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WAR AND PEACE



WHAT'S INSIDE

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The Case for Libertarian Bob Barr

By: Andrew B. Lohse

Editor's Note: On October 21, The Dartmouth Review and Beta Theta Pi fraternity sponsored a speech and Q&A from Libertarian Presidential Candidate and former Congressman Bob Barr. This event was covered by NBC Nightly News and broadcast in part with an NBC interview. Review writer Andrew Lohse also interviewed Congressman Barr on October 9. The Dartmouth Review is not endorsing any candidate this election season.

I have a problem. I'm voting for a third party candidate—Bob Barr. Barr is the Libertarian presidential candidate. My parents, glaring speechlessly and wondering what happened to the young Republican who cried when Bob Dole lost in '96, tell me I'm throwing my vote away. I haven't even made this confession yet to my grandfather,

Bob Barr knows about intelligence, having served in the CIA for eight years. After that, Barr was known as a firebrand in Congress and his reputation suits him, though he complements it with fact-based analysis and integrity.

a lifelong "common sense" Republican, but I shudder to think what he'll say. My other grandfather also cried when Clinton won in '96, so he might understand why I'm voting for the man who tried to send "42" back to Arkansas.

This election season, Obamania is feverishly hot; news stories of women fainting at rallies, pious displays of Obama as the Messiah, and even Obama's own claims to "stop the sea's rise" allude to the fact that the Democratic party is obsessively consumed by the cult of personality erected around "The One." "We are the ones we've been waiting for," he tells crowds of supporters.

For the GOP, a party I no longer identify with, there is much less excitement. McCain's not exactly electrifying, and the hype around Sarah Palin has fizzled out. But what's worse is that the Republican ticket is confirming what the Bush II presidency already established: that to be a Republican these days is to be something different than a conservative.

So to other disaffected conservatives disgusted by the bailout, the Iraq War, the Patriot Act, excessive spending, and the Federal Government running roughshod over the states, I offer you an impractical alternative: vote for Bob Barr.

Well known as a Congressman elected in the infamous Republican Revolution "Class of '94" to serve Georgia's seventh district, Barr was a legislator of the highest degree who played a leading role in the Clinton impeachment.

I had the privilege of interviewing the Congressman and seeing him speak at Beta, and can honestly say that in Barr, the American people can find a rare amalgam of principle, persistence, and philosophy that no other major party candidate has. I mean, come on, when was the last time Barack Obama—former Constitutional law professor—cited the Federalist Papers in his stump speech? When was the last time John McCain mentioned the Constitution or the Bill of Rights at a Town Hall meeting?

Watching Barr rail against the American two-party system should have been inspirational for any politically-minded Dartmouth student. When asked about the woes of this system, Barr points out that "the lesser of two evils is still evil," and summarizes his campaign as "trying to convince the American people that they deserve better. They used to never be satisfied with that sort of notion, that they had to pick between two poor choices, but since the two party

system has become so ingrained, it's now endemic. I could not support either of them."

Barr left the Republican Party in 2006, or more accurately, "The Republican Party left me," he says, echoing Ronald Reagan. Since 2006, Barr has had no problem angering the GOP establishment—he's the only true "maverick" in the race.

For a man who has spent his political career advancing conservative causes, Barr is exasperated that conservative ideals are suddenly on the "outside" of the Republican Party. It wasn't Barr who changed when he switched identification in 2006. If voters had each candidate's stances on the issues outlined before them in the 2008 election, they would see that Barr is the only candidate who stands for mainstream ideas like smaller government, spending cuts, a less interventionist foreign policy, increased civil liberties, and states' rights—all traditional conservative positions that have been abandoned by the current Republican Party.

However, even the rare principled politician like Barr can be deceived. In the first Bush term he voted for both the Patriot Act and the Iraq War, two votes he describes as his biggest regrets. In his own words, "My vote to authorize

by contrast, is for limited government and the protection of civil liberties.

Bob Barr knows about intelligence, having served in

I mean, come on, when was the last time Barack Obama—former Constitutional law professor—cited the Federalist Papers in his stump speech? When was the last time John McCain mentioned the Constitution or the Bill of Rights at a Town Hall meeting?

the CIA for eight years. After that, Barr was known as a firebrand in Congress and this reputation suits him, though he complements it with fact-based analysis and wonkish integrity. This sets him apart from his opponents, who, according to Barr "don't have the foggiest notion of the basic elements of human nature and the role of government."

On the "bailout" bill, Congressman Barr, a true conservative, occupies the ground surrendered by Congress's impotent Republican minority and its presidential candidate—Barr opposed the bill. Barr says that "The tone that has been set in the bill is very disingenuous. The government's goal is to increase control over the economy. One of the ways they are doing this is by using tactics and the rhetoric of fear to get people to conclude that they must give more power to the government. This is a false premise. There is not a single example of a government that centrally controls and plans its economy that has succeeded." Barr is a staunch supporter of fiscal conservatism, in contrast to McCain and his proposal to add an additional \$300 billion to the taxpayer funded bailout.

Barr also boldly discussed the Federal Reserve, which is something most politicians either are too afraid to mention or do not understand. Clearly, the Federal Reserve is not a "hot-button" political issue, as frankly no one really cares about it, despite the fact that it is the most important and least controlled currency regulator. Barr tells *The Review*:

So few Americans understand the Federal Reserve. It will take a period of educating the public about what it is and what it isn't. We should look at alternatives. For the people to blithely and blindly buy into the notion that unelected people can control their currency is outrageous—but again, there is so little understanding about the economy or repealing the Federal Reserve, and that makes the issue difficult.

What I do think it's about is control—government wants to control. It has a desire for power; John Adams cautioned against it, so did Edmund Burke. It's just fundamental human nature: government exists to gain, exercise, and increase power. Our founding fathers understood that, so they instituted checks and balances to mitigate human nature's effects.

Barr may not be the smoothest political candidate running in this election, but he is capable of discussing the issues, government, and philosophy in a way that most modern-day candidates are not.

With the election just around the corner, and an Obama victory almost unavoidable, it is not too late to shift gears and send a message to the Republican National Committee that we true conservatives want Barr's version of conservatism—not McCain's or Palin's. The Republican Party needs to realign itself with the traditional political right, and the more votes Barr gets, the more the RNC will understand that its version of pseudo-conservatism is no longer acceptable. This is not changing the Republican Party; this is reminding it of its roots.

Barr says it best: "I will not believe to my dying day that America has passed a point of no return. Every day that goes by is a chance to change America for the better and return it to the way that its founding fathers and Constitution envisioned it." ■



—Congressman Barr believes you should throw your vote away!—

the war was a mistake, and I realize it now. The administration gave inaccurate, unsound intelligence. I voted to depose Saddam Hussein—the Bush administration used that resolution for a multi-year occupation of Iraq. Unlike McCain, I don't appreciate the fact that the administration did a bait and switch; but that bait and switch doesn't seem to bother him."

When asked about how he is different from the two major party candidates, Barr describes the philosophical and pragmatic divides. Obama and McCain "both support the expansion of government powers to watch its own citizenry. This shows a fundamental lack of understanding of the fourth Amendment and of our intelligence agencies; surveillance should be about targeting and focusing resources." Barr,

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"Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win great triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat."

—Theodore Roosevelt

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You touch my hands for stupid reasons.

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Editorial Here is My Peace

If you have made it to my editorial, then presumably you have seen the cover of this issue and noticed that the theme of this *Review* is "war and peace." "War and peace" is a weighty theme, certainly, and one perhaps too big for a modest college paper to address. Though the entire history of mankind can fall under its heading, in a narrower sense, questions of war and peace have, in the past few weeks, made a demonstrable mark on the minds of attentive Dartmouth students for at least two reasons.

The first is the Montgomery Fellowship program, which brings distinguished scholars and public figures to our campus. Thanks to that program, former CENTCOM Commander John Abizaid and former New York Times Baghdad Bureau Chief John Burns spoke to our campus about the most war-torn area in the world: the Middle-East.

Both mentioned the improving conditions in Iraq—qualified by deteriorating conditions in Afghanistan. General Abizaid went beyond the two wars, and cited more endemic, long-term issues in the Middle-East that could escalate into crises without proactive U.S. diplomatic measures.

The retired four star General appealed to the students in the audience. General Abizaid urged us to serve in some capacity—in the military, with an NGO, at a think tank, in the State Department. The mess in the Middle East created by our parents' generations, he said, will be borne on our backs; we kids—labeled by Wikipedia as "Generation MTV"—need to rectify the situation in the Middle-East before "an all out clash between civilizations," the West and Islam, produces devastating consequences, said the General.

The second reason is far more practical. The economic situation (a warfare of its own) has forced many Dartmouth seniors to rethink their graduation plans. This time last year, the Dow Jones Industrial Average was trading in the 14,000s. Today, it's in the 8,000s. Dartmouth's corporate culture has been seriously undermined, and many Dartmouth seniors, those would-be bankers, traders, and consultants, are reconsidering the (ephemeral) glitz and glamour of Wall Street. Some are turning to grad school, others to corporations. Still others are making use of their government majors (one of the most popular majors at Dartmouth), and pursuing careers in politics or public policy—foreign policy, in particular, has become an increasingly popular concentration in the Government department. Though this is purely anecdotal, the proportion of people I've met who are academically interested in foreign affairs, war and peace, and international studies has been dramatically increasing in the past year.

Along similar lines, General Abizaid, in conversation with *The Review*, noted that our generation seems more interested than prior generations in questions of war and peace:

Find out what is going on [in the Middle East] and be clear in the way that you logically try to understand the issues that are out there. Talk to other people, exchange views, read, study, and then think about how it might be that in the twenty-first century, you can help advance the values of our country and advance a planet that needs to globalize in a positive way. There are all sorts of things that you can do—internationally, nationally, locally—that add to society. My impression of your generation is that you guys want to do that, and I would encourage you to do that. I think the worst thing that can happen to us is that we all become a

nation of spectators and critics. So, figure out how to get involved, get involved, make a difference, and it will change your life.

Though many students may be academically interested in the issues the General cites above, they either passively engage those issues, engage them not at all, or stand on the sidelines issuing heady criticism and declarations on very controversial matters without active engagement in the gist of the matter. Actual involvement in the military, defense and securities studies, foreign policy, of the Foreign Service seems like a surreality to many, an undefined career path that's slightly menacing when compared to the neat deadlines, resume drops, and recruitment of the corporate world.

A young alum recently said that the tight job market in the financial sector is ultimately a good thing, especially for Dartmouth students who see the financial route as the default. "They think they can write their tickets with these high-power jobs, but many people end up miserable, and quit. Others mosey along, do the grind. Few are genuinely excited to be creating models,

working with Excel, and slaving their youth away to make one dollar into four."

"Finance isn't the kind of thing you get passionate about," she said. "A lot of liberal arts types do it because they don't know what else to do." She herself works at a top consulting firm in New York City, and admits that she pursued finance because she didn't know what else to do. "Now that I look back on it, I realize how many cool jobs there are out there; jobs that can be filled by bright, young, liberal-arts educated Dartmouth students. I have one friend who works in intelligence, and another who works on [Capitol] Hill. Those jobs are exciting. Those jobs are relevant."

Certainly there are those who will be passionate about finance and belong in those lucrative jobs—but it should not be the default career path for the Dartmouth student. With the economy the way it is now, chances are, in the next few years, finance will no longer be the default.

Investment banks come and go. But thanks to something in our human nature—the disposition to violence, conflict, unrest—wars are here to stay as a permanent fixture of our world. There will always be jobs in foreign policy since human beings (leaders, rulers) in their ingenuity and cruelty, think of ever-devastating and unjust ways to behave on an international scale. The option is not "finance" or "foreign policy" for everyone—but it is for those who are fascinated by foreign policy but pursue finance merely out of intellectual laziness.

At an event for seniors earlier this year, a Career Services staffer mocked the lack of creativity of 20-something year olds, particularly with respect to the job search. "You need to ask yourself what you're passionate about and pursue that. You need to search for jobs that fit your interests. Despite what Dartmouth students think, there aren't just five jobs out there..." then she enumerated them on her fingers, "Banker, Doctor, Lawyer, Consultant and..." the grab-all, "Teach for America!"

For the first time in its history, the United States is fighting in two wars. For students who have the vaguest interest in foreign affairs, a sea of opportunities exist to either serve this country directly, or somehow contribute to a broader peace in the Middle-East. It's not as far-fetched as you think. ■



By
**Emily
Esfahani-
Smith**

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The Week In Review

Not-so-Average Joe

Joe Lieberman visited Dartmouth College on Thursday October 23, speaking for about a half hour and taking questions at the Top of the Hop in the Hopkins Center. His appearance marks what those in the business call a “last ditch effort” to get his friend and colleague John S. McCain elected President. Lieberman, the 2000 Democratic candidate for Vice President, apparently represents the type of politician who actually supports the policies he believes in, rather than following party orthodoxy for the sake of an easy reelection (see the Ned Lamont Affair of 2006).

At the Hop, Lieberman was met with a remarkably low level of heckling for a speaker invited by the College Republicans, with only a single outburst in the beginning of his speech to show off Dartmouth’s thriving progressive community. He delivered eloquent, commonsense explanations of policy points in which McCain is the superior candidate, many of which sounded geared to a left-leaning audience. Carbon credits and leaving ANWR alone are all well and good, but as the days run out Lieberman and the McCain campaign are going to have an increasingly difficult job of convincing moderate and center-left voters that they are not, in fact, The Ones They Have Been Waiting For. Best wishes, Joe.

Philosopher Kings Support “The One”

Forget Hillary’s crocodile tears, Reverend Wright’s antics from the pulpit, or the vice-presidential nomination of Sarah Palin. Hold your breath for the real surprise of the 2008 presidential election season: donors from academia favor Barack Hussein Obama by more than an eight to one margin. Through the end of September, professors and college administrators have donated roughly \$1.5-million to John McCain and an overwhelming \$12.2-million to the junior Senator from Illinois, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

While academics have always leaned heavily to the left, the \$12.2-million stands far above the \$8.4-million given to John Kerry in 2004 and the \$983,000 to Al Gore in 2000. The Democratic candidate’s idealistic vision and highbrow aura of intellectualism have made many educators more comfortable with Senator Obama, who used to teach Constitutional law at the University of Chicago.

Even at Dartmouth College, a number of professors could be spotted sporting their enthusiasm for Obama at a recent rally, highlighted by the appearance of DNC chairman Howard Dean. At *The Dartmouth Review*, we cannot help but recall William F. Buckley Jr.’s admission on professors and politics that “I should sooner live in a society governed by the first two thousand names in the Boston telephone directory than in a society governed by the two thousand faculty members of Harvard University.”

NE Republicans, an Endangered Species

“How can you say you’re a Democrat and you’re for endangered species, and then go after the last Republican in New England?” It’s nice that Representative Chris Shays (R-CT) hasn’t lost his charming wit, because it looks as though he might lose just about everything else come November 4. Mr. Shays is indeed the last Republican Congressman in New England and appears to be in real danger of losing that noble distinction. Recent polls have Mr. Shays and his opponent, Jim Himes, tied at 44% each, with 10% undecided.

It seems that being a moderate and actually running against a former Wall Street executive are not enough to sway voters who have already been convinced that anyone with an “R” following their names was personally complicit in the devaluing of their IRA. Connecticut, the state that has already given us George Bush, Ralph Nader, Ned Lamont, and Christopher Dodd (one of the people actually responsible for the financial crisis) seems to be caught in a struggle to the death; the far left incompetents versus the regular garden variety incompetents. New England’s collective breath is held for an outcome.

Hatin’ on Friedman

Milton Friedman was an economist, Nobel Laureate and Republican of a libertarian stripe who earned his M.A. and taught at the University of Chicago for thirty years. Though he was originally a Keynesian supporter of the New Deal, his later espousal of monetarist and laissez-faire policies—considered radical when originally advanced—influenced world leaders such as Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher.

It should therefore come as no surprise that an academic at the same university wants to do away with his memory. As the *Chicago Maroon* reports, professor James Heckman, a member of the Milton Friedman Institute faculty committee at U of C, said during a public panel (10/17/08) that he wouldn’t be opposed to changing the Institute’s name.

“I think it’s a good idea. We could change the name,” he said. Though he does not speak on behalf of the committee as a whole, this comes as a bit of a surprise because the faculty committee has stood firm against objections to the Institute, including claims that naming the Institute after perhaps U of C’s most eminent alum and professor could influence the research conducted there.

It seems odd then that Heckman, a Nobel laureate himself who had worked with Friedman, would decide not to back the faculty committee’s resistance. Friedman’s ideas helped lead to Reaganomics and a long-standing boom in the U.S. economy; it’s only natural to name the Institute after such a famous alumnus and professor. Bias is not reason enough to change the name. That act, Heckman himself concedes, “would probably cost the initiative a lot

of support.” While *The Dartmouth Review* applauds efforts to remain unbiased academically, ignoring Friedman’s pioneering work and breaking with a group of faculty at what may be the world’s foremost economics department isn’t the way to go about it.

Latte-Sippers Keep Jobs Despite Worsening Econ.

College towns like sleepy little Hanover and Lebanon, NH attract an interesting sort of person. There are the service workers, the Volvo drivers who sip lattes over the *New York Times*, and the professors. Then there are the once-Gender Studies majors who took the only job they could find in some sort of “diversity” position at the College. As it turns out, this eclectic group of people may have been the most accidentally economically savvy people in the nation. According to a new *Forbes Magazine* survey, Lebanon is the strongest micropolitan area in the country, and best suited to withstand the current financial and economic turmoil.

As anyone with a rudimentary economics education can guess, the College and DHMC provide job stability and perpetually low unemployment for the area, allowing other businesses to survive national trends. The *Forbes* article did not indicate whether such an optimistic outlook would curb the trend of Hanover High kids muttering and flashing obscene gestures at passing College students.

One More Reason to Love Dean Crady

On Tuesday, October 21, the College released the new Alcohol Management Program, a proposal to remove distinctions between types of social events on campus and require organizations to submit a weekly schedule of all events at which alcohol will be served.

Those of our readers who have had to sit through the numbing fifty minutes that is the current SEMP training will appreciate that the current system is a series of winks and nods: the trainer admits that there is very little that the College can do to support the elements of the current system that are sufficiently unpopular. The restrictions on kegs and hard liquor are byzantine and more or less arbitrary, with the vague goal of limiting the flow of alcohol in some manner or another; nobody in living memory is quite certain.

Dean of the College Tom Crady has acknowledged the utter lack of cooperation with SEMP and has taken the novel approach of giving Greek organizations both more rights and more responsibilities. While *The Review* is reasonably certain that a few particular Greek houses will find a way to screw this up within a week of its planned spring enactment, one hopes that this is a sign of good things to come with the relationship between the administration and the Greeks.

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Burns Lectures on Future of Iraq

By: Weston R. Sager

On October 21, Pulitzer prize winning *New York Times* London Bureau Chief, John Burns, delivered a talk entitled "Five Years in Iraq: Which Way Home?" Burns is visiting Dartmouth with the Montgomery Fellows program, which brings distinguished individuals to the College.

This year, the program brought lecturers who were offering perspectives of America in 2008. Among the other featured Fellows were Joan Didion and former CENTCOM Commander General John Abizaid.

Burns came to campus to share his experiences in Iraq. For several decades, Burns has been touring the most war-torn regions of the world, acting as a witness and scribe for the benefit of *New York Times* readers.

Burns gave an even-handed account of Iraq and Afghanistan. Burns' amiable demeanor, wild curly gray coif, and humorous anecdotes perfectly balanced the heavy subject matter that he was discussing.

As a seasoned reporter who has been stationed in some of the most dangerous locales, including the former Yugoslavia, China, Afghanistan, and most recently Iraq, Burns was able to deliver his assessment of U.S. foreign involvement in the Middle East and Central Asia with remarkable candor.

Burns was stationed in Iraq since before the onset of war in 2003. He has been witness to the developments on the ground there for quite some time, and observed that

the situation in Iraq has stabilized remarkably over the past year.

Burns acknowledged that the Iraq War has cost America greatly in both money and lives of Americans and Iraqis, but he was "astonished" by the change that has occurred there recently. He cited evidence that violence in Iraq is down roughly 70% and violence in and around Baghdad is down roughly 80%. He gave much of the credit for this turnaround to General David Petraeus, who helped retool the American army into what Burns believes is now the greatest counter-insurgency force in history.

Burns said, years upon years of intimidation from Saddam Hussein's regime all but preclude honest responses from the

Though Burns' view of Iraq was positive, his assessment of Afghanistan was disquieting.

public. Instead, Burns advised looking at significant events, such as the removal of blast walls between neighborhoods and the countrywide support of the Iraqi soccer team as indicators of progress.

Burns called into question several popular assumptions, namely the idea that American intervention against despotic regimes is, in fact, unwise.

He also defended the weapons of mass destruction intelligence debacle, claiming that Saddam would have resumed the production of these weapons if he had been capable. Burns unabashedly defended the use of American forces as peacekeepers in the world, believing that this nation's armed forces are a vital instrument of peace.

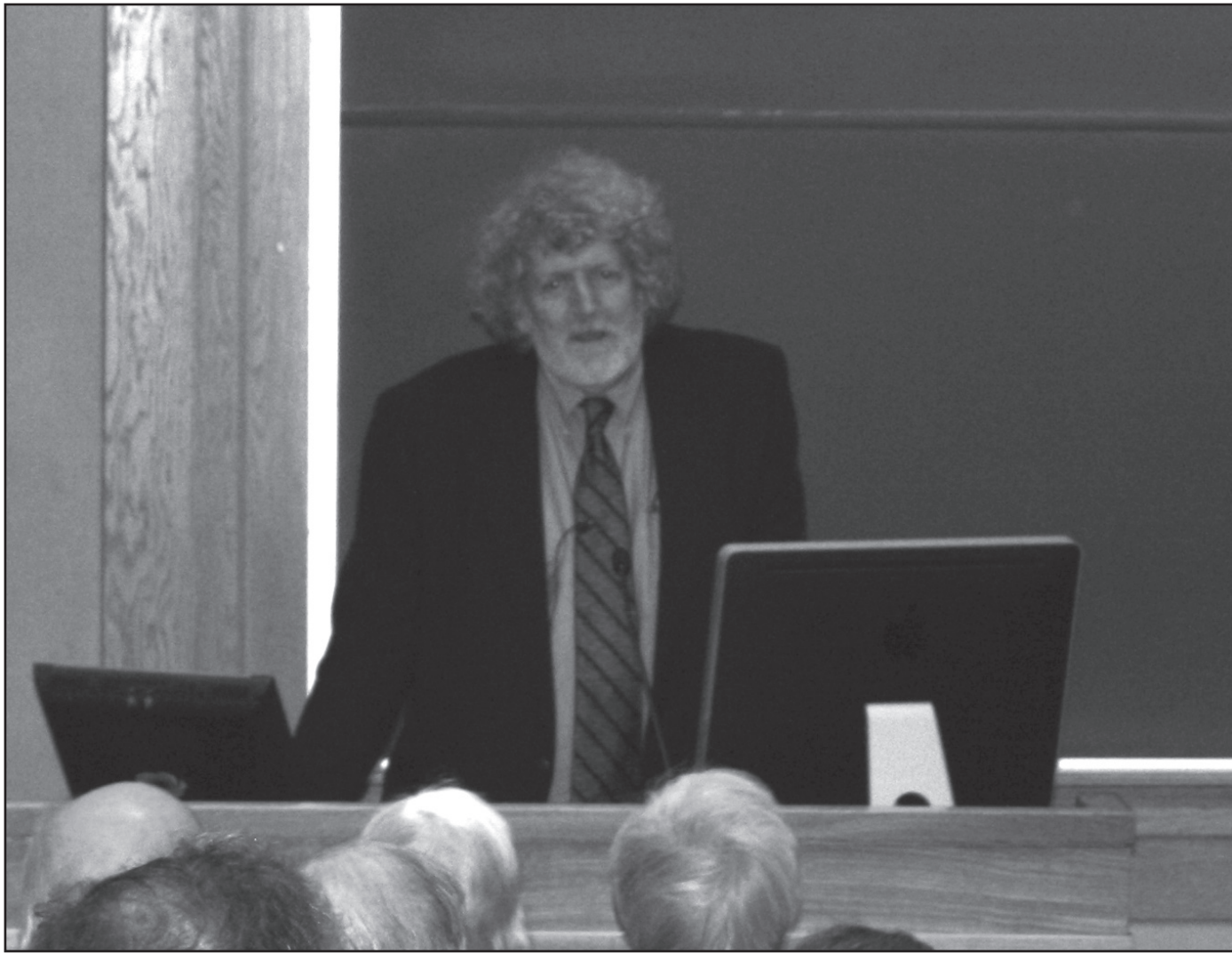
Though Burns' view of Iraq was positive, his assessment of Afghanistan was disquieting. Burns believes that the recent violence indicates that that country is heading toward an era of violence similar to the one that afflicted Iraq before the surge.

Unless greater numbers of troops are deployed to Afghanistan, he argued, the situation will continue to deteriorate. He made a

bold prediction that in the next election cycle, large crowds will be protesting the war in Afghanistan in front of the White House.

Whether or not that will be the case, it appears that much work still needs to be done in that region before American armed forces can begin to return home in significant numbers.

Burns' talk gave a hopeful yet sobering snapshot of the situation in the Middle East. Good-natured, self-deprecating, and eccentric, Burns is a first-class reporter whose efforts will go down in the annals of history. ■



—John Burns lecturing at Filene on Iraq, Afghanistan—

He also credited the surge, which up to this point has been a success. Still, Burns was quick to point out that General Casey, the former Commanding General in Iraq, was not the failure that many have accused him of being. A lot of "luck" had to do with the recent improvements in Iraq, Burns said, something that was sorely missing in years prior.

Burns also provided some insight into how to accurately assess progress in the region.

"Opinion polls in countries like Iraq mean nothing."

Violence in Iraq is down roughly 70% and violence in and around Baghdad is down roughly 80%.

Mr. Sager is a senior at the College and President of The Dartmouth Review.

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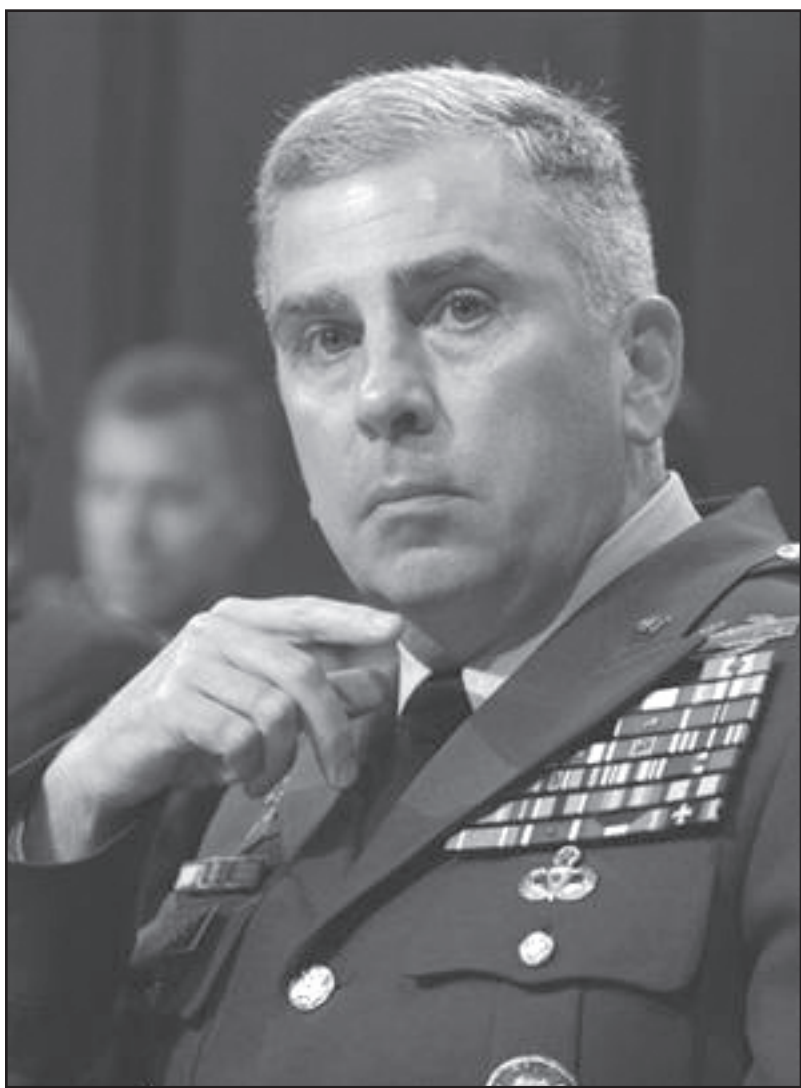
TDR Exclusive Interview:

By Tyler R. Brace

Editor's Note: On Tuesday October 14, former Commander of the Central Command, General John Abizaid, lectured at the College on "The United States and the Middle East: Strategic Choices for the Way Ahead." As CENTCOM Commander, General Abizaid oversaw an area ranging geographically from the Horn of Africa, to the Arabian Peninsula, to South and Central Asia—most of the Middle East, essentially. After 34 years of military service, the General retired in 2007, and became a resident scholar at Stanford's Hoover Institute.

Two weeks ago, General John Abizaid joined the Dartmouth community for several days as a Montgomery Fellow. The Montgomery Fellowship is designed to bring prominent scholars and public figures to campus to enrich and educate the undergraduate student body. This fall's Fellowship theme was "American in 2008: Perspectives and Reflections."

Offering his perspective and reflections on America's military reality, General Abizaid lectured about the complex situation in the Middle East. To the General, the situation in the Middle East is not controllable, but it is certainly shapeable. Having just returned from a trip to Iraq, the General was hesitantly optimistic about conditions there, and acknowledged that the surge had stabilized the security in the region and bought the military some time to deal with larger strategic problems.



—General Abizaid in his dress uniform—

The main problems in Iraq, General Abizaid said, are no longer the precarious security conditions, but governance conditions. Shifting power, both political and military, from the Americans to the Iraqi locals has proven to be more difficult than expected. Stabilizing Iraq and Afghanistan must be the priority of the incoming presidential administration, Abizaid said. "We need to control the fight against al-Qaeda. We have no choice. We may walk away from them, but they won't walk away from us," the General said. Campaign-trail rhetoric aside, the reality on the ground in Iraq and Afghanistan will leave very little room for the incoming Commander-in-Chief to move.

General Abizaid identified four key issues that American foreign policy makers will be grappling with in the coming years. The first issue is the rise of Islamic extremism. This can obviously be seen in Iraq and Afghanistan, where America is fighting two wars against Islamic ideology and

Mr. Brace is a sophomore at the College and an Associate Editor of The Dartmouth Review. Emily Esfahani-Smith contributed to the pre-interview article. Thank you to Brian Nachbar for transcribing this interview.

its devolution into terrorism. Pakistan has proven to be a hotbed for Islamic extremism as well, the General noted, with al-Qaeda leadership hiding out there. The second key

issue is Iran, its Mullah government, and its desire to expand its hegemony in the Middle East. Iran is a weak, deterrable power, according to the General, and American policy toward Iran should be shaped accordingly. The ever-present Arab-Israeli conflict is the third issue General Abizaid cited. Striking a balance between respecting the Israeli state and ensuring that Palestinians do not descend into hopelessness and gravitate toward extremism and terrorism is critical. Finally, the fourth pressing issue General Abizaid cited was U.S. dependency on foreign oil.

Ultimately, the General thinks that solving these issues cannot be left to the military alone. The "military tool is a blunt instrument," he said, and it must be coupled with, diplomatic measures. A day after his public lecture, General Abizaid sat down with *The Dartmouth Review* to delve further into some of these issues.

The Dartmouth Review: You were the longest serving CENTCOM Commander. What was the most interesting aspect of your job?

General John Abizaid: [Laughs] There was not a day that went by that wasn't interesting. There was always a tremendous amount going on, but for those of us that are soldiers, we are used to conflict. We don't seek it, but when we're in the middle of it, it creates an incredible challenge for us to give the troops below us the tools necessary to do what has to be done. So I found every day challenging. It was challenging not only from a military point of view; it was also challenging in that we had to end up doing work diplomatically, we had to talk to the leaders of the region, we had to convince people not to move in directions that were contrary to the interests of the United States. It was very challenging, but it was also very rewarding. The most rewarding thing about it was seeing young people out there in the middle of it dealing with adversity in such an admirable way.

TDR: The conflicts in the Middle East today are far different from anything we fought in our history. Do you think the United States is equipped to fight this different kind of fight?

Abizaid: We're getting better and better at it. Experience is a teacher, and we've been there a long time. If you consider we've been at war since 2001—at least recognized war since 2001—I think we have been pretty flexible in the way that we've approached the issues out there. We have changed tactics, techniques, procedures. We've done things differently from time to time. I think the officer corps and the non-commissioned officers have become

much more experienced and comfortable with dealing with these very uncertain problems. So, I believe that we have gotten better; but on the other hand, we can't abandon our conventional war-fighting skills under the notion that somehow or another all wars are going to be like Iraq. No war is ever like the one you just fought.

TDR: Are there any particular areas where you think we still have a way to go with improving our capabilities?

Abizaid: Yes. I remain concerned, and I've said it—I said it last night for example, and I said it when I was on active duty, and I've brought it to the attention of senior leadership numerous times—I believe that we have not figured out very well how to get all the rest of the elements of our great national power into the problem-solving mode for what's going on in the Middle East. I mean, we have to have diplomatic activity going on. This is not to say that anybody is doing anything wrong, it's to say that maybe our institutions aren't as agile as they need to be for the twenty-first century. So I would hope that we could be a little bit better about using

less military force and more agile about using diplomacy, economic, educational, informational, and political.

Afghanistan was the main effort, and we shifted to Iraq, and now it's clear, because of a deteriorating situation in Afghanistan and an improving situation in Iraq, that we have to shift again. We may have been slow in shifting, but I think that's understandable, given the strain on the forces worldwide.

TDR: You had a very interesting comment last night that I was hoping you could elaborate on. You said that the Middle East could be shaped but not controlled. What exactly did you mean?

Abizaid: Well, this is, of course, my historical bias. I enjoy understanding, or taking time to read and try to understand, military activity in the Middle East—history of the Middle East—and it's just a period of five thousand years filled with conflict. Empires that have come in and tried to control things directly have almost always been defeated. Countries that come in and worked cooperatively or at least provided the people with an opportunity to live within what I would call autonomous bounds are much more successful. So, I think, rather than going in there saying, "We want this country to become a democracy in the next two years," we need to say, "Look, we're going to give you an opportunity to build a government for yourselves that's more accountable."

And so, we should beware of quick solutions when all of the historical facts would lead us to the conclusion that there are no quick solutions. It doesn't mean that we can't shape the outcome. I mean, look, we can't convince Muslims not to turn to extremism if they make that choice, but we can help them have the tools necessary to resist extremism, and I think that's shaping as opposed to controlling.

TDR: With this in mind, what do you think needs to be done in Afghanistan? There's been a lot of talk lately about how that is the new front in the War on Terror. What do you think needs to be done there?

Abizaid: Well, of course we've been fighting in Afghanistan longer than we've been fighting in Iraq. In the military we try to designate the main effort. And the reason you designate a main effort is that you can't do all things well everywhere, because you have a limited amount of resources. So, certainly, Afghanistan was the main effort, and we shifted to Iraq, and now it's clear, because of a deteriorating situation in Afghanistan and an improving situation in Iraq, that we have to shift again. We may have been slow in shifting, but I think that's understandable, given the strain on the forces worldwide.

So we have to address the problems in Afghanistan, but again I want to emphasize, just like General McKiernan, the commander there, emphasized: it's just not military power that he needs there, it's to get not only American diplomatic, economic, informational and political power brought to bear, but also to get the help of our NATO allies. He needs a tremendous amount of diplomatic leverage to help the Pakistanis recognize that they've got a huge problem on their side of the border that must be addressed.

TDR: Another interesting comment you made yesterday was that Sunni Islamic extremism is at the beginning of its ideological cycle, whereas Iranian Shia ideology is at the end of its cycle.

Abizaid: I probably ought to clarify that. I think, if there is a cycle to these sorts of things, Bin Laden and his movement are moving upward, and the Mullahs in Iran are having a tough time maintaining the support of their people. So I'm not sure it's near the end, but it's closer to the end than to the beginning.

TDR: So do you think that the problem of Sunni Islamic extremism will get worse before it gets better?

Abizaid: That's a great question. It's very interesting when you look at the battlefield, if you look at the global battlefield. We have protected ourselves since 9/11. We haven't been attacked; I think one of the reasons that hasn't happened is that we have been willing to be abroad in an offensive orientation. We've walked Sunni extremists back on their

Former CENTCOM Comm. Gen. Abizaid

heels. I think we should be realistic and understand that they're undoubtedly working on a way to attack us again in some form, and that, sooner or later, they'll figure out how to do it. We have had success on some battlefields—a lot of success in Iraq. Over the years that we've been fighting there we've really made it difficult for al-Qaeda to be successful. And by the way, al-Qaeda has made it difficult for themselves to be successful, because of the way they operate. So that's certainly positive.

Look at Saudi Arabia. The Saudi Arabian government has gone after al-Qaeda very hard; that's been positive. You see it in other Arab countries in particular, but then you go to the Pakistan-Afghanistan frontier, and you look on the Pakistani side of the border, and al-Qaeda's influence and capabilities have increased in a way that's very worrisome. So, like in any war, there are pluses and minuses. I think there are slightly more pluses than minuses, and the good thing is Islam is very resistant to extremism, and what Bin Laden wants to do is provoke the average Muslim to join his team in order to defend their religion and their beliefs. The locals haven't moved in that direction in any great mass yet, and I don't think they will.

But again, we have to beware of doing the wrong thing in the region, and we have to beware of the idea that actions that we take could push more people into his arms. Look, it's a tough fight, and it's a long fight; I wish it were otherwise, but ultimately it won't be American military power that wins against Islamic extremism. It will be the good views of the average people on the streets in the Muslim world that say, "Look, I'm not going to accept this form of extremism."

TDR: What are the costs of failure? If we withdraw, what do you think the consequences will be?

Abizaid: Whenever a great power leaves a vacuum in the world, it creates tremendous uncertainty and instability, and in a period of instability, extremism feeds. Absent American power, extremism could take root in the region in a way that would be dangerous for the people in the region and for us.

TDR: Shifting to the home front, do you think there's a disconnect between those involved in the operations in the Middle East—those in the military, those in the CIA, the State Department, and so on—and the average American? And if so, what do you think needs to be done to rectify that?

Abizaid: Well, there's certainly an informational gap. I'm not blaming it on those of you that are in our media, but I am saying that it always struck me—to use my own personal example—that, being involved in the Middle East, I was always very confident about what we were doing when we were in the Middle East, and then when I would come back here I was always shocked to see the level of discomfort and consternation at home.

Somehow or another, I think we need to figure out how to communicate better within our own society between the media and those of us that have been or are involved

We could be a little bit better about using less military force and more agile about using diplomacy, economic, educational, informational, and political.

in the Middle East, in a way to make people understand what's going on there. By the way, I don't think it's because Americans don't want to know. I believe Americans are hungry to know, but we haven't come up with the mechanisms that allow them to fully appreciate what's going on over there, and many media organizations will either leave after they've been there for a certain amount of time—and so they don't cover events the same way—or they'll adopt a certain editorial point of view that might not necessarily convey things the way they actually are.

This battle of perceptions is a very, very hard thing

to maneuver, and one of the things we soldiers fight for is the right to have a free press. I'm not blaming the problem on the press, but I am saying there is a problem. But your question to me was, "What do we do about it?"

I think the most important thing to do is just keep talking about it. I mean, you're interested, and you have great questions; you're certainly a concerned citizen, trying to figure out what in the world. I thought the people that attended the lecture yesterday were interested. I don't notice any less interest in my little hometown in the middle of Nevada, where people come to rotary club meetings, and they ask me good questions, and they're interested in knowing. I think we citizens—all of us—have an obligation, when our sons and daughters are called to battle, that we know why they're out there fighting.

TDR: What can students at Dartmouth and other schools around the country do to help?



—The General urges Dartmouth students to consider serving in the armed forces—

Abizaid: Well, first and foremost, educate yourselves about what in the world is going on out there. Try to do it in an impassioned way. Find out what is going on and be clear in the way that you logically try to understand the issues that are out there. Talk to other people, exchange views, read, study, and then think about how it might be that in the twenty-first century, you can help advance the values of our country and advance a planet that needs to globalize in a positive way. There are all sorts of things that you can do—internationally, nationally, locally—that add to society. My impression of your generation is that you guys want to do that, and I would encourage you to do that. I think the worst thing that can happen to us is that we all become a nation of spectators and critics. So, figure out how to get involved, get involved, make a difference, and it will change your life.

TDR: Speaking of critics, there are those in this country, particularly in academia, who argue that Islamic terrorism is a result of U.S. actions, that our presence in the region is a catalyst for them. Would you agree with that or disagree with that?

Abizaid: I don't agree with that at all. The United States hasn't caused this form of Sunni Islamic extremism, as exem-

plified by al-Qaeda and Bin Laden. We shouldn't succumb to the notion that we caused it and that we're making it worse. Sunni Islamic extremism is a faction within Islam that has

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decided that one of the characteristics of this fight will be for them to confront American power directly. They came and attacked us. We didn't attack them, and it's important for us to be clear about what we're trying to achieve here. And to my mind, at least at this point in the campaign, we're trying to help the people in the region help themselves. There's more common interest against this enemy than we've really been able to organize efficiently to deal with

this problem. And over time it needs to be less American-led and more locally-led, and I see that happening all over the region. We shouldn't underestimate the pull of this ideology, though. To me the worst outcome is if this ideology becomes mainstream. I don't think it will. But I don't buy the argument that it's all our fault. It's not.

TDR: So how has the transition been from commanding over 250,000 American servicemen over an entire region to living in Nevada?

Abizaid: It's good. Look, you never forget where you come from. I came from a small town in the middle of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. It's where I graduated from high school, and it's where my wife graduated from high school. I came from a rather modest family in terms of what we had financially, but my belief is that, at the end of whatever you're doing with your life, when you retire from what you're doing, you go back to where you came from and try to contribute in the way that you can. So, I'm perfectly happy being a civilian again. I was one before, for a short period of time; I'm one again, and I want to contribute in a positive way to helping people understand some of the problems that I've had to deal with. I certainly did not do everything right in my life, and I hope people learn from my mistakes, and I hope they learn from my experiences.

TDR: What's next?

Abizaid: More of this.

TDR: More of this?

Abizaid: Yes. Why? Do you think I'm going to go into politics? No, I'm not. [Laughs].

TDR: So just a happy retirement? A happy, semi-quiet retirement?

Abizaid: Yes. It is happy, but it's not semi-quiet. It involves a lot of traveling. I don't suppose it'll be semi-quiet for a couple of years, when I figure out what's the one thing I'm going to do. Right now I'm doing about five or six different things. It includes traveling around and lecturing at universities or to civic groups or to various other organizations. It includes sitting on a board of directors or two of major companies. I do mentoring for senior officers in the military. I perform important functions in the realm of helping veterans in particular. I do a lot of work in Nevada trying to help our veterans find jobs and reintegrate into society. I think no nation remains great if it doesn't support its great veterans.

TDR: Thank you for your time, General Abizaid. ■

The Laurelled Sons of Dartmouth

By Michael C. Russell

Military service is one of the oldest and proudest traditions of Dartmouth College. From Antietam to Khe Sanh, the sons of Dartmouth have proudly fought for their nation and continue to do so today.

The Civil War was the first war to have a major impact on the College, tearing both the nation and the College apart. Like most schools of the time, Dartmouth was a regional school that pulled most of its students from the North; however, 44 of her sons left to follow General Lee into battle for the South. This number is dwarfed by the 662 men who joined the ranks of the Union army, representing thirty one classes from 1822 to 1863. Included in those who left for the Army were 221 who were trained at the medical school. Dartmouth has the distinction of having taught the first college undergraduate to enlist in the Union Army, Charles L. Douglas '62, and having the highest proportion of her students of any Northern school to fight for the Union.

The College enthusiastically supported the war effort, despite then-President Nathan Lord's pro-slavery tendencies. There were many groups formed on campus that performed military drills for students in those years leading up to the war, like the Dartmouth Zouaves. When the war began they readily enlisted, and it was those of the Class of '63 who formed the nucleus of the aptly named 'College Cavaliers,' a cavalry composed of college students from New England, including Dartmouth, Bowdoin and Norwich. It was the only company of its type formed during the war and Dartmouth men energetically answered its call to join.

In battle the men of Dartmouth showed leadership and rose swiftly through the ranks. Four hundred and thirteen were commissioned officers by war's end, and of that number, 22 became generals in the Union Army. Thus, a small northern college supplied the Army with one of every 20 generals. Not all the sons of Dartmouth returned from battle, however: 73 fell on both sides of the conflict combined. Their names are enshrined on the bronze plaques that hang on the doors of Rauner library, a gift of the Class of 1863 in 1913. In an act that attests to the words of their alma mater, "brother stands by brother," the plaques include the names of both Union and rebel classmates who lost their lives on the battlefield.

One other casualty of the war was President Lord, who became increasingly unpopular for his views on slavery and its ordainment by God.

Lord published an open letter in 1859 to other ministers trying to convince them of the biblical history that justifies slavery, which did not strain relations with his students but put him in a precarious position once the war began. Amos Tuck, the namesake of Dartmouth's business school, deviously maneuvered to remove Lord from his office. Tuck recommended that the College give an honorary degree to Abraham Lincoln, knowing that Lord would object on principle. Then Tuck, who served as a Trustee, rigged the election so that the vote would tie and force President Lord to take a public stance on the issue. After Lord—predictably—voiced his opposition to the proposal, outrage swept the campus and he was promptly removed from his office by the Board of Trustees.

Possibly in an effort to improve upon their ancestors' effort, Dartmouth's sons readily embraced the nationalist fervor of the Great War, as only 25 of the 1500 students did not volunteer for the Students Army Training Corps. It became a common practice for those in SATC to gather together in Webster Hall

to sing patriotic songs. The faculty also contributed to the war effort; 52 of them served from posts as

diverse as retainer of the Department of State and a Lieutenant in the Army's Ordnance Corps.

All counted, over 3,400 men from Classes 1883 - 1922 served in the First World War. Of these, 112 paid the ultimate price and they are remembered on the granite memorial that stands in the main archway of the College's Memorial Field.

The prelude to the next great conflict was far more conservative, as the campus was firmly against American

intervention into Europe. This was reflected by a poll that showed 70 percent of students preferred Wendell Willkie, the isolationist opponent of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, for president in the election of 1940, shocking College President Ernst M. Hopkins as well as the nation. Once Roosevelt won, in stark contradiction to their progeny of the Vietnam War, the faculty voted 200-227 to send a letter to President Roosevelt calling for increased aid to the Allies. Student impressions about WWII began to change over time, though, due to pressure from the faculty and President Hopkins.

On December 8, 1941, the *Daily Dartmouth* had only one complaint: that we might be forced to fight a "secondary enemy" in Asia and not be able to concentrate our efforts on fighting fascism in Europe. President Hopkins changed the academic calendar for the Class of '42 by canceling Winter Carnival and shortening the winter break so that the class could graduate a month earlier on May 20 and enlist.

That July, the College was essentially taken over by the United States Navy, becoming a central site for the V-7 and V-12 programs, early predecessors of ROTC. Civilian student enrollment fell to 800 per class, while the Navy pumped approximately 2,000 men into Dartmouth's V-12 program, creating a campus resembling a military base more than a college.

Navy trainees occupied Butterfield, Russell Sage, Lord, Gile, Streeter, Hitchcock, and Massachusetts Row dormitories. Marines laid claim to New Hampshire, Topliff, and South Fayerweather. The College officially adapted Naval time, and the bells of Baker Library rang the hours of the watch. Since all of the apprentice seamen were required to take physics courses in addition to a normal course load and military training, the College had many humanities professors teach physics as part of the war effort. President Hopkins found himself hard-pressed to maintain Dartmouth as a liberal arts institution amid the bustling military presence.

Dartmouth men, well known for their affinity for the outdoors, were well acquainted with skiing and became a part of the Army's 10th Mountain Division that fought in the Italian Alps.

The words of Class of 1943 valedictorian Charles Pearson elicit a feeling and manner that have been in large part lost. In his valedictory address he told the world, "Do not feel sorry for us. We are not sorry for ourselves. Today we are happy. We have a duty to perform and we are proud to perform it. Dartmouth, we thank you for what you have done for us. Our new world is in our hands. We must not, we dare not fail." These words are archaic in the current era of moral relativism and rampant anti-Americanism, but it was this feeling of duty and service that sent Dartmouth to war.

Once more Dartmouth surpassed itself, as over 11,000 students and alums fought for democracy around the world. However, Dartmouth makes great men but not invincible ones: 310 men from thirty-one classes fell in battle. Charles Pearson was among them; he and his classmates are now remembered in the Hopkins Center courtyard.

Over the course of the two world wars, the College accrued a great deal of debt and was kept afloat mainly due to its participation in the Reserve Officer Training Corps. This solution was not unique to Dartmouth; many other

small New England schools were financed by the ROTC including Middlebury, Norwich, and the University of Vermont. In fact, if Dartmouth had not served as a Navy training base during the Second World War, the financial woes of the drastically reduced enrollment could have bankrupted the College.

President Dickey presided over Dartmouth in the 1950s and shepherded in a new age for the school. Both Navy and Air Force ROTC programs were added to the campus under his tenure. Nearly 40 percent of the students enrolled in the 1950s participated in one of the ROTC programs on campus, and 30 percent of each senior class was commissioned at graduation. It was at this time of military pageantry that the sight of cadets parading through the streets of Hanover was not a rare one.

However, Dartmouth's honeymoon with the military was

not destined to last as the social upheaval of the 1960s—inspired in large part by the Vietnam War—began to reach even the far-flung woods of New Hampshire. The Students for a Democratic Society established an organization on campus in 1967 and began distributing propaganda pieces to the student body as well as pressuring the College to sever ties with the ROTC. Chinese Professor Jonathan Mirsky led students in a black-arm-band protest against the ROTC as both faculty and students lined up against the program.

The Students for a Democratic Society, SDS, was the most vocal group on campus against the ROTC and would accept nothing less than an absolute separation between the College and the military. One of the leaders of SDS, Joseph Benemo '68, wrote in a memorandum that Dartmouth College, "exists to serve the corporate structure of America by training businessman and future capitalist leaders," which means, therefore, that Dartmouth is "not a neutral institution at all."

The organization demanded that there be no dialogue with the military and that the College unilaterally expel it from campus.

While students' anti-authority notions were directed at Dickey and the administration, anti-military sentiment was directed at those students who, despite immense pressure, defied popular campus sentiment and donned the United States military uniform. These were members of the ROTC program on campus.

Students in uniform drilling and marching throughout campus obviously upset the increasingly liberal students and faculty. The climax came during Dickey's last full year as president when the anti-war SDS threatened to take over Parkhurst Hall unless the College eliminated Dartmouth's ROTC program.

In May 1969, 75 students and at least two faculty members seized Parkhurst and forced administrators to leave. Dickey left on his own after yelling, "Get out of my way!" to protesting students. The leader of the group, John Spritzler '68, still holds his anti-military ideals, including the firm belief that "the whole U.S. Army should be abolished."

This was to mark the beginning of the end of the ROTC at Dartmouth, as the faculty voted to remove the ROTC program from campus, to be effective by 1972. This prevented the military from soliciting students in classes later than the Class of '72. At that point, the College commissioned a poll to reexamine how students felt about ROTC, and two-thirds of the student body supported keeping the ROTC on campus in its current, however neutered, state. This caused an uproar from the faculty, who condemned the poll and felt that it should not have been issued in the first place. The administration was quick to apologize.

Things changed in 1984 when the Board of Trustees came out and endorsed the idea of recreating the Navy ROTC program, which President David McLaughlin voiced his support for in 1985. This was in stark contrast to the faculty votes of 125-52 and 113-39 against Navy and Army ROTC programs respectively.

However, the Student Assembly came out and voted in favor of the idea of bringing back the ROTC. Parkhurst and the Trustees ignored faculty protests and established a joint ROTC program with Norwich College in Vermont that Dartmouth students could enroll in.

President James Freedman was not as sympathetic to the ROTC program and worked with the faculty to undermine the program as best he could. Eventually he succeeded in compelling the trustees to set an expiration date, 1993, on the ROTC, if the military's policy toward gays had not changed by that point. When President Bill Clinton was elected, Freedman's timeline was extended one year due to Clinton's campaign promise to reform the military's policy on gays. However, 'don't ask, don't tell' was insufficient for the faculty, who voted unanimously to oust the ROTC program. Faculty objections were once again ignored as the trustees voted in 1994 to keep the program indefinitely.

The current ROTC program is a shell of its former self. A program that once had a thousand members every year has been shrunk to a half-dozen. The history of Dartmouth and service is long and distinguished, as is its history of military service. While the history of ROTC may be tumultuous, there are still those at Dartmouth who bravely enlist in the ROTC, despite academia's anti-military sentiments. ■

The leader of the SDS, John Spritzler '68, still holds this anti-military ideals, including the firm belief that "the whole U.S. Army should be abolished."

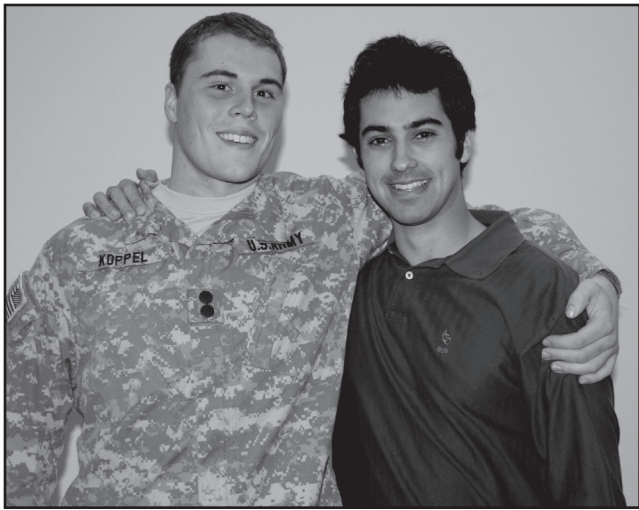
Dartmouth Men in the Trenches

By Tyler R. Brace

As hundreds of Dartmouth students rush to meet corporate recruiting deadlines, a much smaller group of students is taking a different path, one that leads not to boardrooms and six-figure salaries but to harsh conditions and dangerous assignments. These men bring their talents to an organization that desperately needs it: the United States military. *The Dartmouth Review* interviewed three current seniors who plan to join the Armed Forces after college and one recent graduate who has already spent several years in the U.S. Army.

Christopher Koppel '09

Chris Koppel is a senior at Dartmouth and the senior cadet in Dartmouth's Army ROTC detachment. Dartmouth ROTC is a four year scholarship program that commissions Dartmouth students as Army second lieutenants after graduation. There are currently six cadets, which allows for personal attention from the staff. The group meets weekly for two hours of class and three hours of field training in topics ranging from rifle marksmanship to land navigation.



—Chris Koppel and Alex Abate—

Koppel comes from a family that values military service; his father and both of his grandfathers served in the Navy. His decision to join ROTC his freshman fall reflects his view that “As an intelligent, educated, and physically capable young man, I am needed by our country to serve and protect our way of life.” By accepting an ROTC scholarship, Koppel is obligated to serve eight years on active and reserve duty. This is a decision he has never regretted despite the stories he hears of high pay and glamour in the corporate world.

“While it is a little demoralizing to see my friends take lucrative jobs or internships (this summer I was getting paid \$28 a day while some of my friends approached the same wage per hour), I feel that my time in the military will only open more doors for me in the long run. The valuable experience I’ll take from the army will help me enter management (hopefully in an upstart renewable energy firm), continue government service (possibly the CIA) or allow me to pursue a political career down the road,” he said.

This past summer Koppel participated in Leadership Development and Assessment Camp (LDAC) at Fort Lewis, Washington for a month. The camp is mandatory for all juniors enrolled in ROTC and is designed to ensure that all cadets meet standards for officers. Koppel described LDAC as fun but not particularly challenging. The most rewarding part of his summer came during the second half, when he attended Cadet Troop Leading Training (CTLT), a program that pairs an ROTC cadet with a second lieutenant so the cadet can learn how troops are led. Koppel was assigned to the National Training Center at Fort Irwin, CA, the last stop for units preparing to deploy to Iraq. Here they received the most realistic combat training the Army has to offer. For instance, Koppel’s lieutenant played the role of an al-Qaeda cell leader, so Koppel experienced the most current insurgent tactics used in Iraq and Afghanistan today. In addition, Koppel took courses in mixed martial arts and Jiu Jitsu.

Upon graduation, Chris Koppel will be commissioned as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army. While he finishes his Master’s of Engineering Management at Thayer, he will be on staff at nearby Norwich University’s Army Depart-

ment. Once he obtains his degree, he hopes to join the Army Corps of Engineers. Koppel is enthusiastic about his choices and urges other Dartmouth students to consider serving. “At Dartmouth there are very talented individuals, and the armed services could use them to help question how things are currently done and make positive changes. If you do your research, there are many ways to serve your country and many opportunities for the government to pay for your schooling and other training. If you’ve had an interest in the military for a while, it would be a shame if you never gave it a shot. The commitment isn’t for the rest of your life and it will, at the very least, be an experience that develops your character.” Koppel is happy to answer any questions and is available via e-mail or in person.

Alexander Abate '09

Alex Abate is taking a different route to military service. His sophomore summer, he contacted the Marine Corps’ New Hampshire Officer Selection Office. After a few meetings, he decided to apply to Officer Candidate School, a two-month selection camp for potential Marine officers. Upon completing the program, a candidate is offered a commission as a second lieutenant and, if he accepts, signs a three and a half year commitment to serve. After applying to OCS, Abate began preparing for the course and even took the Department of Defense’s fitness test. However, his plans were put on hold when he broke his leg. He decided to reapply this year and will hopefully commence training in late summer or early fall 2009.

When asked why he plans on joining the Marines, Abate said, “The easiest explanation I can offer is that I owe a debt of service to my country. I am infinitely fortunate to be an American: simply due to the location of my birth, I have been afforded opportunities found nowhere else in the world. By serving my country, I would be able to give back to my country and ensure that future generations have the same opportunities I have been so lucky to have.” He is undecided about what specific branch of the military he hopes to join but he “envisions doing something on the ground. If I wanted to work in an office, I could do that in the private sector.”

Andrew Son '09

Like Abate, Andrew Son decided to enter the military during his college career. He had contemplated applying to West Point during high school but was not prepared to make such a firm commitment at that time. It was during



—Andrew “Sonny” Son—

his off-term internship at the Washington State House of Representatives during winter of 2008 that he decided to become an Army officer.

Son feels it is his duty to give back to his country. He also feels that as a Dartmouth student, he is ideally positioned to make a difference. “The United States military needs highly motivated and educated individuals to serve: people like Dartmouth students. I’m confident that I’ll make a difference somewhere...I hope to motivate other people to serve in the armed forces. I want to show people that you can be successful even if you donate a few years of your life to the military,” he said.

Upon graduation, Son will take a few months off before heading to Basic Training for nine weeks and then to the Army’s Officer Candidate School.

Rollo Begley '04

Unlike the other students profiled in this article, Begley is a few years into his military service. During his senior year at Dartmouth, he was uninterested in the types of jobs his friends were seeking. “I mean, come on, do you really want to be a mortgage-derivatives analyst at age 22?” he asked rhetorically. He started talking to Army recruiters, first from the Marines and then from the Army. Begley was impressed by the responsibility he would have at age 22, and the type of work the Army does seemed much more exciting to him than a desk job.

Begley joined the Army under the OCS plan, the same route Andrew Son plans to take. This option is open to any college graduate who meets Army entrance standards. The first step along this path is Basic Training, which Begley describes as, “nine weeks of your life that just suck, and that’s all there is to it.” After Basic came OCS, which was “boring but not difficult,” according to Begley. Then there is artillery school. In Begley’s words, “Artillery school is



—Despite the glasses, Rollo’s not pusillanimous—

awesome. If you ever get the chance, I highly recommend it. You have to move to Lawton, Oklahoma for six months, which is a significant drawback, but you get to call in dangerously close artillery rounds, and I got to call in an airstrike, both of which are spectacular experiences.” After artillery school, he joined the 10th Mountain Division, where he was given an infantry platoon, despite his training as an artillery officer.

He deployed to Iraq soon after as leader of a heavy weapons platoon. Begley describes war as “the most mind-imploding, suicidal-thought-enhancing, incomprehensibly boring and frustrating process in the history of man’s retardation. But in return for all of that, you do get a couple of moments when your adrenal glands snort speed. It’s worth experiencing.” While in Iraq, Begley sought to understand why soldiers perform life-threatening tasks on a daily basis. In his opinion, it is because “Nobody wants to be a pussy. Bottom line. Guys will do all kinds of things because somebody tells them to and they’re too proud to say no.”

Begley has enjoyed his time in the Army:

The greatest thing about the job is just unparalleled in the civilian world, and that’s the breadth of knowledge that’s expected and offered. Today, I had to figure out how to ship radioactive materials by rail halfway across the country. In the past month, I’ve repaired a diesel engine, made a thirty-minute speech, and helped secure a loan for a 19-year-old colleague with significant and unforeseeable family problems...In twenty years in the Army, a non-spectacular career path could easily include: running a 35-man organization, being number two in a 120-man organization, six months of training, running a 120-man organization, going to grad school for two years (tuition and salary paid), teaching at West Point, twelve months of training, being number two in a 700-man organization, running a department of a 10,000-man organization, running a 700-man organization, and the list goes on. That’s a ton of responsibility, and you end it all at forty-something years old with a retirement check for the rest of your life. Nothing wrong with that.

These four men add to a rich tradition of military service at Dartmouth that stretches back to the earliest days of the College, as described on page 8. ■

TDR Exclusive Interview:

By: Weston R. Sager

Editor's Note: John Burns, the New York Times London Bureau Chief, is currently at the College with the Montgomery Fellows Program. As the former Times Baghdad Bureau Chief, Mr. Burns has a unique, pragmatic stance on the Iraq war. Mr. Burns sat down with The Dartmouth Review to discuss the war in Iraq, in addition to other matters. Mr. Burns also delivered a public lecture at the College on Iraq (see page 5).

The Dartmouth Review: You've been in some of the nastiest places in the world, including Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Balkans. How does Dartmouth compare?

John Burns: Of course, it's a wonderful place for anybody, whether you come from war or not. It's a great paradox that doesn't relate to Dartmouth so much as a general life experience. When you've spent years covering wars (I won't say at war because you're not really at war but covering wars), coming back to peace is difficult. War is a lot easier, in many respects, to cover. Not in all respects, as you can imagine: war is difficult because of the risks, but as a professional matter, it is so dramatic. The war marches so regularly and easily after page one. In some



—Burns says Gen. Petraeus understates gains in Iraq—

ways it's less demanding than in peace, when you have to all of a sudden imagine your stories. You have to find ways of making them compelling for readers. I have to tell you the truth, war is—I want to pause when I say this, because of course war is a horrendous thing—but is exhilarating as a reporter for all kinds of reasons.

One of them is the drama of it—living on the edge. I suppose the more morally acceptable way of expressing it, is that war, while it clearly expresses some of the darkest instincts in the human soul, also engenders in people, often very ordinary people, quite extraordinary responses: courage, endurance, and compassion, and a willingness to put self behind the common interest, and that's a very engaging thing. It's a very difficult thing to give up.

In my judgment, what's happened in the last 18 months is the military has insistently understated what it is achieving. It's probably a smart move, and it's resulted in the catch-phrases the military uses, like Iraq is "fragile" and "replaceable."

TDR: So you said in your talk last week that we live in frightening times. Could you please elaborate on that?

Burns: Well we do. What did Yeats say? These are things you cannot hold, you have to feel them. I'm 64 years old,

Mr. Sager is a senior at the College and President of The Dartmouth Review. Thank you to Ryan Zehner for transcribing this interview.

and I've seen lives come and go. Much of my professional life has been spent among people on the horizon, beyond the horizon, whose lives have been completely upended by events they couldn't control. But I've always come from places which were under control and guided by stability and civility. To a degree that's never been the case in my life before, stability and civility themselves are coming into question these days. And I think that there is a quite understandable, legitimate fear in our own society that I've not seen before. It affects me personally.

I come back from these far horizons where war, disorder and chaos are the orders of the day, only to be greeted by another kind of instability—economic. I discover that one of the great institutions of America, the *New York Times*, whose survival I never questioned over 35 years, is now faced with a financial crisis. I'm not sure it's a struggle for survival, but it's certainly a very serious struggle to maintain profitability. We've had to shed jobs, we've had to shed more jobs, and you wonder what sort of *New York Times* will survive this. That's a thought I've not had to have in 35 years. There are tens of millions of Americans who are thinking the same thing about their own jobs and companies.

TDR: Now turning to Iraq, did you foresee the possibility of it turning around the way it has in the past year or so?

Burns: I've always been suspicious of groupthink of any kind. Certainly by the summer of 2006 the signs were very strongly that the war was being lost, and that what seemed like the only possible fix for that was not going to be viable politically in the United States—certainly not at the moment of the 2006 elections, with the Iraq Study Commission recommending an exit strategy.

During the worst times, I used to challenge my colleagues in Baghdad to a thought experiment. We had the largest bureau by far the *New York Times* has ever had overseas. Usually when we gathered for dinner there would be 10, 12, 15 of us, reporters, photographers, editors, administrators (my wife was the chief administrator of our operation in Baghdad), and I used to say we should engage in lateral thinking here and turn this upside down, and see if we could imagine ways in which this could turn around that we haven't imagined yet. If we think of it, if we do that, we won't miss anything.

It's dangerous to get engaged in assumptions, to think the war is lost, because if we do that, our coverage will then fall. So that's what we have to remind ourselves, to look for contrary signs. Even those of us who felt that a timetable for withdrawal would have been a disaster in Iraq will find what's happened in Iraq during the last 18 months to be a miracle. For a war that was conducted as an illusion for the first three years—where gains were overstated and losses were understated—we've now entered a period where the opposite is true. Gains are understated and losses are overstated. The United States military, as it is wont to do, learnt its lessons, and is overcompensating now. It may seem odd to people who don't know the military, but there are many things to be learned from the way they operate: they're very impressive. One of the impressive thing about them is what they call their "Lessons Learned."

"Lessons Learned" is one of their procedures where they reconsider the particulars of war fighting, in addition to the larger, more general issues. They have a procedure where if there is an IED attack on a Humvee somewhere outside Tikrit, within 24 hours, any lessons to be learned from that attack are passed all the way up the chain of command to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where this process is centered, and then all the way back to the platoon level before people get into another Humvee tomorrow morning.

I can think of a lot of institutions that could benefit from

this process, including my own. But the military also in larger contexts has proven a willingness to go back to the basics, a willingness to think outside the envelope, to re-invent. This country is terrific at reinventing itself. The United States military reinvented itself in Iraq. General David Petraeus went out to the plains at Fort Leavenworth, as head of the training command, and brought together a group—a brain trust of people—and he reinvented U.S. counter-insurgency strategy. Now even British generals, who have spent much

As far ahead as we can see, certainly through the lifetimes of my children and their children, the world stability, such as it is, is going to depend on the United States, and the United States maintaining a predominant military power.

of the war second-guessing the United States, and saying "we learned to fight counter-insurgency in Northern Ireland" are coming around to the American strategy. The Irish counter-insurgency was a serious business but it was really a police enterprise, and in no way comparable to what happened in Iraq. In Northern Ireland, for instance, total casualties were 2,500 over a period of 30 years. Anyhow, these same British generals, who were second-guessing the American commanders three years ago, are now standing back in admiration of what the Americans accomplished.

David Petraeus coupled a counter-insurgency strategy with an additional 30,000 troops, and achieved astonishing feats. But one of the lessons he and the military learned was never again get into an illusion. So, in my judgment, what's happened in the last 18 months is the military has insistently understated what it is achieving. It's probably a smart move, and it's resulted in the catch-phrases the military uses, like Iraq is "fragile" and "replaceable."

We're a long way from saying that this war is at its end, but all the trends are running in the right direction. There are some new, emergent trends, just within the last couple of months, which suggest that the advances made by the military may be less reversible than we feared. Maybe the people of Iraq have been to the edge of the abyss and pulled back. Despite the lack of political reconciliation, the Iraqis will somehow find their way through to a soft landing there, but it won't happen without the presence of the United States military. It's all dependent, in one respect or another, on American military presence, and if

The opinion polls in Iraq aren't to be trusted....On January 20, 2003, President Bush described Saddam Hussein as a murdering tyrant; to the causes of the war, Bush added the human rights abuses against the people of Iraq. In Iraq the next morning, CNN went onto the streets outside the Information Ministry, which was an outpost of the secret police, gathered a crowd of Iraqis and said, "This is what President Bush said, are you with Saddam or are you with Bush?" What do you think the Iraqis said? Of course they said they were all with Saddam!

there was a precipitous or ill-judged withdrawal of troops, then this could yet be lost.

TDR: One way to gauge the sentiment of the Iraqis is through opinion polls. During your talk, you said opinion polls aren't reliable in Iraq. Given this, what should Americans look for as indicators of progress in that country?

Burns: The opinion polls in Iraq aren't to be trusted. Very, very quickly, opinions change in Iraq. Eighteen months ago, there were Iraqis, according to opinion polls taken by the U.S. military, who said the American military was occupying them and the Iraqis wanted them out. Now, by very high margins, in the 70-80% range, the same Iraqis are taking a very different view. Why? It's safe to express those opinions. What do you expect somebody to say when he's caught up in the middle of a civil war where people get a bullet in the head for expressing the wrong opinion? In that context, somebody telephones him on a mobile phone or comes to his door with a clipboard and asks, "Do you regard the Americans as occupiers and do you want them out?" Again, you'll get a biased answer.

During my lecture, I'm not sure if I gave the example

Times London Bureau Chief Burns

of the ludicrous interview given by American television networks, like CNN, when Saddam Hussein was still in power. On January 20, 2003, President Bush described Saddam Hussein as a murdering tyrant; to the causes of the war, Bush added the human rights abuses against the people of Iraq. In Iraq the next morning, CNN went onto the streets outside the Information Ministry, which was an outpost of the secret police, gathered a crowd of Iraqis and said, "This is what President Bush said, are you with Saddam or are you with Bush?"

What do you think the Iraqis said? Of course they said they were all with Saddam! For much of that day, an eminent CNN correspondent went around saying, "Look, the people of Iraq have given their answer." CNN neglected

is legitimacy to the argument made on the center-left of American politics that we should have made sure that we could prevail in Afghanistan before we engaged in another war. The American military commander of NATO forces in Afghanistan, General David McKiernan, told me a few days ago that the military can't build up American troop strength in Afghanistan without building down American troop strength in Iraq. It's just a hard fact about the availability of troops. You know, at the end of the Vietnam War the

will have the element of a new American President being elected.

In the case of the presidential candidates, I think you can say there are diverging opinions about Iraq, and the way

If you abandon Afghanistan, you will once again have a radical Taliban government running the place. Of course, the Taliban is allied with al-Qaeda, and would provide al-Qaeda with an operating base. Failure is not an option in Afghanistan.

We're a long way from saying that this war is at its end, but all the trends are running in the right direction.

to mention that the secret police had their enforcers just off camera. Anybody in that crowd who had expressed a contrary view and said they were with Bush, not Saddam, not only would he have been dead by nightfall, but his entire family would have perished too.

I had a conversation with very powerful people in DC at which point I said the same thing: "Beware of what opinion polls tell you, look for other measures." One measure I brought up, which ended up on the front page of the *New York Times*, was that people have begun to take down blast walls now. Communities have begun to take down these concrete blast walls that stood up to 20 feet high, which had been driven across the official lines of the war, the faction lines of the war. Taking the walls down was a big enterprise. Baghdad is no longer a city utterly divided by these walls. Still, cynics will say, "Well, the ethnic cleansing has progressed to a point where there are far fewer mixed communities than there were." People will always find a reason to discredit these sorts of things, but believe me, when people start tearing blast walls down, that's an expression of hope which is pretty definitive.

TDR: During your lecture, you mentioned the controversial notion of American interventionism. Do you believe America should engage in more conflicts to remove leaders of despotic regimes?

Burns: Well, I think obviously actions of this kind have to be very judiciously undertaken. One way of expressing this is that, many people—more often on the left than the right—say "If you didn't do Rwanda, you shouldn't have done Bosnia. If you didn't do Zimbabwe, you shouldn't have done Iraq." They are, to me, unfair. Just because you can't do everything everywhere doesn't mean you shouldn't do something somewhere. A world in which

Just because you can't do everything everywhere doesn't mean you shouldn't do something somewhere. A world in which American military power, along with American political and economic power, was no longer exercised judiciously to relieve suffering, would be a pretty bleak world.

American military power, along with American political and economic power, was no longer exercised judiciously to relieve suffering, would be a pretty bleak world. As far ahead as we can see, certainly through the lifetimes of my children and their children, the world stability, such as it is, is going to depend on the United States, and the United States maintaining a predominant military power.

TDR: What do you see as the future of Afghanistan?

Burns: Well, I think we've got to pay serious attention to Afghanistan. There's no doubt that the war in Iraq has distracted attention from Afghanistan. I think there

United States had a standing army of about 3,800,000 men. In the year that followed, it went down to 485,000, which is more or less the level it was at when the war in Iraq began. It's now building up, like I said, by about 30,000 a year, but it's going to take a long time to bring it back up to the levels that the commanders in the Pentagon think



—Conditions in Iraq continue to stabilize, while those in Afghanistan deteriorate—

are necessary.

So you now have an interconnectedness between these two wars. The commanders in Afghanistan are in need of troops. They have 65,000 NATO troops of which approximately 33,000 – 40,000 are American. About the same number of Afghan troops are fighting. In addition, Afghanistan is somewhat larger than Iraq, with a similar population, though in Afghanistan, that population is infinitely more "splittable" by an insurgency for obvious geographical reasons.

General McKiernan needs more troops, he needs more aid, he needs more directed aid. There are a lot of things that can be done to help the situation. General Petraeus takes over the Central Command—an area which includes Afghanistan—on October 31 and he has been cautious in saying that exporting the Iraq experience to Afghanistan is not feasible. Other strategies must be employed instead.

But there are some ideas from Iraq that are worth pursuing. One idea is looking at the possibility of employing tribes, in particular the Pashtun tribes, into the war on the side of the United States and its NATO allies. There are other solutions, but there are going to be two or three, or maybe five very difficult years, and I think we have to expect to see American casualties increasing. We'll see the costs of the war in Afghanistan increasing, and of course we

to go forward there, but it's clear McCain and Obama both see the Afghan war for what it is, which is not something we can contemplate losing. There seems to be a pretty good common consensus.

There has been a long and protracted debate about withdrawing from Iraq, and the consequences of that withdrawal, which in my opinion would be pretty dire. There's more of what 9/11 came from in Iraq. But it seems to me that only on the fringes of American politics do you find any argument that we should abandon Afghanistan. If you abandon Afghanistan—and don't take my word for it, take Mullah Muhammad Omar's words for it—you will once again have a radical Taliban government running the place. Of course, the Taliban is allied with al-Qaeda, and would provide al-Qaeda with an operating base.

This could bring us such disaster that I don't think withdrawal there is on the table—it would be like the Apollo 13 calling mission control: failure is not an option. Failure is not an option in Afghanistan.

TDR: In your lecture last week, I noticed your sense of humor. You've been to a lot of nasty places around the world. How does having a sense of humor affect your reporting style?

Burns: Well it helps, whether you're struggling with your papers that are due Monday morning at Dartmouth College or if you're at the sharp end of a war. Life is full of ridiculous things. I would say a paradox in my own life is that I've loved my five years in Iraq more than I've loved my time anywhere else.

I have a story for you along these lines. One of my

This country is terrific at reinventing itself. The United States military reinvented itself in Iraq. General David Petraeus went out to the plains at Fort Leavenworth and brought together a group—a brain trust of people—and he reinvented U.S. counter-insurgency strategy.

favorite Iraqi reporting staffers was viewed by some of my colleagues and staff as an extremely vexatious fellow. He was 23 years old, called himself Fat Khalid, weighed most of 300 pounds, and was capable of doing extremely ridiculous things. Just to give you an example of one thing he did: we were deep into the bad part of the war, and we had 100 people on the writing staff all receive simultaneously, by text message, a picture of Saddam Hussein pointing at them saying "I am watching you."

There was a panic, an absolute panic among the writing staff, because there was a serious risk of being assassinated among Americans. Toward dusk, as we called a meeting to discuss what to do about this, Fat Khalid raised his hand and said, "Joke, joke, joke." My colleagues were furious, they said "send him away, dispense of the so-and-so," but I said "anybody here who makes me laugh is valuable, and he makes me laugh," so we kept him on.

Sadly we did not protect him sufficiently. On his way to work one morning, his car was shot at by insurgents. He was still alive at that point, and called his mother to say that the insurgents got him. Moments later, the insurgents shot at him again, and murdered him. As you know, in the hardest places of all, people do find things to laugh about, and it would be a miserable world if it weren't so.

TDR: Thank you, Mr. Burns, it's been a pleasure. ■

College Profs Examine Financial Crisis

By Aditya A. Sivaraman

On Thursday, October 16, the Rockefeller Center hosted a panel on the current financial crisis. Four Dartmouth economics professors spoke in front of a packed audience about the causes and implications of the current financial crisis. The panel, moderated by Professor Andrew Samwick, featured Professors Bruce Sacerdote, Eric Zitzewitz, and Nancy Marion.

Professor Samwick opened the discussion with a few general remarks about the financial crisis. He placed the blame in large part on a fundamental cultural misunderstanding about the use and misuse of debt. Samwick clarifies that debt is a good thing, but only if it is secure. He argues, however, that lately Americans have increasingly had a “why not” attitude toward consumption—whereas previous generations had a stronger sense of financial responsibility, the free availability of credit (or debt) today has fueled a national myth that anything can be bought now and paid for at some undetermined point in the future.

If this argument applies to retail bankers, it is certainly amplified when considered in the context of large investment banks and financial institutions. Severe leveraging occurs when an attractive (albeit risky) investment can be bought now with borrowed money and paid for later with expected returns (that is, money a bank expects or hopes it will make in the future but really does not have).

This shortsighted view of investment leads to the inflation of the credit bubble, with loans being collateralized with other investment vehicles—a growing balloon increasingly inflated with hot air, not hard cash. Samwick accurately described this situation as “not the use of leverage but the misuse of leverage.” Samwick thinks that credit must be grounded in the idea that real investments must be paid with real money eventually.

Professor Sacerdote opened the discussion by arguing that the government’s fears are warranted, and that a bailout is a necessary economic choice. He, like Samwick, also traced the crisis back to a misuse of leverage based on bad loans, but also indicated that this was a broader economic problem. He argued that market rules, a slowdown in the housing market, and outright panic on the part of investors had added fuel to the fire and contributed to the rapid downfall of so many large institutions.

To illustrate the point, he showed slides of Lehman Brothers’ balance sheets shortly before the bank went bankrupt. At its peak, Lehman was leveraged over thirty times, which means for every dollar of real money, it had thirty dollars of debt—a dangerously high amount, considering that \$2.755 trillion of these assets were in the form of subprime debt. Shortly before bankruptcy, Lehman tried desperately to reduce its leveraged position, only to find that fears of hedge-fund solvency (accurate or otherwise) made it impossible for the bank to raise the required capital in time.

All things considered, this did not have to be a huge

problem, as subprime mortgages made up a relatively small part of Lehman’s total net worth. Rather, as Sacerdote explained, “The fundamental issue was that our financial institutions managed to bet heavily on the most imprudent loans.” The skittishness of the hedge-funds, combined with the integral nature of the financial sector to the world’s economy, led Sacerdote to argue that government intervention to provide liquidity was necessary in this case. He pointed out that bailing out banks is not a new phenomenon in our nation’s history; the tradition goes back as far as 1797, when Alexander Hamilton deposited Treasury money in troubled banks.

Professor Zitzewitz agreed that the government should buy bad loans. He argued that the alternative to this was for the government to directly buy stakes in banks after their equity cushion was wiped out in order to save those banks—that is, to nationalize the bank. He explained this alternative by first outlining the nature of the financial sector.

One of the main problems that leads to the banking contagion, according to Zitzewitz, is essentially a classic case of prisoner’s dilemma: when a bank is doing poorly, the optimal solution would be for all investors to take a loss, and simply move forward. However, this kind of deal often

up the cash and wrote the rules for a particular bank subsequently has no say in how that bank is run.

Zitzewitz also looked at the situation from the perspective of a small (presumably commercial) bank. These banks, which tend to be deposit-rich, have largely avoided many of the problems faced by the bigger banks because their daily business operations rely on lending money to people directly, and later being repaid with interest.

This type of bank already faces stiff competition from the larger national banks, which have the latitude to offer loans to riskier clients at lower rates. A government bailout seems like a vindication of failed private financial strategy at the expense of those companies that did nothing wrong. In some ways it even punishes them, because it means that within a year or two, these commercial banks will once again have to contend with large government-backed banking institutions.

Professor Marion compared the current crisis with the 124 other systemic banking crises that have occurred around the world since 1990. She argued that in most of these cases, a general recognition that financial institutions are in danger is a harbinger for a broader economic crisis.

Almost all of these cases resulted in government intervention in the form of “partial nationalization” of the banking

sector. However, government purchases of toxic assets have historically been an exception rather than a rule. Typically, bailouts come in the form of subordinated debt, common shares, or government bonds (that is, an injection of liquidity and not a literal bailout).

Marion pointed to a typical trend in the lead-up to a financial crisis: deregulation, credit boom, increased foreign borrowing, and a spending binge, all of which were present in our current crisis. Given that 50 percent of the financial crises cited by Marion have involved foreign intervention, the American crisis has the potential to get much worse before it gets better.

Most countries are cut off from international borrowing when they enter troubled financial times; the United States, as the home of global currency, has managed

to avoid this trend. With the U.S. borrowing at unprecedented rates, the American current account deficit has risen to 5.1 percent of our national GDP, a figure which would have cut the U.S. off from international credit a long time ago if it was a developing country. Developing countries, Marion explained, typically have to take “pro-cyclical” measures in times of market turmoil, such as cutting spending as a result of the lack of credit; the United States, on the other hand, has continued to expand government spending, which could easily be making an already bad situation even worse.

Fundamentally, the financial crisis will force Americans to rethink their standard of living. The American Dream—the idea that everyone can own a house, a car, and a college education—will have to be fundamentally reconsidered in light of the reality that we, as a nation, have been living beyond our means. Perhaps the answer lies in eliminating government institutions such as Fannie and Freddie that create this illusion. Perhaps stricter regulation is the answer. Most frighteningly, perhaps there really is nothing we can do. One thing is clear: we’re not out of the woods yet. ■



—The piggy bank is broken—

breaks down because any investor can refuse to this and demand that he is bought out entirely of his equity stake before the deal can move forward.

Common human nature suggests that this is the basis of financial contagion—literally, a run on (or in this case, out of) a bank. Nationalization could be a cure for this, as the government is able to perform as a unitary actor. Another advantage is that the publicly traded equity of a nationalized bank would be a constant frame of reference to the bank’s actual worth. The chief downside is that the government must watch a virtually limitless number of transactions. In addition, other disadvantages are the increasing transaction costs and the potentially adverse effects on the availability of credit as a result of lower profit margins for lenders.

The other disadvantage, of course, is the intervention of government in the private sector and the troubling implications this has for corporate governance. Government ownership of financial institutions opens a wide array of avenues for abuse. One solution Zitzewitz proposed to this problem was to give the government non-voting preferred stock—however, it seems strange that the actor who put

“Write” for The Dartmouth Review.

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Phil., the Willing Suspension of Disbelief

By A.S. Erickson

Editor's Note: Professor Roy Sorensen was, until this academic year, Professor of Philosophy at the College. He taught classes in philosophy of language. He has moved to Washington University in St. Louis.

Philosophy of perception is primarily concerned with how we come to know about the world around us. Science has been tremendously successful since the time of Galileo, Kepler, and Newton in describing the physical facets of the world around us. Our knowledge of nature's inner workings increases with each passing year. Yet, though scientists provide more and more detailed information, that information needs to be formed into coherent theories.

Book Review

SEEING DARK THINGS: THE PHILOSOPHY OF SHADOWS

Roy Sorensen
Oxford University Press, 2008

What are sounds, for instance? We have long known the basic physics behind sound, but, for all we know scientifically, it is a topic still hotly debated—what exactly is the object of our hearing? Sounds could be waves, physical objects, or the collisions of physical objects with the medium they are in. They could be qualities of objects or they could be particular events.

Or take the more contentious issue of what color is: color could be a quality of the object, part of the light, or completely in our heads—the latter is the predominant opinion of color scientists, but how and where in the head, science is unable to explain.

In short, the philosophy of perception tries to reconcile scientific knowledge to our intuitive experiences and tries to create a comprehensive theory about perception itself. At least that's the idea.

Dartmouth Professor Roy Sorensen's newest book, *Seeing Dark Things: The Philosophy of Shadows*, is a defense of one theory of perception. It is, as the inside flap states, "an unorthodox defense of an orthodox theory."

That orthodox theory is the causal theory of perception. His former students will be familiar with his unorthodox method of motivating his theory. Sorensen uses paradoxes, riddles, and captivating thought experiments to reason from the "bottom-up," as he calls it. This sort of reasoning is easy to follow, and he capitalizes on that by writing in an informal style that is inviting for philosophers and non-philosophers alike.

The theory that he is defending runs something like this: "S sees object O just when there is an appropriate causal connection between S and O." The meaning of "appropriate causal connection" is open to debate and further refinement, but for straightforward cases of perception it is easy enough to see how the theory works.

I see the painting in front of me because the light from the gallery's lights bounces off of it and into my eyes. The painting is part of the causal process, i.e. it is reflecting light. If, however, the painting were boarded up for storage, I would see not the painting but rather the boards covering the painting; in this situation the painting is causally idle. The boards are the cause of what I see; therefore, I see the boards and not the painting.

The first puzzle Sorensen presents in his book he calls "The Eclipse Riddle." Here is how he sets up the initial problem:

I am viewing a double eclipse of the sun....Traveling east is the heavenly body Far. Traveling west and nearer to me is the smaller body Near. Near is close enough to exactly compensate for its smaller size with respect to shadow formation. Near and

Far look the same size from my vantage point When Near falls exactly under the shadow of Far, it is as if one of these heavenly bodies has disappeared. Do I see Near or Far? Common sense answers that I see Near rather than Far: Near is an opaque body that completely blocks my view of Far. Since I see something, I see Near.

This is wrong, if we want to hold on to the causal theory of perception, Sorensen argues. According to the theory, we can only see Near if Near is the cause of what we see, but Near cannot be the cause because at that particular instant Near is completely enveloped in the shadow of Far. "An object that is completely enveloped in a perfectly dark shadow cannot be seen." This leaves only one option for what we see: Far.

According to a strict reading of the causal theory, the counter-intuitive result is that it seems as though we see Far and only Far. This seems deeply implausible on the first pass because it implies that we would have to look *through* Near in order to see Far, i.e. we would have to see through something that we have already claimed we cannot see at all. Sorensen explains this hesitation to accept that we see Far by noting that eclipses are abnormal lighting conditions.

For most of our lives, we see things as front-lit and not as back-lit. When we normally see the moon it is front-lit by the sun; the surface that we see is causally reflecting the sun's light down to us. In an eclipse the moon is back-lit; it is silhouetted.

Now we come to what Sorensen calls the most paradoxical implication of his solution: "we see the *back* surfaces of silhouetted objects." This follows directly from the causal theory because the back side is doing all of the causal heavy-lifting (it is absorbing light); the side facing us is causally idle. We see the backs of back-lit objects and the fronts of front-lit objects. In the Eclipse Riddle we see the back of Far because that is the object causally responsible for the

is what is now commonly called the problem of negative existentials.

Speaking plainly, the problem is that the statement "Poseidon does not exist" appears to be contradictory. For in order to have "does not exist" make any sense at all, it has to pick out a particular subject, but if such a subject can successfully be picked out then the subject clearly exists. A contradiction.

This particular problem has been at the center of philosophy for more than two thousand years. The pre-Socratic philosopher Parmenides first recognized it, noting "neither may you know that which is not...nor may you declare it."

Plato picks up the problem in his dialogue *Sophist* and

attempts a solution. The dialogue is ostensibly about defining the nature of a sophist: he is someone who appears to know everything and proceeds to teach others how to come to his knowledge; but since it is impossible to know *everything* the sophist must be deceiving his clients. He is teaching his clients false beliefs. Plato must do some work to make this definition stick because, according to him, believing something falsely is the same as believing that which is not. He must show, then, that it is *possible* to believe that which is not.

Spurred on by Gottlob Frege and Bertrand Russell, twentieth century philosophy was concerned with the importance of language like no

other period before it. Yet the emphasis on language only focuses on half of the problem as stated by Parmenides. *Seeing Dark Things* sweeps up this implicit problem along with its explicit defense of the causal theory of perception.

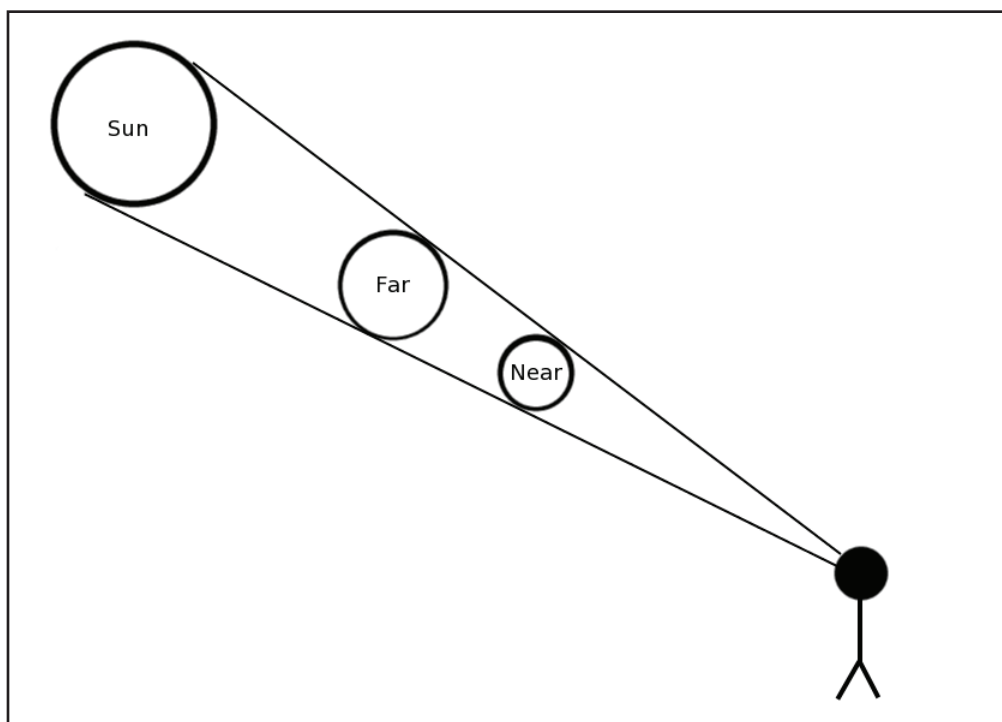
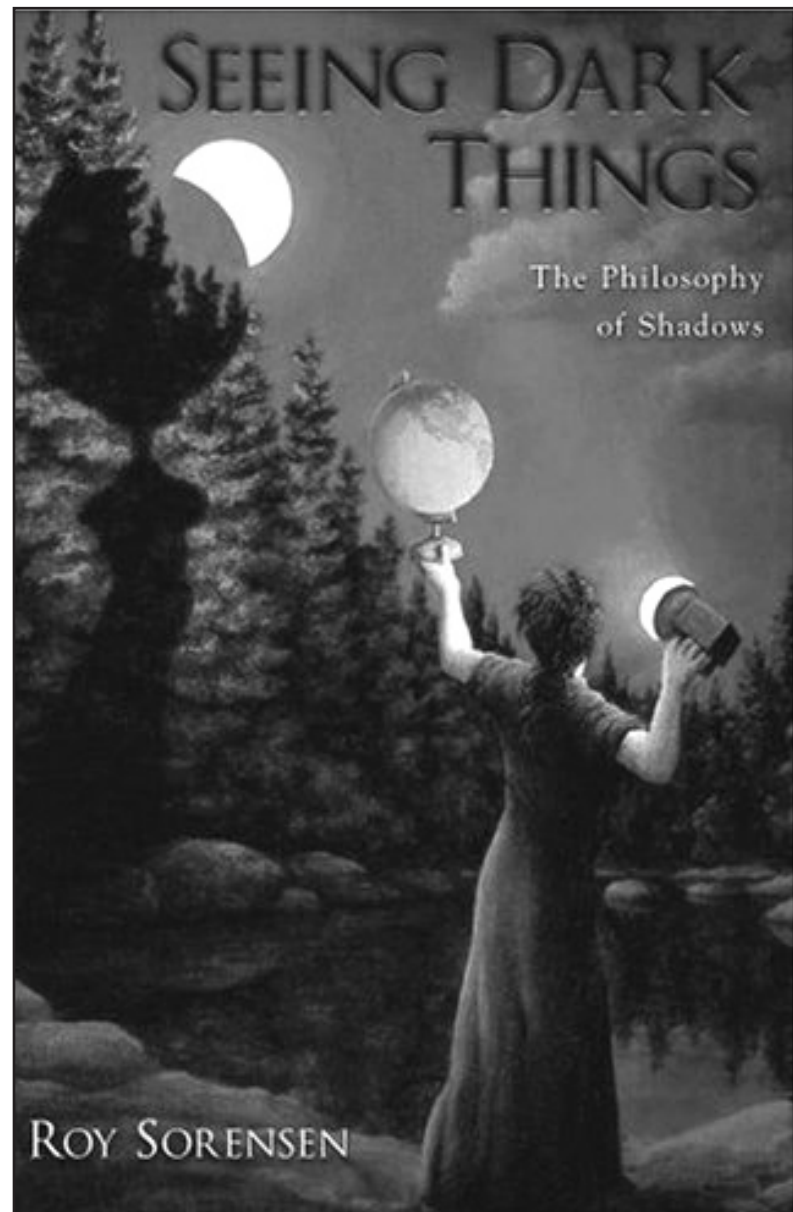
Sorensen focuses on how the causal theory can deal with special cases, like shadows, darkness, and silence. Yet, these special cases present problems for more than the

causal theory; they are problematic for any theory of perception. Shadows, for instance, are absences of light. How do we perceive absences? How do we know (or perceive), in Parmenides' words, that which is not?

Sorensen notes the problem in his introduction: "it feels paradoxical to say that absences exist—but no better to say that absences do not exist." He notes, "Philosophers have been justified in their efforts to avoid them—as long as there was hope of avoiding them. Since absences now strike me and many other philosophers as here to stay, I have quit the business of expelling them and gone into the business of employing them."

I have touched on only a few of the issues raised by Sorensen, but *Seeing Dark Things* contemplates many phenomena that have vexed philosophers and thinking persons for thousands of years. He considers whether shadows spin, whether we can hear silence or see darkness, whether incorporeal things like flames have shadows, and much more.

Throughout the book Sorensen investigates what might rightly be called the philosophy of absence with good-natured wit, thought-provoking examples, and clear and concise prose. ■



view in front of us.

During the course of his defense of the causal theory of perception in *Seeing Dark Things*, Sorensen naturally alights upon other areas of philosophical interest. One such area

Officer and Gentleman

By Jeffrey Hart

The North Korean army smashed across the thirty-eighth parallel on June 25, 1950. I had just finished my junior year at Columbia. By the time I graduated in June 1952, MacArthur had carried out his brilliant landing at Inchon, the seaport for the South Korean capital at Seoul, and then had cut off and largely destroyed the North Korean army. But his plunge northward toward the Chinese border had brought China into the war, disastrously for MacArthur's army.

Things moved quickly, to put it mildly. Almost immediately I found myself in my underwear, standing in line, taking a physical examination. Then, still in my underwear, I was taking some sort of IQ test.

It became clear that I would become subject to the draft before graduating from Columbia in 1952. Mark Flannigan, president of Phi Kappa Psi, was planning to enlist in the Navy and suggested I look into that. It seemed a good idea so I decided to visit the New York headquarters downtown near Wall Street, intending to ask questions, maybe pick up some literature. Things moved quickly, to put it mildly. Almost immediately I found myself in my underwear, standing in line, taking a physical examination. Then, still in my underwear, I was taking some sort of IQ test.

Allowed time to dress—while the IQ test was graded—I found myself in another line passing between some desks. It turned out that my test scores had been high enough to qualify me for naval aviation or naval intelligence. A student I had known at Dartmouth had enlisted in the Army Air Corps and, crashing his jet trainer in Florida, had burned out an acre of swampland.

Not surprisingly, I chose naval intelligence. But that meant regular Officer Candidate Training at Newport, Rhode Island, along with the regular candidates for commissions as line officers. I would have a line officer designator of 1105 until my intelligence designator (1635) came through while I was at Newport OCS. With a 1635 designator, I would be assigned to Naval Intelligence School at the naval base in Anacostia, Maryland.

Things had progressed so quickly since I had gone to that navy office building to ask questions and pick up literature that it hardly seemed possible that I had buttoned myself into about four years in the Navy, a three year enlistment plus time at OCS and at Naval Intelligence School. So it was then, in January 1953, that I found myself on a chartered Greyhound Bus full of other OCS enlistees headed with false bravado for the Navy base in Newport, Rhode Island.

Learning Your Manners

Upon arrival at the OCS section of the Newport naval base, we were given assorted shoes and issued enlisted men's sailor suits, bell-bottom pants, and blouses with a bib in the back. Newport is frigid in the winter, so we were issued pea-jackets. When we graduated in the spring, we would wear officers' summer whites.

At Intelligence School we heard lectures from a variety of experts, senior intelligence officers as well as civilians from the FBI, CIA, and State Department. We got down to the serious business about how the Cold War was being waged.

I found myself in K ("King") company. We were assigned to double deck wooden barracks, and two-man rooms with two desks for study and double-decker beds. My roommate had graduated from Williams, but most of the others had engineering backgrounds from such places as MIT. This was important for the Navy since the Navy consists in large part of millions of tons of steel that must be moved, sometimes at high speeds.

Lt. Cmdr. Husted, in charge of K Company, had a very short blonde crew cut that made his head look like

Dr. Hart is Professor emeritus of English at the College and author of The Making of the American Conservative Mind.

a bowling ball. Sitting behind his desk in the Company office, he regarded us with sovereign contempt. He had played football at the Naval Academy and had a ribbon on his chest indicating a very distinguished Navy medal. As I understood it, he had won it for an extraordinary feat as a Navy SEAL in Korea.

Intelligence had determined that senior North Korean and Chinese officers were to meet in a former one-room schoolhouse in the near future. Unfortunately for them, the schoolhouse was near a river. Intelligence understood that this being winter, the school house would probably have a wood stove. So it prepared high explosives that looked like logs. With the "logs" packed in a knapsack and wearing a wetsuit, Husted swam up the river, found the schoolhouse and the stove, and left the logs in it. The officers must have been pleased by such thoughtfulness. Then the schoolhouse evaporated.

The Navy taught you how to walk, talk, and present yourself to others while on Navy business. Even if you were going down the company street to drop a letter in the mailbox you were supposed to walk purposefully. "Out for a stroll, sailor? Five demerits."

Fifty demerits flunked you out of OCS and deposited you in enlisted men's training at Bainbridge, Maryland: sailor suits forever.

Since we were training as officers, we were required to speak with authority: stand erect, shoulders back, look the other man in the eyes and speak in clear declarative sentences. Ordinarily, on Navy business, you are cordial but not friendly. And the Navy is clean, probably because the confined life aboard a ship requires it.

Every Saturday morning we had an inspection. Our shoes had to be polished until they were almost mirrors. Our sailor hats had to be chalky white. Lt. Cmdr. Husted actually went around our room with white gloves, testing surfaces for dust. He found a thread on our floor, and we each got five demerits for "rope on the deck."

Husted and the Chief Petty Officer doing the inspection seemed to have magnifying glasses for eyes. One of them actually bounced a quarter on the bare sheets covering our beds. Fortunately, the quarter bounced twice. To produce that tension you bend the mattress up by both ends and stretch the sheet over them so that when the mattress straightened out, it is like the head of a drum. The take home message was that life on a ship is crowded, and the Navy is clean.

At first I thought some or a lot of us were on our way to Bainbridge. I gradually realized that the Navy had made an investment in us and wanted us to succeed. Only one man went to Bainbridge, and that was voluntarily. He decided that two years as a sailor was preferable to three as an officer—that is, three with OCS, plus whatever other schools were added on. I hoped that my 1635 intelligence designator would come through so I would go to Intelligence School.

"We've never lost anyone on this."

Frequently during classroom work in engineering, navigation, or gunnery, the officer running the course would relax a bit and talk about World War II. Our navigation instructor had been on a cruiser off Okinawa when the Kamikaze raids came in for the kill. He said there had not been a clean set of underwear on the ship.

He had commanded a submarine in the Pacific. His name was actually Commander Fish, and he was a "mustang," meaning a man who had begun as an enlisted man and worked his way up. He was proud of the silver submarine pin on his chest. He had a blonde crew-cut, a somewhat pointed head, and if you squinted—I'm not kidding—he actually looked like a torpedo. He was enthusiastic about the devastating job the submarines had done on Jap shipping.

By the end of the war, he said, the Japs were moving their supplies on rafts. He was joking, I suppose. Commander Fish did tell us an important thing about over-complexity in weaponry. Our submarines had periscopes that were raised and lowered pneumatically. This mechanism sometimes failed, a serious matter for a submarine. German U-Boats were simpler. Their periscope was raised mechanically by a large cogwheel, operated by a lever. A sailor operated this manually, and up went the periscope. It never failed.

When not in class, we did damage control exercises at

the bottom of the Newport harbor. The Navy had simulated steel ship compartments on the bottom. We climbed down a steel ladder through a vertical steel tube and into the compartment. We had been told what would happen. Down in the compartment there awaited some 2x4s and some large steel plates. We were told that suddenly a substantial aperture would open in the side of the compartment. Our job was to "jump to," show teamwork, grab the steel plate and the 2x4s, and cover the hole while the harbor poured in. Before going down that ladder, the Petty Officer run-



—Chicks dig sailors—

ning the exercise said, "We've never lost anyone doing this one."

I got used to that sentence: "We've never lost anyone on this." I don't suppose I was the only one who thought silently, "There's always a first time to become toast." The Navy's attitude was "If you do this right, it will work." But: "If you don't do it right, don't blame the Navy."

The Combat Information Center

Before my term was to start at the Intelligence School, I had a three week empty period and was assigned to training in the CIC (Combat Information Center). An intelligence officer might well be assigned to sea duty and be responsible for a CIC. The training facility was located in the headquarters building of the First Naval District, called the Fargo Building, a tall office building that stood on the southern edge of Boston Harbor. The smallest warship with a CIC was the destroyer; larger ships had larger and more elaborate CICs.

The basic CIC, a darkened room below deck, contains a radar screen on which you see whatever the ship's radar sweeps above. Since this is only a training exercise, a recording is what we saw. The sweep shows up on the screen below as a line moving clockwise around the screen and indicating the objects picked up in the sky.

You learn to report sightings in a standard way, for example: "Incoming. 275 degrees. 8 thousand feet. 300 knots." "Incoming" is a particularly scary word. You have to learn to distinguish between planes and a flock of birds. The CIC has another screen that receives results from the ship's sonar device. This sends out underwater impulses that bounce back and refract on the screen with blips on a graph. You have to distinguish between a whale, a school of fish, and a submarine. I learned an esoteric fact: a whale farting can produce the same track as a torpedo.

While at CIC training I lived in the Fargo Building at the Bachelor Officers' Quarters (BOQ) and ate in the officers' dining room. No more fried baloney, like at OCS. On that point alone, not a minor one, as well as on many others, OCS had been worthwhile.

Then it was on to Anacostia and whatever was offered at Intelligence School.

Steering Through Naval Intelligence

Intelligence School in Anacostia

At Intelligence School we heard lectures from a variety of experts, senior intelligence officers as well as civilians from the FBI, CIA, and State Department. We got down to the serious business about how the Cold War was being waged. A regular lecturer also taught at nearby Johns Hopkins University, another at the Georgetown school of Foreign Service. The lectures introduced me to another realm of knowledge beyond what I had been studying in college.

Completion of our program carried six hours of graduate school credit at Johns Hopkins and other universities. Through those courses, I first heard about and read George Kennan's "long telegram" to President Truman, later published in *Foreign Affairs* by "Mr. X." The telegram analyzed the sources of Soviet conduct and advocated the containment

Senator Joseph McCarthy had called Lattimore the leading Soviet agent in Pacific matters. In those days, "agent" sounded a lot like "spy."

policy that ultimately won the Cold War. My own opinion of Truman rose sharply. He had put in place the elements that would carry the Cold War forward, with divided Germany the prize. Berlin was the key to Germany and therefore to Western Europe as a whole.

For a research project, I studied the fascinating example of the Institute of Pacific Relations and its guiding spirit Owen Lattimore, who also edited its magazine *Pacific Affairs*.

Senator Joseph McCarthy had called Lattimore the leading Soviet agent in Pacific matters. "Agent" sounded like "spy." If McCarthy had called him "a major agent of Communist influence," he would have been correct. This was demonstrated in the investigation by the "McCarran" Committee, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

This Senate committee evidently had an able staff and legal team, which exposed, on evidentiary basis, Lattimore's ties to communism. Lattimore and his close associates shared the Communist worldview and assiduously promoted the Communist line on Asian issues. Communist authors were always reviewed favorably in Lattimore's magazine *Pacific Affairs*, even when elsewhere reviewed critically or ignored. Lattimore was adept at turning Communist boilerplate into acceptable prose. Experts in his field had little respect for him, and though he later defended himself in *Ordeal by Slander*, he did not deserve to be regarded as a martyr, as he was by many liberals.

Strange Bedfellows

A startling and disgraceful episode involving Lattimore is little known, and is recounted by Marvin Liebman in his au-

tobiographical *Coming Out Conservative*. Marvin Liebman is little known today. After the war, he had been a Zionist, serving on the passenger ship *Ben Hecht* to run Jews into Palestine despite British restrictions. He was remarkably talented: a movie director, a publicist, and an author. He also seemed to know a wide range of celebrities, including movie stars.

He was also agreeable, intelligent, suave and excellent company. He was a longtime friend of the Buckleys and *National Review*. He pioneered political mass mailing, which later became a small industry as developed by Richard Viguerie and others.

Liebman launched "The Committee of One Million Against the Recognition of Red China." Marvin also published a Chilean newsletter about the new Chilean regime of General Augusto Pinochet, who had led the coup that overthrew the Marxist government of Salvador Allende.

Marvin organized my own trip to Chile in 1982 and during the Reagan administration had a post in the National Endowment for the Arts as the organizer of receptions, cocktail parties and other such activities for friends of the Endowment.

During that period I visited Liebman at his Washington apartment and learned for the first time that he was gay,

It wasn't the president who visited but Vice President Henry Wallace. The inmates were gathered together to smile, wave and greet him. Wallace himself waved and smiled as he walked surrounded by Soviet dignitaries. The

"Please," she sobbed, "please help us." She was taken away of course, while Wallace's translator told him that she was mentally ill. Wallace's translator was Owen Lattimore.

dignitaries told Wallace that this was a camp for the incorrigibly mentally ill. "Suddenly," Liebman writes in his book, "a woman ran from the ranks and threw herself at Wallace's feet. She screamed in Russian how the prisoners were being treated, how they were dying, how they were innocent, as innocent as the snow at his feet.

"Please," she sobbed, "please help us." She was taken away of course, while Wallace's translator told him that she was mentally ill. Wallace's translator was Owen Lattimore. In 1952 Marvin phoned Wallace in New York and was surprised to find how easy it was to make an appointment to see, along with Elinor Lipper, a former Vice President.

Marvin writes: "She told him what actually had happened that day in Siberia. As she spoke, his face paled. 'I didn't know,' he said. 'I didn't know—please believe me—I didn't know.' I saw in him the sense of betrayal that was engulfing many of us who had worked with the Communists."

Lattimore was more than a fellow traveler. He probably did not belong to the Communist Party, even the underground party, but was all the more valuable for that reason.

Setting Sail

At the completion of our course at the Intelligence School, we were given a variety of assignments. Some of us went to sea duty as intelligence officers now able to run a CIC. Others went to stations abroad. Our Rhine River Patrol stationed in Wiesbaden was a desirable post. Our Embassy in Paris would not have been bad either.

But I was delighted to be assigned to the Intelligence Office in the First Naval District located in the Fargo Building, Boston, familiar to me from my recent CIC training. I decided to live in Cambridge, maybe make use of the Harvard library, and commute to work in Boston. I was as near to being at graduate school as my circumstances permitted.

I was lucky to find an apartment at 48 Boylston Street (now renamed for John F. Kennedy), the building a former Harvard dormitory. About two blocks north was Harvard Square. In the other direction Boylston Street led to the Lars Anderson Bridge over the Charles River and to the Harvard football stadium, Soldiers Field. For the next three years, I attended the Harvard home games there.

I enjoyed wandering around the Harvard campus, particularly on the lawns and among the trees in front of Eliot House, and reading by the Charles as the Harvard crews practiced. This was not at all a bad way to serve in the military. ■



—Owen Lattimore, right, with Mao Zedong—

which was the subject of *Coming Out Conservative*. By that time he was worried about the influence of the religious right in the Republican party, especially its hatred of gays. It was then that I first heard from Liebman about this episode involving Lattimore.

Elinor Lipper, a friend of Liebman, was a Russian who, accused of counter-revolutionary activities, had been imprisoned for eleven years in the Soviet slave labor camp Kolyma in Siberia, a freezing and primitive place where the attrition rate was about 70 percent each year. Because of Lipper's medical training, she was assigned to the camp hospital. She told Liebman that during the war, a rumor swept the camp that the president of the United States would visit. The prisoners were driven at a frantic pace to clean the place up, repair it, paint it—it was a Potemkin Village.

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To ravage, to slaughter, to usurp under false titles, they call empire; and where they make a desert, they call it peace.

—Tacitus

If at the end of a war story you feel uplifted, or if you feel that some small bit of rectitude has been salvaged from the larger waste, then you have been made the victim of a very old and terrible lie.

—Tim O'Brien

For his mind was full of forlorn hopes, death-or-glory charges, and last stands.

—C. S. Lewis

With all my devotion to the Union and the feeling of loyalty and duty of an American citizen, I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home.

—Robert E. Lee

We shall find peace. We shall hear angels. We shall see the sky sparkling with diamonds.

—Anton Chekhov

I think we reminded them of what peace was like, we boys of sixteen.... We were careless and wild, and I suppose we could be thought of as a sign of the life the war was being fought to preserve.... We reminded them of what peace was like, of lives which were not bound up with destruction.

—John Knowles

If there is ever another war in Europe, it will come out of some damned silly thing in the Balkans.

—Otto von Bismarck

Masculinity is not something given to you, but something you gain. And you gain it by winning small battles with honor.

—Norman Mailer

War is not nice.

—Barbara Bush

People in general are scared to death of the war and all the exhibitions have been a failure, because the rich don't want to buy anything.

—Frida Kahlo

Wars teach us not to love our enemies, but to hate our allies.

—W. L. George

We few, we happy few, we band of brothers; For he to-day that sheds his blood with me Shall be my brother.

—William Shakespeare

The days of peace and slumberous calm are fled.

—John Keats

How good bad music and bad reasons sound when we march against an enemy.

—Friedrich Nietzsche

There is many a boy here today who looks on war as all glory, but boys, it is all hell. You can bear this warning voice to generations yet to come. I look upon war with horror.

—William Tecumseh Sherman

In war, truth is the first casualty.

—Aeschylus

They wrote in the old days that it is sweet and fitting to die for one's country. But in modern war there is nothing sweet nor fitting in your dying. You will die like a dog for no good reason.

—Ernest Hemingway

Everyone's a pacifist between wars. It's like being a vegetarian between meals.

—Colman McCarthy

A soldier will fight long and hard for a bit of colored ribbon.

—Napoleon Bonaparte

gordon haff's last word

Compiled by Christine S. Tian

The outcome of the war is in our hands; the outcome of words is in the council.

—Homer

The only winner in the War of 1812 was Tchaikovsky.

—Solomon Short

Today, peace means the ascent from simple coexistence to cooperation and common creativity among countries and nations.

—Mikhail Gorbachev

Barrett's Mixology

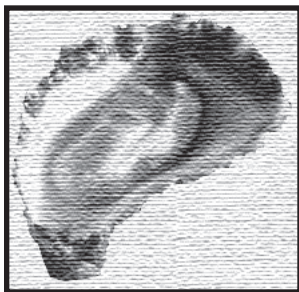
By: David W. Leimbach

The Scotsman

1 Bottle of Islay Single Malt Whiskey

A Dozen Fresh Raw Oysters

Eat and drink in turns.



A hike in the Scottish highlands is no walk in the park. Cold, tired, and hungry, I had been plodding along the west coast with no sight of civilization for over a week. My food supplies had dwindled to nothing days earlier, and I felt like I'd been going in circles one hundred and twelve times over. Suddenly the smell of salt carried by the breeze triggered my recollection of a story I'd heard the previous year about the world's finest oysters growing in Scottish sea lochs. Eager to sate my rapidly intensifying hunger, I immediately dove into the loch whose shore I'd been following since morning. After many dives to the loch bottom, I swam back to shore with a sizeable bounty of delectable-looking specimens. Just as I was about to reap the benefits of my labor, a torrential downpour—of the sort all too common in Scotland—unleashed itself upon me.

Fortunately, I detected the faint smell of burning peat. Following that uniquely warm and earthy aroma, my nose quickly led me upon a wee cottage. After my knocks were met unanswered, I slipped inside and discovered a roaring fire, an entrancing sofa adorned in thick wool blankets and, most importantly, an unopened bottle of Islay whiskey. I feasted upon the glorious duo of the smoky malt and the sumptuous oysters, and, unsurprisingly, began to feel my eyelids growing heavy. When I awoke from my deep, dreamy slumber, the whiskey bottle in my hand had transformed into an empty handle of Zhenka; the wool sofa under me had turned into the cold basement floor of a fraternity; the walls of the cottage melted into a wall of chanting students around me; my head was pounding. The S&S officer helped me up, and walked me outside into his SUV. That's when I realized I'd done Dartmouth drinking traditions proud this year.

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