

# RACISM INTELLIGENCE AND THE WORKING CLASS



*Working class intelligence: Baltimore sanitationmen wildcat, hang union misleaders in effigy.*

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## Introduction

**U.S. capitalists cannot survive without racism. Trapped in the contradictions generated by their system, beset on all sides with cut-throat competition, weakened internally, and inexorably declining as the world's top imperialist power, U.S. rulers have no choice but to intensify their murderous super-exploitation of minority workers at home.**

Racism is the most profitable domestic industry in the United States. Tens of billions of dollars swell the bosses' coffers from wage differentials between minority and white workers. The billions are a drop in the bucket compared to the total profit accumulated by racism. The wage differentials do not indicate how much money is made by paying white workers less than all workers would be paid if the differentials did not exist. Furthermore, huge profits are made by denying minority workers the medical, social and other services necessary for daily survival, by crowding them into hovels and forcing them to pay exorbitant rents, and by charging them the highest prices for the most inferior food, clothing and other staple items. Here, as in the case of wages, the profit is double: racism in these areas drives down the quality of services provided to white workers and forces them too to pay more and more for less and less.

Racism permeates every aspect of the U.S. economy. It can be called the cornerstone that supports all class exploitation in this country. For this very reason, however, racism is also capitalism's Achilles' heel.

The conclusion for workers and their friends among students, intellectuals and others is inescapable: the fight to crush racist practices and the ideology that buttresses them is, unconditionally, a matter of life and death for our class. Five years ago, in a statement entitled *Black Workers: Key Revolutionary Force*, the Progressive Labor Party wrote: "... unless an all-out fight is made against . . . racism . . . a battle waged by revolutionaries in the first place and by the working class in general, then—1) the workers will be unable to make any basic advances in their class interests and establish a Left-Center coalition to lead the fight against the bosses; 2) the danger of fascism will increase; 3) the hacks who serve the ruling class at the head of the trade union movement will continue to ride roughshod over the interests of the rank and file; and 4) no Marxist-Leninist party will ever succeed in the United States."

**That statement is true today. It will be true as long as bosses hold political power. And the fight to crush the vestiges of racism will continue to rage even long after socialism has been won.**

### THE FACTS

Hard facts—even those released by the government and prettified to disguise the awesome depths of racist oppression—prove that the bosses cannot and will not let up for a moment in their drive to intensify all aspects of racism.<sup>1</sup>

—In 1973, for the third consecutive year, the income gap between black and white families widened by a percentage point. According to a *New York Times* summary of the Census Bureau's latest figures, a

"typical" white family had an income of \$12,600, while a "typical" black family had an income of \$7,270, or 58 per cent of that figure (N. Y. Times, July 4, 1974). These figures are "medians"—half the families have incomes above the amount cited, and half are below it. They do not indicate the far larger discrepancy that would be revealed by a study of averages, because the average figures would factor in the billion-dollar income of ruling class and other wealthy families. Even on its own terms, however, this survey demonstrates that the bosses get an added \$32 billion annually from wage differentials, as opposed to \$22 billion five years ago.

—In the handful of instances where the black-white family income ratio approaches equality, the major contributing factor is the higher proportion of black wives working year-round. For all intents and purposes, the bosses force two black people to work for one worker's wages in order to make ends meet. The added profit from this aspect of racism is not included in the \$32 billion figure given above.

—According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), approximately 23 million people overall had to live on incomes below the "official" poverty level in 1973. This is a deceptive statistic, because the poverty figure is always well below the figure the BLS gives as the minimum needed to support a family of four adequately. Nonetheless, the information the government does give presents an appalling picture of racism. Thirty-one per cent of the black population—as against 8 per cent of the white population—lived below the poverty level in 1973. The real figure must be above 50 per cent of the black population, because "since the inflation adjustment in the poverty level is based on the Consumer Price Index, which is, in turn, based on the expenditures of typical middle-income families, the adjustment does not thoroughly reflect the dominance of outlays for food in the budgets of the poor. For this reason, the inflation adjustment for 1973 was probably (!) too small" (N.Y. Times, July 4, 1974). Food prices in the New York area rose by 16 per cent or more in 1973. For years, the BLS has said that in most metropolitan areas, a family of four needs \$12,000 a year—yet in 1973, only 30 per cent of all black families had incomes over \$10,000.

—The figures for black unemployment prove that capitalism constantly requires a huge reserve army of unemployed, and that minorities feel the brunt of this economic law's practical consequences. In 1972—a "boom" year—8.6 million black workers were in the labor force. This represented only a 2 per cent increase over 1971, while white employment had increased by 3 per cent. At 10 per cent, black unemployment was approximately the same between 1971 and 1972, while the white jobless level declined by 200,000 to 5 per cent. With jobless rates significantly higher for black workers than for white in all categories, the greatest difference is among teenagers. In 1972, unemployment for black youth averaged 33.5 per cent and "only" 14.2 per cent for white youth.

These figures were released before the bosses' present economic crisis and the massive layoffs that accompanied it in key industries like auto, steel and transportation, and in the service industries, all of which employ a far higher percentage of black workers than the 11 per cent figure for black participation in the overall labor force. Therefore, like most of the figures given here, the truth about black and white unemployed at all levels is worse than current government statistics.

—Black workers continue to be forced into the lowest-paying jobs with the least chance of upgrading. In 1972, black workers were 11 per cent of the total labor force, as in 1973. Yet they were only 7 per cent of the professional workers and 7 per cent of the craftsmen. On the other hand, 19 per cent of the service workers (excluding private household) and 20 per cent of non-farm laborers were black. In all, excluding service workers, 40 per cent of all black workers are blue-collar workers, as against 34 per cent of all white workers. Of the 30 per cent of all black workers who hold "white collar" jobs, nearly half are in the clerical category.

—In 1971, one-fourth of all black families received welfare income. Sixty-one per cent of them were below the government low-income figure. Five per cent of all white families received welfare in 1971, and 45 per cent of them were below the low-income figure.

—In 1970, only 42 per cent of all black families, as against 65 per cent of all white families, lived in owner-occupied homes. Of these, 17 per cent of the black occupied homes, as against only 5 per cent of all white-occupied homes, lacked some or all plumbing facilities. The annual housing cost was at least 25 per cent of the income of black owner-occupied households, as against 18 per cent for white owner-occupied households in 1970, although the per cent of mortgaged properties was roughly the same for both groups—about 63 per cent. Fifty nine per cent of all black-owned homes were built before 1950, as compared to 45 per cent of white-owned homes.

—In 1970, the median gross rent was \$89 for black renters and \$112 for white renters. However, 43 per cent of all black renters expended at least one-fourth of their income for rent as opposed to 35 per cent of all white households. These figures are obsolete now, with rents skyrocketing like everything else and rent control virtually abolished.

—All of the bosses' fanfare about reducing the oppression of minorities by "democratizing" access to colleges and universities cannot hide the fact that racist wage differentials persist at virtually every level of educational attainment. About 727,000 black students were enrolled in colleges in 1972, roughly twice as many as in 1967. Of these, about 500,000 were between the ages of 18 and 24. However, the effect of a B.A. degree on black-white median income differences was at best negligible. In 1969, a year in which the

overall black-white income ratio for fulltime male workers between ages 25 and 34 was 72 per cent, the ratio for those with a college education was 78 per cent. The same year, the overall black-white income ratio for male workers between ages 35 and 54 was 66 per cent but only 64 per cent for those with a college diploma. In both age groups, the black-white income ratio was higher for women—but women at all levels of education earned between 20 and 35 per cent less than men. Despite the BLS' stupid boast that "blacks have made significant advances in education during the five year period, 1967-72," in fact the hallowed halls of ivy admitted black and other minority students only to miseducate them (as the pamphlet you are about to read will show) and to train them for further racist exploitation.

—The facts given above and many others show that **RACISM KILLS**. In 1968, the average life expectancy of white people was 67.5 years for men and 74.9 years for women. The average life expectancy for black people was only 60.1 years for men and 67.5 years for women—a difference of 7.4 years in each case. In every age group, from infancy to the elderly, mortality rates were higher for black people than for white people. In 1969, major cardiovascular diseases and malignant neoplasms were the two leading causes of death for both black and white people. However, the death rate for black people was qualitatively higher in both cases: 34 per cent higher for major cardiovascular diseases and 25 per cent higher for malignant neoplasms. The death rate from hypertension was four times greater for black people than for whites. Although there have been marked declines in overall infant mortality rates during the last 30 years, the mortality rate for black infants in 1971 was 30.2 per 1,000 live births—a level higher than the 1950 rate for white infants and twice as high as the 1971 rate for white infants. Also in 1971, black and other minority workers were less likely to have visited a physician or dentist—and of those earning less than \$5,000, 25 per cent of all black people went to a butcher-shop "clinic" rather than a private physician, as against 10 per cent of white people.

#### RACISM EQUALS GENOCIDE

Racism, then, means nothing less than genocide for black people and other minorities. This is not an aberration of the system. It is not an historical "tragedy" with an unknown, mystical cause. Capitalism depends so greatly on racism for its survival that the occupational status of black men is virtually the same relative to white men as it was in 1910.<sup>2</sup>

Conventional bourgeois economists—those hired mouth-pieces who carry out the assignment of making

capitalism appear palatable and workable—distort data and reality to make racism appear as something other than inherent in the system. Gary Becker's widely-used 1957 text, *The Economics of Discrimination*, tries to make a thesis of the nonsensical idea that bosses lose from economic discrimination against black workers while white workers actually gain from it. This fairy-tale amply serves the interests of ruling class liberals who shed crocodile tears about racist oppression, bemoan the "backwardness" of white workers—and then formulate or sponsor every major racist, anti-working class law or policy in existence. In fact, however, nothing could be further from the truth. Reality and history show: 1) that racism is a phenomenon produced by the development of class society in its capitalist phase; 2) that it serves only the interests of the ruling class; and 3) that if it attacks minority workers and others first and hardest, ultimately it is a disaster for the entire working class and all workers' allies.

#### PROOF THAT RACISM HURTS EVERYONE

This last point is worth repeating, because millions in our country today—including a large group of sincere anti-racists—still do not understand it thoroughly. Many white people whose conscious and objective aspirations are fundamentally opposed to racism do not see it as an intensified form of class oppression. Yes, every time racism increases, the living conditions of the working class as a whole decline.

Michael Reich, an Assistant Professor of Economics at Boston University, has proved this point in a study of the effect of racism on income.<sup>3</sup> He defines the index of racism as the "ratio of black median family income to white median family income." The lower the ratio, the higher the degree of racism. For the purpose of method, he takes into account the percentage share of all white income received by the top one per cent of white families, the measure of inequality within as well as between classes, the per cent of employment in manufacturing and white collar occupations, the median white family income, and the per cent of nonwhite population in the areas studied. The data are culled from the 1960 U.S. census for each of the 48 largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs).

Here are the principal conclusions of this study:

1) "A systematic relationship between racism and white (income) inequality does exist and is highly significant . . . (indicating) that where racism is greater, income inequality among whites is also greater."

2) Even when other factors do not vary significantly, racism in every one of the SMSAs studied is a significantly unequalizing force on white income

**distribution.** A one per cent increase in the ratio of black to white median incomes (i.e. a one per cent decrease in racist wage differentials) was associated with a .2 per cent decrease in white income inequality.

**3) Increases in racism resulted in decreases in income for the higher-paid section of the white working class.**

**4) Most of the income inequality among whites that is generated by racism is associated with increased income for the richest one per cent of white families.**

**As the panorama of racist oppression sketched further above indicates, the black-white gap both in income and in other areas has generally risen since the 1960 census used in Reich's study. Therefore, the overall class exploitation generated by racism has increased significantly.**

### RACISM LEADS TO REBELLION

As the conditions of life in the U.S. steadily deteriorate from the tightening of the bosses' screw in our backs, and as racist attacks sharpen on all fronts, the working class has responded with an upsurge of militancy at the point of production—spearheaded in many cases by minority workers. In 1973, 5,600 strikes took place, 600 more than in 1972 and the third highest yearly total of strikes on record. With real wages declining for all workers over a 10-year period, and by a 4.6 per cent rate last year alone, and with 1974 inflation at a staggering 12.2 per cent, the strike wave is swelling further. Between May 1 and June 15, 1974, there were 523 work stoppages nationally, involving 308,000 workers, the highest totals for this period in 15 years. During the week of July 15, over 600 strikes broke out across the U.S.—the largest number at any one time since the period that immediately followed World War II.

In general, both the bosses' racism and the leadership of black and other minority workers have functioned as key elements of these strikes. Of the 25 largest work stoppages that took place in 1973, many were in industries that employ a high percentage of minority workers. The Chrysler strike in September 1973 involving 111,000 workers, the October International Harvester strike involving 40,000 workers, the November strike of 30,000 New York City hospital workers, and municipal workers' strikers in Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit—involving an aggregate of 74,000 workers—were all actions in which the militancy of minority workers played a vanguard role and the question of working class unity against racism was decisive in determining the degree of victory or defeat.

As these lines are written (July 1974) the ruling class of Baltimore—a city with a black population of over 50 per cent—is still shuddering from the effects of a near general strike started by black sanitationmen who hit the bricks to win higher pay than their starvation wages of \$90 a week.

Within limits, the ruling class is capable of objectivity. They understand that working class militancy costs them money, and they know their declining world status affords them little maneuverability to make economic concessions at home. They would love to see a completely docile working class, but they know from history and experience that workers—particularly the most oppressed workers—will fight back. Therefore, like any sound tactician, the bosses try to minimize their losses. They seek to isolate working class rebellions and strikes, undermine them from within, prevent them from spreading, and split workers from their natural allies among students and intellectuals.

The bosses need racist ideology in order to carry out this racist exploitation, to smash working class unity, to use police terror against minority rebels, and to justify their imperialist wars. In a word, they could not hold power without racist ideas.

The historical development of contradictions within the imperialist camp and the revolutionary process have already forced U.S. bosses to fight a major war against Hitlerite fascism. As a result of World War II and its aftermath, millions of people in America developed a high awareness of and hatred for racism. This anti-racism carried over to the Civil Rights movement and the mass movement to get the U.S. out of Vietnam.

**To counter it, the ruling class has fostered a new crop of racist apologists and ideologues in the universities, spread their "theories" far and wide within academic circles, and suitably "vulgarized" them for mass consumption. A brief glance at the major racist intellectuals who have emerged over the past ten years shows U.S. bosses' racism as sufficiently flexible to embrace both liberal and conservative viewpoints.**

—While LBJ and other liberals were cooking up "The Great Society" as a sop to the massive black working class rebellions of the 1960s, Daniel P. Moynihan wrote a major government report to prove that the appalling oppression against which black people had fought so heroically was caused—not by capitalist society—but by inherent deficiencies in the "black family structure."

—Five years later, in 1969, Arthur Jensen of Berkeley published his now-famous study in the *Harvard Educational Review*, claiming that black people were genetically "inferior" to white people.

—Jensen was followed by Edward Banfield, another "genius" who taught at Harvard until he was given the heave-ho by anti-racist students. He has no genetic pretensions: he merely asserts that the most oppressed workers like to live in poverty, enjoy slum conditions, and have a sociological predilection for beating their children.

—After Banfield had published these "profound"

allegations in *The Unheavenly City*, Richard Herrnstein wrote an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* stating that success was a result of ability, that capitalist society was a genetically determined meritocracy, that wealth and status varied directly with intelligence, and that unemployment was inherited in the same manner as bad teeth. This masterpiece hit the newsstands the week Nixon announced Phase One of the wage freeze.

—Two years later, Christopher Jencks (a self-styled "socialist") used up \$500,000 of Carnegie Foundation money to publish a study implying that current and future massive budget cuts in the schools were justified and that schooling was insignificant because the basic determinants of success were "luck and personality."

—Most recently, Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman—two professors of economics and history—have published *Time on the Cross*, perhaps the most insidious of all the academic racist "studies." Under a cover of purported anti-racism, and a barrage of "cliometric" pseudo-data, this book advances the "thesis" that conditions for black slaves in the pre-Civil War U.S. were far less atrocious than has been thought until now—that, in fact, slaves were at least as well off as workers who weren't slaves. Somehow, Fogel and Engerman think this "discovery" represents a revolutionary break-through for the self-esteem of black people. Despite its left-wing rhetoric, *Time On the Cross* doesn't differ basically from the pronouncements of Third Reich propagandists who used to wax eloquent about the idyllic conditions at Dachau, Buchenwald, Treblinka, and other concentration camps. Our advice to the authors of this latest version of *Arbeit Macht Frei*: TRY IT SOMETIME.

These are the first-stringers. They are surrounded by a pack of fawning acolytes too numerous to mention, who advance one aspect or another of the basic racist thesis and who have made racism a major item on the curriculum of virtually every department in every university throughout the U.S. The "masters" are publicized in the media, hailed as courageous spokesmen for unpopular "scientific" discoveries, and zealously defended when their "free speech" is trampled underfoot by masses of outraged anti-racists.

By now, millions of people in the U.S. have heard of or seen William Shockley, the clown-prince of neo-Nazism, a physicist-turned-"geneticist," who has received hours of free publicity on television to promote his blatantly genocidal proposal that the most oppressed minority workers should be sterilized.

**Each of the racist theorists uses a rhetoric with just enough nuances to distinguish him superficially from his cohorts. However, at the core of every one of their positions is the essential fascist premise that the oppressed are "inferior" to the oppressors. To paraphrase William Ryan, Jensen, Herrnstein, Banfield, Jencks, Shockley & Co. all blame the victims of racism, exploitation, unemployment, poverty, imperialist war, inflation and speedup, and justify**

**ongoing genocide for profit as practiced every day under this system by the real criminals—Rockefeller and the rest of the U.S. ruling class.**

The pamphlet that follows was written when the emerging movement against campus racism had to confront the twin task of refuting the racists on their own terms and discrediting their pretensions to "science." It exposes the "I.Q." text (which Jensen & Co. use as their major "evidence") as a farce designed with a priori racist, anti-working class bias; shows that the concept of "intelligence" is a class question, not an abstraction; demonstrates that Jensen, Shockley, and Herrnstein are really Nazis dressed in modern garb; and traces the ideological and intellectual debt they owe to their Hitlerite masters.

Within the limits of what it sets out to do, the pamphlet (now in its third edition) has already played a useful role in the movement against racism and can continue to do so. As long as a single racist has a forum to advocate or justify genocide, it will be necessary to debunk and discredit his ideas. Anti-racists on campus have already led campaigns to put this pamphlet on the required curriculum of several departments. In other instances, the pamphlet has helped spur militant anti-racist confrontation. Many of the students and faculty who have organized sharp mass actions against Shockley, Banfield, and others at campuses like Staten Island Community College, the University of Toronto, Yale, and elsewhere, used the arguments made in *Racism, Intelligence, and the Working Class* to sharpen the political content of those actions.

Much more remains to be done in broadening the battle against racism and extending it to all fronts. As vital as it is, exposure of leading academic racists cannot by itself turn the practical consequences of racism into their opposite or smash the ruling class that thrives on them.

**The movement against campus racism that began as an assault on the academic nazis must now extend beyond the purely ideological field (without for a moment abandoning the ideological struggle) and at the same time spread far beyond the campus. To some extent, this development is already taking place, with anti-racist campaigns underway in the areas of health care delivery and immigration.**

### UNIONS MUST FIGHT RACISM

Ultimately, the bulwark of the battles to destroy racism must be the trade union movement—a rank and file-led movement with the active participation of communists, a movement conscious of its own internal unity as the decisive factor in the struggle to crush the bosses and their system.

The stakes are high indeed. The ruling class is doing everything in its power to spread an epidemic of racism. The fascist "Zebra" hoax in San Francisco, the constant harrassment and roundup of immigrant workers from Los Angeles to New York City,

preparations by the politicians and media for "race war" in Boston, police terror in Baltimore's ghetto and elsewhere—all these and countless other developments are the ominous consequences of Jensenism carried out in life.

Meanwhile, inflation continues to skyrocket. Unemployment mounts. Services deteriorate. Conditions on the job grow more and more murderous. The massive education budget cuts proposed in the Committee for Economic Development's report on the *Management and Financing of Colleges*—and lately vindicated by a Carnegie Commission report—have become government policy. These, too, are the consequences of racism.

Someday, when the U.S. rulers have run out of deals to make with their Soviet and other competitors, when they can no longer negotiate the realignment of world markets and labor pools for their maximum profits, they will try to launch World War III. Racism and chauvinism will be the major ideological underpinnings of this ultimate genocidal act, as they were for Hitler, as they were for the U.S. ruling class

when it dropped the A-bomb on Japan and when it carried out its war of aggression in Vietnam, as they are for all imperialist butchery.

The logic of racism is genocide. The process that seems to begin as the special oppression of a particular minority group develops until it destroys everyone who does not profit by it.

**Destroying those who do profit by it, the whole class of racist rulers, must be the goal of workers and their allies. Only under socialism can the material basis for racism (class exploitation) be annihilated.**

At the moment, this purpose can be served by heightening the class consciousness of the anti-racism movement and by organizing struggles that attack racist ideas and practices as the enemies of everyone.

In this context, it will become clear that the battle to rout and muzzle the racist theorists is no parlor game, but rather a crucial part of the working class' struggle against genocide and for socialism. If the ideas presented in this pamphlet continue to help intensify this process, then the pamphlet will remain of some use.

## NOTES

1. Unless otherwise noted, the facts cited in this introduction come from the U.S. Labor Department's report on *The Social and Economic Status of Black Americans*, 1972. The black population is by far the largest "minority" group in the United States. Similar data are not published as extensively for other minorities, such as the Latin American or Native American members of the working class. However, the general points and conclusion about racism are thoroughly applicable to all minority workers.

2. D. Hiestand: *Economic Growth and Employment Opportunities for Minorities* (New York City, Columbia University Press), p. 53, cited in Michael Reich's essay: *Economic Theories of Racism*, appearing in *Schooling In a Corporate Society*, Martin Carnoy, ed., (New York City, McKay, 1971) p. 68.

3. Michael Reich, *Op. Cit.*

# Section 1

1916— "Their dullness seems to be racial, or at least inherent in the family stocks from which they come. The fact that one meets this type with such extraordinary frequency among Indians, Mexicans and negroes suggests quite forcibly that the whole question of racial differences in mental traits will have to be taken up anew. The writer predicts that when this is done, there will be discovered enormously significant racial differences in general intelligence, which cannot be wiped out by any scheme of mental culture."

—Lewis Terman

1917— "If we should preserve our state for a class of people worthy to possess it, we must prevent, as far as possible, the propagation of mental degenerates."

—Lewis Terman

1921— "Quite apart from educational status, which is totally unsatisfactory, the negro soldier is of relatively low grade intelligence. Education alone will not place the negro race on par with its Caucasian competitors."

—Colonel Robert Yerkes,

Professor of Psychology, Harvard University, Chief of U.S. Army Testing Program and Chairman, "Committee on Inheritance of Mental Traits" of the Eugenics Research Association

1969— "There are intelligence genes, which are found in populations in different proportions, somewhat like the distribution of blood types. The number of intelligence genes seems lower, overall, in the black population than in the white."

—Arthur Jensen

1973— "The false belief in human equality leads to rigid, inflexible expectations, often doomed to frustration, thence to anger. Ever more shrilly, we call on our educational institutions to make everyone the same, when we should be trying to mold our institutions around the inescapable limitations and varieties of human ability."

—Richard Herrnstein

## PREFACE

History apparently repeats itself. But if the repetition involved merely the similarity of racial view of a few professors, it would not be so serious. Unfortunately, not only the racial views, but the policy recommendations, the positions of influence, and the response of the government and mass media have been remarkably the same for both the new and the old "eugenicists."

Terman and the old eugenicists popularized their views in *The New Republic*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Popular Science Monthly*, the *American Psychologist*, etc.<sup>2</sup> Jensen and the new eugenicists are popularized in the *American Psychologist*, *Atlantic Monthly*, as well as *The New York Times*, *Fortune*, *Time*, etc.<sup>3</sup> Yerkes' report on testing in the Army became the key justification for the work of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, which wrote the racist Immigration Code in 1924. Jensen's famous "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" has been cited over and over again in defense of segregated schools, and has been reprinted in its entire 123 pages in *Environment*, *Intelligence*, and *Scholastic Achievement: a compilation of testimony to the Select Committee on Equal Opportunity of the United State Senate*.<sup>4</sup> From 1915 to 1925 the leading circles of American government, business and education, the U.S. ruling class, collaborated on a campaign to increase racism among the American people for political reasons. The combined forces of Daniel Moynihan, Arthur Jensen, Richard Herrnstein, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Fortune*, and other government and business leaders are doing the same thing today. The roles of Terman and Yerkes are today played by Jensen at Berkeley, Herrnstein at Harvard, William Shockley at Stanford, and H. J. Eysenck of London.

Eugenic sterilization of people with "inferior" genes is the expressed aim of both groups of scholars; dysgenics, the reproduction of "inferior" people at a faster rate than that of the "superior," is their major worry. Terman wrote in 1924:

(1) The racial stocks most prolific of gifted children are those from northern and western Europe, and the Jewish. The least prolific are the Mediterranean races, the Mexicans, and the Negroes. (2) The fecundity of the family stocks from which our gifted children come appears to be definitely on the wane. This is an example of the differential birth rate which is rapidly become evident in all civilized countries. It has been figured out that if the present differential birth rate continues, 1,000 Harvard graduates will at the end of 200 years have but 50 descendants, while in the same period, 1,000 South Italians will have multiplied to 100,000.<sup>5</sup>

Forty-eight years later Jensen echoes Terman's racist fears:

... the educationally least able among Negroes have a higher reproductive rate than their white coun-

terparts, and the most able segment, the middle class, of the Negro population have a lower reproductive rate than their white counterparts.<sup>6</sup>

Both the old and the new eugenicists were supported by the leaders of government and business. The old eugenics movement got its start at the founding of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution at Cold Springs Harbor, New York, with generous financing from Andrew Carnegie himself. It took its next leap forward with the founding of the Eugenics Record Office at Cold Springs Harbor with huge donations from Mrs. E. H. Harriman and John D. Rockefeller. In conjunction with the federal immigration authorities and the U.S. Public Health Service, the Eugenics Record Office set up an inspection station at Ellis Island in 1912, the landing spot for most of the new immigrants, at which they were all given psychological testing to determine how many were "feeble-minded."

In 1917 the Eugenics Record office was officially taken over by the Carnegie Corporation. At about the same time the Race Betterment Foundation was working to hold the First National Conference on Race Betterment in 1914 at Battle Creek, Michigan, home of Kellogg's Cornflakes. J. H. Kellogg was president of the Race Betterment Foundation and Harvard President-emeritus Charles Eliot was on its Central Committee, along with Victor Vaughan, head of the American Medical Association. In 1915 the Second National Conference on Race Betterment was held in San Francisco with massive fanfare. At that meeting were representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation, U.S. Steel Corporation, Ford Motor Company, Aetna Life Insurance Company, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, National Cash Register Company and the Carnegie Foundation.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, the federal government did more than allow the Eugenics Record Office to use Ellis Island as a laboratory. Woodrow Wilson, president at the time, gave his official blessing to the racist movie, "Birth of a Nation," which glorified the Ku Klux Klan and portrayed blacks as dancing fools or savage rapists. In 1915 Wilson ordered all federal civil service jobs segregated. And when war broke out, he appointed racist psychologists Yerkes of Harvard and Thorndike of Columbia as Chief of Army Testing and Chairman of the Committee on Classification of Personnel of the Army respectively. During the war, the National Research Council (NRC) was set up, which became the major government funding agency of the period. Terman, Yerkes and C. B. Davenport of the Galton Society combined to dominate the NRC's Division of Anthropology and Psychology, and Thorndike became a leader of the whole Council. In subsequent years they naturally funded numerous research projects "proving" the genetic inferiority of blacks and immigrants. The ruling class, directly through the efforts of men like Kellogg, Carnegie and Rockefeller and their "philanthropic" wives like Mrs. Harriman, or indirectly through the government which they controlled, built the old eugenics movement from scratch.

Today's eugenicists are similarly pushed by the rulers. Ever since the Supreme Court decision to in-

tegrate schools in 1954 there have been a number of racist theoreticians operating mainly out of Southern universities. But until recently no one at the big ruling class schools like Harvard or Berkeley had joined their camp in a big way, and they were unnoticed by media like *The New York Times*. Since the heroic black rebellions of the late 1960's, the situation has changed. Jensen's article in the *Harvard Educational Review* was broadcast over the length and breadth of the land by the *Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Life*, etc.

Even more actively, the new eugenics, blame-the-people ideology began to be pushed in magazines rather important in intellectual circles. This group includes *Encounter*, *The Public Interest*, *Commentary* and the *Atlantic Monthly*. All of these magazines have important connections to the CIA or the State Department. *Atlantic Monthly* was recently thanked profusely by Herrnstein for nursing along his precious racist creations. He writes, "The book grew out of an article entitled 'I.Q.', published in the *Atlantic Monthly* magazine in September 1971. I owe the editors, particularly Robert Manning and C. Michael Curtis, a debt of gratitude for their interest in the idea of such an article and then, after I wrote a draft, for their criticism and counsel. Later, when the article had swelled about fivefold, I was fortunate to have Father S. Yntema, senior editor at the *Atlantic Monthly Press*, as a faithful and deeply insightful critic." (p. ix)

Seldom are books so labored over by editors at such high levels. Either Herrnstein cannot write very well, or they were mighty interested in seeing his work come out. We suspect both are true. More seriously, *Atlantic Monthly* is a major organ of the U.S. ruling class. The present editor, Robert Manning, for example, is no simple literary buff, but the former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. It was his job, from 1962 to 1964, to lie about the early stages of the Vietnam War, as well as sundry other U.S. atrocities around the world.

The other three journals carry constant articles on the Jensen/Herrnstein theme. *Commentary* and *Encounter* have recently carried articles by Herrnstein and Eysenck directed at those students and faculty who have seen fit to criticize the new gurus. *The Public Interest* devoted a whole issue to Herrnstein's "meritocracy" theory, just after publishing a notoriously racist article on busing by ex-Harvard professor David Armour. These journals are, it seems, controlled by the CIA.

In 1967 *Encounter* and its parent organization, the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), were exposed as CIA fronts. At the time, one of the men most prominently named as a CIA conduit was Irving Kristol. Kristol has successively been editor of *Commentary* (1949-52), *Encounter* (1953-58), and the *Public Interest* (presently). During the 1950's he was also head of the American branch of the CCF, the AACF. In 1952, he wrote an editorial in *Commentary*, defending Joe McCarthy; in 1973, he was named as one of four professors making up Agnew's brain trust for 1976. No one could have been editor of *Encounter* for its first six

years and at the same time head of the ACCF without being a CIA agent. Apparently all three of these literary journals are part of the CIA orbit. Their heavy involvement in the pro-Jensen movement clearly shows the government is behind it.<sup>8</sup>

On another level, the government has begun funding a whole new field in psychology centering on Jensen-style research known as "behavioral genetics." While not everyone in the field shares Jensen's racism, the thrust of it is basically racist. Both the National Institute of Mental Health and the U.S. Public Health Service have given lavish grants in this area of research at a time when money for other research is drying up.

Finally, businessmen are directly pushing Jensenism. *Fortune* magazine, wedded as closely to Rockefeller money as *The New York Times* (see the PL pamphlet *Who Rules America?*), ran a big story on the new group of racist social scientists entitled "The Social Engineers Retreat Under Fire." (See Note 3.) The article praised the "hard-headed realism" of the new "nativists," and named Herrnstein and Jensen as leaders. According to *Fortune*, the old liberal social science of the Civil Rights period was based on wishful thinking, and the failure of liberal reforms to alleviate the poverty of black Americans has crushed those fantasies. The article ends, however, with a warning that we should not let the failure of liberal social science prevent us from listening to the programs and proposals of the new racists.

Through its major organs of power, the government and the media, the U.S. ruling class is once again building a eugenics movement. The following excerpt from a *Life* magazine article on "Jensenism" clearly shows the attitude of the current administration:

Before investing more millions in projects that weren't working, the President said, a new National Institute of Education should carry out work on a fourth "R"—research into what it is that enables some children to pick up reading, writing and arithmetic better than others.

The president avoided any mention of Jensen's paper although he knew about it. Shortly after the paper had appeared in the *Harvard Educational Review*, White House advisor Daniel Moynihan had been moved to remark that "the winds of Jensen" were gusting through the capital at gale force....

The Jensen report, says one high governmental official, "has kicked up a lot more private reaction than you'd think. It's not something that anybody does talk about. It's secret knowledge in Washington, something that everybody knows and doesn't say. In the bureaucracy, when they see these compensatory programs not working, they just look at each other."<sup>9</sup>

Since then, the government has become even more open in encouraging the views of Jensen et al. For example, David Rosenthal, Chief of Laboratories at the National Institute of Mental Health, recently signed a statement in the *American Psychologist* endorsing the "hereditarian" view of human behavior, co-signed by Jensen, Herrnstein, and 47 others.<sup>10</sup> (See Appendix A.)

In its theory, its policy proposals, and its influential

backing, the new eugenics movement closely resembles the old. There are, of course, some differences: the full brunt of today's racist assault falls on blacks primarily, while the older movement directed its fire against blacks and recent European immigrants. Despite this difference, the similarities are frightening. However, today's movement is just beginning—and has not yet achieved the success of its predecessor. It has yet to make its impact fully felt in social terms. But if its effect in any way parallels that of the eugenics movement of the 1915-1930 period, it could be catastrophic for the people of America, both black and white.

The first large-scale effort at testing "intelligence" in America came as part of the First World War. Robert Yerkes of Harvard was president of the American Psychology Association when war came, and immediately organized the Committee on the Examination of Recruits of the U.S. Army, himself being a colonel in the Army. Supervising the whole process, as Chairman of the Committee on Classification of Personnel of the Army, 1917-1918, was Edward L. Thorndike. On Yerkes' committee were Lewis Terman of Stanford, author of the American revision of the Binet scale of intelligence, Terman's student Arthur Otis, Henry H. Goddard of the Carnegie Records Office, Walter V. Bingham of the Carnegie Institute, and several other psychologists.<sup>11</sup> Goddard was a leading eugenicist, who was hired in 1912 by the U.S. Public Health Service to come to Ellis Island, where most new immigrants were landing, and test them for "feble-mindedness." He found that "based upon his examination of the 'great mass of average immigrants,' 83 per cent of Jews, 80 per cent of Hungarians, 79 per cent of Italians, and 87 per cent of Russians were 'feble-minded.'" Politically Goddard was terrified that these immigrants, together with native American workers, would unite to take control of the government. He wrote anxiously: "The disturbing fear is that the masses—the seventy million or even eighty-six million—will take matters into their own hands."<sup>13</sup> Terman, Yerkes and Thorndike were of the same basic persuasion.

The tests designed by the psychologists, the most important of whom were both racist and anti-working class, came out "proving" that black people and immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were intellectually inferior. The mean intelligence test scores for immigrants from different countries fell in the following order: England, Holland, Denmark, Scotland, Germany, Sweden, Canada, Belgium, Norway, Austria, Ireland, Turkey, Greece, Russia, Italy and Poland. The Polish, it was said, were almost as dull as the Negroes.<sup>14</sup>

Yerkes published the official report of the results of the Army tests in a special memoir of the National Academy of Sciences, and in it declared that the tests proved the inferiority of blacks and immigrants.<sup>15</sup> Shortly thereafter Yerkes' protegee, Carl Brigham of Princeton (later to found the Educational Testing Service which administers the College Entrance Examination Boards to this day), published a re-

analysis of the Army data in his book, *A Study of American Intelligence*, which appeared as a supplementary publication of the National Academy of Sciences. In Yerkes' introduction to the book, he said it should be taken very seriously by Americans because they could ill "afford to ignore the menace of race deterioration or the evident relations of immigrants to national progress and welfare."<sup>16</sup>

Brigham, following eugenicist Madison Grant, divided Americans into four racial groups: Negroes, Nordics, Alpines and Mediterraneans. He concluded: "In a very definite way, the results which we obtain by interpreting the army data by means of the race hypothesis support Mr. Madison Grant's thesis of the superiority of the Nordic type."<sup>17</sup>

On the basis of Brigham's report, as presented to the Congressional Committee on Immigration and Naturalization by various "scholars," the Immigration Code of 1924 adopted a policy of quotas based on "national origins." According to Brigham et al., the immigrants who were coming to America in the 1920's were of the inferior Alpine and Mediterranean types, whereas those who had immigrated to the U.S. in the previous century had been from more pure Nordic stock. Therefore the "national origins" quota system was based on the U.S. Census of 1890. National quotas were set according to the percentage of people from that country already in the United States as of 1890. This naturally excluded large numbers of southern and eastern Europeans, the so-called Mediterranean and Alpine races.<sup>18</sup>

But the work of the Eugenicists did not stop at restrictive immigration codes. Brigham pointed out to his racist colleagues, "The revision of the immigration and naturalization laws will only afford a slight relief. . . . The really important steps are those looking toward the prevention of the continued propagation of defective strains in the present population."<sup>19</sup> Brigham, of course, was saying nothing new. For years the eugenicists had been working to get sterilization laws on the books of the various states. By January 1, 1930, 24 different states had passed laws calling for the sterilization of the "feeble-minded, criminals and paupers." According to the preamble of the first sterilization law, passed in Indiana in 1907, "heredity plays a most important part in the transmission of crime." By 1927, California alone had sterilized 3,951 people, 61 per cent of them from immigrant families. Professor Terman was influential in the California program, and considered it a model for the nation. By 1930, 34 states had also passed miscegenation laws, prohibiting marriages between whites and blacks (sometimes orientals as well). None of these laws were passed before 1913.<sup>20</sup>

These atrocities tell only a small part of the story of the effects of the eugenicists. Their attacks were not directed solely against immigrants, and their effects were not limited to the relatively small number of people actually sterilized. Rather, the major thrust of the eugenics movement was anti-working class and ideological. Its aim, and the aim of the government and businessmen who founded and funded the eugenics

movement, was to suppress the growing working class movement in America. That movement was largely led by immigrants, and the ruling class hoped that by restricting the inflow of radical immigrants and intensively "naturalizing" (read: Americanizing and brainwashing) those already here, they could stop the growing radical movement. The cause for their alarm was real enough. As William Z. Foster wrote in 1947:

*In the big Lawrence textile strike of 1912 it was the immigrant workers, a score of different nationalities, who were the backbone of the great struggle. Likewise, in the packinghouse movement of 1917-20, the whole thing centered around the foreign-born, mostly Slavs. They organized the unions in the first place (the Americans quite generally refusing to come in until after a settlement had been secured), and they were the ones who made the final desperate fight. The same experience was seen in the great 1918-19 organizing campaign and strike in the steel industry. Although in some mills there were as many as 54 nationalities, they joined hands readily and formed trade unions. . . .*<sup>21</sup>

So to split the labor movement and to justify their attacks on the left, particularly the Palmer Raids of 1919, the rulers utilized and encouraged the teachings of the eugenicists. The main effect of the eugenics movement was not the number of people sterilized, but the ideological support which the racist teachings of this movement lent to the combined attacks on labor by business and government. Thousands of radicals were deported from the country as "aliens."<sup>22</sup> By labeling all dissent and every strike as alien-inspired, the rulers of government and industry succeeded often in preventing widespread support of such movements by many native white workers. In the end, these workers themselves suffered. The labor movement was so sharply attacked during the 1920's that there were fewer union members in 1930 than in 1915. The weakness of the labor movement at the beginning of the 1930's was one of the major reasons why the depression brought such incredible suffering to thousands of working class families.

The 1920's saw also the rise of the Northern Ku Klux Klan. Blacks first began to be integrated into industry during the War. After the War, employers blamed the lack of jobs for white veterans on the black workers. When white workers, especially in the steel mills, went out on strike, the companies imported black strike-breakers. Together with the ideology of the eugenicists, these events provoked the race riots of 1919 and 1920, where blacks were attacked by whites with the support of police. The effect of this racism against blacks was to weaken the unity of the labor movement and to allow the conditions of all workers to deteriorate further during the 1920's.<sup>23</sup>

The eugenics movement continued its propaganda efforts until the middle and late 1930's. It died in America under the impact of the tremendous radicalization of the entire population in Depression and in response to the needs of the U.S. rulers to appear liberal in their struggle with Hitler's Germany for world supremacy. The ultimate logic of eugenics was reached in Germany under Hitler. The fact that

Hitler quickly became an enemy of the U.S. in world affairs probably did as much to cause the downfall of Eugenics in America as any purely domestic events. The U.S. government and business leaders had to win the people to fight Hitler by adopting a more liberal position and opposing Hitler's gross racism. They therefore withdrew their support from the eugenicists.

The very hard fact that to oppose Hitler the U.S. had to oppose eugenicist thinking at home is clear proof of the connection between eugenics and Hitlerism. In fact, the idea of Nordic superiority espoused by Americans Madison Grant and Carl Brigham received its final temporary triumph in the teachings of Hitler's professors. Alfred Rosenberg, theoretician of the Nazi movement and Commissioner of the Führer for the Supervision of the Total Intellectual and Philosophical Training of the National Socialist German Workers Party (Nazi Party), founded *Race: a Monthly for the Nordic Idea* and the Nordic Society, in Hitler's Germany.<sup>24</sup>

With World War II and the Nazi policies of exterminating Jews and other "inferior people" (untermenschen), such as the Slavs, eugenics revealed the full logic of racist hereditarianism.

Even before Hitler's final solution; however, the Nazis began to pass laws similar to those passed in the 1920's in the United States. What was some of this social legislation?

—*German Sterilization Law, 1935.* In one year 56,000 people were sterilized.

—*German Marriage Law, 1935.* This law prohibited marriage between Jews and 'Aryans'.

—*Eugenic Qualification Law, 1933.* Jews were excluded from state service jobs such as Post Office, State Bank, Railway and all civil services.

It is important to note again that the equivalents of these laws were on the books in the U.S. (sterilization, inter-marriage). Also "legal discrimination" in the U.S. kept blacks out of skilled and professional jobs. Furthermore, the segregation system, de facto or otherwise, was protected by laws in the U.S. The ghettos of Nazi Germany have their counterparts today in the big cities of the U.S. For many years blacks were denied even voting privileges, just as the Jews were denied eventually in Germany.<sup>24a</sup>

The world-wide eugenics movement, with its strong centers in the United States and Great Britain, contained many ardent early admirers of the Führer. *The Eugenics Review*, published in England, wrote in 1936:

*Present-day Germany must be regarded as a vast laboratory which is the scene of a gigantic eugenics experiment. It would be quite wrong and quite unscientific to decry everything which is now going on in that country. There is, as a fact, much carried out in Germany which deserves our approbation. The authorities there are in the position of being able to carry out the advice of their scientific advisors. If Dr. Frick, the Minister of State, desires to enforce certain social legislation he has only to issue the order and the*

*thing is done. How different from us! Why some of us are not even dictators in our own houses. In Germany, the most advanced eugenics legislation is carried through without difficulty.*<sup>25</sup>

Hitler's Germany could best be understood as a eugenicist's utopia.

This, then, is the proud heritage in which the Jensen's and Herrnstein's of the current day share. What is most shocking is the extent to which Jensen et al are aware of it. Shockley is perhaps most clear on this:

*Eugenics is a shunned word because it was a feature of Hitlerism. But the lesson of Nazi history is not that eugenics is intolerable. Since 1935 Denmark has carried out programs with positive eugenic implications. (Although a cause-and-effect relationship is uncertain, it is noteworthy that Denmark's per capita homicide rate has dropped since WW II and is less than 2 per cent of the rising rate of Washington, D.C., which was 20 per cent higher in 1971 than in 1970.) The real lesson of Nazi history was anticipated 140 years before Hitler, when the Bill of Rights incorporated into our Constitution the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech and of the press. Only the most anti-Teutonic racist can believe the German people to be such an evil breed that they would have tolerated the concentration camps and gas chambers if a working First Amendment had permitted exposure and discussion of Hitler's final solution—the extermination of the Jews.*<sup>26</sup>

What Shockley is saying here, with his peculiar logic, is that we need not fear his proposals for sterilization. Rather, the First Amendment will allow us to debate openly whether those of us judged to be "inferior" are to be castrated or gassed!

Jensen and Herrnstein often refer favorably to the work of Terman and the Army test administrators, like Yerkes, as well as to Galton, the founder of the eugenics movement in England. Herrnstein writes admiringly of "Francis Galton, the younger cousin of Charles Darwin. Far more versatile (perhaps smarter) than his great cousin, Galton was a geographer, explorer, journalist, mathematician, eugenicist (he coined the term), and articulate essayist."<sup>27</sup>

Even worse, Jensen, Herrnstein and Shockley have already begun to call to the "pragmatic man in the street" to attack and oppose the efforts of black people to achieve a decent life. They do this by constantly depicting efforts at improving the educational and living conditions of blacks as efforts to take away money from white taxpayers. Jensen refers to money spent on compensatory education programs for black children as "lavished" and "extravagant," while Herrnstein talks about the "selective deprivation" of whites. He claims that "These days, there is great pressure to reduce individual differences, perhaps even by withholding education advantages from gifted people and lavishing them on the less well endowed."<sup>28</sup> Shockley has issued the most open call to action:

*Nature has color-coded groups of individuals so that statistically reliable predictions of their adaptability to*

intellectually rewarding and effective lives can easily be made and profitably be used by the pragmatic man in the street.<sup>29</sup>

Shockley's statement amounts to giving the green light to racism. Here's a Nobel Prize-winning scientist saying to white racists: "Go right ahead—trust your racist feelings. Those black people really are inferior." The only effect such statements can have is to encourage the kind of attacks by whites against blacks that marked the tragic events of the race riots of 1919-1920 and which have begun to reoccur in Newark, Brooklyn and Pontiac, Michigan. No doubt, today's eugenicists are well aware of what they are doing.

The consequences of eugenicist thinking, or "hereditary reasoning" as they call it, are disastrous. Whether it leads to the repression characteristic of the 1920's in America, or to the savagery of Hitler's Germany, is but a matter of degree. Neither alternative is particularly inviting—in either case, both the

oppressed minority and the whole working population suffer decreased living standards and political suppression.

Whether we are to face either of these two alternatives, or something perhaps even worse, is essentially up to us. When eugenicist thinking starts to become popular in the press, and in the thinking of government officials, and when it starts to be taught in the schools, the people are in for trouble. But these theories do not have to triumph—nor do people have to accept the policies which flow from them. Both the ideas and the policies can be defeated. To do so, however, requires that we know why the theories of the eugenicists are wrong, and how to show that to the people who are being exposed to them constantly in school, in the press, and in their daily lives.

To the task of exposing the fallacies behind these theories of genetic inferiority we now turn.<sup>30</sup>

## Section 2

## IQ—BASIS OF THE GENETIC ARGUMENT

The major "scientific" rationale for genetic racism has been the argument that blacks (and whatever other minority you wish to include) are less intelligent than whites. Intelligence, in this argument, is generally equated with IQ scores. The argument from IQ scores to genetic inferiority has recently been made in the following fashion:<sup>31</sup>

1. IQ measures some trait which can be called intelligence, and which differs from person to person. Intelligence, so defined and measured, correlates highly with success in school and later life. Hence IQ must be measuring something real and significant.

2. Numerous compensatory education programs, designed to raise the IQ of "disadvantaged" children, have failed to produce significant results. Therefore the liberal myth that IQ differences are environmentally determined and can be environmentally eliminated, is false. It is time to look for a new explanation.

3. That explanation is to be found in the high heritability of IQ, as measured by the methods of population genetics. According to these methods, the heritability of IQ is .8, which means that about 80 per cent of the differences between people are genetic in origin.

4. Racial differences are also inherited. Although neither Jensen nor Herrnstein claims to have absolutely proven it, Jensen says, "So all we are left with are various lines of evidence, no one of which is definitive alone, but which viewed all together, make it a not unreasonable hypothesis that genetic factors are strongly implicated in the average Negro-white intelligence difference."<sup>32</sup>

Everything about this argument is wrong. Not only are the individual assertions made in different parts of the argument untrue, but even if they were true, they would not lend to the conclusions these scholars have reached.

We shall demonstrate the untruth of these propositions in the following sections. We will show, first, how a particular point is wrong. Then, for purposes of argument, grant the point to Jensen et al. and then show that their next point is itself untrue and does not follow from the previous point. At the end of this section, it will be clear that the hereditary argument holds no water at all.

Among today's eugenicists, Jensen is clearly the intellectual leader. His 1969 article in the *Harvard Educational Review* started the current wave of genetic explanations for IQ differences, and most of the other hereditarians, like Shockley, Eysenck of England, etc., simply popularize Jensen's arguments. Herrnstein, however, is slightly different. He emphasizes the

"meritocracy" theory, which says that social structure is dependent on genes, much more than Jensen. Herrnstein also attempts to pose as "neutral" on the question of Black-white differences, although he basically supports Jensen's claim.

For the most part, Jensen, Herrnstein, Eysenck and Shockley can be treated all together. They use the same arguments, the same data, and also are in constant communication and collaboration. The eugenicist argument, therefore, as we have sketched it out above, is basically the argument made by Jensen with some additions introduced by Herrnstein.

As we go through the arguments of Jensen et al. it will become clear that their claims are groundless. Every piece of evidence they use to prove the heritability of intelligence can be interpreted in exactly the opposite way and with much more logic. But they keep on writing. Their strategy is expressed best by Herrnstein two-thirds of the way through his chapter "proving" the heritability of IQ when he states, "But, so far, the facts could equally well be interpreted using the environmental theory." But this does not bother him:

*It is usually possible to discount a particular experiment, or a certain sort of evidence, if one is disposed to, but at some point the mass of evidence*

*prevails."*

Later on, he sums up his method: "In fact, the hereditary's most impressive argument is simply to note the convergence of dozens, if not hundreds, of studies over the past sixty years."<sup>33</sup>

Nothing, in fact, could be further from the truth. The "shotgun" style of argument Herrnstein describes, and which he and Jensen both follow, is exactly the opposite of what real science looks like, and it should impress no one. They seem to think that simply by repeating a point often enough, the sheer mass, or 'weight of evidence', will convince people. If this were true, we would still believe that the earth was created and peopled in seven days, as the Old Testament says. Surely, all of the Bibles in the world "weigh" more than all of the geology and biology textbooks. However, scientific issues are not settled by "weight" or "mass," but by logic and fact.

With Jensen and his colleagues following such a method of argumentation, we should not be surprised to find many inconsistencies, logical flaws and downright lies and distortion in their work. As Herrnstein's description of their methods implies, their aim is not so much to seek scientific "truth," but to make a political point. Let's look now at their writings to see if Herrnstein's point is accurate.

## LIE NO. 1 "IQ EQUALS INTELLIGENCE"

What, after all, is intelligence? How can you measure it? Jensen et al claim it is innate, but innate things cannot be measured. All that can be measured is behavior. But who is to say what type of behavior is intelligent and what type stupid?

From the point of view of black working-class children, who go to miserable schools with racist administrators and sometimes teachers as well, who are forced to read books depicting white middle-class people and to learn a racist history, and who will probably end up unemployed or in a poorly-paid job with horrible working conditions, what kind of school behavior is intelligent? When such children are given an IQ test, is it not a completely intelligent response to treat the test and tester as further examples of a racist school system? Obviously such children would not get very high IQ scores. But isn't that a mark of intelligence, a sign that the children are quite aware of the world around them?

Often it is an example of great intelligence for workers to go on strike, for students to demonstrate, for blacks to rebel. Of course, it is equally intelligent for capitalists to attempt to break strikes by whatever violent and illegal tactics necessary, for the college administration at Southern University to call state troopers to gun down protesting black students, and for the Los Angeles or Detroit police to murder 100's of rebelling black working people "to keep order." Deciding what kind of behavior is intelligent is an extremely political act. From our point of view, rebellion and revolution are the most intelligent kinds of behavior working people can adopt—obviously Jensen would disagree.

Political assumptions enter into intelligence testing in ever subtler ways than in the decision as to what constitutes intelligent behavior. Every type of measurement presupposes some form of distribution of intelligence. For example it would be quite valid scientifically to develop a test which 99 per cent of the population would pass, indicating that 99 per cent of the population were intelligent, and 1 per cent or so were mentally defective. This test would assume that intelligence is simply an attribute of the normal functioning human, while a small percentage of the population is retarded. Such an approach would not attempt to find little differences in how people thought and behaved and translate them into IQ differences. This approach, however, would not be at all useful for those who rule America, because if 99 per cent of the population is about equal in intelligence, why should there not be equality in society as well?

In practice, IQ tests assume that there are large differences in intelligence, that most people have a mediocre amount, and that some have a lot and some very little. Therefore, the devised tests magnify differences among people quite apart from whether

## Section 3

those differences are genetic or environmental in origin. As we shall see, potential tests of intelligence which did not reveal the differences which testers assume exist, have often been rejected. This approach, which stresses differences, naturally fits in better with a racist, capitalist society, a society where inequality is rampant. Definitions, and hence tests, of intelligence are purely political questions.<sup>34</sup>

These are the kinds of problems involved in coming up with a test of intelligence—deciding what it is you are to measure. Historically, the political and economic views, the ideologies of testers have shaped their conceptions of what intelligence is, and how to measure it. The people who have made up intelligence tests have been racist, anti-working class and pro-capitalist in their beliefs. Their tests have always been designed to rationalize these beliefs.

They believed that those who ruled society, and those who did well in it were the best, the smartest and the most moral. Edward L. Thorndike, probably the most important educational psychologist in the country's history and a confirmed racist wrote, "To him that hath a superior intellect is given also on the average a superior character."<sup>35</sup> Not only in morals were the intelligent better, but in business, too. As Terman claimed, "Moral judgement, like business judgment, social judgment or any other kind of higher thought process, is a function of intelligence."<sup>36</sup>

Intelligence, then, was what it took to be recognized as "good" in the community, and to be wealthy as well. In general, the early intelligence testers thought that the ruling class of the time were the most intelligent people in society. Otherwise, they reasoned, how could they have become rulers? Thorndike's love of the ruling class is almost sickening:

*It is the great good fortune of mankind that there is a substantial positive correlation between intelligence and morality, including good will towards one's fellows. Consequently our superiors in ability are on the average our benefactors, and it is often safer to trust our interests to them than to ourselves. No group of men can be expected to act 100 per cent in the interest of mankind, but this group of the ablest men will come nearest to the ideal.<sup>37</sup>*

As Clarence Karier so sarcastically puts it, "To be sure, there have been and still are inequities between men of intelligence and of wealth, Thorndike argued, but through the 'beneficence of such men as Carnegie and Rockefeller,' this discrepancy had been somewhat overcome."<sup>38</sup>

Not only did the early testers love and admire the ruling class, they also despised and looked down upon the masses, especially the black masses. Thorndike claimed that "the differences in environment do not seem at all adequate to account for the superiority of the whites in performance." These differences in test performance were due to innate tendencies for, Thorndike felt, "racial differences in original nature are not mere myths."<sup>39</sup>

James McKeen Cattell, the father of the testing movement in America and long time editor of *Science* and *Popular Science Monthly*, held views quite similar

to those of his student, Thorndike. He believed that:

*The main lines are laid down by heredity—a man is born a man and not an ape. A savage brought up in cultivated society will not only retain his dark skin, but is likely to have also the incoherent mind of his race.<sup>40</sup>* Terman, who sired the famed Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, was a thoroughgoing racist and eugenicist. Further, he predated Herrnstein by 55 years in claiming that occupations and IQ were highly correlated and causally linked. He provided a list of numerous occupations and the corresponding mean IQ. He urged that students with those IQ's be channeled into courses whose curricula were designed to provide training for the student's prospective occupation. In this way, IQ became the rationale for inferior and oppressive education for millions of blacks and other working-class children.<sup>41</sup>

Obviously, these men would try to define intelligence and devise such a test of it as to make those who were rich and powerful come out as the "smartest" as well. Francis Galton was probably the first to attempt this. He wrote a book, *Hereditary Genius*, claiming that intelligence was inherited and that the British ruling class had more of it than anyone else.<sup>42</sup> It appeared in 1869, before he had even made up an intelligence test. Eventually, he made one up, concentrating on tests which measured what he thought intelligence was, traits like "memory," "sensory-motor development," and tried finally to correlate the results with "eminence" in science and society. His correlations were about zero.<sup>43</sup> He could find no skill on which the "eminent," the rich, did better than the average British person. But did this failure lead Galton to say that there did not seem to be any superiority possessed by the British rulers? Not at all. He simply went on trying to make up a test which would show the rich on top and the poor on the bottom.

In America, James M. Cattell, like Galton, made up intelligence tests. But for him, too, the correlations between subjects' scores on his tests and success in life "were disappointingly low."<sup>44</sup> It was not so easy to come up with a test which would prove that the richest were also the smartest.

A further problem that the testers faced was that their tests did not show black people as inferior to whites any more than it showed poor whites as inferior to rich whites. They certainly tried to find these tests. Even when the tests they made up turned out wrong, they re-interpreted the findings to make this point. For example, R. Meade Bache, in a paper on "Reaction Time with Reference to Race," found that both Blacks and Indians reacted faster than whites, but claimed that the whites' "reactions were slower because they belonged to a more deliberate and reflective race."<sup>45</sup> Another tester, B. R. Stetson, compared black and white children for memory and found that the black children did better. He rationalized this by saying that the white children were younger than the black.<sup>46</sup> There were a number of other failures of this type which the testers could hardly disguise. Thorndike's statement in 1903 reflects their general malaise; "the apparent mental attainments of children of inferior

racess may be due to lack of inhibition, and so witness precisely to a deficiency in mental growth."<sup>47</sup>

This failure to develop a test which would differentiate rich white people from the poor, the black and the immigrant, was especially significant in view of the trouble racist anthropologists were having at the time. Up until this time, "the turn of the century," theories of racial inferiority had been based upon physical anthropology, or anthropometry, as it was called, the practice of measuring the differences between various groupings of people. They measured such things as the ratio of the length of the arms to the length of the body, the ratio of the length of the heel to the leg, the facial angle, the size and shape of the brain, etc.—measurements designed to prove that blacks were closer to apes than to men. But these theories were beginning to be doubted by many anthropologists and biologists, as well as the general public. For a time, comparing physical characteristics had been the major method of justifying racism, but by 1909, R. S. Woodworth, Chairman of the Anthropology and Psychology division of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, was writing: "We are probably justified in inferring from the results cited that the sensory and motor processes and the elementary brain activities, though differing in degrees from one individual to another, are about the same from one race to another."<sup>48</sup> Clearly, from a racist point of view, a better measurement of racial differences, a better basis of racist ideology, was needed. The IQ test's time had simply come.

The honor of coming up with such a test belonged to the French psychologist Alfred Binet. Binet's approach was to avoid an explicit definition of intelligence, and instead to simply assume that whatever intelligence is, it develops with age. If a child performed as well on a test as the average child for his age group, then he was considered normal. If he did better on the test than the average child for his age group, then his mental age was said to be greater than his chronological age. If he did less well than the average, his mental age was less than his chronological age. Herrnstein explains approvingly: "As Binet well knew, the chronological approach to intelligence finessed the weighty problem of defining intelligence itself. He had measured it without having said what it was. It took a while to know whether the sleight of hand had in fact yielded a real intelligence test or just an illusion of one."<sup>49</sup>

This method of making up the tests looks and sounds somewhat reasonable. Virtually every educational psychology textbook makes it appear to be the height of logic. Here is a representative account as presented in Henry Clay Lindgren's *Educational Psychology in the Classroom*:

*Individual Intelligence Tests: The pioneer intelligence tests were not the printed booklets of multiple-choice items that are so familiar today, but were schedules of tasks, scaled according to the maturity of the person being tested. In 1905, Alfred Binet of Paris developed the first widely used in-*

*telligence test: the Binet-Simon Scale. He was concerned with the problem of identifying children who were not benefitting from instruction because of low intellectual capacity. By using Binet's scale, examiners could find out whether a child had the capacity to perform the tasks that could be successfully completed by the average child of his age. To the degree that a child could not perform these tasks, he was considered intellectually retarded for his age, and to the degree that he could perform more than his quota of tasks, he was considered intellectually advanced. It was thus possible to think of a child's "mental age" as something apart from his chronological age. For example, a child of eight might be able to perform no tasks more complex than those performed by a child of six. His mental age would therefore be six years.*

*The Binet-Simon test came to the attention of Henry H. Goddard, who translated it into English and used it with American children in 1908. A revision was also translated by Frederick Kuhlmann in 1912. In 1916, Lewis Madison Terman of Stanford University published still another revision of the test, which he called the Stanford-Binet Scale, together with norms based on a fairly extensive sampling of American children. The Stanford-Binet received widespread acceptance, and even today is a standard against which many intelligence tests are checked.<sup>50</sup>*

The traditional account makes it seem as if those who come out on top were simply the more advanced children of their age group. However, this is only half of the story. The children who came out on top were also the children who did well in school and who were from the upper classes. Were they really the more intelligent children, or were the tests rigged in such a way as to favor the upper class?

The answer is that the tests were rigged. The test items which were selected were not simply random items. Nor were they items which simply the majority of children at an age level passed. If the majority passing the item included those students judged by the teacher to be "dull," and excluded those children judged to be "smart," the items were not used in the test. For example, if you asked all fifth grade children to name the hero of a popular TV show, most of them would know the answer. But that would not necessarily make it a good test item. After all, if the children who did well in school happened also to be bookworms, then they might have less of a chance of getting that item right, because they would watch less TV.

Binet's method was not simply the "chronological one"—it was the chronological one checked against the judgments of teachers. Perhaps a few more examples will make the point clearer. One of the most often-used items in the Binet test is vocabulary. In the most recent revision of the Binet test, the 1960 version of the Stanford-Binet, vocabulary tests are included for children as young as six. At that age in order to

pass the test they must know six of the following words:<sup>51</sup>

- |                      |                  |
|----------------------|------------------|
| 1. orange            | 24. mosaic       |
| 2. envelope          | 25. stove        |
| 3. straw             | 26. bewail       |
| 4. puddle            | 27. ochre        |
| 5. tap               | 28. repose       |
| 6. gown              | 29. ambergris    |
| 7. roar              | 30. limpet       |
| 8. eyelash           | 31. frustrate    |
| 9. Mars              | 32. flaunt       |
| 10. juggler          | 33. incrustation |
| 11. scorch           | 34. retroactive  |
| 12. lecture          | 35. philanthropy |
| 13. skill            | 36. piscatorial  |
| 14. brunette         | 37. milkop       |
| 15. muzzle           | 38. harpy        |
| 16. haste            | 39. depredation  |
| 17. peculiarity      | 40. perfunctory  |
| 18. priceless        | 41. achromatic   |
| 19. regard           | 42. casuistry    |
| 20. tolerate         | 43. homunculus   |
| 21. disproportionate | 44. sudorific    |
| 22. lotus            | 45. parterre     |
| 23. shrewd           |                  |

Most children age six can probably get about six out of the first ten words right (provided, of course, that English is their native tongue). But the key to why this word list is considered a good item, and used right up through adults, is that not only do the average first graders know about six words, the average 4th grader about eleven, etc., but on a test of this kind the students who would do better than average would generally be the children who were doing well in school. The only ways to know these words before you have had them in school are (1) if you are highly motivated and spend a lot of your time reading on your own, or (2) if you live in a home where such words are used all the time. In either case, knowing such words is dependent not on "intelligence," but on class background or motivation.

The criteria used by Binet to judge whether a test item should be included on his test, therefore, was not only whether the average child at a certain age level could pass it, but whether the score achieved on such a test correlated with other measures of "success," like class background and school performance.

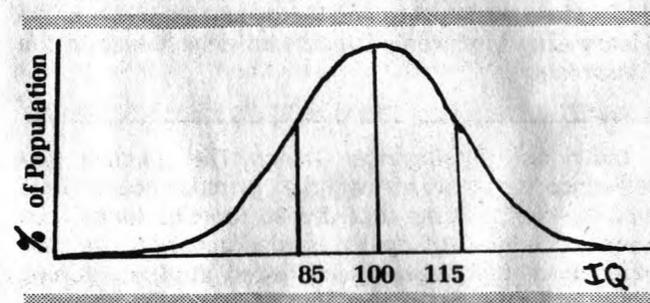
Herrnstein explains this aspect of Binet's method this way: "He took some children rated by their teachers as the brightest and the dullest in a grade and subjected them to a lengthy series of tests, going from simple sensory discrimination to arithmetic and perceptual speed tests. A number of the tests worked, which is to say they distinguished between the two groups of children. In later studies, these tests were even further refined for the purpose of sorting children."

Let's look at another example from the test—this time a negative one. Scores on the Binet test do not correlate well with social success if the tests are taken

below the age of six or seven. Therefore, from the point of view of testers, these tests are "less reliable." Out of the six tests given at age three, four of them are "copying a circle," "drawing a vertical line," "stringing beads," and "block building:bridge." While these items might tell you which three-year-olds are not doing as well as others chronologically speaking, an upper class, highly motivated child would not enjoy much of an advantage on such tests. Therefore the scores obtained on these tests do not generally correlate well with later school success. As a result, these "performance" type tests are dropped from the kinds of tests given to older children. As the testing manual for the Stanford-Binet Scale says, "Many of the so-called performance test items tried out for inclusion in the scale were eliminated because they contributed little or nothing to the total score. They were not valid items for this scale."<sup>53</sup> That is, when the results on this type of test were checked with "teachers' ratings," they did not match. The items were then dropped.

So Binet and Terman, who translated and revised the test for Americans, did not really "finesse" the question of what intelligence is. True, they did not define it, but they did assume that whatever it is, most people have a mediocre amount of it, poor people have very little, and rich people, whose children do well in school, have a lot of it. On the basis of that assumption, they accepted or rejected test items. If the item came out with the "smart" (i.e. rich and white) children doing well on it, it was included; otherwise, it was discarded. Herrnstein says "the better the test was in sorting out children the more it was used."<sup>54</sup> To call this an "Intelligence" test is, as Herrnstein admits, a real "sleight of hand."

On the basis of this assumption about the distribution of intelligence in society the testers prepared the IQ scores to reflect this. This process of making the scores come out the way the testers want them, with the proper distribution and with the upper class children on top and the lower class on the bottom, is called "standardization." A test is standardized on a population by adjusting the scores so as to make it come out with a mean of 100 and a standard deviation of 15. The graph of IQ distribution in a population (found below) represents a "normal" curve, with a mean (average) of 100 and a standard deviation of 15. The standard deviation is that number which if first added to and then subtracted from the mean gives two numbers between which 68 per cent (approximately 2/3 of the population's scores lie.



If a test is given to a population and the mean turns out to be less than 100, then the testers change the scoring standards, making it easier and thereby raising the mean score to 100. If a population scores above the mean of 100, the testers also change the scoring methods, making it harder and lowering the mean. The scoring methods, and hence the means, of a test can be changed by adding or dropping items that are either too hard or too easy, or by changing the relative merit of the different items on a test (weighting the items differently).<sup>55</sup>

On the original Stanford-Binet test published by Terman in 1916, women were not treated as a separate population and standardized for, and their scores were about 10 points lower than men's until 1937. Then, for the new version of the test, the means of men and women were compared, and the test was standardized for sex. Questions were added on which women did better than men and some of the ones on which men did better than women were dropped. In this way the means for men and women were equalized.<sup>56</sup>

The decision whether or not to standardize in order to wipe out group differences is a purely political decision. Terman decided to simply eliminate the differences between men and women in the 1937 revision of the test, but the differences between blacks and whites and between upper and working classes have never been eliminated. Why? Because, claim the testers, the predictive value of the tests would be lessened if black and white, and working and upper class means were equalized by standardization.

The example of women is again relevant. When women were equalized on the test, the predictive power of the test was lessened then as well. On the revised version of the test, women did as well as men. But because women were not at the same time treated equally in society, the test lost some of its ability to predict who would do well and who would do poorly in later life. As long as America is a male-chauvinist

society, then equalizing male and female scores on IQ tests will lower the predictive value of the tests. In just the same way, as long as racism still keeps black people in the worst jobs at the lowest rates of pay, then any attempt to equalize black-white mean scores will also lower the predictive value of the tests. What is interesting is that there has been a conscious decision not to equalize means for blacks and whites and for social classes while there has been a decision to equalize male-female means.

This shows simply that the tests were designed to reflect prevailing class relationships and to prove that those on top were smart and those at the bottom were dull. Tests can be designed to reflect anything the designer wants. The racist and anti-working class assumptions guided and determined the results of the IQ tests.<sup>57</sup>

There is no reason to make such assumptions. Who says that the rulers of society are on top because they are smart? Does getting ahead depend on being bright, or on something else? Are the children who do well in school really the ones who are the quickest to learn, or are there other qualities that help one do well? It seems much more likely that "getting ahead" or "doing well" in our schools and our society depend on things other than intelligence—things like "class background," "willingness to conform," "respect for authority," "readiness to obey," etc. In general perhaps "success" depends more on the attitudes of people, and their desire not to change the system, than on intelligence. If success depends on class background and attitudes, and if IQ correlates with success, maybe IQ is a measurement of background and attitudes primarily. Might we not say that IQ should not be called the "intelligence quotient" but instead the "motivation quotient," "bourgeois values quotient," or "competitiveness quotient?" Let us take an in-depth look at the actual intelligence test generally used, the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, and see what exactly it is testing and therefore measuring, and what type of person it is selecting out as smart and as dull? Let us see what it is that they are labeling "intelligence."

## THE FAMED STANFORD-BINET

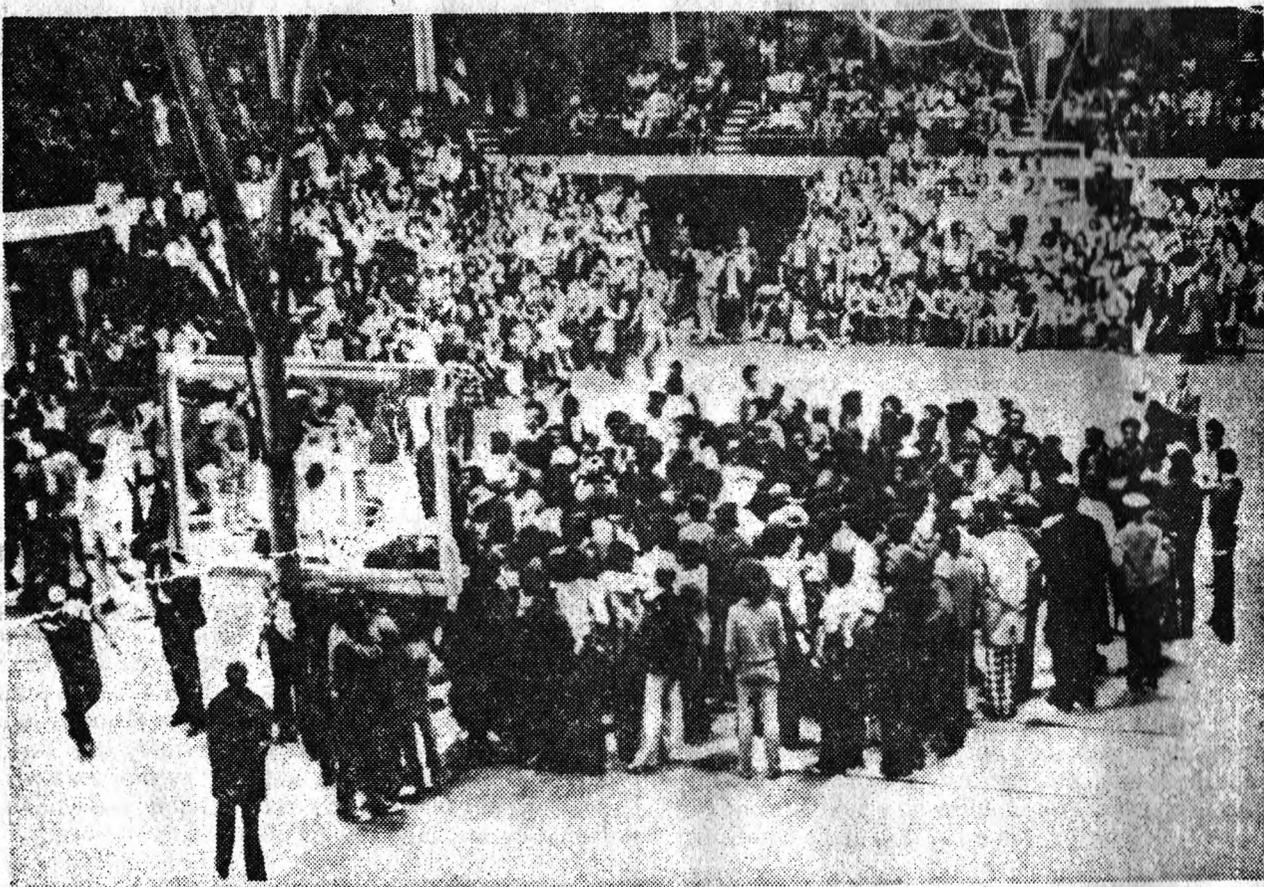
IQ tests are structured, as we have seen, according to age. At each age level, there is a group of tests which most children can pass at that age. Except at the Average Adult level, every battery of tests at each age level consists of six subtests. For example, at age ten, the six subtests include "Vocabulary," "Block Counting," "Abstract Words," "Fudging Reasons," "Word Naming," and "Repeating 6 Digits." The mental age score of a subject is computed by the following method:

1. Determine the basal age—that age level at which a child passes all the tests.
2. Determine the ceiling level—the age level at which a child fails all the tests.
3. Determine the number of subtests passed by the child at each level in between the basal age and the ceiling age.
4. To get the score, give the child credit for all the tests below the basal age, on the assumption that he would get them all right. Then give the child no credit for tests above the ceiling age, on the assumption that he would get them all wrong. For each subtest passed in between the basal and ceiling ages, credit the child with two extra months of mental age.

For example, to give the test to a ten-year-old, you might proceed in the following way:

1. Start at some age level, say eight or nine, at which you think the child might be able to pass all the tests. If the child does not pass all the tests at age nine, go to age eight. Keep going down until the child passes all the subtests at an age level, keeping track of the right and wrong answers at each level.
2. Then, go back up to just above the level where you started. If you started at nine, got to ten. Keeping a record of each response, keep going up until the child fails every subtest at a level. That is the ceiling level.
3. Compute the mental age level on a chart similar to this:

### Section 4



*Black students at Rutgers (N.J.) interrupt basketball game to protest administration racism.*

year level	number of subtests passed	months' credit per subtests passed	
		years	months
8	6(basal age)	8	
9	5		10
10	5		10
11	5		10
12	4		8
13	3		6
14	1		2
15	0(ceiling age)		0
total		8	46

Mental age: 11 years, 10 months.



ROCKEFELLER



HITLER

QUESTION: 'Which is prettier?'

4. Using the tables provided in the back of the testing manual, change the mental age score into an IQ score. The IQ for this hypothetical child would be 115.58

The first and most obvious thing to be said about this testing procedure is that it takes a long time and a lot of effort. Our hypothetical subject took a total of 8 levels of tests. At each level there were six subtests which means he took 48 subtests. Many subtests have four or five items in them, and the vocabulary test has 45 words on it, although it need be given only once. The whole affair could take well over an hour.<sup>59</sup>

Which children, with what attitudes would we expect to do well on such a test? Probably someone who has a very positive general attitude toward school and a great desire to do well. A very bright child, who does not particularly like school, will not do very well. Also, the test is given usually by a white person (to both white and black children), and in a one-on-one situation. If a child is nervous, or has not usually had very good experiences in school, such an atmosphere will be very intimidating and hostile.

So simply the structure of the test and the manner of administering it tend to favor those children who like school, who are generally treated well by teachers, and who most likely are from the same class and ethnic background as the teacher. The children probably have attitudes which make them very obedient, respectful of teachers, and motivated to do well. These attitudes are certainly valuable to getting ahead in school, but they are not exactly what we mean by intelligence.

Aside from the structure of the test, the actual test items seem to select people out on the basis of certain attitudes rather than intelligence. Take the vocabulary test for example. What does it take to know the meanings of a large number of these words? (Refer to page -.)

The first point about what it takes to know these words is that it requires that the child speak English as his native tongue. Immigrant children, whose native tongue is Spanish, Italian, Polish or anything else, would naturally do very poorly. This is particularly important when it is remembered that when the tests were first developed, they were used as rationalization for the restriction of immigration from southern and eastern European countries.

Secondly, aside from some of the words in the first group of ten listed, most of the words here are used in

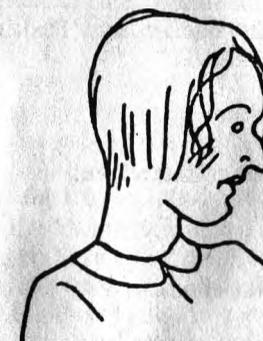
literature, not in everyday life. There is no way a bright child, from working class surroundings, would ever hear a quarter of these words. And even middle class children would not hear many of them used. The only way you could learn many of these words is through extensive reading—and reading not of newspapers or comic books or magazines, but of English literature.

Now there is nothing wrong with reading English literature per se, But what kind of children in high school and elementary school are likely to do so? First of all, middle or upper class children. But even among these children, only those highly motivated in school. Moreover, extensive reading takes quite a bit of time, and isolation. You cannot read a lot where there is a lot of noise, or where a lot of children are playing. And to read a lot, you have to prefer, to some extent at least, isolation from other children.

Development of language is generally thought to occur in the process of interaction with other people. However, the type of vocabulary tested on the IQ test is not acquired through social interaction, but most likely through relatively isolated reading of English Literature. Is this "healthy" behavior for children? Are the children who do well on such tests the most "intelligent"? Or are they simply the most turned-on by school, the most middle or upper class, or the most introverted and isolated? Which are the most desirable qualities? Perhaps doing poorly on such items on an IQ test is a sign of "sociability" rather than a proof of lack of intelligence, and doing well is a proof of a lack of sociability. Maybe it's a good thing to do poorly on this section of an IQ test.

A look at other test items tends to reinforce this judgment. At most ages, for example, most of the items are heavily verbal, and the same type of training and attitudes would be selected for in these tests as for the vocabulary test. At age twelve, the six subtests consist of the following topics: "Vocabulary," "Verbal Absurdities," "Picture Absurdities," "Repeating 5 Digits Reversed," "Abstract Words," and "Minkus Completion," that is, sentence completion. Four tests at this level are explicitly verbal, and one—"Repeating Digits"—is heavily affected by one's attitude toward the test situation. For example, psychoanalysts use memorizing digits as a test of anxiety. The more anxious and nervous the subject, the worse he does on such a test. Given the type of test situation we have described, coupled with the general negative attitude which schools produce in most black and white working class children (and many middle and upper class children as well), tests in digit memorizing must discriminate against working class children and others who do not adopt the values and attitudes promoted in schools.

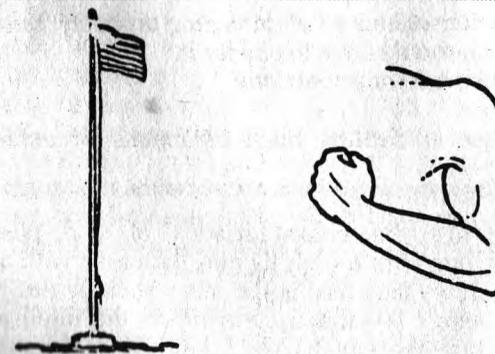
Verbal items implicitly measure qualities other than intelligence. Some verbal items, however, explicitly measure values and attitudes rather than any acquired knowledge. At age 4 years, 6 months, the child is shown the following 3 sets of pictures and asked, "Which one is prettier?" He must get all three right in order to pass the test.



QUESTION: 'Which is prettier?' (60)

The children who most closely resemble the stereotype of the white, upper-class, Anglo-Saxon breed are supposed to be prettier. However, they are much less likely to strike a responsive chord in working class and minority group children.

At ages 2, 2½, 3 and 4, children are asked to give the names of certain objects from pictures placed in front of them. The definitions which are acceptable according to the test manual indicate what type of person is being selected. The pictures to be identified include the following:



For the object on the left, the flag, the following are correct answers: "American flag," "flag pole" and "Star Spangled Banner." Wrong answers are "pole," "stick," "post," "rag" and "kite." The other picture, of an arm is answered correctly by saying "arm and hand and shoulder" or "hand and arm." It is incorrect to say "hands," "a fist," "muscle," "he's going to fight somebody," "elbow" or "shoulder."

Obviously patriotism and docility are measured as much by such questions as "intelligence."

Moreover, on this contrived level, IQ measures "comprehension," given at ages 7 and 8. The child is simply asked a question about how he would behave in certain situations. The correct and incorrect answers are very interesting. One question reads: "What's the thing for you to do when you have broken something that belongs to someone else?" The testing manual gives the guidelines for correct answers: "Restitution or apology, or both, must be suggested. Mere confession is not satisfactory." As examples of correct answers, the manual lists:

- "I'd be scared that I had to buy another one for 'em."
  - "If I have one I give it to him."
  - "Pay for it."
  - "Give them something."
- As examples of incorrect answers, it gives:
- "Be ashamed."
  - "Tell my mother."
  - "Feel sorry."
  - "Tell 'em I did it."
  - "My mother will spank me."

Another question in the "comprehension" section reads:

"What's the thing for you to do when you are on your way to school and notice that you are in danger of being late?"

The guidelines for scoring responses are, "Only those responses which suggest hurrying are acceptable." Under correct responses are:

- "Hurry."
  - "Go right ahead to school."
  - "Take the street bus."
- Under incorrect responses are:
- "Go on to school and tell my teacher why I'm late."
  - "Not stop."
  - "Just keep on going."
  - "Get a late card."

Do these questions measure what is generally thought of as "Intelligence?" Hardly. Rather, they seem to be measuring the extent to which children are willing to conform to the rules of society—to do what they are told. Here intelligence seems to be equated with acceptance of the rules of the school and the society. Students are being tested to see if they are potentially dangerous, potentially rebellious and disrespectful toward authority. The desired character trait indicated by these questions seems to be docility. One more example will make the point even more clearly:

"What's the thing to do if another boy (girl, person) hits you without meaning to do it?"

As might be expected, the manual suggests that "The only satisfactory responses are those which suggest excusing or overlooking the act." As correct responses it lists:

- "Go and tell my mother they didn't mean to do it."
  - "Tell them it didn't hurt."
  - "Tell 'em they never meant to do it."
- Among the unsatisfactory responses are listed:
- "Not to tell, you'd get in trouble if you did."
  - "Would not play with him."
  - "They should do something."
  - "I would hit them back."

Obviously this question, and the preceding ones, measure attitudes, not intelligence. But it is interesting to analyze what attitudes they actually are. We have already stated that the testers seem to be looking for docility, obedience, honesty, and respect for property. These attitudes certainly are involved. On the other hand, these tests may operate on an even subtler level. There are, after all, two ways children's thought processes could work and still come out with the correct answer. One way, the most obvious, would be for those children who actually held the desired attitudes of docility, obedience, etc., to respond naturally and honestly with the acceptable answer. The other way would be for the clever but somewhat devious child to stop before he answers the question and ask himself, "Now what does this guy want me to say, what am I supposed to say?" This child would then also give the correct response, but in his case it would not measure his "docility" or "honesty," but rather his willingness to "put on" the teacher. Hence the children who get these answers right might be of two

groups, the most honest and docile (of whom there are probably very few), and those willing to lie a little in order to do well, to "get ahead."

In either case, what is measured is not intelligence, it is either a naive honesty, docility and respect for the system, or a clever but mild dishonesty used to "make it" in the world of the school. Perhaps these characteristics are desirable—on the other hand, perhaps they are not. On the basis of what has been seen of the tests, let us construct a list of the personality characteristics probably possessed by those who would or could do well on the I.Q. test.

#### HIGH I.Q. CHARACTERISTICS

*Middle class or upper class background, Positive attitude toward school and teachers.*

*White.  
English-speaking.  
Reads a lot—probably somewhat anti-social.*

*Has respect for property.  
Patriotic.  
Docile, willing to turn the other cheek.*

*Accepts bourgeois values of promptness and politeness, or (more likely) willing to lie about it to please the teacher (tester).*

#### LOW I.Q. CHARACTERISTICS

*Working class in background  
Negative attitude toward school and teachers,  
generally justifiable.*

*Black or recent immigrant.  
Foreign language is native  
Plays with friends instead of doing homework or reading.  
Fears consequences of damaging property, but does not feel he should have to pay for it.  
Unconcerned or unpatriotic.*

*Believes in fighting back as means of achieving justice.*

These are the characteristics of two possible children, one with a high IQ and the other with a low IQ. Which, we may ask, is the more socially desirable human being? We think, contrary to the intelligence testers, that the low IQ child has the makings of a better person. In fact, doing poorly on an IQ test ought to be considered a positive virtue.

The IQ test, of course, has other test items in it. But they are not significantly different than these particular items we have selected. Moreover, we have looked at what is certainly the single most important test on the whole scale, the vocabulary test, and see how little success on that item has to do with "intelligence."

This, then, is the famed Stanford-Binet IQ Scale. It is hardly the model of an objective and fair test that Jensen et al. claim it is. What is even more significant is the fact that all subsequent tests of intelligence have been validated on the basis of correlations with the Stanford-Binet—and, of course, with teachers' judgments. Probably the most important of these other tests is the WISC—the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children. Not only is it validated by a high correlation with the Stanford-Binet, but it is very much like the Stanford-Binet in makeup.

The main difference between the two tests is the greater importance in the WISC given to performance tests.<sup>63</sup> However, most of the performance tests on the scale seem designed in such a way as to be testing mostly obedience and motivation rather than any type of intelligence. For example, one test, the "coding" test, simply requires subjects to copy marks already shown to them in 120 seconds. The task is not hard, it simply requires motivation, rapport with the teacher-tester, and obedience.

The verbal part of the WISC, however, the part which correlates more highly with success in school, is the Stanford-Binet. The Wechsler test, like the Binet, relies heavily on vocabulary tests and similar tests dependent on certain vocabulary knowledge. The vocabulary list is very much like that of Binet even in the type of words included. It contains:

#### TEST WORDS

- |                    |                |
|--------------------|----------------|
| 1. Bicycle         | 21. Shilling   |
| 2. Knife           | 22. Fable      |
| 3. Hat             | 23. Belfry     |
| 4. Letter          | 24. Espionage  |
| 5. Umbrella        | 25. Stanza     |
| 6. Cushion         | 26. Seclude    |
| 7. Nail            | 27. Spangle    |
| 8. Donkey          | 28. Hari-Kiri  |
| 9. Fur             | 29. Recede     |
| 10. Diamond        | 30. Affliction |
| 11. Join           | 31. Ballast    |
| 12. Spade          | 32. Catacomb   |
| 13. Sword          | 33. Imminent   |
| 14. Nuisance       | 34. Mantis     |
| 15. Brave          | 35. Vesper     |
| 16. Nonsense       | 36. Aseptic    |
| 17. Hero           | 37. Chattel    |
| 18. Gamble         | 38. Dilatory   |
| 19. Nitroglycerine | 39. Flout      |
| 20. Microscope     | 40. Traduce    |

The same criticisms apply to the Wechsler vocabulary list as to the Stanford-Binet list. It is strongly biased in favor of middle and upper class children who would be both highly motivated and probably slightly anti-social. But the weakness and biases in the vocabulary section of the WISC cannot compare with the class and attitudinal biases in the section labeled "Comprehension." In that section are the following questions:

"What is the thing to do if a fellow (girl) much smaller than yourself starts to fight with you?"

"Why are criminals locked up?"

"Why should women and children be saved first in a shipwreck?"

"Why is it generally better to give money to an organized charity than to a street beggar?"

"Why should most government positions be filled through examinations?"

"Why do we elect (or need to have) senators and congressmen?"

"Why should a promise be kept?"

Naturally, the correct answers would include such gems of bourgeois values as:

"Tell him you don't want to fight."

"Criminals need to be segregated from society for the protection of society."

"Women and children are not as strong as men."

"Giving money to a charity insures that it goes to a really needy person."

"Government exams get better qualified and trained people."

"Electing senators makes government responsible to the people."

"A promise has the status of an implied contract."

Also to be expected, wrong answers would include the following:

"Just let him fight and win."

"Criminals should be locked up because they get into trouble."

"Because the ladies are supposed to come first."

"If you give it to a beggar he's liable to keep it himself."

"Government exams are needed so that wrong men don't get in."

"Senators help control the people in the U.S."

"You can gain friends by keeping promises."<sup>66</sup>

The wrong answers are really no less logical than the correct ones. The difference seems to be that the correct answers are the types of things taught in school about how children should behave, while the incorrect are simply logical, everyday, but apt, responses to human situations.

The WISC is therefore no better than the Stanford-Binet. These are the two single most important IQ tests ever devised, and while Jensen also cites the results of other tests, it is these that he and his allies rely on primarily. Jensen writes that the Stanford-Binet "is now regarded as one of the major 'breakthroughs' in the history of psychology." Thus, "it is generally regarded as the standard for the measurement of intelligence."<sup>67</sup> Herrnstein reiterates this claim often, as do Shockley and Eysenck.

Many people have pointed out that such tests are biased in favor of the children of the upper class. This is certainly true—but it does not go far enough in criticizing the tests. They are not simply biased—bias implies that the measurement is potentially valid but upper class children have certain advantages which enable them to do better than working class children. In reality, IQ measures nothing valid, and seems to test

primarily things on which only children from the right background and with the right attitudes would do well. Those attitudes, moreover, are not progressive and positive social values, but rather the attitudes of respect for authority, obedience, willingness to "play the game," and even, as we have seen, a certain tendency toward isolation instead of social interaction. It is not simply that upper class children have an advantage. The whole test was constructed to prove that they were the more intelligent section of the population. If a given test did not come out with the upper class children on the top, it would immediately be dropped. The tests are completely contrived.

Our review of the content of IQ tests indicates that it is socially and politically better to do poorly on the test. Moreover, it is quite clear that what is measured is not intelligence. Therefore, even on this primitive level, Jensen's argument is meaningless. He claims to be addressing himself to the problem of why black children ("disadvantaged children") have low IQ scores, whether the source is genetic or environmental. But IQ scores mean nothing about intelligence. So why even bother to compare them? Jensen's argument assumes the inferiority of black people, as "shown by IQ scores," and attempts to prove it is genetically caused. Many of his liberal opponents attack his genetic interpretation while accepting implicitly that IQ scores mean something, and black people's low average scores reveal a certain cultural inferiority to white people. Our view is that blacks are neither culturally nor environmentally inferior to white people—that their lower average IQ scores are a positive social indicator.

#### JENSEN'S MEAGER DEFENSE

Jensen et al. have an important stake in disguising the obviously rigged nature of IQ tests. Hence, a large amount of what they write is simply a defense of these tests. Jensen makes four major arguments for the value of IQ tests as instruments which sort out "innate intellectual ability" rather than class and racial background and social attitudes.

First, he claims that the strongest proof that IQ measures innate ability, not values and information specific to certain class and ethnic groups, is the alleged fact that IQ scores are highly heritable.<sup>68</sup> As we shall see in succeeding pages, this is completely untrue.

There is no good reason to believe that heritability is any greater than zero. This really amounts to Jensen simply restating his claim in different terms. His paper is largely an attempt to prove that IQ is heritable. Justifying the value of IQ tests by claiming what you are supposed to be proving on the basis of these tests is simply reasoning backwards. This argument of Jensen's fails utterly.

Secondly, Jensen maintains that IQ tests are not racist (culturally biased) by stating that black children do better on tests that are verbal than on non-verbal ones. Supposedly verbal items are the ones with the

greatest amount of "cultural loading"—other tests are considered more abstract and therefore less dependent on purely cultural information. However, among the more "abstract" tests are analogies, which themselves are highly dependent on vocabulary, and comprehension items which measure values more than anything else. Further, there is no reason to assume that performance tests, simply because they depend less on specifically culturally derived information, are any less unfair. These tests depend largely on the rapport between student and tester. For black and working class children, the relationships between student and school, student and teacher, and hence student and tester are usually very negative. The inequalities, the racism and the elitism of our society are most likely to affect such relationships, more than almost any others. To assume, as Jensen does, that the degree to which test items call upon information specific to a culture is the degree to which the items are culturally biased makes no sense at all.

Bias, or racism, is as much a function of the social setting in which testing occurs as of the content of the tests.<sup>69</sup>

Thirdly, Jensen also says that children tend to get groups of test items correct or incorrect together in clusters. For example, if a child failed a vocabulary test at his age level, he would most likely fail the analogies test at that level as well. Not only do they get items right or wrong in clusters, but they also get them right or wrong in a certain order. Thus, it would be unlikely for a child to fail a vocabulary test at age 7 and pass an analogies test at age 9. Jensen then claims that because the ordering and clustering of right and wrong items for black and white children is very similar, then the test must be treating both in the same way. The reason that blacks are not doing as well is that they suffer from a "developmental lag"—that is, they are less intellectually developed. Supposedly the paths of intellectual development for blacks and whites are the same, blacks just don't go as far. On the basis of this, Jensen claims that blacks are inferior to whites, that the tests are not biased, and that the tests could not be re-standardized to wipe out the black-white difference.<sup>70</sup>

Finally, Jensen et al. maintain that the IQ test must be measuring intellectual ability rather than cultural values and information, because IQ scores correlate so well with success in later life. Intelligence, they claim, is what determines success. Therefore, IQ tests, which correlate so well with success in life, must be measuring intelligence. As Herrnstein says, "IQ seems to be the sine qua non for an extraordinary variety of successes."<sup>71</sup>

Like the eugenicists' other arguments in favor of the IQ test, this is meaningless. Of course IQ scores correlate relatively well with occupation and social class—that's what they were designed to prove. In fact, if they didn't, they would be considered bad tests.

That IQ correlates with occupation in no way, shape or form proves that IQ equals intelligence. It is a completely circular argument. Therefore, we can

rightly conclude that IQ measures, not intelligence, but bourgeois values and background.

None of these claims are at all valid. The assumption made here by Jensen is that in order for a test to be biased it must have a totally skewed distribution of right and wrong answers. If the right and wrong answers of blacks and whites are similar, then supposedly the tests are basically "culture-free." This is not at all true. As our analysis of the tests has demonstrated, what is tested are attitudes and knowledge of a class nature. Given that blacks and working class whites live in the same world as each other and as the upper class, their correct and incorrect answers would naturally tend to fall in the same clusters and order. This in no way proves what is already obvious, that the tests test the extent to which

children share in the values and privileges of the upper class. In terms of "developmental lag," given the class nature of society, all development toward greater intelligence as measured by standards such as IQ involves the absorption of those attitudes and that knowledge of a class nature which the tests were originally designed to select.

Moreover, there is no reason at all why a test could not be standardized to eliminate black-white differences. It is a totally political question, and as we have seen, the testers are politically committed to the vision of society which scores on the test reflect. It is nonetheless possible to imagine that tests could be made up which did not differentiate between black and white—but of what use would they be to people like Jensen?

## Section 5

### LIE NO. 2 "COMPENSATORY EDUCATION HAS FAILED"

*Compensatory education has been tried and apparently it has failed.<sup>72</sup>*

*The evidence so far suggests the tentative conclusion that the pay-off of pre-school and compensatory programs in terms of IQ is small . . . The techniques for raising intelligence per se, in the sense of g, probably lie more in the province of the biological sciences than in psychology and education.<sup>73</sup>*

Such is the basic logic of Jensen's argument as presented in "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" Supposedly programs designed to aid the learning of "disadvantaged" children have failed to overcome their alleged environmental handicaps.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, Jensen's argument runs, perhaps their handicaps are not mainly environmental in origin—perhaps the "disadvantage" are handicapped by defective genes as well.<sup>75</sup>

The argument has the superficial appearance of reasonableness. But is it really reasonable? Is there any reason to look for the alleged failure of compensatory education programs in the deficiencies of those whom the programs were supposedly helping?<sup>76</sup> Is it not more logical to look at the deficiencies of the programs themselves? Richard Lewontin, a geneticist, in criticizing Jensen, compares Jensen's conclusion that the failure of compensatory education programs proves that the children are not educable to the conclusions of 17th century scientists that the collapse of bridges proved that bridges could not be built. Instead of looking at the children as the source of the problem, he says, what should be looked at are the inadequacies of the theories of educational psychologists on which the programs were built. Lewontin writes about Jensen's faulty logic:

"The innocent reader will immediately fall into close sympathy with Professor Jensen who, it seems, is about to dissect educational psychology and show it up as a prescientific jumble without theoretical coherence or prescriptive competence. But the innocent reader will be wrong. For the rest of Jensen's article puts the blame for the failure of his science not on the scientists but on the children. According to him, it is not that his science and its practitioners have failed utterly to understand human motivation, behavior and development, but simply that the damn kids are ineducable.<sup>77</sup>

Beyond the illogic of Jensen's argument, there is the more basic question: "Is it really true that compensatory education programs have failed?" What evidence does Jensen give to prove his point? Does it

hold up? In other words, is Jensen's basic factual assertion true?

Jensen's evidence is based on an analysis of two kinds of compensatory programs—large-scale programs like Headstart, and smaller scale programs involving a limited number of students and intensive training. About the first, he quotes a federal government document to the effect that "none of the programs appear to have raised significantly the achievement of participating pupils, as a group, within the period evaluated by the Commission." This document was published in 1967, only a short time after the Headstart programs were started—hardly a basis for rejecting out of hand the environmental hypothesis. In addition, in a footnote, Jensen admits that Headstart raised IQ between 5 and 10 points in most studies, but somehow these gains were lost once the child entered school. Does this prove that the child cannot learn, or that schools are not conducive to learning for many children, especially black working-class children?<sup>78</sup>

This is all Jensen has to say about the failure of Headstart. Such a limited survey as the Commission report, coupled with the contradictory evidence that some children's IQs were raised, at least for a time, by 5-10 points, in no way proves Jensen's point. In fact, it lends as much support to the other side.

His data concerning the other compensatory programs give us even more reason to question his original claim. Jensen writes:

It has been claimed that such mammoth programs have not been adequately pinpointed to meeting specific fine-grained cultural and cognitive needs of these children and therefore should not be expected to produce the gains that could result from more intensive and more carefully focused programs in which maximum cultural enrichment and instructional ingenuity are lavished on a small group of children by a team of experts.

The scanty evidence available seems to bear this out. While massive compensatory programs have produced no appreciable gains in intelligence or achievement (as noted on pp. 2-3), the majority of small scale experiments in boosting the IQ and educational performance of disadvantaged children have produced significant gains.<sup>79</sup>

This statement directly contradicts Jensen's original claim that compensatory education has failed. He goes on to document the scope of the IQ and scholastic achievement gains. "The magnitude of IQ and scholastic achievement gains resulting from enrichment and cognitive stimulation programs authentically range between 5 and 20 points for IQ and between about one-half and two standard deviations for specific achievement meanings (reading, arithmetic and spelling, etc.)"<sup>80</sup> Jensen even admits that he himself has seen a small amount of tester-subject interaction raise IQ about 10 points. He writes:

" . . . When I worked in a psychological clinic, I had to give individual intelligence tests to a variety of children, a good many of whom came from an imp-

overished background. Usually I felt these children were really brighter than their IQ would indicate. They often appeared inhibited in their responsiveness in the testing situation on their first visit to my office, and when this was the case I usually had them come in on two to four different days for half-hour sessions with me in a "play therapy" room, in which we did nothing more than get better acquainted by playing ball, using finger paints, drawing on the blackboard, making things out of clay, and so forth. As soon as the child seemed to be completely at home in this setting, I would re-test Binet. A boost in IQ of 8 or 10 points or so was the rule . . ."<sup>81</sup>

Earlier, Jensen stated that adjusted for social class, the average black-white difference in IQ was 11 points.<sup>82</sup> Here Jensen shows how one or two hours of interaction with students could wipe out a difference as large as the average black-white difference. Does it not occur to Jensen that perhaps black working-class children are at least as uncomfortable with their tester as Jensen's subjects were with him? Jensen's own experience shows that minimal compensatory play therapy (let alone compensatory education) can boost IQ 10 points. How can he go on to claim that compensatory education has, and essentially must, fail?

In addition to the contradictory findings presented right in Jensen's paper, there are numerous other studies which Jensen et al. do not generally cite which show environmental changes producing even more spectacular gains in IQ. One study, by Richard Heber, in Milwaukee, showed the IQ's of children with mothers whose IQ was below 70 raised an average of 33 points over what would have normally been expected.<sup>83</sup> Another study, done by Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann, in Chicago, revealed average IQ gains of over 21 points on a group of children subjected to their intensive program.<sup>84</sup> Finally, in the most important study of adopted children yet done, Marie Skodak and Harry Skeels reported IQ scores for adopted children at between 106 and 117 (depending on the test used) whose mothers' IQ's had averaged 86.<sup>85</sup> (See Appendix B for graphs).

Far from supporting Jensen's point that environment does not affect IQ scores significantly, the existing psychological studies on foster children and compensatory education show the opposite. Environmental differences do make big differences in IQ scores. Perhaps the most interesting among these studies is one by Jane Mercer, who looked at IQ differences among a large number of black, Mexican and white (she refers to them as Anglo) children in Southern California. Mercer constructed a picture of the typical upper class Anglo child and divided children into groups according to the extent to which they and their families shared these Anglo characteristics. Those

closest to the Anglo norm were put into one group, those furthest from it in another. All together there were five groups of black and Mexican children, differing in their closeness to the Anglo norm. She

found that those children closest to the Anglo type had IQ scores of almost exactly 100 (the white average), and those sharing fewest of the Anglo characteristics had an average IQ of 82.<sup>86</sup>

Jensen's contention that environmental explanations do not account for IQ differences is clearly false. Even he seems to recognize it when he writes; "Strictly environmental explanations of group differences tend to have an ad hoc quality. They are usually plausible for the situation they are devised to explain . . ." But, he adds, "they have little generality across situations, and new ad hoc explanations have to be continually devised."<sup>87</sup> This is curious admission for someone who started off one of the most controversial academic papers in history with the sentence, "Compensatory education has been tried and it apparently has failed." Apparently Jensen was more interested in having a certain effect on his audience than in stating something that was true.

By doing this, Jensen was employing a clever debating tactic—put your opponent on the defensive. In claiming that the failure of compensatory education legitimately raised the question of whether environmental discrimination adequately accounted for the failure of "disadvantaged" children, Jensen subtly shifted the burden of proof from himself to his academic opponents. From then on, Jensen apparently hoped, it would be up to the environmentalists to prove that environment could account for IQ differences. In reality, Jensen should have been the one forced to prove his position. Compensatory education (in spite of its reactionary socializing goals) had not clearly failed—it had actually worked. Jensen is the one who should legitimately have been put on the defensive.

Jensen et al. use this technique of putting their opponents on the defensive often, and to good advantage. They attempt to paint a picture of themselves as honest and devoted scientists attempting to get at the truth. The facts, they claim, show the inadequacies of the environmental explanations, but the environmentalist orthodoxy prevents the truth from getting out. Jensen and Herrnstein would have us believe that the liberals, with their "egalitarian" beliefs, are suppressing their hereditarian viewpoints. They even compare their supposed suppression with that of Darwin and Galileo. They collectively write; "The history of civilization shows many periods when scientific research or teaching was censored, punished, or suppressed for non-scientific reasons, usually for seeming to contradict some religious or political belief. Well-known scientist victims include: Galileo, in orthodox Italy; Darwin, in Victorian England; Einstein, in Hitler's Germany; and Mendelian

biologists, in Stalin's Russia."<sup>88</sup>

But do Jensen, Herrnstein, Shockley and Eysenck belong in the same category as Einstein, Galileo and Darwin? Did the latter have to begin their articles and books with obvious distortions in order to manipulate the readers' feelings into agreeing with their positions, as Jensen does? Hopefully not. Rather, Jensen et al. belong more in another category—with Hitler's Aryan professors, with the old South's racist biologists, and with Victorian England's Social Darwinists who argued that Britain should fulfill the "white man's burden" of ruling and raping the third world in the interest of "elevating" the "savages."

The picture of Jensen et al. battling liberal orthodoxy so that the truth about the failure of environmentalism and the correctness of the hereditarian position can be seen, is painted over and over by these scholars. But the environmental explanation for group differences is, as we have seen, in no trouble, and Jensen can in no way be looked at as a rebel.

Unfortunately, his racism fits all too well with the prevailing orthodoxy in America, as the favorable press coverage which he and his followers have received clearly shows. Their self-portrait is very flattering, but completely false.

Jensen presents his argument as if he is offering a reasonable explanation of the observed differences in IQ which cannot be accounted for by the environmentalist position. In reality, however, not only can we reject his equating of IQ with intelligence, but it can be seen that environmental factors can quite easily account for all of the differences in IQ scores. There is really no reason, at this point, to suppose that Jensen has anything useful to say. The test scores he is so worried about have nothing to do with intelligence, and the standard environmental explanations for their causes are quite adequate. But Jensen, of course, is not really very interested in discussing the inheritance of IQ because of a legitimate scientific interest in an unsolved problem. The problem has in fact been solved many times over. Numerous studies were published in the 1930's and after refuting the racist hereditarian claims of Jensen's predecessors, the old eugenicists. Jensen is interested in the question of genetic bases of intelligence not because of scientific concerns, but for political reasons. Jensen is out to prove that black people are genetically inferior to whites, despite what hundreds of studies and a myriad of facts have shown. Jensen's seemingly scholarly treatises are in reality simply political tracts.

## LIE NO. 3

### "IQ IS 90 PER CENT HERITABLE"

*With improvements in the statistical techniques of quantitative genetics and in the quality and quantity of intelligence testing, the heritability of IQ has doubtless become psychology's best proved, socially significant empirical finding.*<sup>89</sup>

Richard Herrnstein (1973)

*The Eastern Psychological Association wishes to reiterate its long standing commitment to a policy of strict adherence to scientific principles in research. Because this is especially important for research on social issues, the EPA wishes to censure the use of inconclusive evidence concerning the heritability of IQ.*<sup>90</sup>

The Eastern Psychological Association (1973)

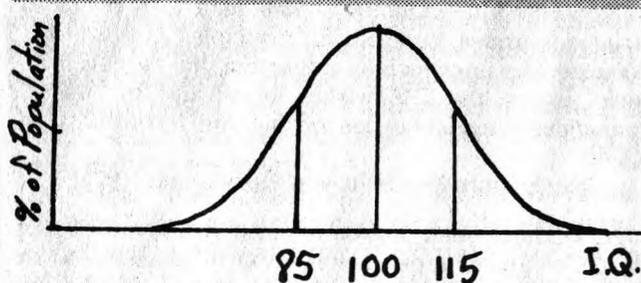
As we have seen, Jensen is not above a little bit of distortion and manipulation in order to prove his point. Other critics of Jensen have pointed out the inconsistencies and outright lies in his discussion of the "failure of compensatory education" before us. Many more have criticized his assumption that IQ equals intelligence. But what most critics have found toughest to attack in Jensen's argument is his attempt to show that the heritability of IQ is 8 or 80 per cent. The inability of his opponents to defeat this aspect of Jensen's work is unfortunate for three reasons. First, it is not that difficult to defeat with a little effort. Second, not to attack it leads people to think that it cannot be countered effectively. Third, this leads liberal anti-racists to take the position that heritability might be high among white people, but the black-white difference is not genetic. This line of reasoning gives Jensen et al. too much credit and leads one to accept the idea of genetic inferiority when applied only to white working class people.

On the surface of it, the heritability argument seems to be Jensen's best—it is full of statistics and complicated mathematics which are, frankly, difficult to understand. But as a wise man once said, "when someone starts using a lot of words and ideas which seem hard to understand, watch out. He's trying to hide something."

This is especially true of Jensen et al. They constantly tell the reader that if he does not agree with what they are saying, it is because he is not intelligent enough to understand it. Herrnstein often uses this argument: "Unfortunately, a full summary, with the necessary technicalities, would be inappropriate in a work of this sort . . ." Again, a little later, he says the same thing in reference to the work of two pro-Jensen Englishmen, Jinks and Fulker, "For example, they estimated, by methods too technical to outline here, that . . ."<sup>91</sup> Is it really all that technical and difficult to understand, or are they afraid that perhaps we can understand what they are saying, and what is wrong with it?

## Section 6

The whole notion of heritability is a complex question—not as difficult as Jensen and Herrnstein would have us believe, but not easy either. Heritability analysis is basically the attempt to find out what proportion of the differences between people for a certain trait are determined by genes, and what proportion by environments. The total amount of variation (differences) between people with regard to a trait is measured statistically by a number known as the variance. The variance tells us how much different people differ from the mean (average) for the population. The graph below represents all the IQ scores within a population.



On this graph, the mean is 100, and there are quite a lot of differences between people. The variance for this graph is 225. The square root of the variance, 15, is called the standard deviation. The standard deviation is that number which, if first added to, and then subtracted from, the mean, gives us two numbers between which most people fall (approximately 2/3 or 68 per cent). For example, in this graph, where the standard deviation is 15, 68 per cent of the people fall within 15 points on either side of the mean. Thus most people's scores are between 85 and 115. This kind of a graph, with this kind of a curve, is called a normal curve. On a normal curve there are a lot of differences, but most people fall relatively near the mean and about the same number are above as below the mean. Only a few are very far above or below the mean.

The amount of spread of a curve, or the extent of differences between people, measured by the variance, does not tell us by itself how much of the differences between people are due to genetic differences between people, and how much are due to the environmental differences. Analysis of heritability supposedly tells us how much of the variance is due to genes, and how much is due to environment. Jensen analyzes the variance by essentially dividing it into two parts—variance due to environment and variance due to heredity. Adding these two together gives the total variance. Therefore total variance,  $V_p$  (or phenotypic variance), equals the variance due to genetic causes,  $V_g$ , plus the variance due to environmental causes,  $V_e$ .

This still does not tell us what  $V_g$  or  $V_e$  is, it is still just a formula without any values in it. For IQ, we know that the total variance is 225, therefore  $225 = V_g + V_e$ . We are still left with two unknown variables. But all we now have to find out is one of the remaining

two variables and we can figure out both. How do we do that?

We have to figure out either  $V_g$  (the variance due to genetic causes) or  $V_e$  (the variance due to environmental causes) by itself. Ordinarily, with most traits and most people, the effects of both heredity and environment are intermingled. For example, if two people are compared as far as weight is concerned, the differences between them will be partly genetic and partly environmental. The only way to tell how much effect different environments or different genes can have is for us to isolate one of the two factors by holding the other one constant. For instance, to find out how much effect different genetic make-ups can have, we have to hold environment constant, that is, give everyone virtually the same environment. But environments are extremely varied and it is virtually impossible to find or create two people with exactly the same environment. The other possibility is to find out how much effect different environments can have by holding genes constant. This can only be done by comparing people with exactly the same genes, monozygotic (or identical, MZ) twins, to see how much difference varying environments make. This is the only serious way to analyze heritability, through twin studies. All other evidence is purely circumstantial. So in order to plug in the remaining variables we must turn to Jensen's treatment of twin studies.

The theory behind the twin studies is that because MZ twins have identical genes, any and all differences between twins must be due to environmental differences. For example, if John and Robert are identical twins, and their IQs differ by 6 points, then the entire 6 point difference has to be due to the different environments which each twin faces. Their genes, being identical, cannot account for the differences. If identical twins have the same IQs, it would imply that genes account for IQ. However, this is only true if the twins did not share the same environment as well as the same genes. If the twins have the same environments and the same genes, then there is no way to tell whether any similarity in their IQs is due to their common genetic makeup or to their shared environments. Therefore, in order for twin studies to tell us anything about the effects of genes or environment, the twins being compared must have nothing in common except genes—their environments must be as different on the average as the environments of any two people chosen at random.

#### THE TWIN STUDIES

For these reasons, the most important twin studies for Jensen et al. are studies of identical twins reared apart. There are only four such studies: by Cyril Burt, by Shields, by Newman, Freeman, and Holtzinger, and by Juel-Nielson.<sup>93</sup> According to Jensen, these studies allow one to calculate the heritability of IQ as .8. But let's take a look at these studies to see whether they are reliable.

What these studies tell us factually is that the reported IQs of the MZ twins reared apart come quite close together<sup>94</sup> (see Appendix C). But is there any

reason to believe that the closeness is due to the genetic similarity of the twins rather than to anything else? What else could account for the similarity of IQ scores? Well, first of all, it is possible that even though the children were reared separately, they were still brought up in similar environments. Secondly, perhaps the similarity is due to certain characteristics which the twins share because of identical genes, but which are not related to intelligence. For example, the twins, if they are monozygotic (or identical), must be of the same sex and age, and it is possible that on some tests people of the same sex and age tend to get the same score quite independently of their genetic makeups. Finally, there is the possibility that the IQ scores reported by Burt and those who did the twin studies were not accurate. Either unconscious bias or outright lying could have caused the scores to appear closer together than they should. While this may at first seem an unlikely possibility, we should remember Jensen's willingness to distort the evidence concerning the efficacy of compensatory education in an extremely manipulative fashion. Why should we not expect him, and his allies, to do it again? Let's look more closely at the twin studies and see which of these criticisms applies, and whether, upon close examination, there is any reason to put our faith in these studies.

#### THE ENVIRONMENT IN THE TWIN STUDIES

Of the four twin studies, two were done in England (Shields and Burt), one in Denmark (Juel-Nielson), and the other in the U.S. (Newman et al.) It is interesting to note that none of the children involved were black; therefore there is at least one environmental similarity which they share—none of them were subjected to the systematic racial discrimination which American blacks constantly face.

Most of the studies do not provide very much discussion of the degree of similarity of the environments in which the twins were raised. Shields and Newman et al. give some indication, but only Burt gives supposedly quantitative data on the correlations of the environments in which the children were raised. Dr. Leon Kamin, who has done probably the most exhaustive survey of the literature on twins, has this to say about the information Burt gives on the correlations between the backgrounds of the homes in which the twins grew up. He writes:

"The most important of the four twin studies is that of the late Sir Cyril Burt, recipient in 1971 of the American Psychological Association's Edward Lee Thorndike Award. Burt's study involved the largest number of twin pairs, and reported the largest correlation; more important, is the only study which purports to provide quantitative data on the socio-economic status of the homes in which the separated twins were reared. For Burt's twins, at least, there was no detectable correlation between the statuses of the homes in which members of a separated pair were raised.<sup>95</sup>

However, as Kamin goes on to report, there is good reason to question the reliability of Burt's data. As Kamin puts it:

"There are, it must be reported, a number of unresolved procedural ambiguities in Burt's published papers. The 1943 review of his work, e.g., presents a large number of relevant correlation coefficients, but virtually nothing is said of when or to whom tests were administered, or of what tests were employed. The reader is told only, "Some of the inquiries have been published in the I.C.C. reports or elsewhere; but the majority remain buried in typed memoranda or degree theses."

"This lack of procedural data is unfortunate, since a cross-check of several of Burt's papers, as Figure 3 indicates, reveals a number of puzzling inconsistencies—as well as a number of astonishing inconsistencies. The figure indicates that in 1943 Burt reported a correlation for a large sample between "intelligence and economic status." There was no clear indication of how either intelligence or economic status had been measured, but Burt took pains to indicate that the correlation involved economic, as opposed to cultural, status. The same survey was referred to again in 1956; but now it becomes clear that the correlation—now involving "socio-economic status"—was based upon "adjusted assessments" of intelligence, rather than upon "crude test results." Then, one year later, the same correlation from the same survey was described as involving "cultural" status, and an entirely different correlation was presented for "economic" status. From where did this latter correlation emerge? Why was it not utilized in 1943, when Burt wished to differentiate economic from cultural status? How did the measurement of one magically transmute into a measurement of the other over 14 years? We are not told.<sup>96</sup>

Later in the same paper, Kamin comes back to the specific claim by Burt that the environments of his twins were completely uncorrelated. He explains:

"We should comment finally on the unique virtue of Burt's study—the provision of quantitative socio-economic class data. Here too there are problems. In 1959, when only 42 separated twin pairs were available, it was clearly indicated that at least four children of "professional" parents had been reared in orphanages; but in 1966, with the sample size increased to 53 pairs, it was reported that precisely two children of such parents had been reared in "residential institutions." Further, a comparison of the marginal totals in Burt's 1966 table with the individual socio-economic data for the same twins which Burt later gave to Jensen and Shockley, indicates that in at least six cases the classification of a twin was changed after 1966. There is also clear evidence that, at least in the case of two twin pairs, the "IQs" reported were changed after 1966.<sup>97</sup>

Kamin's reanalysis of Burt's data gives us good reason to reject Burt's claim that the twins grew up in truly different environments. Beyond Kamin's data, however, there is one other fact which leads us to question Burt's reliability. In the "overwhelming

majority" of cases Burt dealt with, only one of the two twins was brought up in a foster home. The other twin was raised by the natural parents.<sup>98</sup> This fact, which none of Burt's popularizers in this country (Jensen, Herrnstein, Shockley, et al.) have seen fit to admit, calls into question everything they have said about the value of Burt's study. What it implies is that the parents of the twins were simply too poor to afford to bring up both of the twins, and therefore they had to give up one of them. But such parents, who care enough about children to bring up at least one of their offspring, would certainly have taken some care to select the type of environment in which their other child was to grow up. The odds are overwhelming that they would select an environment similar in many ways to their own.

The impression created by Jensen's description of these studies is of twins born to illegitimate mothers separated at birth going to totally random environments without the knowledge or concern of the natural mothers. The reality, however, is quite different. The parents were stable, but poor people. Such people would be sure to exercise great care in choosing the homes into which their children would be placed. Most likely they did this by having the child adopted through a local church-oriented group, whereby they would be sure of the religion and probably the class and ethnic backgrounds of the adopting parents, or by simply having the child taken in and later adopted by a relative. In either case, the resulting environments for the growing children would most likely be very similar.

So one of the crucial tests regarding the validity of the twin data, that the twins must not share similar environments, has not been passed by Burt, whose studies are the most extensive and the most often quoted. The same basic criticism applies to the study by Shields, whose twin pairs were all drawn from rural England (already an important environmental similarity), and who often lived in the same village. Kamin discusses the extent of environmental similarity in this study as follows:

"The appendix provides a considerably more detailed glimpse than does Burt of what kinds of cases constitute the category "separated twins." These examples, if a bit extreme, are not wholly atypical. Benjamin and Ronald, separated at 9 months: "Both brought up in the same fruit-growing village. Ben by the parents, Ron by the grandmother . . . They were at school together . . . They have continued to live in the same village." Jessie and Winifred, separated at 3 months: "Brought up within a few hundred yards of one another . . . Told they were twins after girls discovered it for themselves, having gravitated to one another at school at the age of 5 . . . They play together quite a lot . . . Jessie often goes to tea with Winifred . . . They were never apart, wanted to sit at the same desk . . ."

Bertram and Christopher, separated at birth: "The paternal aunts decided to take one twin each and they have brought them up amicably living next door to one another in the same Midlands colliery village . . . They are constantly in and out of each other's houses." That

is not, I fancy, the sort of separation conjured up by readers of secondary sources which present the twin data.<sup>99</sup>

Shields' study, then, also fails the key test concerning the extent of environmental similarity in the separated twins' homes. The other two studies, Newman et al. and Juel-Nielson, do not give any significant quantitative data on this question, but for the Newman study at least, there is good reason to believe that the degree of environmental similarity was at least as great as in the Shields study. In that study, all of the twin pairs studied were adults, and the sample was selected by mail. Only those people who responded by mail and said they knew their twin and thought they were significantly "alike" were selected for the study.<sup>100</sup> Therefore those who were selected had to be in life-long contact with their twin and had to know him/her well enough to comment on their similarity. At the same time, those who were less alike or who were more genuinely separated would necessarily have been excluded from the sample. This is not exactly a random group of separated twins!

All together, then, the twin studies do not seem to have taken into consideration in any serious way the possibility that the closeness of twins' IQs could have been due to common environments as well as common genes. This is a serious enough methodological flaw to make the studies totally useless as evidence for the heritability of IQ. As we have seen, the theory behind the twin studies was that by isolating and holding constant the genetic make-ups of individuals, you could see how much difference environment acting alone on genetically alike individuals could make in IQ scores. If the IQ differences of MZ twins had to be due totally to environment, then their similarity had to be due to genes. But this is only true if the environments in which the twins were raised were actually different. As we have seen, however, this is not at all the case. There is every reason in the world to believe that the environments in which the "separated" twins were raised were very similar, and that therefore all of the similarities in IQ scores could be due to shared environments, not shared genes.

While the extent of similarity of environments is itself sufficient to discredit the twin studies scientifically, these criticisms by no means exhaust the number of points to make about the twin studies and those who did them. Not only could the closeness of twins' IQs be explained by looking at the closeness of their environments, but also by looking at the closeness (identify, in fact) of their ages and sexes.

In order to understand how age and sex similarities could bring IQs closer together requires some discussion of the process of test standardization. We have seen previously what a normal curve for IQ looks like, with a mean of 100 and a standard deviation of approximately 15.

All IQ tests are constructed so that they come out with score distributions looking like a normal curve,

with most people near the mean of 100, and a progressively smaller proportion approaching the extremes. However, this does not mean that the raw scores received on IQ tests are distributed in a normal curve.

In order to make the tests come out with a normal distribution, the testers assign different weights to different test items in deciding the final score. For example, some tests were made up and standardized on male populations. If such a test was given to a group of women, most women may do very well or very poorly and score at a mean of 110 or 90 instead of 100. In order to standardize such a test for women, you would have to rearrange the items and count them differently so that their scores would have a mean of 100 and a standard deviation of 15.

Another example would concern standardizing a test for people of a certain language group. Suppose you constructed a test for English-speaking children, and then gave it to Spanish-speaking children. Obviously, such children would do terribly—their IQ would be down around 25. In addition, their IQs would be very similar as well because there would not be many differences within the Spanish-speaking children, all of them being equally unfamiliar with English.

Perhaps an even more telling example concerns standardization for children from different age groups. Suppose you constructed one test for children aged 10-15, and on it the scores were distributed normally, with a mean of 100 and a standard deviation of 15. But what if you did not standardize the test on each age group? In such a situation, if you gave the test to all ten year olds, they would probably get all approximately the same score, most likely a very low one. Eleven year olds would probably do better, but they would also probably tend to have similar scores, and so on with other age groups. This would be true even if when you put all the scores back together again they were distributed normally.

As far as twins are concerned, they share the same sex and age at all times. Therefore, if the tests used to determine their IQs were not correctly standardized for age and sex, then it is possible that the similarity between twins' IQs is due as much to the identical age or sex of the twins as to their identical genes. In order to find out whether the similarity could be explained in terms of age similarity, Leon Kamin devised a procedure called "pseudopairing."

Ordinarily, the similarity between twins' IQ scores is expressed in terms of the correlation coefficients, referred to mathematically as *r*. What it measures is the extent to which two variables change together. A correlation of 1 means that two things vary together

exactly. A correlation of 0 means that change in one value does not tell us anything about a change in the other. For example, height and weight are highly correlated because usually the taller one gets, the heavier one gets. But the correlation is not quite perfect, it is not quite 1, because sometimes one gets taller and lighter at the same time. According to Jensen, twins' IQs correlate between .8 and .9. Through the technique of pseudo-pairing, Kamin was able, in a relatively accurate way, to determine whether that high correlation between twins' IQ was due to genetic similarity or age similarity.

Kamin took the IQ scores of twin pairs reported by Newman et al. and constructed a chart of the scores of each pair according to age. The oldest pair he put first, then the next oldest in age, and so on. The chart looked like this:

	Iq	Iq
Pair A, age 27	96	77
Pair B, age 26-7	66	78
Pair C, age 26	91	90
Pair D, age 23	99	101

Kamin then took the pairs nearest each other and formed "clusters" of two pairs each. He put together pairs A and B and pairs C and D. Then "within each cluster, four pseudo-pairings are made. Each score is paired with each other score in the cluster—except that pairings of the scores of actual twins are omitted." The new chart, with the pseudo-pairings constructed from the ordinary pairings, looks like this:

	Normal Pairing		Pseudo Pairing	
	IQ	IQ	IQ	IQ
Pair A, age 27	96	77	96	66
Pair B, age 26-7	66	78	77	78
Pair C, age 26	91	90	91	99
Pair D, age 23	99	100	90	100
			91	100

In the new pairings, people are related only by having the same age, none of the new pairings have any of the same genes in common. Then, Kamin computed the correlation coefficients (*r*) for the new pairings and compared them with the correlations obtained on the genetically related pairs. He achieved the following results:

For 7 male twin pairs:	<i>r</i> is .58
For pseudo-pairings of the same scores:	<i>r</i> is .67
For the 10 mixed-sex pairs:	<i>r</i> is .65
For pseudo-pairings of the same scores:	<i>r</i> is .47101

Thus, in the Newman, Freeman and Holzinger study, the correlations could apparently have been due entirely to age. All of the above *r*'s are in just about the

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same range, and in one case, the correlation for the pseudo-pairings was higher than that for the actual twins. There is no reason to believe, on the basis of this evidence, that the similarity of IQ's, in this study at least, was due to genetic similarity among the twins.

Kamin performed the same procedure on the data from the Juel-Nielson study, and found the correlations between twin pairs and pseudo-pairings to be exactly the same. He also found that this study, which was done in Denmark, was based on an IQ test that was not standardized for the Danish population. Therefore, the means and standard deviations reported by Juel-Nielson for the twins are significantly different than those for the population on which the test, the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC), was standardized originally.<sup>102</sup>

So not only could the closeness of the twins' IQ's be explained by the similarity in their respective environments, but they could also be explained, at least as far as the Newman et al. and the Juel-Nielson studies are concerned, by the lack of test standardization. This led to similarities probably caused by age to be labelled genetic.

#### ARE THE ACTUAL IQ SCORES FOR REAL?

Jensen, Herrnstein, Shockley and Eysenck, however reactionary and racist they are, are clearly not fools. They surely understand a lot about statistics, and about how they can be distorted and misinterpreted. Their own books and articles are filled with statistics, and they make very few mistakes at it. They are also very rigorous when they are attacking their opponents, and they have even intimidated a few of them. Being this competent, however, how do we explain the fact that many of the points made so far have not occurred to these learned men? Is it an accident? Or can we question their honesty? A closer look at some of the methods by which Burt and Shields collected their test scores gives us even more reason to question their basic trustworthiness.

The major problem we have been trying to explain in this section has been the closeness of the IQ scores of separated MZ twins. We have shown, quite clearly, that similarities in environments as well as in age could account for the observed closeness of the IQ scores. Beyond this, however, there is reason to question the actual scores themselves and the methods by which they were obtained.

Reading through the papers of Sir Cyril Burt, one finds an interesting style. Whenever Burt says something that is difficult to understand, or that might provide the basis for disagreeing with him, he dodges the issue, leaves the question unresolved, and refers the reader back to an earlier paper. In 1972, he wrote a paper for the American Psychologist where he made his claim that the environments of the twin pairs were uncorrelated. For documentation, he refers you back to his paper of 1966. There he refers you back to a paper written in 1957, and so on.

One question, on which he continually does this, is the question of what tests he actually gave to his

subjects. Aside from testing twins and children, Burt also tested adults, and reported correlations for all sorts of relatives. He gave correlations for grandmothers and grandchildren, uncles and nephews, brothers and sisters, etc. In obtaining his adult IQ's, Burt reported in three different papers on the same test procedure in three different ways. For example:

Burt and Howard, 1957: "But in each of our surveys, assessments were individually obtained for a representative sample of parents, checked, for purposes of standardization, by tests of the usual type." They refer the reader to a 1955 paper, p. 172.

Burt and Howard, 1956: They report correlations for 963 parent-child pairs and 321 grandparent-grandchild pairs. "The procedures employed, and the results obtained have already been described in previous publications (Burt, 1955)."

Burt, 1955, p. 172, footnote: "For the assessments of the parents we relied chiefly on personal interviews; but in doubtful and borderline cases an open or camouflaged test was employed."<sup>103</sup>

In these descriptions, a procedure which looks pretty standard and legitimate in the 1957 report turns out to have really been based in 1955 on personal interviews and "camouflaged" IQ tests. How much faith can be put in such a procedure? Interestingly, the method on which Burt claims to have "relied chiefly" was not an IQ test at all, just a conversation! As Kamin puts it, "The spectacle of Professor Burt administering a 'camouflaged test' to London grand-parents is an amusing one, but it does not inspire scientific confidence."<sup>104</sup>

Burt used a similar method for obtaining children's scores, although he is more explicit about it. He writes:

*The final assessments for the children were obtained by submitting the marks from the group tests to the judgment of the teachers . . . where the teacher disagreed with the verdict of the marks, the child was interviewed personally, and subjected to further tests, often on successive occasions.*<sup>105</sup>

In view of Burt's other methods, this procedure of continually revising estimates of intelligence is extremely suspicious.

There is even less reason to believe Burt's estimates for the twins. Describing his procedures for testing twins in 1966, Burt writes:

*The tests employed have been fully described elsewhere (Burt, 1921, 1923) . . . They consisted of (i) an individual test (the London Revision of the Terman-Binet Scale) used primarily for standardization, and for doubtful cases (iii) a set of performance tests . . . standardized by Miss Gaw (1925). The test results . . . were submitted to the teachers for comment or criticism; and wherever any question arose, the child was re-examined.*<sup>106</sup> Jensen claimed that Burt had used an individual Binet-type test. He wrote, "Their IQ's were obtained from an individual test, the English

adaptation of the Stanford-Binet. . ."<sup>107</sup> But, in an earlier paper referring to the same individual test scores which Jensen says were obtained on the English Binet, Burt wrote, "the figures . . . were based on non-verbal tests of the performance type," apparently referring to those "standardized by Miss Gaw."<sup>108</sup> Clearly, Burt's description of his methodology raises more questions than it answers.

It seems that the only way an honest man could put any faith at all in Burt's data is if he could go back and look at some of his raw data, and examine that. Failing that, how can he even be believed? Jensen, however, apparently anticipating this line of criticism, took a trip to England in the summer of 1972 to look at the late Sir Cyril's possessions. However, he has reported, "alas, nothing remained of Burt's possessions . . . unfortunately, the original data are lost, and all that remains are the results of the statistical analyses."<sup>109</sup>

Of what value are these "results of statistical analyses?" We have already seen that the test scores which he used to make these analyses were not to be trusted, but even the statistics themselves seem to have been "fudged." Burt reported most of his results in terms of correlations. He wrote many papers, usually about the same thing. He collected his data on kinship correlation for IQ scores over a 50-year period, and in the course of reporting them in scholarly papers, had to compute the correlations different times based on different samples containing, usually, increasingly large numbers of individuals. Below are listed a series of correlations for the same item computed each time on different samples:<sup>110</sup>

#### Siblings Reared Apart

	1955 (N = 131)	1966 (N = 151)
	(N is number of cases in sample.)	
<b>Intelligence</b>		
Group Test	.441	.412
Individual Test	.463	.423
Final Assessment	.517	.438
<b>School Attainment</b>		
Reading, Spelling	.490	.490
Arithmetic	.563	.563
General	.526	.526
<b>Physical</b>		
Height	.536	.536
Weight	.427	.427

#### DZ (Fraternal) Twins Reared Together

	1955 (N = 172)	1966 (N = 127)
<b>Intelligence</b>		
Group Test	.542	.552
Individual Test	.526	.527
Final Assessment	.551	.453
<b>School Attainment</b>		
Reading, Spelling	.915	.919
Arithmetic	.748	.748
General	.831	.831
<b>Physical</b>		
Height	.472	.472
Weight	.586	.586

#### "Group Test" of Intelligence

MZ Twins	Reared Apart	Reared Together
1955	.771 (N = 21)	.944 (N = 83)
1958a	.771 (N: "over 30")	.944 (N : ?)
1958b	.778 (N = 42)	.936 (N : ?)
1966	.771 (N = 53)	.944 (N = 95)

Can anyone believe such data, so remarkably consistent over so many years and with so many different samples? Only the naive or those whose own beliefs are blinded by the desire to prove the heritability of IQ. Jensen seems to be among the latter.

Burt, we must conclude, was a liar. No one could possibly have come out with such figures honestly. Therefore, not only can we dismiss his claim that the environments of his separated twins were not correlated, but we can now also say that there is no good reason to believe that the scores he reported for IQ's were any more than figments of his imagination designed to prove the heritability of IQ. After all, Burt has been trying to prove that ever since he wrote his first paper in 1909. In that paper, he compared children of Oxford professors and Fellows of the Royal

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Society who were attending an elite preparatory school with "lower middle class" children in a London elementary school on sensory-motor type tests and concluded that the former were genetically superior to the latter. He also computed a correlation between "Intelligence (Headmaster's Estimate) and fairness of hair" and remarked that: "With reference to the supposed racial character of fair hair it may be added that over 75 per cent of the Preparatory group, and under 25 per cent of the Elementary group, appeared typically fair."<sup>111</sup> So much for Sir Cyril's eminent "objectivity."

But can we, and should we, say the same about the other authors of the twin studies? At this point, there has not been enough work done checking their writings to find the kind of contradictory statements which gave Burt away. However, in the Shields study, it is clear that there was at least an unconscious bias at work. Shields used two basic types of IQ tests in his study, the Dominoes test and the Mill Hill Vocabulary test. On the Dominoes test, Shields reported an interesting fact which virtually everyone, except Kamin, has overlooked. He noted that when he gave the Dominoes test to 35 pairs of twins, the scores were very close together, only 8.5 points apart on raw scores on the average. However, when each member of a twin pair was tested by a different person (as happened in 5 cases, according to Shields), the difference between them in raw scores averaged 22.4 points. When converted into IQ points, that raw score difference becomes an IQ difference between twins tested by different examiners of over 17 points, the average difference between any two people taken at random from the population.<sup>112</sup>

Apparently, when one person tests both members of a twin pair, there is a tendency to score the IQ's close together. Probably, the tester knows what one twin scored before testing the second. His expectation that the second will score substantially the same acts as a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy and he goes on to grade the two twins alike. There is no other explanation for the facts Shields reports.

For many reasons, then, we are forced to abandon all hope in the ability of the twin studies to tell us how much inheritance influences IQ. However, we have seen how all of the similarities between IQ's can be accounted for by environmental similarities or differences. From a negative point of view, therefore, we must echo Kamin's conclusion that we "see no unambiguous evidence whatever in these studies for any heritability of IQ test scores."<sup>113</sup>

The unreliability of the twin studies means that we cannot plug in the missing numbers in our analysis of variance,  $V_p = V_e + V_g$ . The total variance ( $V_p$ ) for IQ is 225, but without being able to measure directly either the variance due to genetic factors ( $V_g$ ) due to the extreme environment differences, or the variance due to environmental factors ( $V_e$ ) because the twin studies on which such a calculation would be based are useless, our equation must remain unsolved. Jensen, of course, feels no such pressure to be ac-

curate and reliable, so he does fill in the equation. From the twin studies, he calculates the environmental variance to be approximately 45. Therefore,  $225 = V_g + 45$ , Transposing,  $V_g = 225 - 45 = 180$ . The heritability ( $h^2$ ) is defined as the ratio of variance due to genetic factors to the total variance.

$$h^2 = \frac{V_g}{V_p} \text{ Thus, } h^2 = \frac{180}{225} = .81 \text{ or } .8.$$

This is how Jensen arrives at his calculation of the heritability of IQ, but his calculations are only as good as the reliability of the figures used, and Jensen's figures are worthless. His determination of heritability is based on sources filled with contradictions and lies which Jensen himself helps to perpetuate—it has no validity whatsoever.

#### Circumstantial Evidence for the Heritability of IQ

The only potentially reliable method for determining the heritability of IQ is the calculation of variance based on twin studies. The sources Jensen et al use to do that are based on lies and distortions. What are we to conclude from the fact that the only possible method for accurately determining heritability was used in a dishonest way by the hereditarians? It seems to show that if it were used in an honest way, it would prove exactly the opposite of what today's eugenicists want it to prove.

However, in the course of arguing for the heritability of IQ, Jensen et al rely on a sort of shotgun technique. They try one type of evidence after another, and at the end say that what is most convincing is not any one single piece of evidence, but the number of different types of evidence they have offered. They admit that each little piece of evidence proves absolutely nothing. But they seem to hope that a barrage of it will somehow convince the reader. What they seem to forget, despite all their mathematical skills, is that if each bit of proof actually proves nothing, then adding together a whole string of such proof still proves nothing. Zero multiplied by any number, by 2, by 10, or by 107, still equals zero.

Because of their fondness for such a technique, Jensen et al offer numerous secondary and circumstantial "proofs" of the heritability of IQ. It is important, therefore, to deal briefly with at least some of these secondary points which Jensen et al claim indicate the large role played by heredity in determining IQ differences. Among these points there are three which deserve some attention: 1) Correlations between adopted children and foster parents and between adopted children and natural mothers; 2) Attempts to measure the effects of environment directly on unrelated individuals; and 3) Correlations from all types of kinship relations as compared to a genetic model of intelligence. We shall deal with them in that order.

#### 1) Correlation between adopted children and foster parents between adopted children and their natural mothers.

According to Jense, "Children separated from their true parents shortly after birth and reared in adoptive homes show almost the same degree of correlation with the intelligence of their biological parents as do children who are reared by their own parents." At the same time, supposedly, "the correlations of children with their foster parents' intelligence range between .0 and .20."<sup>114</sup> The alleged fact that children correlate more closely with natural than with adoptive parents indicates an important role for heredity in determining intelligence. One of Jensen's major defenders, Steven Vandenburg, claims that these comparisons between foster parents-children correlations and natural parents-children correlations provide "the strongest evidence possible for hereditary factors in intelligence."<sup>115</sup>

Are they valid? Hardly. First, it is important to remember that correlations do not measure absolute similarity between IQ scores. They measure whether variations in one score correspond to variations in another. Concretely what this means is that in the most important of all the foster children studies, the one done by Skodak and Skeels, the IQ's of the natural mothers averaged 86, while the children's IQ's averaged between 106 and 117 depending on the test used.<sup>116</sup> At the same time it is still possible for there to be a substantial correlation between natural parents' IQ and children's IQ. One relationship does not preclude the other.

It is also quite easy to explain the surprisingly high correlation between children and their natural mothers even after they have been separated since the child's birth. Skodak and Skeels, in their study, pointed out that while "an increasing correlation between child IQ and true mother IQ is observed with increasing age, it cannot be attributed to genetic determinants alone."<sup>117</sup> Rather, it is to be attributed to "the selective placement of children of more intelligent and better educated mothers in better foster homes."<sup>118</sup> While we would disagree with the use of such terms as "more intelligent" and "better foster homes," it is true that children whose mothers were more upper class would tend to be placed in homes of higher social class. On the other hand, children whose mothers were from more working class backgrounds would tend to be placed in less upper class foster homes. This is, in fact, an established policy on the part of adoption agencies, to match the class background of the child's natural mother with that of the adopting parents. As Skodak and Skeels points out in regard to the matching procedures of adoption agencies, "Factors in the assignment included religion, sex, age, color or complexion, physique, medical history, and report of the family background." (emphasis ours)<sup>119</sup>

Not only is there an environmental explanation for the unexpectedly high correlation between natural

parents and their adopted children, but also for the unusually low one between children and their foster parents. It is simply not correct to compare, as Jensen does, the low correlation between foster parent and foster child with the ordinary correlation between natural parents and their children, which is usually about .5. Foster parents are, after all, not ordinary parents. As Skodak and Skeels say, "On the whole the foster families were above the average of their communities in economic security and cultural and educational status. They were highly regarded by the town's business, professional, and religious leaders and usually had demonstrated a long-term interest in children through church and community activities."<sup>120</sup> In addition, the foster parents were usually much older than natural parents.

So a comparison between foster parents and ordinary parents is very difficult. The only way to do it would be to compare foster parents with a control group of ordinary parents who had, as a rule, the same income, educational status, and number of children in the family, and who lived in the same type of neighborhood and were of the same age as the foster parents as a group. Of the four foster parents-foster children studies Jensen cites (Skodak and Skeels; Burks; Freeman, Holzinger and Mitchell; and Leahy), only two (Burks and Leahy) even attempted to compare foster parents with a control group of natural parents of the same age, income, etc.<sup>121</sup> While Jensen claims that the Burks study contained "a perfectly matched control group of parents, rearing their own children," in reality neither the Burks nor the Leahy study succeeded in matching the two groups. For example, Leahy reported "environmental status scores" for the adoptive parents and the control group of natural parents, and the overall scores were 137.9 for the adoptive parents and 118.7 for the control group. This is quite a significant difference, and there were other differences as well. Burks, whose study Jensen claimed "perfectly matched" the adoptive parents with the control group, showed even greater differences between the adoptive parents and the control group. The adoptive group was, on the average, 50 per cent wealthier, lived in 50 per cent more expensive homes, and were at least 5 years older than the control group. Therefore, any comparison between parent-child correlations of the two groups is simply not valid. What the data generally reveal is that foster parents are simply not normal. Rather they seem to have characteristics which cause the children they raise to have higher IQ's than would normally be expected.

One comparison which would reveal the relative importance of environment and heredity is, however, possible based on the data presented in the Freeman and Burks studies. This involves comparing the correlation between foster parents and foster children with the correlation between foster parents and their natural children. Some of the foster parents not only had foster children, but their own natural children as well. If the correlation between foster parents and their natural children was significantly higher than the correlation between foster parents and foster

children, it would imply that genes do play a role in determining intelligence. Kamin computed the two different correlations and obtained a value of .29 for the foster parents and foster children and a value of .35 for the relation between foster parents and their natural children.<sup>122</sup> Statistically speaking, there is no significant difference between these two values. It seems that the correlations between parents and children sharing the same genes and the same environment is not substantially greater than the correlations between parents and children sharing nothing but the same environment. This itself is strong evidence that IQ is totally dependent on environmental factors, and not significantly affected by genes at all. So much for the "strong possible evidence for hereditary factors in intelligence."

## 2) Measuring the role of environment.

As we saw before in the twin studies, one way to measure the genetic variance is to measure the environmental variance and then subtract it from the total variance. The result is the heritable portion of the variance. With identical twins reared apart Jensen assumes that the average differences between the twins represents the most variance that environment can account for, the remainder being genetic. Another method of estimating the environmental component is to take two unrelated children brought up in the same home and find out how closely they correlate with each other. The answer, according to Jensen is .24. Thus, the supposed similarity of the children's environments

can produce only a small IQ similarity. The difference, which is much greater than the similarity, must be genetic.<sup>123</sup>

But this is absurd. Two different children unrelated and reared in the same families do not have the same environments at all. They are of different ages and perhaps sexes and are treated very differently by parents. To claim that the amount of similarity (.24) achieved by living in the same house is the maximum one can get from the environment is something only a simpleton—or a conscious manipulator—would do.

## 3) Correlations from all types of kinship relations compared to those expected on a genetic model of intelligence.

If intelligence were determined in a purely genetic manner, by genes alone, then the extent to which two people would be similar (or would correlate) would depend upon how much genetic similarity existed between the two people. So reason Jensen et al. Therefore, parents and children, who have about half their genes in common, should correlate by about .5; identical twins, who have all their genes in common, should correlate exactly, that is, 1.00, and so on for people of different degrees of relationship. As proof that an almost entirely genetic model of intelligence is valid, Jensen et al constructed the following table showing that the actual correlations between people of different relationships to each other are almost the same as those expected on a purely genetic model.

Correlations for Intellectual Ability: Obtained and Theoretical Values

Correlations Between	Number of Studies	Obtained Median r	Theoretical Value <sup>1</sup>
<b>Unrelated Persons</b>			
Children reared apart	4	-.01	.00
Foster parent and child	3	+.20	.00
Children reared together	5	+.24	.00
<b>Collaterals</b>			
Second Cousins	1	+.16	+.14
First Cousins	3	+.26	+.18
Uncle (or aunt) and nephew (or niece)	1	+.34	+.31
Siblings, reared apart	33	+.47	+.52
Siblings, reared together	36	+.55	+.52
Dizygotic twins, different sex	9	+.49	+.50
Dizygotic twins, same sex	11	+.56	+.54
Monozygotic twins, reared apart	4	+.75	+1.00
Monozygotic twins, reared together	14	+.87	+1.00
<b>Direct Line</b>			
Grandparent and grandchild	3	+.27	+.31
Parent (as adult) and child	13	+.50	+.49
Parent (as child) and child	1	+.56	+.49

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(The theoretical value is that expected on a purely genetic model.)

Superficially, this looks pretty impressive. Herrnstein claims that this table greatly reinforces the evidence derived from the twin studies for the .8 estimate of heritability. He says:

While one might argue that the twin studies spuriously inflated the genetic component because of the common uterine environments or the inadvertent correlations in the homes into which they were separated, it seems highly implausible that a wholly different set of accidents should inflate, to just about the same degree, the apparent genetic component in assessments of ordinary siblings (brothers and sisters), uncles and nephews, grandparents and grandchildren, and so on.<sup>125</sup>

Herrnstein is in a certain sense right, the inflation of the genetic component was inflated not by a "wholly different set of accidents" but by precisely the same "accident" which caused the twin studies to be invalidated.

Most of the data for this table, as well as for the twin studies, came originally from the pen of Sir Cyril Burt, whose willingness to fabricate data and continually "adjust" his "assessments" we have already seen at

In this section, we have reviewed all of the major and most of the minor pieces of evidence used by Jensen et al. to prove the heritability of IQ. It has been shown that:

1) The most important method for calculating heritability, the use of twin studies, is totally invalid. The high degree of similarity shown by the twins' IQ scores can be explained by:

- The tremendous similarity in the environments in which they were raised.
- The lack of standardization of the tests for sex and, more importantly, for age groups, which caused similarities displayed by twins due to their common sex and age to appear as if they were due to their common genetic make-ups, and
- The apparently conscious distortion of data by Cyril Burt, and the unconscious bias which led Shields, and probably the other testers, to grade the twins closer together than a tester with no knowledge of the other twin's score would have done.

2) Upon examination, all of the secondary and circumstantial bits of evidence are also worthless because:

- Attempts to infer a strong role for heredity from a comparison of the correlations between foster parents and foster children and between natural parents and their children do not take into account the selective placement procedures practiced by adoption agencies and the unique character of foster

work. There is little or no reason to believe a good deal of the data cited in this table, particularly for the more distant relatives.

However, even if the data were completely accurate, it would still mean absolutely nothing. The logic of Jensen et al's argument is, as Herrnstein puts it, "the more closely related by blood two people are, the greater the correlation between their IQ's."<sup>126</sup> It is much more logical to alter their reasoning by adding some very simple information which totally destroys their conclusion. In contrast to Herrnstein, we would say that the more closely related by blood two people are, the more likely they are to have similar environments. Therefore, on a purely environmental model of intelligence, the closer together the two people's IQ's will be. On the basis of a purely environmental model of intelligence, we could construct exactly the same table as Jensen's, except that the theoretical values in ours would be expected solely on the basis of environmental factors. Jensen's table, impressive as it is, proves nothing whatsoever about the inheritance of IQ, let alone intelligence.

parents as a group. When interpreted correctly, this bit of evidence actually supports the environmental position.

- Jensen's practice of measuring the environmental component in the determination of intelligence by measuring the correlation between unrelated children raised in the same home does not take into account the fact that children raised within the same family do not in any way share exactly the same environment.
- The correlations between the IQ's of people of all sorts of kinship relations, mostly obtained from that ever unreliable Sir Cyril Burt, even if they were accurate, could be explained equally well by a model that was purely environmental as well as by one that was purely genetic. Therefore, this mass of correlations proves absolutely nothing.

What has also emerged from this review of the evidence for heritability is that Jensen et al are probably as aware as we are of the uselessness of their own data. For that reason they adopt a not terribly subtle "shotgun" method of arguing their point. This is extremely dishonest. They hope to impress the reader with the sheer volume of their writings, statistics, and footnotes, rather than with the logic of their argument. This is the method, not of the honest scientist which Jensen et al like to portray themselves as, but of persons trying to manipulate and confuse their readers in order to put something over on them.

## Section 7

### LIE No. 4 "BLACK PEOPLE ARE GENETICALLY INFERIOR TO WHITE"

There is an increasing realization among students of the psychology of the disadvantaged that the discrepancy in their average performance cannot be completely or directly attributed to discrimination or inequalities in education. It seems now unreasonable, in view of the fact that intelligence variation has a large genetic component, to hypothesize that genetic factors may play a part in this picture . . .

. . . So all we are left with are various lines of evidence, no one of which is definitive alone, but which viewed all together, make it a not unreasonable hypothesis that genetic factors are strongly implicated in the average Negro-white intelligence difference. The preponderance of the evidence is, in my opinion, less consistent with a strictly environmental hypothesis than with a genetic hypothesis, which, of course, does not exclude the influence of environment or its interaction with genetic factors.

—Arthur Jensen, 1969

Anyone not familiar with the standard litany of academic disclaimers ("Not unreasonable hypothesis," "does not exclude," "in my opinion") will, taking this statement at face value, find nothing to disagree with since it says nothing. To contrast a "strictly environmental hypothesis which . . . does not exclude the influence" is the utmost triviality. If that is the only conclusion he means to come to, Jensen has just wasted a great deal of space in the *Harvard Educational Review*. But of course, like all cant, the special language of the social scientist needs to be translated into common English. What Jensen is saying is: "It is pretty clear, although not absolutely proved, that most of the difference in IQ between blacks and whites is genetical." This, at least, is not a trivial conclusion.

—Richard Lewontin, 1970

There are intelligence genes, which are found in populations in different proportions, somewhat like distribution of blood types. The number of intelligence genes seems lower, overall, in the black population than in the white.

—Arthur Jensen, 1969<sup>127</sup>



While couched in very "reasonable" social scientific jargon, Jensen's central proposition is that black people are innately intellectually inferior to whites. All the arguments of Jensen and his collaborators—about IQ and the heritability of IQ—are designed to support this racist position. The whole thrust and context of Jensen's argument is racist. He purports to be explaining the failure of compensatory education, which everyone realized was directed at black people, by pointing out the inherited nature of intelligence. Even if he had refrained from stating explicitly his belief in innate black intellectual inferiority, the implications and effects of such an article would be to encourage racism. The whole approach places the blame for blacks' problems not on the capitalist and racist system in which we all live, but on the people themselves.

All of Jensen's cronies argue in the same manner and to the same effect. Herrnstein, despite some remarks to the contrary, shares this racist thrust with Jensen. While he is careful not to state explicitly that he believes blacks are inherently inferior, he argues that America is a meritocracy in which class position depends on intelligence. The clear implication of the meritocracy theory is that the oppression and exploitation suffered by black people are due more to genetic inferiority than to the social system. In fact, Herrnstein denies that there is any considerable discrimination in our society when he writes, "Actual social mobility is blocked by innate human differences after the social and legal impediments are removed."<sup>128</sup>

Herrnstein opts for the view that at least part of the black/white IQ difference is genetic in the following often-repeated passage: "When this line of reasoning is applied to a racial (or ethnic) difference in IQ, the only proper conclusion is that we do not know whether it is more genetic, or precisely as genetic as might be implied by a heritability of .9."<sup>129</sup> As we shall see, a "heritability of .8" (which itself is a lie) implies nothing whatsoever about differences between races. Herrnstein's statement, however, leads the reader to assume that some part of the black/white difference is genetic. This is racist.

Recently Herrnstein revealed what are certainly his true feelings in an article in *Science*. According to the interviewer, "Herrnstein believes in the validity of Shockley's central thesis 'that the allegedly high birth-rate among poor blacks is lowering the national IQ' and should therefore be reversed." Herrnstein of course feels that Shockley's proposed genocidal sterilization program is at present "not a politically

feasible solution."<sup>130</sup> Despite his feeble attempts to straddle the fence between elitism and racism, Herrnstein belongs in both camps.

Jensen, of course, is even more explicit. He openly proclaims his belief in black inferiority. To justify this, he relies on two basic arguments, in addition to the implicit argument embedded in the very structure and logic of his work. First, he argues that the generally high heritability of IQ implies that the black/white IQ difference is genetic. Secondly, he argues that the alleged existence of a large number of physical differences between racial groups makes it logical that there would be racial differences in intelligence as well. Let us look a bit more closely at these two lines of reasoning.

We saw earlier that IQ cannot be equated with intelligence, and that there is no evidence for the heritability of IQ. In fact, whatever reliable evidence does exist points in the other direction. However, even if IQ did measure intelligence and its heritability was .8 (80 per cent), as Jensen claims, there would still be ABSOLUTELY NO justification for saying that black/white differences are genetic.

Geneticist Richard Lewontin explains:

*The fundamental error of Jensen's argument is to confuse heritability of a character within a population with heritability of the difference between two populations. Indeed, between two populations, the concept of heritability of their differences is meaningless. The genetic basis of the difference between two populations bears no logical or empirical relation to the heritability within populations and cannot be inferred from it . . . .*<sup>131</sup>

Heritability, as geneticists define it, means simply the extent to which differences between people within a population are due to genetic factors. It is a purely statistical measure applicable only to that population on which the statistics were calculated. To say that IQ has a heritability of .8 in white British and North American populations says nothing about the heritability of IQ in other populations, or about whether the differences between any two populations are genetic in origin. Perhaps an example not related to IQ will clarify the matter.

Take the question of height. Height has been calculated as a highly heritable trait in all populations. Most of the differences in height between any two white Americans will therefore be due primarily to their genetic differences. Within other populations, like the present-day Japanese, or white Americans 400 years ago, most of the differences between people are, or were, genetic in origin. That is, the differences between any two contemporary Japanese and between any two seventeenth century American colonists would be primarily the result of genetic differences between the individuals. However, this does not mean that the difference between the average Japanese today, the average modern American, and the average American colonist is at all genetic. In fact, the difference is probably environmental—due in particular to changes in health conditions and dietary customs.

John Smith, an early American colonist was reputed to stand at 5'1" and was considered a giant for the period. Today his descendants would view him as a midget. Europeans were on the average a foot shorter 400 years ago, but the difference between them and contemporary Europeans is entirely environmental, or non-genetic.

Heritability within a group or population therefore explains nothing whatsoever about whether between-group averages are genetically determined. Viewed from this perspective, all of Jensen's arguments about the heritability of IQ are, as Lewontin states, "irrelevant" to the question of black/white differences.<sup>132</sup> Remember, we have already shown that Jensen's claims about heritability of IQ are based on lies, but even if they were true, it would not mean anything about race differences.

As seen many times before, Jensen is quite clever. Thus we should not be surprised to find that he acknowledges all of the points we, and Lewontin, have made about the inability to generalize from between-group heritability to within-group heritability. After recognizing that, however, Jensen goes on to state what he knows he cannot validly claim. As geneticist Dobzhansky puts it:

*Jensen (1969), after recognizing explicitly that the heritability of individual differences within a population cannot validly be used as a measure of the heritability of the population means, tries to do just that.*<sup>133</sup>

That Jensen knows he cannot do this is clear. He writes, "Estimates of H (heritability) are specific to the population samples, the point in time, how the measurements were made, and the particular test used to obtain the measurements."<sup>134</sup> In view of his knowledge of the limits of heritability analysis, Jensen's leap from the heritability of IQ among whites (which itself is untrue) to the heritability of the black/white IQ differential is extremely unscientific and dishonest. While appearing quite reasonable and objective, Jensen attempts to lead the reader to a quite unreasonable and racist conclusion. Lewontin noticed the same lack of candor in Jensen when he wrote:

*The very judiciousness of his argument has been disarming to geneticists especially, and they have failed to note the extraordinary conclusions that are drawn from these reasonable premises. Indeed, the logical and empirical hiatus between the conclusions and the premises is especially striking and thought-provoking in view of Jensen's apparent understanding of the technical issues.*<sup>135</sup>

In later papers, Jensen repeats his fundamental argument with the same basic mistake! In 1973, he wrote:

*While it is true, indeed, axiomatic, that heritability within groups cannot establish heritability between-groups means, high within-group heritability increases the a priori likelihood that the between-group heritability is greater than zero.*<sup>136</sup>

This is completely wrong and misleading. It appears logical, but as our discussion of the question of height

has shown, there is no relationship between the two types of heritability. One type of heritability does not increase the likelihood of the other—a priori or otherwise. As Lewontin points out, evidence for the heritability of one population is "irrelevant" to determining whether differences between populations are genetic.

Thus, Jensen's third, and major, argument for the genetic basis of black/white IQ differences fails. Moreover, we have previously seen that Jensen's other arguments, about the nature of IQ, its heritability, the failure of environmentalists, etc. are equally false. However, we have also noted throughout that Jensen's aim is not to reach scientific truth, but to convey an impression and to convince the reader. Therefore, he often adopts arguments apparently designed to confuse the reader through a shotgun style of argumentation and by shifting the burden of proof away from himself and onto his opponents.

In the discussion of racial differences in intelligence, Jensen adopts this tactic as his number two argument. He claims that all of the physical differences between racial groups imply that there also must be differences in behavior and intelligence. This argument operates on two different levels—one explicit, the other implicit.

On an explicit and general level, Jensen simply says that racial groups differ genetically in so many things, why not in intelligence? He claims:

*These genetic differences are manifested in virtually every anatomical, physiological, and biochemical comparison one can make between representative samples of identifiable racial groups. There is no reason to suppose that the brain should be exempt from this generalization.*<sup>137</sup>

In another paper, Jensen quotes his two favorite behavioral geneticists to the same effect:

*In light of all these differences, Spuhler and Lindzey have remarked: . . . it seems to us surprising that no one would accept present findings in regard to the existence of genetic anatomical, physiological, and epidemiological differences between the races . . . and still expect to find no meaningful differences in behavior between races.*<sup>138</sup>

There are a number of mistakes both with Jensen's facts and with his logic. First, the primary source from which Spuhler and Lindzey received their knowledge of physical racial differences is a well-known racist anthropologist named Stanley Garn, who is regarded, together with his friend, collaborator and co-author Carleton S. Coon, as an unscientific quack, by most contemporary anthropologists. Coon and Garn collaborated on a well-known article arguing in favor of race-oriented anthropology in the *American Anthropologist* in 1955.<sup>139</sup> Their views are best exemplified by Coon, whose most famous work, *The Origin of Races*, appeared in 1962. In that work, Coon claimed that the different races of man originally sprang from the same ancestral species, *Homo erectus*, but that the different races became fully human by passing into the *Homo sapiens* state at different times. He

hypothesized that Caucasoids had passed into the sapiens state approximately 250,000 years ago, while the so-called Congoid race entered that state a mere 50,000 years ago. Coon wrote:

*It is a fair inference . . . that the subspecies which crossed the evolutionary threshold into the category of *Homo sapiens* the earliest have evolved the most, and that the obvious correlation between the length of time a subspecies had been in the sapiens state and the levels of civilization attained by some of its populations may be related phenomena.*<sup>140</sup>

In his most recent book, *Educability and Group Differences*, Jensen calls for launching a major research project to test Coon's absurd hypothesis, despite the fact that numerous anthropologists have criticized Garn and Coon as racist charlatans, and their work is generally considered worthless.<sup>141</sup>

Spuhler and Lindzey themselves are suspect as sources. They devote a long article to arguing for studying racial differences in behavior based on virtually no facts. Even though their article is titled "Racial Differences in Behavior," they are able to demonstrate racial (population) differences in only three extremely minor aspects of behavior—the ability to taste the chemical phenylthiocarbamide (PTC), color blindness, and certain optical illusions.<sup>142</sup> The biological basis of even these differences has itself been questioned by anthropologist A. Alland, who points out that "The studies cited by Spuhler and Lindzey do not sort out genetic and environmental factors."<sup>143</sup> Quite to their displeasure, Spuhler and Lindzey themselves are forced to concede that ". . . for the varieties of behavior that allow individuals to participate satisfactorily in their society, there is no comparable evidence for genetically determined racial differences."<sup>144</sup>

There are of course some physical differences between racial groups, but there is no evidence that any of them significantly affect intellectual ability. For example, a number of people have done research into comparative brain size and structure, but a review of all the major studies in that area led anthropologist P. V. Tobias to conclude:

*There is no acceptable evidence for such structural differences in the brains of the two groups; and certainly nothing which provides a satisfactory anatomical basis for explaining any differences in IQ or in other mental or performance tests, in temperament or behavior.*<sup>145</sup>

The basic response to this argument of Jensen's—that physical differences imply intellectual ones—is simply that they don't. Whatever small and unimportant physical differences exist imply nothing whatsoever about intelligence and behavior. So what if there are physical differences? If there are differences in intelligence and behavior between races, they ought to be proven on their own, not be inferences from other kinds of differences. And this Jensen has failed to do. The argument is a non-sequitur.

Jensen's argument about physical racial differences being related to mental differences operates on another, quite subtler, level. After all, racial differences do not imply racial superiority or inferiority. That is generally implied by claiming that one group is more advanced in an evolutionary way than the other. Thus, in the course of making his general and meaningless point about one type of difference leading to the other, Jensen discusses physical differences in a manner which leads to a view of blacks as primitive animals. The types of differences which Jensen claims exist between blacks and whites are such as to reinforce centuries-old stereotypes of blacks as apes, thereby giving some content to the notion of racial differences. Of course, he never proclaims openly what his descriptions and comparisons are leading to, but his presentation conveys a grossly racist impression of black people.

First, let us look back a bit to see what historically have been some of the more common racist stereotypes. Then we can compare them with Jensen's characterizations. Racist anthropologists and biologists in the 19th and early 20th centuries claimed that at one point in time pure racial types had existed, from which today's somewhat less pure races emerged. The pure Aryan (sometimes called Nordic) type supposedly had certain definite physical and psychological characteristics: a particular size and shape of head and brain, as measured by cranial or brain structure and density, by cephalic index, and by facial angle, or prognathism; a particular type of body, as measured by the arm-body ratio, by the ratio of the length of the head to the length of the heel, and other ratios of the parts of the body to each other; and a typical Aryan psychology, as evidenced by the Aryan's intelligence, drive, and love of self-government. Other races, like Mediterraneans, the Alpines and the Negroes, differed in all these respects and were, of course, inferior to the Nordic master race.<sup>146</sup>

These racist scientists justified their belief in the superiority of the Nordics through the teachings of evolution. They believed in systems of evolutionary ranking, on which Aryans represented the highest development of the human species, and blacks represented the lowest. Blacks, they often claimed, were closer to apes than to Aryans, being basically a "primitive" type of human. They frequently produced grotesque, caricatured drawings of blacks as apes to illustrate their point.<sup>147</sup> (See Appendix D)

Elaborate sorts of physical measurements were devised to sort people into racial groups and to determine their position in evolutionary development. For example, apes apparently had relatively longer arms than men. Therefore, when blacks were drafted into the U.S. Army during the Civil War, one of the measurements which racist biologist Louis Agassiz of Harvard developed for the Army was the ratio of the length of the arms to the length of the body. Supposedly the Army statistics showed that blacks had longer

arms than whites, proving that they were closer to ape on the evolutionary chain. The Army, together with a corps of racist professors, worked out scores of similar measurements, and published a table comparing blacks, whites, Indians and mulattos.<sup>148</sup> (See Appendix E)

One frequent contention of these racists was that blacks showed greater physical development and more athletic and muscular prowess. Naturally, these abilities were considered to be inferior to the intellectual abilities of whites, and also marked the black man as that much closer to the lower animals. As further evidence for this, blacks were said to be more fully developed at birth—physically, that is. Their cartilage, particularly in the skull, turned more quickly into bone. This early and faster rate of ossification was of course a mixed blessing to the poor black, for while it protected him from severe bumps on the head, it also stunted the growth of his brain, and lowered his intelligence.

There were other aspects to the racist stereotypes. A number of racist psychologists and sociologists claimed that blacks could not engage in real creative, conceptual types of mental activity. Black people could only master the lower form of learning, so-called rote or imitative behavior. Therefore, a black child, "even when reared in a white family under the most favorable conditions, fails to take on the mental and moral characteristics of the Caucasian race."<sup>149</sup> This was the so-called "theory of imitation."

The same basic dichotomy between the creative processes of the superior race, and the purely rote, memory-oriented and associative processes of the inferior race, was one of Nazi theoretician Alfred Rosenberg's points about the differences between Aryans (or Nordics) and Jews. Rosenberg, who in 1934 became head of the Office for the Supervision of the Total Intellectual and Ideological Schooling and Education of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP, or Nazi Party), claimed that Jews excelled in simple 'understanding,' a lower form of thought, but were unable to engage in creative 'reason,' the epitome of Nordic knowledge. He wrote:

... Since Kant, we have differentiated precisely between understanding (*Verstand*) and reason (*Vernunft*). With the former term we associate the ability to gather sensuously mediated data to form a picture and then tie it together under forms of causality. With the latter we mean the ability to bind together all judgments of understanding into a unity ... The idea of the atom, the law of the conservation of energy, the ether theory (*sic*)—these are not things which any fool could formalize; they cannot be proven logically and empirically without further ado. They are forward-reaching attempts of creative reason ...

It is now not difficult to delineate with great clarity the sphere of the Jewish spirit. From time immemorial it has mastered the region of science which has been occupied with understanding. ... Not one single creative scientific idea has sprung from the brain of a Jew.<sup>150</sup>

Racists of all nationalities tend to develop similar arguments and stereotypes.

There were many other aspects to the stereotyped descriptions of black/white differences. Among them, blacks were alleged to perspire more than whites, causing them to smell more. Blacks, especially black men, also were possessed of a fantastic sexual appetite, and sexual organs correspondingly large. One of the most complete summaries of 19th and 20th century racism comes to us from the Congressional Record. Senator William Milton of Florida introduced a bill to ban intermarriage on January 14, 1909. He presented the following list of "racial differences" as scientific evidence that blacks were members of an inferior race.

1. Abnormal length of arms, averaging two inches more than the Caucasian.
2. Projection of the jaw at a facial angle of 70 degrees, as against 82 for Caucasian.
3. Average weight of brain, being for gorilla 20 ounces, negro 35 ounces, European 45 ounces.
4. Full black eyes with black iris and yellowish sclerotic coat.
5. Short, flat snub nose, depressed at base, broad at the extremity, dilating nostrils, and concave ridge.
6. Thick protruding lips showing inner red surface.
7. Exceeding thick cranium enabling him to butt with the head and resist blows that would break an ordinary European skull.
8. Correspondingly weak lower limbs, broad flat foot, divergent and sometimes prehensile big toe and projecting heel.
9. Complexion brown or blackish, due to abundance of coloring matter.
10. Short black hair and distinctly woolly.
11. Thick epidermis, emitting a peculiar rancid odor.
12. Frames of medium height and sometimes out of perpendicular.
13. The early ossification of the skull.

Recently Arthur Jensen has effectively revived these old, grotesque stereotypes in his description of racial differences between blacks and whites. Compare the following statement of Jensen's with Senator Milton's list:

Among the genetically conditioned traits known to vary between major racial groups are body size and proportions, cranial size, cephalic index, pigmentation of the hair, skin, and eyes, hair form and distribution on the body, number of vertebrae, fingerprints, bone density, basic metabolic rate, sweating, fissural patterns on the chewing surfaces of the teeth, numerous blood groups, various chronic diseases, requery of dizygotic (but not monozygotic) twinning, male/female birth ratio, ability to taste phenylthiocarbamide, length of gestation period, and degree of physical maturity at birth (as indicated by degree of ossification of cartilage).<sup>152</sup>

In 1969, Jensen echoed those earlier racists who praised blacks' physical prowess and lamented their intellectual deficiencies by writing:

A number of students of child development have noted the developmental precocity of Negro infants, particularly in motoric development. Geber and Geber and Dean have reported this precocity also in African infants. ... Bayley's study of a representative sample of 600 American Negro infants up to 15 months of age, using the Bayley Infant Scales of Mental and Motor Development, also found Negro infants to have significantly higher scores than white infants in their first year. The difference is large attributable to the motor items in the Bayley test. ... The highest scores for any group on the Bayley scales that I have found in my search of the literature were obtained by Negro infants in the poorest sections of Durham, North Carolina. The older siblings of these infants have an average IQ of about 80. The infants up to 6 months of age, however, have a Developmental Motor Quotient (DMQ) nearly one standard deviation above white norms and a Developmental IQ (i.e., non-motor items of the Bayley Scale) of about half a standard deviation above white norms.<sup>153</sup>

Jensen continues in a similar vein:

The behavioral precocity of Negro infants is also paralleled by certain physiological indices of development. For example, X-rays show that bone development, as indicated by the rate of ossification of cartilage, is more advanced in Negro as compared with white babies of about the same socio-economic background, and Negro babies mature at a lower birth-weight than white babies.

It has also been noted that brain wave patterns in African newborn infants show greater maturity than is usually found in the European newborn child.<sup>154</sup>

Jensen, in these rather lengthy passages, is simply restating in modern scientific jargon and with more contemporary sources, the old thesis of Senator Milton and the racist scientists of the time that black people are in some way a more primitive type of human being. His indebtedness to racist pseudo-science of a bygone era is revealed most clearly from these passages. Virtually every stereotype imaginable is reinforced by his treatment of black/white differences. Jensen goes on, however, to elaborate further his racist theory through his discussion of Level I and Level II abilities. Imitating Rosenberg and his American forerunners, Jensen says that blacks are capable of only imitative behavior:

I have hypothesized two genotypically distinct basic processes. ... labelled Level I (associate ability) and Level II (conceptual ability). Level I involves the neural registration and consolidation of stimulus inputs and the formation of associations. ... Level I ability is tapped mostly by tests such as digit memory, serial rote learning. ... Level II abilities, on the other hand, involve self-initiated elaboration and transformation of the stimulus input before it eventuates in an overt response. Concept learning and problem solving are good example.<sup>155</sup>

As one would expect:

Level I abilities are seen as developing rapidly . . . Level II abilities, by contrast, develop slowly at first, attain prominence between four and six years of age, and show an increasing difference between SES groups (social classes) with increasing age. 156

Blacks, who Jensen claims achieve earlier physical development, excel in Level I abilities, while Level II abilities are more characteristic of middle and upper class whites. Jensen's view of blacks here parallels that of Senator Milton, and Herr Rosenberg's view of the Jews. They are supposedly physically adept and good at imitative or rote behavior. Presumably they also have rhythm and are natural basketball players, but could never play chess with Bobby Fisher.

Many of these claims of Jensen's are grossly absurd and hardly worth refuting. Even if some minor physiological differences do exist between racial groups, and they probably do, they mean nothing; and Jensen lists very few sources for his statements, as it is. Moreover, a specific look at the actual proof Jensen offers for the reality of the Level I/Level II distinction shows that it is pure racist rationalization at best.

Jensen explains his major reason for developing the dichotomy this way:

Teachers of the disadvantaged have often remarked that many of these children seem much brighter than their IQs would lead one to expect, and that, even though their scholastic performance is usually as poor as that of middle-class children of similar IQ, the disadvantaged children usually appear much brighter in non-scholastic ways than do their middle-class counterparts in IQ. A lower-class child coming into a new class, for example, will learn the names of 20 or 30 children in a few days, will quickly pick up the rules and the know-how of various games on the playground, and so on—a kind of performance that would seem to belie his IQ, which may even be as low as 60. This gives the impression that the test is "unfair" to the disadvantaged child, since middle-class children in this range of IQ will spend a year in a classroom without learning the names of more than a few classmates, and they seem almost as inept on the playground and in social interaction as they are in their academic work. 157

From this, he concludes that

It appears that we are dealing here with two kinds of abilities—associative learning ability (Level I), and cognitive or conceptual learning and problem-solving ability (Level II). 158

Jensen's whole concept of two different kinds of abilities, it is clear, arose as an attempt to reconcile the glaring contradiction between the low IQ test scores of black and working class youths and their obvious ability to behave quite normally in everyday life. In their daily lives, these children, whose IQ scores label them retarded, engage in social interrelationships of an extremely complex nature.

The logical method by which most honest researchers would resolve this contradiction would be to decide there must be something wrong with IQ tests—

that they do not measure intelligence. Not so, Jensen! After all, if he admitted the contrived and racist nature of IQ scores, his whole argument would collapse. Therefore, he invents a pseudo-scientific set of distinctions and terminology with which to claim that the obvious mental abilities of black children are not to be considered evidence of real intelligence. Rather, they reflect only a lower type of learning behavior (Level I), merely imitative, or rote learning. And, as we all know from the saying, "Monkey see, Monkey do," imitative behavior is more typical of apes than men.

As further proof of his theory, Jensen cites only one study, done in his own laboratory and under his direction. Furthermore, that study has been refuted by the work of some more independent researchers. 159 On the basis of this non-proof, coupled with Jensen's own description of the unexplainably intelligent behavior of "retarded" black children, Jensen expects us to accept an old, sickeningly racist stereotype dressed up in modern scientific veneer.

Many of Jensen's other claims about physical differences between blacks and whites are either of no consequence, or too vile to merit scientific refutation. However, it is worthwhile to look briefly at the whole notion of primitive races once more. Just as Jensen and Senator Milton, 19th century anthropologists were fond of listing all of the features in which blacks and whites differed, and showing how much closer blacks were to apes. As usual, the racists lied about the facts as well as the interpretation. Concretely, when compared to other racial groups with respect to characteristics like facial angle (prognathism), arm-body ratio, etc., blacks are no closer to apes than any others. Rather, if one decides which kinds of facial, arm-body ratio, etc. are most and which kinds least apelike, and then compared the averages for those characteristics obtained on Caucasian, Negroid, and Mongoloid samples, one finds that no racial group has a monopoly on least ape-like features. On some measures, blacks are closer to apes. More often, whites are. 160 (See Appendix F)

Clearly, any attempt to label one race more apelike than another is simple-minded racism. Furthermore, the whole notion that there are pure racial types which can be isolated and classified is absurd.

For example, if you attempt to differentiate the races of man in terms of one characteristic, say facial angle, and chart the distribution of types of facial angle on a map, you will get not a set of clear and distinct boundaries between different populations, but gradual changes in the frequency of the characteristic over distance. Moreover, if one did draw boundaries, albeit arbitrary, on such a map, they would be altogether different from the racial boundaries based upon some other characteristics.

Such a "non-racial" distribution of human characteristics has caused many anthropologists and biologists to argue against the use of the very term "race" in scientific study. 161 Today, geneticists refer generally not to "races," but to "breeding

populations," which are only relatively stable and extremely arbitrary and partial distinctions.

Jensen realizes, or claims to realize, that there are no pure races, primitive or otherwise. Nevertheless his whole discussion of racial differences appears calculated to reinforce the stereotype of blacks as members of a primitive and inferior race. This kind of argument is, as we have seen, typical of Jensen and his allies. While understanding scientifically that his point is totally absurd, he still labors, cautiously and with countless disclaimers, to create the impression that night is day, down is up, and Jensen's racism is scientific truth.

In making, at least implicitly, the argument that blacks are an inferior subspecies, Jensen is placing himself in the tradition of a long line of racist scientists. A brief look at his sources and his allies shows who Jensen himself considers his intellectual allies and predecessors. Spuhler and Lindzey for example, the two behavioral geneticists whose work he respects most, rely heavily on racist measurements obtained on now infamous anthropological studies of the pre-1910 period. They openly lament the turning away from the style of anthropology marked by anthropometric measurements of racial differences after 1920. 162

At another point, Jensen explicitly compares himself to Henry Garrett, former head of the Columbia Psychology Dept. Jensen claims that the unfair and "repressive" attack upon him by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI) was the same as their previous attack upon Garrett. Jensen writes:

... Part of the SPSSI statement directed against my article is word for word the same as a 1961 resolution SPSSI adopted in opposition to an article by Henry Garrett. 163

Garrett was a notorious racist who testified in court against integration in the 1950's. After the 1954 Supreme Court decision to integrate schools, Garrett began to help organize opposition to it along with a few other racist scientists, and the leading Southern white-supremacists. In the South, organizations known as the Citizens' Councils sprang up in every major population center. They began a virulent propaganda campaign to create racist hysteria. That hysteria, encouraged by these organizations, eventually led to the brutal anti-Civil Rights murders of the 1960's, including the bombing of black churches. The major vehicle developed for disseminating the propaganda was a series of pamphlets. At least two of them were written by Garrett, entitled "The South and the Second Reconstruction," and "Breeding Down." 164

According to Garrett's science:

You can no more mix the races and maintain the standard of White civilization than you can add 80 (the average IQ of Negroes) and 100 (the average IQ of Whites), divide by two and get 100. What you would get would be a race of 90's and it is that 10 per cent differential that spells the difference between a spire and a mud hut; 10 per cent or less is the margin of

civilization's profit; it is the difference between a cultured society and savagery.

Therefore it follows, if miscegenation would be bad for White people, it would be bad for Negroes as well. For if leadership is destroyed, all is destroyed. 165

In a bizarre prefiguration of Jensen and Herrnstein's attempt to pose as paternalistic civil libertarians, Garrett writes elsewhere:

The equalitarian dogma, at best, represents a sincere if misguided effort to help the Negro by ignoring or even suppressing evidence of his mental and social immaturity. 166

The evidence to which Garret refers is Audrey Shuey's *The Testing of Negro Intelligence*, and a number of works by Frank C. McGurk. 167 Shuey's massive book reviewed uncritically 382 studies of Black intelligence testing and concluded that blacks were genetically inferior. Naturally she completely omitted numerous studies which disprove her claim, and her book is regarded as a historic monument to pseudo-science. Herrnstein and Jensen cite Ms. Shuey's work often and favorably. 168

McGurk launched his public career as a scientific racist in a 1950 article in *U.S. News and World Report* called, "A Scientist's Report on Race Differences." He maintained that differences in social and economic condition could not account for the black/white difference in IQ. The opposite, he claimed, was true:

... An improvement in the socio-economic positions of the Negro made him less able to compete with whites on psychological tests . . . the factual evidence completely denies the theory that improving the social and economic status of the Negro improves his capacity for education. 169

Garrett and McGurk were the core of the white supremacist campaign against integration. But the southern state governments did their share as well. In 1961 Governor Patterson of Alabama set up a commission to study the science of racial difference. The commission he set up resulted in the state-financed report by Wesley George published in 1962 under the title *The Biology of the Race Problem*. Naturally the report "proved" the biological inferiority of black people. George and Garrett later co-authored a letter of protest to Science charging that they and their "hereditarian" views were being suppressed by the orthodox liberals. 170 Their letter reads very similar to the introductions of both Herrnstein's and Jensen's new books, decrying the terrible repression they face at the hands of angry black and white students, especially in the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). 171 It is more than ironic that those who would deny blacks the most elementary rights in the South are so worried about their own "freedom of inquiry."

Apparently the efforts of the Citizens' Councils, the Patrick Henry Press, and the state of Alabama were not enough. This group of racists founded a new organization for propaganda in 1959, known as the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics (IAAEE). Shortly afterward, they founded a "scientific" journal, *Mankind Quar-*

terly. In 1965, the executive committee of the IAAEE consisted of, among others, Henry Harrett, Frank McGurk, Robert T. Osborne, British eugenicist C. D. Darlington, Dr. Helmut Reuning of the National Institute of Personnel Research, South Africa, Ernest van den Haag, Robert Kuttner, President, and A. James Gregor, executive secretary and spokesman. On the editorial board of *Mankind Quarterly* were Garrett, Kuttner, McGurk, Gregor, Audrey Shuey and a number of their associates whom we have not mentioned. These were openly racist organizations.<sup>172</sup>

Gregor typifies the IAAEE. In 1958 he wrote an article for Sir Oswald Mosley's pro-fascist journal *The European* on "National Socialism and Race." In this article he reviewed the development of Nazi race theory and distinguished three different phases. First, before 1935, there was a crude and hysterical Nordicism. From 1935-40, there was a period of intellectual ferment and scientific development during which more sound theories emerged. After 1940 the work of the previous years bore fruit and the scientists' newer conceptions began to hold sway. Unfortunately, these grand theories were never fully tested, due to the heroic defeat of the Nazis by the people of the world in 1945. Gregor writes nostalgically of the latter phase of Nazism:

*Actually the elements of a far more profound theory are to be discerned in a few surviving books that mark the last dynamic phase of development of a concept of race free of the encumbrances of an hysterical Nordicism.*

*Everywhere the talk was no longer of fixed and immutable races, but of races in formation, the components for which arise out of the crucible of the past—races in formation cast over by the ideal of a living heritage—for Germany a Nordic Mythos, for Italy an animating devotion to Romanita. The talk is of races yet to be fashioned by living an ideal, united by a common destiny, nurtured in a common environment the political expression of which is nationhood.*

Here are the germs of a world view which makes of man a creator, a builder of future races; a philosophy which unites history, politics, and race, eugenics and humanism, pride in self and respect for others, a philosophy scientifically sound and emotionally satisfying.<sup>173</sup>

1940-1945, remember, were the years when the Nazis finally began to implement their "final solution" to the race problem by exterminating the European Jews.

Like Jensen and Herrnstein, these men denied they were racists. To do so they developed a new definition of "racist." The editors of *Mankind Quarterly* argued that it was not racist to say that one race excelled in sports and music, the other in "civilization." It was racist only if one claimed that a particular race was superior to another in everything. As Garrett put it, "Hitler was a true 'racist,' as is anyone who believes in the general superiority in intelligence and character of some group. . . ."<sup>174</sup> All these racists were saying was that the races were different, they would "not

presume to judge what is desirably superior or not."

Thus, the editors of *Mankind Quarterly* wrote:

*. . . We think that within the ambit of the type of civilization erected by the White/Brown stocks or the Yellow races, the Black which has shown no natural predilection to that form of organization will be at a disadvantage in any competition—and is in that sense inferior . . .*

*With such considerations in mind, no one ought to be surprised if intelligence or other tests designed primarily for the conditions of life which are those of the Caucasoid stock show when applied to Negroids, that the Black races are inferior in these respects . . . But if, in contrast, tests were applied which suited the genius of the Black races, such as those which give due credit in the field of humor, music, art, . . . boxing, running, and much else, it would be very surprising if the Negroids did not prove themselves superior to the Europeans.<sup>175</sup>*

Jensen favorably cites and uses to buttress his own argument the works of most of these authors, including specifically Gregor, Kuttner, Osborne, Darlington, Shuey, McGurk, and Garrett. In his newest book, Jensen cites Gregor three times and devotes a whole chapter to explicating a theme developed originally by Kuttner in *Mankind Quarterly*.<sup>176</sup> This is, frankly, equivalent to citing Adolph Hitler or Alfred Rosenberg! Darlington, whom Herrnstein, Jensen, and Eysenck all cite, even opposed the 1951 UNESCO statement against racism. He wrote that "By trying to prove that races do not differ in these respects (mental characteristics) we do no service to mankind."<sup>177</sup> So in the interests of mankind, Darlington argues the opposite, that is, to prove that racism is right!

If a man is known by the company he keeps, Jensen, Herrnstein, Shockley and Eysenck should be known as outright racists whose traditions go back to the old 19th and 20th century anthropometrists, the eugenics movement, the southern opposition to school integration, and to Nazism. It is no wonder, then, that Jensen should use the same stereotypic arguments for black inferiority as his precursors did 70 or a hundred years ago.

Some of Jensen's allies reveal their political heritage even more openly. Herrnstein not only eulogizes Sir Francis Galton, but also utilizes some of the same racial classifications as the old-time crackpots. When discussing different types of skin color, Herrnstein writes that "Much skin color here is related to ancestry, hence genetic, whether black, white, yellow, red, or Mediterranean, Nordic, Alpine or some blend."<sup>178</sup> Who says Alfred Rosenberg is dead?

Eysenck is most noted for his argument for selective migration. He claims that while most of the smart blacks either escaped the slave traders in Africa, or were killed in efforts to free themselves, most of the smart Irish left Ireland to escape the horrible conditions there. Hence the U.S. is faced with stupid black people, while the United Kingdom must deal with all those inferior Irish. He is very conscious of the closeness of his doctrines to Nazism. He wrote a

long apology of his intellectual conversion to his neo-fascist position, coupled with an attack upon his opponents in *Encounter*. He explained how as a child and young adult in Germany in the 1920's and 1930's he was "always opposed root and branch to the growing fascist threat of Hitler and his thugs." Thus, he and his friends "were all agreed in a dislike of racialism." Nevertheless, the facts led him on to his present racist position advocating black and Irish inferiority. Still, he did not want to say it publicly, for, he claims, "the Negroes, or so it seemed to me, were having enough problems without my adding another one."<sup>179</sup> At that point his apologia becomes a bit confused, and one never finds out why he decided to take Jensen's side and add another problem to black people's lives. But he did it.

Probably the person who most openly acknowledges his indebtedness to the Fuhrer is William Shockley. Consider again the following passage written by Shockley in 1972:

*Eugenics is a shunned word because it was a feature of Hitlerism. But the lesson of Nazi history is not that eugenics is intolerable. Since 1935 Denmark has carried out programs with clearly positive eugenic implications. (Although a cause-and-effect relationship is uncertain, it is noteworthy that Denmark's per-capita homicide rate has dropped since World War II and is less than 2 per cent of the rising rate for Washington, D.C., which was 20 per cent higher in 1971 than in 1970). The real lesson of Nazi history was anticipated 140 years before Hitler when the Bill of Rights incorporated into our Constitution the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech and of*

*the press. Only the most anti-Teutonic racist can believe the German people such an evil breed that they would have tolerated the concentration camps and gas chambers if a working First Amendment had permitted exposure and discussion of Hitler's final solution—the extermination of the Jews.<sup>180</sup>*

What Shockley is saying here is that his disagreement with Hitler is over method, not policy. Shockley wishes thus to calm our fears of his racist eugenics programs. Rest assured: the 1st Amendment will allow us to openly decide how those of us judged to be inferior are to be eliminated. Presumably the professor favors a "humane" alternative.

Shockley leaves no doubt that his eugenics programs will be directed at black people. He writes that "for low IQ populations, each 1 per cent of Caucasian ancestry raises IQ by one point." Clearly, then, he is not talking about Caucasians. He is talking about black working people. Supposedly their birthrate is "dysgenic," that is, there are too many of them. As he says, "the educationally and occupationally least able among Negroes have a higher reproduction rate than their white counterparts." But just in case anyone has any doubts whatsoever about who is inferior, Shockley explains how the unsophisticated can tell who is to be gassed, or more likely, whose children are to be oppressed and exploited in America:

*Nature has color-coded groups of individuals so that statistically reliable predictions of their adaptability to intellectually rewarding and effective lives can easily be made and profitably be used by the pragmatic man in the street.<sup>181</sup>*

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**Clearly, Jensen, and his allies Herrnstein, Shockley, and Eysenck, are aware of the political implications of their theories. Often they spell them out themselves. They also know well the work of their eugenicist ancestors from Terman to Eichmann. We have seen the falseness of their arguments over and over again—on the questions of IQ, the nature of intelligence, its heritability, the alleged failure of compensatory education, and on the question of racial differences in intelligence. It is evident that their science, as put forward by their leader Jensen, is a hoax. Their reasons for advocating racism, therefore, are not scientific but political. These men are, without exaggeration, Nazis.**

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## CONCLUSION HOW TO COMBAT "JENSENISM"

So what do we do about a group of lying and dishonest professors claiming that black people are genetically inferior to whites? Do we sit around and lament the passing of the Great Society that never existed? Form a commune in Vermont? Move to Alaska? Or do we enter into a long, hard battle to defeat the ideas and influence of these racist scholars over the minds of millions of workers and students?

Admittedly, they are stronger than the anti-racist forces today. Their success is largely guaranteed by the ruling class's media. Their ideas have been shown to have absolutely no merit, and the press still popularizes their teachings. For example, article after article has appeared in popular journals eulogizing Jensen and Herrnstein and shedding crocodile tears over their harassment. But how many articles have we read explaining how Kamin, a noted psychologist, and Lewontin, a world-famous geneticist, have shown that their arguments are like Swiss cheese? Did the press make a big splash when the Eastern Psychological Association passed a resolution censuring the "use of inconclusive data on the heritability of IQ" like they have done year after year when Nazi Shockley proposes rezeach on race differences to the august National Academy of Sciences?

Clearly, if power and influence in high places determine who wins this ideological battle, they will carry the day. Lavish government funds are flowing into fields like "behavioral genetics," while left and liberal intellectuals stand on the unemployment line. From the *New York Times* to *Fortune* magazine to the National Institute of Health, the racists are favorably received—pushed in fact. But the ruling class, powerful as it is, is not the only class in America. And they far from have the loyalty of the rest of the population.

Events and factors as seemingly unconnected as Vietnam, Watergate, rising prices and falling real wages, and the Civil Rights and Black Liberation Movements have all together left a lingering distrust and even hatred of the ruling class and American capitalism in the minds and hearts of millions of workers and students.

Since the late fifties, the black people of America have been waging a truly heroic struggle against the racism and exploitation of U.S. imperialism. At times this movement surfaced as the freedom rides and lunch counter sit-ins, then the mass marches on Washington, D.C. followed by the ferocious ghetto rebellions of the 1964-1968 period, then the Panthers, the Attica rebellion and most recently as the leadership of a growing working class movement in the Postal Strike of 1971, and the wildcats in auto in the summer of 1973. Such a long and continued resistance

## Section 8



Princeton students 'welcome' Nazi Shockley.

by black working people has given the lie to much racist ideology. It is hard to make people believe that blacks are lazy, disorganized, contented and unable to look ahead in the face of such determined and often disciplined fight-back.

For the ruling class, this resistance led to an increase of racism. The rebellions of the mid to late 60's caused at least some sections of the ruling class to abandon their liberal integrationist rhetoric in favor of a more racist position. Beginning with the Moynihan *Report on the Negro Family*, the government and media adopted the view that the reasons for the oppression of black people were to be found not in the cherished workings of American capitalism, but in either the culture or genes of the black people. Moynihan claimed that slavery had critically weakened the black family structure producing female headed families and effeminate, lazy men. This macho theory eventually gave way to a resurgence of nativist theories of poverty and exploitation. It was in the genes, in human nature, said Jensen, Herrnstein, and a host of lesser beasts like Tiger, Ardey, Lorenz, Shockley, Fox, etc.<sup>182</sup>

There is no doubt that it was the black people's enormous fight-back that promoted this new wave of racist theorizing. Jensen, for example, makes it clear that his aim is to destroy the "egalitarian myth" because it makes black people think they deserve more than racist exploitation. He quotes racist psysiologist Dwight Ingle to the effect that.

*When all Negroes are told that their problems are caused solely by racial discrimination and that none are inherent within themselves, the ensuing hatred, frustration behavior—largely negative and destructive—and reverse racism becomes forms of social malignancy.*

Jensen then goes on to make the same point himself—that a false belief in environmentalism and equality.

*... could generate a kind of social paranoia, a belief that mysterious hostile forces are operating to cause inequalities in educational and occupational performance, despite all apparent efforts to eliminate prejudice and discrimination—a fertile ground for the generation of frustrations, suspicions, and hates.<sup>183</sup>*

Jensen's worry is not the search for scientific truth, but the problems posed for the ruling class by a growing movement of black working people for liberation. What Jensen seems particularly worried about is that they should see the source of the problem as the "mysterious, hostile forces" of capitalism. What other mysterious forces would black people blame for their problems—witches and demons? Clearly the problem for Jensen is to take the blame off the ruling class and put it onto the people themselves.

But if the ruling class reacts to black militancy with increased racism and blame-the-people ideology, that doesn't mean the people will. In fact, the bravery, courage and determination of black rebels from Selma to Attica won for them a tremendous respect in the eyes of millions of Americans. Sure, it brought out some people's racism—but in thousands more it

decreased racism. Slowly and grudgingly at times, white workers and students began to realize or admit the existence of racism, and the need to get rid of it. At the same time, they saw that black militancy, though often met with brutal force, nevertheless achieved substantial material gains. The progress culminated in the 1971 Postal Strike, when hundreds of thousands of white workers followed the militant initiative and leadership of black postal workers in New York and shut down the whole system. The strike received widespread working class support and won substantial gains. Surely these lessons were not lost on ever-increasing numbers of white workers. The militant leadership of black workers, and black/white unity became real live ideas to millions of people, both students and workers. This process represented, collectively, a major setback for racism.

It is only in this context that we can explain the tremendous popularization of the scientific hoax of Jensenism. The support given Jensenism by the higher circles of the American ruling class is a sign, not of their strength and power, but of their fundamental weakness. As the once-powerful American economy sinks deeper into the hole dug by its Japanese and European competitors, the rulers can ill afford a militant and united labor force led by black workers demanding an end to wage freezes, lay-offs, etc. So in their hour of dire need they call upon Jensen et al to make racism legitimate on the academic front. At a more mass level, the rulers create increased racism through whipping up the busing issue. After years of relatively quiet desegregation, the federal government hesitates, equivocates, then gives a green light to local racist forces, and creates a racist divisive issue within the working class. Together, Jensenism and anti-busing, which naturally feed each other enormously, are designed to stir up racism, reduce the respect the masses have for the heroic black rebels of Attica and mobilize white people as a counter-revolutionary force.

So the present situation has two aspects. On one side, there is a significant mass anti-racist sentiment, the legacy of decades of struggle. On the other hand, a weakened, but vicious (witness the slaughter at Attica) ruling class with all the power of the press and the government at its disposal. The situation is wide open: we can move forward toward building a broad united movement of black and white workers and students against racism and the continuing deterioration of living conditions, or we can allow the racism of the Jensen's, Herrnstein's, Rockefeller's and Kennedy's (with his new-found friend, Wallace) to grow and become dominant—leading to increased oppression and exploitation for all working people. The choice is up to us.

We in the Progressive Labor Party have made that choice. We intend to fight to defeat racism in all of its forms. As a revolutionary communist party, we see racism, particularly this new cancerous growth of it in

the 1970's, as the major obstacle to uniting all working people in successful opposition to this whole capitalist system, and all the exploitation and misery that it brings with it. No movement for socialism in this country can even get off the ground without significantly defeating racism. Thus we have made the fight against racism our number one ideological task in the present period of time.

To be successful, of course, requires more people than just PL, although we think that as a communist party, with a Marxist-Leninist outlook on the nature of society and the class struggle, we have a lot to contribute. But ultimately, this movement must grow in order to win, and must involve hundreds of thousands of people who do not all consider themselves revolutionaries. Racism doesn't just affect black people, or black and white revolutionaries, but everyone of us. Racist beliefs, and the resulting division among the people, cripple any movement for reform both ideologically and practically.

To build this movement against racism requires a long-term commitment and a comprehensive strategy. We must operate on all levels to defeat racism among all sections of the population (excluding those who profit from it like the rulers and their servants, such as the cops). The following proposals constitute the beginnings of a plan to defeat this resurgence of racist ideology.

**In order to defeat these racist scholars, many thousands of students and intellectuals must come to see their 'science' as racist drivel. That means an intensive educational campaign involving:**

*Study groups of students and intellectuals, research papers and articles for professional journals and conferences, writing books, holding forums, seminars, symposia, and debates both in universities and within professional associations, as well as teach-ins and courses with which to reach a mass audience. In line with this, teachers in every field, from literature to nursing to physical education to the social sciences, must be shown how racism affects the teaching of their own specialty. Materials and bibliographies must be prepared so that hundreds of teachers can easily oppose racism in class. That also includes fighting to have other anti-racist literature assigned in the courses.*

Specific racist books and professors must be selected against which to build a mass campaign. This means both passing resolutions at professional meetings and demanding an end to racist teaching on campus. The racists will surely cry "academic freedom" whether people demand the banning of racist books and the firing of racist professors or not. This is a sign of weakness, because they know how flimsy their "scientific" arguments are. More importantly, singling out a specific racist book or professor has the effect of forcing people to look in depth at one particular aspect of racism, which usually convinces them of the need to fight it. It also has the positive effect of intimidating other racist professors from spouting the same nonsense. Jensen

himself laments the fact that the activities of SDS and others against him have prevented a number of others who share his racist beliefs from publishing them. He writes:

Such events as I have just recounted might be considered as mere personal annoyances, except that they have a larger impact which threatens to silence open expression and discussion of diverse viewpoints on socially important issues. Other members of the university faculty who might otherwise be inclined to enter the discussion publicly may be made hesitant by the threats from the opposition.

Letters I have received from professors at Berkeley and elsewhere lead me to believe that there may have been voices which might have been heard in the controversy had they not been silenced by fear. My correspondence files are full of supportive letters from persons in the academic world, often prominent scholars, who make it clear that they do not wish to express their views publicly. Many more have approved of my HER article privately than have done so publicly. One professor, when asked if he would write a letter-to-the-editor of a scientific journal and include some highly cogent points he had made in private correspondence about the issues raised in my HER article, declined apologetically but frankly, saying, "I have to admit to fears, both of what would happen to me professionally if I became identified with you, and plain gut fear of being beaten up, arson, and the like. These things, if they are not here, are coming."<sup>184</sup>

Obviously, Jensen's friend is a bit paranoid—but it isn't bad for racists to worry a little bit if it keeps them from helping the rulers push racism. Of what value is Jensen's freedom of speech, if it results in the increased oppression of millions of black, and white Americans? Academic freedom for racism is simply racism, and it results in a strengthening of all in America that is opposed to real freedom. So selecting out one or two racist books or professors for attack, whatever the demands involved (for a ban on the book or professor, or simply for a presentation in class of the opposite view) sharpens up the whole struggle against racist ideology and strikes fear into the hearts of racists.

Utilize all media accessible to masses of students and intellectuals. This means campus TV and radio, as well as regular university-sponsored lectures, campus newspapers, plus radio and TV talk shows, letters to the editors of major newspapers, etc. Contact could also be made by groups of anti-racist students or professors with organizations like teachers' unions, social worker organizations, church groups and other mass organizations where people would be open to an anti-racist position.

Every effort should be made to make this movement a multi-racial one from the beginning. That means working together with groups of black and other minorities, as well as trying to build integrated organizations like SDS and PLP. In particular, we must fight racism in our social and personal as well as in our political and academic, lives.

All of these efforts should eventually link up with the off-campus struggles of black and white working people against more concrete attacks made by the ruling class. Imagine mass participation by students and intellectuals in demonstrations and sit-ins against racist cutbacks of welfare, health care, day care, schools; in electoral campaigns against budgets and racist candidates; in support of strikes by black and white workers, in steel, auto, etc.

Such a mass movement against racism can represent the beginnings of a mass worker/student

alliance, a movement which need not stop at reversing the current racist offensive, but can go on to defeat this entire capitalist system. Such a united mass movement of workers and students eventually embracing millions of Americans will not long tolerate the continued existence of imperialism—the breeder of racism, poverty, wars like Vietnam, wage freezes and unemployment, murderous speed-up on the job, medical care that kills as often as it heals, and a decadent individualist culture. Such a mass movement can and will win socialism.



*More working class intelligence: wildcatters from Detroit Chrysler Mack plant, who organized auto industry's first sit-down in decades, tell UAW hack where to put his pro boss point of view.*

# APPENDIX A

## A 'COMMENT' from the 'HEREDITARIANS' (from THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGIST, July 1972)

**Background:** The history of civilization shows many periods when scientific research or teaching was censored, punished, or suppressed for nonscientific reasons, usually for seeming to contradict some religious or political belief. Well-known scientist victims include Galileo, in orthodox Italy; Darwin, in Victorian England; Einstein, in Hitler's Germany; and Mendelian biologists, in Stalin's Russia.

Today, a similar suppression, censure, punishment, and defamation are being applied against scientists who emphasize the role of heredity in human behavior. Published positions are often misquoted and misrepresented; emotional appeals replace scientific reasoning; arguments are directed against the man rather than against the evidence (e.g., a scientist is called "fascist," and his arguments are ignored).

A large number of attacks come from nonscientists, or even antisocialists, among the political militants on campus. Other attackers include academics committed to environmentalism in their explanation of almost all human differences. And a large number of scientists, who have studied the evidence and are persuaded of the great role played by heredity in human behavior, are silent, neither expressing their beliefs clearly in public, nor rallying strongly to the defense of their more outspoken colleagues.

The results are seen in the present academy: it is virtually heresy to express a hereditarian view, or to recommend further study of the biological bases of behavior. A kind of orthodox environmentalism dominates the liberal academy, and strongly inhibits teachers, researchers, and scholars from turning to biological explanations or efforts.

**Resolution:** Now, therefore, we the undersigned scientists from a variety of fields, declare the following beliefs and principles:

1. We have investigated much evidence concerning the possible role of inheritance in human abilities and behaviors, and we believe such hereditary influences are very strong.

2. We wish strongly to encourage research into the biological hereditary bases of behavior, as a major complement to the environmental efforts at explanation.

3. We strongly defend the right, and emphasize the scholarly duty, of the teacher to discuss hereditary influences on behavior, in appropriate settings and with responsible scholarship.

4. We deplore the evasion of hereditary reasoning in current textbooks, and the failure to give responsible weight to heredity in disciplines such as sociology, social psychology, social anthropology, educational psychology, psychological measurement, and many others.

5. We call upon liberal academics—upon faculty senates, upon professional and learned societies, upon the American Association of University Professors, upon the American Civil Liberties Union, upon the University Centers for Rational Alternatives, upon presidents and boards of trustees, upon departments of science, and upon the editors of scholarly journals—to insist upon the openness of social science to the well-grounded claims of biobehavioral reasoning, and to protect vigilantly any qualified faculty members who responsibly teach, research, or publish concerning such reasoning.

We so urge because as scientists we believe that human problems may best be remedied by increased human knowledge, and that such increases in knowledge lead much more probably to the enhancement of human happiness than to the opposite.

Signed:

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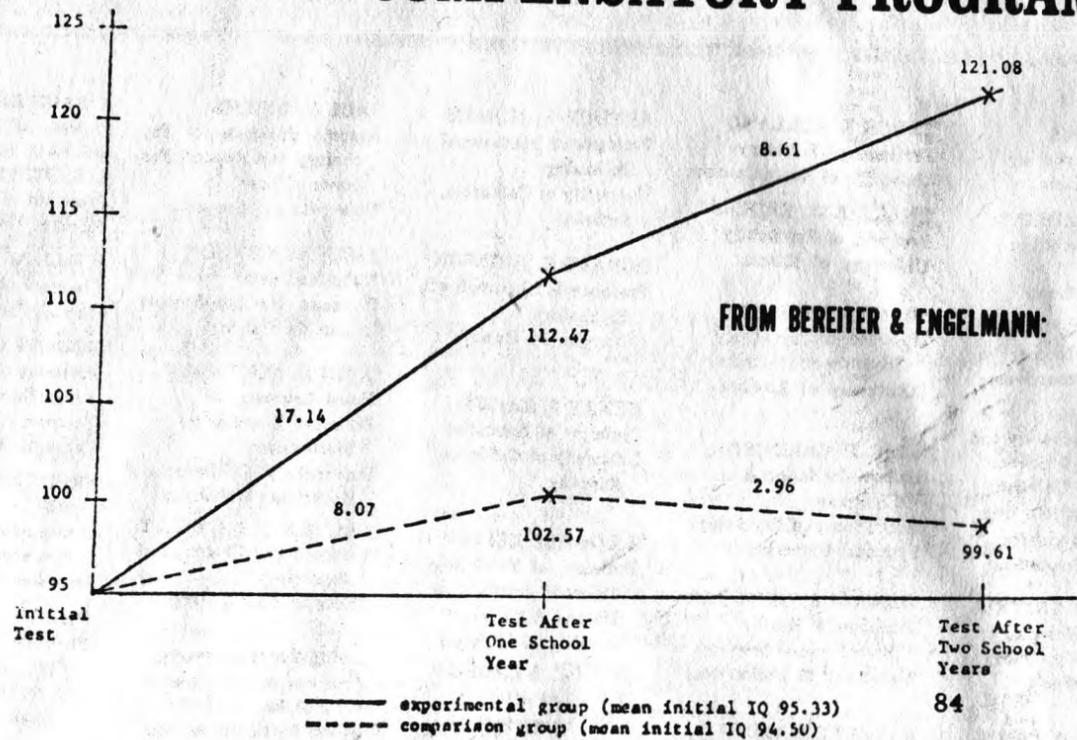
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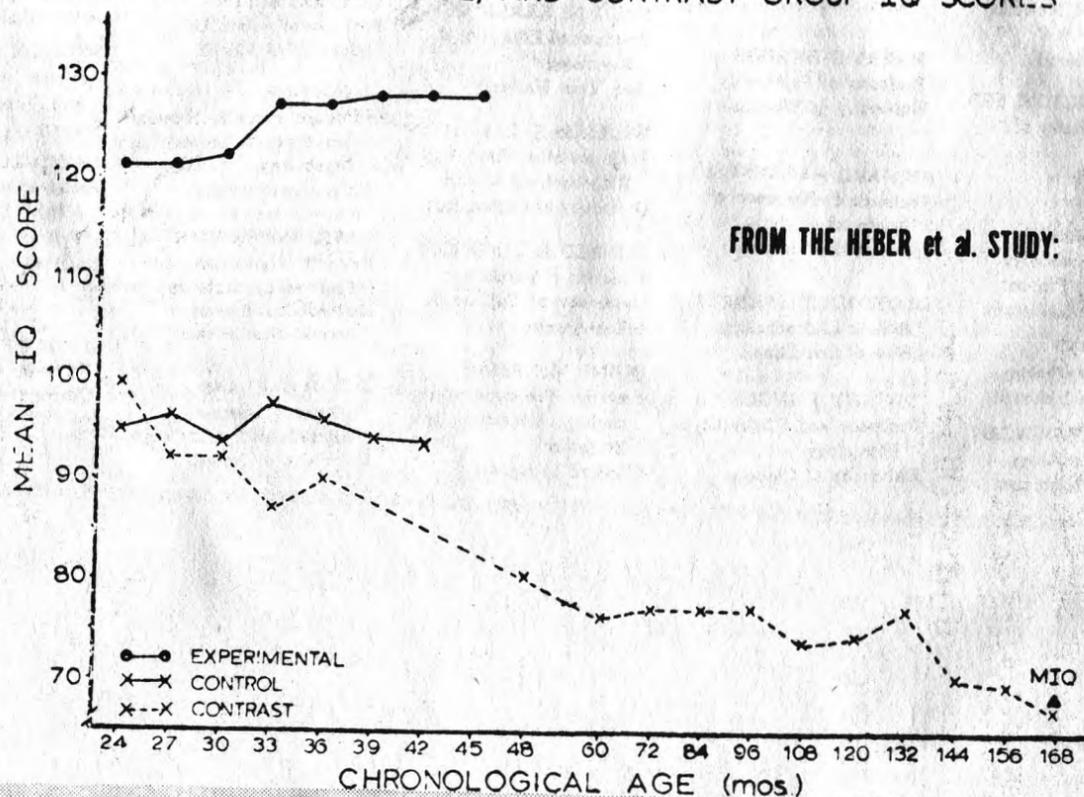
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# APPENDIX B

## IQ GAINS from COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS



EXPERIMENTAL, CONTROL, AND CONTRAST GROUP IQ SCORES



# APPENDIX C

## IQs of Identical Twins Reared Apart

IQs for MZ Twins Reared Apart

Burt (1966), N = 53 Pairs		Shields (1962), N = 38 Pairs*		Neuman et al. (1937) N = 19 Pairs		Juel-Nielsen (1965) N = 12 Pairs	
A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
68	63	94	86	93	115	104	114
71	76	87	93	94	102	125	114
77	73	87	87	96	106	108	115
72	75	89	102	96	105	116	116
78	71	90	80	96	109	116	118
75	79	91	82	97	106	121	118
86	81	91	88	95	108	128	125
82	82	91	92	112	97	117	129
82	93	96	92	97	113	132	131
86	83	87	93	105	99	98	111
83	85	99	93	88	100	116	112
95	87	109	102	102	108	76	79
96	100	98	110	113	111	91	84
95	79	101	87	89	93	103	116
71	75	99	108	88	110	98	94
86	84	99	97	96	99	94	76
105	105	69	71	85	84	95	101
93	76	86	85	89	84	96	97
83	89	107	105	90	107	63	73
85	97	89	93	102	96	94	95
78	66	94	102	122	127	84	85
99	101	105	106	116	92	90	91
106	89	77	92	109	116	88	90
120	128	100	94	99	105	114	124
104	99	111	116	100	94	114	113
99	108	105	97	104	103	112	100

# APPENDIX D

## An Example of 19th Century 'Science'



[Profile of Negro, European, and Oran Outan.]

# APPENDIX E

## U.S. Army Anthropometric Measurements

Anthropometric statistics derived by U.S. Sanitary Commission

Measurement	White Soldiers		Salvage	Student	Poll	Mixed	Indian
	Number of Men	Mean					
Number of Men	10,876	7,904	1,061	291	2,020	863	517
Mean Age	26.2	26.1	26.1	21.7	26.7	26.2	30.7
Length Head & Neck	9.944	9.981	10.091	10.098	9.623	9.561	9.517
Length of Body	26.140	26.099	24.549	26.109	24.487	24.680	26.870
Knee to Perineum	12.456	12.456	12.880	12.652	12.964	12.692	12.799
Height to Knee	18.609	18.609	18.498	19.240	19.136	19.318	19.009
Stature	67.149	67.366	66.018	68.089	66.210	66.251	68.223
Acromion to Elbow	13.605	13.605	13.171	13.712	13.302	13.856	13.757
Elbow to Fingertip	15.548	15.548	15.967	15.309	16.103	16.415	17.035
Dist. betw. Acromia	12.731	12.731	12.879	13.085	14.089	14.742	12.530
Ratio of parts of Arm	1.145	1.145	1.167	1.116	1.211	1.185	1.238
Med. line to Fingertip	1.494	1.494	1.436	1.531	1.476	1.522	1.485
Acromion	36.042	36.042	33.848	34.950	35.808	35.822	37.198
Height to Perineum	29.153	29.204	28.536	29.021	29.405	30.271	30.792
Height to Chest	31.083	31.286	31.378	31.892	32.100	32.010	31.808
Ratio of Leg to Arm	1.066	1.071	1.100	1.099	1.092	1.086	1.033
Height to Pubes	6.036	6.036	5.778	6.473	2.884	4.125	2.633
Fingertip to Pubes	31.467	32.089	30.437	31.240	30.296	30.546	34.583
Circumf. of Waist	36.930	36.930	34.942	36.549	35.589	35.357	38.962
Circumf. of Chest	35.818	35.333	35.124	35.313	35.087	34.966	38.001
Play of Chest	2.65	2.65	2.08	3.07	1.62	1.57	1.84
Dist. between Nipples	8.136	8.136	8.304	8.071	7.970	7.891	-
Ratio to circum. Chest	0.226	0.226	0.226	0.229	0.225	0.227	-
Dist. between Eyes	2.492	2.606	2.473	2.484	2.714	2.670	2.716
Breadth of Tetrus	11.916	13.153	11.625	11.187	10.932	11.267	12.889
Length of Foot	10.056	10.114	9.957	10.114	10.600	10.439	10.123
Thickness of Foot	2.572	2.921	2.921	2.786	2.672	2.770	2.687
Length of Heel	0.45	0.49	0.46	0.46	0.52	0.57	0.48

TABLE IX. Comparison of Mean Dimensions.

\* Fall breadth of shoulders.  
 \* Not the highest of circumferences at inspiration and expiration, as the others are.  
 \* Probably the breadth of hips. See page 582.  
 \* These values are obtained by adding 0.5 to the distance between the dimensions 28 and 29. See page 571.  
 \* Measured from arm-pit.

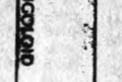
### NOTES

- Lewis Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence* (Boston, 1916), 90-91; Terman, "Feeble-minded Children in the Public Schools of California," *School and Society* No. 5 (1917), 161-165; Robert M. Yerkes, "Psychological Examining in the United States Army," *Memoirs of the National Academy of Science* Vol. 15 (1921), 790-791; Richard Herrnstein, *IQ in the Meritocracy* (Boston, 1973), 59; Arthur Jensen, quoted in Lee Edson, "Jensenism," *New York Times Magazine* (August 31, 1969).
- For a general survey of racist writings historically both in popular and academic literature, see Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (New York, 1963).
- For example, see Cyril Burt, "The Inheritance of General Intelligence," *American Psychologist* (March, 1972); Herrnstein, "IQ," *Atlantic Monthly* (Sept., 1971); Edson, *New York Times Magazine* (August 31, 1969); Tom Alexander, "The Social Engineers Retreat Under Fire," *Fortune* (Oct., 1972); *Time*, (August 29, 1971), etc.
- [U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.]
- Terman, "The Conservation of Talent," *School and Society* (March 21, 1924), 363.
- Arthur Jensen, "The Ethical Issues," *The Humanist* (Jan.-Feb., 1972), 6.
- On the old eugenics movement and its backers, see: Clarence Karier, "Elite Views on American Education," in W. Laquer and G. L. Mosse, ed., *Education and Social Structure in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1967); Karier, "Testing for Order and Control in the Corporate Liberal State," *Educational Theoret* (Spring, 1972); G. W. Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution* (New York, 1968), 298-301; Mark Haller, *Eugenics* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1963); "Eugenics: the Anatomy of U.S. Racism," *Progressive Labor (P.L.)* Vol. 9, No. 1, (April, 1973), 78-96; "Behind the Racist Eugenics Movement: a Century of Ruling Class Effort," *P.L.*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (July, 1973), 63-71.
- On the CIA and intellectuals, see Christopher Lasch, "The Cultural Cold War: a Short History of the Congress for Cultural Freedom," in Barton Bernstein, ed., *Towards a New Past* (New York, 1968), 322-356; and G. William Domhoff, *The Higher Circles* (New York, 1970), 251-275.
- J. Neary, "Jensenism: Variations on a Racial Theme," *Life* (June 12, 1970).
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- P. Dubois, 61.
- Leon Kamin, "Hereditry, Intelligence, Politics, and Psychology," Text of Invited Address of the Eastern Psychological Association Convention, May 5, 1973, 97.
- H. H. Goddard, *Human Efficiency and levels of Intelligence* (Princeton, 1920), 97.
- Yerkes, *Memoirs*.
- Ibid.*
- (Princeton, 1923).
- Ibid.*, 182; Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race* (New York, 1916).
- Kamin; Russell Marks, "Racism and Immigration," unpublished.
- Brigham, *American Intelligence*.
- "Eugenics: the Anatomy of U.S. Racism," *Progressive Labor (PL)* Vol. 9, No. 1, (April, 1973), 78-96.
- William Z. Foster, *American Trade Unionism* (New York, 1947), 54.
- William Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters* (New York, 1963).
- Sterling Sporo and Abram Harris, *The Black Worker* (New York, 1930).
- Peter Viereck, *Meta-Politics: The Roots of the Nazi Mind* (New York, 1965), 254.
- "Eugenics, . . .," *PL*, 87-88.
- Eugenics Review*, Vol. 29 (April, 1936), 33.
- William Shockley, "Dysgenics, Geneticity, and Raceology," *Phi Delta Kappan* (January, 1972), 305.
- Herrnstein, *Meritocracy*, 62.

- Ibid.*, 200.
- Shockley, "Dysgenics," 307.
- By focusing on the eugenicists in this section we do not mean to imply that Banfield, Moynihan et al., with their theories of black "cultural deprivation," are any less evil. Rather they represent two sides of the same racist coin, and theories of cultural inferiority have the additional advantage for the ruling class that they lend themselves easily to theories of social control. However, when the official ideology starts to shift toward a more genetic approach, a period of even greater attacks upon working people, especially minority groups, is forecast.
- Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" *Harvard Educational Review*, Reprint Series No. 2 (1969); Herrnstein, "IQ."
- Hensen, "How Much. . . ?," 82.
- Herrnstein, *Meritocracy*, 154-155, 167.
- One of Jensen's sharpest critics, David Layzer, has said that because IQ is not a metric trait (that is, it is measured only on a relative, not an absolute scale), one cannot calculate its heritability, or impute much meaning to the whole concept. See Layzer, "Science or Superstition: A Physical Scientist Looks at the IQ Controversy," *Cognition*, (Winter, 1973).
- E. L. Thorndike, "Intelligence and its Uses," *Harper's* Vol. CXL, (Jan., 1920), 233, p. 36. Terman, *Measurement*, 11.
- Thorndike, "How May We Improve the Selection, Training, and Life-work of Leaders?" *Addresses Delivered before the 5th Conference on Educational Policies* (New York, Teachers' College, Columbia Univ., 1939), 32.
- Karier, "Testing. . .," 165.
- Thorndike, *Individuality* (New York, 1911), 36-38.
- James McKeen Cattell, *James McKeen Cattell: American Man of Science*, Vol. II (Lancaster, Pa., 1947), 165.
- Terman, *Measurement*.
- Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius* (London, 1969).
- Duane Schultz, *The History of Modern Psychology* (New York, 1969), 118-121; To "correlate" means to vary in a similar manner. Ordinarily we simply use the term to mean that two different things are similar in their behavior. Statistically correlations are measures of whether the variations of one value around the mean correspond to similar variations of another value around its mean. The formula for computing correlation coefficients, as symbolized by r, is:  

$$r = \frac{(r_1 - m_x)(y_1 - m_y) + (x_2 - m_x)(y_2 - m_y) + \dots + (x_n - m_x)(y_n - m_y)}{s_x \cdot s_y}$$
 where:  $m_x$  mean of all x's;  $m_y$  mean of all y's.  
 n total number of x and y pairs.  
 $s_x$  standard deviation of all x's;  $s_y$  standard deviation of all y's
- Correlations, it should be understood, tell us nothing about the closeness of the absolute values of x's or y's; all they tell us is whether changes in one variable correspond to changes in another. They tell us nothing on the magnitude of the changes or of the real world relationship of the two numbers.
- Schultz, *History*, 121.
- R. Meade Bache, "Reaction Time with Reference to Race," *Psychological Review*, Vol. II, No. 5, (Sept., 1895), 474-486.
- B. R. Stetson, "Some Memory Tests on Whites and Blacks," *Popular Science Monthly* Vol. 4 (1897), 285-289.
- Thorndike, *Educational Psychology* (New York, 1903); see also Joseph Peterson, *Early Conceptions and Tests of Intelligence* (Westport, Conn., 1969, 1st ed., 1926), 284-285. Also a bibliography of writings about racial differences is printed in the *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1934), 548-564.
- R. S. Woodworth, "Racial Differences in Mental Traits," *Science*, Vol. 31, (1910), 179.
- Herrnstein, *Meritocracy*, 67-68.
- (New York, 1947), 352.

# APPENDIX F The Myth of Primitive Races

	MOST APETLIKE			LEAST APETLIKE
HAIR FORM		CAUCASOID	CAUCASOID	NEGROID
BUTTOCKS		CAUCASOID	CAUCASOID	NEGROID
LIP FORM		CAUCASOID	CAUCASOID	NEGROID
PROGNATHISM		NEGROID	CAUCASOID	CAUCASOID
HEEL DEVELOPMENT		CAUCASOID	CAUCASOID	NEGROID
ARM - BODY RATIO		CAUCASOID	CAUCASOID	NEGROID
BROWRIDGE		CAUCASOID	NEGROID	CAUCASOID
HAIRINESS		CAUCASOID	NEGROID	MONGOLOID

The erratic distribution of "primitive" and "advanced" racial traits: by this fallacious measure, which race is most "advanced?"

51. Maud Merrill and Terman. *The Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale: Manual*. (Boston, 1960). 232-253.
52. Herrnstein. *Meritocracy*. 66-67.
53. Merrill and Terman. 8.
54. Herrnstein. *Meritocracy*. 69.
55. John Garcia. "IQ: the Conspiracy." *Psychology Today* (Sept., 1972).
56. Merrill and Terman. *Measuring Intelligence* (Cambridge, 1937). 34.
57. Garcia. "IQ: the Conspiracy."
58. Merrill and Terman. *Stanford-Binet*. 62-64.
59. Herbert Hirsburg. *The Myth of the Deprived Child* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972). 18-22.
60. Merrill and Terman. *Stanford-Binet*.
61. *Ibid.*, 127-128.
62. *Ibid.*, 157-159.
63. David Wechsler. *Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children: Manual* (New York, 1949). 1-6.
64. *Ibid.*, 69.
65. *Ibid.*, 63.
66. *Ibid.*, 91-94.
67. Jensen. "How Much. . . ?". 6.
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70. Jensen. *Educability and Group Differences* (London, 1973). and "The IQ Controversy. . ."
71. Herrnstein. *Meritocracy*. 114; also Jensen. "How Much. . . ?". 13-16.
72. Jensen. "How Much. . . ?". 2.
73. *Ibid.*, 108.

74. In this section we shall often refer to the terms "environmental" and "environmentalism." The concept involved in these terms is sometimes quite confused, meaning different things to different people. It basically means that behavior is determined by the environment. Regarding IQ this means that the lower scored achieved by black and working-class children are due to their environments, particularly their class backgrounds. This is the position of the authors. However, there are also environmentalist racists, like Moynihan and Banfield. These racists see the environments of black children as inferior to those of middle and upper class children. Therefore, they argue, improve their environments, particularly the child's attitudes, and he will do better in school and IQ tests. We believe that while the environments of working class people are often physically deficient because of poverty, the attitudes they develop in the course of making a living under capitalism, (the attitudes that bosses and bureaucrats are crooks, and that workers have to stay together) are extremely healthy and progressive. We believe that doing well on an IQ test is not a good thing—all it reveals is class background and training. In this section, we have used the term environmentalism to refer to the general position that IQ differences can be explained by non-genetic factors.

75. Jensen likes to portray himself as vitally interested in the education of the "disadvantaged" and claims that his theory about the differing abilities of black and white children could enable educators to plan more varied and meaningful curricula for all children. Yet one searches his numerous works in vain for a single concrete proposal for improving anybody's education.

76. The "Compensatory Education" programs which Jensen refers to were mostly based on an environmentalist brand of racism. Two of the major designers of these programs were Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann, who argue that black ghetto children suffer from "verbal deprivation." They claim, "the language of culturally deprived children . . . is not merely an underdeveloped version of standard English, but is a basically non-logical mode of expressive behavior." (Bereiter et al., "An Academically Oriented Pre-School for Culturally Deprived Children," in Fred Hechinger, ed. *Pre-School Education Today*. (New York, 1966). But as Linguist William

Labov has pointed out, "The concept of verbal deprivation has no basis in social reality: in fact, Negro children in the urban ghettos receive a great deal of verbal stimulation, hear more well-formed sentences than middle-class children, and participate fully in a highly verbal culture. . . ." (Labov, "The Logic of Non-Standard English," in Roger Abrahams and Rudolph Troike, ed., *Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education* (Englewood Cliffs, 1972, p. 226). Jensen himself was once a verbal deprivation theorist. With this theory, compensatory education programs were designed to teach "deprived" children to speak in sentences. For example, the teacher would say, "What is this?" and the student said, "a squirrel," it would be considered wrong. To get the right answer, he would have to say, "It's a squirrel." The main effect of putting children through this type of non-sensical training is to socialize them into middle and upper-class behavior patterns which stress obedience, discipline and order. From a political standpoint, it would have been better for the children if such programs had failed utterly. Unfortunately for Jensen, and for the children as well, these programs did have the effect of boosting IQ, bad as they were.

77. Richard Lewontin. "Race and Intelligence." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. (March, 1970). 3.

78. Jensen. "How Much. . . ?". 3.

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80. *Ibid.*, 97-p. 81. *Ibid.*, 180.

92. *Ibid.*, 81.

83. Rich Heber and Howard Garber. "An Experiment in the Prevention of Cultural-Familial Retardation." in *Environment, Intelligence, and Scholastic Achievement*, U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity (June, 1972). 492.

84. Siegfried Engelmann. "The Effectiveness of Direct Instruction on IQ Performance and Achievement in Reading and Arithmetic." in J. Hellmuth, ed., *Disadvantaged Child*, Vol. 3. "Compensatory Education: A National Debate." (New York, 1970) 352.

85. Marie Skodak and Harold Skeels. "A follow up Study of One Hundred Adopted Children." in Urie Bronfenbrenner. *Influences on Human Development*. (New York, 1972). 78-97.

86. Jane Mercer. "IQ: the Lethal Label." *Psychology Today* (Sept., 1972).

87. Jensen. "How Much. . . ?". 84.

88. *American Psychologist*. (July, 1972). 61-2.

89. Herrnstein. *Meritocracy*. 53.

90. Resolution passed at the business meeting of the Eastern Psychological Association Convention, May 4, 1973. Washington, D.C.

91. Herrnstein. *Meritocracy*. 167, 174.

92. The formula for variance is

$$V = \frac{s^2}{n} [(x_1 - m)^2 + (x_2 - m)^2 + \dots + (x_n - m)^2]$$

where: V = variance

where: s = standard deviation

where: m = mean of all x's

where: n = number of x's

Jensen employs a method of calculating heritability ( $h^2$ ) based on analysis of the components of variance. The three components, genetic, environmental, and gene-environment interaction, add together to account for all of the variance. Layzer (see note 33) claims that this model of "additivity" of variance components do not add, but interact. Jensen claims that interaction amounts to just about zero. On purely theoretical grounds, Layzer is probably right, but our criticism of Jensen will not deal with this question. We will grant Jensen the use of his model, and show instead that his data is all wrong—fabricated in fact. As we shall see, this line of criticism is more powerful.

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94. Jensen. *Genetics*. 312.

95. Kamin. 7.

96. *Ibid.*, 8.

97. *Ibid.*, 10-11.

98. Burt (1966). 143; Christopher Jencks. *Inequality* (New York, 1972). 312-3.

99. Kamin. 11.

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101. *Ibid.*, 13-14.

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103. *Ibid.*, 8-9; Burt (1955, 1956, 1957).

104. Kamin. 9.

105. Burt (1958).

106. Burt (1966).

107. Jensen. "IQ's of Identical Twins Reared Apart." *Behavior Genetics* (1970) 1, 133-146.

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114. Jensen. "How Much. . . ?". 52.

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117. *Ibid.*, 93.

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122. Kamin. 16.

123. Jensen. "How Much. . . ?". 51.

124. *Ibid.*, 49; Jensen adopted this chart from L. Eriemeyer-Kimling and L. F. Jarvik. "Genetics and Intelligence: a Review." *Science* (1963) Vol. 142, 1477-1479.

125. Herrnstein. *Meritocracy*. 170-171.

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127. Jensen. "How Much. . . ?". 82; Lewontin. 7; Edson. "Jensenism." *NYT Mag.*

128. Herrnstein. *Meritocracy*. 202.

129. *Ibid.*, 186.

130. Constance Holden. "The Perils of Expounding Meritocracy." *Science* (July 6, 1973) 37.

131. Lewontin. 7.

132. *Ibid.*, 7.

133. Theodosius Dobzhansky. *Genetic Diversity and Human Equality* (New York, 1973) 21.

134. Jensen. "How Much. . . ?". 43.

135. Lewontin. 6.

136. Jensen. "The IQ Controversy. . .". 16; Jensen's hypothetical formula is:

$$\frac{h^2_B - h^2_W}{W(1-p)r} \quad \text{where: } \frac{h^2_B}{B} \text{ between group heritability}$$

$$\frac{h^2_W}{W} \text{ within group heritability}$$

r correlation between

phenotypes between groups

p correlations between

genotypes between groups

Of course, it is absolutely impossible to know p, which means the equation is meaningless.

137. "How Much. . . ?". 80.

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140. C. S. Coon. *The Origin of Races* (New York, 1962). ix-x.

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142. James Spuhler and Gardner Lindzey. "Racial Differences in Behavior." in Jerry Hirsch, ed., *Behavior-Genetic Analysis* (New York, 1967). 390.

143. Alland. *Diversity*. 103.

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147. Haller. *Outcasts*. 10.

148. *Ibid.*, 27, 19-34.

149. Charles Ellwood. "The Theory of Imitation in Social Psychology." *American Journal of Sociologn*. VI. (May, 1901). 735.

150. Alfred Rosenberg. *Race and Race History and Other Essays*. Robert Pois, ed., (New York, 1970). 187-188.

151. *Congressional Record*. 60th Congress, 2nd Session, 894; Rayford Logan. *The Betrayal of the Negro* (Toronto, 1965). 363.

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154. *Ibid.*, 87.

155. *Ibid.*, 110-111.

156. *Ibid.*, 115.

157. *Ibid.*, 111.

158. *Ibid.*, 112.

159. *Ibid.*, 113; Lee ronbach. "Heredity, Environment, and Educational Policy." *HER Reprint Series* No. 2 (1969). 190-199; B. Moley, F. Olsen, T. Halwes, and J. Flavell. "Production Efficiency in

Young Children's Clustered Recall." *Developmental Psychology* 1 (1969), 35-39.

160. J. Downs and H. Bleubtreu. *Human Variation* (Beverly Hills, Calif. 1968, 1968), 159.

161. Montagu. *The Concept of Race*.

162. Spuhler and Lindzey. "Racial Differences." 376-379.

163. Jensen. *Genetics*, 37.

164. These two pamphlets are either undated or have no page numbers:

165. Garrett. "Breeding Down."

166. Garrett. "The South and the Second Reconstruction."

167. Shuey. *The Testing of Negro Intelligence*. 2nd ed. (New York, 1966); McGurk. "A Scientist's Report on Race Differences." *U.S. News and World Report* (Sept. 21, 1956), 92-96; McGurk. "The Cultural Hypothesis and Psychological Tests." in R. E. Kuttner, ed., *Race and Modern Science* (New York, 1967), 367-381.

168. Jensen. "How Much. . . ?". 81, 122; Herrnstein. *Meritocracy*, 185, 196.

169. McGurk. "Report," 95-96.

170. Henry Garrett and Wesley George. "Letter to the editor." *Science*, (Feb. 28, 1964), 913.

171. Jensen. *Genetics*, 1-67; Herrnstein. *Meritocracy*, 3-59.

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176. Jensen. *Genetics and Education*, 336-369; *Educability*, 181-182, 390, and chapter 12.

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178. Herrnstein. *Meritocracy*, 176.

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180. See note 26.

181. *Ibid.*, 307.

182. On the general development of this racist movement, favorably viewed, see the *Atlantic* and *Fortune* articles cited in note 3.

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184. Jensen. *Genetics and Education*, 46-7.

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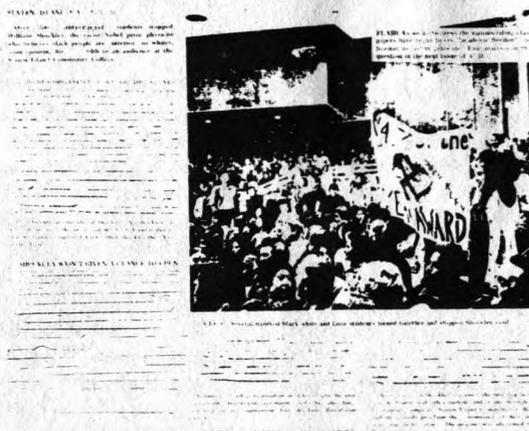
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December 13, 1975 Vol. 10, No. 11 PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY 100

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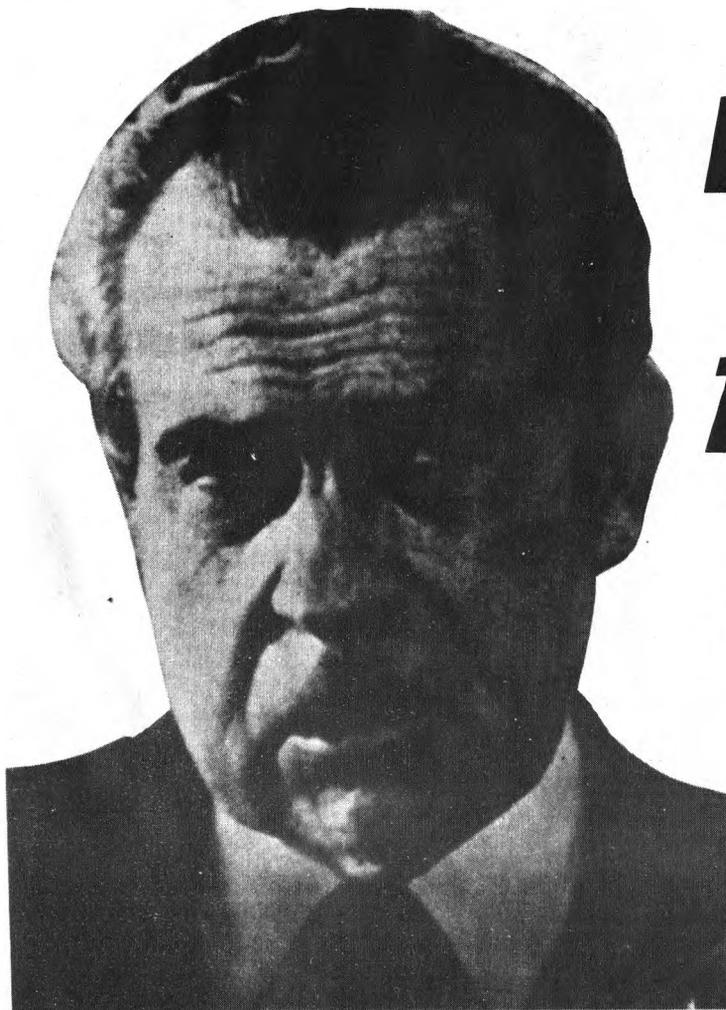
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To Crush Inflation,  
Speedup, and Layoffs,**



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**Impeachment  
Won't  
Pay Bills Or  
Make Jobs**

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**U.S.—Soviet 'Détente' = Cyprus War**

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