

lem of crime would largely vanish. The problem of crime is thoroughly permeated with individual problems; it cannot be blamed solely on social conditions, because as the studies of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck have shown, highly respected citizens may come from areas where these conditions are the worst.

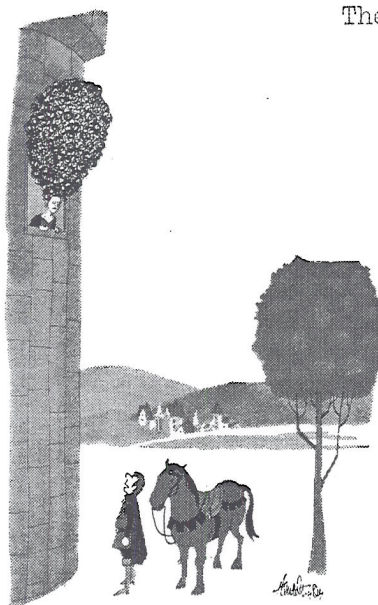
Racial relations would ease tremendously if we faced squarely the biological facts of individuality. If we were all educated to *know* that all whites are not the same, that all Negroes do not fit in the same pattern, that all Latins are not identical, that all American Indians are individuals, and that all Jews do not fit a stereotype, it would help us to treat every member of the human race as an individual.

It is no denial of the existence of racial problems to assert that individual problems need to be stressed more than they are. For individual Negroes and individual whites, the pursuit of happiness is by no means a uniform pursuit. Doubtlessly, although there are whites and Negroes who would think they had reached Utopia if they had a decent shelter and were assured three meals a day, this would not satisfy millions of others for whom striving and a sense of accomplishment are paramount. "The Negro problem" or "the white problem"—depending on one's point of view—is shot through with a host of individual problems.

Learning to live with one's self is certainly an individual problem, and will be greatly eased by recognition of inborn individuality. Much unhappiness and many suicides can be traced to misguided desire to be something other than one's self. Each of us as an individual has the problem of finding his way through life as best he can. Knowing one's self as a distinctive individual should be an important goal of education; it will help pave the road each of us travels in his pursuit of happiness.

Why have these facts of individuality not been generally accepted as a backdrop in every consideration of human problems? For one thing, many people, including scholars, like being grandiose and self-inflationary. To make sweeping pronouncements about "man" sounds more impressive than to express more limited concerns. Simplicity, too, has an attractiveness; if life could be made to fit a simple formula, this might be regarded as a happy outcome.

One excuse for excommunicating inheritance from the behavioral sciences for two generations has been the fact that inheritance in mammals is recognized by careful students as being exceedingly complex and difficult to interpret. It is true that some few char-



"On second thought, Rapunzel, don't bother. It's been nice talking to you."

acteristics may be inherited through the operation of single genes or a few recognizable ones. But other characteristics—those that differ in quantity—are considered to be inherited in obscure and indefinable ways commonly ascribed to multiple genes of indefinite number and character. These multiple-gene characteristics include, to quote the geneticists Snyder and David, "the more deep-seated characters of a race, such as form, yield, intelligence, speed, fertility, strength, development of parts, and so on." To say that a particular characteristic is inherited through the mediation of multiple genes is to admit that we are largely ignorant of how this inheritance comes about.

Recently, some light has been thrown on this problem by experiments carried out in our laboratories. These experiments involved armadillos, which are unusual mammals in that they commonly produce litters of four monozygous ("identical") quadruplets that are necessarily all males or all females.

By making measurements and studying sixteen sets of these animals at birth, it became evident that although they develop from identical genes, they are not identical at all. Organ weights may differ by as much as twofold, the free amino acids in the brain may vary fivefold, and certain hormone levels may vary as much as seven-, sixteen-, or even thirty-twofold. These findings clearly suggest that inheritance comes not by genes alone but by cytoplasmic factors that help govern the size of organs (including endocrine glands) and the cellular makeup of the central nervous system. "Identical" twins are

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by Peter Schrag
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for differences in organ weights. The size, number, and distributions of neurons in normal brains vary greatly; this is biologically in line with the uniqueness of human minds. The further elucidation of this type of inheritance should help to focus more attention on heredity.

If this line of thought is valid it makes even more ridiculous the invitation issued by the Ford Foundation to the biological sciences to stay out of the precinct of human behavior. The expression "behavioral science" came into being many years ago as a result of the formulation of the Ford Foundation-supported programs. Biochemistry and genetics, for example, were kept apart from the "scientific activities designed to increase knowledge of factors which influence or determine human conduct."

What can be done to bridge the gap between psychology and biology? More importantly, how can we develop expertise in dealing with the human problems that plague us but at present go unsolved?

A broad, long-range, and practical strategy for learning how to deal more effectively with human problems is to explore, problem by problem, the inborn human characteristics that are pertinent to each one. Differential psychology, for example, needs to be intensified and greatly expanded; this can probably be done most effectively in connection with a series of problem-centered explorations.

Some of the specific problem-areas that require study from the standpoint of how inborn characteristics come into play are: delinquency and crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, unemployment, accident proneness, cancer, heart disease, arthritic disease, mental disease, and, broadest of all, education. Each of these problems could be vastly better understood as the result of interdisciplinary study of the influences of inborn characteristics. Such study would include differential psychology when applicable, combined with extensive and intensive biochemical and physiological examinations, for example, of blood, saliva, urine, and biopsy materials. To expedite these investigations, automated equipment and computer techniques would be

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The Invisible Intruders

There is something depressingly familiar about the latest round of disclosures and denials concerning military "surveillance" of ordinary domestic political activities and the compilation, by Pentagon computers, of extensive dossiers on thousands of innocent American citizens. In the revelations triggered in December by Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina, the culprit was the Army and the targets were hundreds of political figures and other people in the state of Illinois, among them Senator Adlai Stevenson 3rd. But related disclosures before—and since—Senator Ervin's report make it clear that the military is hardly alone in its illegal and illegitimate invasions of Constitutional rights. What they suggest is that all the revelations, all the statements by former agents, and all the debates about how the information is collected and stored only constitute the tip of an iceberg of snoops, provocateurs, and double agents working for hundreds of different organizations in America.

Local police, state police, the CIA, the FBI, and the military operate extensive networks to gather information, infiltrate organizations regarded as potentially dangerous—or useful—and maintain large and growing files on political figures, journalists, community leaders, and just plain private citizens. In the past decade these agencies have developed sophisticated electronic means to carry on surveillance, record telephone conversations, photograph demonstrations, and collect other data about their subjects. The

availability of the means seems to create a compulsion to use them, and the existence of the files seems to create a kind of miser's passion to preserve them. In Washington the sardonic reminder that "this conversation is probably bugged" has become more than a casual joke.

What makes the latest round depressing is the familiar set of responses from Pentagon officials: 1) it never happened; 2) it did happen but without our knowledge; 3) it was necessary for reasons of national security and the prevention of domestic disorders; 4) we will stop all surveillance and destroy the files and tapes; 5) we will put military surveillance activities under the direct supervision of civilians in the Pentagon. More than a year ago, a former Army intelligence officer named Christopher Pyle first revealed details about the Army's domestic espionage activities. "Today," Pyle wrote, "the Army maintains files on the membership, ideology, programs, and practices of virtually every activist political group in the country. These include not only such violence-prone organizations as the Minutemen and the Revolutionary Action Movement but such non-violent groups as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Clergy and Laymen United Against the War in Vietnam, the American Civil Liberties Union, Women Strike for Peace, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." Military undercover agents, according to Pyle and other former Army personnel, had posed as press photographers and

reporters covering anti-war demonstrations, as college students, as residents of Resurrection City, and as staff members of various anti-war organizations.

After the publication of Pyle's charges in the magazine *Washington Monthly*, the Army promised to destroy its files and tapes on domestic political activities and, in some instances, did so, but in most cases microfilm or other duplicates were retained. Senator Ervin's recent revelations indicate, moreover, that surveillance by military agents has not declined; they also indicate the difficulty of shutting down any intelligence operation once the means and the agents have been assembled. In response to the Ervin disclosures, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird announced that beginning in February the military's domestic intelligence activities would be placed directly under civilian control, meaning the supervision of Pentagon bureaucrats rather than Pentagon colonels. What that promises is more of the same, not elimination of the substantive abuses.

The Army's justification for the collection of domestic political information generally is based on its responsibility to maintain order in case of major riots or civil insurrection. But that justification—even if it is interpreted with the broadest possible latitude—remains thin. In the event of insurrection, it would not be the military but civilian police agencies that would be responsible for the arrest of guerrillas and insurgents. The Army's concern is with crowds, not with individuals. More important, however, is the total lack of justification for the maintenance of files on elected political leaders, among them some of the most respected members of the House and Senate, people whose only claim on the interest of the military is that they have been critics of the Pentagon and its policies.

"The Army," said Senator Ervin, "investigated these men during their campaigns for office and while they were in office." They were in no way associated with violence or the possibility of insurrection. "It was enough that they opposed or did not actively support the government's policy in Vietnam, or that they disagreed with the domestic policies of the administration, or that they were in contact with or sympathetic to people with such views." If Army intelligence collects data on elected public officials (and, in some instances, leaks it to other agencies or the press), then no citizen is safe. That the existence of such intelligence activities has become public knowledge makes them no less dangerous; in fact, it increases the potential for repression and intimidation. The military can perennially

deny and minimize, but at the same time let it be known that Big Brother is still watching. The existence of a large file of political dossiers in military or police intelligence files is not tantamount to totalitarianism or thought control, but it is one of the necessary elements.

What is most disturbing about the recent disclosures, however, is what they suggest about the pervasiveness of domestic political surveillance. Even if the Army were to get out of the domestic intelligence business entirely—and there is little likelihood that it will—we would still be subject to the activities of hundreds of other agencies, governmental and private, would still have to bear the suspicion that the files, the tapes, and the computer data banks keep growing, and would still live in a country where privacy from official intrusion is increasingly jeopardized by a network of interlocking data storage systems that collect everything from credit and tax records and Social Security numbers through data on criminal arrests, political affiliations, and personal associations.

There are, for example, 2.6 million people in America who, at one time or another, had a driver's license revoked or suspended; their names and offense records are stored in a national computer file at the Department of Transportation. There are 10.2 million names in the U.S. Civil Service Commission "security file," an index to determine "suitability involving loyalty and subversive activity." There are 13,000 activist critics of American policy in the files—and under general surveillance—of the Secret Service. And there is growing exchange among police data banks in most major cities; some of these data banks contain only "relevant" criminal records, others include the names of "potential subversives," political activists, and even the names of school children who have been arrested (not necessarily convicted) for possession of marijuana, for participating in demonstrations, or for truancy. That the subjects of interest and the questions asked by the snoops are often ludicrous and that they seem to reveal abysmal ignorance of the things that any reader of a daily newspaper should know do not make their activities less dangerous. It simply indicates that when labels like dissent, protest, activist, or demonstration become attached to a subject, subversion, treason, and violence are automatically regarded as real possibilities.

Within the next few weeks Senator Ervin's Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights will open hearings on the activities of the military in collecting and maintaining files on civilians. It would hardly be inappropriate

if those hearings were extended to other aspects of the burgeoning surveillance business, public and private, and if the subcommittee asked not only about the illegitimate activities of military spies but also about surveillance and data collection by other agencies at all levels: What kind of information is collected and stored? Who has access to it? Who controls its use? What are the chances of leaks or (as has occasionally happened in the past) outright sale by police agents to private buyers? How is information exchanged? What access, if any, does a private citizen have to his own file? What redress does he have against the circulation or storage of libelous information or the misuse of accurate data? What "innocent" agencies collaborate with government spies in furnishing data? We know that school systems, colleges, welfare agencies, and other social service institutions have made their own files available to the police and other government investigators. What protections does a student or a welfare client have against misuse of his confidential records?

To expose the surveillance activities of the military is vital, but unless the Congress concerns itself with all the other interlocking agencies it will have achieved little more than trimming one of the tentacles of a growing monster. It hardly needs to be said again that covert military surveillance of domes-

tic political activities is dangerous, but it is almost as dangerous if it is done by anyone else. Nor should it have to be said that Constitutional rights and liberties in this country mean nothing if every bureaucracy and every police agency with a bug or a computer can spy on citizens at will. The issue is not whether a particular investigation might be useful or a particular dossier an asset; the issue, in an open society, is whether the reasons for surveillance and the collection of dossiers, however "benign," are so critical, so imperative, as to offset Constitutional protections against illegal search and against the infringement of political and personal liberties.

Judging by the history of the Army's involvement in domestic espionage, it will be hard enough to curb invasions of privacy by even the most obvious violators. Yet clearly Congress—if it has the will—can make a start, and that is to expose the extent of this invisible intrusion. We have—at least in theory—never had a national secret police. It would be fatally ironic if we were to create its equivalent in hundreds of different agencies playing espionage. It would be even more ironic if Constitutional liberties—which we once assumed would stand against any attempt at tyranny—were replaced not by demagogues or dictators but by technicians "preserving order" with machines.

—PETER SCHRAG.

Soundstage

by Ruth Berman

High walls dark out on the rise
To a presumed ceiling
Where silences thicken,
High above the catwalks
Where men walk upon
The lights high above the bright-lit
Make-believe ringed
By twilight darkening out
To the presumed walls.
Within the lit globe stand
No ones.
No look, no drawn nor slacked muscle,
No edging in the voice lets in
Minds of men who, if there, might be
Hungry, sleepy, or inappropriately passionate.
They are shut out of the globe into some
Rabbithole space or time
Of the mind,
Nor are the fictional ones personated there,
There,
Only the bodies moving in the light,
Bright dust-motes dancing on chalkmarks
Within the globe
Within the twilight
Within the unseen walls.