

# The Dartmouth Review

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## *Scenes From The Hanover Spring*



# Correcting Misinformation

By Nicholas P. Desatnick

In one of the more memorable anecdotes from last term's "What's So Great About America" debate, an audience member questioned Dinesh D'Souza about *The Dartmouth Review's* record on gay rights in the early 1980s. As part of his response, Mr. D'Souza corrected what he called "an urban legend history" of this publication and remarked that "the Mother Jones recapitulation [of *The Review's* actions] over the last 30 years bears no resemblance to [its actual coverage of the Gay Student Alliance and the group's misappropriation of College funds]." Although his answer successfully addressed these particular misconceptions, it seems that the *Mother Jones'* version of events continues unabated, often times in direct contradiction to the facts at hand.

Witness *The Daily Dartmouth's* March 28th edition of *The Mirror* and a story it ran on the College's history over the last half century. In a section that chronicles campus social developments throughout the 1980s, its authors devote nine full paragraphs to describing the "slander, destruction, and lawsuits stemming in large part from *The Dartmouth Review*" and its "[disillusionment] with the direction the College was taking." Unfortunately, in order to support this simplistic interpretation of events, the article's authors rely on a selective presentation of the period's history and render a highly exaggerated account of *The Review's* actions. There are six explicit and implied distortions that need to be addressed:

*Distortion #1:* "In 1983, The Review ran a story describing [former Professor of Music William Cole]... as looking 'like a used Brillo pad.'"

Fact: In 1983, this paper ran a series of articles that criticized three classes for their "deficient academic standards" and failure to comply with departmental requirements. One of those was Cole's Music 2 course, whose syllabus was three lines long and whose lectures often had little to do with the American musical tradition. In her initial report, editor Laura Ingraham cited anecdotes from Cole's racial musings on the first day of class and interviewed a number of students about their perceptions of his teaching style. One individual described Cole as "[looking] like a used Brillo Pad," an anecdote that was subsequently quoted in one of Ingraham's editorials. *The Review* neither originated nor condoned this description; it simply reported it as part of its journalistic due diligence. To

Mr. Desatnick is a junior at the College and the Editor-in-Chief of *The Dartmouth Review*.

suggest that we described him as such is therefore disingenuous and inaccurate.

*Distortion #2:* "Cole subsequently sued The Review for slander and though the case was ultimately settled outside of court, the tension between Cole and The Review did not subside."

Fact: Professor Cole lodged a \$2.4 million libel suit against this publication and three of its student editors. He charged that their report on his classroom behavior caused him severe "mental, emotional, physical, and financial distress," yet he failed to specify a single inaccuracy in the entire story. After two years of legal proceedings, Cole was forced to drop his claims against all four defendants because his legal representation was unable to substantively dispute any of the details in Ingraham's article.

*Distortion #3:* "In February 1988, several staff members of The Review entered Cole's classroom with cameras and tape recorders. A scuffle ensued, which resulted in Cole breaking one of the cameras."

Fact: Three years after the lawsuit had ended, *The Review* published a follow-up issue on classes whose academic requirements were persistently substandard and included an article about Music 2. Entitled "Bill Cole in His Own Words," the

piece consisted almost exclusively of direct quotes from one of Cole's lectures. Prior to publishing the issue, *The Review* acted on the advice of its legal counsel and sought comment from Cole, first over the phone and then in person. Upon seeing the staffers enter his classroom, Cole exploded, calling them "g\*ddamn-f\*ck\*n-\*ss-white-boy-racists," tearing the flashbulb off of photographer John Quilhot's camera, and telling John Sutter to "come and take" an apology from him. The implications furthered by *The D*'s use of "scuffle" suggest that Cole's physicality was somehow reciprocated, which as the reports of eyewitnesses confirm, was not the case. *The Reviewers* departed the classroom immediately following Cole's outburst.

*Distortion #4:* "Cole ultimately left the College in 1990, claiming that his clashes with The Review 'totally blackballed him.'"

Fact: Cole left the College a full two years after his last run-in with this publication. His mixed reputation on campus was the direct result of his disregard for the College's academic standards, his proselytizing in the classroom, and his predilection for racial epithets like "honky." *The Review* simply exposed these facts for what they were and in no way set out to deliberately "blackball him."

*Distortion #5:* "At the beginning of the 1990s, over 2,000

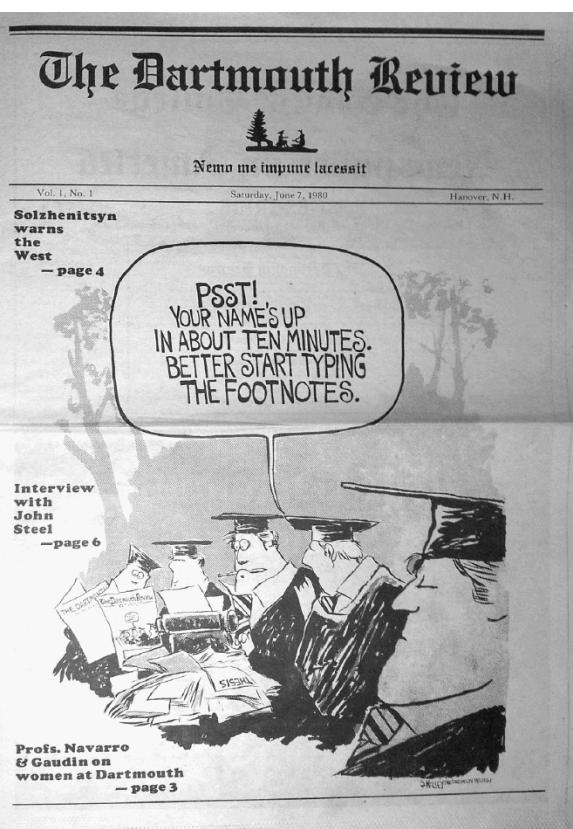
people joined in a Dartmouth United Against Hate rally in an attempt to kindle campus unity and condemn The Review."

Fact: In 1990, much of the campus did indeed participate in a "Rally Against Hate" directed against this publication; however, *The Dartmouth's* account of events makes no mention of either the Rally's impetus or its repercussions. That fall, an unknown saboteur slipped an excerpt from *Mein Kampf* into this paper's credo, sparking a campus-wide uproar. When *The Review* discovered the subterfuge, it immediately retracted and destroyed all outstanding issues and Editor Kevin Pritchett issued a public apology. Rather than comply with Pritchett's request for help in conducting an internal investigation, however, the Freedman Administration publicly censured the paper and organized the "Rally Against Hate" to protest its anti-Semitism. After subsequent studies from the New Hampshire Human Rights Commission and the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith found *The Review's* staff (which was at the time over a quarter Jewish) to be free from "any hint of bigotry or prejudice," many alumni and national media outlets were critical of President Freedman for not conducting a fact-finding mission before assuming that the Hitler quote was a deliberate ploy. *The Wall Street Journal* even went so far as to call the incident "Dartmouth's Tawana Bradley case," and quoted Dinesh D'Souza as saying it made "Mr. Freedman the Al Sharpton of Academia." Such a momentous controversy was undoubtedly one of the more eventful episodes in the recent history of the College and deserves more than the accusatory and one-sided synopsis that *The Mirror* provided.

*Distortion #6:* "In Summer's opinion, this action by Freedman [sic] allowed campus to focus on progressive academic changes. Among these turn-of-the-decade changes were the creation of the minor, the culminating experience as a distributive requirement, the Presidential Scholars program, and the expansion of the Collis Center."

Fact: The problem with this statement lies not within its specific content (or its grammatical errors), but in its efforts to put a neat and tidy end to the apparent turmoil of the 1980s. While *The Review* was considerably weakened by the Hitler debacle, the controversy was by no means the end of its involvement on Dartmouth's campus. Since then, the paper has played an instrumental role in a number of important debates, including President Wright's Student Life Initiative and the role of alumni in College governance. The fact that one of *The Review's* earliest correspondents, Peter Robinson '79, could later be elected to Dartmouth's Board of Trustees testifies to the paper's ability to affect public opinion and have a lasting impact on trends at the College. That influence continues to this day.

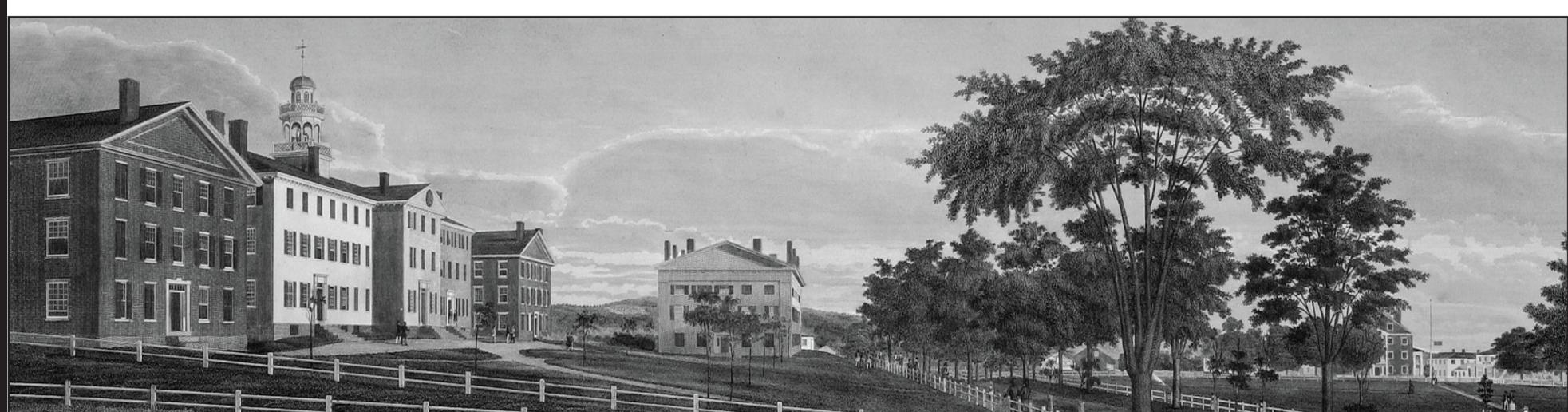
Although *The Review* has undoubtedly changed since the 1980s, its mission remains the same: to serve as Dartmouth's only independent journal of critical thought and positively impact campus discussion. We like to think that the controversies of yesteryear helped us mature in our orientation to the issues before us and that we can fulfill an important role in the debates of today. It is with that end in mind that we want to encourage anyone with an interest in the paper's history to view our past issues at their discretion. Our archives, much like the publication as a whole, are always open and ready to serve the campus. All you have to do is give them a read. ■



The cover from the first-ever issue of *The Dartmouth Review*, as preserved in our archives.

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# 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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*"And then they blacked in on Hanlon's desk..."*

*Special Thanks to the late William F. Buckley, Jr.*

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Submit letters by mail, fax at (603) 643-1470, or e-mail:

[dartmouthrevieweditor@gmail.com](mailto:dartmouthrevieweditor@gmail.com)

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P.O. BOX 343  
HANOVER, N.H. 03755  
(603) 643-4370  
FAX: (603) 643-1470

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# Editorial

## Protecting Discourse

On the afternoon of April 1st, thirty-five protestors affiliated with the Freedom Budget filed into President Hanlon's office on the second floor of Parkhurst Hall. It was shortly before 4:00 and nearly time for the President's weekly office hours. But unlike several other students in attendance, they were not there to ask President Hanlon questions about his Math 11 curriculum or to learn about his priorities for the College. Instead, they were there to make a scene. And make a scene they most certainly did.

For the next two-and-a-half hours, they remained where they had entered. Some lounged on the sofas and chairs in the office's reception area. Others sprawled out around a conference table, tapping out anxious Twitter messages to their followers outside. And others still reclined across the back of President Hanlon's desk, their cross-armed insouciance oddly out of sync with the gravity of the occasion.

Within minutes, any semblance of well-ordered and methodical protest had broken down. In its place, an argumentative free-for-all had broken out based loosely around the goal of obtaining a line-by-line response to suggestions posited in the Freedom Budget.

To his credit, President Hanlon (or "Phil," as several protestors preferred to call him) held his ground and attempted to steer the conversation back into the realm of the actionable. He repeatedly pointed out that he was not capable of making such transformative decisions spontaneously and that he "depended on and respected the opinions of his senior team." He also reminded the protestors that "working through established channels" and "discussing all options" was the best way of affecting positive change and that he wanted to have "a reasonable conversation" about the issues they had broached.

Not satisfied with this answer, many participants seized the opportunity to make emotional appeals for social justice. After President Hanlon offered to arrange a series of meetings between the protestors and his senior staff, one student cut him off, remarking that "we're so tired of having this conversation! I had conversations [like this] with Phil last term. Like, what happened? I still experience xenophobia and racism on this campus." Another protestor bemoaned that the administration's response "just feels like rhetoric to me" and exclaimed that, "after I leave this sit-in... nothing will have changed... I'm still not going to feel comfortable with my straight classmates. I'm still not going to feel comfortable with my white classmates. I'm still not going to feel comfortable on this campus!"

The emotional tenor of the conversation only grew worse after Scott Mitchell, a student at the dual-degree engineering program between Bowdoin and Dartmouth, suggested that the protestors were "ridiculing President Hanlon to his face" and that they would be better off making change happen "from the bottom up." The room responded with an explosion of jeers and derisive laughter. One protestor questioned Mitchell about his motives for intervening in the discussion and suggested that his "rescue of an older man [who] was the head of a historically, prestigiously... exclusively white institution... from the scary brown people" was racially tinged.

When Thomas Wang, another student bystander, observed that the anger directed toward Mitchell and President Hanlon was not befitting of productive dialogue, a protestor defended the tactics of those in attendance, remarking:

*When your voice is always silenced by those above you, you have to make yourself heard. And I don't care if it's rude. I*

*don't care if it's disrespectful. I'm a respectful person, but in situations like these, when it's my Dartmouth experience on the line, that's when I interrupt President Hanlon.*

Other participants echoed this sentiment, particularly when they deliberated about remaining in the President's office overnight. After one student acknowledged that an ongoing sit-in would be in violation of Student Standards of Conduct and would prevent custodial and senior staff members from doing their jobs, others asserted that such disrespect was necessary because "the time had come for them to take a decisive stand."

The substance of these remarks, not to mention the protestors' overall demeanor, makes the administration's ultimate response to the sit-in particularly concerning. As *The Daily Dartmouth* first reported on Friday, the demonstration came to an end only after Dean Johnson signed a document pledging not to prosecute the nineteen-students who had violated the school's Standards of

Conduct by remaining inside Hanlon's office. Later that day, senior administrators expressed their optimism about the resolution and spokesperson Justin Anderson announced that the College "was pleased the students decided to leave, and [looks] forward to working constructively with [the protestors] in the future."

Suffice it to say, *The Review* finds this official response to be completely inappropriate given the incendiary behavior displayed by those involved. What the administration seems to forget is that regardless of how optimistic it may be, it always takes two to cooperate, and in the last few days the protestors have not exactly demonstrated their willingness to "work productively" within existing channels of change. If there is any lesson

to be learned from the sit-in, it is that the Freedom Budgeters are dead set on an approach that is not friendly to collaboration and compromise. Their hostile response to overtures of reason from President Hanlon, Dean Johnson, and their fellow classmates has made that abundantly clear. Instead, they intend to maintain their "struggle" by any and all means necessary, even if it takes them beyond the limits of civil discourse expected of Dartmouth undergraduates.

Such behavior is not befitting of an American college. It isn't even befitting of a daycare center. Intemperate toddlers are scolded for their outbursts in the supermarket, not rewarded with impunity for their perseverance and perceived righteousness. To brush the protestors' bad behavior under the rug, as the Administration has done, is to set a dangerous precedent that condones disrespect in the name of promoting change.

It is for this reason that *The Review* believes the College's decision to forego prosecution under the Standards of Conduct is irresponsible. Rules like those prohibiting the hijacking of school buildings and the interference with normal school operations exist for a reason. They are there to set the parameters of the intellectual debate that must lie at the heart of any free institution and to ensure that discourse is productive and healthy for all who are involved. To waive them, is to do a disservice to those ideals and to lead the campus toward a codified impertinence unbecoming of higher education.

There is no doubt that the administration missed an important opportunity to defend and promote a higher standard of discourse at Dartmouth in its response to the protest. As debate over the Freedom Budget drags on and Dimensions looms on the horizon, it remains to be seen if in making this mistake, they sacrificed more than just civility and courtesy on campus.

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# The Week in Review

## Not-Guilty Verdicts End Parker Gilbert '16 Trial

On the afternoon of Thursday, March 27th, at the Grafton County Courthouse in North Haverhill, New Hampshire, Parker C. Gilbert '16, a former undergraduate student and member of the men's rugby team, was found not guilty of five felony charges of aggravated sexual assault and one misdemeanor charge of criminal trespass.

The incident took place a little less than a year ago in the complainant's dorm room in the McLaughlin cluster. Gilbert was charged with, among other things, forcible and surprise oral, vaginal, and anal penetration of the complainant. He was arrested nearly two weeks later on May 15, 2013, after the complainant decided to press charges with the Hanover Police.

The trial began almost a week and a half ago on March 18, 2014. Witnesses, including the victim's roommate, other undergraduates (including the victim's roommates, Gilbert's rugby teammates and other acquaintances), law enforcement officials, and medical and forensic experts were called to testify. Gilbert opted not to take the stand in his own defense. Grafton County Attorney Lara Saffo led the prosecution, while Gilbert's defense team included attorneys Cathy Green, Robert Cary, and George Ostler.

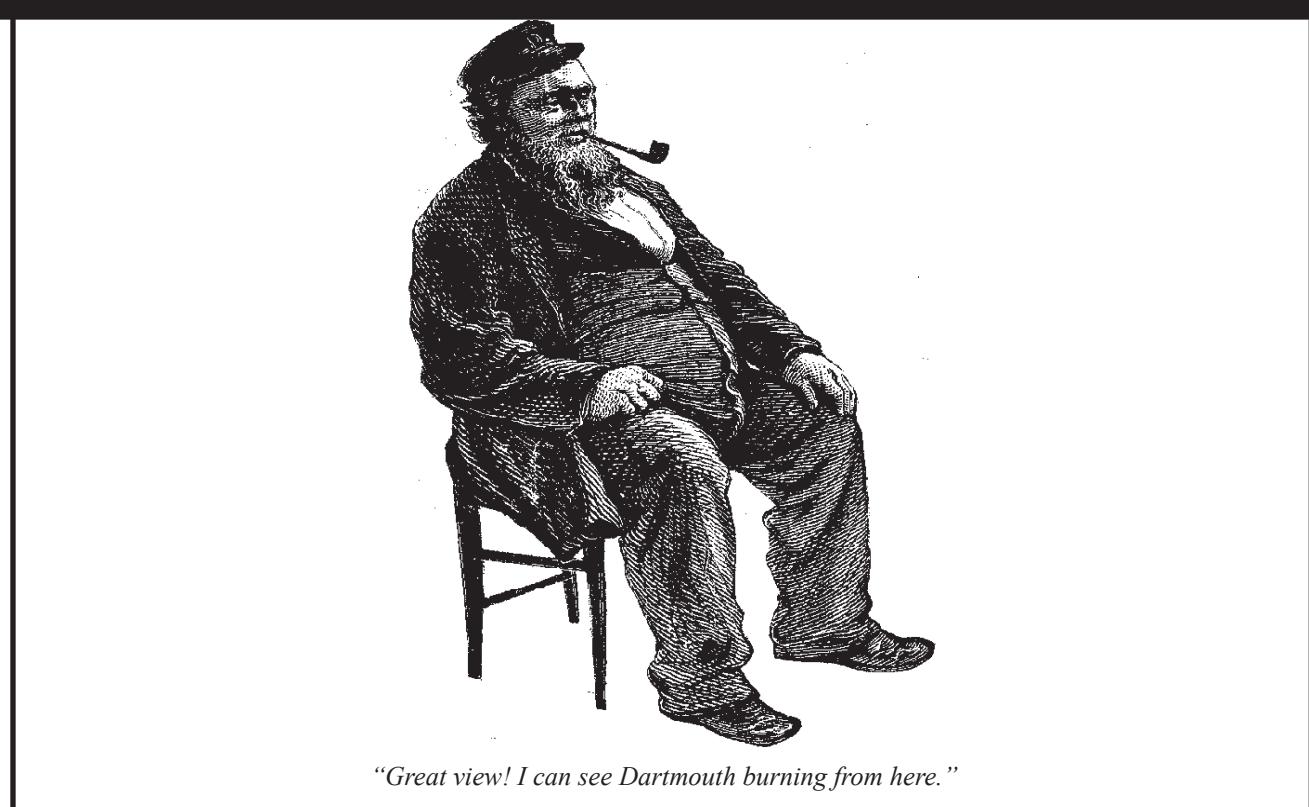
Key testimonies included that of the complainant's roommate, who was the sole sober witness during the time of the incident. Most importantly, the roommate testified to not having heard anything that seemed out of the ordinary for consensual sex, other than the words "don't push me." The defense used this testimony and other minor inconsistencies in the accounts of the complainant and other witnesses to attempt to cast reasonable doubt on the complainant's allegations of assault.

The prosecution's most important witness was the complainant herself, who spent the better part of a day and a half on the stand during the first week of the trial, in which she was cross-examined at great length about the details of the alleged assault.

The twelve-member jury began deliberations in the late afternoon of March 26, after the judge dropped two of the seven sexual assault felony charges. Following half an hour of deliberation that day and an additional four hours during the morning of the 27th, the jury foreman delivered the six not guilty verdicts in the early afternoon, clearing Gilbert of all charges.

## Dartmouth CoFIRED Attempts to Ban the "I-Word"

On Monday, March 31, Dartmouth CoFIRED (Coalition for Immigration Reform, Equality, and DREAMers) hosted an event on dropping the "I-Word." The "I-Word"



*"Great view! I can see Dartmouth burning from here."*

is the word "illegal" in the term "illegal immigrant." Certain supporters of immigration reform and those who immigrated illegally to the country frown upon the usage of this term.

The effort to end the use of the term on campus closely follows a line in the Freedom Budget that calls for "[banning] the use of "illegal aliens", "illegal immigrants", "wetback", [sic] and any racially charged term on Dartmouth-sanctioned programming materials and locations."

A point commonly made by those who oppose the use of "illegal immigrant"—including those at the CoFIRED event—is that "No human being is 'illegal.'" Opponents of the term "illegal immigrant" often argue that this term dehumanizes immigrants who come to the United States in search of greater economic opportunity, and that these immigrants should not be defined by one illegal action.

In lieu of "illegal immigrant", members of CoFIRED prefer the term "undocumented immigrant". Furthermore, it was repeatedly emphasized during the event that being in the United States without authorization is a civil, not criminal, offense. However, despite what was said during the event, illegal entry into the United States is in fact a misdemeanor—a criminal offense.

The event started with an exercise asking attendees to provide their preferred label for someone who has immigrated to the United States without legal authorization. Participants' answers included "human being", "illegal immigrant", and "undocumented immigrant", among others. This activity was followed by a series of short lectures from faculty speakers explaining how "illegal immigrant" is a loaded term that encourages discrimination and racial stereotyping. CoFIRED's event concluded with a panel of three Dartmouth students who provided deeply personal and emotional stories about their lives after having immigrated to the United States illegally.

## Professor Wheelan Lectures on Centrism

On Thursday, April 3, Senior Lecturer in Economics Charles Wheelan '88, the author of *The Centrist Manifesto* and the founder of The Centrist Project, gave a public lecture on the dysfunctional, polarized state of politics in America and his proposals to remedy the situation. Professor Wheelan, who is both a former Republican and a former Democratic congressional candidate, defined his version of centrism as taking the best of both liberal and conservative ideas to enact pragmatic solutions to pressing problems. Thus, these centrist views are not necessarily moderate, as they involve distinctly conservative approaches to some issues (mostly fiscal issues) and distinctly liberal approaches to others (mostly social issues). For example, Professor Wheelan lectures on the sensibility of entitlement reform promoted by the Republican Party while simultaneously criticizing Republicans for their logical inconsistency in supporting small government except when it comes to issues such as gay marriage.

Professor Wheelan explained how he intends to impact American politics by running centrist candidates—either as independents or on the Centrist Party ticket—in Senate races. His goal is to have around four or five truly centrist and independent senators, who will then have disproportionate sway in determining which side has a majority of the votes or whether a filibuster is sustained or overridden. In explaining his rationale for targeting the Senate, Professor Wheelan explained that targeting the Presidency is a fool's errand because of the Electoral College while targeting the House is also nearly impossible because of heavily gerrymandered districts.

Currently, The Centrist Project is interested in the 2014

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# The Week in Review



"Cornelius, what's a cis-gender again?"

South Dakota Senate race. Larry Pressler, a three-term former Republican Senator, is running as an independent and embodies many of the centrist principles espoused by Professor Wheelan. The Centrist Project would like to use Larry Pressler as a “proof-of-concept,” demonstrating that a centrist candidate can have meaningful impact on a race. However, for The Centrist Project to support a candidate, the candidate must agree to a short list of centrist principles, one of which is still in contention between the candidate and Professor Wheelan.

The lecture comes at a fortuitous time, as our campus is rocked by inflamed passions and extremism regarding the Freedom Budget, which Professor Wheelan alluded to. Professor Wheelan’s lecture was the inaugural event in Collis Miniversity’s “Not Another Lecture Series,” which will be replacing Miniversity courses that have been facing declining enrollment. By any measure, the event was a huge success. Free books were given to the first seventy attendees, and the event packed over a hundred people into One Wheelock.

## The Wall Street Journal Chimes in on the Freedom Budget

An article in the *Wall Street Journal*’s weekend edition came out swinging against the Freedom Budget and the protesters supporting it. While there are certainly a myriad of legitimate problems surrounding our campus, the *WSJ* deftly illustrates the hypocrisy displayed by the Freedom Budget protestors. The article accurately describes the “anti-liberal campus left” protesters as “hostile to free expression, open debate, and due process.” Indeed, the protesters displayed incredible disrespect for President Phil Hanlon and his call for a conversation on campus issues while un-ironically citing the “oppression” of such dialogue.

The *WSJ* article includes various other gems about the Freedom Budget protests. It describes the protesters as “little tyrants” whose rhetoric better describes Syria than Hanover, NH. In addition, the article details how Dartmouth, a “tolerant-to-a-fault” institution, already has an “elaborate diversity bureaucracy [designed] to accommodate any need or desire.” Through this effective illustration of the reality of life at Dartmouth and the incredible entitlement of these Ivy League college students complaining about oppression, the *WSJ* swiftly discredits these protestors.

While criticizing the Freedom Budgeters, the article also rightly criticizes the administration. President Hanlon has done a great job in the past year attempting to understand students with diverse perspectives, and (as the article suggests) it is entirely understandable that he was unable to respond effectively to such relentless extremism. Still, the administration could have very well made a moderate but firm stance against protesters who were clearly violating college policy and should be subject to disciplinary action.

Dartmouth faces many problems and challenges regarding academics and student life. However, ultima-

tums, trespassing, and attempts at coercion contribute to the problem rather than the solution. The administration should provide a dignified response to this animosity and strongly defend the institution while protecting constructive discussion in order to protect real campus issues from being drowned out by a few destructive individuals.

## The SPCSA Meets

On Friday, April 4th, the Student and Presidential Committee on Sexual Assault (SPCSA) presented its “Third Annual Symposium on Sexual Assault at Dartmouth College”. Taking place over the course of three hours at Collis Common Ground, the event brought together over one hundred students, faculty members, and administrators to discuss sexual assault at Dartmouth, the College’s various programs and initiatives to prevent and combat it, and the College’s newly proposed sexual assault policy.

The symposium began with a speech by Sophia Pedlow ’15, chair of the student-only SPCSA, who briefly outlined her group’s activities and goals. During smaller group discussions that occurred later in the event, Ms. Pedlow emphasized the importance of mutual respect and support.

Next, there were additional speeches describing research conducted by two female undergraduates through the Elizabeth A. Hoffman MiniGrant. This grant, provided by the President’s and Dean’s offices, offers funding for undergraduate research on sexual assault at Dartmouth. In summary, one of the studies found that the majority of Dartmouth students are unaware of exactly which sexual assault resources are available to them on campus, while the other was a comparative analysis of how Dartmouth’s peer institutions investigate and punish sexual assault.

After these introductory speeches, the bulk of the symposium consisted of a series of guided discussions conducted at small tables of students, faculty, and administrators. These discussions focused on several topics including the proposed creation of a new “Center for Community Action and Prevention” (CCAP), which was outlined by Dean of the College Charlotte Johnson, and the new proposed sexual assault policy, was introduced by Director of Judicial Affairs Leigh Remy. With regard to the CCAP, most of the discussion seemed to focus on a need for clarification of the roles of the existing initiatives against sexual violence such as SAPA, MAV, and others, as well as how these groups would relate to the new CCAP. There seemed to be a general consensus that it would be highly beneficial to streamline the College’s efforts against sexual assault into fewer, better-defined groups, which could potentially be housed together in the CCAP.

With regard to the new sexual assault policy proposal, discussion focused on a few key issues; namely that while the new policy provides a very clear definition of consent, there needs to be a better definition for incapacitation given the College’s prevalent drinking culture. Other matters relating to the policy that were discussed included whether assault investigators should be internal (i.e. part of the community and familiar with the college) or whether they should be external and hired from a pool.

Participants also discussed the benefits and drawbacks of having students sit on Judicial Affairs sanctioning panels and whether or not said panels should have the actual names of the involved students when hearing a case. Throughout these discussions, a member of the SPCSA was present at each table, and these facilitators took notes on the conversations in order to eventually compile a list of “2014 Community Recommendations.” Overall, this event was well-attended by a diverse group of community members; while Dartmouth still has a long way to go in terms of addressing its sexual assault problem, the energy and ideas put forth by this symposium’s attendees was an encouraging sign.

Dartmouth’s new proposed sexual assault policy is available in full at the following link: <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~president/sap/>

## UltraViolet Attack Ad:

This Saturday, Facebook began to run an attack advertisement from UltraViolet targeting Dartmouth’s purported rape culture.

The advertisement read, “Accepted to Dartmouth? You should know about its rape problem before you attend. Learn more now,” with a picture of a concerned adolescent girl staring pensively at the camera while her hands rest on her laptop.

UltraViolet is a feminist activist group that aims to provide broad support to grassroots causes. Some of their notable past actions include defending abortion clinics in Louisiana, getting Reebok to revoke its sponsorship of rapper Rick Ross, and petitioning for the CEO of AOL to publicly apologize for sexist statements.

By entering the well-trodden social media site and targeting high schoolers using Facebook’s information database, UltraViolet hopes to hit the Dartmouth Admissions Office where it hurts. On their website, UltraViolet instructs Dartmouth to treat sexual assault seriously with a brief collection of paragraphs and a petition. In their paragraphs, they reference the Bored@Baker rape post and last year’s Dimensions protest as illustrative of administrative apathy regarding sexual assault.

Student response was passionate. Many Dartmouth students posted enraged Facebook statuses deplored UltraViolet’s advertisement. The advertisement itself received relatively few likes and shares as of the time of this printing.

## The Review Launches Its New Website

This week, *The Dartmouth Review* launched its revamped website. With this long-overdue update, *The Review* finally has a fully modern platform that will serve us well for years to come.

The website, which is nominally complete but will be significantly expanded in the coming months, features Dartlog as well as national news, Dartmouth news, arts & culture, opinion, and sports sections. The new website will be expanded with a Dartmouth Guide, featuring sections on the best and worst professors, Hanover restaurant reviews, descriptions of Greek houses, Barrett’s Mixology, and thematic long-term topics facing campus. We hope that the information provided in this guide will provide valuable information to both current and prospective students. Furthermore, the website will feature detailed posts on the storied history of *The Review*, our board of directors, and notable *Review* alumni.

The new site, designed by Rennie Song and built on the WordPress content management system, will allow a greater level of professional and flexibility with respect to our web presence. Our new platform allows us greater modularity and control over the way our site looks, and it should allow us to adapt to our needs as we expand in scope and size. A much greater proportion of our legacy content is now readily available, and we invite readers to browse our archives. In the future, we intend to post new issues directly to our web platform, which should allow all our articles to be easily accessible. Long overdue features such as formally signed posts, a modern commenting system, and rich multimedia features have been fully implemented. The website is managed by Managing Editor William R.F. Duncan and Web Editors Brian Chen and Julie A. McConville.

# The Protest in Review

## Narrative of the Events of April 1st

On the evening of March 31, at ten minutes before 5:00 PM, a picture of a hand-drawn note was posted on the anonymous, Dartmouth-specific message board *Bored@Baker*. The note, titled “Draft of Plan for Slumber Party,” detailed a series of steps that seemed to culminate in the occupation of President Phil Hanlon ’77’s office at the end of his weekly Tuesday afternoon office hours, which are open to the campus at large. According to the note, there was a preliminary meeting in the Cutter-Shabazz affinity house on March 30th at 8:00 and another on March 31st at the same time.

The post did not go unnoticed on the website – it quickly received dozens of “agrees” and “newsworthies” (part of *Bored@Baker*’s “voting system”), ensuring that the post would be highly visible for anyone logging onto the site. At some point yesterday, the picture was emailed to President Hanlon’s office; whether or not he read or considered the contents of the email is unknown. Casual student consideration of the note was generally tinged with skepticism, largely because the protest was planned for April 1, popularly known as “April Fool’s Day.”

There was little further indication of an impending protest until the onset of President Hanlon’s office hours at 4:00 PM, when approximately 40 people entered his study. Some amongst the group unfurled banners, while others immediately began questioning the nonplussed President about his response to the Freedom Budget. Many of the protesters subsequently set up camp across the room, including on top of President Hanlon’s desk.

At 4:27, the protesters sent an email to the campus listserv via *The Dartmouth Radical*’s account, titled “Sit-in at President Hanlon’s Office.” The email criticized the administration for failing to respond in full to the February 24 “Freedom Budget,” citing a March 6 op-ed written by President Hanlon and Interim Provost Martin Wybourne. It then stated that the protesters were “staging a sit-in of President Hanlon’s office until he provides a point-by-point response to the items in the Budget.” The blitz also included a link to a Livestream channel, which showed a live feed from the President’s office, and a Twitter account under the handle @gossippangstah.

President Hanlon duly left his office at 5:00, when his office hours were scheduled to end. The tenor of the room itself during the half-hour before his departure was characterized by alternating streams of diatribe and de-escalation. For his part, the President generally defaulted to his position that any potential decision or response would be made in concert with his staff, emphasizing that he was in no position to make policy unilaterally or spontaneously. Hanlon did, as a “starting point, commit to do a climate survey of campus,” then adding that “you have to agree that you will – we will get to the names of the responsible people for each of these actions that you’re asking for – you have to agree to sit down with those people.”

Speaking over President Hanlon’s objections, a protester then responded by asking “why is it so hard? Why do you keep ignoring the fact that we are asking you to just give us your personal opinion [on the Freedom Budget]?”

President Hanlon then said “because you need to work with the people on the senior team whose area and responsibility these [issues] fall under, and if I started making the decisions from my seat, that’s not respecting them.” Another protester then asked, “maybe you could email them and ask them if it’s okay if you just tell us your opinion?” The President tersely replied that “once I start saying an opinion, that puts them in a box. They can’t do their work.”

Immediately afterwards, Scott Mitchell, a student at the dual-degree engineering program between Bowdoin and Dartmouth, stated that “[change] needs to come from the inside... you [protestors are] sitting here and you’re ridiculing President Hanlon to his face. This is not how you make the change happen.” In the exchange that ensued, a protester questioned Mitchell about the motives for his comments, remarking that it was “problematic” that he as a white man “came to the rescue of an older man, [who] was the head of a historically,

prestigious... exclusively white institution.” Another protester suggested that because President Hanlon was not democratically elected and was instead “brought into this office through structures that oppress the rest of the people in this room,... it’s a little bit necessary to cut him off sometimes.”

Following President Hanlon’s departure, Dean Johnson was at the focal point of much of the discussion. She expressed optimism about the positive steps made during the sit-in, but voiced concern about the “significant opportunity costs” of a prolonged demonstration and its negative impacts on student academic life. Rather than continue occupying Parkhurst, she encouraged the protesters to work with the Administration and identify a “solid way forward [that involves] people in the faculty and administration who care about these issues and want to see progress.” She suggested that a meeting on Friday with a broader group of administrators would be a good second step and committed to conducting an external audit of the campus culture.

Around 6:15, Head of Safety and Security Harry Kinne told the assembled protesters that “you’ve made some inroads today. The Administration is more receptive to people who abide by processes.” Nevertheless, said Kinne, “it is your individual decision [to remain in the office or leave], but we are asking you to go downstairs, so that the Hanover Police do not need to be called. We will allow you to stay in the building.”

A protester then cried out, “you’re telling me that I can’t eat!” Dean Johnson, standing a few feet away from Kinne, told the crowd that “he’s asking you in a very polite way to move out of this office and occupy a public space. He’s following the process and making an exception to allow you to stay in the building after normal business hours. You can order food so that people can eat.” Most protesters filed out of the office around 6:30, though about eight opted to stay behind. Members of the press filed out an hour later, after they were also told to leave the room under threat of College disciplinary action; along with the bulk of the protesters, they moved to the foyer, which served as an open forum for the night.

For the next few hours, nobody was allowed into Parkhurst as Safety and Security secured the perimeter around the hall; the only exception was a bemused delivery man from Hanover’s Ramunto’s Pizzeria, who was escorted in and out by an officer. Students were permitted to leave, however, and the number of remaining protesters dropped as the night wore on.

As the local internet connection grew spotty, rumors grew that Safety and Security had cut off water and wifi services. Such rumors were unsubstantiated; indeed, officers supplied power strips so that remaining students could plug in their laptops and complete homework assignments. The protesters then, using imported armfuls of pillows and blankets, designed themselves makeshift beds.

As of 9:00 PM, there were approximately eight protesters in President Hanlon’s office and a further six or seven in the atrium of Parkhurst Hall.

## Day 2 of the Occupation

At 3:00 PM, protesters supporting the Freedom Budget gathered in front of Parkhurst Hall as the occupation of President Hanlon’s office entered Day 2. The protesters, claiming to be denied entry to Parkhurst by the Department of Safety and Security, decided to organize a public rally and march instead. Before the protest, various student organizations such as *The Dartmouth Radical*, La Alianza Latina, and Dartmouth CoFIRE sent campus-wide listserv emails publicizing the protest. Assistant Professor of History Russell Rickford also encouraged students in his course to attend the event.

At the start of the rally, demonstrators, one of which held a megaphone, chanted “What do we want? Hanlon’s response! When do we want it? Now!” They also held signs demanding a “point by point” response. Various students involved in the creation of the Freedom Budget subsequently delivered speeches to the protesters and onlookers and led a march around the Green and Baker-Berry Library. When the march was completed, protesters joined in song and then dispersed around 4:30 PM.

During the protest, a DOSS investigator and DOSS Chief, Harry Kinne, stood in front of the entrance to Parkhurst at various points. Occupiers remaining in President Hanlon’s office also chanted in solidarity with protesters outside.

When asked why they were in attendance today, one anonymous bystander said, “I wanted to know how many people would show up.”

Another said, “I wanted to show my support. I have mixed feelings about the way the group is going about it, but I do support their end goal. A lot of it is spot on, but there are some places where it is just not feasible.”

These sentiments and others were widely echoed among the majority of students in attendance. The protesters were often praised for their commitment, but criticized for their methods, which some thought to be overly harsh.

Odon Orzsik, ’17 echoed this, saying, “I admire that some people are sticking up for a cause, even though I don’t quite understand [it] – I haven’t personally experienced white male patriarchy.” Mr. Orzsik, an international student, went on to say, “I don’t think [the protest] is a productive way to further their goals.”

These words seemed to resonate with Maieda Janjua, another international student from the class of ’17. “I thought they were rude to President Hanlon. They could have been more respectful,” she said in an interview with *The Review*.

She then addressed what some would call the prevalent issue of the Freedom Budget, the use of race as a criterion for the hiring of professors and admissions: “I think race is the wrong criteria to bring in professors. It undermines academic value.”

Mr. Orzsik agreed with Miss. Janjua, further stating, “We want to ensure race and sexual orientation do not keep you out, but they shouldn’t get you in, either.”

Professors repeatedly though politely refused to comment on their views, while administration officials were not willing to go on the record with any further information. Supporters of the Freedom Budget took pride in the turnout, though one anonymous sympathizer said, “I am concerned that this movement alienates a lot of white students who may be sympathetic to their views.”

## An End to the Sit-In

Just after 4:00 PM on Thursday afternoon, the Freedom Budget’s occupation of President Hanlon’s office came to an end. Following a meeting with Dean of the College Charlotte Johnson, nineteen protesters (eight of whom had remained since the sit-in began on Tuesday evening and eleven of whom had joined on Wednesday afternoon) emerged from the President’s suite on the second floor of Parkhurst and departed the building after a 48-hour sit-in.

Early reports suggest that in the meeting that afternoon, students affiliated with the Freedom Budget presented Dean Johnson with a document outlining the terms of their departure. It stipulated, among other things, that the 19 students who had remained in the building after the end of Tuesday’s office hours would not face disciplinary action and would be provided with protection around campus. It also requested assurance that there would be “no COS [Committee on Standards] process, no financial aid or scholarship revocation, or any other impediments of our educational and social experiences.”

The document went on to confirm that the College would conduct the external culture review it had previously agreed to and demanded that President Hanlon send them “a list of decision-makers who have jurisdiction over each budget item” by Monday, April 7th.

College spokesperson Justin Anderson confirmed that Dean Johnson had agreed to their terms and signed the document before the group left President Hanlon’s office. In an interview with *The Daily Dartmouth*, he stated that “we’re [the administration] pleased that the students decided to leave, and we look forward to working constructively with them in the future.”

Shortly after their departure, the protesters posted a celebratory photo to their Twitter account @gossipgangstah. The caption read: “And the rest of the struggle can begin!”

Time will tell just how productive the struggle ahead will ultimately be. ■

# Freedom Budget Blues

By: Taylor C. Cathcart

At the end of February, a group of students released what they called the “Freedom Budget,” a manifesto of sorts, with a lengthy list of demands for the College administration. The authors, identifying themselves as “the Concerned Asian, Black, Latin@, Native, Undocumented, Queer, and Differently-Abled students at Dartmouth College,” argued that they and their communities are receiving a “separate and unequal education” at Dartmouth. They issued an ultimatum to Phil Hanlon and his administrators: publicly respond to every one of our demands in the next twenty-eight days, or else “those who believe in freedom will be forced to physical action.”

A few of the Budget’s proposals are quite commendable; one or two are taken from a 2013 Alumni Council report. The authors demand that the Admissions and Financial Aid offices be subject to external review, a commonsense way to prevent discrimination. They demand Dartmouth increase its outreach to and recruitment of top Native students — an important goal for a school with a founding mission such as ours.

The Budget demands harsher penalties for those who commit sexual assault, a long-overdue change that the board has already moved to make in the past few months. Another item demands that new students be taught that the College is built on Abenaki homeland, and that this fact to be celebrated at major Dartmouth ceremonies. Such a tradition would be decent and educational. It’s likely, as well, that any student who has wrangled with McNutt was pleased to see the Budget’s demand for more transparent aid.

But let’s take a moment here. In the above two paragraphs were listed six line-item demands taken from the Budget’s eight pages. While each idea is sensible, even just the six together cover a range of affairs so wide it would daunt even the most overpaid of administrators. And that’s without even considering the full document, which clocks in at an impressive 3,335 words and contains over one hundred demands. These demands have been discussed extensively over the past few weeks, by this paper and others. Suffice it to say, legitimate ideas are crowded out by both the irresponsibly indulgent (renovate Cutter-Shabazz) and the irrelevantly minor (“Increase the number of courses on South Asia and the Middle East within the existing AMES program, which is currently skewed towards courses on East Asia”). Not to mention the Budget’s demands for absurd, illegal, and damaging concessions such as a 10% enrollment quota for each of several ethnic groups.

Besides the document’s overreach, it seems in many ways to have missed the point by failing to address cultural issues on campus. There is an overwhelming focus on spending money and upping quotas, policies which have not worked in the past and are not likely to work in the future. The authors themselves write that their document should be seen “not [as] a proposal for better interpersonal interactions,” but as an effort to “trans-

form oppressive structures” and “address the consequences of white male patriarchy today.” These are lofty goals; perhaps the responsible students should spend more of their time lobbying their congressmen and less of it damaging the reputation of our school.

And the Budget authors have certainly not helped their case with their tone or demeanor. The last paragraph of the Freedom Budget’s preamble reads:

*By March 24, 2014 (the first day of the 2014 Spring Term), the Dartmouth administration needs to publicly respond to each item raised on this document with its exact commitment to each one of its demands. We also request that, by that day, a timetable and point people are designated for the above commitments. Finally, items that require funds will have a monetary commitment in the 2014-2015 fiscal budget. If the Dartmouth administration does not respond by the indicated time, those who believe in freedom will be forced to physical action.*

In other words: The College administration was given twenty-eight days to be ready to implement this unelected undergraduate group’s 122-item action plan, or else. And find the funds to do so, one imagines — though the authors seem to have been unconcerned about that.

Hanlon’s response came on March 6 in *Dartmouth Now*, addressed to the broader community. The administration was committed to furthering diversity and inclusivity on campus, the letter explained, but was also intent on keeping cost of attendance down and would need to focus its efforts on high-impact proposals. It encouraged all members of the community to get involved in the discussion and participate in open and respectful dialogue. The “Students of the Freedom Budget,” as they had begun calling themselves, were not impressed. They and the SA President released responses to Hanlon’s letter the next week, accusing him of purposely timing his op-ed so as to minimize the discussion surrounding it.

After two weeks of silence, photos leaked to the anonymous message board “Bored@Baker” on Monday, March 31, suggested a sit-in was planned for President Hanlon’s open office hours the next day. When the hours began at 4:00 PM last Tuesday, about thirty-five students entered the President’s Office. Several unfurled banners; they announced that the sit-in would supposedly continue until Hanlon made commitments to them on each of their bullet-point demands.

President Hanlon was visibly shaken (it’s hard not to feel bad for the man), but his officers handled the initial situation well. Dean Johnson proposed a long-term framework for addressing the issues raised in a thoughtful manner, but the protesters insisted that this was unacceptable to them — they wanted to “negotiate” directly with Hanlon, right then and there. “I don’t know how you guys want to organize yourselves,” Dean Johnson responded, “but if you want to be efficient and you want to have some decisions actually made, the structure I’m proposing I think gets us there more than this all does.” For his part, President Hanlon did his best to remain calm and answer questions without getting

cornered into commenting on the Freedom Budget directly. He duly departed at 5:00 PM for another appointment.

During the sit-in, which would ultimately last for over two days, the protesters’ actions and rhetoric undermined their stated goals. Until then, the Freedom Budget authors positioned themselves as representatives of their communities and raised demands on their behalf, behaving as if they had a mandate behind them. And yet one protester at the sit-in, in response to a proposed framework for moving forward, complained, “I represent myself, I don’t represent other people and I don’t want other people to represent me. And I think we’re all here because we have our own personal voices.” That’s all well and good, but remember that these are the same people who have caused major disruption on behalf of the “neglected and marginalized” communities they claim to represent. If you’re staging a sit-in on behalf of nobody but yourself, you’re not an activist — you’re a hostage-taker.

There was plenty else at the sit-in to raise questions about the group’s legitimacy. At one point, an engineering student spoke up to chide the protesters: “You guys are sitting here and you’re ridiculing President Hanlon to his face. This is not how you make the change happen.” A member of the Freedom Budget group responded that it was “problematic” that the student, as a “white man,” was “coming to the rescue of an older man, [who] was the head of a historically, prestigiously, exclusively white institution.” Another suggested that because President Hanlon represented “structures” of oppression, “it’s a little bit necessary to cut him off sometimes.”

Are these truly the people who want to be responsible for brokering the overhaul of the College? Are these really the students who want to be given the reins? They can’t even decide on a name — are they “RealTalk?” “The Students of the Freedom Budget?” The “Action Collective?” The “Concerned … students at Dartmouth College?” All these have been used interchangeably, perhaps to give the impression of a broader mandate — or maybe because these activists simply can’t get their acts together.

At the end of the day, it is a shame that the College was unwilling to uphold the Standards of Conduct or the law. It is a shame that the administration signed the protesters’ final letter of demands, if only to get them out of the building, promising to withhold punishment and set up meetings with Hanlon and decision-makers.

It is a shame that we, as a student body and a College, have been taken hostage by a radical minority of students who seem unable to behave by standards of civil conduct and intent on devaluing our degrees. It is a shame that any student of a different race or background who seeks to participate in the conversation is shouted out of the room. It is a shame that the President of our College has been broadcast live on the internet, stuttering and stone-faced, a prisoner in his own office for everyone to see.

Clearly, these budding “activists” have some very big ideas about how the College should be spending its time and money. But if these students have any interest in becoming a legitimate voice in the discussion, it would be best that they begin to act their age.

Mr. Cathcart is a junior at the College and the President The Dartmouth Review.

## The Discourse of Generality

By: Nicholas S. Duva

This past Tuesday, the “Concerned Asian, Black, Latin@, Native, Undocumented, Queer, and Differently-Abled students at Dartmouth College” acted on their promise of “physical action” and remained in President Phil Hanlon ‘77’s office overnight. Before they rolled out their sleeping bags, the protesters attempted — ultimately in vain — to glean from President Hanlon some kind of point-by-point response to the Freedom Budget.

The Concerned Students’ style of grievance has been roundly and justly criticized across most every non-Concerned Students-affiliated medium, from *The Daily Dartmouth* to *The Wall Street Journal*. But in response to this vociferous uproar, the Freedom Budget’s defenders have returned to one, overarching point: though the protesters’ methods are course, their underlying motivations are just. Critics ought not to miss the “bigger picture,” as Carla Yoon ’15 and Eliana Piper ’14 argued in an April 4 op-ed in the Daily D.

But the reason why observers have been so critical of the protesters’ methods — why they’re all missing “the bigger picture” — is not because they disagree with the methods alone. They simply find it too difficult to argue with the protesters on the merits of their points; to them, the Concerned Students seem to inhabit another plane of reasoning, where

the medium supersedes the message and jargon substitutes for reason.

Question the existence or the level of “institutional violence” directed towards certain groups? If the inquirer doesn’t tick off the requisite number of boxes needed to qualify as “oppressed,” his or her question is inherently invalid. Dispute the protesters’ notion — articulated during the sit-in — that the College is a “historically, prestigiously, exclusively white institution [which has] had a history in the

economies of slavery and genocide?” Some re-education is necessary. Whatever the question, the answer is invariably laden with pseudo-academic verbiage that ostensibly only means anything to the protesters themselves. Debating the plan or even the need for a plan is inherently futile.

The Concerned Students’ sit-in, at heart, was an act of desperation. In their eyes, the protest was a last mode of recourse in a College dominated by “white power structures,” where only radical action could affect desperately needed change. In reality, the protest was self-deception writ large: the truth is that very few people, outside of the protesters themselves, actually agree with the bulk of the Freedom Budget. If reasonable action to reduce levels of racism, classism, sexism, and homophobia — all anathema to virtually every single person at this College — were available, it

would already have been endorsed by the administration. But instead of understanding this and adjusting their proposal, the Concerned Students choose to remain inside their echo chamber, blaming opposition on some kind of invisible, oppressive force instead of the fact that their plan simply isn’t a very good one.

Naturally, that entire swaths of the Dartmouth community are unable to communicate with one another does not help this state of affairs. As President Hanlon admirably and correctly put it “it is vital that we have a respectful dialogue about the things that are of importance to us. Free and open debate is the lifeblood of any academic institution.” But while both the Concerned Students and their critics agree intuitively with the President’s sentiments, the Freedom Budget, if even partly enacted, would serve to further harm dialogue on campus.

On February 24, when the Freedom Budget was published, I wrote a response on *The Review’s* website that went up that evening. My initial reaction centered on two key points: that their physical action would inevitably backfire, and that their curricular suggestions would only serve to politicize and divide the College. My first prognostication has already come true: not only did I foresee that the Concerned Students would “begin occupying academic buildings,” but I

Mr. Duva is a sophomore at the College and an Executive Editor The Dartmouth Review.

# Dartmouth's Rhetorical Divide

predicted that “physical action” would only turn off potential supporters and allow natural opponents to paint a “false, sensationalized picture” of the protesters. With any luck, my second never will, for *The Review* desperately hopes that the College, instead of requiring “classes that will challenge [students’] understanding of institutionalized injustice around issues of race, class, gender, [and] sexuality,” institutes some kind of classics and liberal-arts centered core curriculum, similar to those in place at Columbia and Chicago.

A core curriculum would strengthen campus dialogue in two concrete ways. For one, it would help students at the College think outside generalities – a problem endemic to the United States. In his seminal Democracy in America, Alexis de Tocqueville explains that:

*In centuries of equality, all men are independent of each other, isolated and weak. So in order to explain what is happening in the world, you are reduced to searching for some general causes that, acting in the same way on each one of our fellows, therefore lead them all voluntarily to follow the same route. That also naturally leads the human mind to conceive general ideas and causes it to contract the taste for them.”*

Tocqueville explains the American predilection towards general ideas as a consequence of its unbroken history as a democratic republic. Because equality is assumed, all 300 million opinions hold the same sway; in turn, it seems that no one person can influence the direction of the country. This explains why American voter turnout rates are perpetually low, and, of course, why our citizens are unusually likely to accept deterministic explanations of society, explanations that

show how little autonomy the individual has. The College can counter this tendency towards generality by becoming a depoliticized instrument of education, where the only goal is the impartial search for knowledge. It ought to train its students to think clearly and reject dogmatism – and it can do so

by focusing on the “great questions” and humanity’s best attempts to answer them.

The Concerned Students’ curricular suggestions, unfortunately, would only enhance our natural tendency toward generalities: certain fields of study often simultaneously encourage dogmatism and promote deterministic thinking. The home page of the Gender Research

is “profoundly structured” by inequality. There’s no question that the statement is correct: the truth has already been ascertained, and all that remains is the legwork to prove it. This assured trait is unique to certain, identity-based programs: the economics department, for instance, would never organize its curriculum around the thesis that “laissez-faire capitalism is inherently correct.” It explains why many of the Concerned Students are so rigid in their claims and demands: their classes have simply not prepared them to doubt their own points.

In turn, the second function of a core in enhancing campus dialogue is that because there is no sort of standardized curriculum, people at the College share no common base of knowledge. Students subsequently acquire starkly different worldviews based on which “track” they take. A large, self-selecting group focuses on fields of identity scholarship. Certain students – many of whom participated in recent protests – exist in a sort of parallel university, often taking the same classes together each term and acquiring a new vocabulary that deeply informs their ways in which they interpret the world.

Like any other set of academic terms, their vocabulary serves to communicate abstract concepts in a concise manner: the problem it poses to campus dialogue, however, is that it is foreign to most at the College. Words like “violence” and “imperialism” have completely different meanings from their common usages; words like “ableism” and “microaggression,” to most, don’t mean anything at all. In turn, when well-versed students attempt to argue a point, their language is often unintelligible to much of the student body.

But, beyond the vocabulary, *The Review* simply believes that if the student body were to study the same texts at the same times, they would have the common ground necessary for effective dialogue. Right now, no such common ground exists, foregone in favor of a loose set of distributive requirements. Even within the required Writing 5 classes, future engineers join science-heavy sections while likely government majors flock to thinly disguised political science courses. There is no book that everybody has read, nothing universal between the student body; indeed, for such a “close-knit” community, this campus could barely be more academically discrete.

To *The Review*, the remedy to our stunted dialogue is clear; the College ought to do as Columbia and Chicago do and introduce a strong core curriculum. We only hope that, at some level, the administration feels the same way. ■



No -- the poster is not intended as self-parody.

Institute at Dartmouth, for instance, states that:

*The Gender Research Institute (GRID) encourages, facilitates, and showcases gender-related research, teaching, and social engagement that address why the 21st century is still a time profoundly structured by gender, racial, ethnic, and economic inequality.*

Implicit in GRID’s mission statement, that the twenty-first century is still defined by “gender, racial, ethnic, and economic inequality,” and that the ethnicity, sexuality, or gender someone identifies with determines their lot in life. This subtly encourages students to see one another as representatives of some group instead of as independent minds: the very nature of systemic oppression, after all, is that it is not conscious and individual but unconscious and collective. This tendency makes real campus dialogue inherently difficult, because arguments are often ignored solely on the basis of the ethnicity or gender of their articulators.

Also notice how GRID’s desired end is to produce research that proves what is taken to be given, that our era

## Discussing Microaggressions

By Alexander J. Kane and Eliot E. Harper

*Editors Note: The following is a discussion of the microaggressions, their origins, and their impact on the rhetoric of the recent protests. It is modeled on the policy debate-style articles that our esteemed peers at The Economist frequently run.*

### ELIOT HARPER:

On March 21st, *The New York Times* reported on a play performed at Harvard University that was put together in an effort to confront the problem of microaggressions on campus called “I, Too, Am Harvard.” The students participating performed a series of different monologues highlighting their respective experiences with microaggressions on campus. In one instance, a black student described being dressed in a tuxedo at a formal Harvard function and being mistaken for a waiter. Other students recited things that had been said to them over the course of their time at Harvard and beyond, including “You only got in because you’re black” and “The government feels bad for you.”

According to Freedom Budgeters, these microaggressions are a common manifestation of injustice that can be found here on Dartmouth’s campus as well, and play a major role in defining the climate on campus. A tumblr site created by Dartmouth students called BigGreenMicroAggressions, defines a micro-

aggression as such, “... a brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignity, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicates a hostile, derogatory, or negative slight or insult toward people of non-dominant identities.”

There is no doubt that these microaggressions exist on campus; they exist everywhere. Racist, sexist, classist, hetero-sexist and ableist language has no doubt seeped its way into daily verbal and behavioral interaction. Furthermore, it has done so by way of the stereotypical classifications of people that have developed over time as a product of just growing up in America—meaning America has its own specific set of classifications and stereotypes separate from other places, not that places outside of America do not have similar classifications.

The Dartmouth social scene, as everyone is well aware, is dominated by a “mainstream” Greek—largely fraternity—culture.

Now, while none of these houses are explicitly racist, sexist, classist, hetero-sexist or ableist—as far as I know nobody is going to be rejected from a house based on race, sexual

**A**s we root out codified racism and discrimination in our institutions, we no longer benefit from having clear problems with obvious solutions...

orientation, gender, class or ability—these microaggressions, that are such a key part in creating the unstable climate on campus, are also important in that they are a contributing factor in the separation of social groups along identifying lines.

If there is a commonplace of engrained hostility

towards other groups of people through stereotyping and misunderstanding, then naturally groups of people who identify in a certain way will gravitate towards each other. The inequity here then lies in the fact that the “mainstream” fraternities on campus consist of almost entirely white men (because they have been white historically and that is how the social groups have arranged themselves on campus).

I’d like to argue that this language and behavior of microaggression plays a significant role in sculpting the real, tangible opportunities that are afforded to students at Dartmouth, and it does so along largely racial lines. All the opportunities and connections to alumni networks that are afforded by these fraternities are distributed almost entirely to the white majority on campus. This is a clear representation of not only the importance of paying attention to microaggressions as they are pointed out on campus, but also it shows the inherent benefit that comes with being a white male at Dartmouth. After all, campus culture not only provides its participants with a social space where they can have complete control by the rights of being a member, but also with extremely exclusive opportunities outside of Dartmouth through a network of fraternity or sorority alumni.

These opportunities and alumni networks provided by the Greek house, in many cases, can contribute hugely to a student’s success in his or her endeavors after college.

### ALEX KANE:

As we root out codified racism and discrimination in our institutions, we no longer benefit from having clear problems with obvious solutions, to the extent that reasonable people can have arguments about what exactly

*Mr. Kane is a sophomore at the College and an Associate Editor at The Dartmouth Review. Mr. Harper is a sophomore at the College and a contributor to The Dartmouth Review.*

# What is a Microaggression?

constitutes discrimination and what doesn't.

From the start, there are several areas where the concept of "microaggression" suffers from ambiguity and general murkiness. It's odd that the definition lumps in "intentional or unintentional" into the same classification, though it seems intuitively true that microaggressions are typically unintentional. A person can still be unintentionally hostile.

Consider the case of a child playing with fire as her parents sleep upstairs: to the child's mind, striking matches is innocuous – hell it's even fun – but the lack of intent to harm makes us, fairly, view the case in a special light. Few would be tempted to call the child an arsonist. By extension, the temptation arises to avoid calling the unintentional microaggressor a racist; the first instinct is to characterize the Harvardite who mistook a black student in a tuxedo for a waiter as committing a cringe-worthy, nails-on-the-chalkboard faux pas, but not as a white supremacist.

Still, there seems some legitimate claim to truly finding offense in a microaggression. The objects microaggressions target are the stuff of identity. These are the inalienable facts that people go to bed with every night and wake up every morning with, knowing it constitutes themselves, so these kinds of attacks are bound to be not just offensive, but *existentially* offensive. Yet from the perspective of solutions, how are we supposed to give the racially tone-deaf perfect pitch? In the language of the Freedom Budget's supporters, how are we supposed to hold the unintentional microaggressor accountable?

This seems especially problematic given that micro-



"Don't microaggression me, bro."

aggressions are totally definable by the receiver. The same comment that could register as hostile and indignant could read differently to another, throwing away any possibility of a kind of uniform standard.

Whether or not these microaggressions have contributed to a hostile environment on campus so much so that it has alienated populations on campus from entering the Greek system is not for me to say, though. Dartmouth fraternities have had a history of breaking from national organizations for the very reason of including minority groups, and also enjoy minority membership that have had positive experiences. I have to agree with Eliot in that the dominant social system on campus also has a powerful interest in being inclusive as possible, and while Dartmouth's is more inclusive than most, it is by no means a rainbow coalition that equally shares the opportunities for advancement and future success equally for minority groups as it does for white brothers and sisters.

#### ELIOT HARPER:

At the end of the day, all this focus on the individual microaggression, seems to me, backwards in the sense that each microaggression is only representative. Because microaggressions are almost all the time unintentional, they're more impor-

tant in the way they demonstrate our social climate as opposed to the individual microaggressor's personality.

There are problems at play beneath the surface of our society and a microaggression is only a common

way for these problems to be expressed. Whether microaggressions are the attributable source for the current racial divide in our Greek system or not, the problem of dominant, largely white culture in college directly leading into an unequal distribution of resources for employment after college still remains.

If we treasure the claim that our Greek system is truly inclusive, efforts ought to be made to make that true to life.

#### ALEX KANE:

Right, so I think we'd both agree that policy options that address individual microaggression are just as out of place. In terms of regulating speech and behavior on a college campus, the definitional ambiguity of microaggression makes the "receivers" become sole arbiters of whether or not a comment, intent, and severity aside, merits a microaggression worthy of punishment. These tools are likely to be just as divisive as members of the College constantly feel the need to tow their language for fear of offense or punishment.

This isn't to say, though, that we shouldn't fear offending in our daily lives. The way microaggressions sneak into speech require constant consideration, as topics of identity are sensitive issues that require handling as such. ■



## Rethinking Student Wages

By Henry C. Woram

John Smith\*, a member of the Class of 2017, didn't know the true meaning of warmth until his sophomore year of high school. Sitting unwashed in a modest apartment with no warm running water and no electricity, he watched his single mother painstakingly boil water for him and his two siblings to bathe with. Though this was his most severe acquaintance with poverty and his family has seen relatively better times since, he carries this memory with him as an emblem of financial struggles his family faces.

His mother, who currently runs a cleaning service, works long hours tirelessly. The Dartmouth sticker price of tuition is roughly one and a half times her annual income. With the financial aid he receives from Dartmouth, Smith will avoid over \$250,000 in potential tuition debt upon graduation, and is deeply grateful for the opportunity he is afforded.

"It's actually a pretty simple process and really amazing because it's letting me come to school for practically next to nothing," Smith, a Yusen Family Scholar, said. "I'm a huge advocate of financial aid at Dartmouth, and I know one day that I'll give back to this school so that other students might be able to attend without the worries of tuition cost."

In light of stories like these, we at *The Dartmouth Review* agree with the precept set forth in the Freedom Budget that students on financial aid should be given the same lifestyle opportunities as other students. Protesters chanting, "Dartmouth has a problem" have addressed many perceived flaws with the school, one of which is the financial aid program. If we don't confront campus woes unilaterally, our prospects for the future success of the College are bleak. In this spirit, we hope to address the issues *The Review* and the authors of The Freedom Budget see eye-to-eye on.

There are already several structures in place, however, to afford expanded participation in campus extracurricular

life to financial aid students. For example, Members of Greek organizations and club athletic teams may work off their financial dues, and the College offers funding for unpaid internships to students. Before suggesting how to best improve the nature of our financial aid, it's important to look some of the numbers.

Dartmouth awarded an average scholarship of \$41,380 to the members of the Class of 2017. The Financial Aid Office at Dartmouth offers full tuition for families with incomes of \$100,000 or less — that's 83% of the households in the United States. For some perspective: in 2008, that cutoff was \$75,000. By extending the cutoff, Dartmouth has covered nearly 10% more of the population with financial aid. Harvard and Yale only offer free tuition to households below \$65,000 in annual income. Our aid program is strong.

The Financial Aid Office also offers funding for students interested in LSA and FSP foreign study programs. The Student Employment Office supplements this by offering hourly wages from \$8 to \$15 in various jobs that cover nearly all skill sets a student might possess.

Still, given the astronomical cost of books and tuition, it can still be difficult for students who do not have "full rides" to make ends meet. Most student employees, according to the Student Employment Office, work ten hours a week. For a Dartmouth student, those ten hours can leave little room for anything beyond studying, working, and sleeping. Improving student wages would help financial aid students participate in the activities that are considered integral to the Dartmouth experience without adding burden to the budget of The College.

So, instead of, as the Freedom Budget suggests, creating funds for airline travel for financial aid students and covering the costs of transportation to off-campus events - which necessarily requires the school to stipulate the nature of the activities a student on financial aid may participate in by diktat - why not simply work to help student employees get better wages?

In support of this suggestion, there are few things worth considering. First, why are some student employee wages so low? Workers for DDS are largely unionized, and the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) has succeeded in extracting the highest wages and benefits in the Upper Valley for non-student employees. For example, in 2011, according to a study conducted by *The Dartmouth*, a union employee at Novack Café made \$15.82 an hour, received 25-40 days of paid vacation, enjoyed a Cadillac health plan, and received pension benefits equivalent to 10% of pay. How many Dirt Cowboy baristas or Lou's waitresses can boast the same pay? Considering the nature of the labor and the risk involved, the compensation and benefits are excessive. DDS knows this too because they do not extend the same offerings to their student (non-union) employees. A student employee who wishes to remain anonymous called the pay "woeful".

Second, Smith expressed anxieties over covering the extraneous costs of an FSP or an LSA and likewise expressed his excitement that the Freedom Budget addressed these anxieties. "Part of the reason why Dartmouth was so appealing to me was because of the strength of its foreign studies programs. Sometimes I'm left wondering if I'm actually able to afford these FSPs with all of the extraneous costs," Smith said. "Though I'm not necessarily sure how financial aid would be able to cover these costs, I think the idea itself is fantastic. It would level the playing field and make certain opportunities available to students like me who might never have had the opportunity to attend an FSP."

While in a perfect world Dartmouth could cover these costs, it simply is not feasible to currently do so — otherwise it would be. Again, Dartmouth is leading the pack in financial aid, not trailing it. The idea is a good one, and we can all agree on that. We can realize more accessibility in Dartmouth's academic opportunities by taking a common sense approach to student wages. ■

*Henry C. Woram is a freshman at the College and Managing Editor at The Dartmouth Review.*

# The "I" Word at Dartmouth

By Alexander J. Kane

On April 2, 2013, the *Associated Press* dropped the usage of the phrase “illegal immigrant” from its stylebook, citing its unwillingness to continue its use of “illegal” to describe a person. The *Los Angeles Times* soon followed. Though ultimately unsuccessful, after the AP’s decision, protests were staged outside of The New York Times’ headquarters in an effort to push the paper in the same direction. A year later, the debate continues, as the students of the Freedom Budget, took up the issue with equal fervor. They asked the administration to “ban the use of ‘illegal aliens,’ ‘illegal immigrants,’ ‘wetbacks,’ and any racially charged term on Dartmouth-sanctioned programming materials and locations. The library search catalog system shall use ‘undocumented’ instead of ‘illegal’ in reference to immigrants. [This must be] institutionalized in the Dartmouth handbook for students, faculty, and staff.” In support of this sentiment, fliers have recently been posted around campus demanding the administration censor these phrases.

Detractors claim the phrase’s flaw lies in its dehumanization of the immigrant. Its characterization of the average immigrant, who comes to the United States simply in search of a better life, as “illegal” incorrectly associates that decision with some sort of immorality. Yet not only are they wrong for coming here, the phrase posits, they’re wrong to stay. They’re labeled as “illegal,” —an “other”—liable to harm mainstream, moral American society. The alternative they provide, though, in “undocumented immigrant” is somewhat murky in terms of meaning. As *The New York Times* itself elaborated in its decision to keep its use of

*Mr. Kane is a sophomore at the College and an Associate Editor of The Dartmouth Review.*

the term “illegal immigrant” (albeit while cautioning its journalists to use proper discretion to maintain appropriate usage of the phrase), ‘undocumented’ is the term preferred by many immigrants and their advocates, but it has a flavor of euphemism and should be approached with caution outside quotations.” After all, what exactly is an undocumented immigrant? It could be someone who entered the country without legal authorization, but it could just as easily be an immigrant undocumented due to administrative error.

Monday, March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2014

Collis Common Ground

6 p.m.

Design by Anthony Chicaiza ’17



*One of the fliers promoting the event on Dartmouth’s campus.*

*Abuse of Language, Abuse of Power*, points out, “First, words convey reality. We speak in order to name and identify something this is real, to identify it for someone.” Language is the only means we have to relate the world around us to one another. Its primary concern is truth. By entering the United States without proper processing, these immigrants actually did enter the United States illegally and, by extension, exist in the United States as illegal immigrants. In this sense, in focusing solely on connotation over denotation, the writers of the Freedom Budget miss the forest for the trees.

On the other hand, reframing issues by analyzing language has been a successful method of political advancement for minority groups in the US in the past, though. Most notably, the gay community successfully reappropriated the term “queer” from its prior derogatory use. Debates on language often serve as a proxy for debates on greater morality and social meaning, with implications that resonate past a simple collective adjustment in diction. In seeking to remove the stigma of illegality from these immigrants, however, they end up making the wrong statement altogether by endorsing conventional wisdom equating standing

American law to morality and justice. We all know that there are plenty of instances where this simply is not the case, and in those instances, cogitative dissonance emerges when laws don’t line up with our intuitive senses of right and wrong. Anyone who has an opinion on abortion for example, whether it’s pro-life or pro-choice, is bound to have experienced this. Keeping this nuanced understanding, that the term “illegal” is a statement of fact in relation to our codified law instead of normative moral judgment, is crucial in maintaining the knowledge that our laws are can sometimes be problematic and when they are, that reform is sometimes necessary.

That being said, the term “illegal immigrant” actually fits better into our political lexicon’s language for reform. “The path to legal citizenship” touted by the Obama administration and their legislative counterpart simply has a clearer meaning than “the path to documentation,” especially since, at the end of the day, the problem isn’t documentation. We know who these people are: they are overwhelmingly economically motivated by the promise of improved income and livelihood for self, family, and friends and by the promise of safer streets and stable government. They are stifled by legal immigration routes that are so backlogged that many are assigned decades-long waits before they can even enter the United States. In many cases, they pay taxes in their paychecks, work below the federally mandated minimum wages, and in turn support the same government that stoops to populist demagoguery and demonization in border states and even on the national scale.

At the very least, though, there’s value to be had in avoiding banning all of these words in any capacity. For every bigot we silence from using these terms, especially the terms “wetback” and “illegal alien,” discourse will concurrently suffer. These terms have become, for better or worse, a part of our history. The term “wetback” was originally used for Mexican-Americans who waded, or swam across the Rio Grande into the United States. In the 50s, newspapers used the term frequently, especially to describe the case of 1954’s “Operation Wetback,” a deportation drive that is now remembered mostly for racial profiling and breaking up families. Once “wetback” was recognized as offensive, “illegal alien” entered our vocabulary, often with an equal tone of derision.

This was not the last failing of American public empathy to occur. There will likely be more in the future. Preserving these events in our minds, as well as our ability to talk about them, makes us more prepared to deal with our challenges, and failures, in the future. ■

## Book Review of “She Can Fly”

By George A. Mendoza

Dartmouth is our introduction to serious personal responsibility. This leads us to think about most everything in the context of the College. We discuss alcoholism framed around College adults, sexual assault around drunken fraternity basements, and racism around College demographics. We put the blinders on and immerse ourselves in everything Dartmouth—the good, the bad, and the irrelevant.

Books like Michael Gabel ’09’s *She Can Fly* provide a refreshing—and difficult—step back. A story about trapped people in the real world, the book’s telling of Kerry Keyes’ story is an adrenaline rush, engrossing the reader in the decision-making, resilience, and courage of a domestic violence victim. Easily read in one sitting, the story begins when Kerry first met her abuser at nineteen years old until her decision to tell her incredible true story at the age of sixty-one. Gabel told *The Review*:

*Kerry raised me. When my parents hired her as my nanny, I was an un-potty-trainable terror of a two year old. She taught me discipline. She taught me manners. She even taught me math...she was my best friend.*

Gabel wrote Kerry’s personal account in the first person as a type of creative non-fiction, walking us through the vulnerability and helplessness of a domestic violence victim in a surprisingly gentle and honest way. He intimately creates her feeling of entrapment and relays her heartbreak and eventual redemption. Gabel said of hearing this story:

*Sitting in Kerry’s living room day after day while she shared her life’s story -- a story she had never*

*shared in its entirety with anyone -- was the most emotionally vulnerable experience of my life. And then to be entrusted as the keeper of that story is its greatest privilege. Writing about issues that I have never had, as a man, could never experience was difficult, but I knew if I could relay even a fraction of the beauty and clarity with which Kerry opened up to me then the story would speak for itself.*

Gabel found himself—as a lot of us do—drinking too much, not studying enough, and consuming everything enjoyable all at once. “In 2008 I had just been suspended from the College and was at a loss for what to do with my time off, so I went to her apartment for some home-cooking and motherly consolation,” he explained. “Kerry couldn’t get the school administration off my back, or make my dad understand how alone I felt since he remarried and had the new baby, but she could love me.” The book shows Kerry as a caring woman that, despite being abused, raped, and imprisoned in her life, has shown nothing but maternal love again and again.

Kerry is an everywoman, a Midwesterner, private school educated and attending nursing school. With all of her newfound freedom, she begins experiencing new things and starts dating a local black musician, Wayman. Kerry’s dad forbids her seeing him and orders her to join the Navy to set herself straight. The abuse starts immediately after she ran away from home to live with Wayman. For Gabel though, Kerry was at the heart of the story:

*I tried to never take a stance on [the racial aspect],*

*to treat it as another element of the story...Wayman’s being black coupled with Kerry’s father’s racism serves as an example of the many circumstances that can lead women into abusive relationships. It’s not about how you get there that matters. It’s about how you get out...Violence has no target demographic.*

With nowhere else to go—and a feeling that nobody would take her in even if she did run from Wayman—Kerry watches the years go by, having four children along the way. Her children become her life. She puts everything into raising her sons well in a wholly dysfunctional environment. By the time she gives birth to her third son, Kerry is living with two other women, both of whom have children fathered by Wayman.

She writes faulty checks to get food and cash back so Wayman can buy toys and fund his failed music career. He beats her mercilessly, using his fists, baseball bats, and fireplace poker. She finds herself in the hospital with fractured vertebrae, broken bones all over her body, often passing out from the pain while Wayman

kept beating her until he grew tired.

Wayman’s emotional manipulation keeps her trapped. Wayman and his mother tell Kerry the problem was hers and that she should do whatever she could to keep the family together. She starts to believe them. Every decision she makes is for her sons, and she disregards her own well-being. Gabel pointed out that the dearth of resources for abused spouses made such fictions actually believable:

*Kerry didn’t have hotlines to call or shelters to*

*Mr. Mendoza is a junior at the College and a Managing Editor of The Dartmouth Review.*

# A Conversation with Michael Gabel '09

run to. Domestic violence wasn't even illegal until 1994. The only reason Kerry escaped, in fact, is because her situation got worse. But it saved her life. And yet the face of domestic violence has gotten worse since Kerry's ordeal. Women aren't leaving. They're making excuses, holding out hope, and getting trapped in the endless cycle of abuse. They need to know how bad it can get, so they can get out before they get too far in.

Eventually, the faulty checks catch up with her, culminating in the Colorado justice system sentencing her to two years in prison while she was seven months pregnant. Five days after the birth, she is transferred to a penitentiary to begin her sentence. Prison provides a sort of respite from Wayman's uncontrollable beatings. She finds a routine and for the first time since she was nineteen she has time to herself. She begins a school program, taking classes at a college nearby, and gets an early release.

Kerry returns to Wayman and her sons, the beating continue, and she does what she can. One night, Kerry finds large welts on her sons' backs from Wayman's belt causing a confrontation that leads a particularly gruesome beating. She drives herself to the hospital and makes arrangements to leave Wayman and go back to St. Louis.

It seems like she finally escapes the horrors of her time in Denver. She has her kids, she has a job, and she has control of her life. One thing leads to another and Wayman enlists one of his girlfriends to pick up Kerry's kids and take them back to St. Louis. She cannot do anything but get her old job back and settle in the best she can while waiting for the parole board to accept her transfer. When it does not go through, Wayman forces Kerry to become a fugitive, hiding her in the attic and only letting her out to go write bad checks to run back the same scheme as before. It doesn't take long before she is caught and put back in prison.

This stint is not as pleasant as the first. The prison now houses inmates addicted to drugs, getting their fix from a guard who sneaks product in and exchanges them for sexual favors. Kerry shoots down the guard's advances, but one day he lures her into the projector room during a

movie and rapes her, leaving her pregnant, emotionally crippled and too scared to report anything. The Colorado prison system, in an attempt to cover up the scandal and under intense pressure from Kerry's lawyer, speeds up the process of putting her into a halfway house. Kerry's lawyer, or, more accurately, her

savior, keeps the state at bay, but in an attempt to keep Kerry silent, state police wait for Kerry at the halfway house to arrest her and send her back to the same prison she was in before.

She runs to California and becomes a fugitive using a new name and beginning a new life without her kids, her abuser, or her parents. She stays hidden in plain sight for seventeen years, using an identification card she finds on a public bus.

When the authorities find out she is a fugitive, they put Kerry back into jail to await sentencing. But it's a different time now. People are more sympathetic to her case and more formal avenues of addressing domestic violence exist. She has numerous people fight on her behalf and, having not committed a crime the seventeen years she was at large, Kerry is released to live her own life under her own name, finally free from the shackles of prison and Wayman.

The book was released Tuesday March 25th and is completely free to read online, available on Amazon and hand held reading devices. The book is a registered 501(c)(3), making all (tax-deductible) donations go straight to maintaining the free online version and toward printing paperbacks for schools, women's shelters and any and every resource center that will take them. Gabel commented on his decision to release the book in this way:

*Often times women in violent relationships can't safely purchase or possess a resource like this, and it's important that there be no access barriers - monetary or otherwise - between the book and the people who might need it most.*

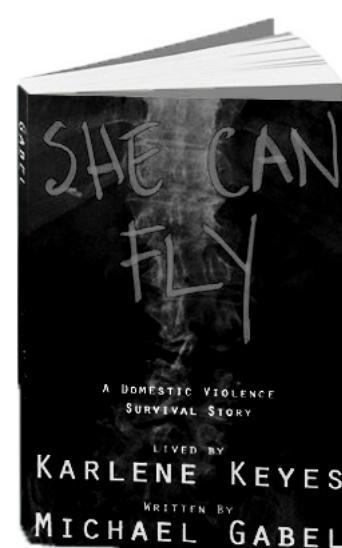
*monetary or otherwise - between the book and the people who might need it most. That's been a goal since day one...*

*[People who have read the book are] amazed not only by what Kerry went through, but also by her strength of will. Most importantly, they understand how trapped she was -- how she couldn't 'just leave' -- which can be a hard concept to grasp for someone who's never been in a similar situation. Sure they may know that domestic violence is horrible and pandemic (A woman is assaulted every 9 seconds, and 3 women are killed by their partners a day in the US). What they don't know, however, is that, because of the emotional and psychological and physical weaponry deployed by an abuser, the longer a victim stays, the harder it becomes for them to leave. Until it's virtually impossible.*

Michael Gabel is a brother at the Phi Delta Alpha fraternity and often visits Dartmouth with his graduating class. He thanks many of his fraternity brothers and classmates at the end of the book. Of the six thousand dollar fundraising goal set on Kickstarter, he estimates that over half came from the Dartmouth community. Beyond telling Kerry's incredible true story, this book serves as a testament to the Greek system's ability to raise awareness on campus and national issues. Fraternity men are acutely aware of Dartmouth's flaws and, as the Greek community has been arguing, the College's best option to solve our very real problems is to work with fraternities.

Marginalizing a vocal part of current and former students serves only to distract from the actions of individuals and stifle realistic progress.

The real richness of Gabel's story is not in the plot, though, it's in how he writes it. The first person narrative provides her point of view. We can tell that Gabel cares deeply for Kerry in the way he writes and in the raw emotion unloaded in these pages. Gabel and Kerry's son Jermaine maintain a close relationship today. The book is a difficult read, but an important one. Read the book, donate if you can, and visit [www.shecanfly.org](http://www.shecanfly.org) for more information.



Clockwise from top left: young Kerry Keyes; Michael Gabel as a child; Keyes with three of her four children; a recent photo of Michael Gabel and Kerry Keyes; the cover of She Can Fly; Gabel and Keyes when she began her tenure as caretaker.

"Should I be inflating his white privilege?"

BYSTANDER: "What is the definition of racism?"  
PROTESTOR: "Please don't answer that question."

"Whatever color white people's skin is, it's not just a color, ... it's a structure that didn't let black people be citizens, ... that made the f\*\*\*ing Asian Exclusion Act [sic] that didn't let people like you and me into America until ... not a very long time ago. Right?"

"This country went so far as to change what it means to schizophrenic so that black men in the 1960s protesting ... right, during the Civil War so that ... right, the Civil Rights -- so they became the largest number of people in mental institution [sic], so that's how us interacting together in this place right now, there's nothing that's neutral, right?"

"I don't care if it's disrespectful, like I'm a respectful person, but ... when it's my Dartmouth experience on the line, that's when I interrupt President Hanlon."

"He is the president, he was brought into this office through structures that oppress the rest of the people in this room."

"I would like to know that you, Philip Hanlon, would [be] cool, with me being cool and safe and not experiencing violence and harassment and assault of my character and person and being every day on this campus."

[Speaking over Hanlon] "You're interrupting me!"

"I'm not playing by the rules right now, I'm sitting here talking to you, we're snapping, we're interrupting, .... But that just proves how passionate we are!"

"You're a white male. You guys, will literally, never ever, ever, ever, ever, ever, ever experience racism. You will never ever, ever, ever be stereotyped based on the color of your skin in a negative way."

"President Hanlon, peace out, bye!"

"[L]ike we're so tired of having this conversation, like I had conversations with Phil last term. Like, what happened? I still, like, I don't experience less xenophobia or racism on this campus."

"If you want to go to the media ...you'll be listened to because how many white males are there in the media? How many black queer women are there in the media?"

"You can say that we have spent weeks and weeks and hours and hours of our time that we should technically be spending studying."

"Um, when you come to the rescue? Of another older man, the head of a historically, prestigiously, ...exclusively white institution, um, who's had a history in the economies of slavery and genocide being that this school was founded on Native Americans ... like when you come to the rescue of another white man, from the scary brown people who are demanding justice, right, like that is problematic."

"How do you feel about racism? ... It's all you."

"When you talk about like, oh, oh, just calm down, oh, don't interrupt people, be civil, you are not living the things that we have lived to force us to speak up. And to force us to interrupt. If you're gonna say something right now, I'm sorry, I don't really care, I will talk over you. Why? Because people are gonna listen to you more than they will ever listen to me."

gordon haff's

## the last word.

Compiled by: The Freedom Budget Protestors

"I'm not going to feel comfortable with my straight classmates. I'm not going to feel comfortable with my white classmates. I'm not going to feel comfortable on this campus!"

"I would feel confident ... knowing that the person who runs this institution ... like, backs me up ... is against racism ... homophobia, trans-phobia, sexual harassment, rape ... classism, able-ism, everything, and actually can... speak out against them ... It would make me feel ... safe, or safer, because it's difficult to feel safe on this campus, knowing that you support that."

## Barrett's Mixology

By Samuel L. Prescott

### The Screwdriver

- Vodka
- Orange juice
- A tough decision



*In the highest room of the tallest tower of the Dartmouth College library, in a secret but large and beautiful office, a Dartmouth administrator pours a large measure of vodka. After careful consideration, this nameless, genderless administrator pours a dose of orange juice atop the vodka and delicately swirls the contents of the glass with one, long, perfect finger.*

*The administrator knows that getting through this day will require many, many drinks. This is the bi-weekly day he or she must decide what new display to erect in the Baker-Berry hallway. Probably the single most consistently traversed hallway on the entire Dartmouth College campus, the hallway leading from Baker library toward the first floor Berry/Novack stairs area is, in many ways, the center of student academic life on Dartmouth's campus.*

*This unsung epicenter of Dartmouth, for an unknown and unknowable reason, has always played host to a display of some kind. Despite the fact that this space is a hallway and not a gallery, museum, auditorium, or area that lends itself to displaying things, Dartmouth students can take consistent comfort in knowing that every few weeks a new, awkwardly positioned and slightly-in-the-way display will appear in the Baker-Berry hallway. They are afforded this consistent comfort because it is the sole job of the unnamed Dartmouth administrator, who is just now starting on "their" third screwdriver, to decide what new display will be created in that area every few weeks.*

*The day wears on. The anxiety-wracked administrator consumes screwdriver after screwdriver. Finally as the decision deadline approaches, the unidentified administrator (who has consumed sixteen screwdrivers and thrown up twice) knows what display must be put up in the Baker-Berry hallway. He or she picks up his or her telephone and dials the secret phone number to inform the rest of the administration of the decision...*

*The next morning, six tours worth of prospective students with wet ankles and annoyingly involved parents are led through the Baker-Berry hallway for the final part of their formal tour. As they think about how uncomfortable it is having wet ankles and how isolated the school's campus is, they notice that there is a large and slightly-in-the-way display in the hallway. The display contains many, many pictures and stories about Dartmouth students. It is entitled, "Discrimination at Dartmouth."*

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