

Our Public  
Schools —  
Control  
Them if  
You Can

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by Solveig Eggerz

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# Our Public Schools — Control Them if You Can



by Solveig Eggerz

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## PREFACE

When the public schools were established many years ago as a means for providing all children with a good basic education, there were few who doubted that this institution would ever be anything but a benefit to the taxpayers.

Today this premise has become questionable. The failure may lie in the very nature of the public school system, which is supported through compulsory taxation and makes no one, except increasingly powerless school boards, accountable to the taxpayers. That such a system should be open to abuse by special interest groups should come as a surprise to nobody. We now have a situation where school boards respond not to local citizens but to pressure from state departments of education, local and state teacher unions or a combination of all of these.

Erosion of local control has been brought about by (1) the increasing power of teacher unions, who tend to view the tax supported school system as an endless reservoir for higher teacher salaries and (2) federal aid to education, which has made state and local education agencies administering bodies for federal programs. As teacher salaries go up and federal funds roll into school districts, parents find they have little role to play aside from paying taxes. The consumer who sees no improvement in the schools – and there is certainly no improvement that is commensurate with the higher costs–may find that his complaints fall on deaf ears. The ears of local administrators appear increasingly tuned to more distant sounds than those of the local taxpayer. Too often the decisions for local school districts are made in Washington, D.C.

Given the degree to which local control of schools has been lost, a radical solution may be the only answer. Economist Milton Friedman has advanced a voucher system for financing the schools, whereby each parent receives a voucher for the amount it costs to educate a child in that particular school district. The parent may spend the voucher at the school of his choice, thus introducing a consumer-product relationship into a stultified bureaucracy, which presently responds only to interest groups. By placing the schools within a free enterprise framework it's hoped that the spirit of competition will be stimulated and the schools will become responsive to the demands of the taxpayers.

If something is not done soon to remove control of the schools from interest groups and the state, we may actually find the schools becoming manipulative tools of the state, capable of indoctrinating children to accept whatever beliefs held by the administration in power at the time. This is what the ultimate loss of local control means.

As English writer Malcolm Muggeridge, looking back on his own youth, states in his book **Jesus Rediscovered**:

“Even in those far-off days, most of the elementary and secondary school teachers would have called themselves free-thinkers, and were already assiduously preparing the way for the climate of prevailing agnosticism today. A future social historian is likely to decide that the most powerful instrument of all in bringing about the erosion of our civilization was none other than the public education system set up with such high hopes and at so great expense precisely to sustain it.”

Solveig Eggerz  
Washington, D.C.

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## How the Government Would Raise Your Children

(*Human Events* Nov. 4, 1972)

In the past education was a process of transmitting to the young the culture of their forebears, of acquainting them with what Matthew Arnold called "the best that has been thought and said in the world." With today's emphasis on "relevance" and with the pervasive philosophies of secular humanism and moral relativism, coupled with the sensitivity training, role playing and group dynamics methods of the behavioral sciences invading the schools, there seems little time or concern left for what the schools were established to do—teach the traditional academic skills.

Today's emphasis is on "preventive mental health," "innovation," and "educational change," all of which has led to a stepped-up involvement of the school in every aspect of the child's behavior, his innermost thoughts and beliefs. The journal of the National Education Association (NEA) outlines a technique for the "integration of attitudes," and compares its effectiveness to the methods used by the Communist Chinese, "to inculcate Communist attitudes into their youth." (Five Issues in Human Relations Training, 1962).

What does daddy wear when he shaves? Do you love your mother and father? Do you like going to church?, are among the questions guidance counselors put to children in groups of twos or threes at "Talk Ins." These same sessions, sometimes called Self-Discovery, often employ techniques of group criticism and confession, traditional components of brainwashing.

Recently a guidance counselor in Maryland was asked what her aim was in encouraging children to criticize one another in groups. Her answer: "If a child hears what the others don't like about him, he might be moved to change his behavior because everyone wants to be liked."

Federal funds are turning hundreds of schools into experimental centers for trying out the "innovative ideas of educationists, many of which are based on a combination of the conditioning concepts of psychologist B.F. Skinner and the "self-actualization" guidelines of "Third Force" psychologist Abraham Maslow. Maslow's name and ideas crop up frequently in NEA booklets.

The idea of federally funded engineered social change in the schools arose with the 1958 National Defense Education Act, which led to the expansive "planned change" and "behavior modification" programs organized by the Office of Education today.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), Title III, has become the major source of funds for "innovation." In 1965 \$100 million was appropriated through ESEA to set up PACE (Programs to Advance Creativity in Education) centers to develop "exemplary" school programs as models for exportation to other school districts. In 1970-1971 Congress appropriated \$146 million for Title III school projects. The figure fluctuates slightly every year.

Many Title III projects last as long as three years and cost up to \$2 million. The school district outlines its needs for a particular project. This often includes the hiring of psychologists, social workers and/or the services of a psychological firm. This is in keeping with the schools' current emphasis on the mental health of children.

According to the same HEW spokesman, about 90 per cent of ESEA projects are geared to the deprived while the gifted are notably neglected. During 1970-1971 only \$1.9 million of the \$146 million allotted was used to promote learning of the gifted child.

**While some Title III projects seem valid, others would make shocking reading material for parents. An Office of Education publication, "Pacesetters in Innovation," lists projects replete with sensitivity training, role playing and other means for bringing about behavioral change.**

One project, begun in South Brunswick, N.J., is a "Training Program Designed to Change Teacher Perception and Behavior." The abstract states that, "a sensitivity training program will be conducted for teachers and administrators to develop significant change in teacher perception of the learner and learning process. . . . Emphasis will be placed on (1) developing a trust among staff members; (2) increasing sensitivity to the effects of teacher behavior on others; and (3) increasing sensitivity to the needs of children."

Leafing through "Pacesetters" the reader becomes aware that the focus of education has shifted from cognitive learning to a strong emphasis on emotional adjustment and mental health. A glance through the subject index tells the story:

Examples of headings: "Behavior Development, Behavior Problems, Changing Attitudes, Child Development, Clinical Diagnosis [the list of projects under this heading is long], Human Relations, Mental Health Programs, Psychoeducational Clinics, Psychological Needs. . . ."

A sub-project of "Family Life Education Curriculum" is called "Constructive Control of Aggressive Behavior." This one includes moral relativism as it promises to teach the student "the major methods that philosophy and the behavioral sciences have proposed for determining right and wrong." This includes learning "social responsibility and human values as they are involved in the constructive control of aggressive behavior."

In the past few years the use of sensitivity training has increased most markedly in the area of race relations; and, despite cases which illustrate the detrimental sides of sensitivity training, has been extended to the schools. When white teachers in Washington, D.C., were transferred to all-black ghetto schools, they were put through a Title III group dynamics project to "sensitize" them to the feelings of black students.



"Toward Acceptance" is designed to "expose students and teachers of the area to the moods and culture of their local minority group." Among proposed activities: "In-service training [a common euphemism for sensitivity training] for teachers to help them become more sensitive to the needs of minority children...."

**Among the Pacesetter projects are numerous child development programs, some of which experiment with children as young as four years of age, a most interesting phenomenon in view of the recent emphasis on child development by Congress.**

Introduced at Brainerd Independent School, District 181, Minnesota, was a "highly structured, 16-week pre-kindergarten program for selected four-year-olds." The project promises to develop "reliable, pre-kindergarten, psycho-educational evaluation procedures."

Many taxpayers are not aware of what's involved when a group sits down for a sensitivity session. Aside from the slow wearing down of defenses and the large amount of emotionalism and personal revelation, there's the all-important process of abolishing one's individual standards in favor of a group standard, which to a behavioral scientist marks the transition to "group-centered behavior," but to the critic looks more like brainwashing.

The NEA defines sensitivity training as something "which fits into a context of institutional influence procedures,

which includes coercive persuasion in the form of thought reform or *brainwashing* as well as a multitude of less coercive and informal patterns." (Five Issues in Training, page 47. Emphasis added.)

In *Schools of the 60s*, an NEA journal, it's stated that "education is a process of changing behavior" and to assist this process the NEA lists the three types of training it deems necessary: "(1) personal and interpersonal sensitivity training, using appropriate variations of T-group training; (2) conceptualization training; and (3) skill training."

Indicative of how widespread the use of sensitivity training has become in the schools is the proliferation in the education departments of universities of such courses as "group dynamics," "human relations," or "human communications and development." Attendance at only one such course usually qualifies a teacher to practice the same on her students. Teachers can also attend sensitivity sessions at nine-week sessions within the school or at summer sessions offered by the National Training Laboratories.

**For a vulnerable, easily manipulated school child, the group pressure involved in a sensitivity session often results in a shifting of allegiances from the family and the church to the group.**

Parents resent what they feel is a usurpation of their rights and object strongly to the invasion of privacy through the asking of highly personal questions,

(some parents say that discussing which parents "fight" has become common gossip among the children as a result).

A mother in Wheaton, Md., complained recently that her fourth-grader was asked in a social studies class the following questions: "How is your mother? How is your father? Do you like having lots of boys in the family? Do you like your brothers like you do your boyfriends? Do you have fights at home? Do you wish you were the only child? Do your mommy and daddy fight? Do your parents love each other? How can you tell? How much does your father make at his job?"

In a Maryland school an instructor led a small group discussion called "Contact" (some schools refer to the same thing as "Man Comprovelates"). He probed into students' feelings about themselves, their families and friends in an aggressive manner. He reportedly pointed to one girl and addressed another asking, "what don't you like about her?" The first girl remained silent throughout the denunciation that followed. A parent who listened in was assured that "all personal things will remain confidential."

On the agenda in many classrooms across the country is an NEA-encouraged phenomenon, "Say What You Think Day," which is really a free-for-all of criticism, a device that ostensibly measures the mental health of school children.

A parent's group in the state of Washington reports that a boy who refused to openly criticize his classmates on the grounds that it wasn't "nice" because they were his friends was persecuted by the teacher through long talks and being kept after school that he finally complied.

A popular means for gauging the adjustment of individual pupils is the "sociogram," a procedure for discovering interpersonal relationships within a group, through a diagram where pupils are indicated by circles and their preferences by arrows. In order to create a sociogram, a teacher asks the children to list the other classmates in order of their dislike or liking for them. Based on diagram findings the teacher will then approach children with questions such as "Why don't you like her since she likes you? Its it because of . . . or . . .?"

Psychodrama or role playing is a technique originally intended to help the mentally ill work out their problems by dramatizing them in such a way that spectator catharsis occurs and insight and behavior change may result. Introduced to this country by Dr. Jacob Moreno, role playing is frequently used in the schools to help solve behavioral problems or home problems.

Role playing is often considered a form of sensitivity training. Ronald B. Levy of Roosevelt College in Chicago says of it: "While the therapeutic psychodrama is concerned with pathological behavior and maladjustment, the educational psychodrama is concerned with the control and direction of normal behavior towards desired goals."

Parents tend to view role playing as yet another invasion of personal and family privacy. During Free Form Education Week, Montgomery County, Maryland, schools had a week of psychodrama in a course called Comprovelates, where students enacted home incidents, particularly disagreement within the family.

A Potomac, Md., mother, who has since transferred her three children to private school, spent a day watching psychodramas and observed, "To me it seemed like a series of lessons in how to quarrel with all forms of authority, whether with parents or police whom the children called 'pigs' without correction from the teacher. This certainly won't improve home life. Many issues that should have remained private were made public."

The teachers neither corrected English mistakes or foul language, she said. Instead, one teacher accelerated emotionalism by shouting, "Act it out till you feel a little sick, till you feel it down to the pit of your stomach!" The subjects of the skits were such situations as "inter-racial dating," "parents finding 'grass' in child's room," and "parents quarrelling with children over children's friends."

The Rev. Louis DiPlacido, a Faith Baptist minister in Wheaton, Md., tells of a class discussion on stealing. When he asked the young teacher if she had mentioned that stealing was both immoral and illegal she responded, "I'm not permitted to impose moral standards on my pupils. We're not talking about robbing banks, and a little stealing now and then isn't so bad."

A father at a recent parents' group meeting in Maryland told how his daughter had been introduced to the techniques of shoplifting and that she'd proudly demonstrated to her parents how you shoplift—"You just put a skirt over your skirt and walk out."

A child attending an East Coast school returned home bearing physical signs of harassment by other children. Upon in-

vestigation parents found out that the little girl's class has been assigned to write an essay entitled "Whom do you dislike most in the class? Tell why." Many children chose the "new girl" in the class. The teacher then read some 30 essays on "Hate" and on the way home the emotionally tense children had vented their built-up animosity on their "hate object."

**According to educators an important phase of behavior change is collection of personal data, which serves as a guide to where change is needed. To this end the keeping of diaries on the most personal home incidents and conversations is being assigned children in schools all over the country—often in English class as an alternative to writing a book review.**

Today's curriculum guides often recommend sensitivity training and various other controversial ideas and methods. An example of this is "Life Science and Human Development," a social studies curriculum for kindergarten through sixth grade, which claims to "emphasize the interrelationships between plants, animals and people."

Among the suggested activities for first graders are—"discuss family size, pointing out advantages of both large and small families. Role play the family at dinner. Role play other meaningful family situations." Under the heading, "Development of self in the total environment," students are asked questions such as, "Why do you want to help members of your family? How do you feel when you help? What kinds of things make you angry?"

Second-graders are asked, "Who does your family entertain at your house? (friends, grandparents, aunts, uncles, etc.)" or they're told to list "Which family members seem to accomplish the most? the least?" Under the rubric "Dealing with Fear" children are encouraged to discuss "fear-producing situations" or to "talk about situations with adults which frighten them." Role playing is recommended for dealing with disappointment.

Love, anger and other feelings are dealt with in all grades through role playing. Open-ended statements are assigned such as, "I am important because... I know people love me because... I show I love others by..."

Home economics courses today are focusing less on sewing and cooking and more on students' psyches with funds often coming through 1968 Amendments to the Vocational Act, although any connection between most of the course content and a student's future vocation seems coincidental.

A home economics curriculum, "Human Development in the Family," taught in Montgomery County schools, is a "growth-producing experience," which includes among suggested resource materials: *Sexology* magazine, a game called "Generation Gap," and books such as *Dynamics of Group Action*, by D.M. Hall and *How to Use Role Playing Effectively* by Alan Klein.

Included are many How do I feel? type questions, which invade the child's inner person, an area previously considered off limits to school officials. Games such as "It" and "Who Am I?" also invade family privacy.

In "It" one student sits aside while the others speculate "How many brothers and sisters does 'it' have?, What sort of home? Which parent does 'it' feel closer to?" At the end of this "game" the "It" in question reveals the correct answers to these and other personal questions.

The rules for "Who Am I?" call for each student writing an essay describing himself. The class then exchanges papers and each student guesses whose study in self-revelation he has in his hands.

Unit III of this curriculum is entitled "Individual and Self-Development," which includes such open-ended sentences as "Self is..." Among the assignments is "Do group research on humanistic psychologists." On the list of those to be researched is encounter group expert Carl Rogers and above-mentioned Abraham Maslow.

Other open-ended sentences for students to complete are: "I get angry when----; When I take a test in English, I feel--; Fear is ----; Anxiety is----; I daydream when----."

Presumably also geared to "self-development" is the following assignment: "Read *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden*. React to book in a non-verbal means such as a collage, poster, painting, dance, pantomime."

The section on "Dates, Courtship and Mate Selection" suggests reading a newspaper article entitled "Abortion: One Girl's Experience."

The guidebook suggests role playing the situation as follows: "A boy with several years of schooling ahead of him is confronted by a girl he has been dating..."

Among the listed resource materials: *Why Wait til Marriage?* by Evelyn Duvall and *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex* by David Reuben.

This home economics curriculum contains enough sex education material to make any course on sex education seem superfluous, the observer might note. Yet in many schools sex education might exist in addition to a course which includes such projects as: Invite a pregnant woman to discuss with the class "what it feels like to be pregnant" (resource material: pregnant woman). Another suggestion is to invite to class a newlywed couple to discuss "recreation in early marriage." Resource material? A newlywed couple, of course.

Another area into which the schools are moving is one previously viewed as dominated by parents; i.e., the teaching of values to school children. "Values change as the individual matures," the guidebook tells us. Students are told to write short essays entitled "My values are. . . ." Values are discussed with a group, role playing is performed, films are shown, games are played. At the end of the course the student writes another essay on his values to see how they've changed as a result of the course.

Among the means towards "realizing individual values" is a discussion called "Whom will you choose?", which the uncharitable bystander might call a study in euthanasia. A story is told about 11 persons in a fall-out shelter with only sufficient food for six persons for a month. Students are handed biographies of these persons, upon which they are to base their choice of which five people to "sacrifice."

The instruction sheet warns: . . . "Accept the situation as fact, concern yourself with choosing your companions. . . . Remember you are one of the six. . . . You must weigh values. The 'right' choice reflects your values correctly."

In another version of this game a Kensington, Md., teacher told her students to envision a population crisis and to pick out the classmates they would eliminate to ease the situation. The idea was less than a success, however, because tenth-graders in question reportedly refused to cooperate and suggested the teacher be the first one sacrificed.

Learning is an activity that's increasingly taking a back seat in the schools in favor of improving Johnny's mental health.

HEW head Elliot L. Richardson was quoted in the *Anaheim Bulletin* of August 1971 as calling teachers "potentially our largest cadre of mental health personnel." Asked about the concept of competition, he added, "How absurd that we've fostered this rigorous toilet training of the mind. . . . It has been the type of competition that destroys rather than builds self-esteem."

Judging from educators' writings the schools are undergoing perpetual revolution. Yesterday's progressive education has been replaced by today's "innovation," a word which covers everything from sensitivity training to the "classroom without walls" or the non-graded school.

Evans Clinchy writes in *The Revolution in the Schools* that children "will not be attempting to arrive at the 'right' answer. . . . Nor will they be asking the teacher to answer questions of substance. That is not what the teacher is there for.

He is there to assist the children in the process of finding their own answers."

In *Humanizing Education: The Person in the Process* (an NEA publication) Carl Rogers writes: "I have said that it is most unfortunate that educators and the public think about, and focus on, teaching. It leads them into a host of questions which are either irrelevant or absurd so far as real education is concerned."

Instead the teacher should "facilitate learning" and this can best be achieved through a very special interpersonal relationship between "facilitator" and learner.

The attitudes which best promote learning, says Rogers are: "a transparent realness in the facilitator, a willingness to be a person, to be and to live the feelings and thoughts of the moment." Rogers compares this "intensive relationship" with that between therapist and client.

While the National Education Association continues to fill its manuals with the writings of sensitivity trainers and psychologists, expounding upon the importance of mental health above teaching in the schools, there is little concern for the sinking academic standards in the nation's public schools.

While teachers are learning group dynamics in their education courses, "functional illiteracy" remains a pervasive problem. Dr. Roger Freeman writes in the *University Bookman* (summer 1971) about the widespread "inability to read and write sufficiently well for maximum functioning in today's society."

Says Dr. Freeman: "The Office of Education estimated that 24 million persons, 18 and over, are 'functionally illiterate'—they cannot read, write or count at a fifth-grade level. Yet there

were at last count only 6.4 million Americans, 14 years and over, who have attended school for fewer than five years."

Parents have reacted to present trends in the schools by suing boards of education, pressuring state legislatures and by withdrawing children from public schools to place them in private schools or to teach them at home. Parents across the nation have banded together to form so-called Independent schools in order to escape sensitivity training and invasions of privacy.

**These are admirable measures and benefit the individual child involved, but as far as the over-all problem of the public schools is concerned, they are defensive tactics, Band-aid measures, against a school system that's slipped out of the public's control.**

If more concerted, effective measures are not taken, U.S. education may end up rivaling that of Sweden, where the combination of total government control of the schools and a view of the schools as tools for "social engineering" have turned centers of education into means for social change. As Roland Huntford in his book, *The New Totalitarians*, says in describing the Swedish school system, "The ultimate aim is to create the new man for the new society and, among the agents of its achievement, education is obviously of crucial importance."

In view of the worship of the rigidly controlled Swedish system among behavioral scientists in the U.S. and in view of the large role played by behavioral scientists in education today chances appear dim that American public schools can be changed from their present goal of social change back to traditional education.

## Education and HEW

(Roll Call March 29, 1973)

"There's a time for all things," is a view expressed in the Bible. But controversial subjects, like tornadoes, have a schedule all their own. Such is the case with the storm that's brewing over the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).

President Nixon's proposed 10% cut in funds to education means eliminating more than half a billion dollars' worth of federal aid. In fiscal 1972 Congress authorized almost \$5 billion for ESEA but appropriated just under \$2 billion. The President proposes to replace ESEA and other funding with an education revenue-sharing plan of \$2.8 billion to be used within five broad education areas.

**Saddest of all at the prospect is House Education and Labor Committee Chairman Rep. Carl D. Perkins (D-Ky.). "The administration is cutting back and cutting back . . .," he laments. Perkins is proposing a bill, HE 69, calling for an extension of ESEA for five more years.**

A remnant of President Johnson's 1965 Great Society programs, ESEA includes Title I for disadvantaged children and Title III for experimental programs. As with many of today's educational programs, following hard on the heels of the ESEA bandwagon are disgruntled parents and community leaders whose cries can't be heard over the enthusiastic din of educators.

Civil rights leaders argue that the \$1.6 billion allotted annually under Title I is not reaching the children for whom it was earmarked.

**Congressional Quarterly reports:** "Numerous studies conducted since 1969 have found that Title I funds, intended to be used for compensatory education, were being diverted into general school aid benefiting all children or replacing local school revenues. One report, prepared for the Office of Education by the American Institutes for Research, found 37 states guilty of misspending funds."

John F. Hughes, who worked with the Office of Education's compensatory program, has, with his wife, Anne, written a book entitled *Equal Education*.

The Hughes cite the case of Mississippi, where Title I funds were used to buy television sets and school band equipment. To them New York City appears a "hopeless morass." Like any bad boy frittering away forthcoming money, New York City was burning up its \$65 million before the state received a formal application seeking approval of the expenditure.

Detroit, say the Hughes, "committed its \$12 million the first year to a variety of improper projects and at one time it used Title I funds to buy a church." Churches are not among the cultural amenities the Title I advocates have in mind for the disadvantaged.

Washington, D.C., School Superintendent Hugh Scott calls Title I a "classic example of a program a mile wide and one inch deep." Up to 80% of Title I funds in the capital city have reportedly gone toward salaries.

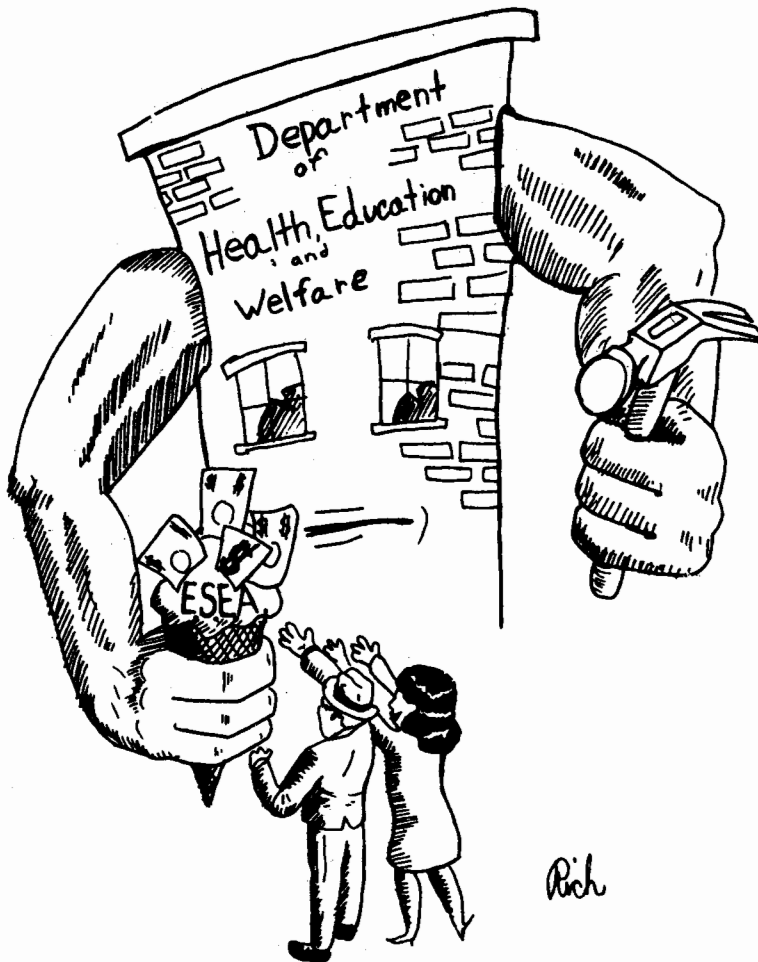
Mark R. Arnold, reporter for the *Washington Observer*, writes that under HEW guidelines, "teachers and principals stigmatize the slowest learners or, conversely, discriminate against the fastest." Non-Title I children are not to reap the benefits of Title I funds, which often means excluding up to 15% of a class in a ghetto area from viewing a film or going on a field trip funded by Title I.

An example of this occurred in a Washington, D.C., high school where courses in data processing and aviation were eliminated because federal investigators felt they served the brightest children and not the neediest.

Arnold characterizes the Title I program as suffering from "poor planning, sloppy management, superficial evaluation and, until recently, precious little concern with results." Where the children of "greatest need" have been funded while the slightly less poor who might be neglected, programs have often had to be discarded for lack of results.

Opposing Rep Perkins' bill is Rep. Albert H. Quie (R-Minn) who wants to replace the manner of allotting funds according to income level with the use of children's test scores. Under Quie's negative incentive plan those districts where the most children receive the worst test scores would get Title I funds.

While Title I has been a disappointment for many inner-city school districts, Title III has had an incendiary effect on suburban parents' groups all over the country.



Title III emphasizes mental health and emotional adjustment of schoolchildren, an aspect which many parents considered a usurpation of parental rights. They particularly object to the frequently recommended use of sensitivity training, role playing, sociograms, group discussions and other psychological methods in the classroom.

Title III projects listed in an Office of Education publication, *Pacesetters in Innovation*, are broken down into categories such as "Behavior Development, Behavior Problems, Changing Attitudes, Child Development, Clinical Diagnosis, Human Relations, Mental Health Problems, Psychoeducational Clinics, Psychological Needs . . ."

Among those lobbying against the extension of ESEA are "Citizens United for Responsible Education" (CURE), a group of parents in Montgomery County, Maryland, an impacted area, as far as educational innovation and experimentation is concerned.

Dr. Onalee S. McGraw, CURE's Director of Curriculum, speaks of Title III's "bias for the 'mental health' approach," which, she says, "seeks the psychosocial formation of the child as opposed to the development of basic skills and intellect." She cites as evidence of Title III's "downgrading of intellectual development" the number of grants listed under "clinical diagnosis" (29) as opposed to those for developing "literary composition skills" (3).

An Ohio parents' group is opposing a Title III drug education program in Ohio schools on the grounds that it is "primarily a behavioral program." The teacher's manual for grade six states: "Because the abuse of drugs is a form of behavior, it follows that the child should begin to discover and learn about the dynamics of his behavior and that of others. . . ."

The use of "All About Me" folders is suggested to "give each child a confidential means of writing down his ideas and feelings and of communicating to the teacher." Role playing is a suggested means of inducing change.

APEX English is a Title III program that's come under fire from "Concerned Parents for Education," a group in Springfield, Mass. They argue that "this curriculum subjects stu-



dents to social, economic, physical, emotional and spiritual problems which are straining to their young minds." APEX Eng-

lish includes group dynamics and suggested readings such as **The LSD Story** by John Cashman and **The Varieties of Psychedelic Experience** by R. E. Masters, Ph.D., and Jean Houston, Ph.D.

Among the projects listed in **Pacesetters** are:

- "Training Program Designed to Change Teacher Perception and Behavior." The abstract states that "a sensitivity training program will be conducted for teachers and administrators. . . ."

- "Self-Concept Improvement—Students and Teachers." It states that "self-concept and self-expectancy will be developed in elementary students through a program providing each child with experiences which will aid in enhancement of his self-image." Includes sensitivity training

ESEA is scheduled to expire June 30 of this year, but an automatic one-year extension has been provided. The battle is between local and federal control of education or between Congress and the president, depending on where you're sitting. Should the President push through his revenue-sharing plan, power will go to state boards of education, while Congress watches a bit more of its power slip away. Under revenue sharing, federal taxes are spent and Congress has no say in the matter.

For parents' groups the revenue-sharing plan is still several steps from local control, but the tentacles of the state board of education are perhaps easier to beat back than the heavy arm of the federal bureaucracy.

## The Kibbutz and Collectivism

(Human Events March 31, 1973)

Educators and behavioral scientists have a certain love for collectivism based on principles of egalitarianism that seem to conflict with the now hackneyed "do your own thing" concept.

The German philosophers, Friedrich Hegel and Johann Fichte, often viewed as the forefathers of Nazi philosophy, argued that man can only gain freedom through subordination to the group. The group was the state. Today the exaltation of the group is accompanied by "group consensus" and "group values" and the group is arbitrary.

In the Soviet Union and Sweden day care centers and education are organized along collectivist principles that are apparently increasingly appealing to social scientists in this country, who advocate child development centers for all children and "group dynamics" for every classroom.

Another expression of collectivist ideals is the collective life style or commune, represented by the coercive and dehumanizing Communist phenomenon on the one hand and the voluntary, disorganized American experiment, on the other, such as Brook Farm in the 19th Century and hippie communes today, all of which appear to be short-lived.

The Israeli kibbutz is often pointed to as the "realistic" route to collective socialization because it encompasses both education and living arrangements and because it's both voluntary and highly organized. Recently this writer visited an Israeli kibbutz only to find the much-touted collectivist ideals very relaxed as individuals asserted themselves against the group.

Organized to "normalize" the Jews by attaching them to the soil, the kibbutz has turned its back on the intellectual, family-oriented Judaism of 19th Century Eastern Europe. The predominant influence of the loving, cooking "yiddische mamma" and of the authoritarian father was replaced by collective child rearing. An "intense group experience" overrode family ties. Public ownership displaced the traditional respect for private property.

In the early kibbutzim marriage was frowned upon as "bourgeois" because a bond between two individuals tended to loosen the individual's tie to the group. Until the 1940s some kibbutzim were still maintaining common shower rooms for men and women.

Located not far from Jerusalem is "Zora," a kibbutz with 220 members and 250 children. Here children no longer live in "infants" or "children's" houses under the supervision of a *meta-pelet* but in their parents' apartments.

A former South African and a member of Zora for 17 years explained, "This is not a unique practice. Other kibbutzim have it. We decided to have the children live at home, not because we think that the other method is psychologically disturbing, but because the mothers wanted to have the children with them."

According to Melford E. Spiro's book, *Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia*, the kibbutz has succeeded in destroying the seat of the father's authority and thereby weakening the family. The same, however, is not true of the mother's role, which is being revived in its traditional form. Spiro attributes this to "female dissatisfaction" with the woman's econom-

ic, maternal and sexual roles on the kibbutz and terms it "a constant threat to kibbutz cohesion."

**On the early kibbutzim parents were motivated by necessity and by their "anti-bourgeois" ideology to relinquish children to the care of others. As children today in Russia and Sweden are viewed as the responsibility of the state, in the kibbutz they were the responsibility of the group.**

Sue Herr was born in Leipzig, Germany, brought up in England and has lived for 20 years at Zora. She says, "Over the years most extreme life styles have fallen off in the kibbutz. We now believe it's better for children to live at home with the parents." She points out that each child has two dwelling places, one at home with the parents and the other in the children's house where they spend the day.

Mrs. Herr says that women's liberation has come and gone at Zora. "When the kibbutz first started the whole idea of socialism, equality and manual labor was so new to people from Eastern Europe that the women wanted to prove their equality by working in the fields," she says.

"The modern Israeli woman no longer wants this. I was the last woman here at Zora to work in the orchards. It doesn't make sense to have the women in the fields and the men tending the children." The women's withdrawal from hard labor in favor of the "service" jobs has led to a feeling of their decreased economic importance among the women, a feeling that's being compensated by a renewed maternal emphasis. In some cases it was the irrepressibility of the maternal instinct that led to the change in women's roles, rather than the other way around.

Spiro, who did an anthropological study of the left-wing kibbutz on which he lived, found that "many mothers have not reconciled themselves to the system of collective education and the resultant separation from their children." He interviewed a feminist, activist woman, who spoke bitterly of her kibbutz role:

"Life in the kibbutz is difficult," she stated. "The showers and toilets we are forced to use are enough to warrant such a statement. But to that must be added the noisy and hurried dining room, the hard work day, the lack of real recreation . . . All we have left is our children, and we don't even have them, for they are in the children's house."

Most of the living quarters at Zora are small houses, each containing living space for four families. There's a strong note of individualism expressed in the attractive and varied flower gardens that surround many of the houses. Modern sculptures have been placed in the grassy areas of the kibbutz.

Art Carlson is a fundamentalist Christian who lives at Zora with his wife and four children. He views the creation of Israel as a fulfillment of the biblical prophecy and believes the second coming of Christ will occur in Israel.

"God wanted us in Israel," he states. "Of course our children live at home with us. Being American, I wouldn't have it any other way."

In the early days of the kibbutz such luxuries as radios and fans in a kibbutznik's room were frowned upon for economic reasons and because they might entice an individual away from the collective hall to his private room in the evening. Now many kibbutzniks apply their meager allowances to such appliances.

Spiro writes that at the Communist-motivated kibbutz he studied the desire of some kibbutzniks for privacy became so great that some built private showers, a trend that was discouraged on the grounds that they were "unsightly." He speaks of the "deep-seated need" of kibbutzniks for privacy. "It is all but impossible for the average *chaver* [a member of a kibbutz] to enjoy more than a few moments of solitude; even the privacy which most people enjoy at meals or in the shower is impossible."

According to Spiro, the kibbutz he studied is in the midst of "a general trend from a completely community-centered society to one in which there is a much greater degree of privacy. This is manifest in a number of ways," he states. "In the first place, there is a significant centrifugal movement from the dining room, as a center for the activities of the *chaverim*, to private living rooms."

Among the evidence of this trend he cites the attempts of many kibbutzniks to obtain their food in the dining room and eat in their rooms alone or with their spouses.

At Zora most meals are eaten in the communal dining hall. At noontime the hall becomes a sea of blue uniforms while kibbutzniks gulp down their food at a rapid pace. There seems to be little philosophizing over the plates. In a short time all have returned to the turkeys, the crops or the children.

Due to the increased emphasis on privacy and family life at Zora, the *shabbat* (Saturday) meal can be cooked in one's room and thus become a family gathering.

Telephones do not exist in the rooms, except for that of the doctor or the veterinarian. Kibbutzniks do not own their

own cars, although many have the use of a collectively owned vehicle.

In the early days the refutation of private property was so extreme that kibbutzniks were not assigned a set of clothes but told to merely take what was on the top of the pile returning from the laundry. When it was found that principles of equality could not conveniently be extended to people's physical size, this practice was abandoned.

**The original kibbutzniks envisioned a "new man," a "synthetic man" emerging from the kibbutz environment. According to psychologists, kibbutz children do differ from other children.**

Dr. Bruno Bettelheim in *The Children of the Dream* calls the kibbutz "an over-reaction to ghetto life," and a "society of high consensus, where everyone sees the central issues of life more or less alike, and where everyone is under continuous scrutiny."

Kibbutz children excel in the Israeli army. They make up a large part of the officers' corps and about 90 per cent of Israel's pilots come from the kibbutz. Yet, Bettelheim points out that these children often lack imagination and flexibility, even in war-time situations. They are concerned with "group feelings" rather than "personal feelings." He says: "According to kibbutz ideology one is all the more a person, the more one is truly part of the collective."

Amos Elon in his book *The Israelis: Founders and Sons* points out the important role kibbutzniks have played in government, particularly at the peak of their power in the early 1950s. Then the proportion of kibbutzniks in power positions was estimated at seven times their proportion in the population as a whole. This proportion has declined to four or five times their share of the population.

These kibbutzniks are "inspired generalists," states Elon, and their relative weight within the Establishment is steadily declining. "There are now fewer kibbutzniks than ever before in the top echelon of the army, in the state bureaucracy; in the administration of Histadrut unions and Histadrut-owned enterprises," says Elon.

Bettleheim traces the decline of kibbutzniks in important positions to the "levelling" effects of kibbutz education and life. "An egalitarian system of education will lift up the bottom group and lower the top group toward the middle. And it will do so the more egalitarian the system," he states.

Kibbutz children are hard workers. They demonstrate patriotism and perseverance, but, thanks to the de-emphasis on introspection and privacy in the kibbutz, few become genuinely creative. It seems unlikely that from this generation of kibbutz children will come great writers, composers or artists.

Roland Huntford in his book, *The New Totalitarians*, compares the Swedish and Russian experience with that of the kibbutz. Speaking of the deliberate suppression of originality, he states:

"The head of a chemical research institution in Stockholm says that his younger workers seem devoid of personal initiative. They are afraid of rising above the level of the group. If somebody produces a new result, he appears unwilling to proceed on his own. He will ask his chief for directions as to what to do next. And the work is generally poor and unimaginative.

**"In other words, the same effects have appeared in Sweden as in Soviet**

**Russia and the kibbutzes of Israel. It is perfectly feasible to mold children into socially and well-adjusted creatures, and good members of the collective, but at the cost of originality and initiative."**

Zora is among the kibbutzim that serve as absorption centers for immigrants. The center offers a five-month work and study program to immigrants to teach them Hebrew and prepare them for life in Israel. Mrs. Herr heads the center at Zora.

She states: "We try to bring families here who are interested in remaining on the kibbutz. We have three Russian families. They are very diligent about learning Hebrew because of their determination. But not many seem interested in staying on the kibbutz. They think it's something like the collective farms they knew in Russia."

Due to the kibbutz' aversion to private property, leaving is more onerous than it appears. In addition to the guilt feelings that often accompany a kibbutznik's departure, he has little finances and no property, even after many years of hard labor. The kibbutz gives him a small pension for each year he has worked. This is paid out all at once and serves only to help the former kibbutznik become established in town.

Yet, immigrants keep coming to the kibbutz. Many believe less in collectivism and socialism than they do in the "Jewish feeling of togetherness" they suspect exists on the kibbutz. For them the kibbutz is a last step in a search for identity. A young man at Zora stated: "I'm a South African, a Jew and an atheist. Israel is my country, not South Africa."

Some Israeli Jews, city dwellers, view the kibbutz with suspicion and a disdain for its methods of education. Dr. Israel Shahak, a professor of organic chemistry at Hebrew University, and head of the Israeli League of Human Rights, calls kibbutz education "chauvinistic. They educate for the army and parachuting."

He considers kibbutzniks "average, provincial and uninterested. They have no concern for Jewish culture or any culture. To be clever or wise is a term of contempt for them. "He feels that the kibbutz goes against "the basic Jewish value of learning for the sake of learning."

Amos Elon, on the other hand, speaks highly of kibbutz education. "Kibbutz children are now perhaps the best brought up children in the country. The investment and current expenditure on kibbutz education is higher on a per pupil basis than anywhere in the country, including the richest areas and fanciest suburbs," states Elon. This is an indication that even the early kibbutz' "high" principle of anti-intellectualism is being displaced by the more traditional Jewish attitudes towards education.

Statistics show that few choose voluntarily to live collectively. Only 4 per cent of all Israelis live on the kibbutz. Of the 30,000-40,000 Russian immigrants who arrive annually in Israel, few express an interest in kibbutz life. Hippie communes in this country usually dissolve over problems of privacy or jealousy. Recently Svetlana Stalin refused to remain on an Arizona collective of architects. She told her new American hus-

band that she had left Russia to get away from that sort of thing.

Even those who choose voluntarily to live collectively on kibbutz are experiencing strong conflicts between individual and group. Such human characteristics as maternal feelings, a longing for privacy and property have proven irrepressible to the point of defying collectivist ideals and forcing revision of many kibbutz policies.

Individualism and human dignity can be taken more easily into account on the kibbutz than in a coercive commune. Social scientists, who view individual liberty in terms of the group, and happiness in terms of the collective, should consider first the damage done the human psyche in Russian and Swedish day care centers and schools and secondly the kibbutz, where the "group" has fallen short of its voluntarily established collective ideals.

## Is this Academic Freedom?

(Roll Call May 17, 1973)

**C**OLLEGE TUITION goes up again this fall, making it about \$150-200 more than last year. The average tuition at a public college will be about \$1,492 and that of Harvard or Columbia averages close to \$5,500.

To help defray costs Congress last month passed an \$872 million appropriation for college student aid. The money is divided between basic grants, work-study programs, supplemental grants and direct, low-interest loans.

By emphasizing aid to students over aid to institutions, it's hoped that students will benefit more and the institution will be less affected by Federal aid. Since need rather than academic qualifications is the criterion for receiving this aid, it's feared that universities might lower standards to accommodate the new influx of grant holders.

Meanwhile, those students who are neither poor nor wealthy will have to work all the harder to meet rising tuition costs. It sounds like a perpetuation of what black economics professor and writer Thomas Sowell calls "guilty whites" attempt "not to cultivate the most fertile soil but to make the desert bloom."

He cites the case of a black student with an excellent record (College Board scores in the 700's) who was opposed for admission to a good school because of his "middle class" record. As a result of such policies, Sowell points out, the best black stu-

dents often attend the worst schools for financial reasons, while the top schools recruit and pay for the worst students.

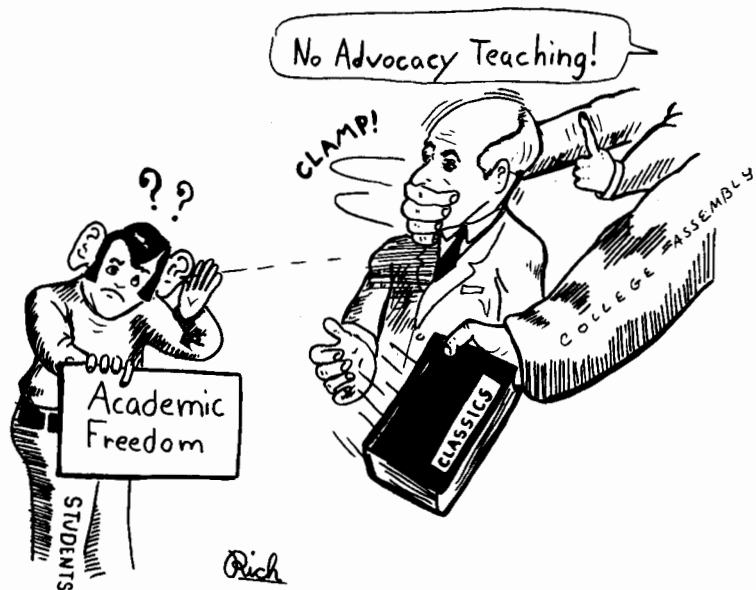
Academic freedom too has been threatened by Federal funds as in the case of faculty hiring quotas. Another factor is that funds are more readily available for behavioral science research than for the more traditional subjects. Academic freedom, however, is also seriously threatened from within the university as a recent incident at Kansas University illustrates.

Lawrence, Kansas is a lush, green oasis of culture, which attracts and educates bright students from the farms and tiny towns of the Kansas plains. Although a mass university, KU has its peaceful spots beneath

old trees. Courses in Human Development and the classics existed side by side.

Last year three professors with excellent credentials in their respective fields of literature established a two year program in the classics for freshmen and sophomores and called it the Pearson Integrated Humanities Program.

Several hundred students enrolled, electing to replace credits in English, speech, western civilization and the humanities with Pearson credits, and were soon immersed in the works of Plato, Herodotus, St. Augustine and Thomas of Aquinas. They felt they were experiencing an excitement not conveyed by the diluted grabbag of material known as the western civiliza-



tion course.

Pearson students studied the art of rhetoric and memorized poems by Shakespeare and Milton in order to "enjoy poetry as one enjoys a song."

**In a fit of zealous jealousy the College Assembly abolished the Pearson program. What makes a university pluck out a popular program in the classics? Part of the reason seemed to be the non too low profile cast by the professors, two of whom are Catholic and one Episcopalian. They were called "arrogant" and "authoritarian." One publicly denounced abortion. All were non-radiclib and decidedly "medieval in outlook" as the critics said.**

Pearson students, though, felt the course content valuable enough to make an occasional dose of "14th century Catholicism" palatable. "The professors do state their opinions," said one student. "But rather than ramming them down your throat, they make you work out your own convictions and philosophy."

Student outcry was to no avail. "Advocacy teaching" shouted a group of professors. "The market place must be a free market place of ideas," they cried. In the name of "pluralism" they abolished a popular alternative to the mass university.

Freedom is never lost without a good reason. Academic freedom lost out at Kansas University in the name of pluralism and relevance. After all—they say—St. Augustine must be balanced by some modern day

saints. Take your pick—Jane Fonda? George Leonard? Marshall McLuhan?

Voltaire thought little of Rousseau's ideas but stated nevertheless, "I disagree with everything you say, but will defend to the death your right to say it." No such tolerance was accorded the Pearson program.

Kansas City newspapers pointed a finger at "Virginia Woolfish jealousies" and "departmentalitis" as the cause. Students wrote the College Assembly 100's of letters in protest. With Inquisition-like self-righteousness the hatchets flew til Pearson was gone.

**Today's threat to academic freedom is what Will Herberg, professor of culture and philosophy at Drew University, calls "the clamorous pressure" of those who "want to force the professor to teach this and not that, to teach it this way and not that way." He calls this "the politicization of the university into an agency of social and political change."**

Among those tolerated at the university are professors of such non-academic courses as advertising; history professors who teach via newspaper clippings instead of books; political science professors who can't teach an hour long class without speaking the name of their favorite presidential candidate.

So what's wrong with a little medievalism at a mass university? If there's no room for another shade of "advocacy teaching" then pluralism is indeed a narrow concept.



## Federal Regimentation of Local Agencies

(Roll Call May 25, 1973)

**P**ROOF OF THE runaway nature of the Federal bureaucracy is the pervasiveness of Federally funded child development programs, despite President Nixon's veto of the Child Development bill in December 1971.

The Departments of Labor, HEW and OEO are implementing child development programs by an interlocking system whereby the Federal government penetrates and subordinates local and state agencies.

Under Federal regulations any Federal program which comes under the government's broad definition of "day care" program must comply with the Federal Interagency Day Care Standards. These entail requirements and "recommendations," which parallel the child development concepts of such "experts" as Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner and Jules Sugarman, chief of the Office of Child Development, who told a House Education and Labor Subcommittee in 1969 that "society is the third parent of every . . . child."

A Federal day care program brings to a local district comprehensive child development centers, complete with mental health personnel, health and nutrition programs and a host of "services" which taxpayers find are being applied to more than the target population.

According to C. Kenneth Johnson, manager of the Washington, D.C. Federal model child development program, the concept of the Interagency Standards is to give a child

"an opportunity to develop the way we think he should be developing . . . his whole personality, his whole style of living, his sense of values."

Federal programs which require adherence to Day Care Standards include: Title IV of the Social Security Act Part A—

The Day Care Standards contain the seeds of expansion by stipulating: "As a condition for Federal funding, agencies administering day care programs must assure that the requirements are met in all programs or facilities which the agencies establish, operate or utilize with Federal support."



Aid to Families with Dependent Children; Part B—Child Welfare Services, Titles I, II, III, and V of the Economic Opportunity Act, Manpower Development and Training Act and Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Title I programs subject to these requirements at the discretion of local or state agency).

The local or state agency which receives funds under a Day Care program must impose Day Care standards upon all local agencies receiving Federal funds, whether they be from the Federal school lunch program or Title II Library funds.

Marilyn P. Desaulniers, who has studied the relationship between local and Federal governments for several years, has prepared a study for the Fairfax County Taxpayers Alliance where she points out that Day Care Standards have made "Federal administering agencies" of State Departments of Welfare and Education.

She states that, "under Federal regulations currently in force against the county's school system, through Title II, of the Economic Opportunity Act as well as Title IV of the Social Security Act, the administration and organization, teacher qualifications and teaching techniques, the curriculum and the function of "education" in Fairfax County's public schools are determined under the Inter-agency Day Care Standards and Title 45 of the Federal Code. . . . Thus, the county's schools—at great cost in dollars and education for the citizens and children—have become child development/social welfare agencies."

Title IV also provides for a Work Incentive Program (WIN), which is classified as a Day Care program. The State Welfare Department must comply with both Social Security regulations and Day Care Standards, which means providing comprehensive services through other agencies. This includes the integration of contraceptive and family planning "services" into public school curricula, a blatant violation of the intent of Congress, since under all Federal laws such services must remain voluntary. The same is true, of course, of child development.

There's no doubt about the seriousness of the bureaucracy's goals. Many fear that Federal control on the local and state levels is as important a goal as the substance of the program.

Child development advocates are understandably pleased at the possibilities for expanding day care through open-ended and loosely defined legislation. Norman V. Lourie, an official with the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, writes in *Children Today* (July-August, 1972):

"The considerable expansion in child care services made possible by the 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act is illustrated by the following statistics:

"Expenditures of Federal funds by the states for child care services under Title IV A . . . almost doubled between fiscal years 1970 and 1971, from \$163,914,000 to \$305,188,000. . . . By far the greatest extension of these programs has been through the purchase of service from local, voluntary and public agencies."

Lourie is referring to a phenomenon which surpasses old-fashioned babysitting while mother works, as his last paragraph reveals. He states that, "Perhaps one day we shall achieve a level of national commitment that will result in the universal child care and development programs called for by the Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children, the 1970 White House Conference on Children and so many others."

While Congress turns its back, the bureaucracy funds the "experts" who are developing, molding, shaping . . .

## Corruption in the Office of Education

(Anaheim Bulletin May 29, 1973)

Hundreds of millions of dollars have been wasted through "collusion and corruption" in awarding federal antipoverty and education grants, states Rep. Edith Green D-Ore. The FBI is reportedly investigating Office of Education (OE) contract performance.

She cites cases where contracts were awarded at the insistence of top-level OE officials after panels, set up to consider them, had recommended they be turned down.

In an article in the Summer, 1972, issue of "The Public Interest" Rep. Green states: "Over and over again we have found educational organizations taking money for work not done, for studies not performed, for analyses not prepared, for results not produced. Over and over again, we have found educators using public funds for research projects that have turned out to be esoteric, irrelevant and often not even research."

She describes the case of a Professor A. of New York, a sociologist who requested \$70,000 from OE to study the sociological aspects of a particular facet of higher education. Rep. Green says of the proposal that it contained "no background information at all, no context, no reference to other work, no methodology or

plan, no curriculum vitae of the principal investigators (or anyone else)." Professor A. told OE that the goals of his study were: "1. A report . . . including background data and reasons for conclusions reached. 2. The training of a sociologist in educational research."

An evaluator of the proposal rejected it as "unspecific" and lacking in "a measure of vagueness" in the proposal yet gave it provisional approval. Two officials at OE complained only of the price with the result that A's proposal was approved in fiscal 1969 at \$55,000.

It soon became evident that Professor A's study paralleled the work of a Dr. J. B., also being funded by OE, and that Professor A. had very little knowledge in his proposed area of study. As Rep. Green points out, "it appears that the sociologist who was being 'trained' in education research was A. himself."

Professor A's "findings," as indicated in his progress reports were as hazy as his proposal had been. For example he states that "federal aid — regardless of the form — aimed at enabling more lower class high school graduates to attend college would generally have less impact on the societal stratification structure (in terms of social mo-

bility roles) than is generally assumed."

Nevertheless, OE approved additional funds of \$6,000 and a time extension for A., bringing the total cost over \$60,000. What did OE (and the taxpayers) get for the money when the project was completed in March 1970? According to Representative Green, "a very, very long (and wordy) essay, very, very short on hard data."

"Over a dozen OE officials were involved at one point or another," she states. "All in all one gets the feeling that the Office of Education was hopelessly unaware of what the project was really all about, and had no mechanism for keeping abreast of what was going on.".. Inefficiency is the nature of Bureaucracy. In fact, in the time of tyrannical kings its manner of slowing down despotic edicts was a welcome facet of its nature. Today, however, we're dealing with the old colossus of inefficiency, emboldened by the power that Congress has abdicated to it. Elected legislators are passing the buck to appointed officials.

"The intent of Congress is often disregarded," states Representative Green. "Awards are often made with hardly a glance at the legislative intent of the program that has been authorized by Congress. It some-

times seems as if OE considers the total funds appropriated by Congress in any fiscal year as a big pool on which OE can draw at will for whatever program it sees fit to fund."

Bureaucrats, appointed to carry out the laws of Congress, are increasingly distorting laws and making their own policies, which they enforce with carrot and stick methods. When the population opposed busing for school integration HEW began cutting off federal funds to rebellious school districts. "I saw no alternative but to terminate funds," said former HEW head Elliot Richardson, referring to Ferndale, Mich, in 1972.

HEW has interpreted the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to require universities to hire a certain percentage of blacks, Mexican-Americans and women if they want to retain federal funds. What bureaucrats call "guidelines for faculty hiring," universities view as a demagogic quota system.

Although President Nixon vetoed the Child Development bill, day care programs are in operation all over the country. A prime example of the independence of the bureaucracy is the fact that on June 18, 1971, the Office of Child Development issued Federal Interagency Day Care

standards, which are to be applied to schools and other institutions, which receive federal funds from certain legislative acts. Thus participation in a federally funded lunch program could bring in day care standards to a school.

Economist Ludwig von Mises in his book "Bureaucracy" speaks of the growth of a "general bureaucracy," which he views as the first step toward totalitarianism.

"This expansion," he states, "is the unavoidable consequence of the progressive restriction of the individual citizen's freedom, of the inherent trend of present day economic and social policies toward the substitution of government control for private initiative."

Bureaucracy, different from private enterprise, is a wasteful operation, states Von Mises. Its power should be restricted. He blames Congress for not encouraging a trend in that direction.

"Congress has in many instances surrendered the function of legislation to government agencies and commissions, and it has relaxed its budgetary control through the allocation of large expenditures, which the administration has to determine in detail," he states.

All of which accounts for such incidents as the grant

to Professor A.

"My rule is never to deviate from the civil code ... to me duty is sacred and I stand in awe of the law," states collegiate councillor Chichikov in Nikolai Gogol's "Dead Souls."

Chichikov plans to grow rich by purchasing from landowners dead serfs, still on the census rolls, and mortgaging them to the government. Chichikov's interpretation of the law is much like that of many bureaucrats today — it's a matter of getting away with as much as possible.

## Failure of Federal Aid to Education

(Human Events July 14, 1973)

The liberal-dominated House Education and Labor Committee is about to press upon the public's back a new version of the multi-billion-dollar Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), the federal government's most potent vehicle for intervening in local school affairs. Sponsored by Chairman Carl Perkins (D.-Ky.), and backed by the Republicans' ranking member, Rep. Albert Quie of Minnesota, the legislation will not only cost some \$2-billion-plus per year but is designed to commit the taxpayer to funding ESEA for at least five more years.

While many of the ESEA advocates may think this legislation contributes to the welfare of children, there is no more reason to think it will solve our education ills than there is to believe blood-letting will cure a hemophiliac. A closer look at the projects for deprived children under Title I, the experimental programs of Title III and the similar fare offered under Title V forces the question—what in the world did the kids ever do to deserve this?

If test scores and evaluations are any indication, the \$8.77 billion spent thus far on compensatory education under Title I has all been wasted.

**Indeed, the progressive infusion of federal funds into education appears to parallel a downward trend in test scores in basic skills. While it may be too much to say that federal funding is the sole cause of this, it's clear that governmental programs controlled from Washington have done nothing to improve the knowledge of children and in many cases have worsened the educational situation.**

The National Assessment of Educational Progress revealed recently that 15 to 20 per cent of the nine-year-olds cannot read at all, ranging from 7 per cent in the affluent suburbs to 35 to 45 per cent in the extreme inner city. Despite the fact that more Americans go to school for more years than ever before, some 15 to 20 per cent of adults are functionally illiterate.

Children in cities such as Washington and Chicago read below grade level and the situation seems to be deteriorating. In Boston, the head of the school board has proposed that the amount of time pupils spend on reading be doubled because reading scores have dropped to a record low.

In New York, the percentage of public school pupils reading below grade level has increased every year. In May 1966, 45.7 per cent of the city's second-graders were reading at or above the national norm for that grade. On the national reading test last year, the figure had dropped to 42.3 per cent. The reading scores had fallen off even more sharply in other grades.

An idea of just how bad things have become can be gleaned from the actions of an 18-year-old graduate of Galileo High School in San Francisco who recently filed a million-dollar suit charging that the school system had failed to teach him how to read.

Traditional reservations about federal aid to education were overcome in 1965 by selling ESEA to Congress as basically an anti-poverty bill. Those who should have balked at involving the federal government in a multi-million-dollar school program were soothed into

support when ESEA was described as aid to children rather than as aid to schools.

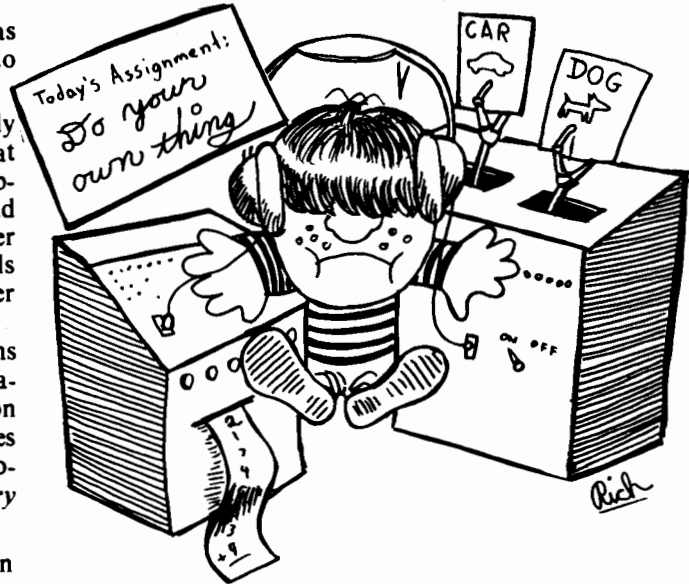
But Title I programs, far from really aiding children, seem aimed more at decorating the schools with new equipment, "innovative" programs, and courses that patronize the poor rather than in teaching the tough, basic skills necessary for children to succeed in later life.

"For all their variety, the programs have generally suffered from one fundamental difficulty: they are based on sentiment rather than on fact," states Prof. Edmund W. Gordon who co-authored the book, *Compensatory Education for the Disadvantaged*.

Much of the compensation comes in the form of arbitrary material gain. Mark Arnold, congressional correspondent for the *National Observer*, in his survey of Title I schools in Washington, D.C., found in one school, among other things, 33 record players, 37 film strip projectors, 24 radios, three sewing machines and three washer/dryer combinations.

Of Title I programs he says, "From the first time the first \$5.4 million was received in 1965 with little time for advance preparation, the program has been characterized by poor planning, sloppy management, superficial evaluation, and until recently, precious little concern with results."

Many of the innovations introduced through Title I do not nourish the intellect, but focus on mental health concerns such as "self-image" or "self-awareness." Moreover, there is an abnormal amount of money spent on complicated machinery, new teach-



ing methods and "cultural enrichment" programs.

Black psychologist Kenneth B. Clark, who believes in a tough curriculum for children, shows a marked lack of enthusiasm for this variety of innovation, much of it funded through Title I.

**For minority children, Clark says, "there is a proliferation of enrichment programs...in fact, one of the burdens of being a child in a predominantly minority school is that you have no way of protecting yourself from innovative programs."**

A large portion of Title I funds go for the hiring of "para-professionals" to aid the schools. Most of these people come from the neighboring community and many of them cannot provide assistance to the children beyond helping them tie their shoelaces and put on their galoshes. **Any cutback in Title I funds**

threatens this army of "para-professionals" with unemployment, thus making such cutbacks politically unpopular.

Dr. Rhoda L. Lorand, a clinical psychologist in New York City, has been sharply critical of the para-professionals and the programs they're engaged in. People are "fooling themselves if they think these programs give the children what they need," she says. "You can't kill two birds with one stone—both provide the children with the kind of people they need and find general employment for the community."

"These children should only be taught by teachers who *choose* to teach in the ghetto, by people who really care," says Dr. Lorand. "Just having a lot of people around, just hiring anyone who happens to be in the neighborhood, isn't going to help. Just throwing a lot of money at them isn't doing any good."

George Weber of the Council for Basic Education has done a study of inner-city schools in the hope of finding successful ones. In his booklet, *Inner City Children Can Be Taught to Read: Four Successful Schools*, Weber lists several qualities common to successful inner-city schools. Among them are strong leadership and high standards at the top, emphasis on reading, the use of phonics, special reading personnel and individualized attention.

While all four schools were Title I schools, this was not the reason for their success, Weber points out. "Rather it's just the opposite. It's a sign of the failure of Title I that I came up with only four successful schools."

A disbeliever in the value of federal funds to education, Weber says Title I is based "on the simplistic faith that money can do the job. . . . Although some schools have made good use of Title I money, most of it has been spent to no effect."

Harvard sociologist Christopher Jencks, who views things through Socialist-tinted glasses and might be considered an ally of Title I, has acknowledged its shortcomings. He states in his expansive study of the schools, *Inequality*, that "students in Title I programs do worse than comparison groups as often as they do better. . . . These programs have often been poorly managed. Sometimes the funds have been misspent. Often they have been widely diffused. Their aims are typically hard to pin down. Most announce improved reading or mathematics achievement as their principal goal, but many also seek to improve students' self-concept, eliminate truancy, prevent dropouts, improve school community relations, increase parent involvement or prevent fallen arches."

While some short-term evaluations of Title I programs have shown gains in achievement, these gains have proven to be temporary in nature. More importantly, the average inner-city child continues to drop farther behind the national norm, whether he has been in a Title I program or not.

One of ESEA's original sponsors, former Rep. Roman Pucinski (D.-Ill.), called the program "a monumental flop."

The conclusions of Title I evaluations have been more depressing each year. In its first report on Title I in 1967 the Office of Education disclosed that in 19 tests covering basic skills participating children had diminished their lag on 10 tests but increased it on the other nine. The second-year report showed the Title I child to be farther behind national norms after going through the program than he had been before.



Harry Piccariello did an evaluation of Title I for the Office of Education in 1969 in which he noted that significant change occurred in 108 of the 198 projects studied and that of these 58 were significant positive changes. He points, however, to the 50 significant *negative* changes and states that "the implication here is that participation in Title I programs for these children resulted in lower achievement than would have been the case had they not participated in these Title I projects at all."

The most conclusive evaluation of Title I to date, done by the American Institute for Research in March 1972, found that "ESEA Title I has never been implemented nationally as intended by Congress," and that, "there is little evidence at the national level that the program has had any positive impact on eligible and participating children."

**Despite this mass of negative data on Title I, Congress apparently is still under the delusion that by pouring out huge doses of federal funds "deprived" children will be miraculously educated. But a number of experts in the field have demonstrated that good education does not depend on the sums spent per pupil.**

James S. Coleman of Johns Hopkins University, who in 1965 and 1966 headed the largest and most thorough examination of American public schools ever undertaken, discovered the following: "The evidence revealed that within broad geographic regions, and for each racial and ethnic group, the physical and economic resources going into a school have very little relationship to the achievements coming out of it." He concluded that "if it were otherwise, we could give simple prescriptions: increase teachers' salaries, lower classroom size, enlarge libraries and so on. But the evidence does not allow such simple answers."

The *New York City School Fact Book* found in 1969: "The evidence we have accumulated is somewhat surprising. We have recorded traditional variables that supposedly affect the quality of learning: class size, school expenditure, pupil/teacher ratio, condition of building, teacher experience and the like. Yet, there seems to be no direct relationship between these school measurements and performance. . . ."

Harvard's Prof. Jencks said in 1969 that "Variations in schools' fiscal and human resources have very little effect on student achievement—probably even less than the Coleman Report implied." In his 1972 magnum opus on education, *Inequality*, Prof. Jencks elaborated on the point:

"More specifically, the evidence suggests that equalizing educational opportunity would do very little to make adults more equal. If all elementary schools were equally effective, cognitive [by which Jencks means the ability to manipulate words and numbers, assimilate information and come to logical conclusions] inequality among sixth-graders would decline less than 3 per cent. If all high schools were equally effective, cognitive inequality among twelfth-graders would hardly decline at all, and disparities in their eventual attainment would decline less than 1 per cent.

"Eliminating all economic and academic obstacles to college attendance might somewhat reduce disparities in educational attainment, but the change would not be large. Furthermore, the experience of the past 25 years suggests that even fairly substantial reductions in the range of educational attainments do not appreciably reduce economic inequality among adults.

"The schools, of course, could move beyond equal opportunity, establishing a system of compensatory opportunity in which the best schooling was reserved for those who were disadvantaged in other respects. The evidence suggests, however, that educational

compensation is usually of marginal value to the recipients. Neither the over-all level of educational resources nor any specific, easily identifiable school policy has much effect on the test scores or educational attainments of students who start out at a disadvantage. Thus even if we reorganized the schools so that their primary concern was for the students who most needed help, there is no reason to suppose that adults would end up appreciably more equal as a result . . . .”

**In short, there is no reason whatsoever to believe that federal aid to education is anything but a drain on the taxpayer. Yet Congress does not even question the value of these programs. The primary source of discord in the House Education and Labor Committee at the present time is not whether to continue ESEA, but just how the funds should be divided.**

Title I, however, is not the only problem with ESEA. Funded at only \$146 million a year, as opposed to the \$.1.8-billion figure for Title I, Title III is frequently not seen as the sometimes silly, sometimes pernicious provision that it is.

With emphasis on exporting “experimental” and “innovative” pilot projects to school districts throughout the country, projects filled with sham and often aimed at altering the values of Middle America, Title III has a great potential for rendering harm.

“Change agent” is a household word in Title III projects. Gerald Kluempke, secretary of the National Advisory Council on Supplementary Centers and Services, ESEA, Title III, urged the Appropriations Labor-HEW subcommittee in recent testimony not to abolish Title III, but to reexamine “the role of the Office of Education as a change agent.”

The Office of Education is presently planning an evaluation of Title III and four other OE programs to assess their “impact as agents of change.”

- *On-the-Job Training in Human Relations Education* is a project in Buffalo, N.Y., which sets "attitudinal and behavioral objectives." Among the Title III projects to win the "Educational Pacesetter Award" this year are many behavior modification programs. While some "behavior mod" programs are merely a method whereby good learning behavior is reinforced through rewards, many are geared toward developing certain liberal values and attitudes.

- An award winner is *Project Adventure* in Hamilton, Mass., which received \$86,800 in federal funds and promises to "transmit a sense that life should be entered into fully, actively and compassionately."

- A typically unintellectual endeavor is *Self-Direction Through Group Dynamics* in Danvers, Mass. The \$75,000 in federal funds and \$30,000 in local funds go toward "helping students and faculty improve their concepts of themselves, their awareness of their own and others' feelings, their communication skills and their capacity to function effectively in a group."

- *Project on Student Values* in Grand Rapids, Mich., promises to test students for their "value orientation." Because of Title III's orientation toward change, clues to what we can expect in the future as a result of funding these projects can be read out of Title III projects.

- *Project Redesign*, for example, already covers 10 per cent of the schools in New York. It calls for a "New System of Education" which instead will emphasize "direct, real and relevant experiences," "human interaction," and "positive self-concept."

In short, federal aid to education is a monstrous waste of money. Because it has been a massive failure, ESEA can be abolished without qualms of conscience that a small child's education is at stake. Indeed, it would be argued that a small child's education depends on the elimination of ESEA.

## Busing and the Supreme Court

(Roll Call July 19, 1973)

**D**ESPITE AN IMPENDING "energy crisis" thousands of additional buses will be rolling next fall as a result of court decisions. Memphis will experience busing for the first time in its neighborhood-school-oriented system. Denver and Detroit may be in for massive busing. Every school district in the state of Alabama is under court order and in Oklahoma City even teachers are being bused.

Since polls indicate that some 70% of citizens of all races oppose compulsory busing, this flurry of transportation indicates only how little control local districts have over their fate and that of their children. The slew of anti-busing amendments to legislation passed by Congress has been circumvented by HEW bureaucrats. The courts and the bureaucracy have worked in collusion to push a social policy which is not only unpopular with most parents but also has no proven educational value.

According to a study by Harvard sociologist David J. Armor, busing has failed to succeed in four out of five areas where the most positive results were anticipated. Busing for integration has in many cases led to lowered self-esteem and achievement among blacks. Instead of smoothing race relations it has actually fueled a trend toward black separatism. Busing has also failed to significantly raise black aspirations.

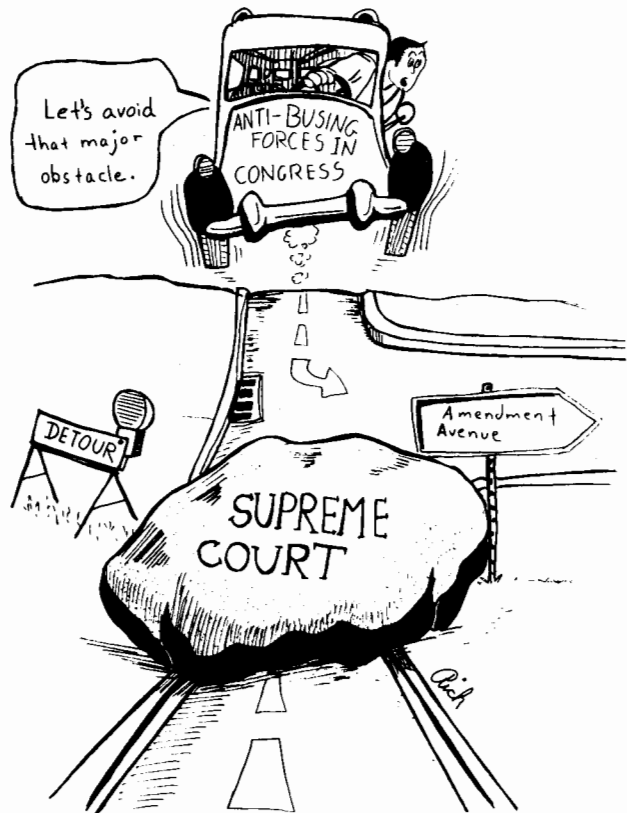
**Black parents have traditionally favored busing into white schools, not in order to seat their youngsters next to whites, but in the hope of improved**

**education. The meager results have turned many back to the neighborhood school concept. Black columnist William Raspberry reflects this changing mood when he states: "The artificial separation of people, in schools or out, based on their race is wrong. . . . But to send black children chasing to hell and gone behind white children is also wrong and psychologically destructive."**

The realization that black children are being used as

pawns in the social planners' game has led many black leaders to emphasize improving local schools. Edward Bivens, Jr., the black mayor of the city of Inkster, Mich., states:

"There are certain school districts that must maintain a busing system because of certain rural characteristics and conditions. But in my area, busing is not needed. What we need, across the nation, is better teachers, in many cases better curriculum that give kids a bet-



ter opportunity, and most of all, greater parental involvement with their offspring."

**Brown vs. Board of Education** in 1954 merely banned segregation by law in the schools as a violation of equal protection as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. Since then the courts have distorted the original intent of the Fourteenth Amendment to the point of creating their own laws. Two segregation cases, **Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education** and **Davis vs. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County**, decided by the Supreme Court on April 20, 1971, declared in effect that not only de jure but de facto segregation was unconstitutional.

**Chief Justice Warren Burger** has said that **Federal judges are misreading these rulings, when they order that schools must reflect the racial composition of the school system as a whole.**

The combined forces of the Civil Rights Act, Federal aid to school districts and the atmosphere in the courts with regard to integration have led to massive busing. If a school district, for example, receives impact aid or funds from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act it must comply with the Civil Rights Act or lose funding.

The fact that busing leads to anxiety and frequently lowered achievement among children of all races, that it involves children in unnecessary traffic accidents and that most people don't want more busing does not deter social planners. A Constitutional Amendment against busing is doomed to fail, if the School Prayer Amendment is any example.

Congress has another option, however—to remove jurisdiction from the courts. Sen. Robert P. Griffin (RMich) introduced last January a bill, S. 179, to "limit the jurisdiction of Federal courts to issue busing orders based on race, and for other purposes." Sen. Griffin states that "Federal judges have extended and distorted the logic of that case (**Brown vs. Board of Education**) to the point where thousands of boys and girls are being denied, by court order, the right to attend their neighborhood schools—and are being bused to distant schools—solely because they happen to be black or white."

Constitutional law expert Clarence E. Manion, former dean of Notre Dame Law School, points out that "the Constitution provides its own corrective for . . . judicial usurpation in its Section II of Article III where Congress is given the power and the responsibility to put the Federal courts back into their proper place."

In 1869 the Supreme Court heard an appeal in a petition for a writ of habeas corpus by one McCardle, a Mississippi newspaper editor. McCardle was being held in custody by the United States military authorities under the authority of the Congressional Reconstruction Acts. McCardle's petition challenged the constitutionality of these statutes.

Congress, fearing a test of the Reconstruction Acts, enacted a statute withdrawing appellate jurisdiction from the Court in certain described habeas corpus proceedings which encompass the McCardle appeal. The Supreme Court was

forced to dismiss the appeal for want of jurisdiction at which time Chief Justice Chase stated:

"Without jurisdiction, the Court cannot proceed at all in any case. Jurisdiction is the power to declare the law and when it ceases to exist, the only function remaining to the Court is that of announcing the fact and dismissing the case. . . . Judicial duty is not less fitly performed by declining ungranted jurisdiction than in exercising firmly that which the Constitution and the laws confer."

Thus the Congress by acting similarly with regard to busing would be acting with full propriety and would also take a step toward curbing future law-making on the part of the Court.

## Negative Incentive in Federal Programs

(Roll Call July 26, 1973)

**FEDERAL PROGRAMS** for disadvantaged college students appear to be creating more problems than they are solving, an occupational hazard among Federal programs, cynics might say.

There are several different scholarship programs for the excellent student. The novelty is the program which funds students who have shown neither exceptional skill nor motivation, but are deprived and might have "hidden potential." The losers are the bright, motivated, minority group students who are also deprived, but score too high to qualify for Federal programs.

Students are adjusting their behavior accordingly. What motivates low achievement? The Equal Opportunities Programs of the government.

EOPs were found to have an extremely negative influence on students at Grover Cleveland High School in Buffalo, New York. In an interview with the Buffalo Courier-Express, students explained that their chances for acceptance into EOP depended on their grades being below the 85 mark and that chances improve if grades go below 80.

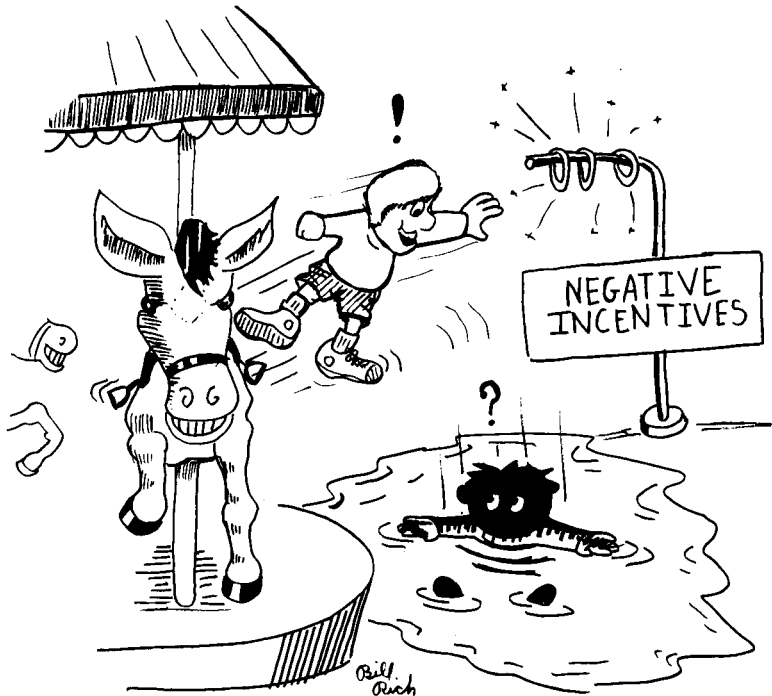
"It's better to get 65 than 90," said one youth. "They have special programs for deprived kids with averages 79 and below, but not for those 90 and above." The students said they could get more money from the EOP than from regular scholarships. "You have to be poor and dumb. We're all poor so we work on being dumb," said one youth.

School principal Ronald L. Meer calls it "an invidious kind of racism: everyone else has to work up, but they feel society expects them to be stupid, so they have to work down in order to get anywhere."

Black economist Thomas Sowell, in his book "Black Education: Myths and Tragedies," is sharply critical of the negative incentive created by Federal programs. Recruiting efforts under such programs are rarely directed toward finding the best minority group students, with the result that the best students are often at the worst

schools, while low-scoring students are funded at the best schools.

"This is even spelled out in various legislation, in HEW's 'guidelines' accompanying Federal grants, or in conditions attached to large foundation grants. Even where such programs are misnamed Talent Search, High Potential, etc., they often recruit black students from the bottom ('from D+ up to about B—,' according to one former Talent Search official), leaving the better qualified black students out of their programs and out of luck as far as going



to college is concerned," states Sowell.

He points to a program for financing black law students, the Council on Legal Educational Opportunity (CLEO), as having a policy of confining aid to "black law students whose Law School Aptitude Test scores do not exceed 500."

Sowell places much of the blame for the radical takeover at Cornell University in 1968 on similarly downward oriented recruiting policies. Referring to the Cornell program for black students, he states, "The program was never designed to get those black students most able to handle Cornell's demanding academic work-week geared to a student body drawn primarily from the top 1 percent of the nation's students. Rather, institutional and individual ambitions were to be gratified by deliberately seeking educationally deprived ghetto youngsters who embodied (or spoke) the fashionable socio-political rhetoric, and using them as guinea pigs."

He points to the case of a girl with College Board scores in the top 1 percent who, although both her parents were laundry workers, was rejected by Cornell on the grounds that "her cultural and educational background does not indicate deprivation to the extent necessary for qualification as a disadvantaged."

Federal scholarship programs for the disadvantaged apparently do not view the failure of the Cornell programs as something to avoid. If the students at Grover Cleveland High are any ex-

ample, the Federal government is stimulating low achievement by funding those who merely need help rather than those who work hard and also need help.

Congress appropriates large sums of money for such programs, but HEW sets the guidelines. Perhaps Congress should exercise more control over the funds to prevent them from having the opposite of the intended effect.



## The Bureaucracy and Drug Abuse

(Roll Call August 2, 1973)

**T**HE RELATIONSHIP between Members of Congress and government bureaucrats often reflects the tension between a growing, guideline-generating bureaucracy and a Congress that's still vibrant.

Last week's hearing before the House Select Education Committee chaired by Rep. John Brademas (D-Ind) concerned the extension of the Drug Abuse Education Act of 1970. "We're the Members of Congress who wrote the law. We're asking you to implement it as it was written," Brademas told Office of Education Commissioner, John Ottina and his assistant James Spillane. Brademas who also criticized HEW bureaucrats at hearings in June for cutting back on programs prior to a proper evaluation, called the present HEW administration "the most lawless in 15 years."

"Sloppy implementation" of the Act would have been an "understandable" human failing, he said, and charged, "but you don't even try to obey the law."

Ottina stated that the Office of Education pursued "formative evaluation systematically and vigorously" and cited the existence of an "information support system" to aid this endeavor.

Rep. Lloyd Meeds (D-Wash), author of the original Act, asked what percentage of allocated funds had been used in the four different areas cited at the beginning of the Act. When the witnesses could supply no figures Meeds responded angrily that, "the Office of Education and the Administration hasn't paid a dime's worth of attention to the intent of Congress."

The weak response to Congress' sporadic assertion of authority is indicative of an erosion of power in the legislature and a growing autonomy in the bureaucracy. A notable contempt of Congress by powerful bureaucrats is evidenced by the statement of a State Department official after his transfer to the Department of Agriculture:

"The bureaucrat has a program to carry out. . . . The question of whether or not Congress has authorized it is not so important to him. He figures that if Congress really had the facts and ~~know~~ what was right, it would agree with him. So he goes right ahead getting away with as much as he can. I've attended lots of these meetings within the department where budget questions and the like were decided and I never heard a respectful word spoken about Congress in one of them."

The bureaucracy aligns itself with the Administration's opposition to the extension of the Drug Abuse Ed Act. The Brademas Committee asks for a three year extension and \$26 million for fiscal year 1974 and \$30 million and \$34 million, respectively, for the following two years. Thus far the results of the drug ed programs are not encouraging. Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla), who chairs a House Select Committee on Crime, has called federal anti-drug programs a "disaster."

They may be exacerbating rather than curing the problem, according to a two year study by the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse, headed by former Pennsylvania

Governor, Raymond F. Shafer. The Commission assails federal agencies administering the programs.

"To justify ongoing programs, the drug bureaucracy must simultaneously demonstrate that the problem is being effectively attacked, and that it is not diminishing. Throughout this process fundamental assumptions are not questioned, programs are not evaluated and the problem is perpetuated from year to year," the Commission charges.

At the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor Dr. Richard B. Stuart, professor in the School of Social Work, quizzed seventh and ninth graders before and after taking a ten week drug ed program. He found a significant increase in drug consumption after completion of the drug ed program but almost no increase among the control group.

Federal programs have abandoned the didactic, information-oriented approach to drug ed in favor of one that assails individual problems and those of society as the causes of drug abuse. Dr. Helen Nowlis, head of the Office of Drug Abuse in HEW, said at hearings last year that the problem is "imbedded in the larger social issues confronting the Nation."

All of which leads to such federal drug curricula as the Coronado Plan in California, a "self awareness" program, which has as its goal, "to humanize the schools in an effort to combat drug abuse by understanding and appreciating the feelings of students."

Last year the House Committee of Interstate and Foreign Commerce created a Special Action Office of Drug Abuse Prevention to coordinate all federal drug abuse programs.

Whether drug ed programs would be more successful if bureaucrats complied more closely with the intent of Congress will probably never be known. The bigger question is who is running things: the Congress? or the bureaucracy? Those who think that a state of increasingly delegated Congressional power is the way things should be ought to think back on the words of John Locke, upon whose philosophy American tradition largely rests:

"There can be but one supreme power, which is the Legislature, to which all the rest are and must be subordinate."

## Schools' Assault on Individualism

(*New Guard* October 1973)

American respect for individualism—or what's left of it—can be traced back to John Locke, Edmund Burke, Thomas Jefferson or John Adams.

Over the centuries a high degree of individual freedom has been experienced in societies not quite firmly organized and it's from this threshold of civilization that most of the heroic epics stem.

America, different from most societies, has never reached the stage of centralized over-organization that crushes the individual. So far social policy has not rendered individualism unfashionable, but not for lack of trying. Where the concept of "equality of result" has failed to catch on, "group think" might yet succeed.

Given the choice, sociologists state, man chooses security over freedom. He prefers the reassuring warmth of the group to making decisions alone. Society's adoption of such concepts reflects its unwillingness to defend itself against the sociologists' low opinion of man as a malleable being with little dignity as an individual. Great men, such as St. Augustine, recognized the false security of the group. Since men don't go to heaven in groups, St. Augustine reasoned, they must make their major decisions alone.

Perhaps the biggest threat to individualism in America today is the manner in which "group think" is being fostered in the public schools. This is not surprising in view of the fact that professional educators (not teachers, but those concerned with theory of education) have always admired collectivism.

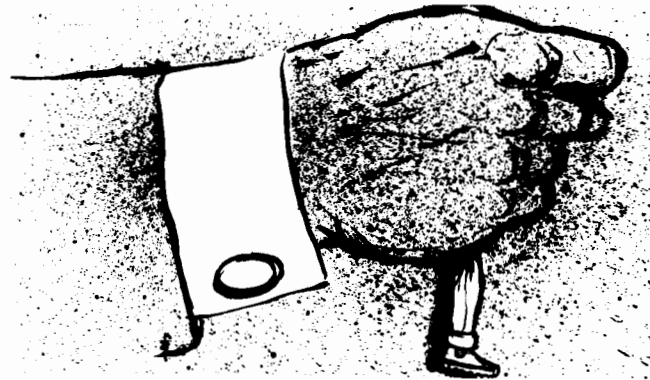
John P. Diggins in his book *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America* points out the strong attraction of fascistic methods of education for American educators. He refers to a *New York Times* article (September 26, 1926) wherein Giovanni Gentile, the Fascist minister of education, is referred to by one of his American disciples as "the round, humorous professor—he puts group interest above individual liberty." At the 1929 convention of the National Education Association (NEA), Maria Castellani spoke on "What Mussolini Has Done for Italy."

Today educators speak just as highly of collective education techniques in Soviet Russia and Communist China, stressing the "unselfish" attitude of subordinating the individual to group needs. Sweden, where the schools are considered a tool for erasing social differences, is the ideal. An example of this mode of thought are the words of Mrs. Maj Bossom-Nordboe, a departmental chief at the Directorate of Schools in Sweden:

"It's useless to build up individuality, because unless people learn to adapt themselves to society, they would be unhappy. Liberty is not emphasized. Instead we talk about the freedom to give up freedom. The accent is on the social function of children, and I will not deny that we emphasize the collective."

The *Hawaii Master Plan for Education*, published in 1969 with federal funds as a "blueprint" for education departments across the country, denigrates "rugged individualism" as an "outmoded" value and calls for a new set of values, a "common ethic" to be taught in the schools.

Educators' interest in group methods dates back to the group dynamics experiments at the National Training Laboratories at Bethel, Maine in the late 1940's. With their new power the educators have been able to transfer these activities into the classroom in the form of role playing and group discussions on values, attitudes and feelings. Although it is a mild brand of sensitivity train-



ing, group dynamics can be a dangerous tool in the hands of teachers, given the undeveloped nature of children's personalities and the unbalanced emotional state of teenagers in particular.

Dr. Sigmund Koch, a psychologist and professor at Boston University, is apprehensive over the negative influence of the group movement on the "image of man." As a principle toll of the movement he views the "reducing and simplifying impact upon the personalities and sensibilities of those who emerge from the group experience with an enthusiastic commitment to its values."

In the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* (Fall, 1971) Dr. Koch states that, "the pursuit of 'openness' via self revelation before an adventitiously assembled group of strangers centers the process of individual self-definition much too heavily upon group response. . . . The chances for simple-minded, callow, insufficiently considered or reductive shaping of the individual are high."

In the past teachers addressed the class in the hope of reaching each individual with the facts of geography or history. Today the "New Social Studies" are taught in the form of a group discussion with an emphasis on the student's attitude toward a particular world view.

*Social Science Laboratory Units*, developed by Science Research Associates, is a social studies course in human behavior, which purports to help students "clarify some of their own values in social behavior and to study the values of others." The class sits in a circle with the teacher. A question such as "what time do you go to bed?" is put to the group. Some children might say eight o'clock. Others say 10. Typical for the group technique is to arrive at the consensus that "it is best to go to bed at nine o'clock." The teacher is not allowed to introduce her own values, but must accept all values introduced by the children as "an equally important contribution to the discussion."

The danger occurs when moral values are treated by the group, as in the case of a discussion on shoplifting in a school in Maryland. Some children denounced shoplifting as "immoral and illegal," while others felt it was all right "as long as you can get away with it." The outcome was a group value of "shoplifting is ok under certain circumstances, as long as you don't do too much of it."

In a home economics curriculum used in Montgomery County, Maryland, entitled *Human Development in the Family* (partially paid for with federal funds from the 1968 amendments to the Vocational Act), there are a host of suggested activities geared to the group. One of these is an exercise called "Group Decision Making" and the curriculum guide describes it as follows:

This is an exercise in group decision making. Your group is to employ the method of group consensus in reaching its decision. This means that the prediction for each of the 15 survival items must be agreed upon by each group member before it becomes part of the group decision. Consensus is difficult to reach. . . . Try as a group to make each ranking one with which all group members at least partially agree.

Guides are given to aid students in reaching a consensus in what seems to be a deliberate attempt to make children dependent on a group.

Dr. Koch calls the group movement "a deep misconstrual of the concept of democracy," and "the most extreme excursion thus far of man's talent for reducing, distorting, evading and vulgarizing his own reality."

Instead of emphasizing individualism the schools ap-

pear to be reducing children to the lowest common denominator of opinion. As psychologist Bruno Bettelheim points out with regard to the Israeli kibbutz the group process is, at best, a levelling process. In *The Revolt of the Masses* Ortega y Gasset states:

"The mass crushes beneath it everything that is different, everything that is excellent, individual, qualified and select. Anybody who is not like everybody, runs the risk of being eliminated."

The group processes in the schools have certain parallels to those of the Chinese Communists as revealed by psychologist Robert Jay Lifton in *Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism*. Lifton describes the effect of thought reform methods on Western prisoners in China, including "group reform," whereby the prisoner is made to change himself and adopt the standards of the other prisoners in his cell. Guards train the group to influence each new prisoner by group methods until he accepts the group's standard, denounces himself and eventually "confesses."

Lifton states, "Never did the group support him as an individual or help him to resist the onslaught of group reform. Rather, the group was the agent of thought reform, the conveyor of its message."

This sounds much like sessions in the schools where a teacher will point to one student and tell another to "say exactly what you think of him (or her)." Such a class might be called a "Contact session."

Interestingly enough, the National Education Association has expressed an interest in Chinese Communist "re-education" techniques. Discussing the "integration of attitudes" in school children, the NEA compares the effectiveness of its sensitivity training methods to those used by Chinese Communists to "inculcate Communist attitudes into their youth." (from *Five Issues in Human Relations Training*, 1962, an NEA journal.)

Jean Dresden Grambs, who also writes for the NEA, states in her book, *Intergroup Education: Methods and Materials*, that "if a person can learn to hate and distrust others, he can learn to like and trust others. . . . Education assumes change."

She describes a variety of group methods whereby children can be changed and states, "The change will result in more acceptance of persons who differ and more acceptance of one's own differences from others."

In the "Fishbowl" game six children sit in a circle discussing "problems of common interest." The game is intended to "give students a chance to express their opinions, examine alternate solutions, and choose the most likely answer." The "most likely answer" emerges as the group value.

Group engineering in the schools can cause damage before bringing about the desired change. Encounter group expert, Irvin D. Yalom of Stanford University, points to a 10% casualty rate from sensitivity training, a "conservative estimate" he adds. There is a possibility of an even higher casualty rate with children.

Those who place a higher premium on the group movement than on individual dignity fail to take into account a resilient human stubbornness found in some men, which defies all attempts at social engineering. Dostoevsky, who equates man's individuality with human dignity, says the stubborn resister's life "consists in proving to himself every minute that he's a man and not a piano key." Dostoevsky writes in *Notes from Underground*:

But what if a quite absurd whim, my friends, turns out to be the most advantageous thing on earth for us, as sometimes happens? Specifically, it may be more advantageous to us than any other advantages, even when it most obviously harms us and goes against all the sensible conclusions of our reason about our interest—because, whatever else, it leaves us our most important, most treasured possession, our individuality.

If Dostoevsky is right about the tenacity of man's individualism American school children will perhaps survive the group movement. If he's wrong the schools might be laying the groundwork for a future collective society.



In a recent motion picture, *The Poseidon Adventure*, a young minister attempts to save a small crew of people from a sinking ship. One of his cohorts attempts to persuade him to change his direction with the argument that "everybody else is running to the other end of the ship." The young minister sticks to his chosen course and says something like, "Just because all those people are running the wrong direction why should we follow them?"

Such decisions of courageous conviction rarely grow out of group think. "In a world of fugitives the person taking the opposite direction will appear to run away," states one of T.S. Eliot's characters in *The Family Reunion*. The Israeli kibbutz and the Swedish schools in the last few decades have produced notably few individuals who are creative and original thinkers.

The child emerging today from the group oriented classroom might find himself lost in a world of individuals. But, if the present trend continues, those supporting individualism might tomorrow find themselves in the position of Eliot's fugitives.



## NEA's Stranglehold on Education

(Human Events Nov. 24, 1973)

What might be the most appropriate way to start another year of low achievement in the public schools? A teacher strike, of course. "We are the biggest potential striking force in this country and we are determined to control the direction of education," boasted Catherine Barrett, outgoing president of the National Education Association (NEA) recently.

Like a teachers union official's dream come true, strikes broke out in Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania this fall, putting 500,000 students out of school. Statistics show a continuing upward curve in NEA teacher militancy as "teacher power" replaces an almost forgotten concern with the quality of education.

Last year's 145 strikes marked a 63 per cent increase over the previous year's teacher work stoppages. The NEA was responsible for 112 of those strikes while the "real" union, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), caused 23 strikes through its locals. Merged AFT-NEA unions caused the rest.

Prior to 1967-68 the term "strike" was not part of NEA vocabulary. Emerging militancy expressed itself in the imposition of "sanctions" or NEA-mandated boycotts by teachers of school districts which didn't cough up the demanded pay hike. Thus when Florida Gov. Claude Kirk Jr. refused to raise teachers' salaries in 1967, the NEA told its members to boycott Florida schools. Failure to do so could lead to expulsion from the NEA.

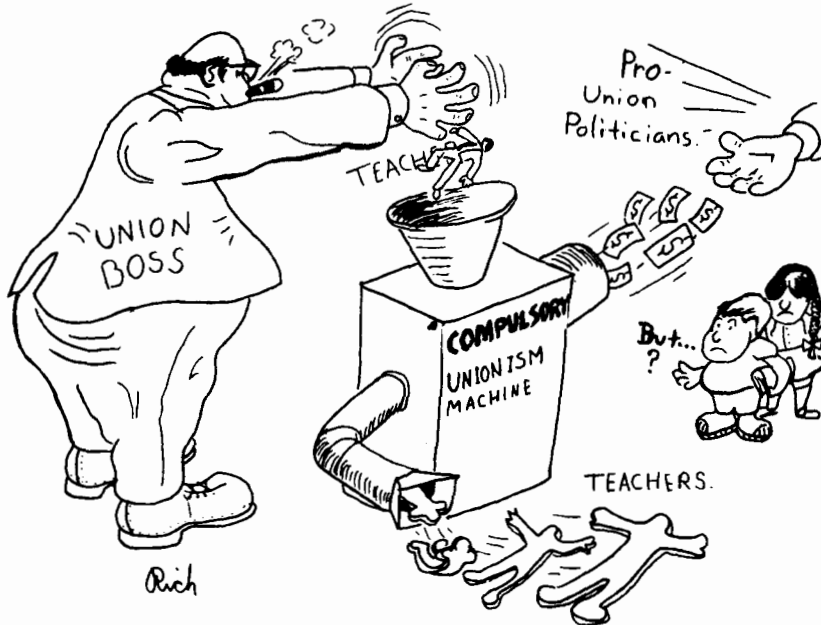
In 1968 the first statewide teachers' strike in the nation was called by the Florida Education Association with NEA support. In 1961-62 the NEA reported only one teacher work stoppage, but by 1968-69 the number of NEA-ordered strikes rose to 107, as compared with the AFT's 23.

Today the NEA's primary goals are definitely not of a scholastic nature. They include: increased federal aid—making the federal government responsible for at least one-third of education expenditures, a big leap from the present 7.8 per cent; the placement of "friends of education" in political office; the passage of a collective bargaining bill for public employes. The pot of gold at the end of this rainbow of goals appears to be an unlimited reservoir of funds for teachers at a time when teachers are in surplus.

The increase in teacher strikes might lead one to assume that teachers are in progressively dire straits financially. The exact opposite is true. Since 1966 average teacher salaries have increased by about 8 per cent annually, one-third faster than salaries in general. When teacher salaries are figured as if teachers worked a 12-month year, they average in the \$9,000-a-year category, the equivalent of starting salaries for men in industry and more than the beginning business administrators or liberal arts graduate is paid by industry. Teacher salaries have increased by 90 per cent during the same time that industry raised salaries by 74 per cent.

The NEA's switch to militancy and the use of hardline union tactics puts the 1.4 million NEA members in the same league with the 400,000-member AFL-

funds. Both NEA and AFT argue that higher teacher salaries will somehow benefit children.



CIO-affiliated AFT, long noted for raucous gatherings and violence-prone strikes. At this moment the only difference between the two groups appears to be that while both are grasping for more funds than most legislatures can bear, the NEA continues an interest in controlling the substance of education.

While the NEA meddles with textbook content, the AFT goes for carving out more minor comforts for teachers such as excusing them from playground supervision. Both unions are milking school districts of every penny they can get and then lobbying for federal aid to provide what the local area lacks in

Weary taxpayers don't agree and their disenchantment with the idea of more funds for less performance can be measured by the pocketbook. In 1965 almost 80 per cent of school-bond referendums for elementary and secondary public schools were approved by taxpayers. In 1972 only 47 per cent were.

During the past decade the NEA's entry into politics has included not only support for germane legislation but all-out backing for political candidates. "The NEA has helped to get the education 'train' started and the NEA will work to see that it never gets stopped," wrote the *NEA Journal* prophetically, following passage of the 1965 Elemen-

tary and Secondary Education Act. Much of the NEA's political activity has been through political action groups. For instance:

The Emergency Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs, formed in 1969 with the NEA as a key group, persuaded the House of Representatives to add \$894.5 million to the President's budget, half of which went toward that dubious reservoir of education funds—"impact aid."

CAPE (Coalition of American Public Employes) was formed to circumvent the ban on union political activity and is channeling its energies into lobbying for HR 8677, the Public Employes Relations Act, which would permit public employes to strike against the public.

In addition to the NEA, CAPE includes the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the International Association of Firefighters and the National Association of Internal Revenue Employes. A cause of some chagrin to the AFT, which hopes to merge with the NEA, is the rumor that CAPE may become a union, which would make it the biggest public employes' union in the world. This could create a stranglehold on public services.

NEA-PACE is a political action fund formed last year to permit NEA to fund political elections without violating the 1925 Federal Corrupt Practices Act, a circumvention that has the same effect on elections as the law seeks to prohibit. NEA-PACE made its debut in the 1972 elections by supporting 184 national races. Of the 1965 NEA-supported House candidates, 128 won. Thirteen of the 19 candidates supported for the

Senate won, which Catherine Barrett called "clear evidence that teachers have become activists in the political process."

**Despite an almost even political division by party among NEA members, most NEA-supported candidates were Democrats. Many are key figures in education committees on Capitol Hill such as Sen. Claiborne Pell (D.-R.I.), who heads the Senate Education subcommittee.**

Said Pell at the NEA convention in Portland, Ore., last July: "Before teachers began to help me, I was a 2-to-1 underdog. My election is a victory for teacher power." NEA's Rhode Island local and its political action committee, RIPACE, received an award at the convention for "outstanding political activity in the cause of quality education."

Other lawmakers supported by NEA largess are: James M. Hanley (D.-N.Y.); Yvonne Braithwaite Burke (D.-Calif.); George Brown (D.-Calif.); Bob Bergland (D.-Minn.); Ogden Reid (D.-N.Y.); Gerry Studds (D.-Mass.); Teno Roncalio (D.-Wyo.); Frank Thompson (D.-N.J.); Bill Roy (D.-Kan.); Mike McCormack (D.-W.Va.); Wayne Owens (D.-Utah); Pat Schroeder (D.-Colo.); Andrew Young (D.-Ga.); Barbara Jordan (D.-Tex.); Charles Wilson (D.-Calif.). One of the few Republicans is Rep. Marvin Esch (R.-Mich.), a member of the House Education and Labor Committee.

Among the senators are Jennings Randolph (D.-W.Va.) and Walter F. Mondale (D.-Minn.), both members of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee; William Hathaway (D.-Maine), a member of the Senate Subcommittee on Education; William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) and Clifford Case (R.-N.J.), both members of the Labor-HEW subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations.

Also on the NEA most-favored list are Charles Percy (R.-Ill.), James Pearson (R.-Kan.), Sam Nunn (D.-Ga.), Thomas McIntyre (D.-N.H.), James Abourezk (D.-S.D.) and Lee Metcalf (D.-Mont.).

*The American School Board Journal* reports that teacher union political funds are providing strong support for school board candidates in grassroots elections as well. "In California," says the *Journal*, "teacher union-backed candidates won local school board office in 60 per cent of the 114 elections they entered. The political arm of the California Teachers Association, the Association for Better Citizenship, contributed more than \$100,000 to 258 candidates, who won 152 board seats." The *Journal* points to the union's attempt to impress the state legislature with teacher political muscle in the hope of pressing through a collective bargaining bill.

Zealous political activity on the part of the NEA caused raised eyebrows in the late '60s with regard to the NEA's tax-exempt classification under Section 501 (C) (3) of the Internal Revenue

Code, which applies largely to foundations organized for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or education purposes. As a result, the NEA's tax-exempt status was changed to 501 (C) (6), which applies to business leagues, and thereby lost its right to charitable deduction on contributions. As the NEA steps up its collective bargaining practices, it might be more appropriate to change its tax-exempt status to 501 (C) (5), which is that of labor unions.

"Let's face it, we're a union and have been for quite a while," said incoming NEA President Helen Wise, a social studies teacher from Pennsylvania, at the Portland convention, and she reiterated her predecessor's interest in a "war chest" of funds for the 1976 election. Sounding like a fusion of George Meany and a welfare rights leader, Wise said further:

**"In the meantime, we will continue to drive for a federal collective bargaining law for public employes and for a substantial increase in the federal share of the total public school dollar expenditure. To show the politicians and the White House we mean business, we'll put teachers on the Capitol steps if we must. If it is necessary to mount a march on every state capitol, we will do it."**

The sky's the limit for union demands, but NEA and AFT both virogoously reject the concept of teacher accountability, which is increasingly demanded by taxpayers dissatisfied with their schools. Accountability is a means for weeding out inferior teachers and re-

warding good ones with higher wages. Teachers are encouraged to aim for a certain standard of achievement with pupils.

Mrs. Wise would agree only to "peer accountability," while 34-year-old NEA Executive Secretary Terry Herndon shrugs off accountability as a "fad." The Clark Reading Plan, which focuses on reading and teacher accountability, was heralded in 1970 by school board members and segments of the community in the District of Columbia as a ray of hope for badly deteriorated D.C. schools. The D.C. Teachers Union defeated the plan largely because of its strong accountability language.

In order to gain the desired grip on the public school system, the NEA must first snap teachers into line with a variety of tactics. This includes insidious pressure to join the local union, often exerted by principals or superintendents. Then there are the usual coercive union tactics such as union shop and check-off dues. In some states the unions even have political contribution check-offs in addition to dues. In California teachers pay \$5 annually for political purposes. Michigan has a similar system.

The unification plan is the NEA version of *Gleichschaltung*, whereby each teacher who belongs to an NEA affiliate must also belong to the county, state and national union. This can amount to about \$100 a year in dues, divided among different NEA levels. The NEA boasts of having "unified" 35 states already. Among the nay-sayers is the Missouri State Teachers Association, which was expelled from the NEA this year as it rejected the unification plan for the 13th time.

The NEA has organized its battle plan in a manner that could make meticulous, strike-weathered AFT organizers jealous. At the push of a button, so to speak, "spontaneous" strikes break out over entire states. School boards, once viewed as representatives of the taxpayers, find themselves pressed into corners where, under duress, they agree to teacher union demands.

NEA strike strategy for this fall, designed to coerce Michigan school boards, was outlined in a detailed packet of guidelines for teachers called "Position Statement on Collective Bargaining for School Employees." The statement berates teachers for their "fat cat syndrome" and for "feeling entirely too comfortable financially."

Among "alternative bargaining strategies" listed are "guerrilla warfare," "violence, sabotage," "mass resignations, individual resignation," and "blue flu," a technique originated among policemen who, like teachers, are forbidden by law to strike, but achieve the same result by calling in sick on the same day in large numbers.

Since similar "statewide bargaining strategies" have been encountered by school boards in other states, it appears the NEA may be rehearsing for a nationwide teacher strike that will predictably become common practice if the NEA and AFT succeed in merging their forces.

**In many cases teachers have proven to be unwieldy elements, insistent on retaining their individualism in the face of pressure to collectivize. Union power is, however, usually the victor.**

Hawaii's schools have compulsory unionism and a sole bargaining agent, the Hawaii State Teachers Association (HSTA), an NEA affiliate. Last year all Hawaii's teachers were notified by the state comptroller that "a service fee will be deducted from the payroll," which amounts to \$77 per teacher and goes straight to the coffers of the HSTA.

In Wisconsin, which also has compulsory unionism, Madison Teachers, Inc., is suing school District 8 for permitting an individual teacher to engage in "unfair labor practice," such as negotiating on his own with the school board.

Michigan, which has an agency shop (which means teachers need not belong to a union but must pay the union a fee), is plagued by strikes in Detroit and 33 other school districts. Since the school board negotiated the agency shop agreement with the Michigan Education Association, many teachers have been fired for failure to pay dues to the union. Among them are Mrs. Carol Applegate and Mrs. Margaret Maki, later reinstated as a result of court decisions.

Once public employees are given the right to unionize, the road to strikes and demands for agency shop is a short one, as evidenced by what has happened in Pennsylvania since passage of the Pennsylvania Public Employees Act in 1969. Last year there were 34 teacher strikes in Pennsylvania, more than in any other state, and there have already been strikes in eight Pennsylvania school districts this fall, putting 30,000 students out of school.

It becomes questionable whether teachers who are forced to unionize are capable of transmitting the values of freedom, individualism and free enterprise which many parents hope the schools will teach. The collectivist urge of the NEA is not only reflected in unionism, but in its repeated attraction to collectivist societies, be they Communist or Fascist.

A speaker at the 1929 NEA convention, Maria Castellani, spoke in lavish superlatives of "What Mussolini Has Done for Italy." John P. Diggins in his book *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America* points to an article in the *New York Times* (Sept. 26, 1926), where an American disciple of Giovanni Gentile, Mussolini's minister of education, describes him as "the round humorous professor" who "puts group interest above individual liberty."

Gentile, much like the NEA today, sought to "humanize" the schools and introduce the concept of "cooperation" to replace competition. Similar concepts are expressed in NEA pamphlets on "intergroup relations."

Diggins writes: "Although education periodicals carried an occasional critical article, more often American teachers and administrators gave gold stars to Gentile and his pupils. What is remarkable is the failure of educators, as educators, to pay attention to the total picture of Italian society under Fascism. . . . In the '20s Fascism as institutionalized thought control did not seem to disturb those very Americans supposedly dedicated to the life of the mind."

One of the more absurd activities to grow out of the NEA's romance with totalitarian states was the visit in 1970 of then NEA President Helen Bain to the Soviet Union to compare notes with Soviet educators on the question of "campus unrest."

Bearing under her arm a report by the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, Mrs. Bain set out to discuss a problem that those who understand the nature of totalitarianism know the Russians cannot share.

"I'm delighted to be able to share the commission's report with Soviet educators. We share a common interest in the youth of our countries; we'll look to them to write the blueprint for world understanding and peace," said Mrs. Bain as she prepared to discuss with the Soviets "the new culture" of youth in America.

The fact that NEA favors collectivism is not to imply that the organization is soft on "extremists." The NEA has in fact established a mini CIA or FBI, previously called the Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education and now known as the Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities (CPRR), to ward off what it calls "thinly veiled political attacks on public education itself."

The publication, *NEA: Education's Voice in Government*, states: "The National Education Association is alarmed at the nationwide attack on the public schools and the teaching profession by extremist organizations.... The Association urges its affiliates to take concerted action and, if necessary, legal

action to defend itself against such irresponsible attacks."

The NEA is strangely paranoid for so large an organization. Dr. James Koerner, president of the board of directors for the Council for Basic Education writes in his book *The Miseducation of American Teachers* that the CPRR "maintains, oddly enough, for defenders of democracy, a secret file of dossiers on persons or organizations who criticize education anywhere in the nation, and stands ready to send out summaries of this intelligence to any beleaguered educationist in the field."

An example is the CPRR's "State of the Nation Bulletin No. 7 In Regard to Criticisms of the Schools and Problems of Concern to Teachers," issued in December 1970. The bulletin describes

the nature of criticism of education and how schools across the country have gone about diverting the attacks.

The NEA appears to classify everyone to the right of Angela Davis as "extremist" if that individual is a critic of the public schools. Thus ad hoc parents' groups, formed around a specific issue, are simply classified as "right wing," which saves the public school establishment from taking seriously their criticisms. Instead of being concerned with the extremism that has faced many schools—such as riots and violence which have caused some teachers to fear for their lives—the NEA attacks those who find fault with the schools.

Thus, the CPRR's "Twentieth Annual Conference on the Extremists and the Schools" featured such observers of the "right wing" as Wesley McCune of Group Research and others described as

"experts" in curiously esoteric subjects such as the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society. What these groups think of the schools is of far more significance to the NEA than what is actually causing schools to deteriorate.

And there's plenty wrong with the schools, judging by the estimated 20 million functional illiterates which have come out of our primary and secondary institutions of learning. According to the Right to Read Program of the Office of Education, 43 per cent of all elementary school children are in need of help in reading. Yet the NEA advocates a "problem curriculum," which would focus on discussions of race, war, pollution and overpopulation rather than basic skills.

**As Catherine Barrett stated recently: "We will need to recognize that the so called 'basic skills,' which currently represent nearly the total effort in elementary schools, will be taught in one-quarter of the school day. The remaining time will be devoted to what is truly fundamental and basic."**

The NEA's change of collar from white to blue will presumably have little influence on the traditionally anti-intellectual stance of the organization. For the public schools it will mean existing within the tightened grip of mediocrity as opposed to resting merely in its shadow.

According to Edgar B. Wesley, the NEA's own biographer, the NEA not only instilled in the American people the "ideal of secondary education for all youth" but it also steered young people away from classical subjects to those

that better met society's "needs." As Wesley describes it in his book *NEA: The First Hundred Years*, the NEA has over the decades exercised a levelling rather than elevating influence on the education system.

As recently as 1900, Wesley points out, the popularity of Latin as a subject "reflected the persistence of the classical illusion and the power of... the 'dead hand from the tombs of culture'." Thanks partially to the NEA the American people were "freed... from the superstitious awe of the classics."

What the NEA considers "truly fundamental and basic" became apparent during a "Critical Issues" session at the NEA convention. The truly critical educational issues of the schools were neatly avoided as teachers mulled over such "right on" social issues as:

"Why Legalize Grass?" "What Should Teacher Political Power Be Used For? for education or for social change?" (the NEA usually opts for the latter). "Students Rights: Will Participatory Democracy Work in the Schools?" "Sex Education—The VD Crisis." "Violence in the Schools—A panel led by a professor of criminal justice followed by a group discussion on 'realistic and yet humane' approaches to preventing youth violence." "Pornography—Spillover into the classroom."

Columnist Sidney J. Harris, who attended the 1973 NEA convention notes in an article in the *Tulsa Daily World*: "Consider that a mere dozen years ago, not a single theme listed here would be taking up the time, energy and concern of this professional group, whose main job is to teach children how to read, write and count."



John Mathews of the Washington *Star-News* notes that \$2 million, or less than 6 per cent of the NEA budget, is spent on strictly educational activities. The \$11-million NEA building houses, for example, the Student NEA, a branch of the parent group with 110,000 members in over 1,000 associations on college campuses.

No less militant than the parent group, the Student NEA asks in its brochure, "Would you like to invest in... determining the direction of teacher militancy? effecting changes and innovations in public education? alleviating urban and rural poverty problems?"

Although the NEA with a budget of \$31.6 million and executive salaries in the \$40,000 and up bracket is accustomed to handling big money, it turns to Socialistic rhetoric when it comes to lobbying for federal aid. The battle for federal aid becomes "a fight between the people with the wealth and the people with kids." According to an NEA pamphlet entitled "The Root of Opposition," published by the Division of Federal Relations:

"We are all supposed to be of a mold-alert, freshly scrubbed Americans, believing that capitalism and free enterprise came down to us on stone tablets from the mountain and that democracy was devised by angels."

After assailing a fictitious moneyed elite, the pamphlet goes on to herald the public school system as the "greatest of social programs," for "channeling the wealth of the nation to the benefit of the masses."

The NEA's power grab for the public school system would loom not nearly as large and dangerous if it were an organization with a demonstrated respect for quality education. The NEA, judging by its journals, has come to view the role of the schools as something far and beyond simple instruction.

What the NEA has in mind for children is something akin to manipulation of emotions and values for adjustment to a Utopian society that exists in the minds of education theorists. The mental health flavor of NEA goals is apparent in "Forecast for the '70s," an article in the NEA magazine *Today's Education* which describes the teacher of the future:

"Ten years hence it should be more accurate to term him a 'learning clinician.' This title is intended to convey the idea that schools are becoming 'clinics' whose purpose is to provide individualized psychosocial 'treatment' for the students, thus increasing his value both to himself and society."

If the NEA realizes its goals, the schools of the future will provide "services" to children through individuals bearing such titles as: "Culture Analysts, Media Specialists, Information-input Specialists, Curriculum-input Specialists, Biochemical Therapists/Pharmacists, Early Childhood Specialists, Developmental Specialists, Community-contact Personnel."

The dominant power in the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, the largest teacher accreditation body, is the NEA. Given this fact, goals presented in NEA journals can become course content in colleges of educa-

tion, which is then introduced into the public schools by school of education graduates. Scholar Jacques Barzun refers to education courses as "the science of non-thought." There's slim hope that NEA-ordained "non-thought" will undergo transformation on its way from the education college to the classroom.

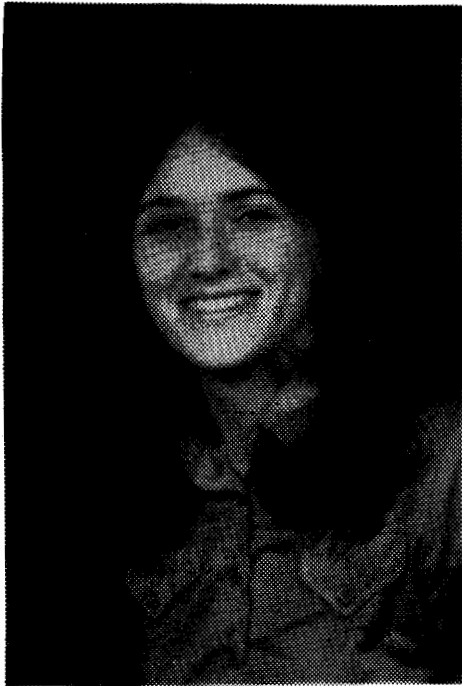
The fact that the NEA was chartered by an Act of Congress in 1906 to serve

the American public in the area of education raises the question whether the NEA can merge with the AFT without congressional approval. Teacher union activist Myron Lieberman notes in his book *Education As a Profession*: "The

NEA does not have the power to amend basic elements of its own constitution and congressional approval is necessary before amendments to the NEA's constitution are effective."

Other organizations chartered by Congress include the American National Red Cross, Boy Scouts of America, American War Mothers and the American Legion, none of which have undergone the tremendous transformations from professional association to union as has the NEA.

There are two separate questions to be asked with regard to the NEA's activities: Should an organization that professes a disinterest in education as the NEA clearly does be in control of the public school system to the extent that the NEA is? Should any outside interest group (NEA or AFT) control and use for its own purpose, a tax-supported system such as the public schools? In the interest of quality education, justice to taxpayers and the future of children, the answer must be emphatically no.



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