

Race, Science, and Social Policy

Continuation of comments on a recent *Science* article,
together with a reply from the author.

Disastrous Definition

A line in Wigner's Nobel laureate address states that "the specification of the explainable may have been the greatest discovery of physics so far" (*Science*, 4 Sept., p. 995). If we substitute "science" for "physics" in that statement and apply it to Ingle's "Racial differences and the future" (16 Oct., p. 375), we find that article sadly lacking in basic scientific orientation. An investigator does not have to know everything about the subject of his research before beginning, but it is a minimum essential that he sufficiently delineate the subject of his inquiry so that he knows when he is looking at it and not at something else.

Take "race." Ingle says, "I use the word 'race' in its popular sense, recognizing that all ethnic groups represent mixed origins and that there is no known physical or behavioral trait which is found exclusively in one 'race'." To use the word "race" in its popular sense in an article which pretends to be scientific is disastrous. And whose "popular" concept of race is it that Ingle uses? . . . The reports of Wagley, Harris, and their students have thrown light on the phenomenon of racial identity as a matter of socio-cultural perception. In a study made in Brazil, Harris and his students elicited no less than 40 racial types when they showed sample drawings to Brazilians. . . . The tendency in the United States today to reduce the range of human variation to a very few allegedly polar types is something of a reversal from the days of slavery, when finer distinctions were drawn. Today's white-and-colored, or Caucasian-and-Negro, fits the social problems of the time; an earlier age distinguished quadroons and octo-rooms and even further, but that went with the economy of the slave market.

Harry S. Murphy claims that he, not James Meredith, was the man who broke the color bar at the University

of Mississippi. That few people in our society will identify Murphy as a Negro is patent from his acceptance at that institution, but he says he is a Negro and apparently has the genealogical evidence to prove it. "Prove it," that is, by the implicit—and in the legal codes of some states explicit—rule of descent that says that anyone with any Negro ancestor is a Negro. There are good grounds for making the statement that by that standard just about everybody in the United States is a Negro. Marvin Harris has expressed this very well:

Genetically speaking, about the only thing any racist can be sure of is that he is a human being. It makes sense to inquire whether a given creature is a man or a chimpanzee, but from the point of view of genetics it is nonsense to ask whether a particular individual is a white or a Negro. To be a member of a biological race is to be a member of a population which exhibits a specified frequency of certain kinds of genes. Individuals do not exhibit frequencies of genes; individuals merely have the human complement of genes, a very large but unknown number, most of which are shared in common by all people. When a man says "I am white," all that he can mean scientifically is that he is a member of a population which has been found to have a high frequency of genes for light skin color, thin lips, heavy body hair, medium stature, etc. Since the population of which he is a member is necessarily a hybrid population—actually all human races are hybrid—there is no way to make certain that *he himself* does not owe a genetic endowment to other populations. . . . The archaeological and paleontological evidence quite clearly indicates that there has been gene flow between Europe and Africa for almost a million years. . . . All racial identity, scientifically speaking, is ambiguous. Wherever certainty is expressed on this subject, we can be confident that society has manufactured a social lie in order to help one of its segments take advantage of another. [*Patterns of Race in the Americas* (Walker, New York, 1964), p. 55]

Ingle asks himself, "What kind of evidence would be needed to settle the question of race and intelligence?"

His own reply is, "First, we need valid, culture-free measures of intelligence; second, representative samples of white and Negro populations as subjects. . . ." He goes on with additional desiderata, but the damage has already been done. A colleague of mine once wrote a paper on "The occurrence of references to Buddha on oracle bones of the Shang dynasty." The paper was as brief as it was brilliant: since the Shang dynasty antedated Buddha by over a thousand years, there were no references to him on the oracle bones. Some problems have no solutions because they do not exist in the form in which they have been stated. No problem about race will be solved when it is stated in the matrix of archetypes; it is time for the 19th century to come to a close in racial anthropology, even among the amateurs.

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Intelligence in Modern Life

. . . Since the subject of social science is human behavior, it is difficult for even a trained social scientist to take an objective attitude toward his data. I have yet to hear of any scientist of any race proposing that members of some *other* race have superior average innate mental ability to those of his own race. There is an even greater danger in letting scientists in other branches than the social sciences, however distinguished in their own disciplines, publish in a general scientific journal statements on an issue with such explosive social implications as the evaluation of race. This is that lay groups concerned with political action and uninterested in scientific investigation will exploit any statements they can find to buttress nonscientific prejudices and even to justify violence against members of the allegedly inferior group and their partisans. Ingle's article is clearly subject to such misuse. . . .

I fail to see wherein Ingle's suggestions for "new useful data" on racial differences would provide any major breakthrough on problems which decades of previous research have failed to solve. His first suggestion, for instance, to go back to examining more carefully the results of more Armed Services tests of recruits, is hardly likely to produce any conclusive measure of innate racial differences be-

cause of the impossibility of controlling sociocultural factors in these data. The most sophisticated statisticians in the world will not be able to get clear answers out of basically inadequate data. . . . His suggestion to compare the highest achievers of different races "who have never experienced a substandard culture" likewise fails to show attention to the systematic, pervasive effects of racial discrimination. Any Negro raised in the United States has experienced a "substandard culture" from his own point of view. If some protected "favorable" community could be found, one would hardly expect the "highest achievers" to come out of it, since high achievement usually demands free communication in the society at large. . . .

Ingle hints that racial mixture may have the undesirable effect of producing a single population with lower average intelligence than the higher of the originally separate parent groups. Both the view that racial mixture among men leads to increased vigor and intelligence and the opposite view have been advocated and supported in anecdotal fashion. . . . There appears to be a rather strong correlation between the development of large civilizations and racial mixture over the period of recorded history. . . .

Ingle apparently assumes that the chief goal of eugenics should be maintaining and improving the level of innate intelligence. This is a common enough assumption but one which I would raise some cautions about. In the first place, it is not at all certain that civilization as compared with "savagery" demands a higher level of intelligence in the sense of being able to integrate greater quantities of information in making a decision. The very characteristic of civilization is that it provides prefabricated answers and shortcuts to many of life's problems. It presumably requires much more intelligence and attentiveness to stalk and kill an antelope with a spear than with a high-powered rifle with telescopic sights. Thanks to increased population and improved communications and educational institutions in civilization, the ingenuity of one intelligent man can be spread rapidly much farther than that of a bright Paleolithic hunter. In the second place, the diversity of individual roles increases with the growth of civilization. It would seem to be a more suitable goal of eugenics to insure a reasonably diverse array of innate abilities in the

population. . . . In the third place, any hereditary trait when maximized by selection is likely to entail some unintended, undesirable consequences. . . . And if we assume that intelligence is an unmixed blessing we may wonder how then to account for the considerable individual variability in intelligence, apparently in part genetically based, in all known populations. This could suggest a balanced polymorphism with respect to intelligence.

I am inclined to believe that eventually some sort of racial difference in innate mental abilities will be demonstrable, as they are in other respects, but doubt that these will be of much social relevance. The major races appear to have attained essentially their present form in Paleolithic times. Special genetic traits favoring adaptation to one or another cultural and natural environment in the Old Stone Age may be of little relevance to modern life.

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Methodological Note

Ingle's article is a very welcome contribution in terms of attitude, but by no means exhaustive in terms of possibilities. One of the most serious deficiencies in such studies and considerations is that, while the American white population represents a gene pool that is almost completely free of Negro influence, the American Negro gene pool cannot be said to be free, to the same extent, of white influence. This situation results from the fact that the two groups are defined socially rather than biologically. . . . Mulattoes are classed as Negroes in our society (on school records, for example), in spite of the fact that it makes as much sense to classify them as whites. Therefore, any comparison of American whites to American Negroes, especially a genetic comparison, is invalid to the extent that one is also comparing American whites to themselves.

This peculiar social situation may, however, provide in part the elements to resolve the question of genetic differences. One might compare the performance of "biological Negroes" with "social Negroes," since most of their environmental influences are the same.

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Review of the Evidence

. . . Ingle presents less than an impartial view of the evidence. He finds space to refer to an unpublished manuscript, but does not mention the authoritative and careful review presented by Dreger and Miller [*Psychol. Bull.* **57**, 361 (1960)]. He submits to the reader Shuey's conclusion, although Williams [*Contemp. Psychol.* **5**, 196 (1960)] characterized Shuey's book as "an exhibit of the futility of confusing summaries of data with the critical evaluation of what the data are supposed to represent". . . .

DAVID A. PARTON

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. . . Ingle states that "Studies on man have shown reasonable doubt that ability to learn and reason has a genetic basis" and cites Newell, Freeman, and Holzinger. But McNemar's critical review of that study concluded that "the only evidence which approaches decisiveness is that for separated twins, and this rests ultimately upon the fact that *four* pairs reared in really different environments were undoubtedly different in intelligence. This fact can neither be ignored by the naturite nor deemed crucial by the nurturite" [*Psychol. Bull.* **35**, 237 (1938)]. A far more recent and comprehensive review of twin studies, as well as other evidence, has been provided by Hunt, who concluded that "the assumptions that intelligence is fixed and that its development is predetermined by the genes is no longer tenable" [*Intelligence and Experience* (Ronald Press, New York, 1961), p. 362]. Furthermore, no unitary "ability to learn" has ever been satisfactorily demonstrated, and reasoning isn't quite so unidimensional either [J. P. Guilford, *Personality* (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1959)]. . . .

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A Social Program

The most outstanding aspect of Ingle's article was the courage he displayed in his handling of what is certainly a hot potato. In addition, he made a significant contribution to the question of possible intellectual differences among the races by his public statement that not enough evidence exists to warrant a stand on the issue.

I wonder, however, if there is as pressing a need as he suggests to find an answer to this question. I think rather that we should concentrate on ensuring that the Negro receives, as the author maintains, all his rights and, like any other citizen, no special privileges. The ensuing situation in years to come would provide the answer to the question not through laboratory or social experimentation but through observation. . . . Legally speaking, such practices as enforced birth control and artificial insemination would interfere with individual freedom, which the author so rightly stresses. . . .

Ingle suggests further that people be paid for barrenness. I suggest instead that the various subsidies of fecundity be halted. . . . This plan would permit the same funds to be channelled in the proper direction, namely, to help those young people in our society who show promise of becoming outstanding adults. Rather than try to modify our unproductive citizenry through impossible frontal assaults, let us concentrate on the boys and girls of talent and ambition. They, in turn, will lead a morally and intellectually healthier society which will develop the means to sustain our growing population and the wisdom to limit it with justice and which will, as a byproduct, elevate proportionally its lowest stratum, the poor, whom in some form we shall always have with us.

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Unjustified Fears

. . . Only two points appear to link the genetic section of Ingle's argument with the sociopolitical discussion in the second half of the article: first, his doubts concerning interracial marriage, and second, the matter of race representation in jobs in the higher echelons. As regards the first, he seems to assume that in interracial marriages the usual practice of choosing a culturally and intellectually suitable partner will be abandoned. As regards the second, he says that, if there are genetically determined racial differences in drives and abilities, then "equal representation of the Negro at the higher levels of job competence and in government will be deleterious to society; return to the principle of judging the employability of the individual without regard to race would

be preferred." It seems quixotic indeed to speak of the "return" of the latter principle, and far too early to complain of excessive application of the former, although it may be observed that the rapid establishment of a responsible Negro elite might very well offset minor losses of efficiency (if any), and is certainly a goal not to be summarily dismissed. . . .

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A Question of Relevance

. . . Ingle states as a "clearly established" point that "Race and color are not valid criteria for judging the worth of an individual. Whatever criteria are needed to judge the individual and to define his rights and freedoms should be applied without regard to race or color". . . . If this is so, then race should have no relevance in decisions in giving jobs, housing, and schooling regardless of whether there are innate racial differences or not. Group means do not predict individual abilities. . . . Rights apply only to individuals, not to races or any other collective. . . .

Even more disturbing are his comments that (i) if there are no racial differences, the demand of Negroes for equal representation in government jobs is just, and (ii) if there are differences, then equal representation will be harmful to society. The first statement implies a clear collectivistic premise—racism in reverse. The demand for equal representation by right rather than by merit (that is, a quota system) is not only an extremely racist position but a contradiction of the idea that people are to be judged as individuals. The second position is equally untenable. Equal representation, provided it is the result of the fact that Negroes holding the jobs have earned them, will not be harmful to society. Any quota system based on criteria other than ability will be harmful to society—whether its root is racism or some other irrational doctrine. . . .

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The Province of Science

. . . If the entire review has any scientific content I think it can be fairly summarized as follows:

1) There is an imprecisely defined

quality called intelligence. This quality is known to depend, at least, on inheritance and cultural background. There is at present no known way to evaluate precisely the direct and interaction effects of these factors on intelligence.

2) Within the population "American" there is a subpopulation "Negro," which is "culturally deprived."

3) Given this situation, improved measures and precision are required to determine whether the contribution of inheritance to the quality intelligence in the subpopulation "Negro" is greater than, less than, or equal to the contribution of inheritance to this quality in the population "American."

No basis of evidence is given for excluding the first possibility ("greater than") and applying a one-sided test. This perhaps illustrates the extreme problem of experimenter bias when an effort is made to devise tests in matters where there is a deep emotional and sociological content for the population which includes the experimenter.

The question of whether a difference in "genetic intelligence," even if such a difference could be established, would provide a sound and just basis for sociological or political differentiation is not in the proper province of science [unless it is assumed that] science has demonstrated special competence on moral, social, legal, and political questions.

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Ingle Replies

Several authors of comments on "Racial differences and the future" objected to the publication of views which disagree with their own. The key points of my essay were: (i) The question as to whether the average differences among the races in test performance, school achievement, and behavior have a genetic as well as environmental basis is unresolved. (ii) The issue is important and should be studied as a means to understanding the causes of social problems and correcting them. (iii) It is time to propose, debate, and test by pilot studies means of preventing social problems, rather than to depend upon palliative methods.

I emphasized that "race" is not a valid criterion for judging the worth of an individual or for depriving him of constitutional rights but claim that

the question of average genetic differences among the "races" is important in the struggle for social and biological values. A second important question is this: Is science to continue as the free pursuit of knowledge, or is it to become subordinate to social and political theories which seek to restrict ideas by value judgments rather than by controlled experiments and by logic?

It is commonly claimed that science has proved that there is no genetic basis for the average differences in test performance and school achievement of whites and Negroes. This is what the public, school children, and college students are taught. However, none of the authors of letters claims that this is proved; some admitted that it is unresolved. Why should this uncertainty not be admitted in schools and to the public?

I acknowledge general criticisms as follows:

1) Jaquith, Montagu, and Fried attack my use of the words "race," "intelligence," and others. This is a useful device in debate. Challenge your opponent to define his terms, and, if he falls into the trap, the argument can be kept away from the real question. If "race" and "intelligence" and relevant words can't be defined, ergo, debate and study must stop. There was no evidence that any of my critics were confused by the words nor did they refrain from using them. I do admit to improper use of the word "equalitarian."

2) A method of attack is the use of sarcasm without coming to grips with the point at issue.

3) A means of diverting debate and inquiry is to claim that a proposition is untestable. If science refrained from study of difficult problems, there would be no research on cancer, mental diseases, or several other great diseases.

4) An excuse for attempts to bury the question is that debate will aid the racists. Racists do not accept the principle that each individual be judged according to aptitudes, drives, and behavioral standards without regard to race and that all individuals be granted their constitutional right. I do. I have seen no evidence that racists have made effective use of anything I have said.

5) Finally, it is claimed that any possible average differences in genetic endowment among the races is of no importance from the standpoint of social action. If men were judged solely on the basis of individuality, it

would be possible to ignore average differences in aptitudes and drives among the races. Anyone willing to look and learn can find examples of reverse racism not only in the demands of some Negro leaders but in damaging practices already carried out or proposed. I agree with Endler and Deakin that the Negro is still gravely handicapped by racial prejudice and deplore this fact no less than they, but the existence of one form of racism does not excuse the creation of another.

Endler claims, erroneously, that Negroes have never asked for equal representation in jobs. Jaquith seems to support "legally enforced integration" and to imply that equal representation of Negroes at the higher levels of job competence and in government is supported by constitutional guarantees irrespective of competence. Locke disagrees with my opinion that if there are no racial differences in drive and aptitudes the aim of Negroes for equal representation in government is just.

Montagu says that it is a small thing to ask whites to help Negroes of poor behavior to raise their standards. I agree, but propose positive methods to advance the Negro rather than to tear down, level, and destroy good schools and communities by the random forcing of whites and Negroes together. I have lived in a desegregated community for the past 11½ years. The Hyde Park-Kenwood community has, thanks to my university, achieved significant success, when less determined communities and their schools have rapidly become resegregated. I pause to ask Montagu, Is Cherry Hill Road integrated? If so, does it include all classes of Negroes? If not, why not?

Here and there, pressure groups have facilitated the random mixing of races, causing enduring harm to neighborhoods and schools, but have failed to prevent resegregation. Whites and Negroes of good behavioral standards retreat from increased crime, filth, and creation of slums. Herein is infringement of the rights of individuals and groups to private judgments, freedom of association, and to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. Drive toward excellence of community life—housing, social intercourse, and schools—is a vital form of self-fulfillment dependent upon individual rights and freedoms. These rights and freedoms are not threatened by Negroes of the same standards, but attempts to force the accommodation of all standards within a single community

is a destructive form of repression. As Montagu says, the poor behavioral standards of some Negroes are the direct result of the treatment that Negroes have received from the white man. But neither forced desegregation nor forcing the disadvantaged out of urban renewal projects and then forgetting them is the answer. The disadvantaged of all races need special intensive attention.

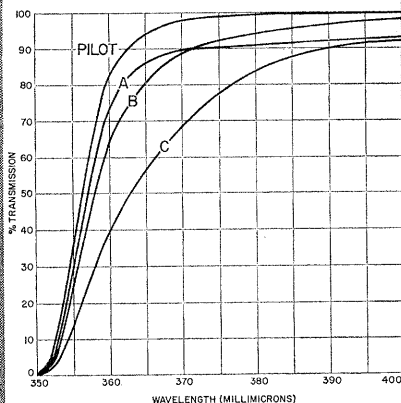
Groups which seek to force random desegregation are gaining strength without accompanying gains in knowledge or wisdom. If some foreign power had by evil design been able to reduce the white population of the public schools of our nation's capitol to less than 15 percent and to make its streets unsafe, America would not have accepted this affront. But the insidious changes caused by unopposed social pressures have been accepted. The schools of other great cities have moved steadily in the same direction to the detriment of all of their citizens. Here and there intelligent plans are emerging which may facilitate voluntary integration while preserving the quality of community life and improving the quality of education. I have in mind the recommendations of the Hauser and Havighurst reports on the schools of Chicago.

There are many examples of successful integration of schools by pupils of compatible abilities and drives. But when it is random or forced, the disadvantaged Negro child is frequently unable to compete. Either the standards of the school are downgraded, or children are grouped according to abilities and Negroes complain bitterly that they are being segregated within the school. Are these enduring average differences in test performance and school progress, which widen each succeeding year, due solely to environment, or do innate differences play a role? Should Negroes expect equality of opportunity to bring equality in achievement? We should make every effort to find out.

I shall answer some specific comments. Jaquith makes the obvious point that there are a variety of positions on race and intelligence. His claim that not all racists maintain that Negroes are genetically inferior surprises me, for I hadn't heard of such. He states that in the absence of firm evidence to the contrary, there is no justification for assuming that racial groups are differentially equipped in respect to genetic potential. I agree that we

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shouldn't behave as though assumptions are facts, but add that neither is there justification for claiming that races are genetically equal until supported by firm evidence.

Montagu writes approvingly of conception control for all who, either because of genetic limitations or because of poor cultural heritage, are unable to endow children with a reasonable chance to achieve happiness, self-sufficiency, and good citizenship. Montagu and I could quibble over several points, but our only serious disagreement is on his position that the question of race and intelligence is untestable and unimportant. I am glad to see him acknowledge that heredity plays a role in intelligence. Many social scientists teach that intellect is entirely or almost entirely the product of environment and, hence, are unworried about high birth rates among the incompetent.

Rabin, seemingly unworried about the threat of overpopulation, recoils from the recommendations on conception control as being ruthless and inept. He recommends that we not attend to bad culture and behavior, for they are matters of private judgment.

I thank Paula Giese for documenting my claim that such views as hers are held. Here is an expression of doubt that there is a genetic basis for intelligence and a characterization of the proposal that the problem be studied as a mischievous suggestion. She implies that private enterprise should not have a role in upgrading genetic and cultural heritage. The success of integration in the Hyde Park-Kenwood community was achieved largely by private organizations. The integrated housing of Lake Meadows and Prairie Shores and many others was built by private funds. On the national scene, the NAACP, the Urban League, religious organizations, and so on are private enterprises supported by private funds which have facilitated the advancement of the underprivileged.

Fischer doubts that any scientist has proposed that members of another race have an average innate ability superior to those of his race. I am among the non-Jews who consider it probable that superior intelligence and genius occur more frequently among Jews, until recently a disadvantaged people. Jews are less a "race" than Negroes, but races are not randomly represented in this minority group. Fischer imagines that I propose eugenic measures which would select only for intelligence. There are many other important qualities of

physique and intellect. I have never proposed a basis for selection.

Fischer and Deakin disagree with my doubts about encouraging interracial marriage. Many integrationists claim that it is not an issue. It is a real and highly sensitive issue, for interbreeding is being encouraged as a means of resolving racial problems. What is wrong with an interracial marriage between culturally and intellectually compatible Negroes and whites? Too little is known of the biological consequences. The question of race and intelligence is unsettled. Less is known of the inheritance of various drives and behavior traits and their relationship to race. We look in vain for a country which is governed wisely by Negroes. Racial mixing cannot be undone. Let's facilitate Negro advancement by full civil rights and equal opportunity, reward and honor their achievements, prevent human misery of every race, but without accepting the social scientist's assurance that the biological experiment of interbreeding can be done without risk to civilization.

Parton complains of my reference to the unpublished studies of Strodbeck. These careful, extensive, and highly significant studies will be published. Strodbeck has kindly given me detailed reports on completed but unpublished phases of the research. I did not, as Parton claims, accept the conclusions of Shuey, but simply mentioned that Shuey and Anastasi had reviewed much the same subject and had reached widely different conclusions.

Each point made by Snow and Seibert was anticipated in my article. In regard to studies on identical twins, I said that "the same studies also demonstrate the importance of environment." I wrote only of a genetic basis for intelligence and made no claim that intelligence is fixed and have never imagined that there is a unitary ability to learn or reason.

I have a final word on the right of the scientist to dissent against attempts to close systems of knowledge. In science we demand validation of each claim to knowledge by rigorous and critical tests of evidence. Positive claims are not final until there is proof that all alternative propositions are untenable. Science does not abdicate to authority or the tyranny of dogma—nor does it try to shape truth by aims and value judgments.

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