

The communications net has odd effects, effects nobody is used to. Information is power and, in wartime, that power can prove quite destructive. Instantaneous reports on where missiles land give those launching them valuable feedback, exposing their targets to greater danger. "Where are your troops? And can I go there and count them?" asked the Baghdad reporter in the "Saturday Night Live" version of a daily press briefing.

The greatest fear of press reports seems to be that they will weaken Americans' will to fight by showing burned children and bombed-out buildings—even precision strikes have consequences. By restoring civilian status, cybernetic warfare raises ethical standards and expectations; it reestablishes some notion of the just war. And the cybernetic media, who extend the eyes and ears of distant witnesses, create empathy where there might otherwise be insulation. They remind the home front of the common humanity they share with those at the battlefield. To the discomfiture of politicians, they will not let us forget that war is terrible and that societies that conduct wars ought not be fooled about its terrors—that Kenneth Branagh's muddy, bloody Agincourt, while equally a work of art, is truer to history than Laurence Olivier's sunny,

uplifting triumph.

Cybernetic warfare isn't an antidote to the general evils of war. And, although it avoids some of the ills of modern warfare, its unique character could introduce new and equally undesirable effects. It could produce a warrior class isolated from civil society, and a civil society isolated from its soldiers. It could result in creeping militarization, as the military bureaucracy expands in peacetime. It could make war more likely, by insulating civilian decision makers from the consequences of their decisions.

And one may counteract a cybernetic threat with terror, by striking at distant civilians in hopes of weakening their resolve. One may deliberately mingle civilian and military targets, either by using human shields or by putting military facilities in the same buildings with civilians. One may strike not at an enemy's industrial plants, but at its intellectual and communications capacity.

Ultimately, cybernetic warfare may prove another form of total war. How it develops depends on the moral choices and political structures of the societies that conduct it. But, for now, it offers a tantalizing promise that the century from which war exacted its greatest toll—in lost hopes as well as lost lives—may end with some restoration, if not of peace, then of restraint. ■

THE HOME FRONT

RICK HENDERSON

Even as military strategists in the Persian Gulf site their next targets, a campaign within our borders moves ahead. This domestic war—ostensibly a call for national sacrifice and fairness—targets taxpayers and threatens our ability to recover from the recession.

For a sizable number of protesters, the war is simply a news peg, an excuse to trumpet their favorite cause. In a *Los Angeles Times* op-ed piece, three Institute for Policy Studies staffers complained

that the war prevents spending on government education, child care, and jobs programs. Soon after the war broke out, ACT-UP activists disrupted broadcasts by Dan Rather and Robert MacNeil, chanting, "fight AIDS, not Arabs." The perpetual picketers in Lafayette Park portray the war as a racist scheme pitting blacks and Latinos against Arabs.

But other critics specifically raise the question of economic fairness. Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, per-

haps signaling a surtax on millionaires, said in the Democratic response to the State of the Union address: "We've got to bring the deficits down and the jobs home. The president's way to do that is to give huge tax cuts to those with incomes over \$200,000 a year. We disagree."

Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.) wants new taxes to pay for the war. He told a Capitol Hill hearing, "It is not right to expect the only people to sacrifice to be the troops in Saudi Arabia and their families." In a *Wall Street Journal* column, Harvard's Robert Reich called for a 40-percent income tax on people earning more than \$100,000 a year, to pay for the war.

On the "MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour," Julianne Malveaux, a U.C.-Berkeley economist, contended that the war costs nearly \$1 billion a day. "Six months of war would mean \$180 billion," she said. "It would double our deficit!" She called for windfall profits taxes on oil companies and higher taxes on the rich.

The leaders of this campaign portray a war tax as a fiscally responsible measure. The country is \$3 trillion in debt, they say. Why add red ink?

These critics misstate the economic costs of the war and responsible measures to deal with them. On the same "MacNeil/Lehrer" segment, Charles Schultze of the Brookings Institution pointed out that much of the war's economic costs had been paid long before the shooting started. Patriot missiles and artillery shells were purchased as long as two decades ago; members of the standing army would get their salaries whether or not they were in the gulf.

Schultze also noted that the military rearmed itself in the 1980s to respond to the Soviet threat. If the Evil Empire no longer expands, we can spend several years restocking our armories. We won't replace weapons that use outdated technology. And with the country in recession, a tax increase would further depress the economy and burden social-insurance programs. Writing in the *Los Angeles Times*, Laura D'Andrea Tyson, another Berkeley economist and hardly a conservative, agrees. "It is a foolish policy," she says, "to make ourselves poorer to balance the budget."

Saved From Extinction

Exclusive Reprints of Worthy History Books. And at Savings Up to 80%

Not only can the flora and fauna of our world disappear forever. Too often it happens to those products of human imagination and scholarly efforts: books. It's why, years ago, Barnes & Noble began a 'rescue' program of re-issuing valuable works. Of the various subject areas we concentrated on, History is preeminent.

So our editors, armed with their M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s, and a knowledge of our reader's background and interests, search the

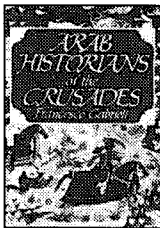
dusty nooks and crannies of the book world both here and in Europe. The result of their treasure hunt: we've been able to reissue hundreds of hard-to-find, unusual and out-of-print editions.

Mind you, we've not stinted on quality in our reprints. Quite the reverse. The selected books we publish are usually significantly superior to the originals—i.e. acid-free paper, cloth spines and full-color book jackets. Yet, they're available to you at

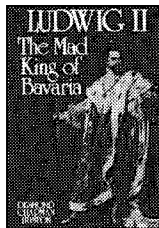
50-80% less than their original published prices.

A variety of exclusive history book reprints are a regular feature of our Barnes & Noble Book Sale catalog. As a free catalog is included with every purchase, it's an opportunity for you to discover other interesting books. At bargain prices, of course.

Hard-to-find history books are not hard to own: just call us toll-free: **1-800-242-6657**. Or mail the completed coupon.



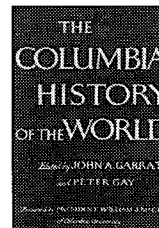
1619378 Arab Historians of the Crusades
Orig. Pub. \$19.95
B&N Price \$7.95



1634195 Ludwig II Mad King of Bavaria
Orig. Pub. \$19.95
B&N Price \$6.95



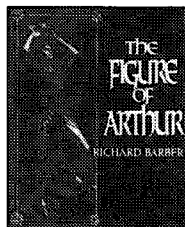
1634203 General Who Marched to Hell
Orig. Pub. \$19.95
B&N Price \$7.95



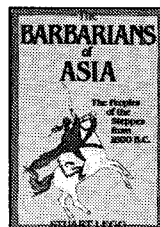
1041631 Columbia History of the World
Orig. Pub. \$25.00
B&N Price \$9.95



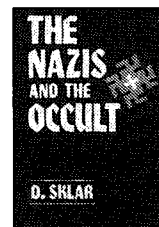
1259316 History of the Church
B&N Special Price \$6.95



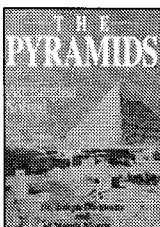
1640663 Figure of Arthur
Orig. Pub. \$17.95
B&N Price \$6.95



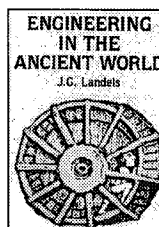
1648393 Barbarians of Asia
Orig. Pub. \$19.95
B&N Price \$7.95



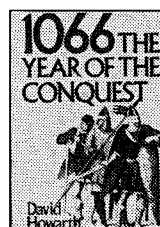
1603935 Nazis and the Occult
Orig. Pub. \$19.95
B&N Price \$6.95



1654813 The Pyramids
Orig. Pub. \$16.95
B&N Price \$6.95



1381615 Engineering in the Ancient World
Orig. Pub. \$22.50
B&N Price \$6.95



1122365 1066: Year of Conquest
Orig. Pub. \$10.95
B&N Price \$5.98



1611151 Tesla
Orig. Pub. \$17.95
B&N Price \$6.95

Barnes & Noble

Americas #1 Book Sale Catalog

Dept. Q201, 126 5th Ave., NY, NY 10011

Our Unconditional Guarantee You must be completely satisfied with every item you order from Barnes & Noble by mail, or you may return it for a full refund.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1619378 Arab Historians | <input type="checkbox"/> 1648393 Barbarians |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1634195 Ludwig II | <input type="checkbox"/> 1603935 Nazis/Occult |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1634203 General/Hell | <input type="checkbox"/> 1654813 The Pyramid |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1041631 Columbia History | <input type="checkbox"/> 1381615 Engineering/Ancient |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1259316 History of the Church | <input type="checkbox"/> 1122365 1066 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1640663 Arthur | <input type="checkbox"/> 1611151 Tesla |

With this purchase get a FREE Barnes & Noble catalog. Please add \$2.00 per book for postage and handling, and the appropriate sales tax for CA, CT, MA, MI, MN, NJ, NY, & PA.

Grand Total

Name _____

Address _____

Apt # _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Payment Method (check one) ☐ Check ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

☐ American Express

Expiration Date/Month/Year

☐ Visa

Credit Card Number _____

Signature _____

Without purchase, Send \$1.00 with coupon for Barnes & Noble catalog.

Up from Libertarianism

by D. G. Lesvic

*...answers Murray Rothbard with
his own words!*

The Political Economy Club of Los Angeles
5668 Cahuenga Blvd., #313
North Hollywood, CA 91601

\$4.00 ppd.

BOOKS ON CASSETTES

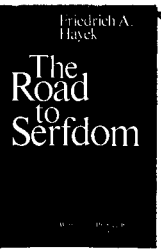
- The Conservative Classics
- Unabridged Recordings
- Purchase & 30 Day Rentals

• Books by Buckley,
Gilder, Sowell, Muggeridge,
Paul Johnson, Friedman,
Hayek, Tocqueville, Kirk,
Mises, Podhoretz, Kistol,
Neuhaus, Rusher, Twain,
& scores of others.

CLASSICS ON TAPE

P.O. Box 969, Ashland, OR 97520

- For Free Catalog, Call



1 (800) 729-2665

INTERNSHIP

REASON magazine is accepting applications from college students for its annual Burton C. Gray Memorial Internship. The intern performs a variety of editorial tasks, including writing for REASON, and is paid a \$2,500 stipend for a minimum of 10 weeks work during the summer.

Send résumé and writing samples by March 25, 1991, to:

Virginia Postrel, Editor
2716 Ocean Park Blvd.
Suite 1062
Santa Monica, CA 90405

reason
Free Minds and Free Markets

EDITORIALS

Rep. Dick Armey (R-Tex.) offers a better way to pay for the war: Cut other government spending. Armey says the time is right to cut subsidies to rich farmers and slash other wasteful programs. Schultze agrees, noting that the nation doesn't have to be at war for the government to cut unnecessary spending.

And gratuitous rich bashing won't shrink the deficit. The vaunted luxury tax enacted last summer will bring in less than \$1.5 billion over the next five years; it may cost the IRS more than that to collect it. If income tax rates go up, wealthy Americans will simply shelter their riches in tax-free havens. And greater tax revenue will simply encourage more spending by the money-hungry in

Washington.

George Bush shares the blame for this fiscal-policy muddle. By abandoning Gramm-Rudman-Hollings and the threat of sequestration, his proposed 1992 budget will add \$700 billion to the national debt over the next three years. Since neither Congress nor the administration will meaningfully cut spending, as debt mounts, both sides will see higher taxes as the only response.

The war in the gulf will have enormous economic, political, and human costs. But the greedy spenders waging their domestic war seem annoyed that Saddam Hussein would sidetrack their campaign. Even after the shooting ends overseas, tax cutters at home will need to keep their powder dry. ■

IN MEMORIAM:

PHILIP E. FIXLER, JR.

Phil Fixler died early in February, after a nine-month battle with cancer. He had recently turned 44. Though not part of REASON magazine, Phil was long one of the mainstays of its parent organization, the Reason Foundation.

Phil joined the Foundation in 1984, after 10 years with the City of Los Angeles. As a dedicated libertarian (Ph.D. in political science from the University of Southern California), he had always been somewhat frustrated working for a municipal bureaucracy. When we advertised for someone to head the Foundation's new Local Government Center—to research and write about privatization of government services—Phil jumped at the chance.

In his new position, Phil quickly became an expert on the growing movement toward contracting city, county, and state functions to private firms. He wrote and spoke widely on the subject, and greatly expanded our files and research library. It was an ideal way to combine his background in city government, his

knowledge of politics, and his free-market principles.

Phil helped to build the Reason Foundation into one of the world's leading centers of expertise on privatization. Requests now come in from across the country and around the world on a daily basis.

Over the years, Phil's reputation as a privatization expert brought him speaking invitations—to Paris, London, Honolulu, and even Fiji. He headed applied-research projects that took him to Florida, North Carolina, Sacramento, and Saskatchewan. Besides the glory, there were long and grueling hours of detail-work. For many years, Phil was one of our Saturday-morning regulars here at the Reason Foundation.

Phil has bequeathed his extensive library to the Reason Foundation, where it will bear his name and help to keep alive his memory. His family has asked that any memorial gifts be given to either the Reason Foundation or the American Cancer Society.

—Robert W. Poole, Jr.