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Nemo me impune lacessit

STUMPED?

The Lone Pine Revolution's Future:

Where We Are
And
Where We Go From Here

Pages 2, 3, 5, 6, & 7

Alumni Affairs Update: Post-Election

By Charles S. Dameron

The recent passage of the Association of Alumni's constitutional amendment to change voting procedure for trustee elections was overwhelming, and pre-ordained. Just over 12,000 alumni voted, and of those, eighty-two percent voted for the AoA change—an overwhelming result that will clearly stiffen the sinews and summon up the blood of the amendment's champions, John Mathias '69 and John Daukas '84. Pre-ordained because, as a practical matter, this amendment will do little to lower the hurdle that the AoA slate has faced in the past when running against petition candidates. It has been noted before in these pages that the switch from an "approval" method of voting to a "plurality" system (one vote per voter) would likely not have changed the result of the recent election of petition candidate Stephen Smith to the Board.

Indeed, the passage of this amendment might very well be a positive step forward for alumni consensus: Mathias rightly noted in the *Daily Dartmouth* that "this should eliminate any real controversy about the voting procedures." Although, if a petition candidate were to enter and win the next trustee bout, there would undoubtedly be more groans from some quarters about his or her legitimacy, if not revolving around voting methods, then around campaign financing, or another issue.

This drama didn't play out behind the scenes—it's an open secret that the Board refused to unfreeze its membership until it got its way with the alumni voting process.

What's news isn't the amendment's passage. Rather, it's the *realpolitik* played by the Trustees here. The Board forced a legal, standing body of the highest importance to the College (namely, the collective alumni) to change the rules governing how members of the Board are selected, so that the process might better fit the interests of the Board, by using a mix of threats and promises to incentivize the deal. This is rather akin to Congress bluntly informing the American people that the mechanism for choosing congressmen really needed changing, and making it clear to voters that Congress would levy consequences if they didn't comply.

In light of the Trustees' board-packing coup and Todd Zywicki's ouster, the outlines of a strategy to effectively suppress wide-scale alumni dissent are becoming clearer and clearer. Even the normally docile editorial board of the *Daily Dartmouth* has become more vocal in recent weeks, first strongly condemning the Board's unprecedented and purely political ostracism of Zywicki, and last Friday publishing an editorial blasting the Board's amazing capacity for dragging its feet in unfreezing the terms of a number of members, who, presumably, the Board would like to keep around beyond the normal limits. (Oddly, the Trustees did not extend the courtesy of their freeze policy to Zywicki, who was dismissed in April, while charter member Russell Carson '65 and elected member Michael Chu '68 have been allowed to long overstay their terms on the board. Apparently, exceptions to the freeze are allowed when convenient.)

Set aside the merits of the voting procedures amendment, and whether or not it will be successful in reducing the rancor of these trustee elections: what is highly disturbing about the voting procedure amendment has less to do with the end result than with the means and motives behind that result. Namely, as Frank Gado '58, a former member of the AoA's Executive Committee, has alleged, the Trustees forced the Association of Alumni and the Alumni Council to push this amendment as the latest (and hardly the final) step toward the Board's goal of firmly controlling the election process.

The Board also seems to have been offering a sort of quid pro quo to the Alumni Council, as evidenced by this week's *TDR* interview with John Daukas: pass the voting procedure amendment, and someday down the road, parity may be re-established.

This drama didn't play out behind the scenes—it's an open secret that the Board refused to unfreeze its membership until it got its way with the alumni voting process. As the *Daily Dartmouth* editorialized on May 22, "It appears that the Board initially remained silent on the status of these two seats [Chu's and Carson's] in order to ensure that certain reforms were made to the trustee election process before another election occurred."

The Board also seems to have been offering a sort of quid pro quo to the Alumni Council, as evidenced by this week's *TDR* interview with John Daukas (pages 5, 6, & 7): pass the voting procedure amendment, and someday down the road, parity may be re-established. In the interview, Daukas indicates that both he and AoA president Mathias have pressed the Board for an increase in the number of alumni-elected Trustees. Daukas says, "…They've been receptive to considering that, and the amendment we just made to our constitution to improve the election process I think is a step in that direction."

Elsewhere in the Daukas interview, the reader gets an even better sense of the new power distribution between alumni and trustees: "So it's really hard to go to the Board of Trustees and say, look, you ought to let alumni elect Trustees when they [the Trustees] can turn around and say, 'alumni don't want to, seven out of ten of them don't vote.' And so we need to get that up, and I'm hoping this new amendment we passed will encourage people to vote, because it kind of simplifies things. Use it or lose it. *We alumni have to use our right to vote, or lose it, and we'll have no one but ourselves to blame.*"

This, then, is the blueprint that the Trustees seem to have laid out: make alumni complicit in their own emasculation by handing them "reform" packages in the manner of the recently passed amendment, and tell them that they will either make the changes as requested, or they will lose their voting powers. Moreover, if Daukas is to be believed—and he ought to be, given his relationship with the Board—then the Trustees are looking for any excuse, including anemic voter turnout, as a rationale for ending the democratic selection of trustees altogether. Yet the alumni currently lack forceful advocates in office willing to stand up to this abuse, or to even acknowledge that there is a problem. Daukas's own words are again instructive: Why did the Trustees stack the board? "I think it's a complicated issue;" What are the dynamics of the Trustee board like? "Once you're on the Board, people don't think of you as an alumni elected candidate or a charter Trustee or a petition Trustee…There hasn't been that sort of division."

This notion—that things are completely collegial among the Trustees, petitioners and charter members alike—runs counter to the public record. Trustee T.J. Rodgers '70 noted in his recent *Daily Dartmouth* op-ed "Hang One, Warn A Thousand" that he and the other petition trustees have been publicly labeled a "radical cabal" by a former member of the Board. The tension within the Board between petition members and charter members has become clear with Zywicki's ousting: his colleagues Rodgers and Peter Robinson '79, petitioners both, have spoken out publically to defend Zywicki's record and protest his removal. And it nearly goes without saying that board packing was hardly a "complicated issue." Daukas would have done himself less of a disservice if he had ducked the question with a trusty "no comment."

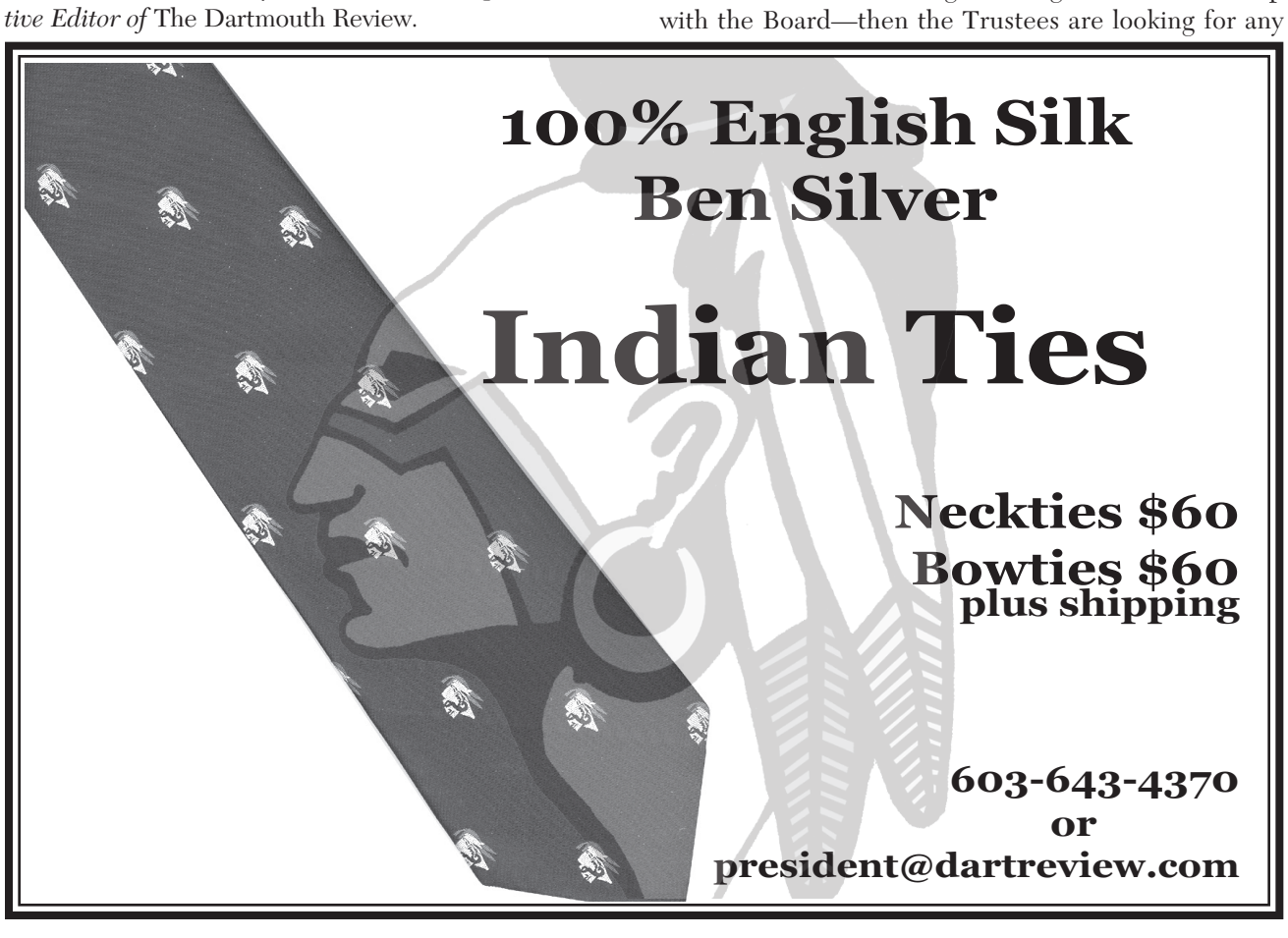
The voting procedure amendment, however, is far from the last change demanded by an increasingly bold and unresponsive Board of Trustees—and as Mathias has made clear, campaign finance will be next on the agenda. Quoted in the *Daily Dartmouth*, Mathias has said that new finance regulations "will go a long way to improving elections." No doubt, from the point of view of the College's Establishment trustees. Finance regulations make it nearly impossible for a petition candidate to get his message out, since the candidates backed by the Alumni Council have the College's backing, and all of the built-in resource advantages that backing brings.

The stakes here are real: as Peter Robinson noted in a letter to the *Daily Dartmouth* several weeks ago, Todd Zywicki was an excellent trustee—"informed, hard-working, dedicated, and utterly committed to genuine debate"—who was opinionated enough to make other trustees feel uncomfortable. As Tim Dreisbach '71, also noted in a letter to the *Daily Dartmouth*, Zywicki successfully pushed for the creation of standing committees of the trustees to examine academics and student life, which before his tenure had been non-existent. Zywicki apparently cared enough about the quality of the Dartmouth education to force the members of the Board to take a look at curricula; he cared enough to talk with faculty about their needs in the classroom. And now he's out.

Less fundamental, but disconcerting nonetheless, is the increasingly cloudy financial horizon facing Dartmouth today. Dartmouth has, under the watch of the current Board of Trustees, pursued an overly aggressive financial strategy, borrowing large sums of money and relying on heavy endowment spending, even in good times, without saving anything for a rainy day. Now, Parkhurst is announcing a new $400 million bond initiative, doubling down on its previous borrow-and-spend habits. Unfortunately, selling those bonds got a bit harder on Tuesday, when Standard & Poor's punished the College for its fiscal profligacy by lowering its long-term credit rating from 'AAA' to 'AA+', specifically citing "significant debt issuance" as a prime rationale for the credit downgrade. Considering the Board's inability to arrest this financial decline, it is more vital than ever that the processes of decision-making are made more transparent, and that the Board be made more accountable.

Instead, the process of further securing the Board of Trustee's self-perpetuating monopoly on decision-making is continuing apace. Alumni, it seems, will soon again be given an offer they can't refuse: to fundamentally prohibit their own freedom of speech by regulating trustee-campaign finances, or else. And Dartmouth will be one step further from the kind of open debate that's needed to ensure its continued excellence. ■

Mr. Dameron is a sophomore at the College and Executive Editor of The Dartmouth Review.



The Dartmouth Review

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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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"I think you're all swell"

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Editorial

Reviewing the Way Forward

President Obama's announcement that he wants someone with a healthy dose of empathy to replace Justice Souter on the Supreme Court has gotten a lot of attention from both congressional Republicans and the media. Based on that criterion, a Dartmouth alumnus would be an excellent choice. After all, the alumni of Dartmouth have a history of being trodden underfoot by the powerful.

A 55-gallon drum of ink has been spilled on these pages alone, when it comes to the back and forth between Dartmouth's alumni and its Board of Trustees. We've gone well beyond ten rounds in this debacle, and far from plotting our moves in the endgame, we are stuck in a legal morass with no end in sight. In such cases it's important not to lose sight of the forest for the trees: is the continued emphasis on legal wranglings by the petition movement the best strategy for returning parity?

A.S. Erickson

The Hanover Institute is an unabashed supporter of the litigious route. In response to an article in the *Daily Dartmouth*, the Hanover Institute took out a full page advertisement in the same paper. Countering the article's claims, it ended with the following:

> We have raised and will continue to raise money, mostly from Dartmouth alumni, to pay for this legal battle provoked not by the alumni but by the majority of the board of trustees, acting to reduce the alumni voice on the board to a permanent, impotent, and token minority. The board has left us no choice.

The appalling actions of the Board to date may make it seem like we have been left with no other choice, but this elevated alarmism is unjustified. By continuing to onslaught the College with lawsuit after lawsuit (particularly now, *without* the backing of the Association of Alumni), the petition movement is resolutely marching down the yellow brick road to a state of absolute marginalization. This, after being handed a golden opportunity by the Board.

The Board's professed motives for changing parity were flimsy; it was apparent to all that, like a petulant child, they were picking up their ball and going home. With four straight victorious candidates, the petition movement posed a threat to the status quo—a kind of incremental growth and emphasis on turning Dartmouth into Harvard-lite. It's standard practice when losing argument on substance, to redirect the argument's focus to the rules. The Board took this to a new level; they simply changed the rules, no debate necessary. In short, the Board had overreached, and everyone knew it.

The petition movement was perfectly placed to call the alumni body's attention (and even national attention) to the absurd strong-arm tactics practiced by the Board's Chairman, Ed Haldeman—something he is still engaging in: see our interview with the President of the Alumni Council on pages 5, 6, & 7. Instead, it has become apparent in hindsight that with the ensuing lawsuits the petition movement itself overreached. The Hanover Institute has, in large part, pushed the continuation in this course.

The Hanover Institute has been a major part of the petition movement since the Institute's inception. In its capacity as a fundraiser and news organ, it has had a significant impact on many of the petition movement's past victories. While acknowledging these facts, it is equally important to acknowledge that the Hanover Institute's tactics are no longer serving the petition movement well.

At the beginning of a new administration, the petition movement needs new direction. The goals are the same, fighting for Dartmouth's place atop the liberal arts world and for a return to parity on the Board; but as the facts on the ground change, the method for reaching those goals must evolve. Here are the facts: (1) a vast majority of alumni are in favor of parity on the Board, and (2) a sizeable majority of alumni are *not* in favor of suing the College to get parity back.

The conundrum facing supporters of the petition movement is how best to go about returning parity to Dartmouth's Board of Trustees. Contrary to the bluster of the Hanover Institute, a middle course exists. It is folly to continue the lawsuits any longer. Further lawsuits will only lead to further marginalization of the movement and the diminished likelihood of a return to parity.

The petition movement must return its focus to trustee elections—once they're unfrozen—and regaining control of the AoA. Our interview with the President of the Alumni Council makes it disturbingly clear that a return to parity rests largely in his organization's and the AoA's hands. With alumni interests being represented by the likes of John Mathias and David Spalding, both sides are playing for the same team. Refocusing on the leadership of the AoA is vitally important. Mathias—on record against parity—was swept into power because of his position against the lawsuit, *not* because of his position on parity. Alumni must have representatives that actually *represent* alumni.

To make this happen, the petition movement has to practice what it preaches. If the petition movement argues for increased transparency, it must itself be a model of transparency. We shouldn't be as transparent as the law requires; we should be as transparent as is possible. Without this fundamental change, the petition movement will continue to be successfully painted into the corner as a fringe cabal. Without this change, we cannot hope to oust the quislings from the AoA. And without this change we can most certainly kiss parity goodbye. ■

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The Week In Review

Blitz or Spam?

Let's play a game. Of the three following e-mail messages, only one was caught by Blitzmail's spam filter. See if you can spot it:

1. "BeTtEr SeX is had by vegetarians! ...seriously."
2. "Orgasm Inc.: The Strange Science of Female Desire -({})"
3. "We offer only qualitative drugs for the cheap"

Tough, isn't it? If your first guess was number 2, you're probably assuming the message to be another get-laid-quick scheme. However, even the world's smartest, most sophisticated spam filer isn't able to distinguish a signature that is clearly intended to resemble female genitalia. You might next have guessed #1; perhaps those crazy PETA-heads sent the typical jealousy-inducing subject lines to convert us guilty carnivores to the finer food of fronds, right? Nope, it was #3. You fooled us, obnoxious campus student groups.

Harvard Catches the Petition Bug

It's election time at Harvard. Alumni voting is ongoing for the Board of Overseers, the less powerful of Harvard's two governing boards. This year's election features two candidates, Harvey Silverglate and Robert Freedman, nominated by alumni petition.

Silverglate, a criminal defense attorney, is the co-founder and chair of the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education. Freedman, a former law professor and current lawyer, chairs the Foreign Policy Research Institute. The two are running on an "informal ticket," sharing general criticism of the administration. Silverglate's key positions include reforming the disciplinary process, abolishing speech codes, and fighting growing administrative expenses. Freedman seeks to curb tuition increases, reform the core curriculum, and increase the independence of Board members from the administration.

Silverglate and Freedman have encountered the same administrative opposition that routinely plagues petition candidates for higher education boards, particularly lack of access to mailing lists. In fact, the story at Harvard thus far is generally one that has occurred many times before, including twice at Dartmouth. The only uncertain part is the ending, which will be revealed when the election results arrive on June 4—unless the administration adds another chapter, taking a cue from their counterparts at a certain College on a Hill.

"Queer Theory Useless"

Not exactly most folks' idea of a celebratory gathering, Yale University's first-ever lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender alumni reunion quickly turned sour when gay activist Larry Kramer '57 effectively extinguished any prospect for a controversy-free weekend of camaraderie and took the stage as if it were his personal platform for airing grievances. In an all but brief rant, Kramer accused Yale of wrongly dismissing "gay history" as a component of LGBT studies when it *should* be associated with the history department. Undoubtedly perplexing even to some of the 300 Yalies in attendance, Kramer insisted that there is an unmistakable difference between "gay history" and "gay studies." Kudos to anyone who can identify it.

According to Kramer, "gay history has been hijacked by queer theorists"—a most unfortunate occurrence, indeed, considering that Kramer deems queer theories and studies of gender "relatively useless." Oh, and nothing spells "useful" and "necessary" like the allocation of time, funds, and energy to the integration of "gay history"—not to be confused with "gay studies"—into Yale's history department.

In an attempt to demonstrate the importance of establishing "gay history" as its own separate academic discipline in order to promote acceptance for LGBTs, Kramer turned the spotlight (only for as long as he could bear to be out of it himself) to a handful of prominent American icons whom he believed to be gay, including George Washington, Meriwether Lewis, Abraham Lincoln, and John Wilkes Booth. According to Kramer, "The plague of AIDS was allowed to happen because most of the world hates us…. They don't know we're related to Washington and Lincoln" (presumably by adoption). Aside from Kramer's insightful rant, a gay time was had by all.

SAD Forms Committee Campus Yawns

Student Assembly at Dartmouth (SAD) called for the formation of a new committee to evaluate the administration's disciplinary procedures for organizations. The committee will take a male and a female representative from various existing Student Assembly committees, including the Greek Leadership Council, the Committee on Committees, Committee to Revew Committees, the Procedural Committee, the Committee to Review Procedural Committee Procedures and the Committee to Oversee New Student Assembly Committees. Tasked with reviewing procedures of the administration's Organization Adjudication Committee (OAC), the new committee aims to "increase the transparency of [the adjudication] process" acting on student criticism stating that "there needs to be more transparency" in the adjudication process. The committee hopes to work with the OAC quickly before the new Alcohol Management Policy is adopted, prompting the OAC to really get going before those meddling kids can stop them! Just kidding. Does anybody really think that this committee by committe will change anything? Committee.

AoA 'Reforms' Elections, Grovels before Haldeman

Another week, another attempt to cheat alumni out of their historic share of control of their alma mater. Recently an amendment to the Association of Alumni constitution was passed that will institute "a one-person, one vote" system—in the past they could vote for as many candidates as they saw fit—as well as allowing the Alumni Council to nominate only one or two candidates instead of the three that were required in the past. As this was a drier issue than the more exciting trustee elections, turnout was rather low, with only 19.5 percent of eligible alumni voting, a figure that Alumni Council President John Daukas '84 described as "inexcusable."

So, what's next up on the Association's alumni-repressing agenda? Why, campaign finance reform! The goal here is to make sure that the elections' "outcomes are not determined by money spent," as Association President John Mathias '69 put it. Of course, this ignores the fact that petition candidates must spend inordinate amounts of their own money in order to even make themselves viable against their College-resource backed opponents.

You might be wondering why the Association is trying its hardest to make it impossible to upset the status quo; it's quite simple. The current Board of Trustees is not interested in serving the College or its alumni. The goal is to turn Dartmouth into a research university, and they aren't about to allow things like constitutions or alumni who love their college enough to run "politicized" petition campaigns get in their way.

Striking it Rich

It's important that even in the worst of times, there are always reasons to smile. Take, for example, the recent case of the twenty DHMC employees who just won the lottery. The small group of pediatrics employees had contributed $1 a week per a mere six weeks to purchase lottery tickets and struck it lucky. They've each received $7,500 after $2,500 was deducted for federal taxes. Thankfully, it doesn't appear they're letting the sudden windfall go to their heads; listed plans include getting new tires for a car and saving up for a family vacation. Let's hope fortune continues to smile on them.

Micro$oft Makes Mistake Google Now Favored

If you've been following Dartlog, the *Review's* web-blog—and if you haven't, you should at http://dartlog.net—you're no doubt aware of the battle to replace Blitzmail. For some time, we at the *Review* have been hearing that Microsoft was the leading company to replace a decades-old Dartmouth institution with Microsoft Live@edu. Microsoft had been wining and dining Ellen Waite-Franzen, Dartmouth's CIO, in order to convert their front-runner status into a sale.

It now appears that Microsoft may have overplayed its hand. Microsoft reportedly wanted between 2.5 and 3 million dollars to institute the change. Unsurprisingly, the College balked and is now leaning heavily in Google's direction, as they have offered to do the switchover to Gmail for free.

TDR Interview: John B. Daukus

By Mostafa A. Heddaya

The Dartmouth Review: What is your role specifically on the Alumni Council?

John Daukas: I'm President of the Alumni Council.

TDR: And what does that entail?

JD: Well, that's a great question. It entails running the meetings. It entails work on a number of different committees including the Trustee Nominating Committee, for example, it's technically called the Alumni Council Nominating and Trustee Search Committee. I run the Executive Committee. I'm probably up here about once a month or so, meeting on different issues. I have a lot of contact with Ed Haldeman, who's the chairman of the Board of Trustees. We meet for dinner probably quarterly or so, and then more frequently as well. I'm on the Alumni Liaison Committee, which is a committee we created a year or so ago of twelve people to represent alumni sentiment to the Board of Trustees, and so we've met with the Board of Trustees quite frequently. And then I'm a spokesman for the Alumni Council. I think that covers it, but it depends on what's going on in a given year. For example, when I was President-elect the year before, there was legislation proposed that would have given the state of New Hampshire veto authority over changes to Dartmouth's charter. So I went down to Concord and testified before the New Hampshire House in opposition to that. So, it depends on what's going on at any given time.

TDR: So what did the Alumni Council do at this meeting? Anything of note?

JD: Let's see. Yes, I would say. It's funny because I literally finished it fifteen minutes ago, so it's all sort of swimming in my head. We had a number of very interesting, good presentations. We had one from students who were veterans in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars; they spoke to us yesterday, which was very interesting. We had a presentation with Carol Folt, Dean of Faculty; from Maria Laskaris on admissions issues; and then we had a presentation and questions with members of the Board of Trustees, Ed Haldeman and Jose Fernandez. We voted to elect new officers for next year, one of whom, Tom Heisch, I'm just seeing walk by me; he's the President-elect for next year. We had meetings with our nominating committee; it's looking into potential trustee candidates. The highlight of the weekend, I think everyone would say, is that we had a presentation from President-elect Jim Kim, and had the opportunity to ask him questions.

And these, all our meetings, involve a lot of participation, a lot of questions, tough questions often. And basically what our job is, there are one hundred and twenty members of the Alumni Council, we all have different constituencies, be they class or geographic or club or some other constituency, and so prior to the meetings we send out emails to our constituents letting them know that we've got a meeting coming up and basically the sorts of things we're going to be doing and the people we're going to be hearing from. And we ask them for their input: if they have questions, concerns, complaints, things that are positive they want to say. And so we heard a lot of that, certainly with Jim Kim. And I'll tell you, Jim Kim did a very impressive job. I met with him before about a month ago, when he was elected, the morning that he was driven up here in a snow storm, he called me from the car and spoke to me as well. So he's already been very active in trying to reach out to alumni.

TDR: What do you think of Jim Kim? How do you think he's going to change Dartmouth, if at all?

JD: I think *if* he's going to change Dartmouth, he's going to do it carefully. Dartmouth's always changing in some respects. I would be really surprised if he were to change it radically in any way. I'm very impressed with him, and very enthusiastic. I know some people who were on the search committee who told me what they went through, and were very impressed with him to start with as well. My initial reaction was, frankly, Gee, I wish we had a Dartmouth alum. Because I feel like, as I think a lot of Dartmouth folks do, that Dartmouth is unique.

And we need someone who's president to understand the place. And someone who went here is going to be in a good position to understand the place. But in talking with Jim Kim, and again I've met with him a number of times now, he is working very hard to understand the place, and I think he is getting it, you know, he gets Dartmouth, as people say. And I think he's going to continue to. He's certainly done his homework. Much of his speech to us the other day, and I think we're going to put that online by the way, was talking about how when he was doing his due diligence in the search process, he was speaking to various Dartmouth alums, one of whom he worked with very closely. And he said all of them started to tear up when they talked about Dartmouth, and you know you just don't get that anyplace else. What he said is that, he's an anthropologist, and he said he's all about cultures, and he wants to come in and understand Dartmouth's culture.

He told us a few things yesterday. One is that, basically, for the first year or so he wants to listen and learn as much as he can before he forms decisions about his strategic plan and so forth, which I think is great. He told us he thinks fraternities and sororities are very important to Dartmouth's culture. He told us he thinks that the location, we're blessed: we're somewhat isolated, we're out in nature, he thinks that is important to the sense of community you get. As he put it, you know at Harvard and Brown, where he's been, students kind of scatter and get absorbed into the city. Here, we're what there is, we Dartmouth people. And he told us he thinks athletics is very important, and that of course scholarship is very important, in particular undergraduate scholarship. And he's really looking forward to teaching undergraduates; he's hoping he's going to be able to do that.

> The Alumni Council gave the Trustees a rousing round of applause for having selected Jim Kim. I'm really very excited about him, and I think that's the view of the Council. I'm saying that as someone who would have initially loved to have had a Dartmouth alumnus as President

TDR: As part of the announcement of his presidency, there was a lot of discussion of his boosting Dartmouth's prominence in graduate research and the graduate schools. Can you speak to that at all?

JD: I don't recall him addressing that, those issues. I think that people are very comfortable that he's not going to somehow try to wrench Dartmouth into being a research university at the expense of being an undergraduate institution. I think if he's able to bring more strong faculty members to Dartmouth, that'd be great. But I think we all agree that to be a Dartmouth faculty member you've got to be a great teacher. We want to have great researchers too, that's great, but what we're about is the students. And the sense I get from him is he feels that way. And I met with him for three or four hours over dinner about a month ago, so I had a long time to talk with him as well, and talk with him on several occasions.

TDR: In his presentation to the Alumni Council, was there one kind of question that was predominant, or was it a pretty broad range?

JD: It was a pretty broad range of, I'm not sure so much I'd even say concerns, questions. Many things he touched upon in his speech, like I said: the fraternities, athletics, the role of teaching and Dartmouth's place and what makes Dartmouth unique, and I think people were getting very comfortable. I'll tell you, because he spoke to us yesterday at 12:30, and since that time—in other meetings we've had, in our dinner discussions, in the reception we had at President Wright's garden this morning—people are just really enthusiastic about him.

And in fact, the Alumni Council gave the Trustees a rousing round of applause for them having selected Jim Kim. So you know, we could all be wrong. I hope we're not, and the proof's going to be in what he does, but I'm really very excited about him, and I think that's the view of the Council. And again, I'm saying this as someone who would have initially loved to have had a Dartmouth alumnus or alumna as President, but I think the key thing is whether he "gets" Dartmouth, and I think he does.

—Daukus at an Alumni Council meeting last December—

TDR: As someone representing alumni, broadly speaking, what did you think of the recent Zywicki controversy and removal from the Board?

JD: Right. Well, I think it's important to put it in the context of the three petition trustees who were up for a second term. And two of the three were re-elected for a second term: T.J. Rodgers and Peter Robinson. And both of them have been critical, and publically critical, of the College on occasion. And both of them supported the lawsuit against the college, along with Todd Zywicki. So I don't think this was based on Zywicki's views. I think it was likely based on his conduct. I think it's difficult for anybody who's not on the Board and hasn't observed how Todd Zywicki has carried out his functions on the Board, at Board meetings, at Board sub-committees, and his homework, and other things like that—to second-guess the Board's decision. And the Board obviously, while they talked about the process they went through, they're not talking about why they made the decision they made.

So, it's hard to second-guess and I don't know what their reasons were. I do think that Todd's speech to the Pope Center, I don't know if you've read it, I thought that that was really a huge mistake on his part in several respects, some of which I don't think get much press. The one you always hear about is that he referred to James Freedman as a truly evil man, which I think was certainly wrong to say, particularly because James Freedman had died recently before

Continued on page six

Mr. Heddaya is a sophomore at the College and Vice President of The Dartmouth Review.

The President of Alumni Council Speaks

Continued from page seven

the speech. But frankly, I wasn't a fan of Jim Freedman. I don't think he was a good President, but I think the way Todd expressed that was bad. But I think the other thing that he said, which really was not what a trustee should do, he discouraged people from giving money to Dartmouth College, and he encouraged people to give money instead to his school, to George Mason, where he teaches. And I'd have to look back at the words, but I think he said things like "ten million, eight million, even a million dollars is nothing to Dartmouth." I can't remember if he used the word "chump change." He said, but it's a transformative gift to George Mason, so give your money here.

> It's really hard to go to the Board of Trustees and say, Look, you ought to let alumni elect trustees when they can turn around and say, 'alumni don't want to; seven out of ten of them didn't vote.' Use it or lose it. We alumni have to use our right to vote, or lose it, and we'll have no one but ourselves to blame.

And I think you just can't do that as a trustee where your fiduciary duty is to Dartmouth. It's fine if you're not a trustee, but if you are a trustee you can't. He also criticized the motives of those who do give to Dartmouth, and I think that's wrong too. What pays for all of what we see here, and for so many students to be here on scholarship, which I think is close to fifty percent of the student body now — a lot of it's the donations. So you walk around as a trustee of the College insulting those people, it's not a good thing. I also thought it was way over the top that he referred to people like Jim Wright as godless and unpatriotic. And I think of all Jim has done for veterans, you know the wounded veterans, he's been given awards for it, rightly so, he's got veterans up on this campus, and he's a Marine himself. And to call him unpatriotic is just insulting. So what I would say is that, all those things were inconsistent with the way a trustee should act. But, on the other hand, because I'm not on the Board of Trustees, I didn't hear the discussions; I didn't work with Todd. It's hard for me to second-guess one way or another whether they made the right decision or not.

TDR: Has he spoken to anyone within the Dartmouth community since his removal from the Board, to your knowledge?

JD: He wrote an open letter, which you might have read, to the Dartmouth community. He posted something on a blog site, the *Volokh Conspiracy*, something like that, and he's been on some blogs. I don't know who he's spoken to otherwise since that time. I understand the Board was willing to have this handled sort of privately. In other words, if Todd wanted to just not stand for re-election he had that option, but he wanted to make this a public issue. I think, you know, that he and some others would like to set himself up as a sort of martyr, and I just kind of think that's misplaced when you look at the fact that the board did re-elect Rodgers and Robinson. And I think Todd really had not acted properly, in at least that speech, and I don't know otherwise whether there were other issues.

TDR: More philosophically speaking, do you think the acts of Todd Zywicki have hurt in principal the idea of alumni democracy, the idea that alumni should be electing some number to the Board of Trustees?

JD: Well I'm in favor of the alumni electing people from the Board of Trustees. And I've had discussions, along with John Mathais, who's the President of the Association of Alumni, with members of the Board of Trustees, asking them to consider adding more alumni-elected Trustees in the future. And they've been receptive to considering that, and the amendment we just made to our constitution to improve the election process I think is a step in that direction. There's no guarantees, and we'll see what happens. But, to answer your question more directly, I just want to be clear I'm coming from that standpoint, where I'd like to see more alumni-elected Trustees.

> If Todd wanted to just not stand for re-election, he had that option, but he wanted to make this a public issue. I think, you know, that he and some others would like to set himself up as a sort of martyr, and I just kind of think that's misplaced

I think that Todd did a real disservice to people who feel like I do by the way he acted. By that speech for example. Because for those who don't want to encourage democracy, they can point to that and say, look this is the sort of thing we get, we get people who really aren't acting properly. Also, most people would probably consider me to be more on the right end of the political spectrum, and I think he and others frankly, some of whom I voted for, some of the petition trustees over time, have really hurt the causes that I believe in and things that I'd like to see preserved at the College, by the way they've acted.

I think the way that Dartmouth alumni should act is in a way where we all try to cooperate and persuade each other, and not to act like this is a bare-knuckle political fight. And I think Todd acted that way, and I'm afraid some of the other petition trustees, though not all, have acted that way. Again it upsets me, because I think they're hurting what I'd like to see done.

TDR: On that note, do you think that having a large number of petition candidates necessarily breeds this kind of overtly politicized behavior?

JD: No, I don't think necessarily it does. And I think the ability to have petition candidates is a great safety valve. I think the Alumni Council and the Alumni Council Nominating Committee does a great job of nominating good candidates, and I don't think it always has. I think when T.J. Rodgers ran that was important, and I voted for him, because I think there was a time where maybe the nominating committees had become a little complacent, and I don't think we necessarily were getting a range of alumni on there. I was on the nominating committee, so I nominated some people who ran in the election with Stephen Smith. And, for example, Sandy Alderson, CEO of the Padres, CEO of the Oakland A's, CEO and Vice President of Major League Baseball and ROTC guide, he served in Vietnam, very impressive guy, and a fairly conservative person from what I understand. We don't look at people's political views when we're nominating them at all, but certainly someone that frankly is as conservative as some of the petition trustees, and maybe even more so in some respects.

> I think that in many respects we have the petition trustees to blame for the fact that the Trustees doubled the number of charter trustees and did not increase the number of elected trustees

And so, I think the nominating committee puts forth a good group of people and has been much better in recent years at doing that. So it's good to have the ability to have petition candidates. I don't think they're necessary all the time. I don't think we should have a political fight all the time. One other point, something that I get very exercised about, is someone who's trying to encourage the Trustees to add more elected trustees, because so few alumni vote. In the election in which Stephen Smith was elected, only twenty-eight percent of alumni voted.

And that was a very contentious election, hundreds of thousands of dollars, probably three hundred thousand dollars plus total for a job that doesn't pay anything. And it was really contentious—there were ads in the *Wall Street Journal*, there were articles in the *New York Times*—and yet, seven out of ten alumni did not bother to vote. So it's really hard to go the Board of Trustees and say, Look, you ought to let alumni elect trustees when they can turn around and say, "alumni don't want to; seven out of ten of them don't vote." And so we need to get that up, and I'm hoping this new amendment we passed will encourage people to vote, because it kind of simplifies things. Use it or lose it. We alumni have to use our right to vote, or lose it, and we'll have no one but ourselves to blame.

TDR: In terms of your personal viewpoint, has it evolved at all with this controversy unfolding? This idea of having elected members constitute half the Board, from the 1891 agreement. Have your personal views shifted on it?

JD: I don't think they've really changed that much. I think I see all sides' points of view on the whole thing. I think that in many respects we have the petition trustees to blame for the fact that the Trustees doubled the number of charter trustees and did not increase the number of elected trustees. And in part the petition trustees worked very hard to defeat a reform of the Alumni Constitution a couple years ago, and that reform would have changed the way the Trustees are elected. And I think it would have made it fairer: in fact it would have done something not all unlike what was just recently passed, and I pleaded with T.J. Rodgers and Todd Zywicki and Peter Robinson in emails. Stephen Smith wasn't on the Board yet to work with us, and basically I was on the committee that drafted the thing, the Alumni Governance Task Force (the AGTF).

We, I'm confident, would have pretty much done whatever change they wanted that was still fair, that we thought was fair, and we even changed the thing in response to criticism we got from T.J. Rodgers about it, and he refused to work with us and engage with us on it. And the next thing that happened was there was a trustee election that some people didn't think was really fair, and I'm not saying I'm in that camp, but then they added double the number of charter trustees. So I lay that at the feet of some of the petition folks. In the past if they had worked with us, this all would have been avoided I think, and the lawsuit would have been avoided, which I think would have been a good thing.

TDR: So you think the doubling of the number of charter trustees was not something that was born out of any particular motives on the part of the administration, but rather a reaction to alumni apathy?

JD: I think it's a complicated issue, and I think people had different reasons for doubling the number of charter trustees. The Board, for several years before, had been moving towards expanding the number of trustees on the Board. That was the plan, they were planning on going up to, I think, twenty-four trustees, and they were planning on adding additional trustees as they went. But the plan, I believe, was to add a charter trustee and then an alumni-nominated or elected trustee. So sort of to keep that one-for-one relationship. And that's what changed. So, the Board of Trustees, they felt that they were too small and they needed more people to help them.

They also felt that with the charter trustees they could target the types of skill they need. For example, they didn't have anybody on the Board of Trustees who'd gone to a graduate school. And I don't mean someone who only went to a graduate school. They didn't have anybody who'd gone to Tuck or Thayer or the Med School, or any of the other graduate programs here, and who'd also been an undergraduate. So one of the things that they did with the charter trustees is they added some people who had gone to some of the graduate schools, to give them that perspective.

You know, they added Steve Roth, who's very experienced in real estate, and they had a big building boom going on, so they say that's something they need. Where with the petition and the election process you never know what you're going to get. And this is a bit of ancient history, I hope I'm not talking too much, but, when T.J. Rodgers ran, the Board felt it had a need for more academics on the Board. They had a lot of businessmen, and so the candidates that were proposed by the Alumni Council in response to, I believe—I wasn't on the committee then or the Council—but the Board kind of indicated, Gee we could use some more, some academics. So the council put up these academics. T.J. Rodgers, a very successful businessman ran against them, and beat them. And so you had another businessman on the Board.

And that happens in the election process, I mean, Todd Zywicki was a law professor from Virginia, Stephen Smith's a law professor from Virginia, you could say, well, how many of those folks do you need? So that's part of the reason. And so I can't tell you, other than the reasons the Board stated in its extensive governance report, why it decided to add the additional Trustees.

Those are some of the reasons. Now, was part of it that they didn't want to have more contested elections that were fought out in the *New York Times*, in ugly ways, you know I bet that probably was part of it too.

TDR: Has there been, as far as you know, a tangible impact on alumni contributions as a result of the addition of more

The Board, Parity, and the Future

charter trustees?

JD: No. As far as I know, there hasn't been. But, you know, it's a hard thing to unpack. Because you've got the recession going through right now. The level of participation, that is the percentage of alumni who give, has not fallen. That's stayed about the same. It's around fifty percent. It used to be better; in the late Seventies it was close to seventy percent. I'd like to see it back up there.

And also I'll tell you, I'm someone who thinks that the College didn't pay enough attention to its alumni. It ignored and snubbed their alumni for a period of time, in the Eighties, maybe going into the Nineties, and I think that's part of the reason we saw the level of participation fall off. But the total dollar money kept rising, the level of participation fell off, and I think that's what we're fixing now, with the Alumni Council really reaching out to alumni, and with the Board of Trustees reaching out to hear what alumni have to say. The Board of Trustees has their Alumni Relations Committee, which is a new committee they established, to deal with alumni. So I think we're seeing an improvement. We're on a great trajectory right now.

TDR: To shift to a slightly different topic, what do you think, broadly speaking, of Ed Haldeman's leadership of the Board? Overall, do you think it's been good, bad?

JD: I've been very impressed with Ed. And I met him through my involvement in alumni activities. And just so we're clear, I'm a guy who ran as a petition candidate for the Association; as I told you, I wrote for *The Dartmouth Review*. I was a member of a group called Dartmouth Alumni for Open Governance; I campaigned against one of the early constitutions. So I'm a guy who's been a real outsider to all this sort of thing. And I've been very impressed with Ed.

> I'm a guy who's been a real outsider to all this sort of thing. And I've been very impressed with Ed Haldeman.

I've met with him a lot, as I said we meet about quarterly for dinner, and I've met with him at a number of different meetings of Alumni Council committees where we're talking with the Board of Trustees, and he's one of the people we've discussed the prospect of adding additional alumni-elected trustees with. And he's open to considering that, to talking about that. In any event I think he's done a very good job as head of the Board of Trustees, and I also think that a number of petition candidates, I understand, also like and respect him. And I believe T.J. Rodgers likes and respects him. So I'm very impressed by what Ed Haldeman's done overall.

TDR: Another Board related question: you earlier mentioned that there's the addition of a real estate guy to the Board. Do the alumni have any input on the looks of any of the final building projects?

JD: I don't know, I guess would be the answer. That'd be a great question to ask someone like Jose Fernandez, who's on the Board of Trustees, who I think is involved in the building situation. You know I think they've done a beautiful job with a lot of the buildings I've seen. Did you ever see Jerry? It was the shower tower. It looked like a shower stall; it was awful. It was over where Haldeman is now, and they knocked all that down, it was horrendous. I understand there's some controversy over what the visual arts center may look like, and I don't know much about that. Basically, not that I would know, other people may know the answer to that question.

TDR: Back onto the issue of trustee elections: do you foresee Ed Haldeman and the Board approving of the addition of more alumni-elected candidates anytime in the near future? What do you think is the timeframe on that?

JD: I think that, and I hope that that will happen. I think we've got to get one or two elections under our belts before that will happen. I think that the Board hasn't decided how many, if any, seats are going to be up for election this year, yet. They'll do that at the June meeting, in early June. My guess, and I don't have any inside information on this, my guess is that there will be at least one or two spots that are up for election. And the process then is the election would occur next spring, so spring of 2010.

I think, if we get through one or two elections where we have strong alumni voting participation, again which we haven't, but if we alumni can show that we're willing to participate, then we will. Hopefully we will, but I think it'll probably take a couple years, and a couple of elections, before people get comfortable with what we're doing.

TDR: So do you every see full parity being achieved in the next 5 to 10 years?

JD: I really don't know. I mean, we really didn't have full parity before; we never had a situation where it was really fifty-fifty, because you always had the President of the College and the Governor of New Hampshire as well. So I don't know. What I do understand from people who are on the Board is that, once you're on the Board, people don't think of you as an alumni-elected candidate or a charter trustee or a petition trustee, you're just all sort of mixed together. There hasn't been that sort of division. Once they get in they're all the same. For instance, John Donahoe was an alumni-elected trustee, and I don't think he's treated any differently than, you know, Ed Haldeman is, or any of the others. But the answer is I don't know.

> I think *if* Jim Kim's going to change Dartmouth, he's going to do it carefully. Dartmouth's always changing in some respects. I would be really surprised if he were to change it radically in any way. I'm very impressed with him, and very enthusiastic.

TDR: What did you think of the Wright presidency? What's your general assessment—in terms of the culture of the College, the academic strength of the College, as well as the alumni side of things, how the alumni have perceived the College?

JD: I think the Wright Presidency got off to a rocky start, particularly with the announcement of the Student Life Initiative and the statement that it was going to change fraternities as we know them. A lot of alumni, myself included, were fearful that that meant that the College planned to get rid of fraternities. That's when I really jumped in and got very involved, because I've been on the board of my fraternity, and I gathered a group together at my office down in Boston of fraternity alumni corporation presidents and officers, to talk about what we were going to do. And people went and met with different Deans of the College and talked with Jim Wright and talked with different trustees. And I don't know if it was a misunderstanding from the start or not, but it's clear now that fraternities and sororities are here to stay, and the College, they've provided eight million dollars in low interest loans for improvements to houses, they let houses even like Phi Delt back on campus, they let three houses back on campus who'd been thrown off for misconduct in the past: Phi Delt, Beta, Zeta Psi.

They're paying to build new sororities. It's clear the College is not out to get rid of fraternities anymore, and Jim Wright is supportive. And I should say, when I started my presidency last July, I met with Jim and talked with him about what I thought alumni could do to help the College, and that the big thing I think that could be improved considerably at the College is the state of fraternities, sororities, the co-ed houses, the Greek letter organizations. And Jim was very supportive of that, so I formed a committee of the Alumni Council, Tom Crady is on it, the Dean of Students Deb Carney, the Dean of Residential Life, Marty Redman, who's very involved with fraternities, and Fouad Saleet, who's sort of in charge of and involved in the Greek letter system.

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And we're working together right now with students, Andrew Lane from Phi Delt is on our committee, and then we've got house advisors, John Engleman from AD, Professor Cecilia Gaposchkin, who's the House Advisor for Tri Delt. We've got a lot of these people involved, and Jim Wright's all behind this, and the objective is to strengthen the Greek letter system, and to improve the physical plant, get more faculty involvement with them, because I think that would improve the relationship, it wouldn't be antagonistic. You know the faculty, I think if they got involved, wouldn't be so negative about fraternities as I think some of them are. And improved alumni involvement with the fraternities too.

And so, I went from someone who was a little skeptical of Jim Wright in the beginning to being a big fan of his. I think he's done a terrific job at Dartmouth. When I talk to people like you, and lots of students, and I see lots of them, again I'm on the board at Chi Gam, and I'm up here a couple times a year, and I say you know, "How do you like things here?" And people just love Dartmouth. I mean, you're going to be one of these guys who tears up soon I think. And that says to me that he's doing a great job.

I think he's done a great job in increasing the number of faculty members, and that always is difficult. For instance, there was increased interest in the Economics Department, economics majors a few years ago, and it took them some time to ramp up and get the right professors and additional professors so they didn't have oversubscribed classes and that sort of thing. And again you may know this more than I do because you're living through this so I don't mean to act like I do, but it's my impression that they've done a great job of pulling that together. And when you hear him talk, you know, he's got the focus that Dartmouth is a unique place, it's an undergraduate place first, and it's a terrific community, and it's a place where you're going to be part of the Dartmouth family for your entire life.

And I really think he's done a terrific job, and I've become a big fan of his by getting to know him, and I wish we could put all the alumni in the room sometime to hear him talk, and I wish we could do the same thing with Jim Kim, because I think alumni would have the same view. Now we, Jim and I don't agree on everything certainly, I'm an old Indian symbol guy and he's adamantly against that clearly, but I really think he's done a terrific job. And again, I'm someone who started off being skeptical, and certainly not a "rah-rah, the administration's fine all the time kind of guy." As I said to you before, I think some earlier administrations did not do a good job with some things, and didn't have the sense, I think some earlier administrations looked at what Dartmouth did, and then looked at Harvard and Yale. And if there was a difference, they said we must be doing it wrong at Dartmouth. They didn't appreciate that we were doing it better at Dartmouth, you know, that we're better than Harvard and Yale and that's why people want to come here.

I think there was an attitude of some administrators in the past that Dartmouth wasn't doing it right, and I think that Jim definitely believes that this is the best place to be, that our differences are what make us better. You just don't get this anyplace else.

TDR: So I guess a final follow-up question on Jim Wright: have you read Professor Hoyt Alverson's open letter about bureaucratic bloat, which was published in the *Daily Dartmouth* about three weeks ago?

JD: I usually keep up with the *Dartmouth* every day. I'm not sure if I read that or not. I know there there have been concerns about bureaucratic bloat. You know the McKinsey Group did a report a few years ago talking about that, and talking about possible improvements. Not talking about bureaucratic bloat, talking about the number of administrators on campus and how that compared to other schools, and whether Dartmouth had it about right or not. And I think the McKinsey Group was fairly positive. I understand that is a concern of whether there are too many administrators or not. And it's a concern: I was just in a meeting of alumni leaders of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Dartmouth, and it's a concern at all those institutions too. And it's a concern the faculty members at those institutions also have.

Some of it, as I understand, is mandated by government programs and laws, where they have to have certain administrators in certain capacities. But I think it's certainly something to look at. And I'll also tell you, last year the Alumni Council had a panel of administrators come speak to us, and we came up with twenty questions to ask them and we have been provided with different answers. And I might have that here, I'm just going to grab my bag. And one of the questions was about bureaucracy — do we have too many bureaucrats? So that's something that alumni have raised an issue about. ■

Liberty Lovers Visit Dartmouth

By Brian C. Nachbar

The Dartmouth College Libertarians recently brought two prestigious guest speakers to campus. The first, David Boaz, is the executive vice-president of the Cato Institute, a prominent libertarian think tank. The second, James Bartholomew, is a columnist for the *Daily Telegraph* and the author of *The Welfare State We're In*, "a devastating critique" (in Milton Friedman's words) of Britain's well-intentioned social welfare policies.

On Wednesday, May 13, David Boaz spoke in Kemeny Hall. His lecture, entitled "Freedom in Crisis," decried the recent growth of government power. Boaz began by describing this trend, citing the surge in spending associated with the various bailouts and the stimulus bill. This governmental expansion began under Bush and escalated after the election of Obama. In addition to the increase in the sheer amount of money appropriated, an absence of debate before the implementation of many measures has eroded freedom. Boaz then noted that this is part of an historical pattern of government growing in the wake of crises, relying on public fear and shock to prevent dissent.

—David Boaz—

In this connection, Boaz commented on Naomi Klein's 2007 book *The Shock Doctrine*, asserting that Klein was correct in observing that politicians utilize disasters to forward their agendas, but dead wrong in claiming that governments use such opportunities to institute laissez-faire capitalism. Rather, those in power tend to expand that power in times of crisis. Boaz then noted that the Obama administration is perhaps unique in openly using the shock doctrine, with several members making public statements such as Rahm Emanuel's infamous, "You never want a serious crisis to go to waste." In other words, Obama and his associates are publicly stating their intentions to use the panic surrounding the recession to pass measures that Americans would not allow in normal times. This is worrying.

Mr. Nachbar is a freshman at the College and Associate Editor of The Dartmouth Review.

After detailing these woes, Boaz adopted a more hopeful tone. He described several past triumphs of American liberty after grim times, starting with the Revolution, which for a time appeared doomed. Another great victory was the Civil War and the concomitant success of abolitionism, with its emphasis on individual liberty and self-ownership. Most recently came the Great Depression, which led some to predict the end of capitalism in America, and the New Deal, which nearly vindicated them. The global rise of fascism and communism made the outlook even bleaker. However, victory abroad was accompanied by a libertarian counter-surge at home. 1943 became an *annus mirabilis* for freedom with the publication of seminal works by Isabel Paterson, Rose Wilder Lane, and Ayn Rand. Though the New Deal was not entirely reversed, American capitalism was saved, and the modern libertarian movement took wing.

Boaz concluded by arguing that, for several reasons, the time is now ripe for a recovery of liberty in the vein of those past successes. The first reason is that the initial shock of the recession is largely over. Moreover, some libertarians who were reluctant to criticize George W. Bush's spending out of residual loyalty to the Republican Party are no longer thus restrained after the election of Obama. As an analogy, Boaz observed that antiwar protests were strong during the Bush years but are much less common today, even though Obama has not ended the occupations in the Middle East; antiwar rallies flourish under Republicans while tea parties prevail under Democrats, even when the two parties pursue similar policies.

After this optimistic conclusion, Boaz took questions from the audience. Asked about the Patriot Act, he acknowledged that the threat of terrorism does require increased security measures. Still, he continued, *habeus corpus* is a fundamental right, and suspending it for American citizens is completely indefensible. However, it is not as essential to preserve it in the treatment of foreign citizens. Boaz also weighed in on torture, stating that "anyone would torture" in a hypothetical ticking bomb situation, but the type of situations which occur in real life do not justify such methods.

Boaz was also asked his opinion of the Free State Project, an effort to convince libertarians to move to New Hampshire to create as libertarian a government as possible. In reply, Boaz observed that with the expansion of federal power, the effects of a smaller state government would be less significant. He also said that he preferred to try to change a society rather than leave it, although he respected the opposite choice.

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The following Wednesday, James Bartholomew led a discussion in Dartmouth 105 on "Why Government Healthcare, Education and Welfare Fail." Bartholomew presented scenarios in the hypothetical, though realistic, nation of "Welfaria" and asked audience members to account for them before offering his own explanations.

Bartholomew first described a situation where the passage of generous welfare provisions had caused unemployment to rise dramatically. One explanation offered, which the host approved, was that legislators had observed their citizens' strong work ethic without considering that this work ethic might be a response to incentives rather than a constant desire to work. Bartholomew added that voters were more likely to consider emotional anecdotes about unfortunate individuals than rational economic analysis. A similar explanation applied to the following scenario, a set of benefits for single mothers that led to an escalation in

—James Bartholomew—

unwed motherhood.

The discussion then moved to education. Bartholomew described the plight of public schools, which require ever-increasing funds even while class sizes rise, and teacher salaries fall. Soaring administrative costs are apparently to blame, which raises the question of why administrations grow. The explanation arrived at was that in the absence of competitive pressure, bureaucracies tend to expand themselves. A related issue is presented by the many privileges enjoyed by public employees. Bartholomew cited entitlements of British civil servants such as generous health compensation for slight injuries, difficulty of termination, and, in the case of teachers, severely limited supervision. He explained these by noting that public employees' privileges are determined by other public employees, leading to mutual "back-scratching" arrangements. Moreover, unions have great power against governments, both because public operations tend to be monopolies and because unions control votes. In particular, the national unions spawned by national government enterprises can shut down entire industries.

Bartholomew concluded by summarizing the two main themes in his explanations: democracy's inclination toward emotional, short-term decisions, and the fact that government operations tend to be monopolies, immune to the economic pressures that force private businesses to stay efficient. ■

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David Denby Hunts Snark

By Christine S. Tian

Honest to blog, is there anything left to say about the digital media revolution—the perverse razor-sharp, 24-hour scrutiny of celebrities and politicians, the internecine struggles for prominence, prestige, and page counts within blogging dynasties, the endless cycles of online vituperation enabled by anonymity—that hasn't already been said, published, and set to music? David Denby, a film critic for *The New Yorker*, seems to think so, and sketches out his unfavorable impressions of the latest cynical, opportunistic iteration of the national mood, turbo-charged by the Internet, in his long essay *Snark: It's Mean, It's Personal, and It's Ruining our Conversation*.

Book Review

SNARK

David Denby
Simon & Schuster, 2009

Snark reads like a self-improvement book for the media set; Denby is all grandfatherly disappointment and earnest helpfulness in describing the dos and don'ts of vicious humor: Colbert, not Coulter. Satire, not sarcasm. Above all, he deplores the petty, suspicious meanness, the amoral sniping, and the knowing tone of well-educated young pundits enamored of their own cleverness, characteristic of much of today's media discourse—in a word, snark.

Denby largely eschews wisecracks for the kind of sober, thoughtful, and occasionally strained meta-analysis one would immediately recognize from his distinctive double- and triple-shot film reviews in The *New Yorker*. As with his reviews, the book works when Denby uses his considerable talent for observation and description to sketch clear-eyed, witty snapshots of major players and trends; it sags as he tries to snappily shoehorn disparate targets into an overarching kitchen-sink of a theme. Throughout the slim volume—an essay in book form, or, as Denby rather over-fancifully subtitles it in a reference to Lewis Carroll's nonsense poem "The Hunting of the Snark," "a polemic in seven fits"—he generally maintains a tone of genteel frankness and righteous indignation. *Snark* does not snarl, sniff, or sneer. It is not snide, snotty, snippy, or, as far as I can tell, snarky. Unfortunately, it's not very good either.

The book suffers from a lack of focus and definition of its main target. What's at issue here is not satire, irony, irreverence, or plain insult. What's at issue here is not even snark, per se—knowing, condescending, cleverer-than-thou humor at the expense of its subjects—but rather, snarkiness that threatens to drown out legitimate discourse because it is excessive, facile, or (heaven forbid!) unfunny. Acceptable humorists that escape Denby's black tag of "snarky": Jonathan Swift, Jay Leno, Keith Olbermann, Jon Stewart, Stephen Colbert, *The Onion*. Somewhat-acceptable snarkers of yore that Denby admits, grudgingly, are O.K.: Alexander Pope, Juvenal, the classical Roman master of invective and snarling insult, David Letterman, *Private Eye* and *Spy* magazines. Heartless, relentless, soulless 'mean girls' who worship at the altar of snark: anonymous online commenters, Tom Wolfe, Seinfeld, Penn Jillette, over-the-top celebrity blogger Perez Hilton, the every sprawling tentacles of the weblog empire Gawker Media, and the Evil Queen of Snark, Maureen Dowd; in an inexplicable move, Denby lumps 2008's presidential ticket also-rans John McCain and Sarah Palin in with this mixed company.

)Do these people have anything in common besides mutual antipathy? While all the earnest comedians Denby identifies, the "non-snarkers," seem to comprise a cohesive, sensical group of targets. One imagines that a cocktail party of the Denby-delineated professional snarkers would end in epic failures of communication, tears, and nuclear sarcasm. Gawker eviscerates Dowd bi-weekly in its coverage of the media; Dowd took cheap, flailing shots at Palin every chance she got in her *New York Times* column; and Palin, let's be honest, probably doesn't know who any of these internet snarkers are. But maybe that's the point.)

What invisible line neatly separates Leno from Letterman? Why does "A Modest Proposal" trump "The Dunciad?" And for heaven's sake, why was it not snarky, but merely insulting, for Obama advisor Samantha Power to dub Hillary Clinton "a monster" on the campaign trail, while Michael Goldfarb's response to the situation on *The Weekly Standard*'s blog ("Tell us something we didn't know") established his rank as that week's reigning king of snark?

To be fair to Denby, he does attempt to lay out some groundwork, some basic rules for what constitutes acceptable vs. unacceptable humor. The chief problem he finds with snark is its opportunism, cynicism, and lack of ideological loyalty that, in another light, looks an awful lot like cowardice. As an example of what is not snark, he holds up Stephen Colbert's over-the-top conservative persona on *The Colbert Report* as a paragon of satire done right—in mocking the excesses of the right wing, Colbert manages to convey his platonic ideal of what political virtue *should* be: "The Stewart/Colbert claws... even when pecking at a victim's tender spots, manage to defend civic virtue four times a week. Attacking the Bush administration, Colbert and Stewart were always trying to say, *This is not the way a national government should behave*." The conservative nutjob Colbert sheds light on the real Colbert's political ideals, if only in negative. Maureen Dowd, on the other hand, seems to possess no political ideals whatsoever: she attacked Al Gore for being effeminate *and* macho, depending on the week; she wrote that Hillary was weak *and* punishing, again, depending on the week.

Colbert's most high-profile public appearance to date—insulting President Bush to his face at the White House Correspondents' Dinner in 2006 by staying in character during the entirety of his speech—was one of the bravest, funniest, and most blatantly disrespectful media stunts pulled by a comedian in recent memory. It was shockingly relevant and serious-minded humor, an attempt to call attention to how far the nation had strayed from ideals of governance. Compare this to Mme. Dowd's biweekly loose screeds in the Grey Lady: In relying on jokey epithets and wisecracks to describe any and every political situation, Dowd has become irrelevant, dispensible; in the age of hope'n'change, she seems terminally unable to take anything seriously.

—Yes, that's David Denby—

Denby nurses a freewheeling, long-standing grudge against one other major target besides Dowd: Gawker Media, the network of snarky topic blogs under the helm of Brit Nick Denton. He seems categorically unable to pen five pages without a throwaway reference to some nastiness by Gawker, the flagship blog of the enterprise that covers New York City media and gossip, Wonkette, the former Washington, D.C. branch of the chain (now operating independently of Gawker Media, though it retains the same arch, acrid tone and legions of loyal, quippy commenters), or any of the handful of blogs that comprise the suite.

In his armchair analysis of the Gawker mindset, Denby has added his voice—and not a terribly original one—to the chorus of Gibbons that have, over the past few years, attempted to narrate and predict the Decline and Fall of the Denton Empire in such publications as *n+1*, *New York*, and the *Times*. Gawker is becoming too nasty, too loose, too low, they say; it is perversely driven by the unfulfilled yearning of its young, snippy writers for acceptance in the ranks of the media elite whom they criticize for a living; it is rapidly expiring, losing prestige and relevance; *it doesn't like anything*. All these criticisms are nothing new, and for all the media's gloomy predictions of death, destruction, and, even worse, lowered page counts for the media conglomerate, Gawker is still going strong with its trademark blend of nastiness, allusiveness, and disdain for any and all forms of pomposity and hypocrisy.

Denby uses Gawker Media as the exemplification of the "everyone sucks" mentality that he decries in modern pop culture, arguing that 24/7 nastiness is an unsustainable and unhealthy substitute for true humor. The defeatist attitude of Gawker mirrors the mentality of its snarky forerunner, British humor mag *Private Eye*: "We are defeated, but everyone else is ridiculous. We have no power, but we will win this game through the strength of our disdain." It's just not productive, he laments.

The Gawker of Denby's imagination, and the entire seething, perpetually jaded underclass that he claims they personify, is a ridiculous straw man. Constant vitriolic attack is no way of living, he writes. Well, okay. But the writers and readers of Gawker *aren't living that way*—the editors typically have a tenure of one to two years as the snipers of Manhattan culture, and move on to less nasty, more traditional pursuits at publications like *New York* or *Radar* or *Vanity Fair*. The loyal readers of such sites, one can't help but imagine, would be enormously offended by the idea that the snotty, sarcastic humor they enjoy reading in their spare time comprises their entire set of life values. Gawker and other acrid humorists—Juvenal, Tom Wolfe—fulfill a niche as the attack dogs of society, puncturing inflated egos. Is it acceptable for such tart, anything-goes venom to constitute the entire breadth of modern discourse? Of course not. But the Gawkers of the world aren't making any such claim.

Denby truly fails when he turns his attention to the snarkiness of politicians. Governor Sarah Palin is snarky because—because of what, exactly? Because she attempts to be funny, comfortable, and folksy? Because she used xenophobic tactics to accuse Obama of "palling around with terrorists" during the 2008 Presidential election? Her statements were offensive to some, and perhaps cheap, but not exactly sarcastic or overly clever – the hallmarks of Denby-defined snark. In a screamingly bizarre move, Denby also accuses Senator John McCain of the same insincere, opportunistic, hip allusiveness that snarky blogs constantly employ. Was the McCain campaign, with its fervent patriotism and appeals to national respect for military service, anything *but* earnest and firmly, loyally ideological, even if that ideology was misplaced? In this light, "snarky" seems to have supplanted "any characteristic of any politician I disagree with, any humorist I find less than amusing, or any writer whose style I despise" in the Denby lexicon.

At its worst, the book reads like Denby's pseudo-scientific justification for his own personal opinions on humor and politics. For example, he dubs the following passage by H. L. Mencken on President Warren G. Harding's tortured English as Nasty In A Good Way:

> He writes the worst English I have ever encountered. It reminds me of a string of wet sponges; it reminds me of tattered washing on the line; it reminds me of stale bean-soup, of college yells, of dogs barking idiotically through endless nights.

Whereas the following Gawker response to Denby's book would automatically be branded as hopelessly and insufferably Snarky In A Bad Way:

> Oh, what a shock: David Denby's book, *The Internet is Mean and I Am Smart*, is full of either intentional misreadings and factual errors or inadvertent glaring mistakes because he is a lazy thinker and a poor writer, who really needs an editor, which is why he would not actually be a successful blogger, because he'd get called on his shit by those "snark-merchants" or whatever the hell he calls people who call people like David Denby on their obnoxious bullshit. Thankfully only two people have actually skimmed his book.

I personally find both excerpts funny, but I'm not writing a book about why *you* should, too.

Snark is not without value: it attacks hypocrisy and ridiculousness, and its clever jabs can be quite funny. *Snark* is not without value, either: Denby is adept at expressing his outrage at the debased state of internet-age conversation, and his book serves as a gentle reminder to take *some* things seriously, to hold onto *some* ideals in an age of cynicism. But it never quite cohesively gels, and it's difficult to shake the feeling while reading *Snark* that there was absolutely no need for this collection of shouts and murmurs to ever see publication in book form. "Don't you people like *anything*?" is a question often asked, in endless variations, of snarkers from Wolfe to Dowd to, indeed, *The Dartmouth Review*. Well, yes, of course we do like some things—among them President John Sloan Dickey, Nabokov, puppies, and snark. Just not *Snark*. ■

Miss Tian is a junior at the College and the New York correspondant for The Dartmouth Review

Snapshots of William F. Buckley, Jr.

He had a genius for friendship.

—Murray Kempton

i

Twice a month on Mondays before the editorial section closed on Tuesday afternoon, Buckley had dinners at his duplex apartment on 73rd Street and Park Avenue in Manhattan. These were in effect salons, enjoyable, but also held for a purpose.

By Jeffrey Hart

Drinks were served in the living room, and after that dinner in the dining room. Toward the end of the meal Buckley would tap on a glass and ask someone to say a few words on some topic to start a general conversation. Many of the guests invited were notable liberals. This was an opportunity for the senior editors to meet them and for them to meet us. Buckley wanted the editors to understand that even people with whom they might disagree could be intelligent and honest, and the important guests might conclude that those who ran *National Review*—James Burnham, Frank Meyer, Priscilla Buckley, Bill Rusher—were not benighted fools.

Former New York Mayor Ed Koch proved to be a great raconteur. Mark Green had run unsuccessfully for mayor. Former New York Governor Mario Cuomo was intelligent and friendly, asking me at one point what I thought might be his favorite among the many speeches he had made. He knew that I would guess the famous "tale of two cities"—rich and poor—he had made at a Democratic convention in San Francisco. No, said Cuomo. His favorite was the speech he had made at Notre Dame on the responsibilities of elected Catholic executives on the abortion issue. Rush Limbaugh came to dinner, well known but not yet the national presence he later became. At one point I saw him advancing across the living room and unmistakably headed for one of Pat Buckley's wooden fragile-looking 18th century French arm chairs. As he lowered his notable bulk I waited for the crash. The chair proved to be stronger than the French monarchy had been.

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

One evening I was surprised, and I suppose the others were too, when Timothy Leary was the guest. As a Harvard researcher working on schizophrenia he had discovered LSD, a dangerous chemical that induced symptoms something like schizophrenia and had become popular among advanced members of the counter-culture during the 1960s; Leary had become a cult figure. He looked like a former altar boy, which I think he was. Astonishingly, he was headed down to Princeton the following day to lecture on the dangers of permissiveness.

Neither Gore Vidal nor Norman Mailer ever appeared, Vidal a nasty egotist and Mailer, well, was Mailer.

ii

At the 1972 Republican Convention I stayed at one of the less expensive Miami Beach hotels. By that time, I was writing a syndicated column for King Features. The Nixon headquarters occupied several floors at the top of the Doral Hotel. I visited the headquarters and found that Chuck Colson, wearing a pink tropical suit, seemed to be supervising the speechwriters' team. Nixon himself was not campaigning this year. Polling had shown that the word "president" was viewed more favorably than the word "Nixon," so the campaign slogan was "Re-elect the President." I agreed to write speeches for the surrogates who would speak on behalf of the "president." I contributed speeches for former Governor John Connally and national committee co-chair Anne Armstrong, both of Texas. *[Ed. note: Though he is too modest to say it, the speech delivered by Armstrong and written by Professor Hart was the keynote address at the convention – marking the first time at the convention of either major party that the keynote was delivered by a woman.]* The only notable events were playing tennis with humor columnist Art Buchwald on the rubberized roof courts of the Fountainbleu Hotel. Garner Mulloy, former tennis great, turned out to be the teaching pro at these courts. Buchwald's columns were consistently funny, so I expected Buchwald to be full of laughs but he turned out to be a bit gloomy.

In a small outdoor theater up the beach, entertainers who supported Nixon entertained visitors. Frank Sinatra and Sammy Davis Jr. both sang and danced. The audience was startled to see Nixon himself emerge from the wings as Sammy Davis rushed over to him, hugged him, and kissed him on the cheek. Nixon seemed startled but grinned.

Only one other thing happened to me at the Republican convention of note: I was tear-gassed. I had been walking toward the convention hall, when the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, who had been encamped nearby, chose to riot against Nixon. They had struck me as a disreputable lot, smoking grass, disheveled, sleeping in tents with their women. The state police were ready, and all around me I heard *pop-pop-pop* as tear gas launchers shot canisters of gas that landed all around me and among the rioters. Tear gas is brutal: makes the skin burn and almost blinds. I felt like yelling, "Stop! I'm for Nixon!" At the convention hall they were ready with rooms full of cots and towels soaked in a soothing liquid. Inside the amphitheater the tear gas was filtering in through the air conditioning system. Everyone knew that Nixon would probably coast to re-election. Two years later he became the first president to resign.

Only one other thing happened to me at the Republican convention of note: I was tear-gassed.

At the 1972 Democratic Convention, the Buckleys stayed at the Foutainbleu Hotel and his yacht *Cyrano* was docked at the marina in Coral Gables.

A swirl of notables came and went in Buckley's suite. Buckley also had friends for cocktails on *Cyrano*, one of them was Ken Galbraith, Buckley friend, economist, and McGovern supporter. I remember Galbraith remarking to Buckley that he should enjoy this yacht while he still had it. That is, McGovern's taxes would make such ownership impossible. I don't think Galbraith was joking. His redistributive economics had a puritan edge. When McGovern selected Senator Tom Eagleton for his vice presidential nominee, it turned out that Eagleton had had electric shock treatments for some condition. The Republican joke going around was, "We don't see why Tom Eagleton can't be vice president. After all, he's been Napoleon all these years." Eagleton had to leave the ticket, Sen. Ted Kennedy declined the offer to replace him, and the McGovern campaign was a disaster before it began.

As the convention broke up, Buckley invited a small group of friends, including Garry Wills, to sail up the coast on *Cyrano*, as he headed for Connecticut. We sailed out drinking martinis and eating lobster sandwiches.

This turned out to be the battleship *New Jersey* heading at flank speed for Vietnam. As it drew closer it became enormous, a skyscraper on its side. Buckley tried to ring up the captain of *New Jersey* on the phone to claim the right of way as a ship on its starboard side.

On the third day out the sails were folded and it was fun swimming naked in the warm Gulf Stream, which runs like a river northward through the Atlantic. The captain stood by with a rifle in case of sharks, and we were careful to avoid the large jellyfish called "Portuguese Man o' War," with its projecting sails and long poisonous tentacles, said to give a very nasty sting. In the good ship *Cyrano* we sailed bibulously north.

Of course, as we came off Cape Hatteras the usual hurricane caught up with us. Suddenly the sky grew dark. Our batteries chose this moment to fail, the electric compass cut out, and the mountainous waves tossed *Cyrano* around like a ping-pong ball. Buckley would peer into the darkness and say, "I think the reef is over there," gazing eastward. This was met with a chorus of, "Get this damned boat out into the middle of the ocean . . . over there," pointing to the right.

Then, off Newport News, a huge shape loomed in the distance off our port side. This turned out to be the battleship *New Jersey* heading at flank speed for Vietnam. As it drew closer it became enormous, a skyscraper on its side. Buckley tried to ring up the captain of *New Jersey* on the phone to claim the right of way as a ship on its starboard side. None of us knew that a warship always has the right of way. Again *Cyrano* was thrown around like a toy by the twenty-foot wake left by the battleship.

Instead of going on north to Stamford, I disembarked at the Battery, on the southern tip of Manhattan. Using its motor, Cyrano pulled close to the dock and I jumped off with a shoulder bag containing my minimal things. A crowd watched with evident surprise.

iii

During the winter, the fun moved to the ski slopes of Gstaad in the Bernese Alps of Switzerland, where the Buckleys leased a chateau in Rougement, a French-speaking town a few miles from Gstaad. Life around the Buckley's

—Buckley looks on as Professor Hart shakes President Reagan's hand—

Manhattan, Miami, and Gstaad

consisted of skiing and lively socializing at the chateau. My wife Nancy and I stayed at a hotel in Gstaad itself. Pat Buckley once remarked that our hotel looked like a hospital. Maybe. But an unwelcome thought.

At Gstaad the Buckley schedule ruled our social life, and it was always the same. We all skied in the morning while Buckley worked in his chateau on his latest literary project. Then all the skiers met for lunch at one small restaurant or another at the base of one of the mountains. After lunch, fortified by plenty of wine, we followed the leader to another mountain and skied there until the end of the day.

At the top of one of the mountains was a restaurant called the Sky Club, members only. One morning Buckley and I were skiing together, and he decided we would lunch at the Sky Club. As we were putting our skis on the rack outside, Buckley indicated an elderly man wearing a one-piece blue ski suit a short distance away and whispered that he would tell me about him when we found a table.

Over lunch he said that he had stayed with this man, the Count Von Something, at his castle in Germany to do some research about castles for a novel he was writing. The first night they sat down in front of the fireplace and there above the mantel were life-sized portraits of Josef Goebbels and Herman Goering. Came the obvious question: Why were these portraits there? "Because they were my godfathers," said the Count. Oh.

Buckley's chateau was an enormous place, located at the base of a mountain in Rougemont. You could finish a day of skiing by skiing right to the back door. On my first visit, I entered the front door of the chateau, which seemed the normal way to go in, but I found myself in a large kitchen with a stone fireplace suitable for cooking meat on a spit. All it needed was a cook in a leather apron, preferably a dwarf.

The second floor of the chateau had a large living room, also Buckley's office, where he worked mornings, and his studio. He painted in oils when the spirit moved him—mountains, sailboats, unrecognizable portraits. Buckley had many talents in addition to being perhaps the most important journalist of his time, but, to put it bluntly in the interest of truth, his paintings were awful.

I heard that once, before I had begun to visit Gstaad, David Niven had told Buckley that Marc Chagall was coming, admired Buckley's spy novels, and would like to see him. "Fine, love to meet him," said Buckley.

"Wait a minute, Bill," said Niven, "Chagall is a real artist. World famous. You wouldn't take him to your studio, would you?" Chagall soon arrived at the chateau and Buckley took him right to the studio. Chagall looked around at Buckley's paintings and said in French, "The poor paint."

—*The young Buckley*—

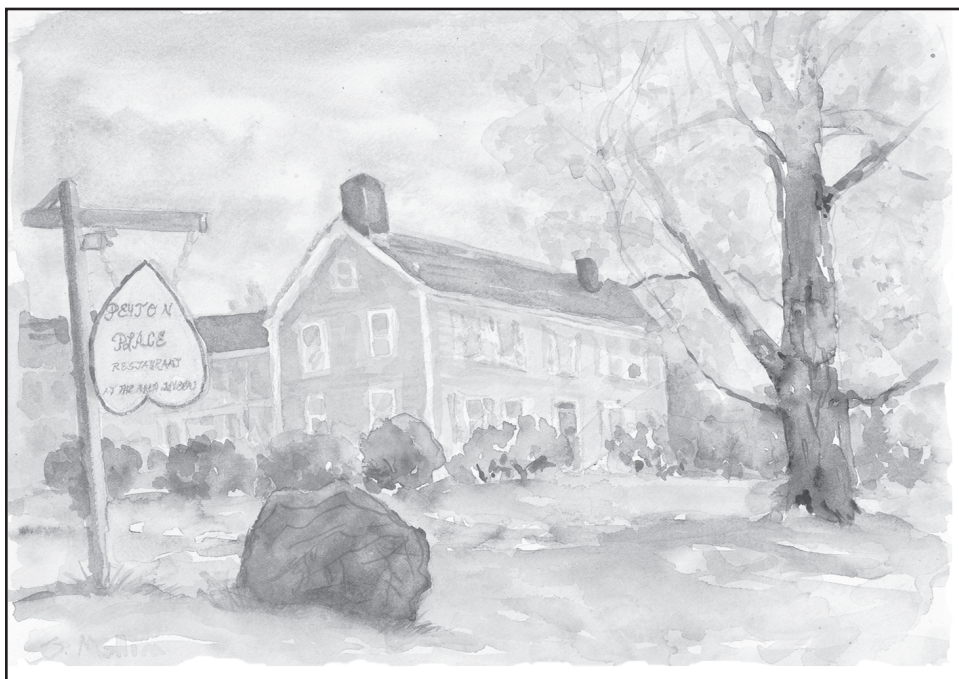
Chagall soon arrived at the chateau and Buckley took him right to the studio. Chagall looked around at Buckley's paintings and said in French, "The poor paint."

Another time Ted Kennedy showed up and stayed for a few days. At one point he asked whether he could borrow one of the cars and drive into Gstaad. "Hell no," Pat Buckley said. "There are two bridges between here and Gstaad."

Social life at the chateau resembled that at the Buckleys' 73rd Street duplex in New York: interesting people, often of considerable eminence, and good conversation: Kitty and Ken Galbraith, David Niven, Arthur Schlesinger, Taki Theodoracopulos, a glamorous millionaire, great skier, and good-enough tennis player to play at Wimbledon. There was an actor who played in the latest James Bond movie, "Swifty" Lazar, the agent. Once I asked Schlesinger about Jack Kennedy's womanizing, really just to see how he would handle the question, aware as everyone was that Kennedy pushed the envelope and would have made the then-unknown Bill Clinton look like a monk. Schlesinger professed to know nothing about it. Polite.

Nicholas Nabokov, son of the novelist, was a regular guest. I had heard that he had become exasperated by people tail-gating him as he drove around the hairpin turns on the Alps. So he had gotten even. He had the rear of his Jaguar rigged with a powerful spotlight, which he flicked on when a tailgater got too close. I never heard of anyone driving through a guardrail and disappearing into a crevasse. But Nabakov had made his emphatic statement.

David Niven was one of the most pleasant people you could meet—witty, debonair, civilized. One year, when he was ill with Lou Gehrig's disease, we were instructed not to say anything funny because if he tried to laugh it might choke him and even kill him. Since at the Buckley gatherings wit was always in generous supply, this inhibition tended to produce mere platitudes: "Good skiing today" . . . "Looks like more snow tomorrow" . . . "I hear Ali Khan is in town."■



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—Richard Hovey

Architecture in general is frozen music.

—Friedrich Schelling

Trying to explain music is like trying to dance architecture.

—Thelonious Monk

The world is wearied of statesmen whom democracy has degraded into politicians

—Benjamin Disraeli

Artists are useful to society because they are so sensitive. They are super-sensitive. They keel over like canaries in poison coal mines long before more robust types realize that there is any danger whatsoever.

—Kurt Vonnegut

Pretty soon I believe people will have to rely on music to get some kind of peace of mind, or satisfaction, or direction, actually. More so than politics, the big ego scene.

—James Hendrix

I have something to say about the difference between American and European cities, but I forgot what it was. I have it written down at home somewhere.

—David Byrne

America, you have it better than our continent, the old one.

—Goethe

Idealism is fine, but as it approaches reality, the costs become prohibitive.

—William F. Buckley, Jr.

There is always a philosophy for lack of courage.

—Albert Camus

Remember, my son, that any man who is a bear on the future of this country will go broke.

—J.P. Morgan

Market prices have a notorious habit of fluctuating.

—George Soros

You can play a shoestring if you're sincere.

—John Coltrane

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gordon haff's

the last word.

Compiled by Mostafa A. Heddaya

If Edison had a needle to find in a haystack, he would proceed at once with the diligence of the bee to examine straw after straw until he found the object of his search. . . . I was a sorry witness of such doings, knowing that a little theory and calculation would have saved him ninety percent of his labor.

—Nikola Tesla

That all men are equal is a proposition which at ordinary times no sane individual has ever given his assent.

—Aldous Huxley

Excessive sorrow laughs. Excessive joy weeps.

—William Blake

Three men riding on a bicycle which has only one wheel, I guess that's surrealist.

—Dong Kingman

Every morning upon awakening, I experience a supreme pleasure: that of being Salvador Dalí, and I ask myself, wonderstruck, what prodigious thing will he do today, this Salvador Dalí.

—Salvador Dali

Dali, though a brilliant draughtsman, is a dirty little scoundrel.

—George Orwell

From my grandfather's father, [I learned] to dispense with attendance at public schools, and to enjoy good teachers at home, and to recognize that on such things money should be eagerly spent.

—Marcus Aurelius

Continued adherence to a policy of compulsory education is utterly incompatible with efforts to establish lasting peace.

—Ludwig Von Mises

I feel the same way about disco as I do about herpes.

—Hunter S. Thompson

A play should give you something to think about. When I see a play and understand it the first time, then I know it can't be much good.

—T. S. Eliot

We never stop reading, although every book comes to an end, just as we never stop living, although death is certain.

—Roberto Bolaño

Barrett's Mixology

By Samuel D. Peck

The Cogito

1 part White Rum
2 part tonic water
1 lime slice
2 parts self-realization
Add mint leaves

Mix rationally, and enjoy the clear, distinct taste of the Cogito whilst musing by the fireplace.

It was the wee hours of the afternoon when the light of nature perturbed my alcohol-soaked slumber. Where am I? I lay confused and disturbed, not quite conscious or sure of anything or anyone. Am I still dreaming? How do I know? Upon thinking deeply about my situation, I realized that I would have to start from the very foundations of truth if I were to escape my groggy state.

But then I caught the reflection off of the green glass on the bedside stand. Ahh, my cherished libation. I must have had concocted the ambrosial mixture before dozing off into the unknown. And what luck! My dreams had begun before I could fully appreciate my creation, and there was but a bit left. I took my first sip, and then my second, and then I was struck by the clear and distinct flavors of this simple cocktail. I realized that in this glass was that very foundation of truth! When I drink, there is noone able to convince me that I am not drinking. "I drink" in fact, is true whenever I choose to do so. Content with my conviction, I succumbed to the alluring aura of the Cogito and settled myself to sleep.

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