

American people understand that our means are consistent with our goal which, I believe, is a virtuous, good people, living in a country with a very limited role for government.

*John McGraw is California Republican Party chairman.*

## WILLIAM E. SARACINO

**B**ernd Schwieren says the "Reagan Coalition" no longer exists, and that GOP conservatives are trapped in a time warp around 1984. Well, let's see.

George Bush carried the state by a healthy 8 percent in 1988. In 1990 Pete Wilson, running to the center-right with enthusiastic conservative support (can you say "redistricting?") beat Dianne Feinstein, coming from far behind. In 1994 Republicans took the Assembly, re-elected Wilson, and passed Proposition 187, presumably helped by "Reagan Democrats." In 1996, while losing four Assembly seats, Republicans were the impetus for Proposition 209's victory, again helped by Reagan Democrats. Thus Mr. Schwieren is proposing the equivalent of political "rapture": the sudden disappearance in 1998 of the coalition that prevailed in four of the last six elections.

Of course, no such sudden tectonic shift among voters occurred, but rather a change in what they heard and, hence, their reaction at the polls. Since 1964, liberal and moderate Republicans have tried to prove that "ideas do *not* have consequences," that if we would just "be nice" (*i.e.* abandon bed-rock principle) the land of political milk and honey would be ours. Following that advice has gained the GOP only a handy slogan: "been there, done that, lost the election."

David Horowitz is a different kettle of fish — or matzos, as the case may be. I do not share the umbrage taken at his thesis by some of my conservative friends. They say Horowitz abandons morality in pursuit of electoral victory. I say what he wrote is not an ethics tome but a tactical vision for winning. He comes under suspicion for advocating that we sometimes use methods that have proven successful for Democrats and liberals. His conservative critics seem to think that just because a tactic — and remember we are talking tactics, not underlying philosophy here — has been used by our opposition it must be inherently unclean, foul, bewitched, or practiced only by beasts with cloven hooves.

Any fair reading of Horowitz tells us he recognizes that "ideas have consequences," but also that "you catch more

flies with honey than vinegar." Proposing honey instead of hellfire, brimstone, and vinegar is not heretical or un-conservative. It is smart politics, and sometimes politics is simply tactics. Horowitz's statement that the GOP is woefully deficient in appealing "sound bites" is absolutely correct. And a good "sound bite" is no sign of moral or ideological deficiency. Consider "there you go again" (1980) and "I will not make my opponent's relative youth and inexperience a campaign issue" (1984) — two great sound bites from a man whose moral and ideological underpinnings are, I hope, beyond question.

So all Mr. Horowitz is urging is that we think about how we present our message and the best way to "win friends and influence people." I find little fault in his treatise.

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**— Ray Haynes**

## RAY HAYNES

**A**liberty majority is emerging and Republicans are losing elections and registration because they have chosen to be less resolute on the issue of liberty — the point Bernd Schwieren misses completely in a report wrong on the facts, the politics, and the principle.

People no longer believe the Party is sincere about its beliefs. In the 1980s and in 1994, Republicans were seen as the Party of smaller government and lower taxes: the Party of liberty. When Republicans raised taxes in 1990 (nationally) and 1991 (in California) and capitulated to Clinton's big government 1995 and 1998 budgets, voters knew Republicans were not honest about their beliefs. They left the Party in droves, which Schwieren properly diagnoses, but they did not join the Democrats. While Republicans lost 5 percent registration statewide, Democrats lost 3 percent. That is: Schwieren's remedy is worse than the disease. In fact, it is the disease. People are leaving a GOP that reminds them of the Democrats. Adopting more Democrat positions won't bring them back.

The politics are wrong as well. Retreating from "social issues" will only alienate Republicans' most loyal supporters. As Pete Wilson might say, politics is a game of addition, not subtraction. Those who registered and vote Republican because of the GOP positions on guns, families, abortion, and taxes will leave if the Party leaves them. Those who say these Party faithful have no place to go should read the last two elections. They went home, and never voted.

Long-term political success requires firm, principled posi-

tions and the ability to persuade people that those positions are correct. Republicans must neither waiver from their bed-rock positions nor fail to convince a majority that those positions most benefit Californians. Loss of support proves Republicans are doing a poor job of persuading, not that their agenda is wrong. But like a pilot with vertigo in the fog, Republicans try to compensate for their errors by compounding them. Either we pull out of the tailspin now, or we crash.

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## SHAWN STEEL

**W**ould Reagan Approve of the Horowitz Plan? Inspired by California Republicans' incredible 1998 losses, David Horowitz analyzed what Republicans do wrong. Strategic failure? Bad message? As Horowitz puts it: Republicans play politics like gentlemen; Democrats play for keeps. Some of my colleagues embrace a suicidal "rather be right than win" mentality.

The battle is for the unwashed Middle. Democrats do better identifying with these voters. The Middle isn't ideological. It reads and thinks little about politics or politicians. Ronald Reagan was able to pierce its ambivalence. California Republicans are not, for three reasons:

1. Republicans often appear insensitive, arrogant, and paternal. When our gubernatorial candidate opposed bilingual education reform, hesitated on fixing affirmative action, and attacked the voters for supporting marijuana decriminalization, he made the Middle suspicious enough to doom Republicans.

2. Democrats swiped popular conservative issues. Few politicians work harder or with such concentrated discipline as Gray Davis. He follows the polls. The Middle wanted a responsive governor, efficient government, an absolute commitment to crime protection, and more disciplined schools. Gray talked the talk.

3. Democrats are more comfortable among minorities. Republicans stage election-year love affairs with minorities only months before voting. Democrats run year-round operations in all minority communities. It's big news if a GOP Assemblymember manages to hire a Vietnamese-speaking assistant. The legislative Democrat-to-Republican ratio in minority staff is 20-to-1: Bustamante, Villaraigosa, Jackie Speier, Kevin Murray, Barbara Lee, Thomas Calderon, and John Chiang were all staffers, trained in the Dems' farm team. Our Party must build beyond the white community. Our minimal 10-year goal must be to gain the allegiance of 70 percent of the Asian community, 50 percent of the Latino community, and 25 percent of the Black community. Also, last year's trends showed highly-educated people and high-income earners, regardless of race, less likely to vote Re-

publican. Republicans alienate if they appear preachy. Republicans' message will inspire conservatives and reach the Middle when they learn to communicate about eliminating the under-class, radically improving schools, creating safe streets in the inner-city, and consistently fighting taxes.

Horowitz reminds us of Reagan's art of political warfare, lessons Republicans have forgotten. Reagan positioned himself as an outsider and a non-politician, with an enormous impact on the Middle. He never appeared angry or hateful, petty or mean-spirited, enjoyed a good, genuine sense of humor, and compromised every day of his life. And yet, he single-handedly defeated the Evil Empire by speaking the truth.

And Reagan ordered his priorities. He defeated the Evil Empire, though it created the world's largest government deficit. He restored military superiority, but at the cost of expanding the welfare state. Defeating communism came first. We should rethink our priorities and communicate to win.

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*Shawn Steel is California Republican Party vice-chairman.*

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## STEVE BALDWIN

**T**he problem with many 1996 and 1998 Republican California campaigns was not the emergence of the Latino constituency or the rise of union power (which is actually declining). It was weak Republican candidates who allowed themselves to be defined by consultants based exclusively on polling data, focus groups, and the proverbial wet finger in the air. The farther Republicans moved away from being the Party of less taxes, less government, less laws, less infringement of peoples rights and freedoms, the less they were Republican. As Democrats stole and borrowed Republican ideas and Republicans leaned increasingly toward more moderate ("compassionate") stances, the more blurred the voters' eyes became. After all, voters were trying to focus on what the parties stood for, if anything.

Democrat campaign operatives trying to recover the "Reagan Democrats" who had defected in previous presidential elections concocted a Democrat Party shift toward the center — even, incrementally, towards conservatism. They had to, because, under Reagan, the *country* had moved towards conservatism. But the idea of growing the *Republican* Party by making it more liberal is a recipe for disaster especially among people with principle. It is swimming against the Reagan tide, not with it, as the Democrats have been doing.

In practice, for example, a candidate who says he is personally prolife but running as a pro-abortion to increase his chances of being elected is a liar and should be exposed and defeated, not for being "Pro-Choice," but for being dishonest.

Republicans must become the standard bearers of truth. It

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