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In Search of Al Gore's Heckscher

by Murray N. Rothbard

While Bill Buckley has been engaged in his seemingly endless search for anti-Semitism, I have been engaged in a similarly fruitless quest: I have been trying to find out precisely *why* Albert Gore seems to be identical with Jewry. Let me put it this way: in their sprightly and famous article in the *New York Sunday Times Magazine* (Jan. 17), Michael Kelly and Maureen Dowd, in writing of the recent strains in the Clinton-Gore relationship, talk about what a great advantage Gore had been to Clinton during the campaign. Gore was a straight arrow, with no hanky-panky on the side (Okay); he was a channel to environmentalists (sure, since he had written a rabidly environmentalist book), and also he was a channel to Jewish groups.

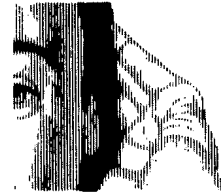
Here is where I get confused. Kelly and Dowd explain about the environmental part; but how can they pass on, as if it were self-evident, about Gore and Jews? What's going on here? Am I missing out on some code book that everyone else has? Is Big Al Jewish? I have never seen any indications of such. (He surely doesn't *look* Jewish.)

As I pointed out in the September 1992 RRR ("Working Our Way Back to the President," p. 4), a previous *New York Times*

article had noted that Jews would vote enthusiastically for Clinton (as indeed they did), because, since he had picked Al Gore as Veep candidate, Clinton had received "the heckscher" (Yiddish for imprimatur) from Al Gore. Well, that's clear enough. But that brings us back to Square One. How did Gore get the Heckscher? and then we are no better off than before. What is it about Al Gore that gave him the lifelong power to confer heckschers, to convey the Jewish vote? In addition to attending Baptist services, is there some basement room where Al Gore secretly kisses the menorah?

In my quest, I asked a friend of mine, steeped in political lore. He said, "Maybe it's because Gore kisses up to Israel." But the problem with that is all other Democratic politicians, and most Republican ones, do the same. So what makes Gore

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THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

There is a lot of sneering going on in the U.S. about the various ethnic groups in the Balkans, and how they are "obsessed by history" and refuse to get on with the present and future. But here we have the alleged "libertarian" and devotee of "reason" Virginia Postrel, the whiny editor of *Reason* magazine. After denouncing Pat Buchanan in *Reason*, various letter-writers complained that she had overlooked Pat's many libertarian stands. Ginny replied that, while she recognizes that politics is a matter of picking the

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different from all other politicians? In my Sept. 1992 article, I mentioned a possible clue: Nat Hentoff, a soft Zionist, called Al Gore during the 1988 campaign, "the Senator from Likud." But that's still much too vague and broad a brush.

Well, I haven't found the answer yet, but some crucial hints for the discerning come in an amusing article in the *Washington Post*. (Lloyd Grove, "Hail to the Veep" (Jan. 20)). It seems that the powerful left neo-con Marty Peretz, publisher of the *New Republic*, threw a gala inaugural party for Al Gore, announcing on the invitation a "fanfare in honor of Al and Tipper Gore." Peretz, whose magazine had featured an impudent "Clinton Suck-Up Watch." NR's editors, who pride themselves on their alleged diversity, feistiness, volubility, and independence, grew oddly taciturn when quizzed about the strange romance of NR with Gore. "I won't talk to you", said Mike Kinsley; "I didn't come here to be put on the spot," said Mickey Kaus; "I think I'll dodge this one," said the usually intrepid Jacob Weisberg. And indeed, it turns out that Peretz, who hung out on Gore's campaign plane and banned publication of virtually any criticism of Gore in the pages of the *New Republic*, has been a good buddy of Gore's ever since the mid-sixties, when Peretz was an instructor at Harvard and Gore was his favorite student.

OK, so what do we know? We know that Marty Peretz, who made the smart career move of marrying an heiress,

is a former Vietnam peacenik from Boston who later abandoned the peace cause for fear that American non-intervention might spell lack of total U.S. support for Israel. We know that, ever since he purchased the *New Republic*, the one *motif* underlying the allegedly vast spectrum of ideological diversity in the magazine (all the way from left neo-con to center neo-con) is total, all-out support for the State of Israel.

So where are we? Surely not very far, if we have to conclude that Marty Peretz equals, is identical with, all of American Jewry: Or is this somehow the key? In our continuing quest, we welcome any clues from our readers. ■

But What About The Hungarians?

by M.N.R.

Since the collapse of the despotic centralizing USSR, we all know that nationality after once-submerged nationality has arisen to seek, and often achieve, ethnic justice at long last. RRR has been in the forefront of the clamor for ethnic justice and self-government, from the Slovenes to the Abkhazians, from the Chechens to the Croats. We have tried to track all of them, and to sort out their often tangled conflicts. Generally, they have done pretty well; even the most despised and oppressed of all, the Germans, have achieved the unity of West and what was falsely called "East" Germany (actually,

it was *Middle* Germany, and there are the lost lands to the *real* East, but that's another and sadder story). But in all this reaching for a place in the sun, one oppressed and despised ethnic group remains immobile, and no one seems to care: I speak of that marvelous and ancient people, the Hungarians. No banners wave for the restoration of justice to the Hungarians; undoubtedly, achievement of such justice would be inconvenient to the New World Order, an order that is grounded squarely on the "territorial integrity" of borders as they existed before 1989 or 1991; but heck, the Croats and Slovenes happily got away with such breaches in "territorial integrity," and there is no reason why the Hungarians cannot do the same.

Just as Germany was shattered and torn apart by the monstrous Treaty of Versailles in 1919, so Hungary, also burdened with phony "war guilt" for World War I by the victorious and vengeful Entente powers (Britain & France), was carved up by the equally monstrous and corollary Treaty of Trianon the following year. In rewriting the map of Europe after World War I, the Wilsonian slogan of "national self-determination" for each ethnic group was used like the Orwellian slogan in *Animal Farm*: ethnic groups discovered that some were more equal than others; some ethnic groups were set by the post-war order to rule over others. Poor Hungary was shorn of fully one-third of their ethnic and linguistic brethren. And, after all the vicissitudes of the