard."

Ms. Barbara Lent
Executive Director of Government Relations
NYNEX
1828 L Street, N.W.
Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20036
202/336-7900

Letter/prospectus from JE 7/22. NG call on Long Island 8/30. Follow-up letter 8/30.

Mr. Ken Cannestra
Group President
Aeronautical Systems
Lockheed Corp.
86 South Cobb Drive
D/01-30
Marietta, Georgia 30063
404/494-4411
404/494-5431
Letter/prospectus from JE 7/22. NG call 8/10. Probable/looking at it. Will give $10,000 within

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next two weeks per Brian Johnstone (404/494-4129), 8/13. JE call to BJ to "follow up" 8/19. Has sent in check request. Get video from Jim Ragsdale at Skunk Works 805/572-4153 Will fund 1994, per NG call to Ken Cannestra, 1/21/94. JE sending follow up package, 1/24/94	**Brian Johnstone** **86 South Cobb Drive** **Marietta, GA 30063** **404/494-4124** **404/494-1290** See above. **Mr. Galen Reser** **PEPSICO** **700 Anderson Hill Rd.** **Purchase, New York** **10577** 914/253-2000 Letter/prospectus from JE 7/22 **Mr. Paul Smith** **Vice President, General Manager** **Rockwell International Tactical Systems Division** **1800 Satellite Boulevard** **Duluth, Georgia 30136** **404/476-6300** Letter/prospectus from JE 7/22 **Mr. David Rosier** **Georgia Power** **1130 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.** **Suite 830** **Washington, D.C. 20036** **202/775-0944**	Letter/prospectus from JE 7/22. NG left word 8/9. JE call 8/17. WCB when returns 8/20. Talked 9/1. Very enthusiastic. Will get back to us Friday. Have business down in Mexico, meeting with NG 9/2. Called 9/27; WCB. Talked 9/30. VP Ext. Affs. is on Board of Regents. Have to wait until things die down.

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Mr. Kent C. Nelson
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
UPS, Inc.
400 Perimeter Center Terraces North
Atlanta, Georgia 30346
404/913-6000

Letter/prospectus from JE 7/22. NG talked to asst. 8/10, will look at it. Clem Hanrahan at UPS Foundation looking at (8/10) per Wansley message from Sonja (KN's asst?); JE talk with Doug Smalls 8/27. cc of KN package mailed to him 8/27 JE call to Clem H 8/27.

Mr. Doug Smalls
Vice President
UPS
316 Pennsylvania Ave. SE
Washington, DC 20003
202/675/4239

See above. NG Phone call 1/25/94. Send materials.

Mr. Paul Brower
Vice President, Communications
Goldkist, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30301
404/393-5000

Needs letter/prospectus from JE.

Ambassador Ronald Lauder
767 Fifth Avenue
Suite 4200
New York, NY 10153
212/572-6641

NG letter 6/23. NG call 8/ 3. Will meet with JE in NYC. Will look at funding. JE call to Allen Roth 8/20. Looking at RAC & PFF both.

Mr. David Bockorny
Bergner, Boyette, Bockorny & Clough
1101 16th St. NW
Suite 500
Washington, DC 20036
202/659-9111

JE letter/prosp. 8/5

Mr. H.J. (Jerome) Russell
President
Russell Property Management Inc.
504 Fair Street SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30313
404/330-0950 HOME: 612-9184
404/688-5179

Hermann is the father, Jerome the son. Jerome is on TM's board, Hermann has been good friend for years.

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Construction business, also "conglomerate" (e.g. Coors distributorship). TM has sent material on class.

Mr. Fred Anton
CIGNA
200 Galleria Park
Suite 850
Atlanta, GA 30339

From Jeff W. 8/6 (Can help raise $ at CIGNA).

Mr. Frank J. Hanna, III
HBR Capital, Ltd.
Two Ravinia Drive
Suite 1750
Atlanta, Georgia 30346
404/901-5800
404/901-5815

RFF UPSed by JE 8/11. "Sorry I missed you" follow up sent w/cc of book, 8/17.

Mr. John Faris
National Federation of Independent Business
600 Maryland Ave. SW
Washington, DC 20024
202/554-9000
1-800-274-6342 in Nashville (Pam)

Letter/RFF from NG 8/12. JE follow-up call 8/20. WCB Monday.

Mr. Edward L. White, Jr.
President, Cecil B. Day Foundation
3081 West Pine Valley Rd. NW
Atlanta, GA 30305
(WOODY)

NG letter 8/16 per Rayna conversation week of 8/9. RW meeting 8/27.

Mr. Hank McCamish
The McCamish Group
3060 Peachtree Rd. NW
19th Floor
Atlanta, GA 30305
W: 404/261-4418
F: 404/262-2681
H: 404/237-0157

Fedex letter from NG 8/13 per NG phone call 8/12; board mtg. 8/17. Wife Margaret; Stepson Gordon Beckham. He is interested in Reinhardt College; Floyd Falanty(sp?); has full broadcast facility; Walleska Georgia; outside of Atlanta. He funded b-cast facility. Wants to sit down with NG when he gets back to talk about funding for RAC, Georgia public policy foundation. JE to call Floyd Falany (404/479-1454 Bonnie) per NG discussion with Hank M. 8/30. $50,000 check received 10/5.

Mr. J. Gordon Beckham, Jr.
Integrated Administrative Services, Inc.
Nineteenth Floor
One Buckhead Plaza
3060 Peachtree Dr. NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30305
404/261-4418

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see above. Talked 11/22. WCB re: 12/3.

Mr. Ed Noble
3475 Lenox Rd. NE
Suite 645
Atlanta, GA 30326
404/233-3011
404/233-3044

Wants to come to dress rehearsal. Believes can fund second quarter and later; $25,000-$50,000 per conv. w/NG 8/12. Came to Rayna's 12/3; committed $50,000. Talked with Jeff 12/9; advised on submission to Samuel Roberts Noble Foundation/M. Cawley. Called to check in on grant 3/31/94.

Doug Ellis
Southern Mills
404/969-1000

NG talked to 8/12. Will raise from downtown rotary. JE call 8/17. WCB. Can't help at present due to previous commitments to JE 8/17.

Mr. & Mrs. Robert L. Redfearn
3343 Peachtree Rd. NE
Suite 400
Atlanta, GA 30326
404/240-4687
404/233-7308
H: 404/355-5054

NG letter 8/17

Mr. David Rehr
National Beer Wholesalers Assn.
1100 South Washington St.
Alexandria, VA 22314-4494
703/683-4300
703/683-8965

JE call 8/12 & 8/17

Mr. Wes Cantrell
President & CEO
Lanier Worldwide Inc.
2300 Parklake Dr. NE
Atlanta, GA 30345
404/621-1000

JE letter 8/17 per NG.

Mr. Donald F. Hastings
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
The Lincoln Electric Company
22801 St. Clair Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44117-1199
216/481-8100
216/486-6476

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G **Mr. Ray Wooldridge**
1040 Crown Point Parkway
Unit 900
Atlanta, GA 30328
404/396-1183

Committed $20,000 in conversation with NG week of 9/19. Follow up letter sent 9/29.

Mr. John Malcolm
1965 West Wesley Rd. NW
Atlanta, GA 30327

Asst. U.S. Atty.
404/331-3598

Saw Newt at Republican Foundation meeting, mad at overseers, wanted to send money, talked, sent letter 12/15. $5,000 received 1/4/94

G **Mr. Jerry Murphy**
Siemens Corporation
701 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Suite 720
Washington, DC 20004

Tom Mallott in GA is big fan of NG and RAC. JM decided to send his $ to RAC too. Talked/Invoice sent 12/15.

Mr. Thomas J. Malott
President and Chief Executive Officer
Siemens Energy & Automation
3333 State Bridge Road
Alpharetta, Georgia 30202

P.O. Box 89000
Atlanta, Georgia, 30356-9000
404/751-2398

$2,500 received 12/22/93

Mr. Dennis Hayes
Hayes Microcomputer Products, Inc.
P.O. Box 105203
Atlanta, GA 30348
404/840-9200
F: 404/840-6830
Newt saw at Superbowl. Letter asking to consider funding 2/7/94. Connie Dunlop. Call 3/17. WCB next week. Talked with Elizabeth Kanne, Staff Specialist, 3/21. Them talking about date for TPR. EK ext. = 6082

Robert I. Weingarten
130 Delfern Dr.
Los Angeles, CA 90077-3541

G

$10,000 1/13/94

Mr. Donald Hastcock
Director of Congressional Relations
BellSouth
1133 21st Street NW
Suite 900
Washington, DC 20036

202-463-4100
202-463-4196

Letter from NG 2/10. 3/17 JE follow up call. Wrapped up on Brooks/Dingell – but will look and call back.

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11/30/93

Operating Plan, Page 16

APPENDIX THREE: 1993 RAC DONORS

DONOR	1993	STATUS[1]	1994 'GUESS'[2]
Randolph Foundation	$50,000	Not expected to renew for 1994.	$0
The McCamish Foundation	$50,000	Renewal strongly anticipated; will meet with NG 12/3.	$45,000
Employment Policies Institute	$25,000	No discussions to date; 50/50	$12,500
Cracker Barrel Stores	$25,000	No explicit discussions to date; 50/50	$12,500
Met. Atl. Comm. Fndn.	$25,000	Has committed.	$25,000
Richard Fox	$20,000	No explicit discussions.	$10,000
SpaceMaster International	$20,000	No explicit discussions.	$10,000
General Electric Fndn.	$20,000	No explicit discussions. (Provided $20,000 to PFF 11/23)	$10,000
HealthSouth	$15,000	No explicit discussions; seems excited about class; likely renewal or upgrade.	$15,000
Southwire	$10,000	No explicit discussions; likely renewal, possible upgrade.	$10,000
HBR Capital	$10,000	Have asked for early renewal; renewal seems certain, timing ???	$10,000
Lambe Fndn.	$10,000	Have discussed renewal; seems likely.	$5,000
Lockheed	$10,000 ($3,000 paid)	No explicit discussions; renewal iffy.	$2,500
Coca Cola	$10,000 ($0 paid)	Still working on 1993; renewal seems likely but will require work; upgrade possible.	$5,000
Turner Broadcasting	$5,000	Have discussed 1994 funding; renewal seems certain, upgrade very possible.	$7,500
Waffle House	$5,000	Responded to personal approach; explicit discussions re: 1994; some concern about publicity; renewal uncertain.	$1,000

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NW National Life	$5,000	Early discussions about ongoing funding; 50/50	$2,500
Nabisco	$5,000	Renewal likely; will press for upgrade; JE meeting with B. Oglesby in December.	$5,000
Federal Express	$5,000	Responded to personal approach; little further contact; renewal uncertain.	$1,000
Mrs. Roy Richards	$3,000	Very enthusiastic about program according to friends; renewal seems likely.	$2,000
Scientific Atlanta	$2,500	Have discussed 1994 with Bill Loughery; renewal likely, perhaps early.	$2,500
Associated Builders	$2,000	Responded to personal approach; little further contact; renewal uncertain.	$1,000
TOTALS	**$332,500**		**$240,000**

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The Progress & Freedom Foundation

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
December 27, 1994

For Further Information:
Bill Myers, 202/484-2312

FOUNDATION RELEASES YEAR-END FINANCIAL REPORT

Washington: The Progress & Freedom Foundation today released financial information showing that it collected nearly $1.7 million from 95 major donors during 1993 and 1994, its first two years of operations.

While the Foundation is not required to release this information to the public, Foundation President Jeffrey Eisenach said that the Foundation's board had decided to make the information public. "While many tax-exempt organizations choose not to release donor information," Eisenach said, "we chose to adopt a policy of openness" by releasing information on the sources of the Foundation's funds.

The release indicated that the Foundation collected a total of $1,674,368 from 95 supporters. The Foundation named 88 of the 95, who accounted for 89% of the total. Seven supporters, who contributed a total of $182,000, requested anonymity. Eisenach said that major grantmaking foundations often impose anonymity conditions in their grant agreements, and that the Foundation honors such requests while encouraging all supporters to cooperate with its open disclosure policy.

The Foundation also released a complete list of supporters for its Renewing American Civilization project, which involves national distribution of the college course taught by Congressman Newt Gingrich. It indicated that all future support for that project would be placed in a separate, segregated account which would operate on a full-disclosure basis and be audited by a "big six" accounting firm. "We're going to report complete information on the sources and uses of funds for the Renewing American Civilization project," Eisenach said. "We recognize that people have a legitimate interest in knowing who is contributing to support Renewing American Civilization, and we're going to simply open the books."

1250 H Street NW Suite 550 Washington, DC 20005
Voice: 202/484-2312 Facsimile: 202/484-9326 E-Mail: PFF@AOL.com

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The Progress & Freedom Foundation

December 1994

SUPPORTERS
1993/1994

Anonymous (7)
Alexander Communications Inc.
Mr. K. Tucker Andersen
AT&T
Bently Nevada
The Lynde & Harry Bradley Foundation
Burroughs Wellcome Co.
Competitive Long Distance Coalition
Cox Cable Communications
Mr. and Mrs. William Dahling
Direct Access Diagnostics
Electronic Magnetic Sciences
Federal Express
Forbes, Inc.
The Richard J. Fox Foundation
GE Foundation
Genzyme Corporation
Glaxo Inc.
Golden Rule Insurance Company
The Gutton Foundation
Health South Corporation
Mr. Martin Hoke
IBM Corporation
The Keyworth Company
Mr. Michael L. Kelser
Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation
Lockheed Aeronautical Systems
John and MaryLee Malcolm
Mr. John McCormack
Mr. Elliott Millenson
Northwestern National Life
Hon. Pete du Pont
The Randolph Foundation
Mr. Joe Rogers
SCANA Corporation
Jos. E. Seagram & Sons, Inc.
Siemens Corporation
Solvay Pharmaceuticals
Southern California Edison
Mr. Stanton L. Triester
John W. Uhlmann Foundation
WHI Inc.
Mr. Thomas Weisel
Windway Foundation

Agoric Enterprises, Inc.
Mr. Neal Allen
The Associated Group
BellSouth
W.H. Brady Foundation
Frank G. and Frieda K. Brotz Family Foundation
The Coca-Cola Company
Cox Broadcasting
Cracker Barrel Old Country Store
J.L. Dearlove and Affiliates, Inc.
Dr. Jeffrey A. Eisenach
Employment Policies Institute
The R & J Ferst Foundation
Ford Motor Company Fund
Mr. Richard D. Gaby
General Instrument
Georgia Power
Glen Oak Lumber & Milling
Mrs. D. Stephens Gray
HBR Capital, Ltd.
The Henderson Foundation
Intel Corporation
Dr. George A. Keyworth
Johnson & Johnson Corporation
The Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation
LBD Trust
Mr. Mark Lubbers
The McCamish Foundation
Metropolitan Atlanta Community Foundation
Mortgage Insurance Companies of America
The Samuel Roberts Noble Foundation
John M. Olin Foundation
Pro Staff Personnel Services
Mr. and Mrs. Owen Roberts
Mr. Jeff Sandefer
Scientific Atlanta
Searle
Siemens Energy & Automation
Southwire Company
Space Master International
Turner Broadcasting System Inc.
Video Tape Associates
Mr. Robert Weingarten
Windway Capital Corporation
Wired Magazine

SUMMARY

Total Support:	$1,674,368
Number of Supporters:	95
Average Contribution:	$17,625

Anonymous Supporters: 7
Contribution Total: $182,000
Percentage of Total Support: 11.0%

1250 H Street NW Suite 550 Washington, DC 20005
Voice: 202/484-2312 Facsimile: 202/484-9326 E-Mail: PFF@AOL.com

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The Progress & Freedom Foundation.

December 1994

Supporters of Renewing American Civilization
May 1993-December 1994

Associated Builders and Contractors

7/6/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Baker

9/16/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation

Cracker Barrel Old Country Store Inc.

7/6/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
9/24/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
5/12/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

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Coca-Cola Company

1/3/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Employment Policies Institute

6/30/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
6/7/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Federal Express Corporation

8/26/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
4/29/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

NOTES: Renewing American Civilization was a project of the Kennesaw State College Foundation, a tax-exempt auxiliary of Kennesaw State College, from May 1993 through November 1993. In December 1993, the project was transferred to The Progress & Freedom Foundation. This report lists all supporters of the project in 1993 and 1994.

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1250 H Street NW Suite 550 Washington, DC 20005
Voice: 202/484-2312 Facsimile: 202/484-9326 E-Mail: PFF@AOL.com

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The R & J Ferst Foundation

2/24/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

6

Ford Motor Company Fund

7/13/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

The Richard J. Fox Foundation

9/27/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
4/13/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

6

General Electric Foundation

12/1/93	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Georgia Power

4/29/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

HBR Capital

9/23/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
1/19/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

6

Health South Corporation

6/17/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
9/13/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
3/14/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Hewlett Packard Corporation

9/15/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation

Mr. Martin Hoke

8/30/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation

3/17/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Claude R. Lambe Charitable Foundation

10/22/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation

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Lockheed Aeronautical Systems

9/23/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
3/21/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

John and Marylee Malcolm

12/27/93	The Progress & Freedom Foundation
10/20/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

The McCamish Foundation Inc.

10/11/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
12/22/93	The Progress & Freedom Foundation
9/20/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Metropolitan Atlanta Community Foundation

6 (Weinas)

9/13/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
3/14/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

National Data

8/26/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation

The Samuel Roberts Noble Foundation

5/2/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Northwestern National Life

8/26/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation
3/14/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation
11/10/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation

Dr. Philip O'Connor

10/11/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation

6 (Higgins)

The Randolph Foundation

6/14/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation

RJR Nabisco

9/3/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation

6 (Coughlin)

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Mrs. Roy Richards		
8/10/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation	6
Scientific Atlanta		
10/13/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation	
3/14/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
Siemens Corporation		
3/2/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	6
Siemens Energy & Automation		
1/3/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	6
Southwire Company		
8/6/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation	6
11/15/93	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
3/21/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
Spacemaster International		
10/15/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation	6
5/9/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
11/10/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
Turner Broadcasting		
9/16/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation	
3/23/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
Waffle House International, Inc.		
9/9/93	Kennesaw State College Foundation	6
3/28/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
10/20/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	
Mr. Robert Weingarten		
1/13/94	The Progress & Freedom Foundation	6

PROJECT TOTALS

Kennesaw State College Foundation	$291,200
The Progress & Freedom Foundation	$432,500

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EXHIBIT 70

2/25/93

RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION PROJECT SUMMARY

Course Development (Eisenach/Hanser/Desmond, through PFF)

developing substance content for book of readings, syllabus, lecture outlines, video ~~"blurbs" for use in the classes~~, etc.

On-Site/For Credit Registration/Logistics (Kennesaw State College)

Marketing (Eisenach/Hanser/Kennesaw Foundation)

developing promotional materials explaining the course and how to register, coordinating with "allies" (e.g. National Review, conservative academic organizations, Forbes, etc.), identifying target audiences, coordinating mailings, follow-up on Newt contacts.

Remote Site Coordination (Kennesaw Foundation)

identifying site hosts, identifying "team teachers," linking site hosts with local registrants, discussion outlines for post-class discussion, distribution of materials, guidelines for downlinking, fax/phone mechanism for real-time Q&A, class evaluations

Home Learning Coordination (Kennesaw Foundation)

marketing/support system for home-learners via cable continuing education courses; coordination with local continuing ed. organizations.

Not for Credit Registration Coordination (Kennesaw Foundation)

responding to requests for information, recording registrant information, caging receipts

Uplink (Kennesaw/Video Tape Associates)

video camera to satellite arrangements

Course Materials Production (PFF/publisher/printer)

book publication, syllabus printing, ancillary materials printing

Course Materials Distribution (Publisher/Kennesaw Fndn./?)

labels, carriers, book+syllabus mailed

Legal (Gordon Strauss/Kennesaw legal contact?)

book/video rights to class, video rights for video blurbs and readings, list rights, general coordination

PFF 16628

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EXHIBIT 71

KSC
3489

FAX COVER SHEET

FROM THE

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN WHIP

PLEASE DELIVER TO:
NAME: President Betty Seigel
OFFICE: Kennesaw State College
PHONE:
FAX: 404-423-6543

FROM: Newt Gingrich

TOTAL # OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER): 4

COMMENTS:

IF YOU HAVE ANY PROBLEMS RECEIVING THIS FAX, PLEASE CALL 225-2600.

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KSC
3490

MEMORANDUM

TO: Tim Mescon

FROM: Newt Gingrich

DATE: March 1, 1993

Thank you for meeting with me this morning regarding the proposed class on "Renewing American Civilization".

To summarize our discussion:

1. You will work with Linda Nave to develop a contract which meets the House Ethics Committee's standards as well as Kennesaw State College's and the Board of Regent's standards. If necessary I will gladly teach the course for free because the intellectual content is so important to our future.

2. You will become the coordinator of information for people who want to establish a downlink to take the course. We need to explore:

a. Whether people on other campuses can receive credit either from their own institution or from Kennesaw (assuming they pay fees, register, meet standards, etc...)?

b. Whether people across the county register for Kennesaw Continuing Education or Adult education credits? What standards would they have to meet, how would they enroll, etc...?

c. Whether people can simply buy the outline, the text and the book or readings (see below) and if so from whom?

d. Whether anyone simply wants to watch the course for their own edification without any credit or cost. If so, we would be delighted.

e. Whether, since we are going to audio and video tape the course, someone could take it next year for credit and if so how?

You will designate a fairly sophisticated and very reliable clerical person just to answer the inquiries and keep track of all the names. You will need to establish a management project to

Exhibit 71

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determine the guidelines for taking the course beyond campus. I would urge an early deadline (say April 15th for answering these questions).

3. Heather Richardson is interested in helping fund this project. Jeff Eisenach is busy talking to Hoover, Hudson, Heritage and other institutions. We need to finance the uplinks, a lot of clerical support the course preparation and possibly some multimedia work for the course. You, Jeff and Heather may want to develop some budget projections and let me know what we have to do to meet the budget. Gordon Strauss will be my legal advisor for all financial, ethical and legal questions so he needs to be involved also.

4. When Joe Gaylord is in town we need to have a meeting with a possible uplink company and begin to explore how to develop the course and what needs to be done to have a redundant uplink system so it doesn't go down or develop a technological glitch.

5. You have a business school classroom that holds about 200 and is good for this kind of course. I recommend we allow 30 students into a very select graduate course. They will be expected to do two research papers and write a final. We will meet for a two hour lecture followed by a two hour discussion with one paper do at midterm and one at the end. I will grade the papers and the final (to be given at the end of class the Saturday before Thanksgiving so I can grade everything over Thanksgiving).

We will also have a senior level class of up to 170 students who will be allowed to sit in the two hours of lectures each Saturday and then will take the rest of their class with a faculty team you designate. The faculty team will work with me on concepts and clarification but they will be responsible for teaching and grading the undergraduates.

The course will take place:

Sept. 18	"Renewing American Civilization"
Sept. 25	Personal Strength
Oct. 2	Quality: Deming's Profound Knowledge
Oct. 9	Technological Progress
Oct. 16	Entrepreneurial Free Enterprize
Oct. 23	Principles of American Civilization
Oct. 30	Economic Growth
Nov. 6	Health
Nov. 13	Saving the Inner City
Nov. 20	Citizenship for the 21st Century: The Founding Fathers in the Information Age

6. You will take the lead in exploring the possibilities of developing a very inexpensive textbook and book of readings. Anything we develop has to be available by September 1 to mail to people and prudence might push that back to August 20th. We will have to develop a mailing price to cover expenses.

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Since our goal is education and not immediate profit we may want to offer the two books at a discount to Kennesaw students to keep the price down. I personally could not take royalties for a book students in my course were asked to buy.

Other copies could be sold at a normal price. If you have the time to help develop these two books I would like you to be a coauthor along with Steve Hanser and Jeff Eisenach (so it would be Gingrich, Moscon, Hanser, Eisenach on the title page with each getting 1/4 of the royalties).

7. Course development is going to be a very big challenge. The four of us need to have a conference call once you have digested this memo and begin talking about how we organize the process of developing the course so we have the best minds, the best critics and a strong synthesis.

8. This is a tremendous undertaking or potentially lasting impact. I am very excited about being able to work with you and your extraordinarily dynamic President. I hope you will see yourself as a true partner in this adventure and feel free to offer me any advice on any topic at any time. Together we are going to make history as well as teach it.

cc: President Betty Siegel

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EXHIBIT 72

GOPAC2
0529

2725 Dumbarton Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20007
March 4, 1993

Mr. Jeff Eisenach
Executive Director
GOPAC
440 First Street NW
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Jeff:

During our recent visit you mentioned that the information you provided me should be read and viewed carefully as the message had been presented with considerable thoughtfulness.

I did approach the materials from that standpoint and I want to confirm my strong interest in continuing our conversation and my belief in the Republican candidate development work you are about.

For more than 14 years I have managed people and programs based on the belief that quality customer service is the most effective way to achieve success. It would be fulfilling to apply my experience to the success and expansion of the work of GOPAC.

Jeff, thank you for your interest. I hope to hear from you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Pamla H. Prochnow

Exhibit 72

EXHIBIT 73

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now, 16 years later, here we are again.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Exhibit 73

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1970's.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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RENEWING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

I. THERE IS AN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION

1. American civilization is descended from but different than Western civilization. We are more future oriented, more optimistic, more economically socially, and geographically mobile, and we are far more effective at acculturating and integrating people. We are the most successful melting pot in history.

2. American civilization is by definition a set of principles, practices, habits and a historic memory that teaches us how to be American and why we are different from other civilizations. It requires time, study, and, effort to learn to be an American. There is an acculturation process whether you are born in the USA and learn it from childhood or you are born outside the country and learn it after you immigrate.

3. American civilization is clearly decaying.

4. The future of freedom depends on a healthy, dynamic economically expansive America. No other country is big enough economically powerful enough or racially diverse enough to lead the planet. Bosnia, Somalia and Iraq are grim warnings of our children's and grandchildren's future if American civilization continues to decay.

5. Therefore, the most important single mission of our lifetime is to renew American civilization. We need a movement of citizens as committed to freedom through American renewal as our grandparent's were to defeating the Nazis and Imperial Japan and our parents were to containing the Soviet Empire. Only a movement to renew American civilization can be effective in meeting the challenge of our current decay.

II. THE FIVE PILLARS OF 21ST CENTURY DEMOCRACY

The five key components of a dynamic, growing, healthy America are:

1. Quality as defined by Edward Deming's concept of profound knowledge;
2. Technological Advances;
3. Entrepreneurial Free Enterprize;
4. The Principles of American Civilization;
5. Psychological Strength; (courage, hard work, perseverance,discipline,integrity).

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Renewing America

Vision

Renewing America will require an opportunity society which can:

1. Ensure the physical safety of all Americans;

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

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

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

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

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

7. Establish the world's standard in environmental health

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

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

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

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

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

Renewing America is possible because the tools now exist to

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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