

# THE MICHIGAN REVIEW

Vol. 11 No. 8

Election Issue

October 28, 1992

## Thought Policed in Poli Sci 111

by Adam DeVore

Until recently, Shawn Brown, a U-M sophomore, was considering majoring in political science. Now, after being chastised and virtually accused of sexual harassment by a professor and a teaching assistant, he has strong reservations about remaining in the Department of Political Science.

On October 21, Brown's Political Science 111 teaching assistant, Deborah Meizlish, returned an essay that Brown had turned in two weeks earlier. Meizlish informed Brown that she was bothered by an example that he employed in his essay and indicated that she had already spoken about the matter to the class' instructor, Professor Steven J. Rosenstone.

"Meizlish told me that she'd written some fairly harsh comments on my essay and invited me to talk to her and Rosenstone if I had any questions," recounted Brown.

In the controversial paragraph of his essay, Brown wrote:

Another problem with sampling polls is that some people desire their privacy and don't want to be bothered by a pollster. Let's say Dave Stud is entertaining three beautiful ladies in his penthouse when the phone rings. A pollster on the other end wants to know if we should eliminate the capital gains tax. Now Dave is a knowledgeable businessperson who cares a lot about this issue. But since Dave is "tied up" at the moment, he tells the pollster to "bother" someone else. Now this is perhaps a ludicrous

example, but there is simply a segment of the population who wish to be left alone. They have more important things to be concerned about — jobs, family, school, etc. If this segment of the population is never actually polled, then the results of the poll could be skewed.

Meizlish circled the word "ludicrous" in Brown's essay and noted the following (verbatim) in the margin:

You are right. This is ludicrous & inappropriate & OFFENSIVE. This is completely

inappropriate for a serious political science paper. It completely violates the standard of non-sexist writing. Professor Rosenstone has encouraged me to interpret this comment as an example of sexual harassment and to take the appropriate formal steps. I have chosen not to do so in this instance.

However, any future comments, in a paper, in a class or in any dealings w/ me will be interpreted as sexual harassment and formal steps will be taken. Professor Rosenstone is

aware of these comments — & is prepared to intervene. You are forewarned!

Such "formal steps" could only be taken under the Department of Political Science's Policy on Sexual Harassment. The University's Faculty/Staff Sexual Harassment Policy does not apply to students who are not U-M employees, and the Interim Policy on Discriminatory Conduct has been suspended.

Brown was taken aback by Meizlish's response. "I used that example to try to make a dry subject more interesting to read. It wasn't meant to be offensive, and I don't think it is offensive," he said. "I used another humorous example earlier in the essay when I used the name 'Joe SixPack.' ... I just made up a name instead of Mr. X or Jane Doe."

Although Meizlish circled "Joe SixPack," she did not write a marginal note charging Brown with using inappropriate rhetoric.

Meizlish declined to comment on any aspect of the incident and referred all

questions to Rosenstone. Rosenstone subsequently declined to comment as well, even given notice that Meizlish had deferred to him on the matter. "It is my policy to discuss students' papers with the students and their teaching assistants and with no one else," he said.

Political Science

Professor Raymond Tanter was shocked by Meizlish's comments. "Without second guessing my colleagues in Political Science, at issue appears to be a clash between a student's right of free expres-

sion and political/academic standards of acceptability. When confronted with such a clash, I would per-

sonally lean toward the student's constitutional rights over the political/academic standards. But I would not impose my criteria on other colleagues in the academy," he said.

Director of the Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center Debra Cain was reluctant to render a judgment on whether Brown's example constituted harassment. "It was clearly a sexist example, whether he intended it to be or not," she said. Cain added that Brown "didn't exhibit real good judgment," in her opinion.

Brown also questioned why Meizlish voiced her concern directly to Rosenstone without consulting him first. "That's really what upset me in the first place," Brown said. "If she was offended and came to me and explained her point of view, I could understand. But she ran to the professor to protect herself."

Brown said that he has dropped Rosenstone's course because of this con-

flict, noting that an important factor in his decision was Meizlish's comment that "Professor Rosenstone ... encouraged me to interpret" the example as sexual harassment. "I refuse to learn from a professor who thinks so radically," he said. "It's against my convictions."

According to Attorney Peter Bundarin, who specializes in cases of sexual harassment and was recommended to the *Review* by the Washtenaw County Bar Association Attorney Referral Service, Brown's comments do not constitute sexual harassment by ordinary legal canons. "In no way would I say that in normal society this is offensive," said Bundarin. Either Brown was being "totally immature," he said, "or he was showing the ridiculousness of the [Department's] standards," in effect "saturizing" them.

Bundarin noted that although people have different standards for what they consider repugnant and offensive, those who feel that they are being sexually harassed must notify their alleged offenders that certain behavior is unwelcome. Single incident notice is especially important "in cases where society would not necessarily agree" that a given action constituted sexual harassment, according to Bundarin.

With Brown having been notified that his example offended Meizlish, it

Please See Page 11



*Rosenstone has encouraged me to interpret this comment as ... sexual harassment and to take the appropriate formal steps.*

— Deborah Meizlish

### SPECIAL ISSUE

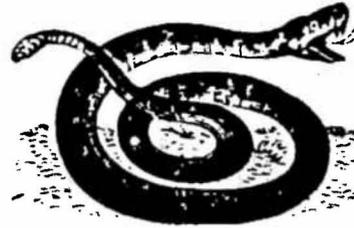
We come to the *Michigan Review's* election extravaganza! In this issue, writers argue for various presidential candidates. One picks his dog. Others endorse H. Ross Perot, President Bush, and Gov. Clinton (including a conservative endorsement). One contributor reminds you of your right *not* to vote. Bush explains his *Agenda for American Renewal*.

The *Review* solicited essays supporting other third party candidates, but received none. Although we can bring you this non-partisan forum, as a tax-exempt organization under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, the *Review* cannot endorse any candidates. Read and enjoy!

### INSIDE

Serpent's Tooth	2
Kohana for Prez!	3
Pro-Perot	5
Pro-Bush	6
A Conservative	
Case for Clinton	8
Pro-Clinton	9

# Serpent's Tooth



Last year at this time, a fill-in-the-blank question on a *Review* editor's Spanish 231 exam consisted of the following: "George Bush is happy because he invaded another country." On the next page came this doozy: "It's incredible that the T.A.'s earn so little money." Of course, PC doesn't exist; or so we're told.

*Chips* star Erik Estrada was last seen on television sponsoring "Kebrina's Psychic Answer Hotline." Can you say "loser?"

U-M Football is ranked number three. U-M Hockey: number one. U-M Basketball: number one (in pre-season ratings by *Basketball Digest*). Can you say "Hail?"

Sinead "I hate the U.S. and the Pope" O'Connor was booted off the stage in New York's Madison Square Garden after singing one song. You see, Sinead, for some strange reason, Americans expect you to respect the capitalist, Judeo-Christian system which has made you so much money. So get out, and stay out.

## Spend My Cash

(to the tune of the Red Hot Chili Pepper's *Suck My Kiss*)

Yeah we're spendin' ...

Shoulda been, coulda been,  
woulda been broke,  
If we hadn't raised tuition,  
And that's no joke.  
We spend what we spend.  
As bureaucrats, that has no end.  
Aw students think you can  
Fund the programs of Duder-man?

Most of his programs  
Have deceptive nicknames.  
Sifting through his lies  
Is now the big game.  
Beware, be told  
Most interest groups have a strong  
foothold  
Aw Interests please be there —  
Waste my cash, more than your share!

*Charge me — you can bill me.  
Waste my cash.*

*Cost me, please bankrupt me.  
Raise some fees.*

*Can you be efficient?  
Give to me dire poverty.  
U-M was made to waste my cash.*

Look at us, you can't trust  
Bureaucrats who spend so much.  
Ask our shrinks,  
We're all out to lunch.  
For us it's free,  
To waste your cash so leisurely.  
O Interests, just for you  
We'll waste more cash than we ought  
to.  
S-P-E-N-D-I-N-G  
Wasting your cash like it grew on trees.  
You see, they plead,  
so we have programs to meet their  
needs.  
O students pay us now.  
If you knew our earnings, you'd have  
a cow.

## THE MICHIGAN REVIEW

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## Roving Photographer

### What do you think the candidates should dress as for Halloween?

by Eric Lepard



**Craig Kaplan, LSA Sophomore:** Ross Perot would go as Yoda.



**Matt Klavolak, LSA Junior:** Perot would be Mickey Mouse, because he has got the ears, and he never really says anything.



**Genevieve Fu, Grad Student:** Perot would go as Howdy Doody... no costume required.



**Jay Dreyer, LSA Sophomore:** Clinton would go as the Great Pumpkin.



**Jarman Davis, LSA Senior:** Clinton would dress as the President of the United States because that's the only time he has been qualified to be president.



**Karen Parker, LSA Junior:** Bush doesn't have to dress up, because he is already a weasel.

## Essay: Kohana for President

# Ten Reasons to Vote for My Dog for President

by Brian Jendryka

You've watched the debates, you've heard the speeches, you've seen the ads. And yet you can't bring yourself to vote for any one of the three jokers running for president.

I have the answer. Not only do I know of the ideal candidate, but I also have 10 good reasons why my dog would be a better choice than any of the three "candidates" currently running.

### Character

My dog, a schnauzer, has an excellent disposition. As a purebred, she is a bit "upper-class," like George Bush, but, since she lives in Marshall, a rural farming community, she has the same "Down-home goodness" quality that Bill Clinton would have if he hadn't gone to law school. My dog would never bite anyone, except maybe Ross Perot, and only if he tried to tell her that he would consider suspending the Bill of Rights.

### The Environment

My dog, who is one of my backyard's biggest polluters, realizes that everyone needs to pitch in to clean up the environment. Although her controversial plan of "sending everything to Gary, Indiana, because it smells already" is still in the formative stages, she thinks it is a much better idea than what George "Environmental problem? What recession, uh, I mean environmental problem?" Bush or Bill "So what if my running mate wants to regulate us back to the stone age" Clinton or Ross "I don't have any snappy one-liners for that problem yet" Perot have proposed.

### Trust

My dog is definitely the most trustworthy candidate. Who are you going to trust more, a man who lies about taxes, a man who seemingly lies about everything *but* taxes, a man who can't decide if he's running or not, or my dog, who, by the way, is far cuter than Barbara Bush, Hillary Clinton or Margot Perot.

### Equal Rights

My dog, being a female dog of color (as well as a single mother) would understand the concerns of society's underrepresented groups much better than the three white males who are currently running.

### The Economy

My dog would never even *consider* raising your taxes, unlike George "No, really, this time I mean it: No New Taxes" Bush, or Bill "Hell yes I'm going to raise your taxes, you rich bastards" Clinton or Ross "What do you mean a 50-cent-per-gallon gas tax is unreasonable? I've got \$3.3 billion" Perot.

### Commitment to Domestic Policy

My dog rarely sneaks under the fence to go roaming (unlike George), and when she does, she never engages in protesting the U.S. government on foreign soil (unlike Bill).

### The Budget Deficit

My dog will be the first to admit that her original idea of "printing more money" might not work, but she is convinced that her panel of experts — the U-M Board of Regents (who think that a combination of increases in tuition and "infrastructure fees" would balance the budget nicely) — could do a better job



Although she looks like Lloyd Bentsen, my dog is far more intelligent. She is also much meaner than that wimp Millie Bush. Vote for her on November 3rd.

than the other three.

### The Future

My dog, like Ross Perot, would only run for one term — that way she wouldn't have to worry about the distractions of running for re-election. Unlike Ross Perot, my dog *would* want a salary, and with it would keep the White House stocked with dog biscuits in the same endearing way that Ronald Reagan kept Jelly Bellies. Although my dog is a relatively young 9 years old (53 in human years, which far exceeds the constitutional minimum of 35), her hair is naturally gray, unlike Clinton, who's hair suddenly "became" gray for the campaign, and Bush, whose hair suddenly "became" less gray.

### Abortion

My dog, who has been spayed, understands the complex problem of unwanted pregnancies. George Bush, Bill Clinton, and Ross Perot, who have not been spayed (or neutered), do not.

### General Stupidity

My dog, though her brain is not nearly the size of a human's (or even Ross Perot's ego), is much smarter than anyone running for president (or vice president). For example:

- She has never barfed on a Japanese prime minister (though she will occasionally throw up on the family room rug after eating grass).

- She has never smoked marijuana, but if she did, she would definitely inhale — what's the use of spending good money for illegal drugs if you aren't going to inhale, she figures.

- She knows how many e's there are in "potato."

This analysis, of course, excludes the Libertarian ticket of Andre Marrou and Nancy Lord, which believes that government should be minimized and could probably be run more efficiently by high school students. This is mainly because the last time my dog checked, the Libertarian Party tried to prove this in the recent Ann Arbor elections by running a

high school senior (who won their nomination by being the best bowler in the party) for city council. My dog, figuring that she could easily have earned more than the 29 votes the libertarian did, figures that there is little to worry about in such a party.

It should now be painfully clear that my dog deserves your vote for president. She's smart, she never dodged the draft or ignored the economy, and what's more, she doesn't shed.

Brian Jendryka is a fifth-year senior in English and economics and an editor emeritus of the *Review*. His dog's name is "Kohana," which is Polish for "presidential material." The new way to figure a dog's age is to add 15 years for the first year, 10 years for the second year, and four years for each year thereafter, so don't even think about writing a letter to the editor saying that Kohana isn't really 53 because  $9 \times 7$  does not equal 53. They both know that.

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## From Suite One: Editorial

# Make Sure Regents Get the Point

On Thursday, November 19, the regents of the University of Michigan will hold the first session of their two-day monthly meeting, during which they are expected to discuss the proposed Statement of Student Rights and Responsibilities. We strongly urge students to attend this meeting and sign up for speaking time while possible. The regents' first official discussion of the Statement occurred at their October meeting, which was held on the Flint campus (despite the fact that the Statement will only affect the Ann Arbor campus). During that meeting, the code came up only as a point of information rather than a voting item. Nevertheless, while Regent Nellie Varner (D-Detroit) favored the code, Paul Brown (D-Petoskey) clearly desired its immediate implementation.

Although Regental Bylaw 2.01 grants U-M President James Duderstadt the power to enact a code of non-academic conduct at will and without any student input, he has thus far chosen not to implement one. Similarly, the regents may vote to implement a code without student input or approval; however, they have likewise refrained from doing so. It is not clear, however, how much longer Duderstadt or the regents will exercise such restraint. In light of these circumstances, it is imperative that students make their opinions known at the upcoming regents' meeting. The regents must receive the clearest possible indication that any action on their part or on the part of President Duderstadt to regulate nonacademic behavior will not be tolerated by students on the U-M's Ann Arbor campus.

Students are by no means at total odds with all of the regents on the issue of speech codes. At least some of the regents seem genuinely sympathetic to student concerns. At the October meeting, Neal Nielsen (R-Brighton) spoke in favor of delaying further discussion on the matter until the November meeting, stating that it should be discussed on the campus which it will affect. On a more positive note, Deane Baker (R-Ann Arbor) stated his opposition to any kind of code other than one mandated by federal regulations. He has stated on numerous occasions his opposition to measures which seek to circumscribe campus speech.

Student opposition to the current code still revolves around a series of unresolved legal conflicts within the code itself. One problem that has remained a point of contention between students and administrators since the code's earliest stages is the question of due process. As it currently stands, the code still favors the complainant by allowing a third party to bring forward the case of a complainant who is reluctant

to come forward himself. The accused, by contrast, is prohibited from being actively represented by legal counsel. As Student Rights Commission Chair Rob Van Houweling has rightly pointed out, in giving students the right to remain silent, the code does little good if it does not also permit the accused to have legal counsel speak on his or her behalf.

Further problems arise when one considers the future of such a code. No amendment process for the code yet exists. Without such a process, future administrators will likely be free to make changes to the code without gauging student opinion, much less gaining student approval.

In short, students who wish to speak at the regents' meeting should have much to use in the way of ammunition against the code. Unfortunately, the opportunity for students to address the regents during the public comments session of their next meeting is limited. Each speaker during the session is limited to five minutes, and only six speakers are permitted to speak on any one topic. In order to be included on the speakers list, members of the University community or Michigan citizens must sign up in person at room 2008 of the Fleming Administration Building by 4 p.m. on November 18. Individuals with disabilities who require special accommodations (e.g., deaf students who require a signer) must make arrangements at least two weeks prior to the meeting.

Despite these restraints, those students who are able to sign up should do so and those who are unable to sign up should still plan to attend the meeting. According to one high-level U-M administrator who opposes the code, in addition to signing up to address the regents during the public comments session, the best way for students to inform the regents of their opposition to the code is to show up at the meeting *en masse*. This is not to say that students should be anything but civil. A repeat of previous mob scenes at regents' meetings is the last thing students need at this point in the process. Rather, students should behave themselves in a manner which exemplifies self-restraint in the absence of regulation, if not to send a message, then at least to avoid giving the regents a reason to close or move the meeting.

Students should take this recommendation seriously and set aside an hour of their time on November 19 to attend the meeting of the regents and show their opposition to the proposed code. Any effort on the part of the administration to enact any code beyond that mandated by federal law without student approval should be denied.

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## Essay: H. Ross Perot

# 'Now, Here's the Deal ...'

by James Elek and Tony Ghecea

Why on earth are you voting for Ross Perot? That is what people invariably ask us when we voice our thoughts on the presidential election. Because he's the best man for the job, we state, knowing full well what comes next: a tirade on why we should vote Republican, or Democratic, or Libertarian, or for anyone but Perot. He's a quitter, they say, a populist, a demagogue, an egomaniac, a political novice, a dictator, a money-grubber, a short, scruffy, big-eared Texan fool. As Perot supporters, they claim, we are naïve at best, severely misguided at worst. It is these critics, however, who are the most misguided amongst us.

There are many seemingly valid criticisms of Perot; under close examination, however, those criticisms prove weak. First is the question of quitting. Why did Perot quit the race? Because he has a brain. Had Perot stayed in the race through the summer, he would have endured relentless barbs from the Republican and Democratic conventions, which virtually monopolized the media for one week each. Unlike the established candidates, Perot had no convention with which to return attacks in kind. His campaign would have wilted by the middle of August.

But Perot knew all along what to do: get on the ballot in all 50 states and resurrect the campaign in October. The resulting publicity burst would be huge (and free — for what more can a businessman ask?). It's difficult to say whether his plan has worked or not. With \$60 million worth of ads still to come, Perot has just begun to fight. But it remains clear that unconventional thought was at the root of Perot's decision, and considering the current state of government, unconventional thought may be exactly what we need.

This leads to the question of money. Do we want a man whose personal worth approaches \$3.5 billion running the nation? The answer is yes. As Perot correctly notes in his book, *United We Stand: How We Can Take Back Our Country*, "Elections have become so expensive that our elected representatives spend most of their time raising money from special interests to finance their campaigns so they can get back into office." Perot doesn't have to worry about campaign funding; he's wealthy enough to get elected on his own. He can't be bought by special interests; he can afford to pay his own way. He wouldn't accept a salary as president, and he has no desire to run for a second term.

People also question Perot's lack of political experience. We find that "lack" to be one of his greatest assets. Perot is the kind of person on which a democracy thrives — a person who has lived the American dream, who is willing to take the time to serve his country, and who will gladly return to his former life when the job is finally done.

After 35 years of a Democratic Congress, government has become a business — one with a \$4 trillion debt. No candidate has had more success running a business or demolishing debts than Perot.

There is, of course, a down-side to Perot's political inexperience. Running the country involves more variables than running a business. A president must deal with a stagnant Congress, fickle constituencies, and testy foreign diplomats. Whether Perot is capable of handling such political constraints is a legitimate concern.

But it is here that Perot shines most. Behind all the snappy one-liners resides a first-rate mind. There is substance to back up the sound-bytes. Perot has not only written an entire book detailing his proposals, but he has also aired several "infomercials" during prime-time television to explain every aspect of his presidential plan. One can hardly ask for more substance than that.

Perot is a man who understands issues for what they are: problems with multiple solutions, of which no single one contains all the right answers. When he speaks of going to Washington and "getting everybody to hold hands," he is not being naïve. He is merely stating in the simplest of terms what needs to be done and how he would do it.

One cannot solve a problem until one understands it completely; one cannot fully understand it until one evaluates all means of approaching it. Republicans and Democrats attack each other by dismissing any ideas which the "other side" suggests; they refuse to visualize common problems in their entirety, and therefore lack the insight to confront those problems adequately. The result: politicians point fingers and nothing gets done.

But Perot is different. He takes the best that both sides have to offer and searches for solutions which incorporate those ideas. Some people mistake this for indecision: *Well, he knows the problem, but*

*what will he do about it?* These people miss the point: Knowing the problem is the first step toward being able to solve it. Republicans and Democrats don't even know the problem. Perot is at least advancing in the right direction. And the fact that he is willing to listen to the views of both sides makes him the perfect vessel

for compromise — a commodity which Washington desperately needs.

Perot's main concern is our nation's economy. A strong domestic economy without an enormous national debt, notes Perot, is the starting point for curing the ills of our country; only if we are economically sound at home can we reassert ourselves as the economic leader of the world.

But the revitalization of our economy will require a change. Before he left the presidential race, Perot was the only candidate even talking about change. The minute he left, both candidates seized the word "change," swooped down like hungry vultures on Perot's supporters, and courted them with the novelty of their new-found catchphrase. "We must have the courage to change," preached Clinton. "Change must be guided by principle," added Bush. Change? You've got to be kidding. This was nothing more than petty political bunk.

What does "change" really mean for Clinton? More taxes, more spending, and more government in general. What does "change" really mean for Bush? No taxes, no spending, no government, and to heck with the middle class.

But what does change mean for Perot? The answer is simple: It's time to clean out the barn. We have a \$4 trillion national debt. Let's face it, folks — this is a crisis, and Perot is the only candidate who has the knowledge and the guts to call it a crisis and stare it down. He won't deny it, or hide it, or lie about it, or dress it up, or try to save face — remember, *he's not a politician*. He will raise taxes — because a business needs extra revenue to climb out of the red — and he will cut spending — because a business in debt cannot afford luxuries. In short, he will take the best ideas that both parties have to offer, convince politicians to attack the debt instead of each other, and get our country moving again.

It is far too easy to call this all a populist appeal to a fickle mass of voters who lack political insight. Hence the

accusation — first put forth by the media — that Perot is some sort of demagogue who preys on the undecided. The response is obvious: since when is someone who claims that the people of America — not elected politicians — own this country a populist? Have we sunk so low as to brand a proponent of democracy in its truest form a demagogue?

Alas, the lengths to which those with vested interests will go to keep themselves in power are great indeed. Perot has mounted a legitimate challenge to the two-party system: a third-party candidacy backed by superior funds, better ideas, and a platform which is not so radical as to scare off would-be supporters. Republicans and Democrats, whose political monopoly is in jeopardy, will tell you Perot is a fool, or that you're wasting your vote if you cast it for him. Don't believe the hype. Perot started October with eight percent of the vote; by this essay's publication date that number, according to a *Newsweek* poll, stands at 22 percent. A Perot victory is not a dream. But only your vote can make it a reality.

Every four years voters talk about "throwing out the bums," but when the curtain closes on each voting booth those bums are somehow elected again. For once in your life, vote the way your conscience tells you. General Motors paid Perot \$800 million to resign from its board of directors because it refused to take his advice. If you read the papers, you know how poorly GM is doing today. Don't repeat its mistake. Listen to Perot while you still have the chance.

"At England's darkest hour," Perot writes, "Winston Churchill ... gave [its people] leadership, decisiveness, and a sense of urgency. On memo after memo ... are Churchill's scribbled words 'Action this day!' Churchill successfully instilled in his commanders and ministers the idea that when survival is at stake, any action worth taking is worth taking *now*. We need this same lesson in this country. We need it instilled in our government, in the Congress, in our industries, and among our people. Stop bickering. Stop blaming each other. Stop posturing for partisan advantage. Stop dodging the hard questions.

"There is work to do."

Elect Ross Perot, and let the work begin.

James Elek is a junior in Physics and a staff writer for the *Review*. Tony Ghecea is a junior in English and an executive editor of the *Review*.

**Every four years voters talk about "throwing out the bums." ... For once in your life, vote the way your conscience tells you.**

## Essay: George Bush

# Vote Bush for Positive Change

by Doug Thiese

During this year's election campaign, voters have voiced concerns over the current state of America and George Bush's leadership during these difficult times. A close look at the record, however, answers those concerns.

Contrary to what the Democrats would have you believe, the economy is not at a near-depression level. The Misery Index (a combination of the inflation and unemployment rates developed by Democrats) is a prime example: it was 19.6 percent in 1980, but now stands at 10.8 percent. No longer do consumers have to worry about excessive inflation and exorbitant interest rates soaking up more of their hard-earned income. Although unemployment currently stands at 7.5 percent, it is still lower than the peaks reached during previous recessions. During the Reagan-Bush era, the United States economy has grown by nearly \$3 trillion — twice the total size of the German economy.

Too often voters have overlooked

the successes of Presidents Reagan and Bush. By maintaining peace through strength, the U.S. has presided over the collapse of communism throughout Eastern Europe and the now-defunct Soviet Union. When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait and threatened the stability of the Middle East, President Bush crafted an international coalition which liberated Kuwait and removed the international threat that Hussein posed. While Bush had the will to confront Iraq, 45 Senate Democrats and 179

Democratic Representatives opposed authorizing the use of force against Hussein, according to *The Almanac of American Politics 1992*. Governor Bill Clinton "agree[d] with the arguments" made by the opponents of Desert Storm.

A significant portion of the "change" promised by the Democratic ticket is a call for more taxes. While the president labels his acceptance of the 1990 tax hike

a mistake, Clinton unabashedly proposes \$150 billion in new taxes. At the same time, Clinton has hypocritically launched an attack of the 1990 tax increase. Though Clinton promises that only the richest

two percent would face increased taxes should he become president, the middle class would undoubtedly shoulder the tax burden to pay for his initiatives due to the limited pool of "rich" taxpayers. Another blow to the middle class would be Clinton's proposed seven percent national

health care payroll tax. Representative Dick Arme of Congress' Joint Economic Committee projects that this would increase employment costs by \$42 billion and would force the layoff of 710,000 workers. In addition, Democratic Vice Presidential Candidate Al Gore urges the adoption of a "carbon tax" which would further crimp the economy. According to Arme, the Clinton-Gore economic plan would result in a loss of almost two million jobs and a 1.5 percent increase in the unemployment rate.

Ross Perot has joined Clinton in this relentless pursuit for more tax increases. According to the August 3 *National Review*, "In a speech to the National Press Club (March 18), Perot said, 'Watch my lips — you're going to have to double [taxes] on personal income in order to avoid a deficit this year.'" The October 12 *Newsweek* notes that Perot would "raise \$348.2 billion with increased taxes" over the next five years. Included in this package are an increase in the top marginal income tax rate from 31 to 33 percent and a doubling of federal cigarette taxes. While lauding other countries for taxing gasoline as much as \$3 per gallon, Perot proposes a \$0.50 per gallon gasoline tax increase here in the U.S. It is interesting to note that Perot's economic plan was written by John White, Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget under Jimmy Carter and a current supporter of Clinton.

In contrast, President Bush's *Agenda for American Renewal* states, "The American people are not taxed too little. The American Government spends too much." In 1991, federal government spending stood at 23.5 percent of the Gross Domestic Product compared with 17.6 percent in 1965.

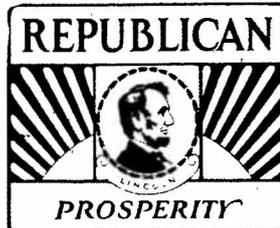
To curb the growth of government, Bush calls for capping the growth of mandatory spending while freezing the spending for all other programs. In addition,

the president supports the adoption of a line item veto and a balanced budget amendment to force deficit reduction. According to Stephen Moore, Director of Fiscal Policy Studies at the CATO Institute, the budget could be balanced in five years without any new taxes if the federal government limited total spending to three percent annual growth. While this rate of growth would hardly be austere, it would also preclude the adoption of excessive spending programs such as the \$220 billion in new spending that Clinton is proposing. Because of its stifling effect on spending, liberal Democratic stalwarts such as the AFL-CIO, the National Education Association, and the American Association of Retired Persons lobbied against the balanced budget amendment. Democratic vice presidential candidate Al Gore voted to prevent its consideration in the Senate.

The candidates also disagree on the subject of abortion. President Bush has consistently supported the pro-life position while Clinton espouses a pro-Roe *v. Wade* litmus test for future Supreme Court justices. As for Perot, the August 3 *National Review* stated that "Perot and his wife have been prominent, extravagant contributors to Planned Parenthood, and they were early enthusiasts in advancing the practice of abortion."

When Bill Clinton points to twelve years of Reagan-Bush as a "reason for change," he diverts voters' attention from the area that truly needs change: Congress. The Democrats have controlled the House of Representatives for the last 38 years and the Senate for 32 of those years. Not since 1954 has a Republican president enjoyed a Republican Congress, and yet the last five Democratic Presidents have all had the privilege of working with a Congress of the same party. No Republican president can effectively reform the government through tax and spending cuts when a Democratic Congress declares his annual budget proposals "dead on arrival." In fact, according to the National Taxpayers Union Foundation, 95 of the 100 biggest spenders in the House of Representatives are Democrats; the Senate's 1989-90 spending champion was Al Gore. If voters truly wish to see not only change, but positive change in the course of America, then they should vote for a united Republican government.

**Doug Thiese is a senior in political science, and an MTS Editor of the Review. He is Vice President for Alumni Relations of the U-M College Republicans.**



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## Essay: George Bush

# Dear President Bush ...

by David Dodenhoff

I know you don't want to hear this, but the election is over. Not even Harry Truman was this far behind this late in 1948. I'm sure you've seen the electoral math. You are simply too far behind in too many key states to pull this one off.

It must be difficult for you. You were a war hero at an age when most young men were still preoccupied with girls and cars. You've had an impressive public career — Congressman, Republican National Committee Chairman, U.N. Ambassador, Ambassador to China, Director of Central Intelligence, Vice President, and President. You led the nation to a great victory in the Persian Gulf War. Some of your other accomplishments have been less dramatic, but no less important: the liberation of Panama, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the doubling of funds for AIDS research, arms control treaties with Russia, courageous efforts to broach the politically risky subject of entitlement reform, and massive infrastructure investment under last year's highway bill, to name just a few.

After all of this, it must seem unfair to you that a global economic slowdown should cost you your job. Oh sure, people say it's not just the economy — there are the "flip-flops," and the lack of vision, and Dan Quayle, but those things don't matter much. If the economy were growing at a good pace, the American people would forgive your shortcomings

and send you back to the White House with a comfortable margin of victory.

Unfortunately, the economy has not been strong during your four years in office. Still, many economists say that a president cannot do very much either to prevent or to soften the effects of a downturn in a six trillion dollar economy. The smartest move is to step aside and let the Federal Reserve (Fed) do its job. But this is what you did, and the Fed dropped short-term interest rates to historically low levels. In response, the economy has been growing — albeit slowly — for a year and a half. But for some reason, everyone is still talking about "the recession." Yes, this must seem very unfair indeed.

Fair or not, though, the die seems to be cast. I can understand that you don't want to accept this, and I admire your tenacity, but it's time to stop trying to tear down Governor Clinton in order to build yourself up. Your approval numbers have not moved much since early summer and probably aren't going anywhere over the next few days. Maybe you should begin concocting a new strategy, one designed not to win the election, but to regain your dignity and a Republican White House in 1996.

What would this strategy look like? My suspicion is that most people think of you as an honest, trustworthy, thoughtful, decent man. In short, a good man, but a bad president. That reservoir of goodwill is all that you have left, and

you shouldn't exhaust it by taking swipes at Governor Clinton. I know Mr. Clinton compares poorly with you in terms of "character," but that issue matters little to voters preoccupied with their own economic well-being. So do yourself a favor — stop the nasty attacks against the governor and leave the public stage with a reputation as a man of integrity.

It will be far better to leave people with good feelings about you as a man and bad feelings about you as president than bad feelings about you in both respects. And trust me — the image of you as a failed president will subside with time. You've seen how quickly many historians have changed their minds about Jimmy Carter, and your presidency has been dramatically more successful than his. Yes, you will be vindicated eventually, but it will take much longer if you continue abasing yourself by your petty attacks on Bill Clinton.

Staying off the low road, however, is only half the task. You have got to start talking about ideas. It's not that ideas will decide this election; it's too late for that. But they will decide whether or not Republicans regain the White House in 1996. You need to begin by asking and answering critical questions about your party and its competition.

What differentiates Republicans from Democrats now that the Cold War is over and neither party can credibly claim that it will hold the line on taxes? What is wrong with "tax-and-spend?"

What is wrong with government-funded health care? What is wrong with increased government investment in our nation's infrastructure, research and experimentation, and education? What is wrong with requiring employers to provide family leave? What is wrong with a new payroll tax on businesses to support worker training? Given another chance, what would Republicans do about the deficit, the inner cities, health care, and long-term economic growth? Why is this better than what we are likely to see from the Democrats?

In short, Mr. Bush, your last major act as president should be to initiate the debate over the future of your party and this country. Challenge Republicans to generate conservative solutions to the nation's problems, and to win the war of ideas with the Democrats. Get your party's leaders thinking about 1996. Get them thinking like an opposition party, hungry to recapture the White House and eager to take the country in a new direction. By urging Republicans to look toward the future, you will do your party and your country a great service. And, equally important, by ending your public career by speaking to America's intellect, and not to its base instincts, you can invite respect rather than resentment.

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David Dodenhoff is a third year graduate student in political science and a guest writer for the *Review*.

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## Looking Forward, Not Inward

by George Bush

As you prepare for your futures, many of you are worried about whether there will be jobs for you when you graduate — jobs in which you can apply all you've learned, and through which you can realize the American dream.

I know the feeling. Shortly after I was graduated from college, Barbara and I moved to Texas with our young family to begin a life of our own. I started a business, raised a family, and eventually began my career in politics. I want all of you to have the opportunity to graduate from college, repay your student loans, begin your careers, and start families of your own.

*My Agenda for American Renewal* will do just that by reinvigorating America's economy and creating jobs and opportunities for all Americans while protecting our environment.

Revitalizing America's economy starts with individuals, families and

communities. It requires lower taxes on individuals and businesses, enhancing competition, and cutting regulation. It includes health care for all Americans, child care, job training, housing opportunities, a competitive school system based on community involvement, and choice for American families.

*My Agenda* prepares America's youth for the 21st century by promoting national academic standards so schools like Michigan have a strong student population from which to draw.

For you college students, my administration calls for the largest-ever one-year increase in student Pell Grants, and a 50 percent increase in the amounts of individual Pell Grant awards. In addition, I want to raise the loan limit on

guaranteed student loans and make the interest on student loans deductible for federal income tax purposes.

*My Agenda* calls for continued substantial funding for responsible environmental protection. The United States has the toughest environmental laws on earth, and it was the Bush Administration that proposed and negotiated the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990, which I signed as the most protective and market-oriented clean air laws in the world.

My administration also established a moratorium on off-shore oil and natural gas drilling; accelerated the phaseout of ozone harming substances; added more than 1.5 million acres to America's national parks, wildlife refuges, and other public lands; tripled the rate of toxic waste

site cleanups since 1989; and collected more fines and penalties and secured more prison sentences for environmental crimes in the last three years than in the previous 20 years combined.

I call upon the youth of today to take up the entrepreneurial challenge and join me in making America the economic, export, education and environmental leader of the 21st century. Let's win the peace by looking forward, not inward.

*My Agenda for American Renewal* empowers all Americans to make their own choices and better their lives. No one will be left behind for want of opportunity.

Good luck to you, and may you achieve your goals in life.

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George Bush is president of the United States and a staff writer for the *Review*.

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## Essay: Bill Clinton

# The Conservative Case for Bill Clinton

by Anthony Woodlief

My best friend recently told me that if George Bush loses to Bill Clinton, he would have serious misgivings about the future of the country. Unless Bush can perform a miracle, however, (something akin to producing pictures of Clinton and Gore smoking pot and having weird sex on an American flag) Hillary is going to be picking new curtains come January. My friend, a good conservative, is worried that a Clinton presidency, coupled with a solidly Democratic Congress, will wreck our economy, expand the federal judiciary in a manner similar to the 30 percent expansion after Jimmy Carter took office, create a judiciary with no respect for the original intent of the Constitution, and hurt people in myriad other ways.

To the people who say that the Republicans have already accomplished this, his reply is three-fold: First, we need to separate the successes of the Reagan Presidency from the failures of the Bush Presidency. Second, things could be much worse. Remember 13 percent inflation and 21 percent interest rates? Price controls? An internationally humiliated military? Third, while the Republicans currently control the White House, the Democrats have controlled the Senate since 1986 and the House since 1954. Despite Clinton's imagery of a Congress handcuffed by the Bush administration, Congressional Democrats are equally if not more to blame for the current malaise. But does spreading the blame justify the good conservative's vote for Bush in 1992? Does the fact that Clinton the moderate will get rolled by a protectionist, spending-addicted Congress — while Clinton the closet liberal enjoys it — justify a vote for Bush in 1992? For the true conservative, the answer is no, and here's why:

1) *The Republican Party is currently steered by incompetent, uninspired, mean-spirited boobs.* While Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp is treated like a mute in the Bush Administration and Vin Weber retires, our spokesmen are people like Republican Party Chairman Rich Bond, who thinks it is more productive to misrepresent Hillary Clinton's writings than to talk about the need for free markets in inner cities. We have columnist Pat Buchanan and evangelist Pat Robertson, neither of whom has been elected to anything, moralizing in condescending speeches about homosexuality and abortion. In the Office of Management and Budget we have Director Richard Darman — an uninspired

number cruncher who openly scoffs at the classical liberal principles underlying capitalism. Although Vice President Dan Quayle does not deserve the aforementioned labels, he commands little respect; he is forced to be the spokesman for the themes of family values, legal reform, and deregulation — all of which have received short shrift from his own boss. Finally, in George Bush we have a President who is either incapable of or unwilling to deliver what should be a Republican message of free enterprise and empowerment to the American people. He is equally unwilling to stand up to a Congress that has systematically gutted every Republican attempt to legislate low-income home ownership, school choice, a balanced budget amendment, capital gains tax cuts, crime control, and tort reform.

If nothing else, a Clinton victory would subject the Republican Party to a much needed house cleaning. If good conservatives believe in the superiority of capitalism over state ownership, if we believe in the principles of equal opportunity, and if we believe that government regulation is often more harmful than helpful, then we need leaders who earnestly hold those beliefs as well. Currently, Bill Clinton is attacking President Bush for presiding over the highest growth in federal spending in U.S. history, and the highest growth in federal regulations in 20 years. Certainly the Democratic Congress played no small part in this massive growth of the state, but we should ask whether a President who truly held and fought for conservative principles would now find himself in Bush's position.

2) *The President's party historically loses Congressional seats in off-year elections.* Congress is where tax and spending bills originate and costly regulatory burdens of dubious benefit are created. Good conservatives will never be able to enact legislation such as comprehensive school choice, enterprise zones, capital gains tax cuts, tort reform, or market-oriented health care reform until our party controls Congress. With Clinton in the White House, gaining control of Congress will become easier for Republicans to achieve.

The worse the economy gets, the greater these gains will be. If good conservatives are worried about the effects

of Clinton's clouded economic thinking, there is a silver lining. Due to rational expectations, Democrats can only rely on Keynesian economic policies to prime the economic pump for so long before inflation and unemployment catch up with them. When this happens, Republicans stand to gain handsomely. Remember, the last time Republicans captured the Senate was after Carter's Presidency. Four or eight years under Clinton and Gore ought to remind the American people why they have not elected a Democrat to the White House for the past twelve years, and when Republicans retake the Presidency, they might have more votes in Congress with



which to work.

3) *In an effort to discredit conservatism, Democrats and media pundits are conflating the seven years of economic growth and 18 million net new jobs that Reagan created with the anemic growth and rising unemployment we have seen under Bush.* In short, they blame "trickle-down economics" for the nation's current state. The typical argument is that tax and budget cuts during the 1980s caused a decline in real family incomes and growth in the number of people below the poverty line, while the wealthiest one percent of the country received nearly all of the gains of Reagan's economic policies without paying their fair share of taxes. But here are the facts:

A) *Real family wages increased during the 1980's:* As Richard McKenzie, professor of management at the University of California, Irvine points out, when we control for the declining size of families and a 1983 change in the method of computing the Consumer Price Index, and when we include the rising portion of incomes that consist of benefits rather than dollars, the average incomes of families in every income quintile increased from between 10.1 to 18.8 percent.

Robert Myers, professor emeritus at Temple University, argues that while critics rely on Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) figures to claim that real wages dropped during the 1980s, a more accurate picture is obtained from the Social Security Administration (SSA). The SSA takes into account all incomes, while the BLS relies on a continually smaller and less representative weekly non-agricultural sample of production and non-supervisory workers. While BLS figures

show a decline in real wages from 1972 on, the SSA figures reveal a decline from 1972 to 1982, but a steady rise through 1989.

B) *The wealthy paid a greater share of taxes at the beginning of Bush's term than they did before Reagan took office:* Internal Revenue Service figures reveal that the top 10 percent of income earners paid \$149 billion in income taxes in 1980, and \$199.2 billion in 1988 — a 34 percent increase that left them paying 57 percent of all U.S. income taxes. The next 40 percent of income earners saw their share of total U.S. income taxes paid drop from 43.5 percent to 37 percent. The bottom half of U.S. taxpayers saw their share of total taxes paid drop from 7 percent to 5.7 percent. The 1986 tax reform, though flawed (given its overall effects on investment, especially with its treatment of capital gains as regular income), closed hundreds of loopholes for corporations, in effect becoming the largest corporate tax increase in U.S. history.

C) *U.S. economic performance excelled under Reagan:* According to *Wall Street Journal* editor Robert Bartley, real Gross National Product increased by a third from 1982 to 1990. Manufacturing production grew by nearly 50 percent. Productivity grew by 10.6 percent. Exports expanded by over 90 percent.

As for the growing number of poor counted by the U.S. Census Bureau, Heritage Foundation welfare and policy analyst Robert Rector points out that, by the Census Bureau's own data, the poor spent \$1.94 for every \$1 of reported income in 1989. In other words, when counting the poor, the Census Bureau includes neither assets nor most of \$184 billion in federal, state and local spending on the poor in 1990, which amounts to \$10,499 for every poor household.

D) *The "drastic" discretionary cuts under Reagan are a myth:* Critics rely on figures detailing government outlays and appropriated budget authority, which neglect other funding mechanisms, such as fees and transfers from entitlement programs. Housing, which takes a large portion of total discretionary spending, suffered a "cut" of 77 percent under Reagan due to changes in the lengths of government housing contracts, yet the number of public housing units increased by one-third. Altogether, discretionary spending suffered cuts in 1981, followed by seven years of growth, yielding a total growth rate under Reagan just less than the inflation rate.

Please see Page 10

## Essay: Bill Clinton

# Bill Clinton For President

by Andrew Kleine

Change. It is a concept cheapened by overuse, especially in the political season. But with a national debt at \$4 trillion and counting, job opportunities nearing extinction, asphyxiated investment, and a nation unprepared for the 21st century, change seems highly appropriate in 1992. By definition, change is something different, not more of the same, which is why Bill Clinton — young, eager and ready to serve — is such an obvious choice for President of the United States.

Before he traded in his principles to become Vice-President in 1980, George Bush aptly ridiculed Ronald Reagan for promoting "voodoo economics." How ironic that in 1992, Bush is on pins and needles, stuck with the task of convincing America that the 1980s were not a hoax.

For the millions of middle income Americans wrung dry by twelve years of failed economic policy, the magic is gone. It is now apparent that we borrowed yesterday's prosperity from tomorrow's children, and for what? Did we improve our education system? No, in fact we've reduced spending on education by four percent over the past decade. It is still terrible. Did we rebuild our crumbling infrastructure? No, our mass transit policy during the Reagan-Bush era can be summarized in three words: no new starts. Well, did we make the dream of a college education attainable for more young people? Actually ... no. The loan-grant balance has tilted from 30-70 to 70-30. How about health care? Housing? Job training? No, no, and no.

Is it any wonder that George Bush has fled in terror from the most important issue of the campaign? If you were responsible for the worst economic performance in fifty years, a whole mess of broken promises, and a nation paralyzed by debt, you probably wouldn't want to talk about it either. It is an embarrassing record, almost criminal. And yet George Bush wants four more

years "to finish the job." Get real.

What does George Bush want to talk about? While the rest of America frets about the future, George Bush pokes around in Bill Clinton's past. After failing to pin the blame for his problems on Murphy Brown, lawyers, or Democrats in Congress, Bush has fallen back on a time-honored Republican tradition: once in trouble, accuse your opponent of being a communist. Michael Dukakis? He was a flag burnin', harbor pollutin', rapist lovin', womanizin' dope smokin', communist.

Anyway, while Iran-Contra lyin', dictator coddlin', S&L bailin', no new taxin' George Bush is matching the hypocrisy of his 1988 masterpiece, Bill Clinton is articulating an ambitious strategy of public and private investment to create jobs, rejuvenate the middle class, and ready America for global competition. He will restore fairness to a system that has given tax dollars and debt service to the wealthy. He will begin the long-delayed conversion to a post Cold War economy that Bush refuses to face. He will rebuild our long-neglected infrastructure, not only by fixing roads and bridges, but also by modernizing our national transportation and communication systems, and by pushing environmental technology. Our competitors have been doing this for years. In addition, he will enhance our human infrastructure, the most important one of all, by training and retaining workers, making higher education available to everyone, creating a sensible health care system that gives everyone the access and coverage they deserve, putting 100,000 new police officers on

the streets, and moving people from welfare to work.

The Clinton plan contains not only promise, but credibility as well. George Bush would have us believe that Bill Clinton is "the failed governor of a small state." This from the same president who, just a few years back, heaped praise on Clinton for leading his fellow governors toward education reform. If that weren't



Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton addresses U-M community on October 19.

enough, Clinton also inspired a national commitment to welfare reform. Arkansas also tops the nation in job growth. Failed governors of small states are not elected to chair the National Association of Governors. Nor are

they chosen to chair the Democratic Leadership Council. Nor are they voted by their peers as the nation's most effective governor. C'mon, George. Bill Clinton's not a failed governor. You're a desperate president.

Further signs of desperation on the campaign trail: George Bush calls Bill Clinton "another tax and spender." Apparently, this is worse than just being a "spender." It's uncanny how Bush can talk about a balanced budget, while at the same time proposing \$300 billion in tax credits (that's Republican for "spending program") and tax cuts (Read my lips: I think you're stupid enough to believe me again), and trying to bribe Texas, Florida and California with Pentagon pork. Well, I guess we were warned about this: George did say he'd "do anything necessary" to win. From all indications, this would include abusing his authority to pry open "secret" embassy files on his opponent.

In all fairness, let's give George Bush

the benefit of the doubt. If he doesn't understand America's problems, maybe it's because he's been vacationing abroad for four years. I guess when you reach retirement age, wanderlust sets in. That's why you're supposed to retire.

The Cold War is over. We won. George Bush has taken some credit for that, and deservedly so. But America is in crisis. George Bush may not believe it, but it's true. The numbers don't lie. Trickle down economics doesn't work. It just doesn't. The rich have gotten richer and everyone else has gotten poorer. Wages have declined. Jobs have gone overseas. Our national debt is almost unfathomable, and it's sucking the life out of our economy. And yet for all of our borrowing, we are well behind our global competition, completely unprepared for the coming century, because we spent most of the money on tax breaks and missiles. Leaders can't point fingers; they must take blame. George Bush has failed us — any idiot can see that.

Bill Clinton stands for change and for the future. He knows that true recovery involves renewing the essential components of our economy: investment, the infrastructure, technology, natural resources, and above all, people.

The 1992 presidential election condenses to a simple choice. If you think America is on the right track and that the economy will fix itself, vote for George Bush (and while you're at it, see how many other things you can find that fix themselves). But if it bothers you that college is becoming unaffordable, that 48 percent of 18 to 24 year olds are earning under \$12,000 a year, that your country is declining rather than ascending, vote for Bill Clinton. It's time for a new generation of leadership.

Andrew Kleine is a first year graduate student in the Institute of Public Policy Studies and a guest writer for the Review.

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## Essay: None of the Above

# Don't Forget Your Right Not to Vote

by Jesse Walker

There are better things to do on November 3 than vote. I know this sounds slightly subversive, but it's true. I would rather have a nation of, say, well-qualified doctors than a nation of eager voters. If it came down to it, I would rather have a nation of friendly, tolerant people than a nation of eager voters. There are many ways to participate in public life. Of them, voting ranks close to the bottom — above exposing yourself to children but below almost every constructive behavior you can think of.

Hear me, oh self-righteous busybodies forever lecturing us on our "duty" to exercise our "precious right": the right not to vote is as important as the right to do so. Faced with this year's choices, I feel an overwhelming urge to abstain. This is not a matter of nit-picking, or of refusing to support anyone not in perfect syncopation with my political beliefs. My beefs with each candidate are not minor disagreements, but wholesale differences over the direction in which this county should move.

Bill Clinton is a deceitful man firmly in the pocket of bureaucratically-endowed special interests, as well as the Democratic party machine. George Bush,

for all his "less government" talk, has expanded taxation, spending, and federal regulation more than any other president in my lifetime. He also led this country into a bloody and unnecessary war that claimed hundreds of thousands of lives. And H. Ross Perot, when he isn't preening his ego on *Larry King Live*, is pushing an economic plan straight from the International Monetary Fund. His ideal system would bear striking resemblance to that of, say, Brazil.

And what if I *did* like one of the candidates? What if one of the rare politicians I do admire — Mark Hatfield, or William Weld, or Eugene McCarthy, or John McLaughry — was in the running? Then I'd still be tempted to skip it. One vote, one way or the other, is simply not going to make a difference in any election beyond the local level. I know. In 1988, I held my nose and voted for the man I thought would be the lesser of two evils. He lost. By millions.

So don't lecture me. I know why I'm not voting for any of these clowns better than many of their supporters know why they're voting for them. And I'm pleased to announce that I am not alone; in every election of my lifetime, roughly one half of those qualified to vote have quietly

told the politicians to stuff it. For this, they have become one of the most reviled groups in the country. We are told that they "do not care" about their society, or that they "have no right to complain" because they "do not participate in public life."

Bull.

Many of those non-voters do indeed care about their society and do indeed participate in public life. They volunteer their time for projects they believe in — the Red Cross, a food bank, or a rape crisis center. Or they participate in neighborhood affairs, organizing around the issues that *they* — not the government or the media or the major parties — think are important. Or they protest policies they feel are unjust, or associate among themselves to come up with their own solutions. Or they go to town meetings and speak up there, rather than hand over their voice to a "representative" in a distant city.

Maybe they don't do any of that. Maybe they just work for a living, and serve the public by keeping the economy, which the politicians love to prattle about, afloat. Which is more useful to this country: voting for someone who promises to deliver what people want or producing

the goods and services that people want? Who is more useful to this country: someone who votes but produces nothing but paperwork, or someone who couldn't tell Bill Clinton from Lyndon LaRouche but runs your local food store?

I am *not* arguing that you should not vote; how you spend your own time is your own business. If you seriously believe that the marginal futility of one ballot will make a difference in a race that millions will participate in; if you seriously believe that this country needs to be run by a two-faced governor, a big-government conservative, or a flaky Mussolini with a Texas twang; if you *really want to vote*, then go right ahead. I may even join you, if I can find the time. There are a few referenda I want to support, and I may pull the Libertarian lever so long as I'm there in the polling booth. It's no skin off my nose.

Either way, I doubt it will make much difference. "Basic, fundamental changes" take much more work than that.

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## The Conservative Case for Clinton

Continued from Page 8

E) Federal revenue nearly doubled from 1980 to 1990: This is the best-kept secret of all, because it is powerful evidence that supply-siders were right. It also illuminates the great failure of the Reagan administration — an inability to secure spending cuts which resulted in a massive federal debt that sucked up 75 percent of net savings during the 1980s. While federal revenue skyrocketed after deep tax cuts, federal spending more than doubled. A large portion of this increase is attributable to defense spending, which arguably contributed significantly to the eventual bankruptcy and collapse of the Soviet Union.

Increases in entitlement spending, aided by post-Watergate Congressional budget "reforms" that make such increases more difficult to combat, are the other culprit. The important point is that Reagan's tax cuts by themselves did not give us a massive debt; unchecked spending played a much greater role. Liberals like to argue that we could have paid for all of our spending had we left tax rates

the same, but this assumes that tax rates have no effect on production, which is theoretically and empirically untenable.

Although Democrats do their best to tarnish conservative principles by pretending that Bush's term is merely an extension of Reagan's, the two are not comparable. This brings us to the final reason why good conservatives should vote for Clinton.

4) *Republicans, unable to enact much of their legislative agenda from the White House, are taking the blame for policy results that are in keeping with Democratic philosophy.* Virtually no conservative domestic legislation has come out of Washington since Bush took office. Instead we get a \$150 billion increase in the federal deficit, a tax increase in the middle of a recession, the Clean Air Act (cost: \$20-40 billion per year; benefits: who knows?), the Americans with Disabilities Act (which defines over one-sixth of the U.S. population as "disabled"), an incompetent handling of failed Savings and Loan institutions, and 16 percent more federal regulators accompanied by a 26 percent increase in regulations. If good conservatives be-

lieve that regulations without clear social benefits, higher taxes, and higher spending are bad for the country, then what is appealing about Bush's record?

Nothing, of course; it is the potential Clinton record that makes the good conservative favor Bush. The important point in Clinton's favor however, is that while the last four years have given us higher taxes, spending and regulation under the Republican label, Clinton's election would pin the responsibility for the failure of such policies on the party that embraces them. I am not simply saying that the country is a mess and Clinton's election will mean that the Democrats will get blamed for it. What is more important is that the country is in a mess largely because our government has adopted policies based upon the principles of Democrats. If these are the policies we are going to get from Washington, the advantage of having one party control both the Legislative and Executive branches is that voters will then know whom to blame.

Despite the benefits to the good conservative of voting for Clinton, there are

obvious drawbacks. First, a country where government sucks up a large portion of people's labor and regulates businesses to death is a country where people end up hurting and future generations have little to look forward to. Second, there is what I call the revulsion factor, exemplified by the nausea good conservatives get when they see Clinton bite his lower lip and pretend to care deeply about anything other than his political fortunes. Regarding the first, good conservatives should remember that things are not going to get much better anyway until we control the Congress. As for the second concern, stock up on Pepto-Bismol and help give the Democrats what they deserve — accountability.

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Letters to the Editor  
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## Thought Policed in Poli Sci 111

*Continued from Page 1*

appears that only his continued use of suggestive examples could even begin to count as sexual harassment by ordinary legal standards. "Once you're on notice that a certain activity is offensive [to someone] ... you must control yourself," said Bundarin. Nevertheless, he observed, with standards as stringent as those being employed by Rosenstone and Meizlish, "you've gone from the sublime to the ridiculous." Such policies, he noted, may have "gone to the point of suppressing ideas."

### Some Reflections on Brown's Situation

Brown's situation provides not only an opportunity to reflect upon questions pertaining to sexual harassment, but also upon the nature of academic freedom itself. It is unclear, for instance, how Rosenstone can interpret Brown's words as sexual harassment when they are not directed at anyone in particular. Brown never suggests that Meizlish or any specific living person is one of Stud's hypothetical guests.

According to a statement on sexual harassment which was distributed to Brown's class,

The Department of Political Science is committed to ensuring that all students, faculty and staff enjoy a learning and working environment of respect. If you experience or witness sexual harassment, or intimidation that you think may constitute sexual harassment, you are encouraged to contact one of the department's advisers.

Nowhere does the statement provide students with any standards by which they might judge what the Department may consider sexual harassment.

It is not obvious that Rosenstone's encouragement of Meizlish to take formal action against Brown upholds the Department's commitment "to ensuring that all students, faculty and staff enjoy a learning and working environment of respect." Arguably, Rosenstone's recommendation to prosecute Brown rather than talk to him informally reveals a certain disrespect for Brown, his ideas, or at least the style and tone of his prose. Whatever intimidation Meizlish might have felt from Brown's paper, moreover, has surely been turned back on Brown tenfold, as he has felt it necessary to drop the course.

Even the enormously broad and vague Department of Political Science Policy on Sexual Harassment — a 12 page-long behemoth which provides

more detailed information than the aforementioned statement — fails to give standards which would necessarily preclude language like Brown's.

"[U]sing stereotypes based on gender or sexual orientation in attempts at humor" is one of over a dozen categories of behavior which the policy states "may give rise to allegations of sexual harassment" depending upon the "particular circumstances" at hand.

The policy later states, moreover:

Actions and verbal statements that limit any individual's effort to realize their personal goals conflict with the Department's objectives because they reduce this respect and security. ... The cre-

**Whatever apologists for speech regulation might say to the contrary, one sees in Meizlish's threat the deliberate use of an ostensibly benign policy to police thought and expression.**

ation of a climate that recognizes and respects [Department members'] differences requires great patience, understanding, and sensitivity to others. For this reason, we all must be particularly sensitive to how comments and actions are perceived by others, not just how they were intended ...

Brown said that he never received a copy of this detailed policy.

Even if Brown had received the policy, however, it is difficult to believe that, as a student, Brown was in any position to intimidate Meizlish or impede her from achieving her personal goals.

Brown's case additionally reveals the policy's one-sidedness. Department members are to display "sensitivity to others," but unless everyone is to live constrained by the most sensitive Department member's standards, sensitive individuals must learn that not everything offensive should be sanctionable and that not everyone is equally sensitive when it comes to matters sexual. In short, sensitivity in a free society is a two-way street; paradoxically, the sensitive must be reasonably sensitive to the insensitive, and *vice versa*.

Perhaps Meizlish and Rosenstone took Brown's example as a stereotyping attack on all women. (Recall the wording of his example: "Dave Stud is entertaining three beautiful ladies in his penthouse when the phone rings.") Is that a reasonable way to understand the Stud example? Arguably it is not, for Brown never intimates that the ladies visiting Stud are stupid, promiscuous, servile or anything but "beautiful." Insofar as the name Stud invokes a stereotype, it is difficult to imagine how that alone would sexually harass Meizlish.

Indeed, the Department's policy seems to protect even such *risqué* examples. Its preface quotes thusly from the U-M's February 26, 1990, draft Policy on Discrimination and Discriminatory Harassment by Faculty and Staff:

Faculty are protected by the principles of academic freedom when engaged in scholarly activities. When engaged in scholarly activities, staff and students are similarly protected. Academic freedom involves free and unfettered discussion with the aim of increasing the understanding of the topics under study by all parties. ... Faculty are free to communicate ideas that may be controversial and even offensive but cannot use discriminatory methods to communicate information.

To the extent that the Department stands by the preface to its policy — the only segment of the policy which defines sexual harassment — it seems that Brown's example is protected if students have protection similar to

professors.

Rosenstone's interpretation of Brown's example as sexual harassment also seems implausible in view of Brown's intentional use of "businessperson" rather than "businessman." Brown's word choice actually gives an accommodating air to his example, a quality which arguably obviates whatever scintilla of intimidation or harassment that Rosenstone and Meizlish allege to have discovered.

More importantly, the tone of Meizlish's note exemplifies the manner in which speech codes of any sort can have a blatant chilling effect on debate.

Consider her dark promise that "any future comments ... will be interpreted as sexual harassment and formal steps will be taken." Nowhere does Meizlish qualify her threat; taken literally, *any* comment that Brown makes will result in his prosecution.

But suppose that Meizlish meant her threat to be more narrowly directed — perhaps to the effect that, "any future comments of a *similarly offensive nature* will be interpreted as sexual harassment." Even given this assumption, it would be impossible for Brown to know what else Meizlish and Rosenstone might construe as sexual harassment. As if Meizlish's ambiguous wording were not threatening enough, she concludes with a squirt of her own intimidation: "You are forewarned!"

Whatever apologists for speech regulation might say to the contrary, one sees in Meizlish's threat the deliberate use of an ostensibly benign policy to police thought and expression. One sees, in other

words, a textbook case of the deliberate use of threats to chill debate and clamp down on "bad" speech.

Meizlish's intent was not lost on Brown. Her response, he said, "limits academic freedom and free speech greatly."

Brown also hypothesized that, "if this trend continues, the U-M will become a place of indoctrination, a place for learning only from a certain point of view."

Many of the preceding arguments have questioned whether Brown could rightly be convicted of sexual harassment under the Department's policy. But assume that he could be convicted under the policy, even on a close reading of it. In that case, either the policy is a good one and Brown really did act wrongly, or Brown did nothing wrong and the policy is ill-conceived and overly-broad. It seems clear that by any ordinary, realistic standard, the latter is the case.

Although Meizlish has decided not to take formal action against Brown, the threatening, intimidating and thought-squelching authority that she wields exists only by virtue of University policies which constrain free speech, such as the Department of Political Science Policy on Sexual Harassment.

It is Meizlish's course of action, however, which ultimately reveals the destructive effects of such policies. The policy repeatedly encourages victims and witnesses of sexual harassment to seek counseling and advice from the department's advisers; it never encourages offended parties to confront their offenders. Meizlish did essentially that: Before confronting Brown, she sought outside assistance from Rosenstone, who she admits is now "prepared to intervene."

A central supposition of a free society, however, is that it can be largely self-regulating. Without appealing to outside authority, in other words, individuals can rationally resolve their problems with each other. But when these spontaneous, self-regulatory forces are undercut — when a policy teaches community members not to take up their problems first with their offenders but rather to appeal immediately to some enforcing authority — then the very underpinnings of a free society are jeopardized. How ironic, then, that this whole affair should transpire within the U-M's Department of Political Science.

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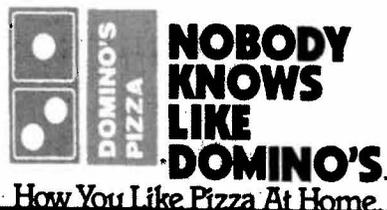
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