

HINCKLEY AND SON

BY THOMAS SZASZ

Ten years ago, in a well-planned and brilliantly executed attempt to murder Ronald Reagan, John Hinckley, Jr., shot the president, inflicted permanent brain damage on Press Secretary James Brady, injured two of the agents guarding the presidential entourage—and committed existential suicide. The anniversary of Hinckley's crimes was marked by agitation for the so-called Brady Bill, which would establish a national seven-day waiting period for the purchase of handguns. The fate of Hinckley himself was virtually ignored. Yet although Hinckley is as good as dead, his case demonstrates that psychiatry remains our society's most fearsome and most despicable instrument of punishment.

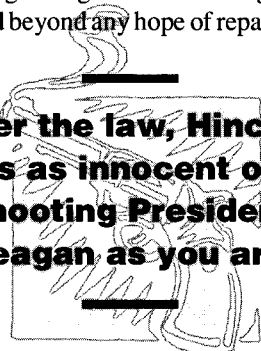
Ostensibly, Hinckley is the beneficiary of the best judicial and medical systems in the world. But let's not forget that Hinckley wanted to plead guilty to his crimes, was forced to plead insanity, and was "acquitted" against his will. Hence, because of the diabolical fictions of law and psychiatry, Hinckley is as innocent of shooting President Reagan as the readers of this column; his deed was not a crime but a symptom of illness; and he is not incarcerated in a prison but is treated in a hospital.

As the symptoms of pneumonia are cough and fever, so the symptoms of Hinckley's schizophrenia were buying a gun, loading it, locating President Reagan, taking good aim, and firing. Since Hinckley is sick, he is in a hospital. The fact that he cannot leave his doctors, just as Saddam Hussein's "guests" in Iraq could not leave their host, casts not the slightest doubt in the minds of many Americans on the validity of the psychiatric fiction that Hinckley is a "patient." Housed in the nation's premier madhouse, Hinckley must be receiving the best treatment for schizophrenia that American psychiatry has to offer. However, his disease must be difficult to treat, as he shows no sign of improvement.

Maybe Clozapine will cure him, though I doubt it. I think it is more likely that he will be discharged via the morgue.

Lest my argument be misunderstood as a defense of Hinckley, let me say that I consider him to be guilty of one of the gravest crimes in law, the attempted assassination of a head of state. He should have been tried, convicted, sentenced to death, and executed—or, perhaps, allowed to kill himself, which is what he wanted and had attempted but was prevented from doing. Perish the thought. After all, every educated person knows that Hinckley's desire to kill himself—expiating his guilt and ending a life wrecked beyond any hope of repair—was

Under the law, Hinckley is as innocent of shooting President Reagan as you are.



also a symptom of his schizophrenia. Indeed, thanks to the efforts of John Hinckley, Sr., and the National Alliance for the Mentally Ill (actually, the National Alliance for the Parents of the Mentally Ill), most Americans now also know that schizophrenia is a brain disease—indeed, "one of the most treatable" diseases. What is the treatment? Psychiatry's magic bullets: the so-called neuroleptic drugs.

The elder Hinckley's participation in his son's life, especially since the tragic events of March 1981, have raised psychiatric charlatanism to unprecedented heights of journalistic, judicial, and medical legitimacy. It was Hinckley *père* who, when his son experienced difficulties making the hazardous journey from adolescence to adulthood, chose to interpret the problem as a symptom of mental

illness, dispatched him to see a shrink, and thus pinned the ineradicable stigma of mental illness to his tail. This critical, initial psychiatric stigmatization had predictable consequences: The youngster's progress toward achieving the powers and privileges of adulthood was further obstructed. But not to worry. The cure was right at hand. It consisted of Valium dispensed by Hinckley *père*'s psychiatrist to Hinckley *filis*.

After submitting to what everyone believed was the best medical treatment for his "illness," John Hinckley, Jr., proceeded to flunk life more dramatically than ever. But, smart kid that he was, he soon saw the handwriting on the wall and apparently decided to stop the charade: He decided (as I see it) to avenge himself against his father by bringing shame on his head and, at the same time, to end his own parasitic and pathetic existence. Everything worked as planned, except for one thing. The hail of bullets from the guns of Secret Service agents, in which he expected to die, did not materialize.

So Hinckley did the next best thing: After being taken into custody, he tried to kill himself. When that effort was thwarted, he wanted to be tried and to plead guilty to the crimes with which he had been charged. Hinckley, Sr., and his lawyers (who are always identified as his son's lawyers) foiled that effort, too.

I shed no tears for John W. Hinckley, Jr. But, to borrow from Thomas Jefferson, I do tremble for my country when I think that God is honest and will therefore not look kindly on a nation that classifies its lawbreakers as sick, its most fearsome prisons as hospitals, its psychiatric jailers as doctors, and some of its most toxic chemicals, forced by the "doctors" on their prisoners, as treatments for nonexistent diseases.

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Everlasting King

BY CLINT BOLICK

A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.
Edited by James M. Washington, San Francisco: Harper, 702 pages, \$16.95 paper



King traced the goals of the civil rights movement to the American Revolution.

When I started studying the history of the American civil rights movement during the early '80s, I was struck by the paucity of serious books about the movement's preeminent figure, Martin Luther King, Jr. Only a few years later, the void is filled near to overflowing, not only with treatments chronicling King and his times, but also with books probing his psyche and personal life and seeking to stamp his imprimatur on ideologies ranging the political spectrum. Through these writings, we can encounter King the larger-than-life hero, King the womanizer and plagiarist, and King with virtually every other gloss imaginable.

But not until now could we discover King and his philosophy in unvarnished form. James M. Washington's *A Testament of Hope* brings the man alive through an extensive collection of speeches, sermons, interviews, and books, spanning King's public life from his emergence as a national figure in 1956 until his death at age 39, only 12 years later. With only light contextual annotations preceding each entry, Washington allows King's writings to speak for themselves.

Reading this work as a whole, one can readily understand how King shook his nation to its foundations, succeeding, where so many before and after failed, in fostering systemic societal change and in forcing America finally to make good on its promise of equality under the law for all. His passion, his eloquence, his clarity of mission, and the power of his vision resound from his words.

Yet it's also understandable that King is represented in so many different ways by those who have studied him. King did not embrace a specific ideology but assembled his philosophy from sources as divergent as Gandhi and Jefferson. The resulting synthesis happened, for a while at least, to resonate with the demands of the times. But because of its disparate strands, King's philosophy is susceptible to a broad range of characterizations, almost all of them oversimplified.

Moreover, King's rhetoric changed over time. He labored strenuously throughout his dozen years on the national scene to maintain philosophical consistency and integrity. But he shifted gradually away from his early emphasis on individualism

and equal rights toward a more class-based, outcomes-oriented focus.

Though King's writings are not chronologically organized, this metamorphosis is apparent throughout the book. King's early writings, from 1956 until about 1963 (when he delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" address from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial), rest heavily upon classical-liberal ideals. Starting around 1963 and increasingly thereafter, King turned toward a more radical political agenda, reflecting what he described as a movement that had "elevated jobs and other economic issues to the summit, where earlier it had placed discrimination and suffrage."

The earlier phase of King's activities corresponded with his greatest achievements, most notably the development of a broad-based civil rights movement and enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. During this period, King's writings sounded a number of themes that were crucial to his success. He drew upon these themes repeatedly, regardless of his audience. The first and perhaps most important located the goals of the modern civil rights movement in the American Revolution.

As King proclaimed in 1963: "In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was the promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." For King, the movement was the "resumption of th[e] noble journey" started in 1776. "The Negro students, their parents, and their allies," he declared, "are acting today in that imperishable tradition."