

"Miss Lillian." In view of the Carters' concern for mental health, their unconcern for Miss Lillian's mental ill-health (as defined by the authorities they respect) is rather surprising. Let me hasten to emphasize that I offer this "diagnosis" not as a personal judgment but rather as a logical inference from pronouncements made by Miss Lillian and by psychiatric experts. In 1975, the American Orthopsychiatric Association's Committee on Minority Group Children declared that "Racism is the number one public health problem," adding for good measure that "Racism is probably the only contagious mental disease."

ACCORDING TO THE EVIDENCE presented by James Wooten (author of *Dasher: The Roots and the Rising of Jimmy Carter*), Miss Lillian shows signs of suffering from just such a mental disease. "A week before her son was elected President," writes Wooten, "an erratic black preacher from a nearby city tried to worship in the Plains Baptist Church. He was rejected, rather forcefully, though not bodily. The door was literally shut in his face. It was instant news around the country—big news. It might have cost her son the White House. Several weeks later, after he had won, she remembered the incident at the church. 'Somebody,' she snarled, 'should have shot that nigger before he came on the lawn.'" The effect on "mental health" of the hypocrisy implied in the gulf between Miss Lillian's "nigger" and the capitalized "Blacks" in the presidential commission's report requires no further comment.

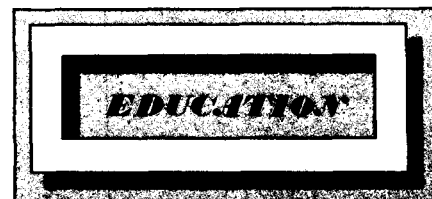
According to David Beisel, another contributing editor of the *Journal*, Jimmy Carter has dealt with his feelings of "maternal loss and maternal distancing" by internalizing maternal functions: "Without a mother he has become his own mother and performs domestic duties himself. Proudly, Rosalynn proclaimed that 'Jimmy really likes to cook . . .'" If poor Rosalynn only knew what psychiatrists can infer from the sinister symptoms of masculine domesticity which her husband displays. Our President has been known not only to cook but also to sew on buttons and wash his shirts. Better not let Anita Bryant hear about this! But why bother with psychopathological innuendos when the psychohistorical evidence clearly proves that the whole Carter clan is

just plain crazy. That is the conclusion of Henry Ebel, associate editor of the *Journal*:

The suspicion that the President may be nuts cannot—in view of his entirely projective function [*sic*—be dissociated from the growing suspicion, by "average" Americans in "average" American families, that *they* may be nuts. . . . At the unconscious level, in other words, the Carter family, with its bizarre admixture of rednecks, faith-healers, convicts, and puritanical obsessive-compulsives, is perceived as being just as distorted and "crazy" as the families of "average" American voters: a Munster clan or Addams family that has somehow wandered off the TV screen and into the White House. The concern with "mental health," which for the Carters themselves may be a quasi-therapeutic involvement in other people's problems, is politically necessary to counterbalance this image. . . .

With that piece of psychoanalytic psychohistory, we come full circle: from the report of the President's Commission on Mental Health, to the demonstration of the presidential family's mental ill-health, and back to the Carters' own meddling in other people's private lives. The measure of that meddling is best reflected in its cost to the taxpayer. "In the late 1950s," observes the commission, "the direct cost of mental illness was estimated to be \$1.7 billion a year. By 1976 the direct cost of providing mental health services was about \$17 billion . . ." The cost is steadily rising and the commission is recommending further sizable increases.

The President and his economists never tire of scolding us about our inability to afford imported petroleum, but they are remarkably silent about our ability to afford domestic psychiatry. Sooner or later we shall have to confront our value preferences. Perhaps the time is near when we shall have to choose between a system of "mental health care" so repugnant that it has to be financed through tax monies and imposed on the populace by means of force and fraud—and food and shelter and energy, that is, "essentials" for which individuals are quite willing to pay themselves. What President and Mrs. Carter are telling the American people is that mental health is more important than the "essentials." That is why mental health (like national defense) should be paid for by the government with tax monies—whereas food, shelter, and energy (like gambling and pornography) should be paid for by individuals with what the tax collector leaves them. □



DIANE DIVOKY

Running scared

THE EDUCATION ESTABLISHMENT is having a hard time this year countering new heresies that are abroad in the land. First there was the growing interest in the tuition tax credit bill, and then, as if that weren't enough, along came Proposition 13 in California and the subversive ideas it's giving citizens across the country. Dangerous notions are afoot— notions that, if implemented, would cut at the sinews of public education: its monopolistic control and its fat purse.

Those who tend and feed at the public trough have therefore joined together to stamp out the threat of tuition tax credits, which would allow parents of children in private elementary and secondary schools—as well as those of college students—to deduct as much as \$500 from their federal income tax. The opposition alliance is called the National Coalition to Save the Public Schools, and it includes every entrenched interest from school board groups to teachers' unions. U.S. Commissioner of Education Ernest L. Boyer told an April 9 rally of the coalition in Washington, D.C. that he opposes tax credits "because they are expensive and largely uncontrollable" and "they would increase red tape and lead to bureaucratic duplication." Now the U.S. Office of Education, which Boyer heads, has in the past few years become a perfect example of the impossible bureaucracy, out of the control even of its managers; it is so mired in its own mess that the response of those looking on has gone from horror to helpless laughter. Yet

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Boyer, who lives in this glass-housed bureaucracy, is out earnestly throwing stones, with an innocence or an arrogance that is almost beyond belief.

Boyer's boss, Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano, has added his voice to Boyer's, warning that tuition credits would "deliver a devastating blow to public school education in this country," and the entire coalition announced that the plan would lead to "hucksterism" among schools competing for students and to a revival of private segregated academies.

"Tuition Tax Credits Can Kill Your School," blared the front-page headline of the National Education Association newspaper over an illustration showing little red schoolhouses being blasted away. The NEA urged members to "confront" congressional representatives so they know "that teachers are angry and will not tolerate such unjust and unsound legislation." The NEA's rival, the American Federation of Teachers, went one better in an issue of its newspaper devoted entirely to opposing the tuition tax credit bill—this time the little red schoolhouse was menaced by a tornado, and there were even bigger red-letter headlines. The AFT provided samples of the sort of letters to be sent to members of Congress and newspaper editors. And in the space his union buys for him every week in the Sunday *New York Times*, AFT President Albert Shanker prophesied, in italics, that the passage of the tax credit bill "will be the beginning of the end for American public education."

The melodramatic tone of that warning was too much for the curmudgeonly Council for Basic Education, itself a staunch supporter of public schooling. "The statement is fatuous," the *CBE Bulletin* said. "Public education is too well established in America—established in the vogue sense of the word and established deep in the minds of Americans." What has Shanker worried is not the loss of public education, but the loss of jobs for his union members, a totally reasonable fear if parents have the financial means to opt out of the public schools. The *CBE Bulletin* pointed out to its readers that "a tuition tax credit would be intended for the benefit of taxpayers and their children, not for schools and teachers. If, in order to keep students, public schools had really to strive to match the quality of the private and parochial schools

which drew them away, American education might begin to achieve the distinction of which it is quite capable."

Two of the leaders of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Roy Innis and Victor Solomon, have also stressed that tax credits would put much-needed competitive pressure on the public schools. Innis points out: "It is time to give poor and minority families the chance to vote with their feet, the chance to use private education. . . . It is no surprise that tuition tax credits are opposed by school boards and unions. Such bills would put more power in the hands of parents, power to choose schools. This would encroach upon the preserves of the power brokers on the school boards and in the teachers' unions. But that is precisely what is needed."

BUT EVEN AS SHANKER WAS making his dire predictions about the results of the passage of the tuition tax credit legislation in New York, Wilson Riles, California's superintendent of public instruction, was echoing him in Sacramento, saying that Proposition 13 would also

treme right wing with the concept of many people that they're being taken by big government." He talked about "the serious need for school finance reform to relieve the schools from the burden of working under property taxes. School funding must be divorced from resident taxation, and more funding must come from the federal government." (So much for the concern about local control.)

The NEA took a similar line, with its executive secretary, Terry Herndon, labeling Proposition 13 a "calamity" and calling for tax reform that would have the federal government pay for a third of the cost of public schools. At its annual convention in Dallas in July, the NEA hammered home the idea that Proposition 13 was an antitax revolt, not an antischool vote. "The major problem does not lie with the schools but with our inequitable, inefficient system of financing them," the NEA announced in a press release. Why, its own national opinion poll had just found that while "the American public expresses legitimate concern about some educational matters, it is particularly notable that the public, in all demographic groups, continues to ex-

Tuition tax credits would force most public schools to improve their programs.

mean "the end of public education as we know it now."

And once the Jarvis-Gann initiative was overwhelmingly approved, Shanker, too, trained his guns on California, calling the measure "a fiscal and social disaster for that state," one that "portends similar disasters for other states which choose to follow California's example." He deplored the loss of local governmental autonomy, and particularly the "cannibalization of jobs" in school districts. "When it comes right down to it," he concluded, "Jarvis-Gann is just another version of tax relief for the rich."

In an interview with *INQUIRY*, Shanker's assistant, Peter Laarman, noted that 21 other states were moving to their own version of Proposition 13. "A terrible thing is happening," he said, namely "a confluence of the ex-

press a high degree of confidence in this nation's education system and its teachers and to voice few complaints about the lack of good schools in their own communities." What that meant was that only a quarter of those polled (by Cantril Research with field work and tabulation by the Roper Organization) had given the schools a vote of no confidence, only 45 percent felt that the quality of education has declined in this country, and only 68 percent doubted that most teachers have genuine concern about their students.

It might be expected that the education lobby would respond publicly to measures like tuition tax credits and Proposition 13 with weeping and wailing about the fate of public education, along with attempts to separate its own fortune from the course of the tax revolt. More surprising, its representatives really seem to believe their own

propaganda, to believe that all is well within education's own house. NEA staffers seemed hurt by the suggestion that there was any lack of public confidence in the schools. When I asked a high-level NEA official in Washington about NEA's position on the increasingly frequent calls for some sensible form of teacher evaluation—at a time when the schools have the luxury of many more teachers to choose from than they have slots—she simply looked bemused and took a “well-it’s-always-something-isn’t-it” attitude. “These things come in waves,” she said. “Last year it was minimum competency. Next year it will be something else.” Besides, she noted, the NEA doesn’t hire teachers, and it doesn’t fire them, so it really wasn’t its concern.

MEANWHILE, BACK IN California, school systems were facing up to Proposition 13 in expected ways. The brave talk about operating at full tilt until

budget for the upcoming year from \$96 million to \$89 million. Salaries were not raised, although such questionable programs—at least in lean times—as a \$517,000 high school internship program were maintained. Nonetheless, in spite of the elimination of half of the adult education program and most of summer school, Sacramento’s trimmed budget of \$89 million for 40,500 students was \$1 million larger than the budget of the past year—a year in which there had been 1500 more students. Many items, it seems, are locked in place by state-mandated increases in retirement funds and workers’ compensation, and allowances for inflation in the costs of materials and supplies. But, in any case, paying more for less is not what the taxpayers had in mind when they voted overwhelmingly for Jarvis-Gann.

In the meantime, State Superintendent Riles, who led a rally against Proposition 13 cuts, hasn’t said a word yet on how he expects to get to work



DAVID WISE

The CIA's Svengalis

“THE GIRLS WERE called on the telephone by the fictitious person and carried on a conversation. During the conversation, the code word was mentioned and, in each case, the girl receiving the telephone call passed from an ‘awake’ state to a complete trance state, maintaining their eyes open and appearing ‘normal’ throughout the conversation . . . the transition was completely perfect and would certainly deceive anyone . . . The girls were watched as they moved to the Operations Room and their walking, facial expression, etc. was perfectly normal . . . The test has considerable operational value since anyone using the code word or code could take control of a thoroughly conditioned subject. Further, to the casual observer or individuals about the subject being so induced, it would be impossible to note that a transition had taken place.”

The quotation—claiming that CIA experimenters were able to hypnotize people by telephone—appears in one of several hundred documents released bit by bit by the intelligence agency since last summer, when Admiral Stansfield Turner, the CIA’s director, announced that he had “discovered” a new cache of records detailing the CIA’s mind-control activities.

Taken together, the new documents, largely unreported by the press, reveal considerably more about the CIA’s experiments with hypnosis, and with hypnosis and drugs in combination, than has previously been known. And while it is unclear to what extent the CIA ever succeeded in using hypnosis in its operations, the documents do

Paying more for less education isn't what taxpayers had in mind with Prop. 13.

the money ran out—and then let the taxpayers see how they liked it—was gone. The scare talk that the initiative would eliminate vital services was over. Districts began to pare down their budgets by the 10 or 15 percent the loss in revenues required. In Oakland, when an advisory council of invited representatives of various employee, political, and community groups first met to suggest ways to cut \$15 million out of the \$104 million budget proposed for next year, the superintendent’s office handed council members a list of potential cuts that included basic services but not administration. Understandably, the response of the group was anger. The superintendent’s office then found a way to cut first 29 percent of its staff, and then 38 percent, 18 positions that have been costing the taxpayer \$573,599 annually. It seems that the average salary of the 18 most expendable employees was nearly \$32,000 a year.

The situation of the Sacramento city school system exemplifies the post-Proposition 13 quandary. It cut its

on his own fat bureaucracy or those of the districts he oversees. Shortly after the passage of Proposition 13, the state’s auditor general reported that the state Department of Education was wasting \$2.24 million annually on textbooks alone by buying at a higher price than necessary, a procedure that is both profligate and illegal. The Little Hoover Commission reported that a large portion of the more than \$2.3 billion in state aid to schools is wasted through “tremendous administrative inefficiency” in the state’s 1043 school districts. District administrators manage poorly, the commission said, and there’s a lack of leadership from the state Department of Education. There are too many schools and too many districts in a time of declining enrollment.

Almost none of these problems will be affected by Jarvis-Gann. Perhaps the bureaucrats and the other vested interests already know what the rest of us may learn in the next year: that the public school system is already beyond the help of the most heroic remedies—such as Proposition 13—that the citizenry can come up with. □

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