

er stage. And conversely, if the War Powers Act had been passed before the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, the Johnson and Nixon administrations would have been reminded of the relevance of the Supreme Court's distinction from 1800 between "imperfect" and "solemn" wars. A President cannot continue to lead the nation in a major war effort that entails substantial American casualties if the war is cast as an "imperfect" one. To mobilize the necessary support among the American people for such a war the President and Congress must make a solemn vow that they are in this effort together.

One important presidential instrument for "making war" is that special kind of secret, or not-so-secret, U.S. action overseas to which the vernacular label "covert action" has become stuck. On this issue, John Lehman's book fastens onto tangential points and misses the heart of the matter. When covert action becomes a large-scale operation it cannot be kept secret. Lehman is mistaken in considering this an important flaw. The current legal and administrative provisions for covert actions do not demand secrecy; in fact, the formal name for "covert action" used to be Special Activities. Moreover, the president can designate any government agency, not just the CIA, to carry out such activities.

The most successful covert action in history was the U.S. support to the Afghan resistance. After a somewhat secretive beginning, the general scope and thrust of the Afghan program (though not every operational detail) were openly discussed in congressional hearings and in the media. If anything, this lack of secrecy may have contributed to the success. Secrecy is not essential for covert action programs to succeed, but congressional support is.

Some pettifogging reviewers have faulted Lehman for not being earnest enough about the proper confines of his topic. More sophisticated readers, by contrast, will discover something engaging in the wide sweep of Lehman's gun turrets. He does not stay fixed on the legal issue of war powers; he aims at—and hits—political targets as well. For example, one of his broadsides thunders into the excessive bureaucracy in the American government, whose

growth traces back to the Indochina war. Or more precisely, this malignant growth was started by the domestic repercussions of the Indochina war—the "war" between the presidency and Congress.

Lehman calls this new bureaucracy the "Fourth Branch of Government," a vast, powerful, multifaceted network of permanent government employees who have been added to the Washington establishment since the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. This "fourth branch" includes, for example, 560,000 procurement officers who are the tenured (and well-meaning) government officials

forced by law to maintain the elaborate obstacle course that Congress erected to impede efficient procurement by the Pentagon. The "fourth branch" within the sweep of Lehman's gun turrets also includes the quintupling of congressional staff since 1974—the unelected managers of Congress who are more permanent even than the elected members (and often more influential!). And, lastly, the gun turrets swing at the Inspectors General and their staffs, an entirely new organism that has been implanted since 1976 into nearly every executive department and agency. Oh Lord, what Ho Chi Minh has wrought in Washington! □

EROS AND THE JEWS: FROM BIBLICAL ISRAEL TO CONTEMPORARY AMERICA

David Biale

Basic Books / 319 pages / \$24

reviewed by MARK MILLER

Soon after the creation of the state of Israel, chief Ashkenazic rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook described the relationship of body and soul in a way that was as much a departure from orthodox tradition as it was an echo of secular Zionism:

The claim of our flesh is great. We require a healthy body. We have greatly occupied ourselves with the soul and have forsaken the holiness of the body. We have neglected health and physical prowess, forgetting that our flesh is as sacred as our spirit. . . . Our return [to Zion] will only succeed if it will be marked, along with its spiritual glory, by a physical return which will create healthy flesh and blood, strong and well-formed bodies, and a fiery spirit encased in powerful muscles.

That such an influential rabbi could attribute to a political movement an explicitly carnal dimension hints at how central

Mark Miller is assistant book editor of the Washington Times.

and complex Jewish attitudes about sexuality have been, and that is David Biale's subject in *Eros and the Jews*. He aims "not to discover what Jewish sexual behavior actually was in the past so much as to investigate how Jews have constructed notions of sexuality . . . in the texts they produced."

But Jewish attitudes have never been prudish; our own generation is not the first to have violated the no-*chuppe*-no-*stuppe* rule. Marriage has always been part of the rabbinic solution to problems of sex, but attitudes toward it have never been monolithic. Marriage was one thing for the rabbis of the Talmud, some of whom advised postponing marriage and even toyed with the idea of celibacy, reasoning that, since God had given one only so much desire to expend, one should expend what one could in study. It was quite another for the Hasidim of the Enlightenment, who considered early marriage an antidote to passion, which could then be redirected toward the divine.

Since the rabbinate lacked enforce-

ment powers comparable to, say, the Roman Catholic clerisy, none of the trends in Jewish sexual relations ever hardened into doctrine. Nonetheless, the forces of modernity—specifically the *Haskalah*, or Jewish Enlightenment—caused some general commonalities to emerge. As elsewhere in eighteenth-century Europe, radical ideas threatened old authority, but the upheaval among Jews was particularly thoroughgoing. For one, the imposture and conversion to Islam of Shabbetai Zevi, the seventeenth-century false messiah, had thrown the Jewish world into ferment—and the rabbinic authorities who supported him into disrepute. The *Haskalah* carried the predictable Enlightenment freight of throwing off old strictures of sexual repression and guilt; but the Zionists would culminate their efforts, a century later, in a communal philosophy based on the reclamation of the Holy Land. (Some Zionists considered the Zionist project an attempt to regain national sexual potency, often in a frankly literal sense.)

In broad outline, *Eros and the Jews* is a fascinating survey, but Biale stumbles in interpreting ancient sources through contemporary politics. He sees the history of Jewish sexuality as a history of power struggles, and imagines a Jewish world relentlessly divided along class lines from as far back as Talmudic times. He proposes to examine rabbinic writings as texts produced by a cultural elite as part of an effort to “exert control over those outside the elite,” i.e., “the poorer, ignorant classes and, perhaps most significantly for a study of sexuality, women.”

Biale’s reading stems in part from his definition of the term *am ha’aretz* (literally “people of the land”), which he takes to mean the poor and uneducated. In so doing, he finds a class struggle in every rabbinic pronouncement:

The rabbis saw themselves as an elite, distinct caste, preserving a higher state of holiness than other Jews . . . the sexual ethic [they propounded] was only really prescriptive for this narrow elite . . . the rabbis warn[ed] against marrying their daughters to the *ammei ha’aretz*.

But Biale’s Manichean dialectic between

the rabbinate and the “poorer, ignorant classes” doesn’t wash. Rabbinic scholars were no strangers to poverty, and even if they considered themselves an elite, they certainly did not consider themselves a caste. The rabbinate was a meritocracy that anyone was free to join, provided he engage in Torah study. These distinctions are important ones: when the rabbis “warn[ed] against marrying their daughters to the *ammei ha’aretz*,” or “struggled against the alternative voices of popular culture,” they may well have been seeking only to preserve their communities through religion—which, after all, has been essential to Jewish survival in every age.

In his quest for “subversive” attitudes in the Bible, Biale offers as an example the Book of Ruth, which interests him mainly for Ruth’s sexual aggressiveness toward Boaz (she gets him drunk and seduces him on the threshing floor), and for the divine sanction bestowed on her for it (the line of descent leads to King David). This story, Biale explains, “challenges Biblical norms” of marriage and chastity, as well as the Jewish prohibition against marriage with Moabites (of which Ruth was one). But is it possible for this or any other Biblical story to “challenge Biblical norms”? Or that the story of Ruth “at once reinforces and subverts patriarchy”?

Biale looks not only at Biblical sources but also at “alternative discourses,” in which “patriarchal and anti-patriarchal voices compete.” He would have us accept that medieval literary genres “were not mere deviations from universally accepted norms; [but represented] a wider range of possibilities than the official literature of the legal codes was prepared to admit”; or that a man who urged his wife to have intercourse at a time when rabbinic law prohibited it was “evidently a simple Jew who explicitly rejected rabbinic norms.” Biale consistently ascribes motives, not reasons, to rabbinic leadership; and political subversion, not lust, to the irreligious. Biale’s post-Marxist rubric is an anachronism that casts little light on a subject that has its own logic.

Biale thus fails to explain how the immense volume and variety of ancient thought resonates in our own culture, which would seem to be the book’s culmination. Why does he dispense so

quickly with Freud and then use Philip Roth and Woody Allen as exemplars of contemporary Jewish attitudes? Are these two on a level with the rabbis? The scholars of the *Haskalah*? The early Zionists?

Rabbinic attitudes towards sex have historically walked the middle ground between celibacy and permissiveness. Examples of liberality abound: the medieval acquiescence of medieval rabbis in adolescent love matches against the wishes of parents; the *onah* laws, which “guarantee every married woman [but not man] the right to regular sexual relations”; and the rejection of abstinence by all but a few mystical or extremely pietistic movements—even though the God of Israel was the first deity in history to be imagined as without a sexual nature. In rediscovering the sources of Judaism’s sexual latitude, Biale meanders into what is basically an establishment view. □

MOVING?

Don't forget TAS Address Changes Made Easy!

1. Please write your new address in the space provided.
2. Attach the mailing label from your most recent issue.
3. Return this form to us at the address listed below.

That's all there is to it. Just be sure to allow six weeks for your change to take effect.

The American Spectator

Circulation Department, P.O. Box 549
Arlington, VA 22216-0549

(Please attach address label here.)

IMPORTANT

Allow six weeks for address change.

- ☐ Renew my subscription for one year (twelve issues—\$35)
☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me later

Name: _____
(Please Print)

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____ Zip: _____

Date of change: _____

CLASSIFIEDS

HELP WANTED

BOOKKEEPER. The American Spectator is looking for an intelligent, detail oriented, organized individual who is experienced in fundamental accounting, Lotus 1-2-3, A/P and A/R. An exciting work environment in our Arlington, Virginia offices. Send resumé to: Catherine Campbell, The American Spectator, P.O. Box 549, Arlington, VA 22216-0549.

The American Spectator: Advertising Assistant. Job includes sales support, secretarial, accounting, data entry & customer service. Attention to detail, good typing skills, computer literacy and public relations skills required. Resumé to: *The American Spectator*, Attn: Catherine Campbell, P.O. Box 549, Arlington, VA 22216-0549.

The American Spectator: Advertising Account Executive. Join the advertising sales team of one of America's fastest growing magazines. Fast paced, high volume operation will challenge all your communications skills. Attention to detail combined with an ability to effectively convey what advertising in our magazine can achieve for its advertisers required. Send resumé to: *The American Spectator*, Attn: Catherine Campbell, P.O. Box 549, Arlington, VA 22216-0549.

EDUCATION/INSTRUCTION

\$\$\$ SAVE BIG MONEY \$\$\$ The recession is over. Buy that new car now. Proven techniques will save big \$\$\$ Only \$25.00. 100% money back guarantee. EJ Enterprises, Box 5614, Dept. AS Salem, OR 97304-0614.

AMERICANA

AMERICAN HISTORICAL/PATRIOTIC prints. Decorative, educational, inexpensive. Commended designs. Illustrated information \$1.00. Independent Publications, Box 102, Ridgefield, NJ 07657.

BOOKS

JAYNE'S BOOKSEARCH OLD & RARE BOOKS

Bought • Used • Sold • Searched

325 Haverford Ave., #B-6 Adam Kaplan, Prop.
Norberth, PA 19072 Open 9-5:30
(215)664-6816 Monday-Saturday

**Free Catalog
Bargain Books**
Save up to 80% on recent overstocks, re-maunders, imports and reprints from all major publishers. Choose from up to 8,000 titles including 600-1,500 new arrivals each month!

Politics, History, Biography, Fiction, Science, Literature, Nature, Cooking, Gardening—something for everyone. An immense selection and with more books at \$1.95, \$2.95, \$3.95 than you'll find anywhere else. Fast shipment, moneyback guarantee. Write for free Catalog:

HAMILTON Box 15-798,
Falls Village, CT 06031

SITUATIONS WANTED

WRITE-WING CONSERVATIVE. Award-winning copywriter with right ideas available to do battle for your cause. Ads, dm campaigns, brochures, speeches, press releases, ghosting. Call or fax Gary Davis (617) 984-2680.

Publishers! **DOONESBILLY** Comic Strip. Gregory Cook's monthly creation available! 619 Arizona, El Paso, Texas 79902.

ORGANIZATIONS

LIBERTARIAN REPUBLICANS Join the Republican Liberty Caucus! Fighting for Free Enterprise, Individual Freedom, and Limited Government. \$20.00 a year—full membership. Includes five issues of *Republican Liberty*. Write RLC, 1717 Apalachee Pkwy. #434, Tallahassee, FL 32301.

NUKE THE GREENS! Join the Chicken Little Society! Researched quarterly newsletter \$6.00/year. P.O. Box 276130 (A), Boca Raton, FL 33427.

DEFEAT RADICAL FEMINISM Very informative monthly publication. Membership \$24/yr. "Men's Defense Network," Box DD, c/o TAS Classifieds, P.O. Box 549, Arlington, VA 22216-0549.

NO FREE TRADE! American Party, P.O. Box 14011, North Palm Beach, FL 33408.

PUBLICATIONS

A Catholic's PERSPECTIVE:
"The newsletter for those who don't want to be more Catholic than the Pope, ... but refuse to be less."
\$24.95 per year (12 issues).
To order call toll-free:
1-800-847-2840

**WHAT YOUR INSURANCE
COMPANY, YOUR AGENT,
OR EVEN THE GOVERNMENT
DOESN'T TELL YOU ABOUT
HEALTH INSURANCE!**
A MUST READ FOR EVERY EMPLOYEE/EMPLOYER,
WHETHER YOU ARE IN THE
PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SECTORS.

NAME: _____
(Please Print)

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____

STATE: _____ ZIP: _____ TEL: _____

SEND CHECK/MONEY ORDER FOR \$8.95

(plus \$1.50 Postage & Handling)

Illinois residents add 8.25% sales tax

TO: THE STRANGE GROUP

1120 SHAGBARK COURT

HOFFMAN ESTATES, IL. 60195-1112

(708)358-0736 FAX (708)358-0757

(allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery) NO COD's

THIS IS NOT A SOLICITATION OF INSURANCE.

PUBLICATIONS

MEDICAL AND HEALTH NEWSLETTER FOR THE PUBLIC. Free sample, send stamped envelope to "Excerpts"-TAS, Box 1140, 465 Grant, Buffalo, N.Y. 14213.

VACATIONS

SECLUDED, OLD FASHIONED FARM on Cape Breton Island offers rustic log cabins, excellent meals, tranquility, discount to TAS readers. Write: John Gardner, Orangedale, Nova Scotia.

MISCELLANEOUS

TAX CREDITS: Slash taxes \$7,750/yr. IRS Approved. 1-903-534-9652.

GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH, Southern U.S. Specialist. William A. Thorndale, AG, CG, 150 North 200 West, #31, Salt Lake City, UT 84103.

MERCHANDISE

CHROME LICENSE PLATE FRAMES: "Don't Blame Me I Voted For Bush." \$12.95 ea. postage & handling included. Ball & Chain Enterprise, 9534 Wintergardens Blvd., Ste. D411, Lakeside, CA 92040.

RAILROAD PHOTOS Sample, SASE: Photo, POB 1139, Worc., MA. 01613.

"I'M GETTING STUCK WITH THE BILL," "I ASKED FOR SOME CHANGE AND GOT STUCK WITH THE BILL" and "INHALE TO THE CHIEF" bumper stickers, \$3 each, 3 or more \$2 each. Ben Pendleton, 310 West Burke St., Martinsburg, W.V. 25401.

Lest Bill forget: 43% IS NO MANDATE!

Proclaim your membership in the ENLIGHTENED MAJORITY with a t-shirt that says:




I VOTED WITH THE 57%!

White/black letters, 100% cotton. S, M, L, XL, XXL add \$1. \$12 ea. Postage: \$3 first item, \$1.50 others. **STICKERS \$2**

Send check to: **SPEAK OUT NOW!**

Box 7281, Arlington, VA 22207

Bulk discounts available, call: 703-524-5644

<p>#1</p> <p>THE HIGHEST COURT IN THE LAND...</p>  <p>UPHOLDERS OF INDIVIDUALS' RIGHTS... 30 MILLION RIGHTS LOST FROM ABORTIONS SINCE JANUARY 22, 1973.</p>	<p>#2</p> 
<p>#3</p> <p>ENDANGERED!</p> <p>Don't blame these on the Liberals.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Spotted Owl 2. Ozark Big-Eared Bat 3. Bonytail Chub 4. Gray Whale 5. American Family 6. Moral Values 	<p>#5</p> 

T-Shirts: \$11.95 + \$2.50 shipping
Sweatshirts: \$21.95 + \$2.50 shipping
Available in White or Gray
M-L-XL-XXL (Add \$2 extra for XXL)
Send Check or Money Order to:

Conserva-T's
P.O. Box 75
Morristown, IN 46161

*Please state design number, shirt type (T or Sweatshirt), shirt size, and shirt color (white or gray).

Indiana Residents Add 5% Sales Tax

CLASSIFIEDS

MERCHANDISE

DO BILL CLINTON and his liberal swarm make you want to cry? The antidote is the savage satire of the American Comedy Platoon. The award-winning members of the A.C.P. take no prisoners! \$7.95 & \$2.00 S+H for audio tape to: A.C.P., 2604 B El Camino Real, Suite 224, Carlsbad, Calif. 92008. CA res. add 7.25% tax.

Are you Politically Incorrect?

then SAY SO! With a Politically Incorrect T-shirt or sweatshirt!
Front says: **Politically Incorrect.** Back says: **Free Minds, Free Markets, Free Society...**

Prices: Short-sleeve, \$12; Sweats, \$20.
Colors: Navy or Royal Blue/white; White/black.
Sizes: S, M, L, XL, XXL (add \$1.00 for XXL).

P.I. Coffee mugs and bumper stickers also available: mugs \$8.95; Stickers, \$2.00.

Postage: \$3 for first item, \$1.50 thereafter; none for stickers
Send check to: SPEAK OUT NOW!
Box 7281, Arlington, VA 22207
Bulk discounts available, call: 703-524-5644

CORRECT IS POLITICALLY RIGHT

SPECIFY COLOR SIZE QUANTITY

RED

WHITE

BLUE

MEDIUM

LARGE

X LARGE

THE AMERICAN RIGHT

SEND CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO

AMERICAN OPINION SHIRT COMPANY

PO BOX 8022, RICHMOND, VA 23223

ONLY 12.50

Plus 2.50 Shipping & Handling Per Shirt

Proudly Made by Americans For Americans in the U.S.A.



COMMANDER IN CHIEF

Full Color Poster 18 x 22


\$6 plus \$3.50 Postage & Handling

Check /M.O. to DJL Assoc.

11 New St./103, Somerville, N.J. 08876

MERCHANDISE

HAVE FUN



SLICK WILLY

SLICK WILLY

★ DOOR MATS ★

Reads "Wipe Feet Liberally"

Get one: Invest in America

Black, White, Blue, Red, Flesh

18 x 27" Gray Pile Olefin Mat

\$19.99 - \$4.00 Shipping and Handling

Check or M.O. to Bubbe

3333 Buchanan, Memphis, TN 38122

AND PULL A CLINTON


BUMPER STICKERS

IF CLINTON IS THE ANSWER, IT MUST BE A REAL STUPID QUESTION Bumper sticker printed on removable stock. Send \$2 cash check or MO + SASE to Success Graphics 876 Tower Road, Mundelein, IL 60060.

BUMPER STICKER!

DON'T BLAME ME!
I VOTED FOR BUSH

Send \$3 per sticker or 4 stickers for \$10.
Flex-Pro P.O. Box 498947 Cincinnati, OH 45249



Bumper Stickers!

Red, white & blue!

\$2 ea./\$1.50 ea. 10 or more. Send check or money order payable to:

Psalm 2 Ministries

P.O. Box 200

Woden, TX 75978

DON'T BLAME ME!
I DIDN'T VOTE FOR HIM (OR HER)

For Sparlin's 1993 Bumper Sticker #1. Send \$3.50 to:

SPARLIN AGENCY INC.
2405 East 7th Street (Suite A) • JOPLIN, MO 64801

"BUMPER STICKERS"

A

IS IT "1996" YET?

410-944-0128

B

"I CAN NOT TELL A LIE" (WASHINGTON)

"HE CAN'T TELL THE TRUTH" (CLINTON)

C

HO CHI MINH TRAIL

LED TO THE

WHITE HOUSE

410-944-0128

D

FROM A CHICKEN IN EVERY POT

TO A CHICKEN SMOKIN' POT

\$2.50 ea. 4/\$8.00 12/\$20.00

To Order, Call or Write:

W.C. Reading • P.O. BOX 32547 • Balto., MD 21208

410-944-0128 (Credit card orders)


VISA, M/C, CHECKS, or MONEY ORDERS

BUMPER STICKERS

"DON'T BLAME ME, I VOTED FOR BUSH" Bumper Stickers (3" x 11 1/2" vinyl) 2/5.00. Cash/checks. AC&E P.O. Box 25652 Richmond, VA 23260.

"IMPEACH CLINTON" Bumper Stickers \$3.00, Pins \$2.00. SASE to Mat Toenniessen, 833 Morgan, Drexel Hill, PA 19026.

"DON'T BLAME ME—I VOTED FOR BUSH" Send \$2.00 LaserPro, P.O. Box 168, Ponte Vedra, FL 32004.



Abolish the Drinking Age

IT'S UNAMERICAN!

HIGH-QUALITY BUMPER STICKERS, \$2 EACH, 2 FOR \$3
CHECK OR M/O TO:

JOEL C.
P.O. BOX 10455
STATE COLLEGE, PA 16805

BUMPER STICKERS

DON'T BLAME ME,
I VOTED FOR BUSH

\$2.50 EA. 2 FOR \$4.00 6 FOR \$10

25 or more \$1.50 EA 100 or more \$1.10 EA

Politix Grafix

15505 Bull Run Road, Suite 201

Miami Lakes, FL 33014

PERSONALS

VERY PRETTY WSF (38 yrs., 5'5", 115 lbs.) marooned in socialist Marin County, a warm-hearted brunette who loves classical piano, old roses, history, Aran knitting, Jean Patou, the joys of good company as well as solitude, seeks cultured, intellectual gentlemen of similar interests and persuasion. Confidentiality respected. Photograph appreciated, but not necessary. P.O. Box 150486, San Rafael, CA 94915.

PETITE, CHRISTIAN, CONSERVATIVE, caucasian lady (attractive), lives Western U.S., would like to meet or correspond with conservative caucasian male over 50. Reply to: Box DC, c/o TAS Classifieds, P.O. Box 549, Arlington, Va. 22216-0549.

ASIAN LADIES DESIRE CORRESPONDENCE! Overseas, sincere, attractive. World's #1 Service! Free details, photos! SUNSHINE INTERNATIONAL Dept. HE, Box 5500, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745. (808) 325-7707.

ATTRACTIVE ORIENTAL LADIES seeking correspondence, marriage. Dignified presentations since 1984. Asian Experience, Box 1214TR, Novato, CA 94948. (415) 897-2742.

JAPANESE WOMEN seek friendship! Free information. Pacific Century, 110 Pacific #208-JX, San Francisco, CA 94111. (816) 942-1668.

TRADITIONAL YET SOPHISTICATED Philippine ladies (100% English-speaking, 95% university-educated Christians) desire friendship, romance, marriage. SPG-SA, 1964 Stewart, KCKs 66104. (913) 621-3260.

(continued on next page)

CLASSIFIEDS

PERSONALS

MEET WOMEN WORLD-WIDE

FREE 32 page photo catalog from
America's most respected
correspondence service since 1974.

CHERRY BLOSSOMS
190AN Rainbow Ridge
Kapaa, Hawaii 96755
1-408-980-7488



CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates: \$2.70 per word
(+\$14 per ad for TAS box
number if desired.)

- \$105 per column inch for
classified display ads.
- Pre-payment required for all ads.
(Some restrictions may apply.)

Special Discount Offer:
Pre-pay for 3 ads get a 4th ad free.

Enclosed is: \$_____ for _____
insertions.

Ad Classification: _____

Name: _____
Please Print

Address: _____

City: _____

State: _____

Zip: _____

Your ad(s) will begin with the first
available issue.

Send ad copy with payment and this
form to:

The American Spectator
Classified Department,
P.O. Box 549
Arlington, Virginia 22216-0549

9304

CORRESPONDENCE

(continued from page 10)

Rep. Christopher Cox in the article,
which is accurate.

The second factor was Dianne
Feinstein. She has always been a brilliant
campaigner, bolstered by her justified rep-
utation as a level head among the kooks
of San Francisco politics. Lady Di ran so
far to the right that she eclipsed Seymour
(e.g., she endorsed a balanced budget *and*
a line-item veto), who had less name ID
and had no room to define himself. Sena-
tor Seymour thrashed around, spent a lot
of money making charges against
Feinstein that didn't stick, and in the end
was reduced to embarrassingly emaciated
"Republicans for Choice" rallies. By
October, Seymour was dead meat, and
Dianne spent her last three weeks cam-
paigning for Barbara Boxer as though
they were the Bobbsey twins—even
though Feinstein had more in common
with her opponent than with Boxer.

Between these two factors,
Herschensohn's performance was
remarkable. He came within five points
of winning despite taking on over \$11
million essentially single-handed. Bruce
ran ten points ahead of Bush and five
ahead of Seymour, in contrast to Boxer
who drew only one point more than
Clinton and owes that performance to
Feinstein. You have to go back to 1974 to
find another general election in California
where Herschensohn would have lost that
race, and without him on the ballot to
boost turnout we might not have Rep-
resentatives Bob Dornan and Bill Baker.

In the end, Ferguson is excessively
pessimistic. California Democrats have
always had a short shelf life on the voter
rolls. Prop. 140's state level term limits,
already upheld by the Supreme Court,
will put the Willie Brown machine as we
knew it out of business. The components
of the Reagan majority still exist in the
California electorate. They need only to
be re-assembled, and a school choice ini-
tiative on the June '94 ballot is the
nation's next Proposition 13. . . .

—Dorr H. Clark
Campbell, California

Horowitz, Queers, and Christians

When David Horowitz writes of "burnish-
ing the agendas" in his opening paragraph
("The Queer Fellows," *TAS*, January
1993), he applies the same liberal

approach to metaphors that he uses with
understanding other people's ideas. In his
second paragraph, he quotes an essay of
mine, without crediting me, as an example
of "queer theorists" who, according to Mr.
Horowitz, are "malevolent" foes of
"democracy," "civilization," and "nature."

Mr. Horowitz obviously is a creative
writer. No one else has viewed my writ-
ing as "queer theory," but the truly origi-
nal spark in his analysis was not the label
he used but the meaning he saw.

Mr. Horowitz says that "radical
homosexuals" are following "radical
feminists" and "black power" advocates
as self-appointed victims masquerading
in Marxist garb, drawing their identity
from the "poisoned well of the
Communist past." Like the Communists,
these groups believe that humans can
transcend their nature and become a
"self-creating species" that will "produce
a super race," Mr. Horowitz says. This
"revolutionary pursuit of an impossible
ideal" through "socially constructed" re-
ality always results in "totalitarian ter-
ror," he says, adding extra drama to a
familiar conservative theme.

The specific "impossible ideal" pur-
sued by queer theorists, according to Mr.
Horowitz, is a "gender-free world," or a
"new revolutionary people, no longer
male and female, but queer."

As evidence, he quotes an essay of
mine about why the singer Michael
Jackson seems to be turning white and
half female. In the passage quoted by Mr.
Horowitz, I wrote, "In a world threatened
by racial tensions and overpopulation, the
survival instinct could summon a new
human, one who has no single race and
who, by being . . . androgynous, is less
subject to the procreative urge."

True, my theory pointed to cracks in
the walls between race and gender, but
the generating force behind this develop-
ment is not what Mr. Horowitz imagined.
I said, as my quote shows, that Jackson
could be responding to a summons from
nature, from the survival instinct, not
from an attempt at social reconstruction
by a political organization. My idea is
merely *descriptive* of a change that is
occurring, not *prescriptive* in advocating
how to achieve change. It was a theory of
evolution, not revolution. But it seems
that in Mr. Horowitz's hands, Darwinists
magically become Marxists.

Despite his liberal ways with logic,
Mr. Horowitz pays brave homage to con-

servatism, stretching it far beyond what most people would attempt. When he argues flatly that nature does not permit radical transformation of what we are, I wonder what he would have said when our ancestors were living in water and started thinking about migrating to land. I can't speak for anyone else attacked by Mr. Horowitz, but I chose to look at a long stretch of time. On such a scale, it hardly seems "evil" to suggest that we will continue to change profoundly and that our cultures and races and gender roles, if not the genders themselves, will likewise change.

—Charles Burress
San Francisco Chronicle
San Francisco, California.

David Horowitz's exposure of cutting-edge homosexualist ideology reveals a profound dilemma confronting gay rights activists. Homosexuality has made deep incursions into our culture by exploiting the "politics of identity." The growing belief in innate homosexuality, even though confined to no more than perhaps 2 or 3 percent of newborns, has provided activists with their strongest appeal to the American conscience. If gays, like blacks or women, are born into their condition, then fundamental fairness must spare them from discrimination.

But the theoretical attack on "essentialism" robs the activists of their best argument. If homosexuality is a "social construct" that can be changed by choice, then the choice can also be made—or rejected—by those who affirm a gay identity. Why then should a "chosen" identity be granted special entitlements (a point which must have entered the mind of many Colorado voters)?

In any event, the dilemma provides us with a useful definition, not necessarily for homosexuals but for liberals. At present, a liberal is a person who believes that everything in human nature can be changed except homosexual proclivity.

—Frank S. Zepezauer
Sunnyvale, California

David Horowitz's article "The Queer Fellows" came at a time when more than a little thought and even more emotion was being generated by this volatile subject. . . . It has become one of the most serious social-agenda items facing us. . . .

I know people who are confused about their sexuality. I like them. I have deep empathy for their pain and frustration. I

value their friendship. Many personal acquaintances and some of my relatives have lived their adult life with a companion of the same sex. It is obvious that they have a deep affection for each other. They are not at all strange. And when they talk of their concerns over laws that restrict their ability to hold property in common or access to a companion's benefit package I agree that their insistence on legislative reform to change this is legitimate. Such people deserve protection from discrimination of any kind.

But, when people in same-sex relationships begin to insist that their partnership is the equivalent of a heterosexual marriage and to defend the inclusion of genital activity as a totally acceptable part of what they argue, with increasing vehemence, is a viable and wholly legitimate alternative lifestyle, we must resist. There is a socially dangerous flaw in these assertions.

Mr. Horowitz, has capably shown us how, in its most radical forms, this growing movement threatens us. But, in his observation that "the conservative conclusion will be that homosexuality is normal in that it is rooted in nature" he inadvertently reveals the fundamental flaw in the "legitimate alternative lifestyle" argument. . . . Two-thirds of the world's population is hungry. Famine and starvation are "rooted in nature." Are we prepared to accept them as "normal"? . . .

Any informed observer knows that the data supporting "orientation" is inconclusive. But even if, by thorough scientific study, it could be proven that "orientation" is the source of homosexual compulsions it still remains that sexual expression is a matter of choice. Some pedophiles argue that they are compelled to act as they do. But we, rightly, insist that they not give in to their compulsions. Very few heterosexual men are "oriented" to a monogamous relationship. Whenever they encounter an attractive woman, other than their wife, they are reminded of that. But to remain faithful or not is a choice. To choose to give in to the periodic compulsion many of us know so well can bring undesirable consequences. And little in life is more pitiful than a grown man caught in the crossfire of those consequences protesting feebly, "I don't know why I did it. Something came over me." Sexual activity is and always will be a matter of choice. And for that reason we must

never give it equal place alongside "race" or "color" in debates about "rights" . . .

—Jim Denison
Calgary, Alberta

One sentence in the article "The Queer Fellows" by David Horowitz did disturb me. He wrote on page 46: "These attitudes may be 'oppressive' to homosexuals, but no more so than are Christian attitudes towards Jews as souls condemned to eternal damnation." This is not my attitude, is not the Christian attitude, is not the attitude of Christians generally, and, with respect to the Catholic Church, is a heresy and is contrary to scripture.

See, for example, St. Paul's letter to the Ephesians 3:5-6, in which he wrote: "It is no less than this: in Christ Jesus the Gentiles are now co-heirs with the Jews, members of the same body and sharers of the promise through the preaching of the gospel."

—Charles W. O'Connor
New Haven, Connecticut

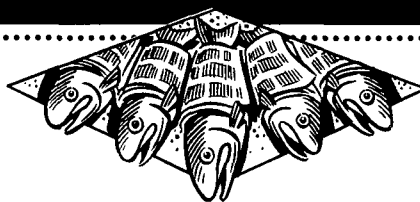
I read David Horowitz's "The Queer Fellows" with interest, but fault him for one error of great magnitude. In comparing apparent "oppressive" attitudes towards homosexuals, he states that they are " . . . no more so than are Christian attitudes towards Jews as souls condemned to eternal damnation."

I spent twelve years in Catholic schools and was never taught that anyone was condemned, in this world or after, based on their religious beliefs (excluding Satanism). Nor are my children, who attend Catholic schools, taught what I can only refer to as narrow-minded elitism.

They are taught that if Christianity includes baptism of desire, then the desire of men and women to lead good lives, to repent when they fail to do so, is a path to Christ, regardless of whether they are Jews, Buddhists, or agnostics. What we call ourselves or "profess" as our beliefs doesn't warrant the same consideration as our acts. While there are clear differences in each faith, the commonalities that define our moral selves are many.

In my parish, this commonality and understanding of different faiths is reinforced by the participation of the local Rabbi and Presbyterian Minister addressing our congregation, and by community projects in which the three participate.

It is unfortunate to me if someone as
(continued on page 74)



Handbill

(California State University,
San Marcos)

An intriguing handbill distributed to the barnyard animals that attend Cal State, San Marcos, soliciting monographs of righteous indignation from all comers save Ross Perot, Rush Limbaugh, members of the VFW, and the other 99 percent of the American people who have had enough of this 1960s tommyrot:

RAGE!

The newest public university
in the United States,
California State University, San Marcos
announces a
Call for Papers and Performances
for a conference on
"Rage Across the Disciplines"
to be held at
CSU San Marcos on
June 11-12, 1993.

Papers and performances
are welcomed in all disciplines in the
humanities and social sciences.
The topics of AIDS or gay rage,
women's rage, the rage of
ethnic minorities or working class rage
particularly are encouraged.

The deadline for submission of 30 minute
papers, performances, or a one page
abstract for either is March 1, 1993.

Please submit all abstracts
or completed papers, projects to:

Terry Allison and Renée Cury
Rage Conference
The College of Arts and Sciences
California State University, San Marcos
San Marcos, CA 92096-0001

This Conference is funded in part
by the CSUSM Multicultural Center
and by the California State University's
Affirmative Action Grant
[Winter 1993]

New Republic

The gruesome after-effects of overexposure to undergraduate sociology, as exhibited on the printed page by Mr. Eric Konigsberg, leading light among the Angry Young Twits:

Money is no longer enough. Hassle-avoidance is the privilege that most effectively distances the individual from the necessities of democratic living. Thus it corrupts the notion of equal citizenship even more effectively than mere disproportionate accumulation of wealth. The daily civic experience of waiting for buses, filling out forms, caring for your own kids, even having your own mundane thoughts is the stuff of which some kind of civil equality is made. The search for a hassle-free life is ultimately an attempt to shirk personal and social responsibilities of all kinds.

[March 1, 1993]

Santa Barbara News-Press

The onerous price of patriotism, paid by Mr. Joel Slater, embodiment of the Spirit of 1776:

Joel Slater dismissed the United States and now he's paying the price.

He isn't a criminal or a draft dodger, just an outspoken footnote to the Reagan era.

Slater renounced his U.S. citizenship five years ago after American forces bombed Libya.

It was a passionate moment of free speech—almost an echo of the spirit that sent tea into Boston Harbor and fueled the American revolution, he said.

But dissent doesn't come cheap.

Since renouncing his U.S. citizenship in Australia in 1987, Slater has been deported by various countries four times. . . . He's now in Santa Barbara: Home to the man he blames for turning America mean and the vacation spot of his possible savior.

"This is Reagan's backyard, and I renounced my citizenship under Reagan," Slater said Wednesday. "Bill Clinton has a vacation home here, and maybe he can reinstate my citizenship with an executive order."

[December 10, 1992]

Nation

On a cool, clear winter day, the famously banal mind of John Leonard beholds The Artist, who becomes magician, thence a problem child, a hedonist, no, an aesthete, no a shrink—hold on—archaeologist, no, a "storm-bird," and finally John Leonard, insufferable fool that he is, comes down with the shakes. It should be at least a misdemeanor to let this literary catastrophe anywhere near a writing instrument, even if his infantile excursus is printed only in the *Nation*:

A vigorous nation invests in the arts not because it's cost efficient (a sort of seeding for a gross national product of mystery and magic) but because that's how we dream our Republic. These difficult people constitute an antimarket: Their business, instead of selling short, is to surprise us. If we could imagine what they will do next, we wouldn't need them, and we do, not only for pleasure and beauty, or to bind up our psychic wounds, but to bear witness and discover scruple and imagine the Other—all those archeologies of the unspoken and enciphered. And they are also stormbirds, early-warning systems on the seismic fault-lines of the Multiculture, before the cognitive dissonance and the underground tremors convulse us.

[February 1, 1993]

North Shore

(Peabody, Massachusetts)

An excellent culinary recommendation from Mary, reader of *Ms.* and distinguished member of one of old Peabody's most ancient and armigerous families:

Re: North Shore Sunday, Nov. 22, page 9 ad for Seabrook Greyhound Park's Turkey Giveaway:

I really have to tell you that this ad scrapes the bottom of the barrel. It is only a cultural and speciesist bias that permits the murder each winter of millions of turkeys. Why not eat eagles?

To be born a turkey in our society sen-