

"No man can successfully disguise from himself that all men are not born equal in mind or in body. Were they born so, there would be no need (for eugenics), as there would be no possibility of racial improvement by selection and heredity. No more than there is equality between man and man of the same nation is there equality between race and race. This differentiation of men in physique and mentality has led to the slow but still imperfect development of occupational castes within all civilized communities. We may not admit these castes, but they exist nevertheless, and probably in a perfectly efficient society, there would always be castes suited to specialized careers—the engineer, the ploughman, the mathematician, the navy, the statesman, the actor and the craftsman. Even now we are progressing slowly towards tests for occupational fitness, and eventually that fitness should be intensified by marriage within the caste. In precisely the same way there is relative fitness of nations, their

racial history, their environment, and their traditions fit them best for defined forms of work. Each nation has its own eugenics problems. The best type of man for Germany may not wholly be the same as the best type of man for Great Britain Many races have hardly yet found their true place and function in the community of nations. Science will not flinch from the conclusion, if such be inevitable, that some of these nations scarce serve in the modern world any other purpose than to provide material for the history of man. Other races still await their fitting role The fit race is not always on the fit spot, nor doing its fit work. The great migrations of man have been haphazard and not consciously directed for the benefit of mankind as a whole and still more often have not been for the good of the transferred people. One of the great problems of eugenics is concerned with the limits of immigration and these limits must be settled in different ways for different nations." 1

Eugenics: The Survival of the Bosses Revolution: The Survival of the Workers

INTRODUCTION

This statement was published in 1925 by the Sir Francis Galton Laboratory for National Eugenics in London, England. It sums up the "science" of eugenics, its goals and its inherent racism. Eugenics is the "science" that not only attempts to apply the principles of genetics to human beings but also attempts to breed out "undesirable" traits in a population and breed in "desirable" traits.

WHAT WAS "UNDESIRABLE" TO EUGENICISTS? To some well meaning scientists, this meant severe physical deformities, organic damage to the brain, hemophilia and other deformities. Some eugenicists merely concerned themselves with these birth defects and tried to find out which ones were hereditary. To other eugenicists, perhaps the majority of them, the word "undesirable" meant "immigrant," "criminal," "Jew," "pauper," "alien," "Negro," "Eastern and Southern European," "Latin" or a host of other classifications. To these men the "science"

of eugenics was to be the great solver of problems such as class struggle, poverty, crime, slums, alcoholism, prostitution and so on. Essentially any social problem was assumed to have a genetic basis and, therefore, could be solved by "scientific" means: sterilization, immigration laws, segregation and education.

In this paper the following points will be proved:

- 1) The main theme of the bourgeois social sciences from the turn of the century to World War II was "nativism," the idea that what occurs in society is due to "innate" causes within people rather than the structure of society (capitalism or socialism). Slums exist because "deficient" people live there, and so on. Eugenics was the crown jewel of the nativist outlook.
- 2) The theories of race inferiority were initiated directly by the ruling class. Some of the top ruling class families were involved in eugenics through funding, by starting eugenics organizations and so on. Today the rulers are again backing racist theorists like Jensen.
- 3) The ruling class initiated these theories

(and their brutal consequences) in response to working class rebellion all around the world. The Russian Revolution and the growth of the Communist International caused the rulers to intensify their efforts.

4) These racist ideas were pushed in every capitalist country in Europe as well as in the US. Until Hitler took power, Germany was way behind the US.

5) The theories of Jensen and Co. are substantially the same as those of this earlier period. Furthermore, they are the same as those of Hitler.

6) The role of the communists in fighting these theories was unfortunately too little, too late.

7) When World War II broke out, the rulers of the US and England had to scrap the eugenics movement they so carefully built in order to defeat Hitler. "Environmentalism" was discovered by the bosses, and this became their darling. However, the bosses' "environmentalism" has nothing to do with class society. As a matter of fact, all bourgeois social science since Karl Marx, nativist or environmentalist, has been a vain attempt to refute Marx.

RISE OF NATIVIST THEORIES

Around the turn of the century a shift in the outlook of the social sciences was gaining momentum. The discovery of some of the principles of genetics was causing many social scientists to look at society in a new way. Perhaps the source of mankind's problems was innate, rather than environmental. In biology, psychology and sociology the utility of the "genetic method" was becoming rapidly accepted. Another factor that helped spur this movement was the rise of "social Darwinism." Social scientists began to apply Charles Darwin's theory of evolution to society. Perhaps the "survival of the fittest" notion would explain how society operated. A third factor that was to shape social thought for a long time to come was Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic method. These three theories of the individual and society were to have profound implications for the bourgeois line on class struggle around the world. A whole generation of intellectuals was won to a non-class outlook and viewed society with the notion that the solutions to social ills could come about by changing the individual, having him fit into capitalist society, rather than changing society itself. Many of them were also won to the notion that the individual could not be changed! So the only thing left was to study how good the rich were, how bad the poor were and how to limit the birth of the social "misfits."

THE GENETIC METHOD

Edward Conklin was a professor of biology at Princeton University and a noted geneticist of his time. In 1914 he was invited to give a series of lectures at Northwestern University. These lectures were transcribed into a book called *Heredity and Environment in the Development of Man* and

were widely used as a eugenics text in many American colleges. Conklin noted the impact genetics and eugenics were having in the social and biological sciences:

Formerly very great importance was placed upon the influences of environment Many philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries taught that man was the product of environment and education and that all men were born equal and later became unequal through unequal opportunities

On the other hand modern studies in genetics are emphasizing the immense, the overwhelming importance of heredity Inherited variations appear in response to the environmental changes only. Belief in the omnipotence of the environment in the evolution of the species has steadily waned in recent years

The old view that men are chiefly the product of environment and training is completely reversed by recent studies in heredity. 2

Conklin states the situation very succinctly. Within a few years the genetic method in biology was generally accepted. In the next section we will see how the ruling class provided the money for this. For now we wish to prove the extent of these notions in the sciences.

The *Bibliography of Eugenics* published in 1924 is a compilation of all the articles and books written on eugenics in the US, Great Britain, Germany and other countries. Almost ten thousand articles and books had been published in this field. A sampling of the topics dealt with by eugenics reveals how many fields eugenics was beginning to overlap: Heredity and Evolution, Heredity of Human Traits, Inheritance of Insanity, Alcohol and Heredity, The Heredity Factor in Crime, The Heredity Factor in Delinquency, Prostitution, Pauperism and Vagrancy, The Inheritance of Mental Ability, Urban Selection and Industrial Development on Racial Heredity, Immigration and Emigration as Related to Racial Changes, Negative Eugenics, Sterilization and the Birth Rate. These were only a few of the topics covered by these "scientists." (Note the widespread use by these "scientists" of genetic explanations for varied social problems.)

Another indication of how widespread these genetic theories were is contained in the Report of the Committee on Formal Education of the American Eugenics Society, 1928. The purpose of the committee was to investigate how widespread the teachings of eugenics and genetics were at the college level in the US. A questionnaire was sent to all colleges in the US (527 in 1928) and the data was based on the number of responses (499).

THIS REPORT SHOWED THAT 376 COLLEGES (75%) offered courses in eugenics and genetics and 20,000 students were enrolled in these courses each semester. At that time this was one student

in every thirty. If this ratio were used today almost 250,000 students would be studying eugenics.

This, it can be readily seen, is a considerable number and indicates that about one in thirty of the total enrollment is being brought into contact with the genetic point of view which underlies improvement of the race by biological means.³

One of the questions used by the committee was "Should these subjects (genetics and eugenics) be required for the following students?":

	All Biology Students			Sociology			Medical		
	Y	N	I	Y	N	I	Y	N	I
Genetics	77	10	13	72	11	17	71	11	18
Eugenics	61	16	23	73	8	19	68	12	20
	Legal			All Students					
	Y	N	I	Y	N	I			
	44	19	37	22	37	41			
	53	16	31	26	32	42			

It is interesting to note that the feeling about students of sociology and medicine is just as strong as is that about biological students themselves. This will undoubtedly mean that as time goes on an increasing number will believe in the requirement of one or both of these subjects for law and all other students. Once the value of the genetic method of analysis is admitted in sociology and in medicine it is logically only a question of time and clear thinking before its value to all educated people is definitely recognized. The rate at which the percentage of those who believe in requiring genetics and eugenics for all students increases will be a fair measure of the progress of the scientific point of view in helping us to face our problems of higher education and race improvement. nt. 4

According to this committee the most popular textbook used in genetics and eugenics courses was *Genetics and Eugenics* by W.E. Castle of Harvard, professor of genetics and research associate at the Carnegie Institution for Experimental Evolution.

THE FIRST THREE SECTIONS OF THIS BOOK deal with some of the standard topics covered in genetics courses today: inheritance of eye color, color of fur of animals and so on. The fourth section of this book applies these principles to humans. On the first page of this section "Dr." Castle compares race horses (fast) to draft horses (strong) and points out that mating these two breeds leads to having horses that are neither

fast nor strong. At this point our distinguished "scientist" concludes:

For such reasons wide racial crosses among men seem on the whole undesirable. There is no question about the physical vigor of the offspring, provided the parents are free from disease. The statement is often made that mixed races are feeble, but if this is ever true it is not because they are mixed, but because the specimens that mix are feeble. Mating out of the race when mates within the race are available is *prima facie* evidence that the individual so mating is a social outcast. It is not surprising that the progeny of such individuals are sometimes feeble....

All this we as individuals learn from our mothers and fathers, or in the schools, the churches, the markets or in the courts of justice. Wide racial crosses unsettle the foundations of these agencies of enlightenment....

Such crosses, therefore, as of Europeans with Asiatics or Africans cannot be recommended as agencies for the improvement of the human race.⁵

In a later section of the book "Dr." Castle makes a Herrnsteinian analysis of intelligence:

A high order of intelligence is usually conceded on historical grounds to the Mongolian race in view of the advanced civilizations in China, Japan and Central America previous to contact with Europeans. The early civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt are claimed for the white races including in that category Sumerians, Semites and Hamites. The race charged with incompetency on the ground that its historic achievements in civilization are small is the negro....

The authors conclude that 'on the average the browns are intermediate in (physical) proportions and mental capacities between blacks and whites.' This suggests a blending (multiple factor) mode of intelligence as regards both physical and mental traits.⁶

These racist ideas, then, were very widespread within the academic community by the 1920's. Before we go into why these "theories" became dominant then and who started the ball rolling, we will briefly touch on the other factors affecting social thought—social Darwinism and the psycho-analytic method of Freud.

Briefly stated, social Darwinism is the application of the theories of Charles Darwin (evolution) to society. The survival of the fittest was one of the main theories of Darwin and when applied to society it turned out to be a vicious attack on working people.

If the least fit people were the poorest, suffered the most disease, had higher infant mortality rates, starved to death in famines, were unemployed and so on, then there's nothing to get upset about. After all, say the social Darwinists, that's the best they could do. And the ruling class, people like John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, were on top because they were superior, the most fit. Furthermore, any attempt to interfere in this process, this "basic evolutionary process," would be detrimental to the "human race" (read: the ruling class) and hence should not be made. This may be a simplified version of social Darwinism, but that was the essence of his theory. It was used to justify whatever happened to working people—after all, it was "nature's way." Social Darwinism and the eugenic outlook had a great deal in common with each other—workers were "inferior" and the bosses were "superior."

HERBERT SPENCER WAS ONE OF THE "giants" in this field. He did his writing in the late 19th century but was generally viewed as one of the great social scientists in the Darwinist field. His devotion to this theory and his devotion to racism are abundantly clear in any of his works. He also had a strong inclination against "inter-marriage." He viewed this as detrimental to the "evolution of the species":

It is not at root a question of social philosophy. It is at root a question of biology. There is abundant evidence, alike furnished by the inter-marriages of human races and by the inter-breeding of animals, that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree, the result is invariably a bad one in the long run.... When of different varieties of sheep there is an inter-breeding of those which are widely unlike, the result, especially in the second generation, is a bad one; there arises an incalculable mixture of traits, and what may be called a chaotic constitution. And the same thing appears among human beings—the Eurasians in India and the half-breeds in America show this. The physiological basis of this experience appears to be that any one variety of creature in the course of many generations acquires a certain constitutional adaptation to its particular form of life, and every other variety similarly acquires its own adaptation. The consequence is that, if you mix the constitutions of two widely divergent varieties which have severally become adapted to widely divergent modes of life, you get a constitution which is adapted to the mode of life of neither—a constitution which will not work properly, because it is not fitted for any set of conditions whatsoever. By all means, therefore, peremptorily interdict marriages of Japanese with foreigners.⁷

The third aspect of nativist thinking was

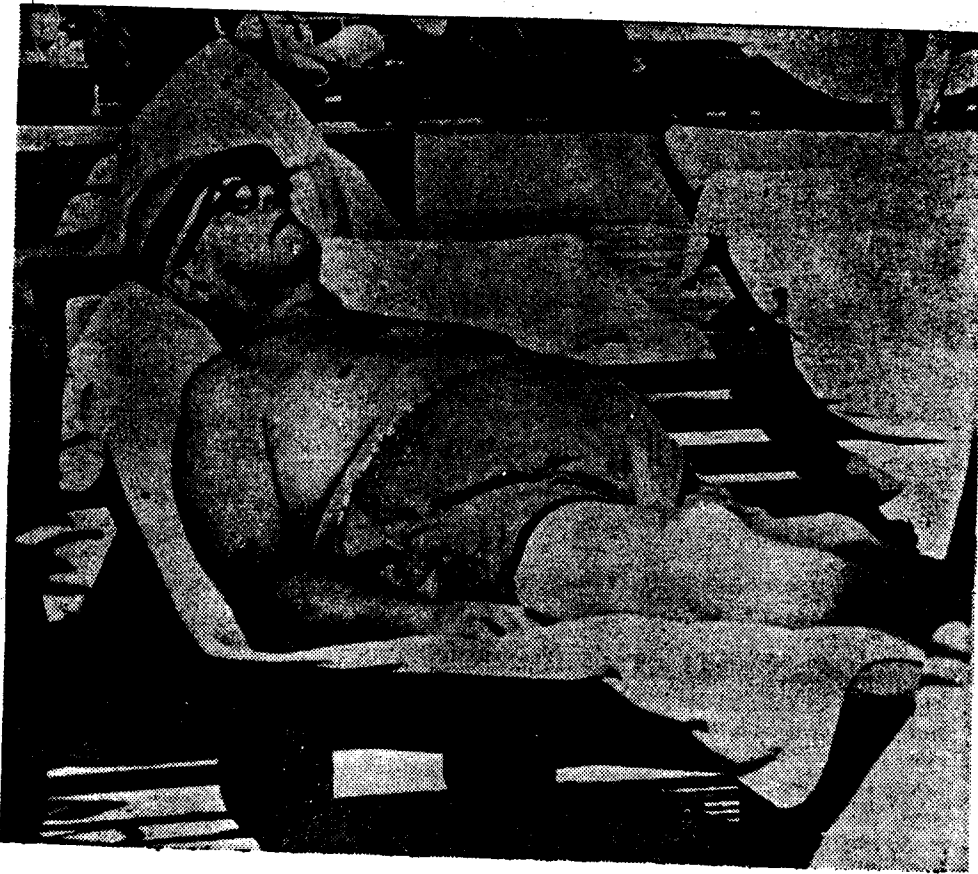
Freudian psychoanalysis. Freud studied middle class and aristocratic families of turn-of-the-century Vienna and "discovered" a large number of bizarre behaviors. Instead of attributing this to the decadent morals and standards of the ruling class, Freud developed a "gigantic" theory of psychoanalysis. Freud contended that the environment was only the backdrop against which an individual's drives and conscience fought it out. He viewed human behavior essentially to be dominated by this interaction rather than by the conflict of classes in society. By reducing human behavior to a conflict of drives, Freud tried to turn oppressed people away from class struggle. He tried to explain the oppression women faced under capitalism as "penis envy." Women were emasculated men. Of course Freud was raised as a high priest of the social sciences. After all, he did come up with a new twist on how working people and intellectuals were responsible for their own oppression!

These theories in social science dominated the outlook of one of the working class' potential allies, the intellectuals. With Freud's theory, women were relegated to an inferior position. With the social Darwinists workers' misery was justified as the natural outcome of the survival of the fittest. Finally, the eugenics approach sought to explain and prove on "scientific" grounds that various races were inferior genetically. With intellectuals won to this, the workers' ability to fight the rulers was weakened considerably.

RESPONSE TO CLASS STRUGGLE

We have seen in a general way what eugenics was and its general influence on the social sciences. We will show in this section that the thrust of eugenics teachings was directed against immigrants and minorities in the US and similar groups in other countries (Jews in Germany, immigrants in Great Britain). These theories, furthermore, were used as a "scientific" battering ram against the massive struggles workers were waging around the world. The leadership of these rebellions came in this country from the immigrant working class. Class-conscious workers from scores of countries were united time and again in bitter, bloody struggles in the mines, the steel mills and the garment factories of this country. The struggles led by the immigrant workers were in the interest of all working people. The bosses' strategy had to be to divide the bulk of the workers (US born) from the class leaders (foreign born).

EUGENICS WAS THE CROWN JEWEL OF these racist, anti-working class theories. Eugenics developed a nationalist approach, that people of one race or nation had to prevent inter-marriage and association with other races, otherwise "deterioration" would set in. The statement that opened this article indicated that eugenics was concerned with the limits of immigration. The eugenicists played on this point with a vengeance.



George Meany, boss of
the AFL-CIO—
Survival of the fittest?

By 1920 there were 13,000,000 immigrants who, along with their 30,000,000 children, formed the main force in coal, steel, clothing, metal mining, construction, marine and manufacture. Of these immigrants, 14,500,000 came to the US between 1901 and 1920, the rest being born here. In the **Abstract of the Report of Immigrants in Cities** (1911, United States Immigration Service) we find that male foreign workers made \$385/year; foreign-born women made \$219/year, whereas US-born workers made \$533/year and \$275/year respectively. Both the immigrants and the blacks were a source of super-profits for the ruling class. This source of profits for the rulers has always led them to spread racist theories to justify paying some people less than others for the same work. The eugenicists had this special role to play.

The 1905 Revolution in Russia, the "Boxer" Rebellion in China, the liberation movements in Cuba and the Phillipines leading to the Spanish-American War and other revolts around the world had the rulers scared. The influx of immigrants from Europe, Central America and Asia, many of them participants in struggles there, caused the bosses to take drastic measures. These immigrants organized the unions, supported their comrades overseas, and, generally, led the class struggle in the US.

An example of the leadership the immigrant workers gave to the class struggle comes from William Z. Foster's book, **American Trade**

Unionism:

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 pack- inghouse movement of 1917-21, 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 1918-1919 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....

The majority of the membership of the United Mine Workers of America are foreign born. Indeed, one can search the world's labor movement in vain to find a union with a more valiant record. (1922)8

From the 1880's to the 1920's, the history of the American working people was one of struggle. The unionization of the mines, the railroads, the pack- inghouses, steel and textile industries was a bloody chapter in workers' history. The IWW was formed in 1905 and many of the strikes it led were very violent. Many of the IWW-ers were executed by

the bosses. When the US, Great Britain, France and other countries sent troops into Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, many workers refused to fight. Members of the British Parliament declared that if their troops weren't withdrawn from Russia, there would be a revolution in England. Working class solidarity was developing on an international scale. In 1919 the Seattle General Strike sent cries of "revolution" across the country and every immigrant was seen as a communist. Throughout all of this the bosses were laying the foundations for a tidal wave of racism and nationalism—much of it done in the name of science.

THESE IDEAS WERE PUSHED IN A MILLION different ways—the media, the schools, by "scientists" and by right-wing organizations. The Ku Klux Klan was revived in Atlanta in 1915. The American Legion was organized in Paris in 1919 by some generals and was funded by David Goodrich of the rubber family, by R.D. Patterson, radio executive, by Franklin D'Olier, insurance company official and by Devereau Milburn, wealthy aristocrat.⁹ The "scientists" gave an air of legitimacy to this racist movement.

The rulers knew this. They knew it here. They knew it in Great Britain and Germany. How else could people be won to such things as the Palmer raids? Three thousand of the ten thousand people arrested in the raids were immigrants. How else could people allow the system of peonage (the practice where employees could not quit a company regardless of the wages and working conditions, otherwise they would be deported) to exist in all but two states in the US in 1910? How does a ruling class do this except by the careful build-up in every possible way of racist ideology among the masses?

The eugenicists had this role to play and they filled it well. We have already seen how extensive their teachings were in the US by the 1920's. But we haven't seen who started this, who funded these "theoreticians," and some of the direct consequences of their racist theories. The next section shows the direct intervention of the ruling class in the creation of the eugenics movement.

THE RULING CLASS STARTS THE BALL ROLLING

In this section we will prove that the highest ruling class families directly participated in the organization of the eugenics movement. By 1914, the US was considered the world's leader in this movement.

THE CARNEGIE FAMILY

In 1904 Andrew Carnegie, steel magnate (see table I for his holdings) organized the Carnegie Institution for Experimental Evolution in Washington, D.C. He placed Dr. C.B. Davenport in charge of this outfit. This was the first eugenics organization in the US. It conducted studies along

both the "birth deformities" line and the social problems line. An example of Davenport's attitude towards social problems is indicated by the following statement concerning intermarriage:

To sum up, then, miscegenation (intermarriage) commonly spells disharmony—disharmony of physical, mental and temperamental qualities, and this means also disharmony with the environment. A hybridized people are a badly put together people and a dissatisfied, restless, ineffective people. One wonders how much of the exceptionally high death rate in middle life in this country is due to such bodily maladjustments; and how much of our crime and insanity is due to mental and temperamental friction.¹⁰

NOT A WORD ABOUT THE CRIMES AGAINST workers committed by Carnegie and his goons. How many steelworkers were killed in the strike at Carnegie's Homestead Steel? Was that due to workers' genes or Carnegie's guns? Carnegie handpicked Davenport, a distinguished "scientist," to head up his Institute on Experimental Evolution. Davenport, from the earliest days of the Institute, pushed the theory that social problems were due to people's genes.

THE HARRIMAN FAMILY

The next big step taken by the ruling class was in 1909. The infamous Eugenics Records Office at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, was organized. Mrs. E.H. Harriman (see table I for Harriman family holdings), the wife of the "human dynamo," Edward H. Harriman, funded the Eugenics Records Office from the start. The Records Office was one of the biggest centers of eugenics research in the world. It continued operations until 1953. During its 54 years of operations, the Eugenics Records Office was instrumental in getting sterilization laws on the books in many states. They helped build up these racist ideas around the world by holding international conferences. They published a journal, *The Eugenical News*, which carried research articles, announcements, appeals for more laws on sterilization and so on.

The effects of the Eugenics Records Office were felt especially in the field of sterilization. By 1930, 24 states had laws on the books calling for sterilization of criminals, "feeble-minded" (low IQ), insane and others. By Jan. 1, 1930, 10,877 people had been sterilized under these laws. All of them were supposedly "defective." Let's examine this more closely. (See table II for states having sterilization laws by 1930.)

The state of California by Jan. 1, 1927 had sterilized 3,951 people. Of these 61% came from immigrant families. (Table II) The basis for determining mental capability was the IQ test. Sounds familiar, doesn't it? The IQ test has been shown by many researchers to be a measure of social background rather than a measure of "innate" abilities. The theories proposed by Arthur

Jensen and Richard Herrnstein lead straight to sterilization and worse for minorities.

THE EUGENICS RECORDS OFFICE IN 1917 was handed over to the Carnegie family:

On Dec. 14, the trustees of the Carnegie Institution of Washington accepted from Mrs. E. H. Harriman the gift of the Eugenics Records Office with its land, buildings and records, valued at over \$200,000 and a fund of \$300,000 of which the income will be available for the maintenance. By this wise and generous gift the future of the Eugenics Records Office becomes established. The relations of the Station for Experimental Evolution and the Eugenics Records Office, always close, become still more intimate. The name of Mrs. E.H. Harriman is to be always associated with that of the Office as its founder.¹²

THE KELLOGG FAMILY

Another ruling class family involved in the Eugenics movement was the Kellogg family of Battle Creek, Michigan. Dr. J.H. Kellogg founded The Race Betterment Foundation in 1913.¹³ This foundation called the First National Conference on Race Betterment in 1914 at Battle Creek. According to the proceedings of that conference its purpose was "to assemble evidence as to the extent to which degenerative tendencies are actually at work in America and to promote agencies for Race Betterment."¹⁵

Among the topics discussed at this conference were the usual ones of birth defects and insanity. In addition a section of the conference was devoted to the relation between eugenics and immigration. From professor Robert Ward of Harvard, a participant in the conference, we find a statement concerning the need to watch out for the immigrants who were leading the class struggle in the US:

A policy of national eugenics, for the United States, as for every other nation, means the prevention of the breeding of the unfit native. But for us it means far more than that. For us it means, in addition, the prevention of the immigration of the unfit alien.¹⁶

To show just how much influence this movement was beginning to have in the United States we publish the officers and central committee of the Race Betterment Foundation. (See table V)

A scanning of this list of officers should be a lesson to us that these theories of race inferiority don't stay within the walls of the "academy" but potentially affect every one of us. How often do senators, governors, doctors, professors, teachers, religious leaders, judges, welfare bosses and civic leaders get together to discuss academic subjects? What influences over health care for immigrants and minorities did the Presi-

dent of the AMA have? The AMA licenses all of the medical schools in the US and usually lobbies in Congress against health care reform bills. What effects did this conference have on the State Board of Charities of New York or the Chicago Public Schools? The outlook of these people was that immigrants were inferior, that they probably shouldn't have been born! Can you imagine sending your kids to a school where the teachers thought you were so inferior you shouldn't have been born? The day-to-day oppression that immigrant and minority families faced was intensified by conferences of this type, conferences called directly by the ruling class.

We are not exaggerating when we say that the outlook of these people was that the children of immigrants, minorities and poor workers in general should not have been born. Here is an example of that racist, anti-working class outlook. The following resolution was passed by the Association of Elementary Principals of New York State in their convention in December, 1934 (well after Hitler took power in Germany):

Whereas, we, as principals, endeavor to bring about a closer union between schools and local social service agencies and we study the effect of welfare work on the indigent child and do all within our power to preserve in him a healthy attitude of mind;

Be it resolved, that the secretary write our State and Federal legislators, urging them to give serious study to the matter of sterilization of criminals and low mentality classes with a view to future action.¹⁷

THE RULERS ALL JOIN IN

According to the Eugenic News of 1916 the Eugenics Records Office formed the Committee of Eugenics of the National Committee on Prisons. One of its first meetings was held in the home of Mrs. E.H. Harriman. Included in this were Police Commissioner Arthur Woods of New York City and Dr. C.B. Davenport, representing the Carnegie interests. They decided to formulate a study that would prove a relationship exists between heredity and crime. This would be carried out through the Psychopathic Laboratory of the New York City Police Headquarters. The Harriman family agreed to fund the program at the start. Once this idea caught on, others in the ruling class joined in.

Funds have been subscribed by Andrew Carnegie, F.W. Vanderbilt, Daniel Guggenheim, Mortimer L. Schiff, William Rockefeller and Mrs. George B. Alexander for the support of the Psychopathic Laboratory at the NYC police headquarters, thus making it possible the continuance of this important work.¹⁸

These people represent some of the most powerful interests in the ruling class. William Rockefeller was the brother of John D. Rockefeller.

ENGLAND

Vanderbilt was the son of Cornelius Vanderbilt, railroad magnate. Andrew Carnegie was the steel baron who later sold his holdings to Morgan. Mortimer L. Schiff was a member of the Schiff family of New York, founders of the New York Post and partners in Kuhn, Loeb and Co., a brokerage firm. Mrs. George B. Alexander's husband was on the board of trustees of New York University and several theological seminaries. The top rulers in the US stepped in directly to fund a study whose sole goal was to prove that the people who rebel against the system are genetically deficient. By this logic, all the people arrested during the Palmer raids in 1920 were crazy, genetic defects. A very handy "theory" for the bosses! Finally, in the previously mentioned report from the Committee on Formal Education of the American Eugenics Society, we find further ruling class involvement. A member of this committee was Anne Haven Morgan, daughter of J.P. Morgan. She was a member of several organizations at that time besides the American Eugenics Society: the National Civic Federation, American Women's Association, American Committee for a Devastated France.19

THE DATA SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. THE top ruling class families in the US—the Rockefellers, Morgans, Harrimans, Carnegies, Vanderbilts, Guggenheims, Schiffs and Kelloggs—directly launched the eugenics movement, funded the laboratories, influenced college education, helped publish journals and lent this racist pseudoscience an air of respectability. Their international contacts helped influence rulers in other countries also. This point should not be underestimated. Along with Great Britain, where a similar movement was developing, founded by Sir Francis Galton (an idol of Richard Herrnstein's), the US rulers helped call international conferences on eugenics. Germany, which we'll examine in some detail later in this article, was behind the US in the "science" of eugenics. The laws passed in the US, based to a large extent on eugenic justification, were all passed before other countries passed theirs. The US ruling class set the example for the rest of the world. Much of what happened in Nazi Germany in terms of the race inferiority theories is, ultimately, due to the US rulers. (See Table I for holdings of the other ruling class families mentioned in this section.)

THE INTERNATIONAL EUGENICS MOVEMENT

We went into considerable detail in the last section about the status of the eugenics movement in the US. In this section we will indicate the scope of the eugenics movement around the world, concentrating on England and Germany. The US, Great Britain and Germany were considered the "big three" of eugenics research and practices. Hitler's rise to power was a ruling class' first full-blown attempt to prepare a nation for all-out imperialist war through race superiority propaganda.

Almost a century ago, Sir Francis Galton of England was beginning to develop some theories of inheritance that were racially based. Galton's progress in this field went slowly and few people picked up on his "teachings" right away. As a matter of fact, the Royal Society of London (comparable to our modern day professional societies) as late as 1900 did not recognize eugenics as a valid scientific field of study. Undeterred, Galton and his followers struck out on their own and founded the Eugenics Education Society of London. Galton was the honorary president (he was almost 90 years old by then). By 1914 the Royal Society changed its line about genetic theories and in the statement that follows (given in an address to the Royal Society in 1914), we can see how extensive this movement had become. The speaker is Dr. C.W. Saleeby, a leader of the Eugenics Society in Great Britain:

The next record I want to refer to is the development of eugenics on its popular side. It is astonishing how many societies have been formed in many parts of the world. I do not say that the activities of these societies, or that all the things said in discussion at all the meetings of all those societies are invariably based upon the sound knowledge that would lead to desirable practice, but any rate the matter is being discussed. The first society to be founded for the service of race hygiene was in Germany, I believe (The German Society for Race Hygiene), but shortly thereafter the first society with the title of "eugenics" in the name was founded in England—the Eugenics Education Society—and after a period of characteristic caution Mr. Galton became its honorary president. . . There is now a society in Ireland, there is a society in New South Wales, in New Zealand, a very important body (to which I will refer to later) in the United States of America (Eugenics Records Office), the society I have already mentioned in Germany, the Societe Francaise d'Eugenique in Paris, societies or committees in Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, and in all quarters of the globe, north and south of the equator, there are bodies of persons who are interested in this matter. Some important publications are also to be had. In England we have the *Eugenics Review*, started in April, 1909. Sir Francis Galton contributed to its pages the last of his papers on this subject, which he had begun to discuss as far back as 1865 in his article in MacMillan's Magazine on the "Heredity of Ability." Then the French publish every month their journal *Eugenique*, which contains the reports of the meetings of their interesting society. The Eugenics Education Society inaugurated and carried through with remarkable success the First International Eugenics Congress in London in 1912. The

papers are to be obtained under the title of "Problems in Eugenics" . . . The second International Congress will be held in New York in September, 1915. 20

Saleeby summarizes the status of the movement by 1914. That was the same year that Kellogg called his Race Betterment Foundation conference in the US. In the same speech Saleeby gives his recognition to the "very important body in the US" and also tells us that the US had already taken the lead.

. . . but the time is coming when we shall have to endow Chairs of Human Genetics, for eugenic purposes, in Cambridge and elsewhere. The Americans have gone very rightly ahead in this respect; I suppose largely because they were unhampered by the development of the subject. They had known nothing of that personal allegiance to Galton which all of us must feel who have been in the presence and the confidence of that noble man, and, therefore, it was easy for them to make a fresh beginning and they did so on Mendelian lines. There already existed the American Eugenics Association which published the *Journal of Heredity* and founded in 1910 its Eugenics Records Office. In 1910 they set to work to study eugenics on Mendelian lines. A munificent lady, Mrs. Harriman, has given very large sums of money, and the work is done on a scale and with the resources which have no parallel whatever either in this country or in any other part of the world.²¹

By 1914 the eugenics movement had already encompassed all of Europe. The societies were still small, but their impact was starting to be felt. While the World War devastated most of Europe, the eugenics societies in the US and to a lesser extent in England, were able to forge ahead in their work. The European societies didn't pick up steam again until 1917-18 when the Bolshevik Revolution broke out, and the threat of revolution in Germany had brought the rulers of all the capitalist countries to see the need for this racist propaganda. So it was begun in earnest.

Throughout the 1920's and 30's the program of the eugenicists was very clear. They wanted to insure that their theories were taught in colleges all around the globe. We saw how that was carried out in the US. In England endowments were given to universities like Oxford and Cambridge for "Chairs" in eugenics. Curricula were set up under the direction of the "chair" and students began to study eugenics. In Germany a similar process was being carried out by the Race Hygiene group.

The second part of the eugenicists' program was to get laws passed concerning sterilization of various "classes" of people—"defectives," "criminals," "low IQ's" and so on. To do this they decided to convince the petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals of their racist, anti-working class

propaganda. In addition to the college teachings, the eugenicists went on speaking tours to build support for their proposed laws. The Eugenics Society (formerly the Eugenics Education Society), for example, gave public lectures every couple days for a period of almost twenty years. In a typical year, Dec. 1934 to Dec. 1935, the Eugenics Society gave 192 public lectures to such groups as women's groups, nurses' groups, equivalents of PTA's, Labor party officials, doctors' groups, welfare workers, lawyers and so on. At approximately half of these meetings, the Eugenics Society persuaded the people to pass resolutions calling for the sterilization of various types of people. We saw an example of this in the US when the New York State Elementary Principals called for sterilization of "criminals and low mentality classes".²² In addition to these lectures, the Eugenics Society of England also put up booths and displays at every possible fair and convention in England. In a typical year up to a million people came into contact with these eugenicists. After 20 years of public agitation around these racist anti-working class theories, the working class' ability to fight the rulers was considerably weakened.

GERMANY

"In Germany the situation was pretty much the same as in England. We will touch briefly on the status of eugenics prior to 1933 and go into considerable detail of Hitler's programs, their parallels to the US then and their parallels to Jensen's and Herrnstein's theories.

Germany had a lot of catching up to do after World War I. Much of Germany had been devastated in the war. The Versailles Treaty handcuffed Germany's rulers for awhile. The threat of revolution was a constant danger to Krupp and Co. As in America and England, the German rulers gradually prepared the population for an attempt to "get back" what was "rightfully theirs." The population could be won to an imperialist war only if (1) the influence of the German Communist Party could be destroyed. A tidal wave of anti-communism was needed; (2) the working class and intellectuals could be won to something more than anti-communism. A divisive tactic was needed to divide people against themselves, to turn working people, small businessmen, and professionals away from class struggle, away from revolution and against their own real allies. Anti-Semitism in Germany was seized upon as the key ideological weapon in addition to anti-communism. The two were always intertwined by the ideologies of the German ruling class.

At the Nuremberg trials after World War II, much data were brought forward about how the Nazi Party was able to carry out such wide-scale racist, genocidal attacks on the Jews and, consequently, much of Europe. One point that was made over and over again was that German scholarship for well over a decade provided the ideas and techniques which justified the slaughter.

In addition to the Race Hygiene Society we mentioned before, there also existed in Germany the League for Race Betterment and Heredity Research. By 1931 these organizations had between them a couple of thousand members. In December of 1931 they merged to form the German Society for Race Hygiene (Eugenics). Many of the members of this organization went on to high positions in universities and the government after Hitler took power.

Scientists in other fields began flocking to Hitler's theories as early as 1924. Philipp Lenard (Nobel prize in physics) and Johannes Stark (Nobel prize in physics) were two scientists who joined Hitler's ranks. They published the following statement:

As recognized natural scientists we should like herewith announce in conformity with our innermost feeling that in Hitler and his comrades we discern the same spirit which we always looked for, strove toward, developed out of ourselves in our work that it might be deep going and successful; the spirit of clarity without residue, of honesty toward the outer world, and simultaneously of inner unity, the spirit which hates any compromise because of its insincerity. This is exactly the spirit which we early recognized in the

Faraday. We admire and adore it likewise in Hitler, Ludendorf and their comrades; we recognize in them our nearest relatives in spirit.... It is clear, complete personalities... that we wish to have, just as Hitler has. He and his comrades in struggle appear to us like God's gifts out of a time that has long passed in which races still were purer, men were still greater, minds less deceived.²³

In 1935 the Lenard Institute at the University of Heidelberg was founded in honor of this Hitler lover. At that founding ceremony, Stark, Leonard's co-worker, gave a long speech pointing out the differences between "Jewish" physics and "German" physics. In 1936 Leonard was awarded the State Science Prize by Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler's chief ideologue.

WERNER HEISENBERG, NOBEL PRIZE WINNER in physics, was another famous scientist who sold out to Hitler. He was so sold on the master race drivel that he gladly headed up Hitler's atomic bomb project. Werner von Braun, the big US missile man, was another scientist who gladly sold his services to the "master" race.

Philosophers also joined the ranks. Martin Heidegger chimed in with his own praises of



One result of eugenics....

Hitler:

To know means to us: to have power over things in reason and to be ready to act The National Socialist revolution is not merely the taking over of an already existing power in the state by another party sufficiently large enough to do so, but this revolution means a complete revolution of our German existence Heil Hitler. 24

The list of professors in various fields who in the 20's and early 30's pushed Hitler's theories would fall into several chapters. These professors accelerated their racist propaganda in the early 30's. They did not limit themselves to talk. Nazi-led students clashed with communist students, Jews, liberal students and professors and anyone else who disagreed. Practically every day at the University of Berlin the Nazis busted up classes taught by Jews and leftist professors. By 1933 the Nazis and their backers had smashed most of the opposition on college campuses and the complete "Nazification" of the schools was begun.

Several groups were formed to take over all aspects of academic life. The National Socialist German Students Union, the National Socialist German University Instructors Union, the National Socialist Cultural Union, National Socialist Youth and other groups were organizations that propagated the race inferiority, ultra-nationalist theories.

The high priests of Nazi propaganda had been around a long time. Nazi theory was developed initially by a few "stars" such as Alfred Rosenberg, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Dietrich Eckhart and Hitler. These men, around the early 20's, first developed the core of Nazi theory which was picked up by the other professors mentioned above. Rosenberg was the kingpin for racist theory, and in 1934 he was appointed Commissioner of the Fuhrer for the supervision of the total intellectual and philosophical training of the National Socialist German Workers Party. All Party propaganda on race came through him.

The leading eugenicists of Germany were people like Eugen Fischer, Ernst Ruden and Otmar von Verschner. Von Verschner was appointed director of the Institute of Hereditary Biology and Race Relations at the University of Frankfurt. He declared Hitler the first statesman to recognize genetics as a necessity for the state. Ruden was a professor of Psychiatry at the University of Munich and author of "Genetics and Eugenics in the Folk State." He was a key man in developing the German laws on race segregation in jobs and laws on sterilization, marriage and so on. Fischer was the first Nazi rector of the University of Berlin and also an author on eugenics. Their textbooks were used widely for years both before and after Hitler's rise to power.

THE EUGENICISTS OPENED UP BREEDING institutes, heredity institutes and other departments within universities. By 1936, eugenics,

racism and anti-communism were so widespread that the **Eugenics Review** in England was forced to comment:

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 the Interior, with the approval of the Head 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. 25

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 Aryans and Jews.

- 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 US (sterilization, inter-marriage). Also "legal discrimination" in the US kept blacks out of skilled and professional jobs. Furthermore, the segregation system, de facto or otherwise, was protected by law in the US. The ghettos of Nazi Germany have their counterparts today in the big cities of the US. For many years blacks were denied even voting privileges, just as the Jews were denied eventually in Germany. We should never forget that Germany and the US had a great many parallels in this racist propaganda. Dr. Saleeby said in 1914 that the US had the most "advanced" eugenics apparatus of any country in the world.

In summary, the eugenics movements in Germany after World War I supplied the Nazis with key ideological weapons. It wasn't secondary scholars who joined in this either. The Nazis started out with their own group (Rosenberg, Chamberlain et al) but were joined by numbers of people of high academic repute (Lenard, Heidegger, Fisher, Ruden et al). As time went on the bulk of university scholars, all the scholarly journals and periodicals, all of the publishing houses were entirely "Nazified." No discipline of science that could be of use failed the Nazis: physicists, anthropologists, biologists, engineers, sociologists, psychiatrists and others joined Hitler's ranks.

THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT if a strong life and death battle had been waged world-wide against these racist theories back in

the period from Carnegie's Experimental Evolution lab through the 20's and 30's, then Hitler and the Nazis Party could have been stopped dead.

BIRTH CONTROL AND POPULATION CONTROL

One aspect of this movement that was popular in the 1930's in the US and other countries was birth control. Birth control was pushed as an alternative to sterilization by some eugenicists. Its goal was the same as sterilization: limit the births of socially "undesirable" people.

The statistics used by eugenicists that pushed birth control were those that indicated that (a) the birth rate for socially "desirable" elements was declining and (b) the birth rate for socially "undesirable" elements was rising. A great deal of data was collected to show how different class birth rates were rising or falling. Propaganda was pushed decrying the "devaluation of the gene pool" as an excuse for more stringent birth control and sterilization.

In a "A. Eugenics Program for the United States" published by the American Eugenics Society in Jan. 1936, we find:

What now must be learned is that a disproportionately low birthrate in socially adequate homes, and a disproportionately high birthrate in socially inadequate homes is an adverse social force, working against all other efforts to improve society, and that it is undoubtedly in many cases a force opposed to biological improvements as well.

...In the period of selective decline in population which we are now entering, the greatest effort of applied eugenics must be to increase the proportion of large families among people who provide homes fitted for the rearing of children.

...It would seem a truism that as few children as possible should be brought up in homes where there is a bad physical environment, improper parental care and interest, seriously retarded or handicapped parents, or other factors which make for an unhappy childhood and a poor development of the personality. The large families which often occur in such homes consist usually, after the first two or three, of unwanted children, the product of ignorance or of isolation, or of that hopelessness which is engendered by tenements or slums, whether urban or rural. 26

In previous issues of CHALLENGE and PL Magazine we have pointed out how the population control "experts" always pushed anti-people theories as a solution to the world's ills. Never have these "experts" condemned capitalism as the cause of misery. For them, it's all due to "too many" people. We agree only in one small way with these people: the world is overpopulated with

bosses. This menace can be eliminated!

The American Eugenics Society in the 1930's waged a national campaign to get Congress to adopt birth control legislation along the general lines outlined above. This movement was intertwined with their efforts to get laws passed on sterilization in the various states. Although this propaganda was pushed a lot it didn't gain the momentum needed to get national birth control laws passed. One reason for this was that at the time "science" had not yet come up with a reliable birth control device. Today science has made that a thing of the past. In the last section of this article we will see one of the "advances" modern science has come up with in this area.

LESSONS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

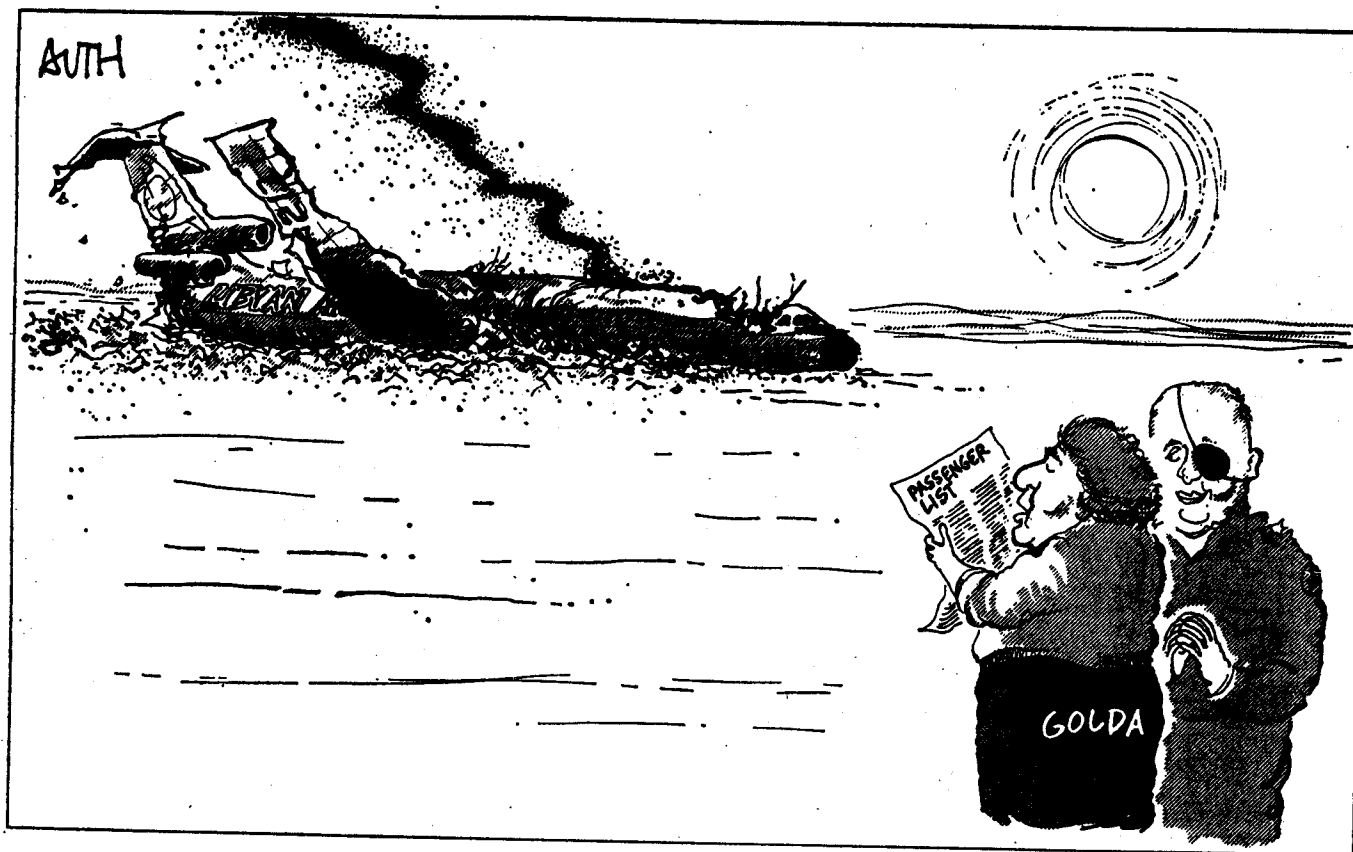
What can we learn from the practice of the international communist movement in the struggle against racist ideology? What did the communist parties of these countries do in the fight against racist ideology?

The CP's of the large capitalist countries such as Germany and the US had built up quite a large following among the working class. In the US much of the organization of the CIO was done under the leadership of the CP. Everywhere the CP's were leading huge organizing drives throughout the 20's and 30's. The ruling class was very anxious about this fact and sought to destroy the communists and the working class movement they built. When the Depression hit, the workers and communists built even bigger struggles—many of them violent. Many workers died before the bosses' guns, and still the giant corporations like GM and US Steel were finally organized into unions. These were great victories for the working class.

But what of the fight against racism, both the ideology and the brutal consequences? This, it turns out, was a serious weakness in the communist movement. Racism was not seen as a key fight, the life and death fight it really was. Some examples from Communist literature of the time will show that, despite all of the good things the CP's did, this was one arena they did not fight in very sharply.

In June of 1935 in the theoretical journal of the CPUSA an analysis of fascism was made. For whatever its merits, the article pointed out eight aspects of fascism, only one of which even remotely resembled racism. Point #7 was stated as "the development of chauvinism to its highest expression, in other words, militarization to the highest degree in preparation for imperialist war."²⁷ When the author does talk about racism it was viewed as a secondary aspect of fascism since anti-Semitism did not make it very big in Italy.

In Dimitroff's speech to the 7th World Congress of the Communist International his analysis of fascism also touches only on the extreme form of nationalism that the fascists pushed.



'Ach-That's 100 less for the ovens...'

As late as 1938, five years after Hitler took power, the German Communist Party did not see anti-Semitism as a key struggle, given the serious position they found themselves in. In "An Analysis of the Situation" by the Central Committee of the German CP, there is no discussion of anti-Semitism despite the fact that many of their own members were Jews.²⁸

IT WASN'T UNTIL AROUND 1937-38 THAT THE CPUSA began a struggle against racist ideology on the college campuses. Articles were written in their theoretical journal, *Communist*, exposing the racist use of IQ tests and how unscientific they were. Also at that time the CPUSA was just starting to organize professionals. Within a year of the start of this effort the CP forces managed to get many professional organizations to condemn the use of IQ tests, to condemn the treatment of the Jews in Germany and the treatment of blacks in this country. These victories were important but the problem is that the CP could have done this kind of work at least 10 years before that. If they had they might have built a movement to dump these racists in the academic trashcan.

More examples could be brought to bear in this article, but the essential point comes from understanding the role that nationalism played in the international communist movement and in the old

CPUSA. In the US the fight against racism was viewed for a long time as the "Negro Question." Black members of the CP organized separate black organizations when they felt it was necessary. This was especially true in the South. The CP's line was "self-determination for the Negro nation." Viewing the struggle against racism as a struggle separate, more or less, from the work of the rest of the Party led the CP into a blind alley. The membership of the CP was won to the view that the fight against racism was essentially up to black workers, and students and whites would play only a minor role.

This explains to some extent why these theories were not opposed on college campuses sooner by the CP. In the analysis of the student movement written by the CP in 1937 in *Communist* there is no mention of the struggle against racism at all, even though there is a section on curriculum and the role of communists. The only section dealing with racism is the "Negro Student Movement." This movement was viewed as separate from the rest of the struggles on campuses. Black students were organized into separate organizations and the CP made no effort to unite the students into one student organization. Similarly in an article by William Z. Foster in 1938 in *Communist* there is little mention paid to this point. It was only towards the end of that year that the

CP began to shift into fighting racism on the campuses.29

IN OTHER ARTICLES WE HAVE POINTED out some of the weaknesses of the CP and the international communist movement (PL Mag., vol. 8, #3; Road to Rev. III; the Great Flint Sit-Down Strike Against GM). This weakness in not fighting the ideological aspects of racism and other anti-working class theories should be included in our analysis.

The lesson we can draw from our comrades who went before us are that fighting for unity within the movement is critical, i.e. we must build integrated organizations of workers and students, and we cannot underestimate the power the bosses' racist ideology can have if it is not fought.

DISMANTLING THE EUGENICS MOVEMENT

By the mid 1930's the rulers of the US and Great Britain realized that they were on a collision course with German imperialism and that an all out imperialist war was probable. Sooner or later the population would have to be mobilized for war. How best to do it?

The US rulers faced three choices in mobilizing the people against Hitler: (a) To be bigger and better racists than Hitler. The US rulers could try to push the race inferiority line even harder. (b) The rulers could claim that Hitler and fascism were an outgrowth of capitalism and imperialism, that the upcoming war was an imperialist war and that the only real solution was to destroy capitalism and establish socialism. (c) The rulers could claim that Hitler was against freedom, against the Jews, against democracy and "we" were for all these things. The first choice doesn't make sense. The second choice would be a disaster for the rulers. By elimination, the third alternative was seized upon.

Since Hitler's master race theories were not going to be defeated by more of the same, a systematic attack on eugenics and race inferiority theories would have to be launched.

The first attacks came when Harvard, originally a bastion for the eugenicists, started coming out with "environmentalist" theories. Professors published books attacking Nazi Germany and "master race" theories and generally stressing the fact that society plays the dominant role in human behavior.

As Harvard goes, so goes US bourgeois ideology. Gradually eugenics was no longer fashionable. Fewer and fewer books on this subject were published. Speakers were no longer requested by organizations. In England, when the war broke out in 1939, the Eugenics Society stopped all public lectures, most of its staff was let go and its journal, the Eugenics Review, became a shadow of its former self. Many of its pages were spent trying to attack Hitler on the one hand and defend eugenics from the environmentalists on the other. By 1940 most of its influence was gone.

THE ENVIRONMENTALISTS EITHER CAME up with new data or reanalyzed old data and came up with new conclusions. Ashley Montagu in his book *Race, Science and Humanity* discusses this trend. The illustration is useful because it again shows the rulers stepping in to change the course of social science. This is a brief summary of ch. 6 of the book:

A study was done in World War I on GIs, both black and white, from northern and southern states. All of them took the army's Alpha and Beta tests (roughly equivalent to IQ tests). The data, when analyzed in 1917, showed state for state that blacks were "inferior" to whites. Eugenicists used these tests to validate their theories.

In World War II when it was necessary to defeat Hitler, the rulers decided to roll back some of these theories. The Alfred Sloan Foundation (Alfred Sloan was the head of General Motors) financed a study to reanalyze the data. It was discovered that no one had bothered to compare the scores of northern blacks and southern whites. When this was done it was found that northern blacks were "superior" to southern whites. The second study concluded that the Alpha and Beta tests measured nothing but social background and opportunity and had nothing to do with innate factors. This sealed the fate for a lot of eugenicists. Either they would have to change their minds or they would be out of a job. The rulers were not going to fund this type of research any longer.

From the same data the rulers were able to draw two different conclusions depending upon what suited them at the time. The racists were no more scientific than Hitler. Today Jensen and Co. are veritable alchemists when it comes to juggling statistics, ignoring data that proves them wrong and so on. In the finest traditions of quackery, racism, and pseudoscience stand Jensen, Herrnstein and their followers.

By the end of World War II the once mighty, prestigious apparatus begun almost 50 years before by Galton, Carnegie, Harriman, Rockefeller, Morgan, Vanderbilt, Hitler, Krupp and Co. lay in the ashes of France, Germany, Italy, North Africa, Eastern Europe, Russia, China, Japan, Southeast Asia, the Philippines and other countries ravaged by imperialist armies. The Nuremberg Trials were "supposed" to prevent in the future any such occurrences. Genocide was officially "banned" by the United Nations. The rulers had gone to a lot of effort to discredit these theories.

In the next section we will show that the rulers are again building a new eugenics movement.

US RULERS LAUNCH A NEW EUGENICS MOVEMENT

As most people know, Harvard is the educational bastion of the ruling class. It is the most prestigious school in North America and the names of its alumni reads like a Who's Who in the US. Many of the early eugenicists called Harvard their home. Today Harvard has helped the

homes' new racist movement.

First of all, the board of overseers includes some of the richest people in the US. Many of them are directly tied to the ruling class families that are educated at Harvard. (In the last issue of *PL Magazine*, vol. 8, #6, in the article "Who Rules America - II" we see that sitting on the board of overseers of Harvard are directors from the Rockefeller, Ford, Carnegie and Brookings Foundations. The role of such foundations in influencing schools is explained in that article.)

One of their publications is the *Harvard Educational Review*, the most prestigious journal in the US in this field. The top journal in each field sets the "tone" for its respective field. Most of these journals get foundation money to stay afloat, since none carry any advertising. If Jensen's article had appeared in *Psychology Today* or some lesser journal, chances are that he would not have been elevated to the heights he has been already. Another fact to consider is that he wrote the longest article ever published in the *Review*. Furthermore this article was solicited by the *Review* editors.

Soon after publication a healthy storm of protest went up around Jensen's article. Who should interview him? *The New York Times*, of course. The nation's most influential newspaper (owned by the Morgan group, 30) gave Jensen a big in-depth interview in which he further expounded his racist ideology. Then *Life Magazine*, biggest of the "picture" magazines, sought to create the image of Jensen as a tortured, dedicated scientist agonizing over a complex, explosive social issue. Pictures of Jensen playing his violin and such are enough to make you sick. *Life* is owned by the Rockefeller clan and is useful in spreading the bosses' ideology. 31

The next step occurred when Harvard elevated Richard Herrnstein to chairman of the Psychology Department. Herrnstein's main contribution in life prior to this was training pigeons for use by the armed forces in Vietnam. Herrnstein is a pigeon man. Once he became chairman, he decided he was an expert on IQ. It seems that these pigeons went to his head. *Atlantic Monthly* published his article entitled "IQ." *Atlantic* is aimed at teachers, welfare workers, educators, college students, professionals and other intellectuals. A great many of the rulers' flunkies turn in articles to *Atlantic* (and journals like *Harper's*, *Saturday Review*) to explain to white collar workers and professionals what the ruling class is up to.

SIMULTANEOUSLY, ANOTHER OF THE ILK from Harvard began to achieve notoriety—Edward Banfield. He surfaced as an advisor to President Nixon on Urban Affairs. This was his reward for writing one of the most blatantly reactionary books on urban affairs since World War II. Banfield and his friends in the government, all of whom were picked by the ruling class, started to create the programs that Jensen's theories justify. As a matter of fact, Banfield is just one in a long line of government advisors who attack blacks for

their own oppression. Daniel Patrick Moynihan from Harvard, of course, and James Coleman from Johns Hopkins University, wrote reports in the mid-60's that attacked the blacks for their own oppression. Banfield's thesis is that blacks and all "lower" class people are not "future-oriented," hence their poverty; Moynihan claimed it was black "matriarchal" family structure that was the cause; Coleman claimed the cultural surroundings of the home rather than lousy schools, were responsible for black children performing "poorly" in schools). All of these "scholars," we must repeat, came from top ruling class schools and were hand-picked for advisory roles in the government. Harvard was the key school, producing Herrnstein, Banfield, Moynihan, publishing Jensen and generally lending its prestige to them.

In addition to the advisors above, the government is starting to wade into this movement with alarming speed.

Forced labor programs for people on welfare and sterilization of welfare recipients have been proposed. The "scientific" underpinnings for this now, as in the past, come from the theories of race inferiority. All the laws on sterilization in the past required eugenic justification. Jensen and Herrnstein and their followers are filling that role today.

David Rosenthal, chairman of the National Institute of Mental Health, endorsed the state's statement signed by Jensen and Herrnstein in the *American Psychologist*, which called for their theories to be taught, funded, researched and believed! NIMH provides the funds for a lot of this research.

Prison systems have been used as a source of "guinea pigs" for Hitlerite experiments—lobotomies at Vacaville State Prison in California, for example. As in the early part of the century when Rockefeller and his associates in the eugenics movement tried to establish a link between heredity and crime, the rulers today seek to establish that prison rebels are freaks, psychopaths, monsters, nuts and homosexuals. Rockefeller's savage assault on Attica State Prison last year is an example of how the rulers treat rebels. Theories of race inferiority can only justify this kind of slaughter. The lobotomy programs are supported by such schools as UCLA and UC San Francisco. Both schools are state and federally supported.

Saul Krugman at Willowbrook State Hospital in New York has been injecting "mentally retarded" black, Puerto-Rican and white children with hepatitis to study the effects of the disease. He was voted "Doctor of the Year" by the AMA. His experiments rank alongside Hitler's in their brutality and racism.

The recently exposed syphilis experiments at Tuskegee Institute are actually remnants from the earlier period when eugenic experimentation was in vogue. No one has been indicted yet. Even though Kennedy plans to hold hearings on this, chances are no one will be sent to prison.

Senator Edward Kennedy, taking a different tack from the eugenicists, claims that minorities

are culturally "deprived." Kennedy wrote the forward to the book **Poverty and Mental Retardation, A Causal Relationship** by Rodger Hurley. He believes that culturally deprived people are retarded and that this can be changed by certain programs. The important point is that Kennedy does believe that blacks are inferior.

While it may be true that Jensen and Herrnstein were on the retreat due to the efforts of SDS and PLP across the country on college campuses and in professional societies, the rulers gave them time to regroup. We've had a misestimate of how extensive this retreat was. In the last PL Magazine we assumed they were on a retreat and that the rulers had made a slight tactical shift. We said that the bosses were now going to try pushing Christopher Jencks of Harvard as their new savior. It is true that the bosses will use Jencks, but to be realistic, theories that say it was all luck if a person is rich or poor will not bail the bosses out of hot water. Jencks stands on the fringe of the real movement that the bosses will be building up. Furthermore we misread Fortune Magazine (owned by Rockefeller) when we based our position on this. In the article in the Oct. 1972 issue of Fortune called "The Social Engineers Retreat Under Fire," they categorically state that the people retreating under fire are the social reformers of the 60's and the fire is coming from Jensen and Co. Fortune makes the following four points:

- 1) Efforts at social reform in the 60's have failed.
- 2) The reason for this failure was "the basic intractability of human nature."³²
- 3) The correct theories of human behavior are those that subscribe to nativist thinking.
- 4) Jensen, Herrnstein, Banfield et al. represent the wave of the future in social science.

We should not be confused on this point. The rulers were giving these racists a chance to regroup after we had exposed them across the country. The statement in **American Psychologist** contains many prestigious names: Rosenthal of NIMH; Crick and Kendrew, Nobel prize winners in biochemistry; editors of two journals (**British Journal of Psychiatry** and **Journal of Clinical Psychology**); professors from 28 schools; chairmen of several departments on college campuses; and scholars from the US, Great Britain, France and Canada. This is an attempt to build a stronger movement. When Galton met opposition almost 70 years ago from the established professional organizations, he started his own eugenics group. If Jensen and his friends do not get more backing from professional groups and journals then they will set up their own organization to "study" this racist garbage. They have enough backing from the rulers to do it. The foundations can supply the money to do whatever they want. Since Rockefeller's foundation and holdings have been involved in this from the start that's one place to look for future steps.

Another ruling class trap is being laid for us in the field of sterilization. In the same issue of **Fortune** that talks about Jensen, there is an article on the Salk Institute of La Jolla, California. SI is a world renowned research institute and has several Nobel prize winners on its staff. It enjoys a close working relationship with the San Diego campus of the University of California which has outstanding departments in biology, chemistry and medicine. One of the research projects at SI is the permanent sterilization pill. Take one pill and you are sterilized for life. We can look to see this pill being tested on poor people somewhere in the world. India is one of the favorite places to try out such devices. Puerto Rico is another. Big city slums are a third. Since this pill acts on the pituitary gland, other risks in the experiment will probably be great.

With all the "talent" lying around at Salk why don't they make something more useful than sterilization pills? Well, sitting on the board of directors at SI are Dr. Armand Hammer, chairman of Occidental Petroleum and Edgar Bronfman, president of Distillers Corp. Seagram's Limited. Hammer has given over \$5 million to SI. These men are interested in this program as well as cancer research. Cancer is one of the last ruling class diseases that remains to be conquered by science. The cure will probably be too expensive for working people.³³

In addition to the geneticists and the government advisors who are arguing about why blacks are inferior, there is another crew of cutthroats around that we had better watch for.

Paul Ehrlich and his **Zero Population Growth** movement are reminiscent of the eugenicists efforts in the 30's. A reading of any of Ehrlich's books shows his racism. In **Population Bomb**, ZPG's bible, Ehrlich goes into some detail about how disgusted he felt with so many people around him in India. He never shows any disgust for capitalism.

OTHER CRIMINALS THAT WORKERS AND students have to look out for are the Desmond Morris, Robert Ardrey types. Their view is that man is innately aggressive, and that war is inevitable as long as man is around. They have popularized a favorite ruling class theme: the people are to blame. Their books have sold in the millions and their influence cannot be underestimated. At some colleges their books are used more than Jensen and Banfield. This pseudo-scientific junk should be exposed thoroughly.

WHY NOW?

Today the rulers of this country have just come through a very rough period of worldwide rebellion. Such heroic struggles as France in 1968. People's war in Vietnam, the Cultural Revolution in China, the strike wave in the capitalists countries, the worldwide anti-imperialist student movement, massive rebellions in US cities led by

black workers, growth of guerrilla movements in the Middle East, armed struggle in India, various wars of national liberation—this and much more rocked the capitalists. Things have cooled off a little bit. And even though class struggle always continues (Southern U. struggle, auto strikes) a temporary decline in its intensity has allowed the rulers an opportunity to regroup. The bosses will try to consolidate as much as they can in this period.

After World War II, when the rulers had dismantled their eugenics machinery, they couldn't go back to it right away. The war against Hitler had been too costly. People didn't want to hear those theories then. In the US the civil rights movement was starting to build up steam in the 1950's. Slowly but surely some concessions were won. Some of the old laws and customs in the south were beaten back. To be sure, this movement had a lot of weaknesses, but it did gain some victories against racism. By 1964 the black liberation movement had broken out into full scale rebellion in Harlem, soon to be followed by rebellions that could be stopped only by the US Army—and even there the bosses had a hard time.

This was more than the rulers could tolerate. Many students were being won to an anti-racist position—the exact opposite of 40 years ago when students were studying eugenics. A new attack had to be launched.

In one of the first reports of the Johnson administration on the black rebellions, Moynihan made his famous claim about black family structure. He was the first of the "new wave." Once a mood was created for this kind of attack, Jensen and Co. appeared on the scene with the real "scientific" explanation. There is every reason to believe that the rulers will not stop here, but plan to intensify this development. The threat of

imperialist war, the possibility of another world-wide revolt and the growth of a new communist movement out of the ashes of the old one are factors that the rulers weigh heavily. Whether or not the bosses resort to fascism, racism will be the battering ram which loves to smash the working class and communists.

WE MUST LEARN FROM HISTORY, FROM OUR predecessors in the international communist movement. We must see these "theories" as a necessary ideological prop of imperialism. Nationalism feeds on the notion that one nation is "better" than another. Communists can't fight nationalism with more nationalism—it won't work. The key is the fight for unity among workers and students, unity among workers of all nations and races. We must defeat the anti-communist, anti-working class notion that people who rebel are "retarded," "genetically deficient" and a host of other classifications. People who revolt against tyranny, against oppression, against the capitalist class are the most class conscious people around—the most intelligent!

If we and our allies raise the ante in this battle and continue to fight, we have the opportunity to smash this ruling class to bits. Through our efforts and the efforts of millions of class conscious workers we can throw off the crippling chains the ruling class has thrown on us: drugs, war, exploitation, nationalism, unemployment, terror, Nazi-like experimentation and a host of other crimes. Only a violent revolution that sees the dictatorship of one class, the working class, as its goal can junk racism. The Rockefellers and Co. can try all of their tricks and terror, but we in PLP and the working class are going to build the movement that dumps Rocky and racism into that famous trash heap of history.

FOOTNOTES

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TABLE I
Holdings of Ruling Class Families Involved in Eugenics (partial list)

Rockefeller Family
Standard Oil
National City Bank
Anaconda Copper
Union Pacific Railroad
Harvard National Bank
/ dozens of other banks, industries and railroads
Harriman Family
National City Bank
Equitable Trust Co.
Union Pacific Railroad
Western Union Telegraph Co.
B&O Railroad
/ at least two dozen railroads and securities
Carnegie Family
Homestead Steel and other steel companies that formed US Steel
Carnegie Institutes of Pittsburgh and Washington
Schiff Family
Kuhn, Loeb and Co.
National City Bank
Union Pacific Railroad
Western Union
US Mortgage and Trust
New York Post
Morgan Family
US Steel
J.P. Morgan and Co.
AT&T
General Electric
Electric Bond and Share
United Power
Vanderbilt Family
New York Central Railroad
Chicago and Northwestern Railroad
/ several other railroads
Guggenheim Family
Chile Copper Co.
Kennecott Copper Co.
Utah Copper Co.
American Smelting and Refining Co.
Kellogg Family
Kellogg Food Co.
Sanitary Supply Co.
Battle Creek College
/ several health journals and food companies

TABLE II

States Having Sterilization Laws by Jan. 1, 1930 and the Number of People Sterilized

State	#Males	#Females	Total
Alabama	32	12	44
Arizona	0	0	0
California	3,636	3,151	6,787
Connecticut	7	193	200
Delaware	171	107	278
Idaho	0	0	0

Iowa	43	14	57
Indiana	120	3	123
Kansas	414	243	657
Maine	4	8	12
Michigan	62	326	388
Mississippi	0	0	0
Montana	27	33	60
Nebraska	109	199	308
New Hampshire	4	57	61
North Carolina	2	1	3
North Dakota	22	17	39
Oregon	257	393	650
South Dakota	19	42	61
Utah	43	36	79
Virginia	94	274	368
Washington	1	8	9
West Virginia	0	0	0
Wisconsin	35	270	305
24 states	5,134	5,743	10,877

Note that southern states do not lead this list. California is the champion sterilizer and its use of sterilization against immigrants has already been shown in this article. Also we should not think that this is all of the people sterilized. For example, North Carolina is listed in 1930 as having sterilized 3 people. By 1968, 6,851 people had been sterilized under the supervision of the Eugenics Board of North Carolina. The available statistics indicate that approximately two-thirds of the sterilized were black, although blacks make up only 25% of the population in North Carolina.(33)

TABLE III

MISCEGENATION LAWS

The following states had laws providing restrictions between marriage between whites and various minorities. This table lists the states and the restrictions and what year the law was enacted.(34)

State	Year Passed	Groups Prohibited from Marrying Whites
Alabama	1923	"Negro or descendent of a Negro to the 3rd generation inclusive"
Arizona	1928	"Negroes, Mongolians, Indians, Hindus or members of the Malay race."
Arkansas	?	"Negroes and Mulattoes"
California	1929	"Negroes, Mongolians, Mulattoes or members of the Malay race."
Colorado	1921	"Negroes or Mulattoes"
Delaware	1915	"Negro or Mulattoe"
Florida	1920	"Any negro (person having one-eighth or more of negro blood)"
Georgia	1926	"Persons of African descent," "all negroes, mulattoes, mestozos and their descendants having any ascertainable trace of either negro or African, West Indian or Asiatic Indian blood in their veins," "Mongolians"
Idaho	1919	"Mongolians, negroes or Mulattoes"
Indiana	1926	"Persons having one-eighth or more of negro blood"

Kentucky	1922	"Negro or Mulatto"	
Louisiana	1926	"Persons of color"	Court, Denver - Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett, ex-Minister of Agriculture, Ireland.
Maryland	1924	"Negro or person of Negro descent to the third generation or a member of the Malay race"	Vice Pres. Hon. Robert L. Owen, US Senator from Oklahoma - J.N. Hurty, Commissioner of Health, State of Indiana - Irving Fisher, Prof. of Political Economy, Yale - Rev. Newell D. Hillis, Pastor, Plymouth Church, Brooklyn
Mississippi	1930	"Negro or Mulatto or Mongolian"	
Missouri	1929	"Persons having one-eighth or more Negro blood," "Mongolians"	
Montana	1921	"Negro or a person of negro blood or in part negro," "Chinese person," "Japanese person"	Central Comm. C.B. Davenport, Carnegie Institute for Experimental Evolution, Washington and Cold Spring Harbor.
Nebraska	1922	"Person having one-eighth or more negro, Japanese or Chinese blood"	Victor C. Vaughan, Pres. elect, AMA; Pres. Michigan State Board of Health.
Nevada	1929	"Any person of the Ethiopian or black race, Malay or brown race, Mongolian or yellow race"	J.N. McCormack, Secretary, State Board of Health, Kentucky
North Carolina	1919	"Negro or Indian," "or person of negro or Indian descent to the third generation inclusive"	Charles Eliot, Pres. emeritus, Harvard
North Dakota	1913	"Negro"	Gifford Hinchot, Conservationist, Washington, D.C.
Oklahoma	1921	"Any person of African descent"	Harvey Wiley, Director, Bureau of Foods, Sanitation and Health, Washington, D.C.
Oregon	1930	"Any negro, Chinese or any person having one-fourth or more negro, Chinese or Kanaka blood, or more than one-half Indian"	Hon. Jacob Riis, Henry Stuart Settlement, N.Y.
South Carolina	1929	"Any Indian or negro"	S. Adolphus Knopf, Prof. of Physio-Therapy, Post-graduate Medical School and Hospital Kentucky.
South Dakota	1929	"Any person belonging to the African, Corean, Malayan or Mongolian race"	W.A. Evans, Medical Editor, Chicago Tribune; Northwestern Medical School.
Tennessee	1917	"Africans or the descendants of Africans to the third generation inclusive"	D.A. Sargent, Director of Hemingway Gymnasium, Harvard
Texas	1925	"Negro or Mongolian"	V. Rev. Walter Sumner, Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral, Chicago.
Utah	1927	"Negro or Mongolian"	Charles Townsend, US Senator from Michigan.
Virginia	1930	"Colored persons"	Morriss Shepard, US Senator from Texas.
West Virginia	1923	"Negro"	Oscar Rogers, Medical Director, New York Life Insurance.
Wyoming	1920	"Negroes, Mulattoes, Mongolians or Malays"	Winfield Hall, Prof. of Physiology, Northwestern Medical School.

TABLE IV

States having both Sterilization and Miscegenation Laws

Alabama	Nebraska
Arizona	North Carolina
California	North Dakota
Delaware	Oregon
Idaho	South Dakota
Indiana	Utah
Mississippi	Virginia
Montana	West Virginia

TABLE V

The Officers and Central Committee of the Race Betterment Foundation

President:	Stephen Smith, v.p. of the State Board of Charities, N.Y.
Hon. Pres.	Hon. Woodbridge M. Ferris, Governor of Michigan. - Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Juvenile

Court, Denver - Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Plunkett, ex-Minister of Agriculture, Ireland.

Vice Pres. Hon. Robert L. Owen, US Senator from Oklahoma - J.N. Hurty, Commissioner of Health, State of Indiana - Irving Fisher, Prof. of Political Economy, Yale - Rev. Newell D. Hillis, Pastor, Plymouth Church, Brooklyn

Central Comm. C.B. Davenport, Carnegie Institute for Experimental Evolution, Washington and Cold Spring Harbor.

Victor C. Vaughan, Pres. elect, AMA; Pres. Michigan State Board of Health.

J.N. McCormack, Secretary, State Board of Health, Kentucky

Charles Eliot, Pres. emeritus, Harvard

Gifford Hinchot, Conservationist, Washington, D.C.

Harvey Wiley, Director, Bureau of Foods, Sanitation and Health, Washington, D.C.

Hon. Jacob Riis, Henry Stuart Settlement, N.Y.

S. Adolphus Knopf, Prof. of Physio-Therapy, Post-graduate Medical School and Hospital Kentucky.

W.A. Evans, Medical Editor, Chicago Tribune; Northwestern Medical School.

D.A. Sargent, Director of Hemingway Gymnasium, Harvard

V. Rev. Walter Sumner, Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral, Chicago.

Charles Townsend, US Senator from Michigan.

Morriss Shepard, US Senator from Texas.

Oscar Rogers, Medical Director, New York Life Insurance.

Winfield Hall, Prof. of Physiology, Northwestern Medical School.

R.L. Dixon, Secretary, Michigan State Board of Health.

Mrs. Melvil Dewey, Honorable Chairman, Institute of Economics, American Home Economics Assoc.

Mrs. Ella Young, Superintendent of Public Schools, Chicago.

Rev. Caroline Crane, Kalamazoo.

R. Tait McKenzie, Prof. of Physical Educ., University of Pennsylvania.

John M. Coulter, Prof. of Botany, Univ. of Chicago.

S.S. McClure, President, the McClure Co., N.Y.

Ernest Hoag, Stanford University.

Frank Bruner, Board of Education, Chicago.

Graham Taylor, Pres., Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.

Hon. John Bailey, Mayor of Battle Creek.

J.H. Kellogg, Supt. Battle Creek Sanitarium, Board of Health, Michigan, Founder of the Race Betterment Foundation.

Rev. Charles C. Creegan, Pres. Fargo College, Fargo, N.D.