

talk shows, there was a time when presidential campaigns revolved around candidates who stood for something (anything!), debated real issues, and were run by at least a few people who truly believed in the candidates they were placing before the American people.

LYN NOFZIGER has lived three-and-a-half decades at the frontlines of the political scene as reporter, campaign press secretary, political strategist. Most important to his own dreams and the political fortunes of the nation, Nofziger loyally served the one man he felt had the vision and determination to be a great president of the United States: Ronald Reagan. In his new book, *Nofziger*, he traces not only his own colorful career but the political evolution of a man who, as early as 1966, struck a strong chord with the political newcomer who had until then been looking at politics from the outside as a Washington journalist and campaign correspondent. "There's something out there," he said at the time. "I don't know what it is but there's something between Reagan and the people. He's going to be elected governor and someday he might even be president."

As tough as it was at times battling with an ever-changing "inner circle" of Reagan friends, loyalists, and opportunists, Nofziger came and went, moved repeatedly on a track with stops in Sacramento, Washington, and Los Angeles, but eventually realized his political dream when he helped Reagan into the White House in 1980.

We are with Nofziger on those early California campaigns and the Reagan days in Sacramento. We are with him in the Nixon White House. We relive that first presidential campaign in 1976. We share

in the triumph of 1980 and his later pain in being tried, convicted, and later vindicated for violation of federal ethics laws.

Unique among political memoirists, Nofziger is actually a gifted writer and he shares his story with a style that is at once candid, down-to-earth, and humorous. He stops along the way to set the record straight from previously published "first-hand accounts," discusses his own blunders and political pratfalls, and provides valuable insights into players who, for better or worse, will likely be with us for some time. Included is Bush's campaign guru, James Baker, a man of whom Nofziger writes, "His best buddy is himself, James A. Baker III. The president runs a poor second, as he may eventually discover."

Through Nofziger's eyes we catch glimpses of several of the people who make presidents and of several people who, in their own minds, ought to be president. Nofziger's parade of political players and characters also gives an insight into the changing nature of American politics and the practitioners of the trade. He begins his career with men who worked hard and believed in their mentors, and traces it to the current day when operatives all too often believe only in themselves.

Old California political hands will enjoy this look back to an exciting time of rough-and-tumble Cali-

fornia politics. Conservatives will relish the tale of a "true believer" and a time when the beliefs became true. But the real joy in reading *Nofziger* comes from the supply of anecdotes, long-forgotten incidents that might not have turned a campaign but that at least made them interesting. Nofziger points to a blunder of his during the 1980 campaign when, frustrated by campaign rumors of a Reagan heart attack, he jokingly told reporters that Jimmy Carter had once been close to being kicked out of Annapolis for contracting a social disease. In short order, Nofziger's joke surfaced in some press accounts as a report that "Carter had the clap."

Stories like these have been forgotten and *Nofziger* is a delightful time spent with a knowing insider as we relive those moments or experience them for the first time.

Perhaps there is some hope for the future in realizing how soon we had forgotten some of these footnotes to history (who was Richard Schweiker?). Maybe someday soon we will forget the silliness and inanities of Campaign '92 ... at least until Larry King writes his book.

### Neo-Liberal Privatization

*Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector, from Schoolhouse to Statehouse, City Hall to The Pentagon*, by David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, Addison-Wesley, 1992, 405 pages, \$22.95.

Reviewed by Peter Hannaford

IN MARCH 1988, the last year of Ronald Reagan's second term, the President's Commission on Privatization

*Peter Hannaford, who heads a Washington, D.C., public affairs firm, was a consultant to the President's Commission on Privatization in 1988.*



zation issued its report. Among its recommendations were the sale or transferring management of public housing units to their residents, creation of competition among local school systems through vouchers and other incentives, and contracting out — by competitive bid — various government operations that might be handled more efficiently by private companies.

The major news media yawned. Congress treated the report with disdain.

NOW, FOUR years later, David Osborne, a consultant to state and local government, and Ted Gaebler, former city manager of two small cities in California and Ohio, have written a book that — among other things — recommends “empowering” public housing tenants by turning over ownership or management to them; creating competition among local school systems; and contracting out public services where it makes good sense to do so.

The media are praising it. Members of Congress are talking it up.

What caused the sea change? Back in 1988, the media, fresh from covering the circus-like atmosphere

of the Congressional Iran-Contra hearings, was unlikely to be aroused by recommendations of a lame-duck president to a Congress desirous of derailing Republican election efforts to retain the White House. Those were the proximate reasons why the Reagan privatization initiatives were ignored.

At the municipal, county, and state levels, the authors contend, the concept did not gain much ground because, throughout most of the '80s, many of these government units were running surpluses; hence, no pressing need for change.

Today, the outlook is different. State and local governments are strapped. Taxpayers want services but no higher taxes. According to the authors, this has led to a new “entrepreneurial spirit” among public sector managers. As a result, many of them are experimenting with flexible budgeting, contracting out (privatization), and streamlined and creative work procedures.

A few pages into their preface, the authors declare, “First, we believe deeply in government.” They do not see government as a necessary evil, but as a positive conduit for solving collective problems.

While most conservatives would agree with the latter idea, their definition and the authors' of what should be solved collectively may differ. The authors cite homelessness, illiteracy, toxic waste, “the specter of global warming,” and “the exploding cost of medical care” as problems to be solved collectively, i.e., by government.

As yet there is no scientific consensus as

to the cause or ultimate course of “global warming” and, as to managing medical costs, government has not been conspicuously successful. So, readers may wish to reserve their enthusiasm for some of the more creative cost-saving solutions to local problems the book presents.

WE ARE given example after example of how governments are being “reinvented,” including a school district in Harlem that has dropped the concept of one-school-in-one-building and now has 52 specialized small schools in 20 buildings and the successful takeover of operations and ownership of the Kenilworth-Parkside housing project in Washington, D.C., by its tenants (a favorite Reagan project in the '80s).

The subject has many liberals agog. The Democrats even had a panel discussion on the subject at their national convention this summer. Still the question must be asked: are all these encouraging examples cited by the authors part of a tidal wave of new thinking that will sweep every governmental entity in the country, or are they isolated cases? Those who take up a career in government implicitly have traded the chance to make a lot of money for the security of civil service. By its nature, it attracts the risk-averse. Still, one can hope the authors' thesis proves true.

Ronald Reagan used to have a small plaque on his desk that read: “It doesn't matter who gets the credit, as long as the job gets done.” In this case, it looks as if the intelligentsia will give two neo-liberals the credit for many ideas Reagan and his followers promoted. Indeed, had these authors written the Privatization Commission's report back in 1988, they might have titled it “Reinventing Government.”

CPR



## Popular Culture

# Cultural Scenes We (Almost) Never See

Rappin' For Free Speech and Platinum-Gold

T.R. O'Neill-Lopez

*Come, enter into my imagination,  
and see ...*

LOS ANGELES — The Los Angeles headquarters of Platinum-Gold Records was the scene of a press conference yesterday. Three controversial rap singers and Platinum-Gold executives joined to protest what they perceive as attempts to censor their products. Security was tight as various law enforcement and minority advocacy groups staged protests of their own.

First to speak was white rapper Cool Klucker of the group Cross-Burning, which recently torched a 50-foot cross at an outdoor concert in Tennessee. A number of law enforcement and minority advocacy groups have protested the Louisiana-based group's most recent song, "Ethnic Cleansing," which says:

*I've got my pickup gassed up  
I've got my baseball bat  
I've got my .45 auto  
Boy, what you think about that?  
I've got an AK on the gun rack  
Good for taking out blacks*

*T.R. O'Neill-Lopez is California Political Review's roving correspondent on Popular Culture.*

*White is right,  
And you're in my sights  
Time for some  
Ethnic cleansing, dude.*

"Middle class Americans don't understand the rural and bayou culture where most of the nation's white underclass lives," said Klucker when accused of promoting racial hatred. "There's a lot of frustration and pent-up violence against things like unemployment, poor education, and affirmative action. This song simply expresses it."

Klucker denied that his work actually called for the killing of blacks and other minorities. "It's a catharsis and a fantasy," said the heavily tattooed singer, a former sociology professor at Yale. "It's like an Arnold Schwarzenegger movie. It's entertainment. People shouldn't take it too seriously."

However, fellow band members disagreed. "If white gangs and skinheads are going to be fighting and killing each other, I don't see why they don't just take a week off and kill black people," said a singer identified only as Travis. "I mean, if our salvation means their total destruction, so be it. By whatever means necessary."

Davison Williams, a black police

officer, had to be restrained from attacking the band. When riot police and National Guardsmen had succeeded in calming the disturbance, rapper I.B. White of the group *Sturmtruppen* defended their recent release, "Jew Killer."

White, an admirer of Adolph Hitler, Torquemada, and David Duke, complained that "America has lost its sovereignty to a Zionist occupational government, the ZOG. The Jews control the media and are trying to destroy the Christian religion. And their loyalty is to Israel, not America. Our politicians have sold us out."

"Jew Killer" says:

*The Inquisition put 'em on the rack  
Time to rise up and take America  
back  
Die, Zog, die!*

WHITE ALSO charged that Jewish doctors were injecting gentle children with the AIDS virus. He said he planned a song on the subject in "Death Camp," the group's next album, which would be dedicated to Abu Nidal and Adolph Eichmann.

James Strong of the group War-Lock had to be protected from ho-