

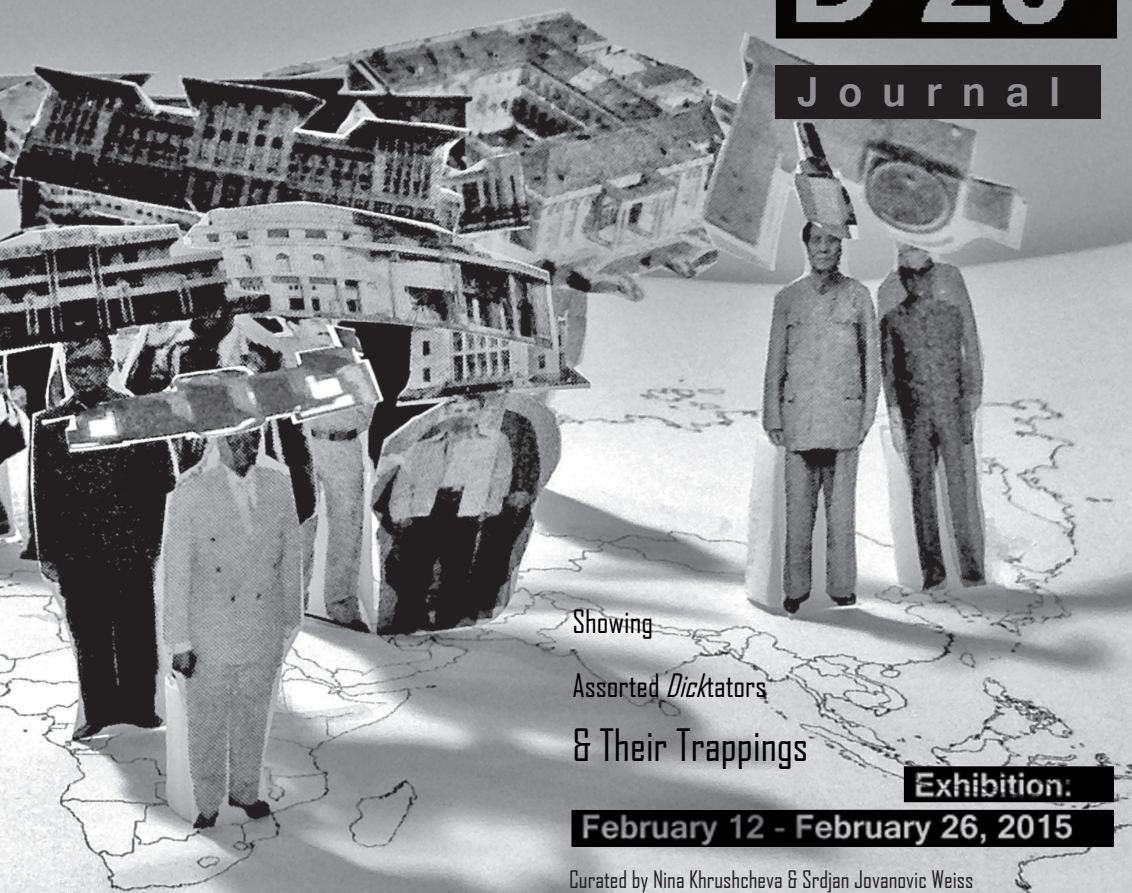
Nina Khrushcheva with Yiqing Wang-Holborn



Romancing True Power

D 20

Journal



Showing

Assorted *Dick*tators

& Their Trappings

Exhibition:

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Curated by Nina Khrushcheva & Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss

Arnold and Sheila Aronson Galleries

Sheila C. Johnson Design Center

Parsons The New School for Design
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THE NEW SCHOOL

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1. ROMANCING TRUE POWER: WHY D20?

The civilized condemn dictatorship for its repression of freedoms and rights. This type of absolute power may not be always admired, yet strong leadership is always necessary. *Romancing True Power* investigates an idea of power – autocratic, authoritarian, dictatorial; a power that is present in dictatorships. Yet as we will see, democracies are not immune from “true” power, seductive in its strength.

The D20 – modeled after the G20 group of the most industrialized nations – is a selective list of leaders from present and recent past, across continents and political systems, who, in some way, represent an ideal of strong power – we call it *Dick* power. As in the G20, not all members are equally economically or industrially developed; our list of D20 is not about the equality of “autocratic” rulers – not every Dick is technically a dictator – but they all share the same *dictatorial* typology. We do not attempt to explain the distinctions between the various styles of power represented within the D20; rather, we examine the commonalities and constructs that unite them.

Psychologists Frederick Coolidge and Daniel Segal from University of Colorado have profiled history’s many infamous dictators, and summarized a “big six” constellation of personality disorders that many such leaders share: sadistic, antisocial, paranoid, narcissistic, schizoid, and schizotypal (Jason G. Goldman, “The Psychology of Dictatorship: Kim Jong-Il,” *Scientific American*, December 19, 2011). This may explain what drives them to power, in addition to history, culture, climate, and geography that have allowed, indeed in many cases cultivated, this *dictatorial* leadership style.

Throughout the show, we seek to present some common traits and behavior of these rulers across various political systems. We selected the D20 members based on their trappings of power; their importance, supremacy, and significance, and quest for immortality, all of which are embodied in personal assets, materialism of memorabilia or even mockery:

1) Dicks’ own self-defining creations and possessions: publications, cars, private jets, palaces, etc.



G20 Leaders' Summit family photo in Brisbane, Australia, November 15, 2014; via reuters.com



D20 "family" photo in the hallway of Arnold and Sheila Aronson Galleries, February 2015; designed by Joachim Hackl

2) Quotidian items: vodka, clocks, wristwatches, calendars, playing cards, etc.

3) Objects of the cult of personality, or the cult of mockery: US-own Richard "Dick" Cheney mug, Libya's Muammar Gaddafi dog toys, UK's Margaret Thatcher nut cracker.

4) Public representations of state power: monuments, statues, portraits, flags, banknotes, etc.

This exhibition is an invitation to re-imagine true power through the lens of *dictatorial* constructs and their trappings. Is dictatorship a product of geopolitics or personalities? Of political economies or psychologies? What shared traits unite these leaders? How do they

manifest their strength? What exactly is "true power" and why are we fascinated by it?

"If you want to be powerful, and if you have that drive, you may be led to be a dictator. There are hardly any reluctant ones. And once they're in power they're hard to dislodge. These traits manage to keep them in power — for example, if you're hypersensitive to threats and plots then you can effectively eliminate your competition."

—**Personality psychologist Frederick Coolidge, cited in Helier Cheung, "The Dictator: Why do autocrats do strange things?" BBC, May 14, 2012**

ROMANCING TRUE POWER: D20

****In alphabetical order by continent or geographical area and country**

1.	Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, Libya	Africa	DEAD
2.	President Idi Amin Dada, Uganda	Africa	DEAD
3.	President Mobutu Sese Seko, Zaire	Africa	DEAD
4.	President Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe (with Grace Mugabe)	Africa	LIVING
5.	Chairman of the CC of the CP Mao Zedong, China (with Jiang Qing / Madame Mao)	Asia	DEAD
6.	Supreme Leader Kim Jong-un, North Korea and Supreme Leader Kim Jong-il and Great Leader Kim Il-Sung	Asia	LIVING
7.	President / Turkmenbashi Saparmurat Niyazov, Turkmenistan	Central Asia	DEAD
8.	General Secretary of the CP Nicolae Ceașescu, Romania (with Elena Ceașescu)	Eastern Europe	DEAD
9.	President Alexander Lukashenko, Belarus	Eastern Europe	LIVING
10.	President Slobodan Milošević, Serbia / Yugoslavia (with Mira Marković / Mrs. Milošević) and President Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslavia	Eastern Europe	DEAD
11.	Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, Hungary	Eastern Europe	LIVING
12.	Former Prime Minister Margret Thatcher, the United Kingdom	Europe	DEAD
13.	Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, Italy	Europe	LIVING
14.	President Juan Perón, Argentina (with Evita Perón)	Latin America	DEAD
15.	First Secretary of the CP Fidel Castro, Cuba	Latin America (Caribbean)	LIVING
16.	President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Iran Second Supreme Leader Grand Ayatollah Ali Hosseini Khamenei and First Supreme Leader Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini	Middle East	LIVING
17.	President Saddam Hussein, Iraq	Middle East	DEAD
18.	President / Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Turkey	Middle East	LIVING
19.	President / Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and General Secretary of the CC of the CP Joseph Stalin	Russia Soviet Union	LIVING
20.	Vice President Richard “Dick” Cheney and President Richard Nixon	USA	DEAD

Acronyms:

CC = Central Committee

CP = Communist Party

ARCHITECTURE OF ROMANCING TRUE POWER BY SRDJAN JOVANOVIĆ WEISS

The trappings of *dictators* include material possessions as well as legacies conveyed through tangibles like monuments and intangibles that include music or philosophy. But these Dicts have also created legacies of space through city planning design. How does this architecture affect the people who live within cities built by former or current dictatorships? The production of space in these specific styles, such as the Stalinist architecture of the past, is characterized by solidity. Marble and bronze have been requisite materials for an autocrat, and as a result, many such spaces, buildings, and cities erected under these autocracies are not easily demolished; they are legacies that endure by default, particularly in impoverished economies of post-socialist political systems. Even Yugoslavia, once known as a “soft” communist country, balancing between the Soviet Union’s planned economy and Western European capitalism, built large monuments and institutions of power (see Chapter 11, **Dicts as Directors of Art and Culture**).

Today, many such structures are abandoned, their futures uncertain, though their scale and substantiality make them impossible to ignore. The trappings of a once-powerful autocratic system become archeology in the most traditional sense. Remnants of the empire in power at the time of a city’s spatial conception and

construction spill into the post-imperial life, and in many cases still define the nation’s psychology of the faded empire’s image.

What is the future for the faded legacies of once-great spaces? Can they be overcome? Architecture and urbanism may indicate that they cannot.

Indeed, even if dictatorial rule of the past has been largely discredited, power is always in fashion. And the autocrats continue to seek legitimacy by employing Western models. Architects from the UK, US, Germany, Switzerland, and other democracies are today actively designing living spaces for new *dictators* and their companions all around the world. In essence, architects continue to support the majestic dreams of despots like Gaddafi, who commissioned a well-known Lebanese architect, Bernard Khoury, to draw a master plan for a business campus that can be seen from space, akin to China’s Great Wall.

And then what do these new and old relationships between architecture and power mean for individual citizens and their desires for personal living space? Can citizens create individual spaces under such shadows or is this possibility held hostage by such construction of space as a demonstration of power?

The architectural design of this exhibition reflects our interpretation that even if the



Architects at the 1931 Beaux Arts Architect Ball; via historybyzim.com

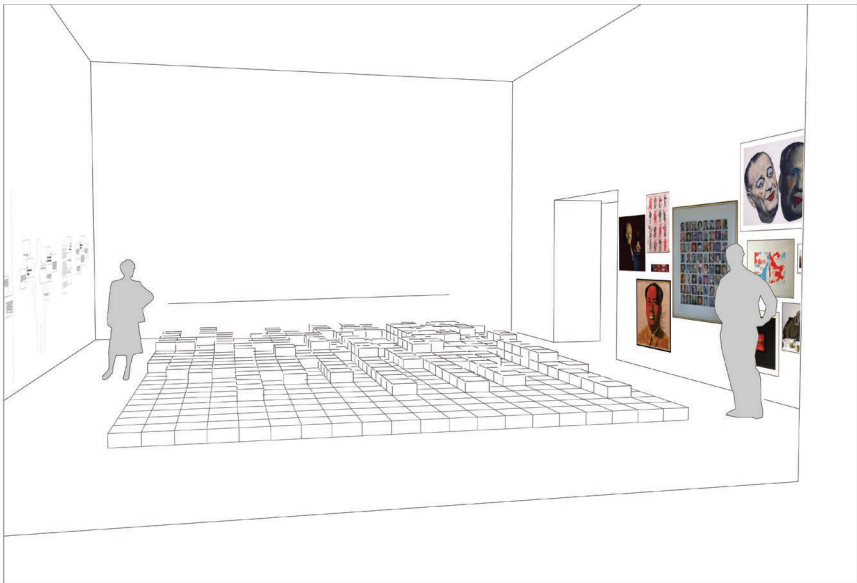
will exists, the politics of *dictatorship* cannot be changed by design alone. What can be altered is the perception of *dictatorial* trappings that so easily lure these leaders. In this spirit, the construct of the *Romancing True Power* is entirely of ephemeral materials such as paper and paper products: a *Beaux-Arts* ball-type image – the D20 “family photo” in which our Dicks wearing their palaces on their heads much like at a traditional *Beaux Arts* ball in which architects wore costumes displaying their building designs – as well as a center piece assembled entirely of cardboard boxes and paper, all of which can be dissolved in minutes by nature.

The design of *Romancing True Power* using disposable materials is an attempt to show the ephemeral nature of true power on display, a power that thinks of itself as permanent, yet constantly trembles in fear of being overthrown – by supporters, by opponents, by revolutions and coups d’état.

Finally, the exhibition aims to suggest that contrary to the heavy-concrete-and-marble of, say, Stalinism, or luxury and grandeur of Gaddafi’s shining business centers, anyone can either mock or flaunt power in their homes with the available means they have.



The main building of Moscow State University is one of Moscow's best-known landmarks and was Europe's tallest building until 1990; via mso.ru



Exhibition sketch by Joachim Hackl

2. DICTATORSHIP, DEMOCRACY AND TRUE POWER

“Dictatorship naturally arises out of democracy, and the most aggravated form of tyranny and slavery out of the most extreme liberty.”

—Plato, *The Republic*, 380 BC

The question of the ideal form of government has been long contested. Democracy had traditionally been seen as providing protection against absolute power. Yet democracy and dictatorship are not dichotomous; rather they can be seen as paradoxically related. As Plato’s statement on the paradoxes of freedom and democracy argues,

the very freedoms and tolerances of a democratic society logically give birth to their opposites. While many democracies flirt with dictatorship, in some cases, democracy itself may transform into authoritarianism; Alexander Lukashenko, President of Belarus, Tayyip Erdoğan, President of Turkey, and Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, were all democratically elected, yet now rule by their own law. Then we have examples of such *dictatorial* characters as former US Vice President Cheney or Italian ex-Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who repeatedly tried to undermine the system of checks and balances in their respective democracies.

DEFINITIONS FROM THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY:

Democracy

A system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives.

1.1 *A state governed by a democracy.*

1.2 *Control of an organization or group by the majority of its members.*

1.3 *The practice or principles of social equality.*

Dictator

1 A ruler with total power over a country, typically one who has obtained power by force.

1.1 *A person who tells people what to do in an autocratic way or who determines behavior in a particular sphere.*

1.2 *(In ancient Rome) a chief magistrate with absolute power, appointed in an emergency.*

2 *A machine that records words spoken into it, used for personal or administrative purposes.*

Autocracy

A system of government by one person with absolute power.

1.1 A country, state, or society governed by one person with absolute power.

1.2 Domineering rule or control.

Authoritarian

Favoring or enforcing strict obedience to authority, especially that of the government, at the expense of personal freedom.

1.1 Showing a lack of concern for the wishes or opinions of others; domineering; dictatorial.

Dictatorship

Government by a dictator.

1.1 A country governed by a dictator.

1.2 Absolute authority in any sphere.

OUR DEFINITIONS:**Dicktator or Dick**

A power-driven charismatic leader, an alpha-male, a Type A. Usually a head of state who dominates the government and controls the population.

The moniker “Dick” refers to the leader’s macho power, his/her overbearing, overassertive, and uncompromising personality.

Dictatorship

Government-driven or state policies implemented by a dictator or Dick, regardless of whether in a democratic or autocratic government structure.

Dickism or Dicktatorism

Ideologies and policies that Dicks have created, put forth, and implemented under their names.

Dickism could specifically refer to the US President Richard Nixon, once nicknamed “Tricky Dick” for his well-known usage of dirty tricks to gain a political advantage. (See Greg Mitchell, *Tricky Dick and the Pink Lady Richard Nixon vs. Helen Gahagan Douglas—Sexual Politics and the Red Scare*, 1950, Random House, 1998). This concept can also be applied to Dick Cheney, a quintessential dicktator, in our view. That both are named Dick conveniently strengthens our metaphor.

“There are three systems of government diverging from the three “straight” systems: tyranny diverging from kingship, oligarchy diverging from aristocracy, and democracy diverging from polity. Each diverging system (parekbasis) is structured to operate to the advantage of the ruler(s); for example, democracy is rule to the advantage of the poor. None of the diverging systems aims at the profit of every type of citizen in common. Of these three diverging systems of government, tyranny is the worst (which is to say the furthest

from polity), oligarchy the next worst, and democracy the most moderate.”

—Aristotle, *Politics*, 350 BC

“Many forms of government have been tried, and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.”

—Winston Churchill, the House of Commons speech, November 11, 1947

TRUE POWER

“True power is like being a lady... if you have to tell people you are, you aren’t.”

—Margaret Thatcher, speech to the National Union of Townswomen’s Guilds Conference, May 20, 1965

“The actual amount of power being used, or dissipated...is called true power [also known as apparent power].”

—Tony R. Kuphaldt, *Lessons in Electric Circuits. Volume II: Alternating Current*, 2007

These two definitions provide the foundation of our understanding of true power – part political, part physical. We do see this power as “apparent,” as it is often expressed *apparently* through actions and appearances.

True power is typically a function of the strength of the leaders, the Type A personalities and their drives to make unilateral decisions and impose their views on the masses – in other words, their political prowess. This power is greatly admired – strength, resolve, organization, vision. It’s this ability to connect with the public, to take reign and lead in dangerous and difficult times, and to continue to embody this powerful leadership throughout that is so seductive.

There has been a long fascination with powerful men – these *dictators*: Joseph Stalin, Soviet General Secretary of the

Communist Party; Iraq’s Saddam Hussein; China’s Chairman Mao Zedong; and Gaddafi, to name just a few of our Dicks. While we share the belief that these men could be a menace to humanity, we simply can’t get enough of their words and deeds. Chilling statistics and anecdotes of these Dicks exercising brutal force somehow capture us more than warm stories of fair-minded leaders. After all, Lifetime channel is not nearly as captivating as the Chiller Network. Shows like *Criminal Minds* or *Law and Order: Criminal Intent* are forever popular. And the *House of Cards*’ democratic politician Frank Underwood (played by Kevin Spacey) demonstrates that no one is immune to ruthless manipulation, dominance, and grandiose belief when the end convinces us it justifies the means.

Of course, in many cases, as in formal autocracies, strong power is the power of the office, yet in others, this power is the product of personalities.

Dick Cheney, early in the 21st century, transformed the decidedly tributary job of US Vice President into the most powerful position in the world. Richard Nixon, who wanted this elusive power so badly he could taste it, was almost impeached after overstepping legal boundaries during the Watergate scandal of 1972.

Following on these definitions, complementary to the political is the physical – height, luxury, attributes and other trappings, explained thoroughly throughout the journal.

As in physics, *Dick* power is dissipated through perceived and/or actual strength, through policies, through human lives affected – often for the worse, even if in some cases – Thatcher in the UK, Juan Perón in Argentina, or Vladimir Putin in Russia – for the better, as the country’s international standing or living standards may have improved. Often, however, these changes come at the expense of political rights and/or social services, and through stifling dissent or the curtailment of freedoms.

Those who exude power fascinate us. We may disagree with their actions, but we quietly respect their success. With all but a nod to Niccolò Machiavelli and his proposition in *The Prince* that the ruler “will find greater security in being feared than in being loved.”

Cheney, too, insisted, “The United States needs to be not so much loved as it needs to be respected. Sometimes, that requires us to take actions that generate controversy.” (Cited in Keith Olbermann, *Pitchforks and Torches: The Worst of the Worst, from Beck, Bill, and Bush to Palin and Other Posturing Republicans*, 2010). It is

no surprise that Vladimir Putin, the incarnation of Russia’s current power, recently said something similar: “We are ready for practical cooperation with our American partners... on the principles of mutual respect for each other’s interests, fairness and non-interference in internal affairs.” (Alan Yuhas, “Putin gives envoy cool welcome after declaring US ‘wants to subjugate’ Russia,” *The Guardian*, November 19, 2014).

It is the perception of commanding strong power that mesmerizes the public. Even in spite of last year’s annexation of Crimea from Ukraine, the curtailment of civil liberties, and the dwindling Russian economy, Putin’s popularity rating stands at 88 percent (via levada.ru). Cheney, despite the enormous expansion of presidential powers now also exercised by the Obama Administration, and despite the rise of world terrorism after the War on Terror of his own initiation, continues to conduct himself as an elder statesman, who writes books, gives numerous interviews, and is considered “a titan of the hard right” (Zachary Stockill, “The World According to Dick Cheney,” *Huffington Post*, March 27, 2013).

3. DICKTATORSHIP IN DEMOCRACY

“My idea is that every specific body strives to become master over all space and to extend its force (its will to power) and to thrust back all that resists its extension. But it continually encounters similar efforts on the part of other bodies and ends by coming to an arrangement (“union”) with those of them that are sufficiently related to it: thus they then conspire together for power. And the process goes on.”

—Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, 1886

At the center of our fascination lies a now almost-uniform realization that the democratic promise does not always produce the expected results. Generally, democratic leaders do not fit into a traditional definition of a dictator. In some, however, the display of need for control and the pursuit of power are strong enough that we felt inclusion in our Dick list was warranted. In doing so, we show that the qualities of dictatorship may exist within democratic systems of government; many of the qualities and practices of extreme autocrats – unilaterally making

decisions, and dictating work processes and methods – could characterize some democratic leaders just as well.

Indeed, how has Russia, after declaring democracy in 1991 with the collapse of Soviet communism, brought to power former KGB colonel Vladimir Putin, a prominent member of our D20, with his popular autocratic rule now in its 15th year?

And after the 2010 Arab Spring, which rippled throughout the Middle East and Africa, sweeping away the authoritarianism of Hosni Mubarak (D20 third tier runner-up) in Egypt or Muammar Gaddafi in Libya, how is it possible that these countries are as far from democracy as they were before these revolutions?

It is because this leadership style has its benefits; leaders can quickly and efficiently make decisions without a laborious and lengthy democratic process. These characteristics are particularly effective in high-pressure environments, in which hesitation or procrastination can be damaging or even dangerous.

Certainly people don't want to be oppressed, but faced with the choice



Silvio Berlusconi, Prime Minister of Italy (1994-1995, 2001-2006, 2008-2011); via francetvinfo.fr



Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1979-1990); via thetimes.co.uk



Richard "Dick" Cheney, Vice President of the United States (2000-2008); via huffingtonpost.com



Viktor Orbán, Prime Minister of Hungary (1998-2002, 2010-present); via vebidoo.com



Vladimir Putin, President of Russia (2000-2008, 2012-present); via minichan.org

between disorder and a strong hand, the strong hand will win, almost invariably. Moreover, the perception of power is often as important as power itself. We aim to deconstruct this perception.

Democratic Dicks of course abide by democratic principles, yet they do not believe that *all* laws apply to

them. Leaders who possess autocratic qualities can come from any country, and dictatorial aspirations can be born anywhere. In fact, aspirations for ultimate control and ultimate power characterized the US administrations of "Tricky Dick" Nixon and (former vice president) Dick Cheney, Hungary under Viktor Orbán's premiership, the UK under Margaret

Thatcher's cabinet, and Italy under Silvio Berlusconi's government. These leaders embody our idea of democratic Dicks.

The public loved **Silvio Berlusconi** – his flamboyance, his populist demagoguery, his megalomaniacal self-praise – reelecting him three times to the office of prime minister with 62 percent of the vote (via *The Telegraph*), despite proven instances of illegal wiretapping, sex with underage girls, and bribery. During his 20 years in Italian politics, there had been numerous unsuccessful attempts to indict him, and only in 2012 was he finally convicted for tax fraud. Yet, in some parts of Italy, including Milan and Sardinia, he is still beloved, and according to many, simply can do no wrong.

Historically, indeed, “Italian voters have always been attracted by the uomo forte, the strong man, a charismatic leader who is capable of singlehandedly solving the country's problems. This happened with Mussolini in the 1920s ... Italians find these strong men attractive even when they cut corners in the democratic process. With his ever-young look, elegant attire and almost shameless show of wealth, Berlusconi effortlessly fits the image of the uomo forte.” (Francesco Giumelli and Davide Maneschi, “Why Italians Vote for Berlusconi,” *The New York Times*, February 26, 2013).

Dick Cheney is perhaps one of our most intriguing Dicks. Having had five heart attacks, he should be dead by now, but defying nature – as he has defied democracy – he is feeling better than ever after a heart transplant in 2012. How many men of flesh and blood (at least, we

think he's human) have you heard of who, for several years, had an external pump instead of a heart; otherwise, we can think of only Darth Vader, the iconic villain from the 1970s Star Wars trilogy, who was of course fictional. To cement this connection, Cheney, with his supercilious ambition to control the world, proudly compared himself to Vader in a 2006 CNN interview: “I suppose, people look at my demeanor and say, he's the Darth Vader of the administration.”

In 2001 Cheney initiated the War on Terror to protect America at the expense of civil liberties and human rights. Surely, the US “homeland” has not been attacked since 9/11. But while we live safely in our homeland with drones flying and NSA (National Security Agency) spying, Afghanistan is now almost a failed state and at least one third of Iraq has been taken over by ISIS (Islamic States of Iraq and Syria); these outcomes are largely products of Cheney's thinking.

Altogether, Cheney makes a “quality” *dick*tator. His democracy can be compared to an exotic black orchid or to the thorny Century Plant, also known as Agave Americana, that lives up to 40 years before revealing a single 40-foot bloom spike. By all accounts, Cheney is an oxymoron in a representative form of government; elsewhere, his autocratic behavior would be fit for a marble palace, a gold statue, a street name, a city dedication, even a country: Cheneygrad or Cheneystan.

Yet Churchill's 1947 statement that “Democracy is the worst form of government except for all those other forms” has application here. In a functional electoral democracy as is the United States, this Century Plant seems to bloom

faster than in most authoritarian regimes: for comparison Muammar Gaddafi was in power for over 40 years and Joseph Stalin for almost 30. Cheney's rule was a mere eight years.

Lucky for the people, Cheney's thirst for power is limited by democracy. Even if he meets our conceptualization of a true *dictator*, as a democratic Dick, he cannot be called a traditional dictator. The system does not allow it. With all the lives lost in Afghanistan and Iraq, the body count in range 219,00-636,000 by various accounts is still not comparable to that of a seasoned dictatorship. Moreover, even if he is hiding in an "undisclosed location" (in Maryland's St. Michael, his country home), it is not a luxurious palace of gold and glitter. The Bush administration policies that brought deaths to US soldiers and destruction to Iraqi civilians are not eternalized by a gold statue fit for a despot, as they might have been in, say, that very Iraq, Zaire or Turkmenistan.

Margaret Thatcher used to say, "If you lead a country like Britain, a strong country, a country which has taken a lead in world affairs in good times and in bad, a country that is always reliable, then you have to have a touch of iron about you." (Cited in Robert Hutton, "Margaret Thatcher, U.K. 'Iron Lady' Prime Minister, Dies," Bloomberg, April 8, 2013).

Dubbed the Iron Lady, Thatcher was the longest serving prime minister in UK history, and was known for her autocratic leadership style. During her tenure from 1979 to 1990, she led the British into the

Falklands War, battled against the nation's then-powerful trade unions, devastated the once-strong mining industry, caused unemployment for over 3 million people and privatized many of the country's state-owned organizations, impacting the UK's socioeconomic structure for decades.

Yet, Thatcher ultimately suffered from a common democratic Dick disorder by overplaying her hand. Branded Thatcherism, her policies included the toughest version of free market economics, tax cuts for the wealthy, and the overextended promotion of home ownership. This approach, defying consensus, is eventually what led to her downfall. Following a slew of economic problems, she had lost the support of her cabinet: her approval rating plummeting to 20 percent, the lowest in British history. Refusing to consider any compromise, she was forced to step down. "To me, consensus seems to be the process of abandoning all beliefs, principles, values and policies," she insisted in a 1981 speech at Monash University, and she never changed her mind.

This lengthy excursion into history aims to demonstrate that although democratic Dicks are not the same as some seasoned dictators that share the D20 list, they do share the type. Dicks are everywhere, romancing the people with their power and resolve, even if they wear a democratic disguise. And people, everywhere, often enthusiastically return the love.

4. PHILOSOPHER KINGS – THEORISTS AND TEACHERS

“Until philosophers rule as kings or those who are now called kings and leading men genuinely and adequately philosophize, that is, until political power and philosophy entirely coincide, while the many natures who at present pursue either one exclusively are forcibly prevented from doing so, cities will have no rest from evils... nor, I think, will the human race.”

—Plato, *The Republic*, 380 BC

Dicks know how to rule. They are often great philosophers and political theorists. In his *Republic*, Plato postulates that philosophers should rule because they have the privilege of knowing all matters regarding reality, truth, and goodness. Many of our leaders have authored exhaustive political publications: *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* (1964), or “The Little Red Book” as it is known in the West, is one such prominent example. They rule by their theories, and their knowledge of dictating. They often have radical political thoughts and believe that theirs is the only correct vision for state-building, security, and social transformation.

After the September 11, 2001 attack on US soil, Dick Cheney, asserted a new doctrine, according to which all checks and balances and individual liberties are subservient to the president’s commander-in-chief powers in confronting international terrorism. Essentially, he pioneered a legal/political philosophy of sorts that dictates that the power of the executive branch of government – i.e. Dick power – in “war time” should extend to the detention of individuals without trial.

He felt justified in claiming that it is history that “leaves little, if any, doubt that the president was expected to have the primary role of conducting the foreign [war] policy of the United States.” (Sean Wilentz, “Mr. Cheney’s Minority Report,” *The New York Times*, July 9, 2007). Cheney drew his philosophical authority from Alexander Hamilton’s one-man chief executive argument in *The Federalist Papers* (1787). Following the Founding Father’s reasoning, the Vice President posited that the presidency “was designed as a one-person office to ensure that it would be ready for action. Its major characteristics, in the language of *Federalist* No. 70, were to be ‘decision,

activity, secrecy and dispatch.” (Cited in Barton Gellman, *Angler: The Cheney Vice Presidency*, 2008).

Indeed, in countless cases, the people are forced to learn to follow their Dick’s ideas through historical examples, or more generally, through education. To assure their theories are widely disseminated, many leaders have created personal, eponymous ideologies, which at times are implemented not only of their own hands, but by other governments as well. Examples include Berlusconism, Castroism, Ceaușism, Kimilsungism (Juche), Maoism, Mobutuism, Mugabeism, Peronism, Thatcherism, Titoism, and Stalinism.

Dickism, as we’ll call it (Nixonism and Cheneyism), are doctrines associated with two US Republican politicians, both fittingly named Dick. According to historian Sean Wilentz, cited above, Cheney’s crusade to theoretically justify absolute presidential powers began during the Nixon administration. Cheney insisted that Watergate was “a political ploy by the president’s enemies.” Moreover, “For Mr. Cheney, the scandal was not Richard Nixon’s design for an imperial presidency, but the Democrats’ drive for an imperial Congress.” (Ibid). Historian Arthur Schlesinger, who first coined the term “Imperial Presidency” in his 1973 eponymous book, suggested that Nixon went to China for just one reason: to learn from Mao Zedong how to be a supreme leader. During their February 1972 meeting, Nixon, hat in hand, flattered the Chinese: “The Chairman’s writings moved a nation and have changed the world” (via China.UsC.edu).



Mao Zedong’s statue at Fudan University, China; via reuters.com



Saparmurat Niyazov’s Ruhnama (The Book of the Soul) in Turkmenistan’s classroom; via bbc.com



Soviet children learning about Joseph Stalin’s speech in school; via vedkar.ru

5. SPIRITUAL AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS



Colonel Muammar Gaddafi called his Green Book “the new gospel”; via wimduzijn.nl

“There is nothing more important than appearing to be religious.”

—Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 1513

“A tyrant should appear to his subjects not as a tyrant but as a head of household and a kingly man, not as an embezzler but as a steward.”

—Aristotle, *Politics*, 350 BC

Our Dicks are omnipotent.

In many theocratic authoritarian regimes, such as Iran with its Supreme Leaders, Ayatollahs Ali Khamenei and the late Ruhollah Khomeini, they present

themselves as manifestations of God. They either are on the cusp of deity, or stand in the gap between God and his flock, providing holy guidance to the people, acting as their guiding light.

In communist regimes where the Marxist ideology, in which a universal bright future for all replaces religious faith, they, too, are god-like figures, perceived as secular immortals: Joseph Stalin, Mao Zedong and Yugoslavia’s Josip Broz Tito. These Dicks shine as spiritual leaders to the masses. They are frequently worshipped. They are the fathers of their nations. They are saviors of the state and of the people. As supreme leaders, they provide the ultimate instructions in most matters of life and death.



Iranian Muslim women hold posters of Iran's supreme leaders Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Ali Khamenei; via littlegreenfootballs.com



Turkmenistan TV anchors read Turkmenbashi Saparmurat Niyazov's Ruhnama; via foreignpolicy.com. Young people have to read it three times a day in order to go to heaven.



[Above] Romania's Nicolae Ceaușescu and his wife Elena, the Father and the Mother of the Nation; via shtepiaelibrit.com



[Below] Crowds bow to the statues of North Korea's founder Kim Il Sung and his son Kim Jong Il; via theweek.com

6. CONTROL OVER PEOPLE'S LIVES AND DEATHS



A photomontage of Viktor Orbán in a Mao Zedong's propaganda poster; via voxeurop.eu

“Here a question arises: whether it is better to be loved than feared, or the reverse. The answer is, of course, that it would be best to be both loved and feared. But since the two rarely come together, anyone compelled to choose will find greater security in being feared than in being loved.”

—Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 1513

Dictators control the population; they decide people's lives and deaths by fiat. They rule through fear – secret police are ubiquitous and human rights and freedoms are violated and oppressed in many countries with dictatorial leadership. Many Dicts are notorious for being mass killers. They ruin millions of lives during their reigns of terror, generally in the name of self-determination, nationalism, or economic prosperity. Poverty, starvation, exile, forced labor, massacre, and genocide are some of the fruits of the “dictatorisms,” policies created under their names.

The exhibition design encompasses this notion of public misery by hanging the non-functional lights from the ceiling. In autocratic systems, such as communist countries, basic services may be provided to the people; but due to the planned economy, most resources are limited, and many individuals do not have access to these services, no matter the lofty political promises.

One of our finest Dicts, Mao Zedong initiated a country-wide movement to boost steel production in an effort to build an industrialized nation that would rapidly surpass the UK and US; this undertaking, known as the Great Leap Forward, resulted in the 1959-61 Great Famine, costing an estimated 36-45 million lives. (Chris Buckley, “Milder Accounts of Hardships Under Mao Arise as His Birthday Nears,” *The New York Times*, October 16, 2013)

Unlike most coercive dictatorial leaders, the democratic members of the D20 have been elected by the people. Their

democratic governments guarantee fundamental human rights and freedoms – people have the right to protest and demonstrate against policies with which they disagree. Yet democratic Dicks, too, aspire to control their citizens, while simultaneously reveling in their reputations as the great defenders of the majority interest in the name of freedom, security or economic prosperity.

After his 2010 second reelection as Hungary's Prime Minister, Viktor Orbán and his center-right Fidesz party passed new media laws that gave the government the authority to dictate content and impose sanctions on media outlets, as well as to grant broadcast licenses to favored stations. These laws also allowed for the overpowering party's campaign advertising, including laws restricting the location of billboards for opposition and non-government messages. "Only Fidesz!" messages have been plastered on 15-foot-high billboards, featuring Orbán's smiling face as a bonus. These sites are strangely reminiscent of "1980s Romania, when roads were lined with nothing but signs extolling the virtues of communist strong man Nicolae Ceaușescu." (Yigal Schleifer, "Hungary at the Turning Point," *Slate*, October 3, 2014).

In the 1970s, Margret Thatcher, then the UK Education Secretary, created a "savings" of £9 million a year for a new

primary school building program, fittingly through the deprivation of milk from elementary school children.

In the 2000s, Dick Cheney maintained that the entire world is a battlefield, therefore, he contends, military power may be unleashed to kill or capture any American citizen on American soil if suspected of association with "terrorism," his definition of which is broad and arguably arbitrary; the Vice President engineered the warrantless domestic surveillance program of the NSA, targeting American citizens within the US, in direct contravention of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978.

More broadly, in many countries, Dicks determine people's livelihoods and fates. They have starved their populations, have evicted minorities and prosecuted unwanted ethnic groups, and have incarcerated and executed journalists, intellectuals, and dissidents.

"Nevertheless the high sentiments always win in the end, leaders who offer blood, toil, tears and sweat always get more out of their followers than those who offer safety and a good time."

—George Orwell, *The Art of Donald McGill*, 1941

Slobodan Milošević spoke in Kosovo on June 28, 1989, to commemorate the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo; via nytimes.com



The D20 Body Count and Other Dick Stats

Region	Dicktator	Duration of Rule	Range of Estimated Numbers		Policies
Africa	Muammar Gaddafi	1969 - 2011	kill count	4,700-25,000	Libyan Civil War in 2011
			expulsion	20,000	“Day of Vengeance,” expulsion of Italian settlers in 1970
	Idi Amin Dada	1971 - 1979	kill count	80,000-300,000	purge of political opponents and civilians, Mutukula Massacre in 1972, war with Tanzania in 1978-1979
			expulsion	60,000	expulsion of ethnic Asians in 1972
	Mobutu Sese Seko	1965 - 1997	kill count	230,000	purge of political opponents
	Robert Mugabe	1980 - 1987 (as Prime Minister) / 1987 - ongoing (as President)	kill count	35,000	mass killing of minority Ndebele from 1982 to 1985, purge of political and tribal opponents
resettlement			4,500	“fast-track” resettlement program (land grab from white farmers) since 2000	
Asia	Mao Zedong	1949 - 1976	kill count	30-75 million	Great Famine (1959-1961), Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), labor camp detentions (1949-1975)
			political persecution	3.6 million	Cultural Revolution political persecution (not death toll)
	The Kim Dynasty (Kim Il-sung, Kim Jong-il, Kim Jong-un)	1948 - 1994; 1994 - 2011; 2011-ongoing	kill count	2.067-13.668 million	1950-1953 Korean War, labor camp deaths, famine victims since mid-1990s
			imprisonment	80,000-120,000	inmates in North Korea’s political detention camps (as of 2014)
	Saparmurat Niyazov	1985 - 2006	imprisonment	4,000-16,000	political prisoners
Eastern Europe	Nicolae Ceaușescu	1965 - 1989	kill count	246,100-921,100	purge of political opponents, austerity program in 1980s, 1989 Romanian Revolution
	Alexander Lukashenko	1994 - ongoing	imprisonment purge	11-65	arrest and exile of high-level opposition figures, protestors and journalists
	Slobodan Milošević	1989 - 2000	kill count	107,500-112,000	Genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), Kosovo War (1998-1999)
			displacement	2.23 million	Genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), Kosovo War (1998-1999)
	Josip Tito	1944 - 1980	kill count	570,000	purge of political opponents and pro-Stalin communists
			forced labor and imprisonment	150,000-450,000	prisoners and forced labor camp detainees (1945-1965)
	Viktor Orbán	1998 -2000 / 2010 - ongoing	nationalization of power: media and tobacco industries, metal recycling operations, private pension funds, rewriting constitution, imposing fines on journalists who the state considers “unbalanced”		
Europe	Margaret Thatcher	1979-1990	kill count	910	Irish Hunger Strikes in 1981 and Falkland War in 1982
			unemployment	over 3 million	privatization of UK’s state-owned organizations
	Silvio Berlusconi	1994 - 1995 / 2001 - 2006 / 2008 - 2011	centralization of media (control 90% of Italian TV, etc.), fines and 10 cases of imprisonment of journalists for defamation, oppression of press freedom: Italy has one of the lowest levels of press freedom in Europe (“partly free country,” Freedom House, 2009); Italy is the worst country in Western Europe in terms of press freedom (Reporters without Borders, 2007)		

The D20 Body Count and Other Dick Stats

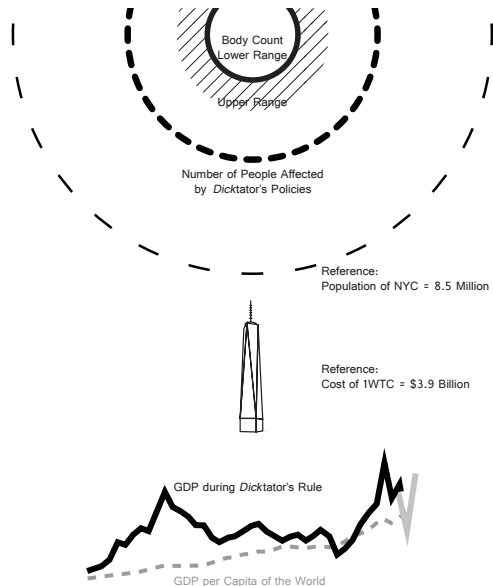
Region	Dictator	Duration of Rule	Range of Estimated Numbers		Policies
Latin America	Juan Perón	1946 - 1955 / 1973 - 1974	prosecution of intellectuals	over 1,500	purge of university faculty who opposed to Perón's regime; some universities were closed for years
			support for fascist leaders who took refuge in Argentina after World War II		
	Fidel Castro	1959 - 2008	kill count	35,000-65,000	purge of political opponents, concentration camp deaths, participation in proxy wars (in Mozambique, Angola and Ethiopia from late 1970s to 1987)
Middle East	Ruhollah Khomeini	1979 - 1989	kill count	51,400-140,000	Kurdish Rebellion and Turkoman Revolt in 1979, executions of Iranian political prisoners in 1988
	Ali Hossenei Khamenei	1981 – 1989 (President) / 1989 – present (Supreme Leader)			
	Mahmoud Ahmadinejad	2005 - 2013	crackdown on media outlets	40	shutdown of newspapers and other publications from 2009 to 2012
	Saddam Hussein	1979 - 2003	kill count	995,000-1.075 million	Iran-Iraqi War of 1980-1988, Kurdish Genocide (Al-Anfal Campaign) of 1986-1989, the First Gulf War of 1990-1991
			disappearances	200,000	Dissidents, other civilians
	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	2003 - 2014 (Prime Minister) / 2014 - ongoing (President)	crackdown on protesters, detentions of political opponents, journalists, occasional shutdowns of social media		
Russia / Soviet Union	Vladimir Putin	1999 - 2000 (Prime Minister) / 2000 - 2008 (President) / 2008 - 2012 (PM) / 2012 - ongoing (President)	journalists killed	130-169	Committee to Protect Journalists: Russia is "one of deadliest countries for journalists" in 2000-2014
			imprisonment	10-70	political opponents and protestors
			investigation of 1,000 NGOs, shutdown of numerous NGOs, dubbing them "foreign agents"		
	Joseph Stalin	1922 - 1952	kill count	20-60 million	detention camp (Gulag) deaths in 1926-1953, the 1932-1933 Ukrainian famine (Holodomor), the "Great Purge" of 1937-1938
USA	Dick Cheney	2001 - 2009	kill count	219,000-636,000 (US troops and local civilians)	Wars in Afghanistan (2001-present) and Iraq (2003-2011)
	Richard Nixon	1969 - 1974	kill count	71,000-171,000 (US troops and local civilians)	carpet bombing of Cambodia (1969-1973) and death toll in Vietnam War during Nixon's presidency

Sources include: *The American Interest*, Amnesty International, BBC, Committee to Protect Journalists, *The Guardian*, Human Rights Watch, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, *Journal of Communications Research*, *The New York Times*, RJ Rummel's Powerkills website of University of Hawaii Political Science Department, *Slate*, *The Telegraph*, United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights



The life-size D20 “family” photo and Dick stats in the hallway of Arnold and Sheila Aronson Galleries, designed by Joachim Hackl and Joshua Wai Hon Lam

This infographic is in relation to Chapter 6, 8 and 9 of this journal. Please also refer to this photo and the key to the graphics when reviewing Chapters 8 and 9.



“Power kills; absolute power kills absolutely.”

—Historian and Political Scientist R.J. Rummel, *Power Kills*, 1997

7. DICKS AND THEIR LOVE OF SPORTS



Idi Amin with Ian Wooldridge, British sports journalist, in 1976; via dailymail.co.uk



Alexander Lukashenko and Vladimir Putin playing hockey in Sochi, January 2014; via yle.fi



Silvio Berlusconi celebrated with the trophy during the UEFA Champions League Final in 2007; via gentside.com

Our Dicks are great sportsmen. Like the Olympian gods of ancient Greek mythology, they proudly flaunt their masculine bodies and athletic prowess. They act as though they have perfect physiques, even promoting healthy lifestyles, yet few of them are actually in good shape. But just like the Emperor's New Clothes, the people don't dare speak of the their leaders' flab.

The D20 members often support the national sports, providing guidance or "dictating" the national teams, building massive stadiums and recreation facilities. As soccer and basketball perhaps are the two most popular games around

the world, they are also favored by the D20, with ice sports well represented by countries in cold climates.

Idi Amin was an accomplished athlete during his time in both the British and Ugandan armies. Standing 6'4" and weighing 280 pounds, Amin was the Ugandan Light Heavyweight Boxing Champion from 1951 to 1960, as well as being a swimmer, a basketball player, and a rugby player.

Although there is no real evidence of this, Kim Jong-il was reportedly gifted in golf and bowling. According to North Korea state media, in his first ever round of



*Viktor Orbán juggling; via
hungarianspectrum.wordpress.com*



*Recep Tayyip Erdoğan with boxing
gloves in June 2012; via AP*

golf, he shot 11 holes-in-one, and bowled a perfect 300 in his very first attempt bowling match.

Like father like son. Kim Jong-un is a big fan of basketball, and in particular, of Michael Jordan. He has recently become BFFs with Dennis Rodman, Jordan's former teammate on the Chicago Bulls. The young Kim has been known to venture into sport and recreation facilities, including the Munsu water park, Mirim Horse Riding Club, and the multi-million dollar ski resort at Masik Pass.

The head of state and the president of Belarus' Olympic Committee, Alexander

Lukashenko is a renowned ice hockey player, and has made many public appearances and statements relating to hockey. In addition, Lukashenko is also passionate about skiing, soccer and rollerblading and in fact often takes meeting on blades, thus testing his visitors' negotiating skills.

Viktor Orbán was a professional soccer player on Felcsút FC in his youth; he recently built a private stadium in his home town of Felcsút.

Juan Perón had a similar path to that of Idi Amin – both joined the army in their youth and later proved themselves as



Kim Jong-un; via telegraph.co.uk



Saddam Hussein; via wn.com



Vladimir Putin; via imgkid.com



Dick Cheney; via gettyimages.com

skilled sportsmen. Perón held the title of champion fencer in the army and was also an expert boxer and skier.

Silvio Berlusconi has owned Italy's top soccer club, AC Milan, since 1986; he wrote the club's official anthem. Berlusconi also named his own political party Forza Italia (Go Italy) after a chant used by Italian soccer fans.

Like Orbán, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan played semi-professional soccer at a local club in Kasımpaşa before starting his political career. The home stadium of the soccer club was later named after him. Generally for these strong men, sports serve as a metaphor for power. In 2012, Erdoğan famously posed with boxing gloves at the parliament session in Ankara.

Vladimir Putin is a master of martial arts, particularly judo and sambo, and holds a black belt in karate. In September 2006, Putin became the honorary president of the European Judo Union, and in 2010, received an honorary doctorate in judo from South Korea's Yong In University. Like Lukashenko, Putin also enjoys ice hockey and skiing.

Keeping with the royal tradition of noble hunting and horse-back riding, many Dicks are avid hunters, and are often seen on horse backs. Some are indeed good riders, some use their horse as a throne, as a propaganda tool to bolster their images. They are portrayed as being above the earth and conquerors of nature.



[Above, left and middle] *Fidel Castro hunting in Russia, January 1964, with Soviet Union Premier Nikita Khrushchev (D20 third tier runner-up)*

Josip Broz Tito posing with a bear he shot during a hunting party at Bugojno in July, 1974



Nikita Khrushchev (middle) hunting with Josip Broz Tito (right) in 1961

Photographs on this page are from Nina Khrushcheva's private archive

8. THE FASHION OF POWER, THE POWER OF FASHION

Many of the world's reputable tyrants suffer from the Napoleon Complex – men of small physical stature who seek extreme power to compensate for their (ahem) shortcomings. Correlation is not causation, however, not all of our Dicks are excessive, or short, or men at all. Our list includes a woman known for her “iron balls,” and offers many examples of tall leaders, such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan at 6′, both Alexander Lukashenko and Syria's Bashar al Assad (D20 second tier runner-up) at 6'2”, and the most imposing of them all, the 6'4” Idi Amin.

Indeed, regardless of their height, most Dicks tend to self-aggrandize and flaunt status through what we refer to as trappings: luxurious living quarters, extravagant possessions and great wealth, impressive and powerful titles, official and unofficial signs and symbols of public adoration. They express themselves in flamboyant, flashy apparel that separates them from the hoi polloi. They are *dictator chic*. Hats, gold, fur, and military vestments are key embellishments in the Dick's fashion bible. Their elevated

significance can alternatively be expressed through overstated simplicity – think: the understated fatigues of Joseph Stalin, Mao Zedong, Fidel Castro or Kim Jong-un.

The D20's distinct styles have inspired many celebrities. The UK news media outlet *Dailymail* illustrates our Dicks' fashion influence in pop and political culture.

Powerful leaders are often enamored of hats. They sport them as crowns representing power, sovereignty and royalty. Headgear is a symbol of kings; they become what they wear. In this show, to complete the metaphor, our Dicks are wearing their extravagant residences as hats.

As the only woman in the D20, Margaret Thatcher, cast the mold for female political style. Strings of elegant but simple pearls, delicate brooches, tailored skirt suits, and strong handbags were her signatures – feminine yet powerful.

More than just an accessory, the Iron Lady viewed her handbag with significance, as a



© BIPICPICTUREPHOTO.COM

Fascist-istas: Madonna and North Korean dictator Kim Jong-il have something in common, they have both been hailed style icons

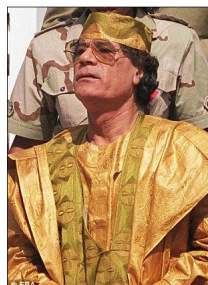


© Reuters

Madonna and Kim Jong-il; via Dailymail.co.uk



© Sipa Images / Rex Features



© Sipa

Ga-Ga-gaddafi: Lady Gaga looks to Libya for inspiration as she rocks the metallic trend like Colonel Gaddafi

Lady Gaga and Muammar Gaddafi; via Dailymail.co.uk



© Ken McKay / Rex Features

General rule: Cheryl Cole sports a Stalin-inspired outfit for her X Factor stage debut in a red military coat and matching cap



Cheryl Cole and Joseph Stalin; via Dailymail.co.uk



Sarah Palin and Fidel Castro; via blogspot.com

symbol of her power and uncompromising style when dealing with the cabinet and foreign leaders. Thatcher's long-time opponent, UK liberal politician Dennis Skinner, called her "a mentally unbalanced dictator with a handbag [who] ruined millions of lives" (Dennis Skinner, "Dennis Skinner on Margaret Thatcher," *The Mirror*, September 12, 2014). She, on the other hand, explained that accessory as a crucial weapon in defense of democracy: "I am obstinate in defending our liberties and our law. That is why I carry a big handbag." ("Interview with Margaret Thatcher," CNN, June 30, 1997).



Napoleon Bonaparte's famous bicorne; via huffingtonpost.com



*Idi Amin, the last King of Scotland; via
wordpress.com*



*Mobutu Sese Seko, the King of Zaire (Congo);
via blogspot.com*



*Muammar Gaddafi, the King of the Kings in
Africa; via blogspot.com*



*The bag, which Margaret Thatcher carried during
her meeting with Ronald Reagan and Soviet
leader Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985, was sold for
£25,000 to a "great admirer" of Mrs. Thatcher at
a charity auction in 2011; via dailymail.co.uk*



Margaret Thatcher trying on hats; via corbis

9. IT'S THE ECONOMY, STUPID

The members of our D20 have vast economic power and often own numerous extravagant properties, sometimes secretly. They use rich materials such as gold and marble to embellish their regal palaces. They harbor substantial collections of luxury sports cars, private jets and yachts, flashy jewelry and valuable antiques. To a few Dicks, including Nicolae Ceaușescu and Josip Broz Tito, taxidermied animals were crucial adornments. Life-like mounts of dangerous animals – tigers, bears or boars – on display symbolized their power to conquer nature, their hunting trophies strengthening their rule.

It is not easy to measure Dicks' net worth, as most have hidden their overindulgence. They take advantage of their access to and authority over their countries' wealth; the nation's exchequer often acts as their personal bank accounts. In fact, many self-aggrandizing Dicks act as if, like kings before them, they own their states.

President Mugabe of Zimbabwe spent \$16 million on his birthday and his daughter's wedding in 2013, while the average salary of a Zimbabwean is between \$285 and \$300 per month. His wife Grace Mugabe is dubbed "Gucci Grace" and "The First Shopper" for her lavish shopping sprees.

Many of the democratic *dicktators* are successful entrepreneurs too, however an important distinction needs to be made: unlike dictatorial leaders who come into power and become rich as a result, in democracies, Dicks often make their own money first. In such cases, politics and business are a revolving door – industry leaders become policymakers and vice-versa.

Dick Cheney was Chairman and CEO of Halliburton, the world's largest oil and gas services company. The company has been awarded enormous (often no-bid) military contracts and has reaped billion-dollar profits during Cheney's vice presidency. In 2013, the *Financial Times* reported that Halliburton's subsidiary KBR (Kellogg Brown and Root) has benefited at least \$39.5 billion from the contracts related to the Iraq war over the past decade (Anna Fifield, "Contractors Reap \$138bn From Iraq War," *The Financial Times*, March 18, 2013).

According to *Forbes*, Silvio Berlusconi, with a net worth of \$7.3 billion (2014), is ranked the sixth richest person in Italy. He has built the country's biggest media empire and has major stakes in Mediolanum Bank and AC Milan Soccer Club. While accumulating his wealth, Berlusconi left the country's economy in dire straits.



Turkey's newly-built \$615 million presidential palace, boasting more than 1,000 rooms; via huffingtonpost.com



Recep Tayyip Erdoğan descending the staircase of his new palace between rows of soldiers in historic costume during a recent visit of Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas; via bloombergview.com



Silvio Berlusconi's property in Sardegna, Italy; photo credit: Nina Khrushcheva

According to *The Economist*, between 2000 and 2010 under Berlusconi's second and third term, Italy's average GDP growth was merely 0.25% a year, barely above the bottommost countries Zimbabwe and Haiti ("Oh For A New Risorgimento," *The Economist*, June 9, 2011).

And yet, like most Dicks, Berlusconi has suffered from delusions of grandeur. In 2001, he claimed to be "driven by the knowledge that only I can turn this country around" ("Signore Silvio Berlusconi – Italy's Strong Man?" *The Globalist*, July 21, 2003). He insisted he was "the greatest politician in the world"

(Ibid), and lamented that others get in the way of his decisions.

"Sometimes as a businessman, with 56,000 employees, I've had the feeling of being able to decide and be in control. But today in a democracy, I am in the service of everyone and anyone can criticize me and perhaps even insult me."

—Silvio Berlusconi, cited in "Silvio Berlusconi compares himself to Mussolini," n.a., *The Telegraph*, UK, May 28, 2010

10. MILITARY POWER: THEY ARE MILITARY THEORISTS

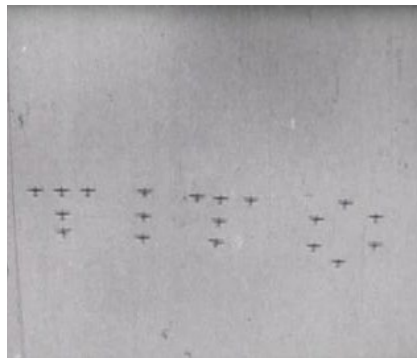
“Power is not a means; it is an end. One does not establish a dictatorship in order to safeguard a revolution; one makes the revolution in order to establish the dictatorship. The object of persecution is persecution. The object of torture is torture. The object of power is power.”

—George Orwell, 1984, 1949

Aside from political and economic power, most of the D20 also reign over their countries’ military forces. They are the commanders-in-chief of the army, responsible for the ultimate military orders. Key examples include Richard Nixon’s insertion into the Vietnam War from 1969 to 1973, and Margaret Thatcher’s decision to engage in the Falklands War of 1982 when Argentina disputed British possession of the Falkland Islands, which Argentina had claimed as its own territory. And then of course there was, most recently, George W. Bush and Dick Cheney’s incitement of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. These are all examples of democratic Dicks wielding Dick power.



Margaret Thatcher visiting British troops on the Falkland Islands in 1983; via [theguardian.com](https://www.theguardian.com)



Aircraft skywriting Tito’s name; via [framepool.com](https://www.framepool.com)



Richard Nixon meets the troops in Vietnam in 1969; via nixonfoundation.org



Juan Perón at his 1946 inaugural parade; via atlanticsentinel.com



Mahmoud Ahmadinejad visiting the Natanz nuclear enrichment facility in 2008; via theguardian.com

“Defeat—I do not recognize the meaning of the word!”

—Margaret Thatcher, at the start of the Falklands conflict, April 1982

“I call it the Madman Theory, Bob. I want the North Vietnamese to believe I’ve reached the point where I might do anything to stop the war. We’ll just slip the word to them that, ‘for God’s sake, you know Nixon is obsessed about communism. We can’t restrain him when he’s angry—and he has his hand on the nuclear button’ and Ho Chi Minh himself will be in Paris in two days begging for peace.”

—Richard Nixon to his Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman, cited in H.R. Haldeman’s *The Ends of Power*, 1978

“We will, in fact, be greeted as liberators [in Iraq].”

—Dick Cheney on NBC’s Meet the Press, September 14, 2003

Many Dicks are military *dictators*: Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, Field Marshal Idi Amin, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, Marshal Josip Broz Tito, Colonel Juan Perón, Field Marshal Saddam Hussein, and Gernalissimus Joseph Stalin. Many of them seized power in military coups. Moreover, many are experienced in warfare and are influential military theorists, including Mao Zedong, Josip Broz Tito, and Fidel Castro.

“Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”

—Mao Zedong, the “August 7 Conference” of the Communist Party Central Committee, 1927

11. DICKS AS DIRECTORS OF ART AND CULTURE

Some of our *dictators* not only have extensive knowledge of politics, economics and social life, but also have great expertise in literature, art, and architecture. They direct and advise in these creative fields, which they view as serving the purpose of politics, while also being effective tools for ideological control. Dicks are often eloquent poets and writers (see appendix for list of publications), insightful art theorists, and prominent city planners. They are the architects of their own new Utopias. In many communist countries, arts must reflect revolutionary ideas and be directed towards the masses, with the most simple and realistic forms of expression. The Cultural Revolution in Mao Zedong's China, and Socialist Realism, the official style of art depicting how the state envisioning the socialist life, under Joseph Stalin's Soviet Union, are the most notable examples.

Our Dicks are great appreciators of art. They are discerning collectors. Blouin ArtInfo, an online medium for global art news and gallery reviews, has compiled a list of Dick collections: Josip Broz Tito amassed approximately 3,500 works of



A rare etching from Francisco de Goya's aquatint print series "Los Caprichos," "Muchachos al Avio"; via Blouin ArtInfo

art, primarily paintings by 16th to 19th century Old Masters; Nicolae Ceaușescu collected works by Romanian artists, as well as engravings by Francisco de Goya; Slobodan Milošević, president of Serbia and Yugoslavia in the 1990s, possessed a rare etching from Goya's 1799 aquatint print series "Los Caprichos" as well as Goya's "Muchachos el Avio." (Lori Fredrickson, "Terrifying Taste: 21 Despots, Dictators, and Drug Lords, and the Art They Loved," *Blouin ArtInfo*, January 23, 2013).



[Above] Madame Mao was a celebrated creator of a new genre, a revolutionary opera. One of such operas, Red Detachment of Women, was performed for President Nixon during his visit to China in 1972; via tank-net.com

[Right] Kim Jong-il was a world-famous cinephile. He called himself the “Genius of the Cinema.” He was a film theorist, film collector, screenwriter, director, producer, and cameraman. According to the Hollywood Reporter, he once even kidnapped an international film cast and crew just to show his affinity with the movie culture; via hollywoodreporter.com



A propaganda poster of Joseph Stalin (left) and then People’s Commissar for Transport Lazar Kaganovich (right) shows the General Plan for the Reconstruction of Moscow in 1935. The slogan on the left reads: “We will mobilize all forces in the fulfillment of Stalin’s plan to reconstruct Moscow.” The quote on the right reads: “A plan signed by Stalin cannot go unfulfilled”; via skyscrapercity.com



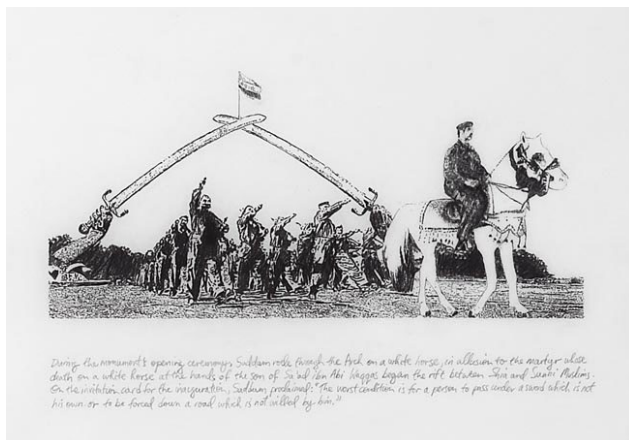
I have become imprisoned, O beloved, by the mole on your lip! I saw your ailing eyes and became ill through love. Delivered from self, I beat the drum of "I am the Real!" Like Hallaj, I became a customer for the top of the gallows. Heartache for the beloved has thrown so many sparks into my soul That I have been driven to despair and become the talk of the bazaar! Open the door of the tavern and let us go there day and night, for I am sick and tired of the mosque and seminary. I have torn off the garb of asceticism and hypocrisy, Putting on the cloak of the tavern-haunting shaykh and becoming

*aware. The city preacher has so
tormented me with his advice
that I have sought aid from the
breath of the wine-drenched
profligate. Leave me alone to
remember the idol-temple, I who
have been awakened by the hand
of the tavern's idol.*

—English translation published in *The New Republic*, shortly after his death in 1989

"The worst condition is for a person to pass under a sword that is not his own or to be forced down a road that is not willed by him."

—Saddam Hussein said in the speech of announcing his plans for the Victory Arch, April 22, 1985; this excerpt also appeared on the invitation card to his 1989 inauguration (image below)



*The Lord, The Homeland,
The Leader (2009) by
American artist Michael
Rakowitz: [via tate.org.uk](http://via.tate.org.uk)*



These monuments, scattered all across the former Yugoslavia, were commissioned by Josip Broz Tito in the 1960s and 70s to commemorate World War II battles and concentration camps sites. They are ideologies in stone, not only serving as locations for education, but also demonstrations of a socialistic future; via cracktwo.com



The Swords of Qādisīyah, also called The Victory Arch, was built based on a 1985 concept sketch by Saddam Hussein to mark the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war. Although the new Iraqi government began to dismantle the monument in 2007, four years later they decided that the monument, in fact, represents the Iraqi prominence, once experienced under Saddam Hussein. His memory is no longer as negative as it was during the Bush-Cheney War on Terror decade. Today the Shiite-led Iraqi government doesn't offer much in regard to political process, which drives many Sunni religious communities to ally with ISIS. The group now dangerously controls territory greater than many countries and countless Iraqis remember with nostalgia harsh yet orderly reign of Saddam Hussein, hence the current government's desire to repair the missing parts of the Arch to provide some symbolism of the greater past (Steven Lee Myers, "Iraq Restores Monument Symbolizing Hussein Era," The New York Times, February 5, 2011).

12. ACCOLADES AND HONORS

*Dick*tators are always eager to receive the world's attention for their magnificent accomplishments. They are obsessed with the trappings of recognition. Often the more brutal and militant they are, the more they insist on being recognized as peacekeepers and defenders of human rights. Their peers seem always happy to accommodate.

ACCOLADES

Cuba's state honor, the Order of José Martí, conferred on Heads of State for contributions to peace, has been awarded to Nicolae Ceaușescu (1973), Robert Mugabe (1986), Kim Il-sung (1986), Alexander Lukashenko (2000), and Vladimir Putin (2014).

From the 1980s through 2010, Muammar Gaddafi's eponymous International Prize for Human Rights was granted to various Dicks, including Fidel Castro (1998), Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (2010), as well as Hugo Chávez (2004), who is included in our second tier runners-up list (see the two runners-up lists in Chapter 20, **PYOD**).

Although his no-regrets / no-shame approach to the US's infamous military campaign in Afghanistan and Iraq remains controversial to most Americans, Dick Cheney has been widely acclaimed by many former US presidents for his dedication to safeguarding national

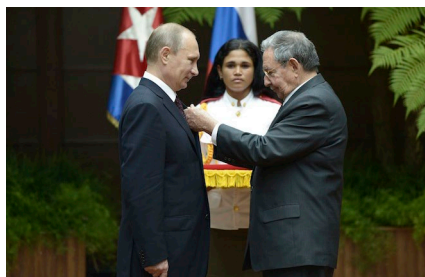
security. At the end of the 1990 Gulf War, as US Defense Secretary, Cheney received the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1991); immediately after the US invaded Afghanistan, he received the Architect of Peace Award at the Richard Nixon Library (2002); in celebration of the Iraq invasion, he was granted the Thomas Jefferson Freedom Award by the American Legislative Exchange Council (2003).

"The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker."

-Richard Nixon's Inaugural Address, January 20, 1969; also the epitaph on his tombstone in Yorba Linda, CA

HONORS

Although the powerful happily accept honors from every group in society – Stalin, for example, was recognized as an honorary athlete, linguist, and an international steward of children's rights – they are even more eager to bestow tributes upon themselves. Idi Amin created, and then awarded himself, countless laurels including the Victorious Cross, the Excellent Order of the Source of the Nile, the Distinguished Service Medal, the State Combat Star, and the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal. He has also graciously celebrated himself with titles he created, including His Excellency Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada and The Conqueror of the British Empire.



Cuba's President Raul Castro (right) awards Vladimir Putin the "Order of José Martí" on July 11, 2014; via themoscowtimes.com

When he seized power in 1965, Joseph-Désiré Mobutu was born again as Mobutu Sese Seko Nkuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga, meaning "the all-powerful warrior who, because of his endurance and inflexible will to win, goes from conquest to conquest, leaving fire in his wake." Mobutu has honored himself with such titles as Father of the Nation, Messiah, Liberator, Helmsman, Guide of the Revolution, Founder, Savior of the People, and Supreme Combatant.

Saparmurat Niyazov insisted that his citizens refer to him as Turkmenbashi the Great (Father of the Turkmen) and the President for Life. During his 16 years in power, Niyazov titled himself the Hero of Turkmenistan six times. He was also decorated with the highest state medal, Ruhnama (2004), and the Order of Honor by the Asian Olympic Council (2005).

Most of the Dicks have been listed in the *TIME* 100 Most Influential People in the World. Though because the list is devoid of strict normativity, they are mostly judged by their ability to instill fear or to engender change, and not necessarily for the better. Vladimir Putin and Kim Jong-un were both listed in the latest *TIME* 100. Putin has appeared on the list twice, in both 2008 and 2014.



Recep Tayyip Erdoğan accepts the Al-Gaddafi International Prize for Human Rights in 2010; via causes.com



Idi Amin decorated with honors; via npr.org

13. DICKS IN OUR LIVES

Members of the D20 are omnipresent, permeating many aspects of daily life. Their images and names often seep into the utmost pedestrian matters. Even time, generally connected to nature's cycles, can become tied to the power of the State. Turkmenbashi Saparmurat Niyazov rewrote the calendar in his own reflection, as if the seasons revolved around him – January became Turkmenbashi; April, Gorban Sultan, after his mother; September, Rukhnama, after his book, which he finished that month.

The *dictators'* faces adorn clock dials, labels of vodka bottles and cigars, banknotes, and the names of streets, cities, and universities.

Their omnipresence is physical, spiritual and now, virtual. Where a city's political architecture may be counter-democratic, people clandestinely gather in cyberspace. Yet even the Internet has been infiltrated, and sites that garner opposition have been banned within both authoritarian and democratic countries. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has intermittently blocked Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube. The Bush Administration, co-led (some would say, led) by Dick Cheney, initiated an NSA massive global data collection program.

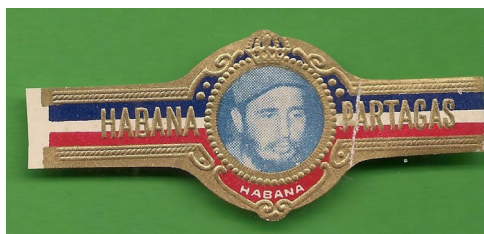
Their values define those of the nation. Any “uncouth” conventions in which they choose not to partake or associate

are likewise restricted from the people. In order to maintain a distinctively non-Western culture, Putin has banned homosexual “propaganda,” and to “cleanse” the Russian language, has barred swearing in the arts and has proposed a bill to eliminate insidious foreign words like “shopping” or “bucks,” which have become common in spoken Russian. Former Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad banned films, books, music, and clothing such as neckties, of which he did not approve, and even outlawed Valentine's Day gifts. In the name of preserving the authenticity of their own cultures, many regimes have rejected western imperial or colonial influences in an effort to promote a national ethos, and the image of their presiding ruler. To name but a few, these are Mao Zedong's People's Republic of China, Zaire under Mobutu Sese Seko's *Authenticité*, and today's Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The West is not free from rebellion against its own artistic freedoms. During the Bush-Cheney administration, certain aesthetic values were considered poisonous to the people's minds – John Ashcroft, then the US Attorney General, wanted to use drapes to cover the breast of the “Spirit of Justice” statue from the public, in the Great Hall of The Library of Congress.



[Above] Joseph Stalin and Vladimir Putin's matryoshkas nesting dolls; via reuters.com



[Left] As the country's No.1 cigar lover, Fidel Castro appears in many images in Cuban cigar factories. Cigar factory Partagas made for Fidel Castro, 1959; via ebay.com



Vodka bottles with images of Saparmurat Niyazov; via theguardian.com



A wristwatch with a image of Saddam Hussein; via mwrforum.net

14. “LONG LIVE THE GREAT LEADER!”

“Dictators always look good until the last minute.”

—Tomas G. Masaryk, first president of Czechoslovakia, circa 1960

Cardiovascular disease and prostate cancer are the two most common killers of the D20 leaders, and many living members are currently combating these maladies, including Dick Cheney’s heart condition, and Robert Mugabe’s and Ayatollah Ali Khamenei’s prostate cancer. Type A personalities share an alpha-male domineering character, which includes a luxury diet and a high intensity work environment, all contributors to coronary artery disease, including obesity, diabetes, hypertension, and high cholesterol. Further, researchers at the Duke Cancer Institute have shown a connection between heart disease and prostate cancer, the former of which may be a risk factor for the latter.

“Except for the occasional heart attack, I never felt better.”

—Dick Cheney, June 4, 2003, cited in “Side by Side: Cheney and Edwards,” n.a., BBC, October 6, 2004

“I’ve been extraordinarily fortunate that I’ve been able to go live a very active, stressful life. And I don’t believe that my heart disease changed me for the worst.”

—Dick Cheney in interview on PBS’ *The News Hour With Jim Lehrer*, January 14, 2009

Dick Cheney was indeed fortunate. In 2012, he underwent a heart transplant, which transformed him from an ailing man into active political statesman.

“I reached a point towards the end on the old heart where I had trouble getting out of a chair. All I wanted to do was get out of bed in the morning and walk to my office and sit back down in the chair. Now I throw 50-pound bags of horse feed in the back of my pickup truck and I don’t even think about it. I’m back doing those things.”

—Dick Cheney on Fox News’ *Hannity*, October 21, 2013

DIED NATURALLY:

Mao Zedong of China, 82, died of Parkinson’s disease on September 9, 1976. He also suffered from cardiovascular problems.

Kim Il-sung of North Korea, 82, died of natural causes on July 8, 1994. His son and successor Kim Jong-il died of a heart attack at the age of 69 on December 17, 2011.

Saparmurat Niyazov of Turkmenistan, 66, died of a heart attack on December 21, 2006. He suffered from diabetes, ischemic heart disease, and kidney failure.

Josip Broz Tito of the former Yugoslavia, 88, died of gangrene shortly after his leg amputation on May 4, 1980.



The 25-mile, three-hour state funeral of Kim Jong-il in Pyongyang on December 28, 2011; via obozrevatel.com

Margret Thatcher of the UK, 87, died of a stroke on April 8, 2013. Mrs. Thatcher was famous for her four-hour sleep and her affinity for whisky.

Juan Perón of Argentina, 78, died of a heart attack on July 1, 1974. His wife Evita died at age 33 from cervical cancer on July 26, 1952. His first wife died of the same cancer.

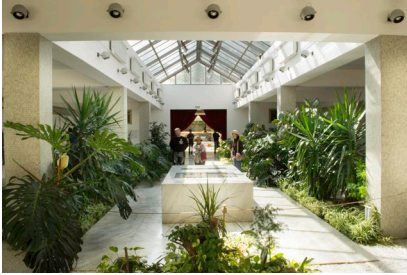
Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini of Iran, 86, died of a heart attack on June 3, 1989. He was also battling with intestinal and prostate cancers.

Joseph Stalin of the former Soviet Union, 74, died after a cerebral hemorrhage on March 5, 1953.

Richard Nixon of the US, 81, died of a massive stroke and swelling of the brain on April 22, 1994. Nixon suffered from chronic heart disease.



Millions attended Evita Perón's funeral in Buenos Aires in 1952; via evitaperon.org



House of Flowers, Josip Broz Tito's mausoleum; via nadlanu.com



Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's shrine with pictures of himself and Ayatollah Ali Khamenei; via reuters.com

DIED IN EXILE, BY PUBLIC EXECUTION, ASSASSINATION, OR PRISON:

Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, 69, died from bullet wounds sustained in an attack by rebels on October 20, 2011. Before his fall from power, Gaddafi was cared for by five Ukrainian nurses for years. However strangely, according to one former nurse Oksana Balynska, Gaddafi had no health problems.

Idi Amin of Uganda, 78 or 80 (birth year unknown), died from multiple organ failure in exile in Saudi Arabia on August 16, 2013.

Mobutu Sese Seko of the former Zaire (Congo), 66, died from prostate cancer on September 7, 1997 while exiled in Morocco.

Jiang Qing (Madame Mao) of China, 77, committed suicide by hanging herself on May 14, 1991. She was sentenced to death, which later was commuted to life imprisonment several years after Mao Zedong's death. She had no reported health issues, however was said to be severely depressed in prison.

Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu of Romania, 70 and 72, respectively, were executed

together by soldiers after a summary trial on Christmas Day, December 25, 1989. Mr. Ceaușescu had reportedly undergone surgery for prostate cancer. Mrs. Ceaușescu's diseases are unknown.

Slobodan Milošević of Serbia, 64, died of a heart attack in his cell in The Hague on March 11, 2006, before the conclusion of his trial for war crimes. Milošević suffered from heart problems and high blood pressure.

Saddam Hussein of Iraq, 69, was sentenced to death by hanging, executed on December 30, 2006. He had suffered a severe stroke in 2001.

Powerful leaders aspire to lead prolific lives and impart their legacies. Dicks' afterlives embody the longevity of their power. The grandiosity of their funerals and the size of their mausoleums are another trapping of self-imparted power, magnitude, supremacy, and immortality. Josip Broz Tito's funeral is regarded as one of the largest state funerals in the world, based on the attendance of foreign leaders in Belgrade – 128 state representatives. Margaret Thatcher's burial cost £1.2 million (\$1,819,284) with over 2,000 dignitaries in attendance.



Joseph Stalin's embalmed body lying in state for days in Moscow in 1953; via washingtonpost.com



Soldiers stand guard at the coffin of Saparmurat Niyazov; via rferl.org

But regardless of the pomposity of their funerals, most *dictators* die violently, miserably, destitute or in isolation.

Our exhibition underscores the fleeting power of *dictatorship*, no matter how “true” it has once appeared. These leaders think they are going to live forever, but the design of *Romancing True Power* serves as both metaphorical and physical representation of their power’s transitory nature. It is revealed in the box-and-paper construct of the main D20 installation, and in the “family portrait,” flimsy sheets unstably shaking at the slightest whisper of wind.

Chairman Mao once explained, “the United States is nothing but a paper tiger,” unable to seed roots of power. It is true, democratic power, by definition, is fleeting – here, leaders step aside every four or eighth years. But while *dictatorial* power remains for a longer period of time, it appears even more fleeting in retrospect – the dreadful fates of the real “paper tigers,” Slobodan Milošević, Idi Amin Dada, Saddam Hussein, and Muammar Gaddafi, provide perfect proof.

Some Dicks look better after death and over time, some look worse, but what unites them despite their grandeur is that they are all colossi standing upon feet of mere clay. As great powers, these leaders should be defined by responsibility before their constituents, by their treatment of individual life, thus creating an enduring legacy. In our view, no nation’s greatness is worth the starvation of its people or the deprivation of rights.

“Now US imperialism is quite powerful, but in reality it isn’t. It is very weak politically because it is divorced from the masses of the people and is disliked by everybody and by the American people too. In appearance it is very powerful but in reality it is nothing to be afraid of, it is a paper tiger. Outwardly a tiger, it is made of paper, unable to withstand the wind and the rain. I believe the United States is nothing but a paper tiger.”

—Mao Zedong, “US Imperialism is a Paper Tiger,” July 14, 1956; via Marxists.org

15. DYNAMIC DUOS: DICKS, THEIR SPOUSES AND HEIRS

As Aristotle writes in *Politics*, tyranny often derives from kinship. The heirs of the *dictators* either share the same blood or the same bed with the Dicks. Family dynasties in politics are traditions in both democracies and autocracies. The United States itself has experienced the Adams and the Bush families, the Clinton couple, the Kennedy clan, and the Roosevelt cousins.

DUO DICKTATORS: SPOUSES

There are five couples on our D20 list: the Mugabes, the Maos, the Ceaușescus, the Miloševićs, and the Peróns. The wives have been selected not only because they were the first ladies or were seen as the “mothers” of their nations, but because they co-*dictated* the countries with their husbands. These were not simply great women behind their great men; they shared the power with their men and, in the case of Madame Mao and Mrs. Milošević, they were at times the masterminds of their husbands’ *dictatorships*. Like the male Dicks, the five female counterparts we recognize here share many common traits, including:

1) They serve as spokespersons, goodwill ambassadors, and consultants for their

husbands. They are deeply committed to their partners’ political careers.

“I was Chairman Mao’s dog. I bit whomever he asked me to bite.”

—Jiang Qing (Madame Mao), during the trial of Gang of Four, 1980

“I was not only the wife of the President of the Republic, I was also the wife of the Leader of the Argentines.”

—Evita Perón, in *La Razón de Mi Vida* (The Mission of My Life), 1952

2) They hold senior political positions in the government. Most of them are the second most powerful person in the country.

“They say I want to be president. Why not? Am I not a Zimbabwean?”

—Grace Mugabe, at a rally outside Harare, cited in Rebecca Davis, “Why shouldn’t I be president of Zimbabwe, asks Grace Mugabe?” *The Guardian*, October 24, 2014

3) Many of our female Dicks are highly educated; some have esteemed PhDs.



Grace Mugabe was recently promoted to the head of The Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) women's wing, which is believed to be a sign that she is being positioned to succeed her husband. Grace Mugabe on her "Meet the People" tour in 2014; via theguardian.com



Jiang Qing, known to the masses as Madame Mao, played a major role in the Cultural Revolution as the deputy director of the Central Cultural Revolution Group. In 1969, she gained a seat in the Politburo. A propaganda poster which reads: "The invincible thoughts of Mao Zedong illuminate the stages of revolutionary art!"; via imow.org

Elena Ceaușescu earned her doctorate in polymer chemistry from the University of Bucharest. Mrs. Milosevic received her PhD in sociology at Belgrade University and later became a tenured professor there. Grace Mugabe, was a sociologist, remarkably obtaining a doctoral degree from the University of Zimbabwe within just two months from enrollment.



Elena Ceaușescu was a chemist prior to pursuing her political career, later being named Deputy Prime Minister of Romania from 1980-1989 and developing her own cult of personality. Elena Ceaușescu (right) receiving an honorary doctorate in Manila, the Philippines, 1975; via comunismulinromania.ro

4) Some were actresses before becoming First Ladies. Madame Mao, stage name Lan Ping, was featured in numerous films and plays in Shanghai. Evita Perón was a renowned actress, performing in many films and radio dramas.



Mira Markovic, better known as Mrs. Milošević, was the Founder and President of the Serbian Marxist party, Yugoslav United Left (YUL). She was also a political columnist and writer, and taught Marxism at the University of Belgrade. Mira Markovic standing behind her husband; via bbc.co.uk



Evita Perón almost became Vice President of Argentina. She founded and ran the nation's first large-scale female political party, the Female Peronist Party. Mrs. Perón addressing a crowd of women workers in 1951; via blogspot.com

DUO DICTATORS: FATHER AND SON, AND DAUGHTER

The Kim Dynasty, a three-generation lineage of leadership in North Korea, Kim Il-sung (left), his son Kim Jong-il (center), and grandson Kim Jong-un (right); via businessinsider.com



Alexander Lukashenko, with his youngest son Nikolai, casting his ballot at the elections for the House of Representatives on September 23, 2012; via belarus.by

At ten years old, Nikolai has already accompanied his father to many important occasions and participated in meetings with foreign leaders. Lukashenko's two other adult sons are senior public officials.





Dick Cheney's elder daughter Liz Cheney was the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs (2002-2004, 2005-2006) and one-time candidate for the Senate in Wyoming. Liz became her father's close advisor during the Bush-Cheney administration. She co-authored Cheney's memoir In My Time in 2011 and another book, Heart (2013), about his 2012 heart transplant. They also co-penned several op-eds, including one attacking Barack Obama's foreign policy in The Wall Street Journal on July 17, 2014. Directly after the article, the father/daughter team announced the launch of The Alliance of a Strong America, a grassroots organization that advocates a restoration of American strength and power; via nydailynews.com

DUO DICKTATORS: BROTHERS

"The commander in chief of the Cuban revolution is unique, Fidel is Fidel, as we all know well, he is irreplaceable."

—Raúl Castro, cited in "Raul Castro Named Cuban President," n.a., BBC, February 25, 2008



In July 2006, Fidel Castro temporarily bequeathed the positions of First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, President of the Council of State of Cuba, President of the Council of Ministers of Cuba and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces to his younger brother Raúl Castro. Two years later, Fidel officially stepped down and Raúl was handily elected president. Raúl had been his brothers' right-hand man for decades; via theguardian.com

16. DICKS' FRIENDSHIPS AND ANIMOSITIES

The Dicks share both a sense of camaraderie and of enmity towards one another. They could be brothers or allies; they could be enemies or foes. At the same time they study, influence, and borrow from one another, they may still remain hostile to one another. The following selection of quotes gives a taste of this duality.

"When in all the nations of the world, the rule of law is the darling of the leaders and the plague of the people, we ought to begin to recognize this. We have to transcend these national boundaries in our thinking. Nixon and Brezhnev [Soviet illiberal leader in 1960s-70 ; D20 second tier runner-up] have much more in common with one another than we have with Nixon. J. Edgar Hoover has far more in common with the head of the Soviet secret police than he has with us. It's the international dedication to law and order that binds the leaders of all countries in a comradely bond. That's why we are always

surprised when they get together—they smile, they shake hands, they smoke cigars, they really like one another no matter what they say."

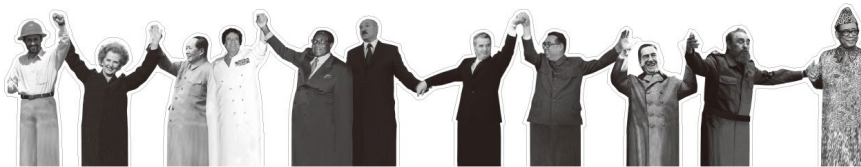
—Historian and social activist Howard Zinn's 1970 speech "The Problem is Civil Obedience," *The Zinn Reader*, 2011

FRIENDS OR ALLIES

"It was from Tito that I drew inspiration while searching for the best road to take and when making crucial decisions during our liberation struggle. I often thought, what would Tito do at that moment?"

—Robert Mugabe, cited in Jasper Ridley, *Tito: A Biography*, 1994

"The coordinated press campaign against Silvio Berlusconi and [his party] Forza Italia is part of a wider campaign against national democracy itself, and it must be defeated...It is clear to me—and it is doubtless equally clear to his



opponents—that his goals are very similar to those which the government which I led pursued in Britain.”

—Margaret Thatcher’s defense of Silvio Berlusconi for his election in 2001, cited in “Thatcher Backs Italy’s Berlusconi,” n.a., CNN, May 11, 2001

“I regard (Slobodan) Milošević as a legally elected president... He was elected by his people. It is a friendly state. And if Milosevic needs help and support, we will always give him this support. But I don’t think that it will go that far. The West has declared many people criminal, all those who disagreed with it were declared criminals by democracy. So were we.”

—Alexander Lukashenko, on Belarusian TV, June 1999

“Margaret Thatcher undoubtedly was one of the most remarkable political figures of the modern world. She made a significant contribution to the development of the Soviet-British and Russian-British ties, which we will always

remember with gratitude.”

—Vladimir Putin said after the death of Margaret Thatcher, cited in “Margaret Thatcher, Iron Lady, Dead at 87,” AP, April 8, 2013

“His (Mao Zedong’s) strength of will produced his charisma. When I met him I had the sense that his willpower was somehow a physical characteristic... When he wrote of the exhilaration of struggle, especially violent struggle, he seemed to refer to the exercise of will in the manner that others speak of the exercise of their muscles. With this quality he could inspire his comrades to such epic tasks as the Long March because it made him, and thus them, seem unconquerable.”

—Richard Nixon on his impression of Mao Zedong, *Leaders*, 1982

“Mao is at the head of Asia, Nasser of Africa, De Gaulle of the old Europe and Castro of Latin America.”

—Juan Perón, *La Hora de los Pueblos* (The Hour of the People), 1968



ENEMIES OR FOES

"(Ayatollah Ruhollah) Khomeini and Iran would have occupied all of the Arab world if it had not been for Iraq."

—Saddam Hussein on the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq War, cited in Patrick Cockburn, "A man of brutality and arrogance who knew how to play to American suspicions," *The Independent*, July 5, 2009

"Show me one dictatorship in the world that has not been supported by the United States government or some European governments. It almost doesn't exist. I think a dictatorship and hegemony are part of the same phenomenon."

—Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, in an ABC interview, September 21, 2011

"No, a lot has happened ... Saddam Hussein had previously had twice nuclear programs going. He produced and used weapons of mass destruction. And he had a ten-year relationship with Al Qaeda. All of things came into play."

—Dick Cheney, when asked if he regrets pushing Saddam Hussein out of Iraq, on NBC's *Meet the Press*, December 14, 2014

"I think your Vice President's expression there is like his bad shot on his hunting trip."

—Vladimir Putin's comment in response to Dick Cheney's harsh criticism of Russia, on NBC's *Today*, July 12, 2006

"I think KGB, KGB, KGB."

—Dick Cheney on his impression of Vladimir Putin, in private conversations in 2011, cited in Peter Baker, "3 Presidents and a Riddle Named Putin," *The New York Times*, March 24, 2014

"Stop sending people to kill me. We've already captured five of them, one of them with a bomb, another with a rifle. If you don't stop sending killers, I'll send one to Moscow — and I won't have to send a second."

—Josip Broz Tito in a letter to Joseph Stalin in the 1950s, cited in Robert Service, *Stalin: A Biography*, 2005



Mao Zedong and Joseph Stalin at a meeting to celebrate Stalin's 70th birthday, December 21, 1949; via harunyahya.com



Fidel Castro and Josip Broz Tito smoking cigars; via 24sata.hr



It's reported that Muammar Gaddafi and Silvio Berlusconi shared one Brazilian plastic surgeon, and Berlusconi learned about bunga bunga parties from Gaddafi; via bbc.co.uk



A graffiti painting of the famous Leonid Brezhnev-Eric Honecker (D20 runners-up) kiss on the Berlin Wall; via thechannellhouse.org

17. DICKS' FOLLOWERS: THE ADORING PUBLIC

The charisma of *dicktators* affords them not only the authority over their own countries, but also a certain *esprit de corps* of leadership. Admiration for these *dicktators* happens within the D20 group as well as outside. World famous writers, philosophers, and celebrities have had “affairs” with members of our Dick club.

FELLOW TRAVELERS: ROMANCE WITH TRUE POWER

Gabriel García Márquez and Fidel Castro

For decades, the world-renown Colombian writer Gabriel García Márquez served as Fidel Castro’s political ambassador, supporting and defending the Cuban leader’s often oppressive policies. In 1996, García Márquez, Nobel Prize laureate, dined with then US President Bill Clinton and told him, “If you and Fidel could sit face to face, there wouldn’t be any problem left.” (Joel Whitney, “Gabriel García Márquez and Fidel Castro: A Complex and Nuanced Comradeship,” *Al Jazeera*, April 19, 2014).

“One thing’s for sure: wherever he is, however he is and whoever he is with, Fidel Castro is there to win. His attitude toward

defeat, even in the smallest acts of everyday life, seems to abide by a private logic: he doesn’t even admit it, and never takes a moment’s rest until he manages to reverse the situation and turn it into victory.”

—Gabriel García Márquez, *A Personal Portrait of Fidel*, 1998

W.E.B. Du Bois on Joseph Stalin and meeting with Mao Zedong

Although W.E.B. Du Bois called Joseph Stalin a “tyrant” in 1940, when Stalin later died in 1953, he wrote a eulogy praising Stalin as “a great man.”

“Stalin was not a man of conventional learning; he was much more than that: he was a man who thought deeply, read understandingly and listened to wisdom, no matter whence it came. He was attacked and slandered as few men of power have been; yet he seldom lost his courtesy and balance; nor did he let attack drive him from his convictions

nor induce him to surrender positions which he knew were correct. As one of the despised minorities of man, he first set Russia on the road to conquer race prejudice and make one nation out of its 140 groups without destroying their individuality."

—W.E.B. Du Bois, "On Stalin," *National Guardian*, March 16, 1953

Du Bois also traveled to China and met with Mao Zedong in 1959, during the Great Leap Forward. He received a warm reception by the Chinese officials and was treated as both a literary and political figure. Du Bois praised China as a role model for Africa and suggested there be more exchanges between the two.

Boris Pasternak and Joseph Stalin

Soviet writer Boris Pasternak, the author of *Doctor Zhivago* (1957), whose international reputation exceeds any of his compatriots, was known at home not only for his great poetry but also for relentlessly vying for Stalin's attention. When Stalin called him in 1934 to discuss the fate of Osip Mandelstam, another great Soviet poet, now in desperate condition, exiled for his anti-Kremlin verse, Pasternak complained about the lack of his own comfort in the prestigious writer's building in central Moscow.

Annoyed with Pasternak's grouching, Stalin turned the conversation to the relationship between the poets, "If I was a poet and my friend was in trouble I would move heaven and earth to help him... After all he is your friend?" (cited in Christopher Barnes, *Boris Pasternak: A Literary Biography*, 2004). To



Gabriel García Márquez and Fidel Castro were long-time friends.; via blogspot.com



In 1960, philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre visited Cuba to spend time with Fidel Castro and Ernesto "Che" Guevara; via pinterest.com

that “hinting at the distance between himself and Mandelstam, Pasternak responded that poets are like women and therefore always jealous of one another.” (Ibid)

In fear of becoming an accomplice, Pasternak changed the subject, “Why do we keep on about Mandelstam? I have long wanted to meet you for a serious discussion ... about life and death.” (Ibid). Stalin hung up unimpressed. Mandelstam was subsequently sentenced to death in 1938, while Pasternak, in 1936, wrote two poems lauding Stalin, calling him “a Genius of Action.”

Elvis Presley and Richard Nixon

In 1970, the King of rock ‘n’ roll wrote and hand delivered a letter to Richard Nixon; Elvis was dismayed by the state of his country, and personally offered to help the President in any way he could.



W.E.B. Du Bois meeting with Mao Zedong in China in 1959; via umass.edu

He was studying communist propaganda techniques and wanted to promote an anti-drug lifestyle to America’s youth to counter the “anti-American message being promoted by the Beatles.” (see the Meeting Notes of “Nixon Met Elvis” on the National Archives and Records Administration website).

Charlie Rose and Dick Cheney

Dick Cheney is a frequent guest on the PBS’ *Charlie Rose* show. The liberal news interviewer is always eager to talk to Cheney about any and all political matters, giving him the same amount of credence as he would a president, calling the former vice president “the most important politician in America.” (Brett Logiurato, “Dick Cheney Had A Great Line When Charlie Rose Challenged His Criticism of Obama,” *Business Insider*, February 12, 2013).



Pasternak blickt von einer Abbildung von Josef Stalin

Foto: Eric-Jan Ouwenshoek

Boris Pasternak with Joseph Stalin’s portrait in 1934; via schumatsky.de



[Across] Elvis Presley met Richard Nixon in the Oval Office on December 21, 1970; via smithsonianmag.com

Joseph Stalin's poster in Slavoj Žižek's bedroom; via wordpress.com

Slavoj Žižek and Joseph Stalin

Contemporary Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek is notorious for defending Marxism against capitalism. Although not always a supporter of Joseph Stalin, he criticizes Stalin more for his political inconsistencies with Marxism than for the millions of humans that had been violently negated by Stalinism.

"Better the worst Stalinist terror, than the most liberal capitalist democracy."

—Slavoj Žižek, *Iraq: The Borrowed Kettle*, 2004

US Republicans and Vladimir Putin

Vladimir Putin's indomitability has been admired by many US Republicans. "It is rather curious," wrote *Los Angeles Times*, "given the American conservative movement's long and dramatic history of anti-Communism and anti-Russian saber-rattling, that many leading voices on the right are speaking about Russian President Vladimir Putin with varying degrees of admiration." (David Horsey, "Conservatives harbor an odd admiration for Vladimir Putin," *Los Angeles Times*, March 7, 2014). The article cites GOP chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, Mike Rogers, who said "Putin is playing chess while Obama is



playing marbles.” Also, former New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani declared that Putin has shown what leadership is by acting boldly and rapidly to assert his nation’s interests in Crimea. Moreover, according to Sarah Palin, “People are looking at Putin as one who wrestles bears and drills for oil. They look at our president as one who wears mom jeans and equivocates and bloviates.”

RELUCTANT ADMIRERS: DREAMERS OF TRUE POWER

“I told all four [Congressional leaders] that there were going to be some times where we don’t agree with each other. But that’s OK. If this were a dictatorship, it would be a heck

of a lot easier—so long as I’m the dictator.”

—George W. Bush, after the 2000 Presidential Elections, December 19, 2000

“I just want to make a comment about the obvious issue and that is the failure of Congress to act yesterday. It’s just not acceptable... This is just a not acceptable situation. I’m not saying this is the perfect answer. If I were dictator, which I always aspire to be, I would write it a little bit differently.”

—John McCain, the speech at the *Des Moines Register’s* Editorial Board, September 30, 2008

18. DICKS AND MUSIC

“Music is a moral law. It gives soul to the universe, wings to the mind, flight to the imagination, and charm and gaiety to life and to everything.”

—Plato, cited in *Wordsworth Dictionary of Musical Quotations*, 1991

Although the above quotes music as “a moral law,” music can be said to have sound but not a voice, and is thus used for its inspiring qualities, regardless of morality. As a form of expression, it is widely used by the D20 leaders to indoctrinate the masses with their political messages and ideologies. Tunes and lyrics arouse people’s emotions and feelings. As Slavoj Žižek examines in the 2012 British documentary *A Pervert’s Guide to Ideology*, Ludwig van Beethoven’s *Ode to Joy* from his 1822 Ninth Symphony has been universally embraced in both dictatorships and democracies. As a classical piece, glorifying humanity and freedom, it was played in Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, and during China’s Cultural Revolution; it was played during the 1986 demonstration against Augusto Pinochet (D20 second tier runner-up) in Chile, and was included as a celebration of freedom in the concert after the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall.

L’Internationale, the anthem of the International Communist Movement (Pierre De Geyter, 1888), has been

embraced by many socialist countries in an effort to promote the glories of communism. Interestingly enough – due to its call to “rise up” and lead the “human race” – it is often connected with the deaths of our Dicks, as if promising their immortal leadership for the future, in which “sun will shine forever.” The music echoed throughout Beijing from loudspeakers on the day Mao passed away. Just before he was executed, Nicolae Ceaușescu – in his mind an undefeated revolutionary – sang the first verse of *L’Internationale* while being lined up against the wall aside his wife.

Among their many accomplishments, a few of our Dicks are also singers, songwriters, or musicians. Silvio Berlusconi wrote the anthem of his soccer club, AC Milan, and his political party *Forza Italia*; he has released three albums in collaboration with the Italian singer Mariano Apicella. Richard Nixon’s accomplishment in piano is not widely known, yet he wrote his own rather predictably-titled piece, *Richard Nixon Piano Concerto*, and had performed it at various events. Vladimir Putin has a keen interest in music as well; he has graced the public with his piano playing and singing skills on many occasions.

Other leaders eschew the power of music. Plato once wrote in the *The Republic*, “When the mode of the music changes, the walls of the city shake.” Music has been a destabilizing force throughout

history; when new forms are introduced, they galvanize change, and this strikes fear in traditional leaders. For this reason, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad attempted to ban all Western music from public life in 2005, reinforcing an earlier injunction by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini forbidding all music that was not explicitly religious – as he said to the Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci in 1979, “Music dulls the mind because it involves pleasure and ecstasy, similar to drugs. It destroys our youth who become poisoned by it.” (“Ahmadinejad bans all Western music in Iranian state television and radio broadcasts,” History.com, December 19, 2005).

SELECTED SONGS ABOUT DICTATORS (POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE)

Silvio Berlusconi – *Thank Goodness for Silvio* by Andrea Vantini, 2008 campaign song

Idi Amin Dada – *Amazin’ Man* by John Bird, 1975

Muammar Gaddafi – *Gaddafi* by Blakk Rasta ft. Fiifi Selah, 2012



Silvio Berlusconi singing in front of a crowd; via ilquotidianoitaliano.it

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini – *A Message to Khomeini* by Roger Hallmark and The Thrasher Brothers, 1979

Alexander Lukashenko – *Lu-ka-shen-ko* by Lyapis Trubetskoy, 1995-6

Mao Zedong – *The East is Red* by Li Youyuan, 1942

Richard Nixon – *Postcard from Richard Nixon* by Elton John, 2006

Vladimir Putin – *Takogo Kak Putin* (I want someone like Putin) by Singing Together, 2004; *I Go Hard Like Vladimir Putin* by A.M.G., 2014

Mobutu Sese Seko – *President Mobutu Congo Kinshasa* by IK Dairo MBE and His Blue Spots, year unknown

Margaret Thatcher – *The Fletcher Memorial Home* by Pink Floyd, 1983

Josip Broz Tito – *Tito je naše sunce!* (Tito is our sun!) by Kornelije Kovač and Pero Zubac, 1979

**Songs to be played in the gallery throughout the exhibition*



Richard Nixon accompanying singer Pearl Bailey on the White House piano in 1974; via whitehousemuseum.org

19. THE ART OF *DICK*TATORSHIP AT THE NEW SCHOOL AND ELSEWHERE

“What kind of school is this!? I cannot believe you have a painting of a dictator hanging at your university.”

This was the reaction of a conservative journalist from Nebraska when he saw Andy Warhol’s portrait of Mao in the hallway at The New School during a 2012 interview with exhibition curator Nina Khrushcheva about the value and pitfalls of propaganda. As demonstrated in the aforementioned example of Attorney General John Ashcroft (Chapter 13, **Dicks In Our Lives**), artistic subtleties at times escape conservative minds; they are apt to take art at face value.

For almost a century, The New School has progressively advocated social justice and freedom of expression inside and outside of the university. Established in 1960, its Art Collection inherited the School’s legacy. It now has approximately 2,000 diverse works of art.

In addition to the architectural constructs of the *dictatorial* typology and trappings, *Romancing True Power: D20* features

nine works from this Collection, along with two other pieces – Brenda Bogart’s painting *Dictators and Other Dicks* and a Russian news agency ITAR-Tass poster featuring Vladimir Putin dining with Silvio Berlusconi in Siberia in 2003. These are just a few samples of how artists and reporters imagine, conceive, and portray these *dictators*.

Born and educated in Russia, Vitaly Komar and Alexander Melamid became Soviet dissidents, whose compositions question and poke fun at the means by which systems of power appropriate canonical references to the existence of Joseph Stalin and Vladimir Lenin in Russian political culture. (CE Cardiff, *The New School Art Collection Wall Text*, 2001)

Deborah Zeolla’s *Partagas Cigar Factory* reveals the permeation of Fidel Castro into the daily life of the people of Cuba – Castro’s images are prominently displayed in the cigar factory.

Roxy Paine spent two years on his unique and noteworthy art piece *Dinner of the Dictator*. The work displays twelve dinner

20. PYOD (PICK YOUR OWN DICK)

“The greatest principle of all is that nobody, whether male or female, should be without a leader. Nor should the mind of anybody be habituated to letting him do anything at all on his own initiative; neither out of zeal, nor even playfully. But in war and in the midst of peace—to his leader he shall direct his eye and follow him faithfully. And even in the smallest matter he should stand under leadership, or move, or wash, or take his meals... only if he has been told to do so. In a word, he should teach his soul, by long habit, never to dream of acting independently, and to become utterly incapable of it.”

—Plato, *Laws*, 350 BC

Each person’s Dick list is highly subjective; a thousand spectators may choose a thousand *dictators*. According to Alan Axelrod and Charles Phillips’ *Dictators & Tyrants* (1994), a biographical dictionary of absolute rulers, there have been at least 600 major autocratic, authoritarian or dictatorial leaders and would-be leaders throughout world history. Therefore, we invite you to PYOD (Pick Your Own Dick).

Who embodies this notion of “true” power for you – this idea of power as strong, unbending, uncompromising, at times oppressive, yet seductive and adored by many for its potency? Who is on your D20 list?

“I consider it completely unimportant who in the party will vote, or how; but what is extraordinarily important is this—who will count the votes, and how.”

—Joseph Stalin, said in 1923, cited in Boris Bazhanov, *The Memoirs of Stalin’s Former Secretary*, 1992

“A vote is like a rifle; its usefulness depends upon the character of the user.”

—Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, 1913

“As people do better, they start voting like Republicans - unless they have too much education and vote Democratic, which proves there can be too much of a good thing.”

—Karl Rove, chief political strategist of the George W. Bush-Dick Cheney administration, cited in Nicholas Lemann, “Bush’s Trillions”, *The New Yorker*, February 19, 2001

ABOUT THE RUNNERS-UP FOR ROMANCING TRUE POWER

Second Tier and Third Tier D20

Throughout the exhibition, we demonstrate the typology and trappings of *dictatorial* leadership styles. The D20 list is the curators' choices of top Dicks. In addition, we provide two more tiers of D20 as PYOD runners-up (and there are many more). They all share a typology – they represent the idea of strong power with similar characteristics as the rulers on our primary D20 list.

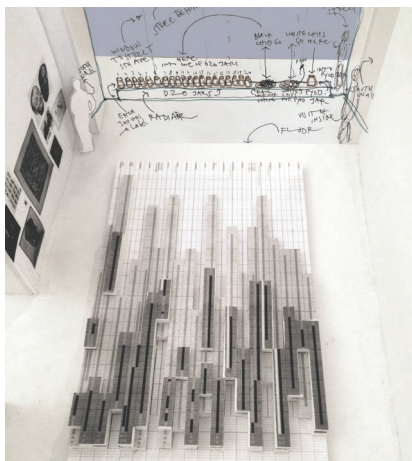
The principal goal of the exhibition is to examine the commonalities and constructs that unite the D20 members rather than analyzing their political ideologies and various forms of government. We have decided to list several fascist leaders only in the runners-up list in order to avoid conflation of fascism with the more broadly understood authoritarianism. Moreover, in the second and third tiers of D20s we introduce the lesser-known Dick-type leaders.

Our two runners-up lists include a few monarchs of modern times who act as heads of state and have real political power. Although they argue that they have led their states in civilized manners and talk about human rights, democracy, and the value of constitutional monarchy, they tend to rule by their own free will. Altogether, we believe that being a king (and we don't mean simply a ceremonial king) and saying "I'll run a country in democratic manner" is an oxymoron in terms. Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie, whose name translates as Power of the Trinity, saw himself as God incarnate. The fact that he was an enemy of fascism

and of Benito Mussolini, after Italy briefly invaded Ethiopia in the 1930s, doesn't make Selassie less of a Dick. Jordan's King Abdullah II ibn al-Hussein, often celebrated for being a trusted US ally and an enlightened ruler, is also a D20 type: just in 2011, he dismissed four prime ministers, dissolved Parliament, and changed the dates for elections many times.

As the D20 is not about the equality of the *dictatorial* potentates, but of their typology, there is little discernible hierarchy between the major Dicks of this exhibition and the runners-up. More than anything, it is a matter of political taste and intellectual choice, therefore all sixty plus deserve equal attention for their strong and seductive leadership.

Once again, as each person's Dick list is highly subjective, our runner-up Dicks could be at the top of your list. We encourage you to share your selection with us. Go ahead and POYD.



A sketch of PYOD in the exhibition, drawn by Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss

ROMANCING TRUE POWER: SECOND TIER OF D20 (RUNNERS-UP)

****In alphabetical order by continent or geographical area and country**

1. Emperor Haile Selassie, Ethiopia	Africa	DEAD
2. President Kwame Nkumah, Ghana	Africa	DEAD
3. President Teodoro Obiang, Equatorial Guinea	Africa	LIVING
4. General Secretary of the CP Pol Pot, Kampuchea (Cambodia)	Asia	DEAD
5. President Suharto, Indonesia and President Sukarno	Asia	DEAD DEAD
6. President Ferdinand Marcos, Philippines (with Imelda Marcos)	Asia	DEAD LIVING
7. President Park Chung-hee, South Korea	Asia	DEAD
8. President Ilham Aliyev, Azerbaijan and President Heydar Aliyev	Central Asia	LIVING DEAD
9. President Islam Karimov, Uzbekistan	Central Asia	LIVING
10. First Secretary of Party of Labor Enver Hoxha, Albania	Eastern Europe	DEAD
11. General Secretary of the CC of the CP Leonid Brezhnev, Soviet Union	Eastern Europe	DEAD
12. Führer of Germany Adolf Hitler, Nazi Germany	Europe	DEAD
13. Prime Minister Benito Mussolini, Italy	Europe	DEAD
14. Generalissimo Francisco Franco, Spain	Europe	DEAD
15. President Augusto Pinochet, Chile	Latin America	DEAD
16. President Jean-Claude Duvalier, Baby Doc, Haiti and President François Duvalier, Papa Doc	Latin America (Caribbean)	DEAD DEAD
17. General Manuel Noriega, Panama	Latin America	LIVING
18. President Hugo Chavez, Venezuela	Latin America	DEAD
19. King Abdullah ibn Abdilaziz, Saudi Arabia	Middle East	DEAD
20. President Bashar al-Assad, Syria and President Hafez al-Assad	Middle East	LIVING DEAD

Acronyms:

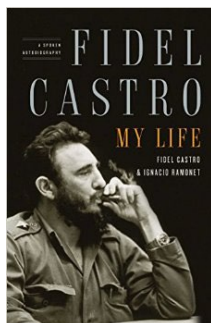
CC = Central Committee

CP = Communist Party

ROMANCING TRUE POWER: THIRD TIER OF D20 (RUNNERS-UP)

****In alphabetical order by continent or geographical area and country**

1. President Paul Biya, Cameroon	Africa	LIVING
2. President Paul Kagame, Rwanda	Africa	LIVING
3. President Omar Al-Bashir, Sudan	Africa	LIVING
4. General Secretary of the CC of the CP Xi Jinping, China (with Peng Liyuan / Mrs. Xi), and General Secretary of the CC of the CP Deng Xiaoping	Asia	LIVING LIVING DEAD
5. Senior General Than Shwe, Myanmar	Asia	LIVING
6. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore	Asia	LIVING
7. President Mahinda Rajapaksa, Sri Lanka	Asia	LIVING
8. President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan	Central Asia	LIVING
9. President Emomali Rahmon, Tajikistan	Central Asia	LIVING
10. Prime Minister Narendra Modi, India	South Asia	LIVING
11. President Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan,	South Asia	LIVING
12. First Secretary of the CCCP Todor Zhivkov, Bulgaria	Eastern Europe	DEAD
13. General Secretary of the CCCP Erich Honecker, East Germany	Europe	DEAD
14. Regent Miklós Horthy, Hungary	Eastern Europe	DEAD
15. First Secretary of the CCCP/Premier Nikita Khrushchev, Soviet Union	Eastern Europe	DEAD
16. Prime Minister António de Oliveira Salazar, Portugal	Europe	DEAD
17. President Artur da Costa e Silva, Brazil	Latin America	
18. President Anastasio Somoza Debayle, Nicaragua, and President Anastasio Somoza García	Latin America	DEAD
19. President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi, Egypt and President Hosni Mubarak and President Gamal Abdel Nasser	Middle East	LIVING LIVING DEAD
20. King Abdullah II ibn al-Hussein, Jordan (with Queen Rania)	Middle East	LIVING/ LIVING



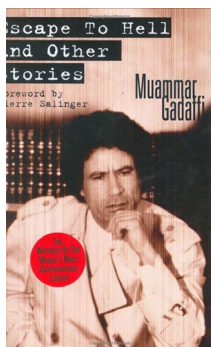
READING LIST

Select Publications Authored by the D20 Members

Silvio Berlusconi, *L'Italia Che Ho in Mente* (The Italy I Have in Mind), 2000

Fidel Castro, *History Will Absolve Me*, 1953; *My Life: A Spoken Autobiography* (conversations with Ignacio Ramonet), 2006

Nicolae Ceaușescu, *Drepturile Omului in Lumea Contemporana* (Human Rights in the Contemporary World), 1984



Dick Cheney, *In My Time: A Personal and Political Memoir* (co-authored with his daughter Liz Cheney), 2011; *Heart: An American Medical Odyssey* (co-authored with his cardiologist Jonathan Reiner and Liz Cheney), 2013

Idi Amin Dada, *The Middle East Crisis: His Excellency the President Al-Hajji General Idi Amin Dada's Contribution to the Solution of the Middle East Crisis During the Third Year of the Second Republic of Uganda*, 1974

Muammar Gaddafi, *The Green Book*, 1975; *Escape to Hell and Other Stories*, 1998

Saddam Hussein, *Zabibah and the King*, 2010; *The Fortified Castle*, 2001; *Men and the City*, 2002

Ayatollah Ali Hosseini Khamenei, *Iqbal: Manifestation of the Islamic Spirit*, 1991

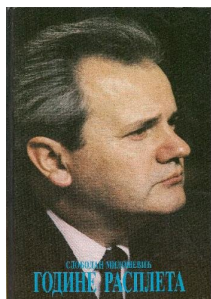
Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, *Islamic Government*, 1979

Kim Il-Sung, *Juche! The speeches and writings of Kim Il Sung*, 1972; *On Juche in Our Revolution*, 1975

Kim Jong-il, *On the Art of Cinema*, 1973; *On The Art of Opera*, 1974; *The Great Teacher of Journalists*, 1983; *The Cinema and Directing*, 1987

Alexander Lukashenko, *Belarus Tomorrow*, 1998

Mao Zedong, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, 1937; *Quotations from*



Chairman Mao Tse-tung [sic] (The Little Red Book), 1964

Mira Marković (Mrs. Milošević), *Answer*, 1996

Slobodan Milošević, *Godine raspleta* (Years of Solution), 1989

Robert Mugabe, *Our War of Liberation*, 1983

Richard Nixon, *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*, 1978; *Leaders*, 1982

Saparmurat Niyazov, *Ruhnama* (The Book of the Soul), 2001

Evita Perón, *Evita: In My Own Words*, 1952

Juan Perón, *La Hora de los Pueblos* (The Hour of the People), 1968

Vladimir Putin, *First Person: An Astonishingly Frank Self-Portrait by Russia's President*, 2000; *Judo: History, Theory, Practice* (co-authored with Vasilii Shestakov, Alexey Levitsky), 2004

Mobutu Sese Seko, *Discours, Allocutions et Messages 1965-1975* (Discours, Allocutions, Messages), 1975

Joseph Stalin, *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, 1938; *The Essential Stalin: Major Theoretical Writings (1905-52)*, 1972

Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years*, 1993

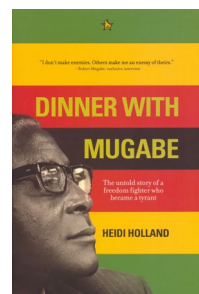
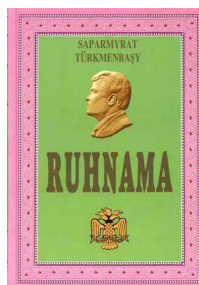
Josip Broz Tito, *Yugoslavia's Foreign Policy*, 1946; *The Essential Tito*, 1970

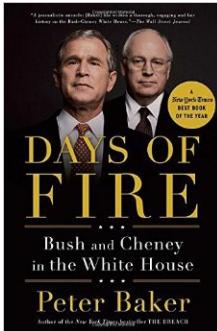
Select Publications about the D20 Members and Other Dicks

Peter Baker, *Days of Fire: Bush and Cheney in the White House*, 2013

Boris Bazhanov, *The Memoirs of Stalin's Former Secretary*, 1992

Michael Brown, *From Tito to Milosevic: Yugoslavia: The Lost Country*, 2005





Annick Cojean, *Gaddafi's Harem*, 2013

Iain Dale, *Margaret Thatcher: A Tribute in Words and Pictures*, 2005

Anja Drulovic, *Titov Kuvar* (Tito's Cookbook), 2005

Anneli Ute Gabanyi, *The Ceausescu Cult*, 2000

Barton Gellman, *Angler: The Cheney Vice Presidency*, 2009

Paul Ginsborg, *Silvio Berlusconi: Television, Power and Patrimony*, 2004

Igor Golomstock, *Totalitarian Art in the Soviet Union, the Third Reich, Fascist Italy and the People's Republic of China*, 2011

Steven Heller, *Iron Fists: Branding the 20th Century Totalitarian State*, 2011

Heidi Holland, *Dinner with Mugabe: The Untold Story of a Freedom Fighter Who Became a Tyrant*, 2008

Henry Kyemba, *State of Blood: The Inside Story of Idi Amin*, 1977

Margaret MacMillan, *Nixon and Mao: The Week That Changed the World*, 2007

Martin Meredith, *Mugabe: Power, Plunder, and the Struggle for Zimbabwe*, 2007

Philipp Meuser (Ed.), *Architectural and Cultural Guide Pyongyang*, 2012

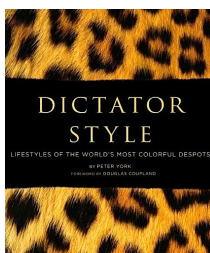
Gianni Mina, *An Encounter with Fidel*, 1991

Baqer Moin, *Khomeini: Life of the Ayatollah*, 1999

Keith Olbermann, *Pitchforks and Torches: The Worst of the Worst, from Beck, Bill, and Bush to Palin and Other Posturing Republicans*, 2010

Richard Overy, *The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia*, 2004

Alan Axelrod and Charles Phillips, *Dictators & Tyrants: absolute rulers and would-be rulers in world history*, 1995



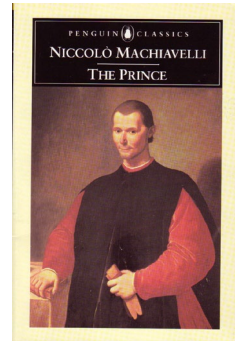
Jasper Ridley, *Tito: A Biography*, 1994

Frederick Coolidge and Daniel Segal, "Was Saddam Hussein like Adolf Hitler? A personality disorder investigation," *Military Psychology*, Vol 19(4), 2007

Frederick Coolidge and Daniel Segal, "Is Kim Jong-il like Saddam Hussein and Adolf Hitler? A personality disorder evaluation," *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, Vol 1 (3), 2009

Robert Service, *Stalin: A Biography*, 2005

Peter York, *Dictator Style: Lifestyle of the World's Most Colorful Despots*, 2006



Select Publications on Theory of Dictatorship: *Dicktators'* Reading List

Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 1951

Aristotle, *Politics*, 350 BC

Roger Boesche, *Theories of Tyranny, from Plato to Arendt*, 1996

Roger Griffin, *Fascism, Totalitarianism and Political Religion*, 2005

Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 1513

Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, 1883

Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, 1886

Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, 1901

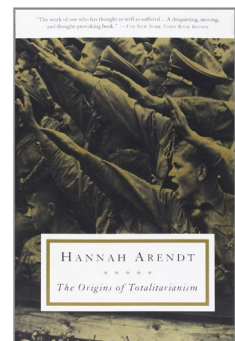
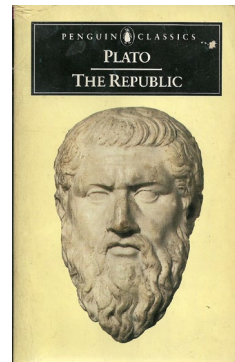
George Orwell, *1984*, 1949

Plato, *The Republic*, 380 BC

Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies I: The Spell of Plato*, 1945

R.J. Rummel, *Death by Government*, 1994

R.J. Rummel, *Power Kills: Democracy as a Method of Nonviolence*, 1997



WATCH LIST

Select Fictional and Historical films and Documentaries Featuring the D20 Members

Feature Films: Fiction and History

Silvio Berlusconi – *Citizen Berlusconi: The Prime Minister and the Press*, dir. Andrea Cairola and Susan Gray, 2003

Idi Amin Dada – *The Last King of Scotland*, dir. Kevin Macdonald, 2006

Saddam Hussein and his son Uday Hussein – *The Devil's Double*, dir. Lee Tamahori, 2011

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini – *Argo*, dir. Ben Affleck, 2012

Kim Jong-il – *Team America: World Police*, dir. Trey Parker, 2004

Kim Jong-un – *The Interview*, dir. Seth Rogen and Evan Goldberg, 2014

Mao Zedong – *The Founding of A Republic*, dir. Han Sanping and Huang Jianxin, 2009

Richard Nixon – *Frost/Nixon*, dir. Ron Howard, 2008; *Dick*, dir. Andrew Fleming, 1999

Evita Perón – *Evita*, dir. Alan Parker, 1996

Margaret Thatcher – *The Iron Lady*, dir. Phyllida Lloyd, 2011

Documentaries

Silvio Berlusconi – *Videocracy*, dir. Erik Gandini, 2009

Fidel Castro – *Fidel Castro: The Untold Story*, dir. Estela Bravo, 2001

Nicolae Ceaușescu – *The Autobiography of Nicolae Ceausescu*, dir. Andrei Ujică, 2010

Dick Cheney – *The World According to Dick Cheney*, dir. Greg Finton and R. J. Cutler, 2013

Idi Amin Dada – *General Idi Amin Dada: A Self Portrait*, dir. Barbet Schroeder, 1974

Muammar Gaddafi – *MAD DOG: Inside the Secret World of Muammar Gaddafi*, dir. Christopher Olgiati, 2014

Alexander Lukashenko – *Belarusian Dream*, dir. Ekaterina Kibalchich, 2011

Slobodan Milošević – *Bringing Down A Dictator*, dir. Steve York, 2002

Robert Mugabe – *Mugabe and The White African*, dir. Andrew Thompson and Lucy Bailey, 2009

Mobutu Sese Seko – *Mobutu, King of Zaire*, dir. Thierry Michel, 1999

THE LIST OF DISPLAYED DICK KITSCH IN THE EXHIBITION

1. Muammar Gaddafi small bust on loan from Desiree Lavecchia, Coordinator of the Observatory on Latin America, The New School

2. The Collected Broadcasts of Idi Amin, vinyl LP

3. First day of issue cover commemorative envelop for Robert Mugabe's state visit to China in 2014

4. Zairean banknotes and coins with Mobutu Sese Seko's portraits on loan from Daisi Mfitidi, graduate student at Milano, The New School

5. Mao Zedong mug on loan from Barry Herman, Professor at Milano, The New School, and Chinese banknotes with Mao Zedong's portraits

6. North Korea playing cards featuring a chronicle of the Kim dynasty

7. Kim Jong-il Dear Leader Mints on loan from Adam Phillips, Milano alumnus

8. The Axis of Evil finger puppet set – Kim Jong-il, Ayatollah Ali Hosseini Khamenei, Saddam Hussein and George W. Bush on loan from Everita Silina, Professor at Milano, The New School

9. Turkmenbashi cognac bottle on loan from Christine Laskowski, producer for CBS News

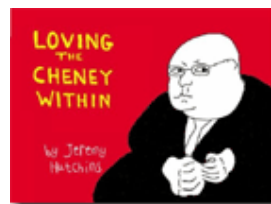
10. Turkmen banknote with Saparmurat Niyazov's portrait



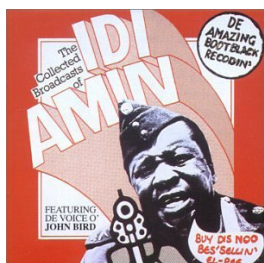
Kim Jong-il Dear Leader Mints



The Axis of Evil finger puppet set – Kim Jong-il, Ayatollah Ali Hosseini Khamenei, Saddam Hussein and George W. Bush



Dick Cheney comic book



The Collected Broadcasts of Idi Amin, vinyl LP



Margaret Thatcher nutcracker



Mahmoud Ahmadinejad toilet paper

11. Romanian stamp with Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu's image
12. Alexander Lukashenko key chain
13. Josip Broz Tito mug and bust
14. A collage of photos of architecture and infrastructure commissioned by Slobodan Milošević
15. Viktor Orbán pin
16. Margaret Thatcher nutcracker
17. Silvio Berlusconi Bunga Bunga T-shirt and a first day of issue stamp with Muammar Gaddafi
18. Plastic brooch with Eva and Juan Perón on each side
19. Fidel Castro bust on loan from Mark Johnson, Professor at Milano, The New School
20. First day of issue cover "Hostages Come Home" stamp with Jimmy Carter and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's portraits
21. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad toilet paper
22. Joseph Stalin T-shirt on loan from Sara Gallagher, graduate student at Milano, The New School
23. Joseph Stalin Museum mug
24. Vladimir Putin mug, clock, T-shirt, and *matryoshka*
25. Richard Nixon 1969 presidential campaign pin, the Nixon family paper dolls, and Richard Nixon and Elvis Presley cardboard
26. Dick Cheney "Once a Dick, Always a Dick" stein, Dick Cheney comic book, and Dick Cheney trading card 1991 Pro Set Desert Storm

****All items are from the exhibition team's private collections if not otherwise credited.***

Location:

*Arnold and Sheila Aronson Galleries
Sheila C. Johnson Design Center
Parsons The New School for Design
66 Fifth Avenue at 13th Street
New York, NY 10011*

Gallery Hours:

Open daily 12:00 pm - 6:00 pm and late Thursday evenings until 8:00 pm.

Admission: Free

Curators:

Nina Khrushcheva, Associate Professor of International Affairs and Associate Dean at Milano School of International Affairs, Management and Urban Policy, The New School

Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss, Ph.D., Founding Principal of NAO, Adjunct Assistant Professor at Columbia GSAPP and Lecturer at Penn Design

Exhibition Concept: Nina Khrushcheva / The New School

Exhibition Design: Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss / NAO

Exhibition Design Team NAO: Joachim Hackl with Joshua Wai Hon Lam, Joung taek Yi

D20 Research and Journal Production: Yiqing Wang-Holborn / The New School

D20 Journal Design: Madhav Tankha / The New School

D20 Journal Editor: Beth Pappas / The New School

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Special thanks to the following individuals (in alphabetical order), who have contributed their time and effort towards the creation of this exhibition:

From The Sheila C. Johnson Design Center: Darcy Bender, Allison Franks-Schlegel, Kristina Kaufman, Radhika Subramaniam, Alexander Valencia, Daisy Wong

From The New School Art Collection: Rebecca Friedman, Silvia Rocciolo, Eric Stark

Exhibition Design Contribution: Galyean Brian, Xiaoxi Chen, Chido Chuma, Benjamin Alexander Hochberg, Susies Xuenzhu Jiang, Taehee Joan Kim, Hao Li, Sha Li, Nicole Marie Mater, Wenyun Qian, Tatian Tatarintseva, Jasmine Tzu-Hwan, Razvan Voroneanu, James Casey Worrell, Xu Ming

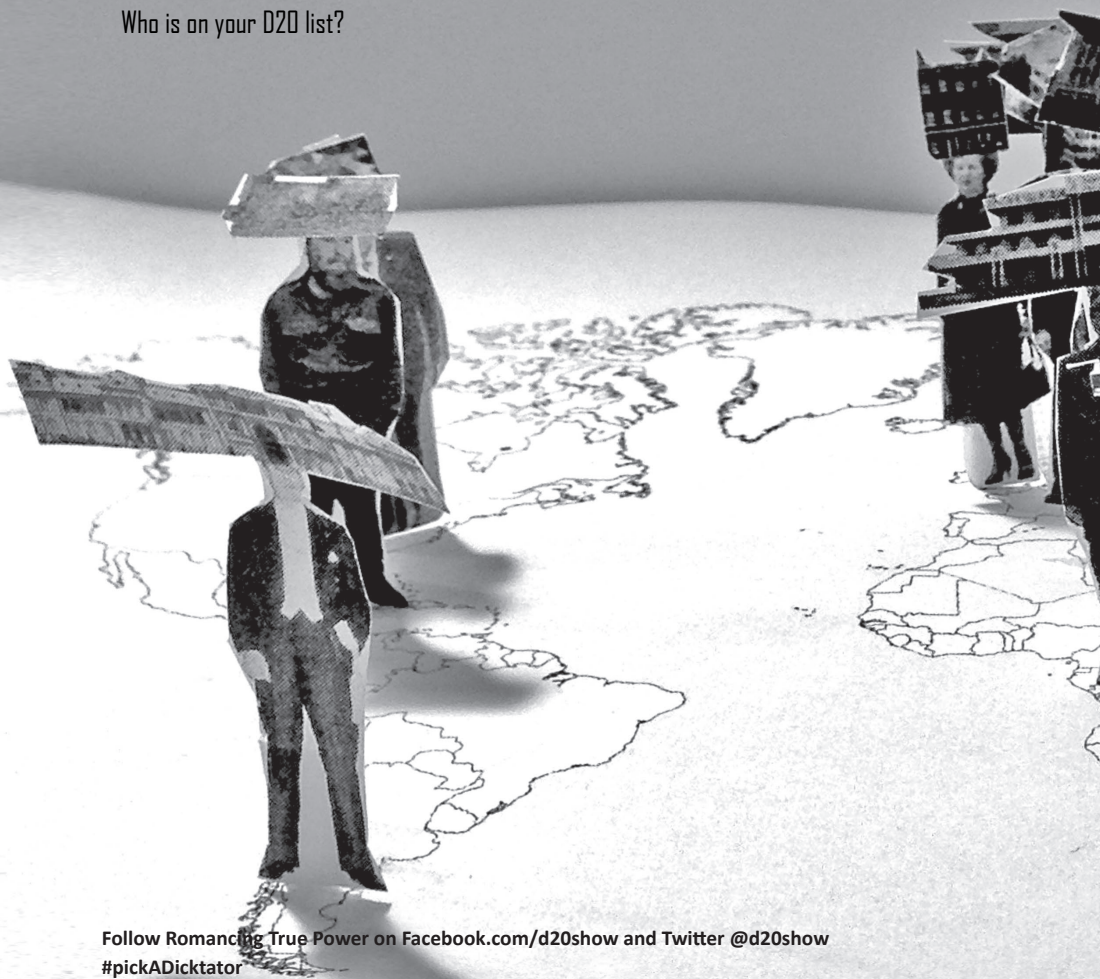
D20 Journal Contribution: Timothy Kenyon, Timothy Wang-Holborn

Exhibition Poster Design: Joachim Hackl / NAO

The D20 – modeled after the G20 group of the most industrialized nations – is a selective list of leaders from present and recent past, across continents and political systems, who, in some way, represent many people's ideal of strong power – we call it *Dick* power. *Romancing True Power* investigates an idea of power – autocratic, authoritarian, dictatorial; a power present in dictatorships, but that can be found in democracies as well.

The exhibition is an invitation to re-imagine true power by looking at *dictatorial* constructs, their typology and trappings. As each person's Dick list is subjective, at the show we will invite you to PYDD (Pick Your Own Dick).

Who is on your D20 list?



Follow *Romancing True Power* on Facebook.com/d20show and Twitter @d20show
#pickADicktator