

In part, this is because Choate's audience already believes that Japanese money is inherently tainted. And respectable editors don't want to be caught publishing tainted articles. The ad hominem attack works because many people grant its emotional premise—that Japanese companies are evil.

**W**hy the outburst of ad hominem attacks? Partly, it's the natural desire to blame political losses on big, powerful, hidden conspiracies. Choate wants more tariffs. The Big Three want more tariffs. But somehow we don't get more tariffs. It must be the Japan Lobby.

Partly, the ad hominem attack is a substitute for talking about principle. It's a handy tool both for those, like Buchanan, who have principles but can't sell them and for those, like Choate, whose principles are well hidden.

Consider the most successful and sustained ad hominem attack in recent American politics: the environmental movement's discrediting of anyone who

has any tie to any company that makes chemicals, produces oil, manufactures automobiles, or otherwise contributes to industrial society.

Unlike the Japanese or the Jews, chemical and oil companies have few defenders. That's why supporters of California's "Big Green" initiative remind voters on every occasion that the "oil and chemical industries" are paying for the campaign against the initiative.

When they exclude these industries from political debate, the greens reflect their own ideological agenda and goals. "It is a spiritual act to try to shut down DuPont," says Rainforest Action Network Director Randall Hayes. And it is a political act to try to shut up DuPont.

If the greens can shame their opponents into silence, no one will challenge their agenda. They can play "trust me." And, given a trusting public and shame-filled adversaries, they can win.

It's not a cheerful picture, but it's the truth. The first step toward stopping political bullies is not to be ashamed. ■

House Minority Whip Gingrich stormed out of the budget summit and led a successful fight in the House against the summit agreement. But their speeches and TV interviews make it clear that Gingrich and his allies had no principled objection to big government. They just realized that it was politically foolish to vote for tax hikes and Medicare cuts.

The federal budget is over \$1.2 trillion. If Gramm-Rudman-Hollings had been allowed to work, spending would have dropped \$85.4 billion, or 7 percent. There is probably no business or household in the United States that could not cut its spending by 7 percent. And there is surely more fat in the federal government than in the typical household or business budget. But no one—not Gingrich, not even Gramm-Rudman co-author Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.)—questioned Bush's assertion that Gramm-Rudman cuts would be disastrous.

As a group, Republicans don't want to eliminate any federal program. A proposal by Rep. Phil Crane (R-Ill.) to shut down the National Endowment for the Arts, for example, got almost no support. Republicans would rather redirect the NEA to fund "profamily," or at least non-obscene, artwork.

Gingrich himself has long advocated using an activist government for "conservative" ends. His own alternative to the budget-summit agreement involved raising taxes somewhat less and switching some Medicare cuts to other programs. Gingrich likes big government as much as the next Washington insider; he just doesn't want to pay for it.

With the Republicans conceding the basic issue, the Democrats can dictate domestic policy. If they can out-compromise Bush, the Democrats can also outmaneuver Gingrich. If the Republicans offer a new federal program, the Democrats can insist on a better, i.e., more expensive, one. And when the Democrats demand new spending, Gingrich can offer no principled objection. As the budget brouhaha has demonstrated, any future conflicts between or within the two parties will be about electoral politics or personal animosity, not ideas. ■

## **BUDGET BALONEY**

CHARLES OLIVER

**R**egardless of how the latest federal budget dispute turns out or what the details of the final package are, the Republicans have lost the battle. They lost because they threw down their weapons.

During the latest debate every Republican of any stature conceded the Democrats' basic premise: Big government is good. From President George Bush to Rep. Newt Gingrich (Ga.), the Republicans just react to Democratic proposals—scaling them back, quibbling about details, but accepting the notion that government should act to solve a host of perceived social problems.

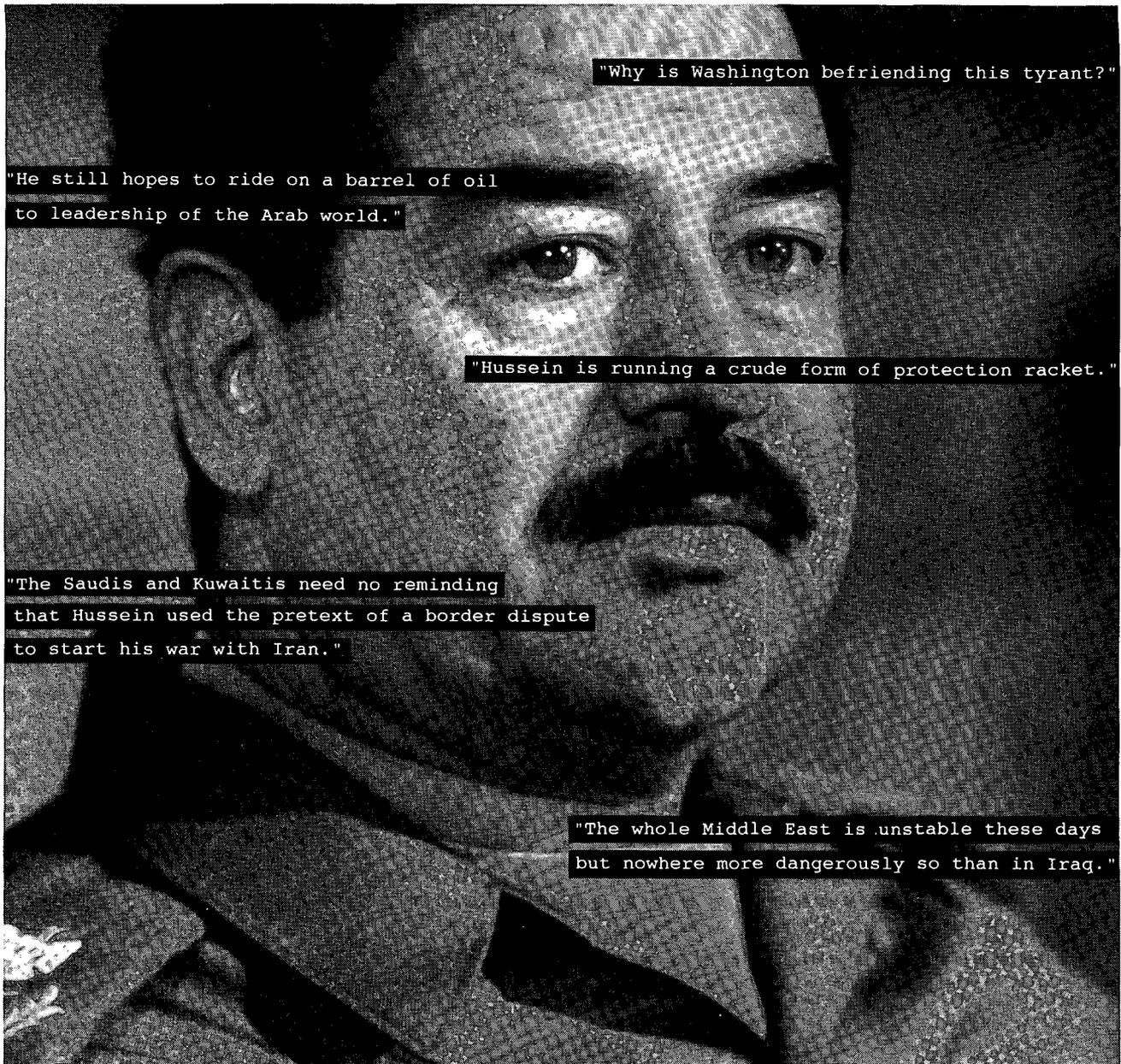
The battle between Bush and Gingrich wasn't one of ideology, but one of political expediency: Should the Republicans give the Democrats a lot or just a little?

President Bush must shoulder much of

the blame for the GOP's malaise. As Heritage Foundation analyst Daniel J. Mitchell noted in our November issue, "On almost every issue, from the minimum wage to child care, from disability legislation to taxes, from the environment to racial quotas, the White House has conceded the fundamental argument over whether the government solves problems or causes them."

For the last two years, the pattern has been the same. Democrats propose a massive new spending or regulatory program. Then Bush sits down with congressional leaders, wins a few minor exemptions, and signs the "compromise" into law.

But this time Bush went too far. In his zeal to win a budget compromise, he reneged on his one campaign promise: He agreed to raise taxes.



"Why is Washington befriending this tyrant?"

"He still hopes to ride on a barrel of oil to leadership of the Arab world."

"Hussein is running a crude form of protection racket."

"The Saudis and Kuwaitis need no reminding that Hussein used the pretext of a border dispute to start his war with Iran."

"The whole Middle East is unstable these days but nowhere more dangerously so than in Iraq."

## Forbes attacked Saddam Hussein last December.

Last year, when Washington was trying to befriend the Iraqi dictator, Forbes saw him as a dangerous foe. One whose power comes from the barrel of a pistol. And as we reported in our December '89 article, this power, backed by a battle-hardened, million-man army posed a real threat to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Our assessment of Hussein was right on target. In fact, we called Washington's tilt toward Iraq "one of the least sensible twists in U.S. foreign policy." What were the decision-makers thinking of then? And what were they thinking of in 1980 when, just weeks before he attacked Iran, we warned that the "most brutally repressive ruler in recent history" was suffering from delusions of grandeur?

Forbes not only reports events, we anticipate them. With tough, insightful reporting. That's what lies at the heart—or more precisely, the guts—of every Forbes story.

In fact, in survey after survey, top executives say Forbes' gutsy reporting gives them better information than either Business Week or Fortune. What's more, it's the most efficient way to reach them.

So if you really want your ads to make an impact, run them in the magazine that reveals history before it even unfolds. Forbes.

**No guts. No story.**

**Forbes**  
**Capitalist Tool**  
Forbes Magazine • 60 Fifth Ave. • NY, NY 10011

## POLICY ANALYST

The Reason Foundation is seeking a policy analyst. Reporting to the Research Director, the analyst will undertake original research as well as review and edit work commissioned by the Foundation.

A sound understanding of free-market economics is essential. A background in environmental, privatization, land-use, or infrastructure policy is desirable. A master's degree in economics, political science, or public policy is preferred.

Qualified applicants should direct written inquiries, including résumés, to:

**Lynn Scarlett**  
Reason Foundation  
2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062  
Santa Monica, CA 90405



## INTERNS WANTED

REASON has openings for up to three part-time, volunteer interns. Send resume and writing samples to Virginia Postrel, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405.

## EDITORIALS

# BIG MOTHER

JACOB SULLUM

The children's television bill that Congress approved in October made me think of lawn darts. A while back, "60 Minutes" ran a story about a man whose son had been killed in a lawn-dart accident. The tragedy moved him to begin a nationwide crusade against the game. At the very least, he argued, the government should require manufacturers to label the equipment with a clear warning of its dangers.

His implicit assumption—that parents need the state to tell them that tossing long, sharp, metal objects can be hazardous to children—was a striking example of the extent to which government regulation has encouraged the abdication of parental responsibility. These days the news is filled with such examples, from the hullabaloo about mandatory record labels to the lawsuits in which parents try to pin their children's suicides on Judas Priest or Ozzy Osbourne.

Ever quick to pick up on a trend, Congress now wants to limit commercials on children's television shows and require broadcasters to provide educational programming for kids as a condition for keeping their licenses. "It's an issue of choice," explains Peggy Charren, president of Action for Children's Television. "For the parents who do not want their children to see violent cartoons or Looney Tunes, there should be a choice."

There is. It's called *changing the channel*, or, alternatively, *turning off the set*—or even *not buying one to begin with*. (A VCR adds further choices.) For parents who have come to depend on television as an easy way of keeping their kids occupied while they attend to other matters, these may not seem like realistic options. But that's because they have already implicitly decided that, whatever damage Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles may do to their children, it's outweighed by the inconvenience and conflict that might

ensue from trying to exercise control over their kids' viewing habits.

"We all know that televisions are on for six or seven hours every day in almost every household in the United States," says Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.), as if this were an immutable fact, as if parents were helpless against the invasion of electronic signals carrying mindless entertainment and stirring up evil consumerist impulses.

While some people look to government to help raise their children because they (understandably) feel overwhelmed by the plethora of negative influences confronting them, others feel up to the task but nevertheless want the government to save *the neighbors'* kids from the perils of incompetent parenting. This desire to meddle is part of the motivation behind the restrictions on children's television. It is even clearer in Memphis, Tennessee, where a new ordinance not only forbids promoters, performers, and venue owners from exposing minors to concerts that include "harmful material" but also prohibits parents from allowing their children to attend such concerts.

The ordinance, which has been challenged in federal court, defines *harmful material* so broadly that the term might cover a host of things—from Elvis Presley's pelvic thrusts to the suggestive lyrics of various pop songs—that many parents would not consider a threat to their children's mental health or proper upbringing. Which is precisely the point—both of the law and of the objections to it.

Supporters of the ordinance compare letting kids attend a heavy-metal concert to beating or neglecting them. But unlike actions that physically harm a child, the very existence of such "moral abuse" is a matter of opinion. In a free society, it is the parent's opinion that must prevail. **■**

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION <small>Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685</small>			
1. Title of Publication	2. Issue Date	3. Issue Frequency	4. Date of Filing
REASON	01 04 8 6 9 0 6 30 Sep '90	11	06 30 Sep '90
5. Issue Frequency	6. Annual Subscription Price	7. Number of Copies of this Issue Published in 1990	8. Total Number of Copies of this Issue Published in 1990
Monthly, except combined Aug/Sep issue	\$24.00	11	\$24.00
9. Extent and Nature of Circulation <small>For completion by owners of publications having a circulation of 250 or more in any one issue during the preceeding 12 months.</small>			
REASON FOUNDATION 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Ste 1062, Santa Monica, Los Angeles County, CA 90405			
10. Publication Title, Issue Date, and Issue Frequency REASON FOUNDATION 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Ste 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405			
11. Full Name and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor (Do not omit street or rural route number) Robert M. Poole, Jr. 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405			
12. Full Name and Complete Mailing Address of Owner (Do not omit street or rural route number) Virginia I. Postrel 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405			
13. Full Name and Complete Mailing Address of Known Bondholder, Mortgagee, and Other Security Holder Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages, or Other Securities. If none, so state. None			
14. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: REASON FOUNDATION (a non-profit corporation) Complete Mailing Address: Santa Monica, CA 90405			
15. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
16. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
17. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
18. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
19. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
20. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
21. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
22. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
23. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
24. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
25. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
26. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
27. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
28. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
29. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
30. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
31. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
32. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
33. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
34. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
35. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
36. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
37. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
38. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
39. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
40. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
41. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
42. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
43. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
44. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
45. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
46. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
47. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
48. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
49. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
50. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
51. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
52. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
53. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
54. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
55. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
56. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
57. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
58. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
59. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
60. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
61. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
62. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
63. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
64. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
65. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
66. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
67. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
68. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
69. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
70. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
71. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
72. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
73. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
74. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
75. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
76. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
77. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
78. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
79. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
80. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
81. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
82. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
83. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
84. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
85. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
86. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
87. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
88. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
89. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
90. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
91. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
92. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
93. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
94. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
95. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
96. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
97. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
98. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
99. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			
100. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at nonprofit rates (Section 3685) Full Name: None Complete Mailing Address: None			