

MARCH TO THE MAJORITY

THE REAL STORY OF THE
REPUBLICAN REVOLUTION

NEWT GINGRICH

WITH JOE GAYLORD

AND LOUIE BROGDON



CENTER
STREET

NASHVILLE NEW YORK

March to the Majority is dedicated to the millions of citizens working every day to create a better American future for themselves, their families, and their country.

They are the heart of America and without them America would cease to be an exceptional country.

INTRODUCTION

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

This is a history of the most important moments in the rise of the modern Republican Party, specifically the decades-long struggle to end Democratic Party rule and usher in a Republican House majority. We wrote this book to describe how we used that majority to reform Congress and lead America toward a more conservative, prosperous future—and why those moments matter again today.

The story of the conservative movement and the 1994 Republican Revolution is remarkable. There were many adventures, personalities, missteps, and victories on the road from a seemingly permanent House GOP minority to the first Republican majority in decades. These untold stories and inspiring lessons about the rise of modern conservatism are immensely relevant today as the United States faces profound and extraordinary challenges under President Joe Biden, Vice President Kamala Harris, and the Democrats who have slowly replaced congressional order with a dictatorial process.

Also, for decades, we have watched the corporate media slowly rewrite large portions of this history. The Democrat-loyal media

didn't like us in the 1990s, and they don't like us now. Each new generation of reporters, anchors, and pundits is taught by their old-guard editors—and college professors—that the Republican Revolution (and me in particular) were the genesis of ugly politics, vicious partisanship, and dysfunction in Washington. This is all baloney. As you will read, the Democrat majority was far more ruthlessly partisan than we ever were. The truth is, we were just the first group of Republican Congress members in forty years who had the spirit to push back against the so-called permanent Democrat majority.

We didn't invent partisanship—or reject bipartisanship. We dared to voice opinions and share ideas that countered the Democrat rule and challenged the stale status quo in the Capitol. In fact, once we regained the majority, we ran the most open, bipartisan congressional sessions in our lifetimes. Contrary to the media narrative, many Democrats routinely voted with us in passing the items in the Contract with America—and in some cases we split them down the middle. As anyone who pays attention to American politics knows, you don't get to four balanced budgets, Medicare and welfare reform, telecommunications reform, and the host of other major things we did without bipartisan support.

The liberal establishment hated us (then and now) because we succeeded. Our ideas worked, and theirs didn't. More important, we took away their power. Despite opposition from a Democrat president, the media, and a deeply hostile national establishment, we were successful. The achievements of what we now call “The March to the Majority” are indisputable.

We created the first GOP House majority in forty years (since 1954). We were the first reelected GOP House Republican majority in sixty-eight years (since 1928). In fact, our majority was strong

enough that it lasted until 2006 and was promptly rebuilt in 2010, because people knew it could be done. Indeed, the House Republicans' Commitment to America was crucial for ending four years of Democrat rule in 2022 and grew out of the legacy of the Contract with America in 1994.

Our welfare reform reasserted a work ethic and a sense of self-reliance. It also brought about the largest increase in American children leaving poverty in history. Our four consecutive balanced budgets are the only ones we have seen in our lifetimes. We passed the largest capital gains tax cut in history, which led to an investment boom and a flood of revenues from new economic growth that made balancing the budget possible.

The list could go on, but the essential lesson is simple: A long period of frustration was ended because we developed a pattern of disciplined implementation that worked in both political and policy terms. This pattern was developed over decades—after my two failed attempts to enter Congress and nearly sixteen years of grinding our way to the goal. We were constantly trying things, failing, learning from defeat, and readjusting to gain ground. This pattern is learnable, and conservatives today should absorb and implement it.

Joe Gaylord played a pivotal role behind the scenes during these times. He was instrumental in building the Republican committees into a national system that could best the Democrat machine. He was an indispensable advisor to me, so it was natural for him to help me write this book. As Gaylord and I reflected on these events and discussed the many years that we had worked together to grow the majority—and the extraordinary four years we had worked to change Washington and the country while I was House Speaker—we realized that we had built on President

Ronald Reagan's approach and achievements in a way that merited explanation and study.

Over our march, we gradually developed a set of political, policy, and legislative principles that worked. It was a long process of energetic and sometimes frustrating trial and error. Our victories politically, legislatively, and in policy grew out of a methodical principled approach that had the simple virtue of working again and again.

Unfortunately, disciplined, principled systems are hard to sustain, and people gradually grow tired of the hard work. They look for gimmicks, easier approaches, and self-indulgent habits that feel easier but lead to defeat and failure. In the years since 1994, the hard-earned lessons of that period have too often been forgotten, and Republicans have adopted habits and patterns that simply don't work nearly as well.

There are many lessons in this story of constant work, cheerful persistence over enormous frustration, learning and adapting, and experimenting until we found patterns and formulas that worked. We detail what I learned from working with President Reagan, helping (and fighting with) the Bush family, and in negotiating with President Bill Clinton to pass conservative reforms.

To be clear: This is not a memoir or autobiography—although it does include many personal stories. In a real sense, this is a study of history and an instruction manual for creating and leading a new and improved Republican Party. It is academic and practical. It is about the past—but also about the present and the future. Gaylord and I spent months digging through boxes of my old speeches, meeting notes, and news articles while we were researching, and we realized how useful and relevant much of it still was. In many ways, the same arguments repeat themselves—and they often have

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the same forgotten answers. Even those who are deeply familiar with this part of history will learn from this book. (I know, because I learned a lot from reflecting on and writing it.)

Republicans who study the lessons of *The March to the Majority* will find themselves equipped with tools, principles, and insights that will make it much easier for them to be successful politically and legislatively. This book applies to incumbents and their professional staff, candidates and their campaign staff, consultants, pollsters, analysts, and commentators. But most important, this book is for Americans who simply want to learn how to be more effective at improving our country. More than any politicians, everyday, honest, hardworking Americans have the power to create a better American future. As President Reagan used to say, we want to shine a light on the American people, so they can turn up the heat on Congress.

We hope you find this book applies directly to your current situation and empowers you to be much more effective in making our nation better for future generations of Americans.