Three-Dimension

KALAMAZOO COLLEGE, 1965

EDITORS

HAROLD HARRIS
FRANK BAUSCH
DONALD FLESCH
JOHN PETERSON
EDITORIAL BOARD

RALPH DEAL
DAVID COLLINS
RICHARD MEANS
CONRAD HILBERRY
JOHN THOMAS
DAVID SCARROW
DAVID SQUIRES

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

LIGA ABOLINS
ANDREW BIERWALTES
JEAN CLARK
JAY HARVEY
DOUGLAS LOCKE
MITCHELL NUSSBAUM
LUCINDA NELSON
BARBARA PAXSON
RONALD SPANN, Chairman
KAREN STRONG

COVER AND ART WORK
By
JEAN CLARK

Copyright 1965 by
Kalamazoo College
Statement of Purpose

This journal exists so that outstanding student achievement may be recognized in these important dimensions of Kalamazoo College— the Senior Thesis, the Career and Service Quarter, and the Foreign Study Program. At the same time, Three-Dimension is intended to serve the purpose of making available to the whole academic community the results of whatever intellectual or self-discoveries have been made by those reprinted in it.
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### SENIOR THESIS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Labor’s Divided Ranks in the General Strike</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>By Haldan Christensen</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Inventory of Mexican Gestures</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>By Joan M Van Deusen and James Gunn</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes of Mexican University Students Towards Segregation in the United States</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>By Barent Landstreet, Jr</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The International Economics of Jamaican Growth</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>By Gene Tidrick</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confronting the Issue of Apportionment</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>By Bruce A Timmons</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Synthesis and Reactions of 6-Hydroxy-5-Formylbenzofuran</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>By James A Weis</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FOREIGN STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The American University of Beirut One View</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>By Allen Fisher</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CAREER AND SERVICE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York, 1964</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>By Astrida Butners</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>By Robert W Ionta</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islands</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>By Sally Mendelsohn</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gainful Employment and I</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>By Oliver Nichelson</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(In the case of all the senior thesis, excerpts only have been published)*
BRITISH LABOR'S DIVIDED RANKS
IN THE GENERAL STRIKE

By Haldan Christensen*

The General Strike of 1926 was at once the greatest strike in history and the most dramatic event in British history of the 1920's. In essence it was a sympathetic strike, in which roughly three million workers willingly laid down their tools to come out in support of the mineworkers, whose wages, already disgraceful by common accord, were under attack by their employers. The writer undertook to tell the story of the Labor movement in this period of stress — the dissensions, recriminations and differing interpretations which divided the movement upon many questions related to the preparation for the Strike and its conduct. Thanks mainly to the financial assistance of the administration of Kalamazoo College, he was able to do much of the work in London. He wishes to express his gratitude to his project director, Dr. Edward Moritz, Jr., whose advice and support were most invaluable.

Britain's return to the gold standard in 1925 created a downward pressure on wages which the miners, a poverty-stricken but proud and intransigent group, were the first to feel. When reductions were pressed upon them by the mineowners, they were able to secure from the Trades Union Congress a promise of support in the form of a massive secondary boycott. This threat made the Government, then under Stanley Baldwin, back down and grant a subsidy to the coal industry while a Royal Commission investigated its problems.

"Red Friday," as this signal victory became known, aroused very different feelings in the breasts of various members of the Labor movement. The moderates who led the executive General Council of the Trades Union Congress were much less exultant than Left-wingers or the stubborn leaders of the Miners' Federation, Herbert Smith and A. J. Cook. The TUC leaders, intelligent but not radical men like Arthur Pugh, J. H. Thomas and Ernest Bevin, hoped above all for peace and deprecated the talk, now open, of resort to a strike of all trade unionists in the country if reductions were forced upon the miners once the Government's subsidy ran out. When the Report of the Royal Commission appeared in March, it deepened the hidden rift between Left and Right by suggesting moderate and temporary wage reductions along with a sweeping reorganization of the industry. But when negotiations with the mineowners were begun, the miners' fears of desertion lessened, for the employers were

*Haldan N. Christensen of Ann Arbor, Michigan, is currently doing graduate work in the Department of History at Yale University.
maintaining a stiff attitude and demanding large reductions. This excerpt deals with the last few days of negotiation before the end of the subsidy period brought the General Strike.

**THE SPECIAL CONFERENCE**

On Tuesday, 27 April, the Miners' Federation released a bellicose statement in reply to the proposals (not yet specifically formulated) of the owners. In this statement they declared that "their wages are already at the lowest possible point at which they can sustain the necessary physical energy to carry on the industry." Further, the miners stated that their will to resist was strengthened by the knowledge that reorganization of the industry would otherwise be shelved. They set forth the usual picture of themselves as the working-class vanguard, reminding other trade unionists that if they were beaten "their present standard of all sections of the Movement will inevitably be reduced."

On Thursday, 29 April, a Special Conference of Executives of all unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress met at the Congregational Memorial Hall on Farrington Street, in London. Described by the Special Committee as a "preliminary, provisional and precautionary measure," this was not a planning or strategy meeting, the General Council's purpose in calling it was, plainly, to have a representative body ready to approve whatever plans they might decide on. It will be noted that they called a conference of trade union executives, not a special Trades Union Congress, they had gotten together a labor conference of the most conservative type but one that could itself be responsible for carrying out the decisions it made.

The conference seems to have been neither downhearted nor enthusiastic. Left-wingers try to give the impression that the delegates were irritated with the General Council for not making an open strike threat, and to this end stress the objections of Mr. W. J. Brown of the Civil Service workers, who said that in his opinion "the General Council is making a tremendous blunder in not stating its policy to this Conference." Noting the General Council’s justification that it wanted to avoid seeming to wave the "big stick," Brown went on

I want to ask them whether they have considered the effect

---

1. Miners' Federation of Great Britain, *Statement on Owners' Proposals by the Miners' Federation of the Trade Union Movement* (London: By the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, 1926)
2. *The Times* (London), 26 April 1926
which the absence of a definite lead this afternoon is likely to have upon our own people — a factor which is at least as important as its effect upon the other side. I contrast the atmosphere of this meeting which existed nine months ago. There is not a man here who cannot feel that the atmosphere is chilly (Cries of "No") it does seem to me that the General Council would be pursuing a wiser policy if they asked us to tell the Government where we stand, and above all if they asked the Parliamentary Party to come into action on this matter in a way they have not done up to now.

Thomas, answering these remarks and concluding the session, said he did not think the conference chilly but only soberly responsible. He explained that the Parliamentary Labor Party had offered support but that the miners had told it to keep clear for the duration. Thus, critical remarks were already being made, publicly, between the General Council and the Federation.

The Conference's first day seems to have been satisfactory from the right-wing point of view. The Daily Herald, a staunch foe of radicalism, didn't mention Brown's name, but said that the one speaker who advocated an open strike threat "was heard with impatience." The editor, Hamilton Fyfe, declared happily "There was no boasting, no disposition to think of a General Strike as anything but a very regrettable necessity." To onlooker Leslie Paul the delegates seemed "no longer so exhilarated about rebellion, they were more ready to count the cost", he credited the Samuel Report for their moderate mood.

The General Council's statement, presented at this meeting, later gave fuel to the miners' recriminations. It gave the General Council's suggestions for reorganization which, it claimed, it considered effective enough to provide a decent standard of living for the miners. The General Council also commended the miners for "their

---


5. *ibid*, p 22


7.Daily Herald (London), 30 April, 1926


willingness to consider any proposals which the Government or the Mine Owners are prepared to submit for securing the speedy and effective reorganization of the mining industry.”

The two statements which the General Council would have cause to rue were these

In our opinion the wages and working conditions of mine workers are already so depressed as to render it imperative to seek for remedies other than a further degradation in their standards of life

The process of reducing wages cannot provide a solution and would tend to intensify the present difficulty. The figures given in the Commission’s Report show quite clearly that to seek any further degradation of this level is indefensible. In any case the lowering of wages is not a real remedy.

There is no way to deny that these statements were endorsements of the miners’ three points. They formed part of Chairman Arthur Pugh’s address to the Conference, and A J Bennet’s Communist analysis of the General Council’s report on the strike is right in noting that there is no mention of this speech in that document.

The General Council statement is noted without comment — none was needed — in the miners’ statement on the Strike. At the Special Conference of January, A J Cook read out one of the sentences given above and said merely “Here, right on the conference of the Executives, again it was decided, and that was the position.”

Bevin spoke, and betrayed an insight into the logic of the developing situation when he told the delegates

You are moving into an extraordinary position. In twenty-four hours from now you may have to cease being separate unions for this purpose. For this purpose you will have to become one union with no autonomy.

Here the transcript notes, “Cheers”, it may be wondered whether

---

11Ibid., p 16
12The Mining Situation Proposals, op cit., p 2
15Trades Union Congress General Council, National Strike Special Conference Report of Proceedings at a Special Conference of Executives, 20-21 January 1927 (London by the General Council, 1927), p 30 (Hereafter referred to as National Strike Special Conference)
16Ibid., p 16
the delegates really understood the implications of the transport leader’s words or were cheering his stirring rhetoric. Robert M. Rayner says the miners’ representatives got a “rather unpleasant shock” from Bevin’s statement. This is, the writer feels, conjecture, though the miners’ leaders were later to voice reluctance to surrender all their powers, they seemed to believe at no point that they were actually being asked to do so.

Bevin, like W. J. Brown, had hard words for the Parliamentary Party. “I am staggered at the way this business is being carried on,” he exclaimed (his surprise, as we have seen, was not assumed, no General Council member not on the Special Committee had been kept in touch with the situation), “Why does not the Labour Party in the House of Commons itself make a pronouncement on the inadequacy of the miners’ wages?” Thomas’s answer, mentioned above, was that the miners had declined Labor Party help. In making this demand, Bevin was asking the Party, actually, to contravene the instructions of the Trades Union Congress.

The motion to adjourn was brought by Thomas. It stated that the Conference endorsed the General Council’s efforts for “an honourable settlement,” wanted them to continue “provided that the impending lockout of the mineworkers is not enforced,” and was staying in London in the meantime. Speaking to the motion, the railwaymen’s leader told the delegates that it was meant to show their concern with the situation, their willingness to back the General Council, and their desire to see the threat of a lockout removed from the negotiations.

When Cook rose to speak, he noted “The resolution, if I understand it aright, means the confirmation of the statement set out on the 26th February.” No one contradicted him — a fact noted by the miners in their later statement.

Did the General Council mislead the Special Conference of Executives about the policy it intended to follow regarding miners’ wages and working hours? It is hard, in view of what we know of the Coun-

18*Mining Situation*, p. 16
20*Mining Situation*, p. 12
21*bid*, p. 15
22*bid*, p. 20
cil's real opinion of Cook's three points, to disagree with Hutt that the contradiction given in Pugh's speech ("imperative to seek for remedies other than a further degradation in their standards of life") was pregnant with misunderstanding and disaster. Rhetoric is legitimate and at times desirable, but where misunderstanding can be fatal, it is better to sacrifice rhetoric and speak in precise terms. Arthur Pugh did not.

The Conference met the next day, it met, indeed, several times. Negotiations were still going badly. Leslie Paul, a young journalist sympathetic to the Labor cause who was present, noted a mood neither of despondency nor of militancy, but of determination. At 11:25 P.M. the Special Committee returned and Pugh and Thomas reported.

The coal owners had made their first genuine offer, and the only thing that need be noted is that its terms were miserable, not even pretending to follow the terms of the Samuel Report. The owners demanded a reversion to the eight-hour day and drastic reductions, amounting to at least thirteen and one-third per cent, for every miner in Britain. The miners' reply unanimously rejected these proposals, by way of counter-proposals they could only promise to "cooperate to the fullest extent with the Government and the owners in instituting such reorganization as is recommended by the Commission." They closed with this singularly illogical sentence.

Until such reorganization brings greater prosperity to the industry, the miners should not be called upon to surrender any of their present inadequate hours and conditions.

The Special Committee concentrated now on getting the owners' offer withdrawn. This offer, it should be pointed out, amounted to a lockout notice although it was, technically, simply a wage offer. All the ensuing talk about "withdrawal of lockout notices" ignored this offer, since everyone knew that the miners would never accept it and that, therefore, the lockout announced on 30 March was likely to take effect.

The Government now adopted a position which it was to hold until negotiations ended. This was an insistence on a promise from the miners that if the other recommendations of the Samuel Report were put into effect the recommendation of wage reductions would be, too. Failing this, the Cabinet refused to lift a finger to get lock-

25Paul, *op cit*, p. 78
26*Mining Situation*, pp. 26-27
27*ibid*, p. 227-28
out notices suspended, a step which would require a temporary continuation of the subsidy. When, through the Special Committee, the Cabinet put this view to the Federation leaders, the latter replied.

The miners state that they are not prepared to accept a reduction in wages as a preliminary to the reorganisation of the industry, but they reiterate that they will be prepared to give full consideration to all the difficulties connected with the industry when the schemes for such reorganisation have been initiated by the Government.

The word "initiated," Pugh told the Special Conference, was the crucial one. The Government thought it had already given enough pledge of its willingness to put the Report into effect, the miners feared that it wanted to evade its obligations under the Report. The Special Committee no doubt agreed with the miners in this, it tried to change the Government's mind but could not. "My friends," Thomas told the delegates, "when the verbatim reports are written, I suppose my usual critics will say that Thomas was almost groveling, and it is true I never begged and pleaded like I begged and pleaded all day to-day." Thomas's "groveling" might have paid off, but the Cabinet remained intransigent and he had to hear his words thrown back at him in later years by his "usual critics."

"We have not broken down on any important or vital question, but on a mere phrase," Pugh told the Conference. In the story of the negotiations it is characteristically Right-wing to stress the easy availability of peace had there only been more time. Thomas says in his memoirs that the government was attempting to hold the balance between the disputants, but waited too long before taking any real action. When the miners demanded that reorganisation be "initiated" by the Government, he interpreted it as a suggestion that, if the Government went along, the miners would agree to reductions. Consequently, he urged Baldwin to accept it as a "tremendous contribution," but to no avail. On the other end of the spectrum, J T Murphy believes that the miners' promise to give full consideration to all the difficulties connected with the industry meant that the Special Committee had "tricked them into a compromising position."

Just what was the attitude of the miners? A difficult question.

---

28 Crook, *op cit*, p 346
29 *Mining Situation*, p 31
30 ibid., p 28
There is complete disagreement between Right and Left as to whether they were ever prepared to take reductions. Addressing the Special Conference on the breakdown of negotiations, Pugh assured the delegates that the miners realized that all parties had responsibilities under the Report 33 MacDonald declared a few weeks later “The miners were in a more amenable frame of mind than they had been. Discussions with them had shown that some wages might still be reduced and, if the Government had liked, advantage could have been taken of that.” 34

In his statement to the National Strike Special Conference in January, Herbert Smith chastised the men on the Special Committee who at this point “in some guarded way led to the idea that we were prepared to accept a reduction in wages.” 35 The miners’ position after the Strike was consistent, they had never considered reductions, and there is no lack of evidence, and still less of opinion, to back them up. Writing of the negotiations of 30 April, The Times said that the Special Committee, with the help of MacDonald and Henderson, was “at work, but their efforts came to nothing. The miners declined to admit the necessity for a reduction in wages.” 36 W H Crook states that the General Council’s proposals for reorganization of the industry, which were endorsed by the miners, included “in its proper place” the revision of the minimum percentage, 37 but a scrutiny of this statement shows that this measure is listed among those demanded by the Royal Commission — which the General Council dismissed as inadequate. 38

At any rate, there can be no denial that the miners continued to negotiate under the threat of a lockout, when the only terms so far offered them were, by common accord, disgraceful. Hamilton Fyfe, an eye-witness, mentions the miners’ feelings of insult and indignation, which they mustered, he says, out of a feeling of obligation to the other unions. 39 “For the sake of peace,” Cook said in January 1927, “we negotiated when notices were not withdrawn.” 40

In these circumstances the General Council could hardly do anything but support the miners, and there is no evidence that it was

33Mining Situation, p 28
34J Ramsay MacDonald, “The Outlook,” Socialist Review, July 26, p 4
35National Strike Special Conference, p 16
36The Times, (London), 30 April 1926
37Crook, op cit, pp 345-46
38Trades Union Congress General Council, The Mining Situation. Proposals of the General Council Presented to Special Conference of Trade Union Executive Committees, 29th April 1926, loc cit, p 2
39Fyfe, op cit, pp 14-15
40National Strike Special Conference, p 30
reluctant to do so. In Parliament the next Monday J H Thomas
dwelt on the insistence of owners and Government that the miners
agree to reductions before negotiations continued, and called it “the
meanest part of this business.” The Trades Union Congress “felt
they were doing their duty in standing by the miners in this simple
demand ‘Do not lock out men without giving a chance for negotia­
tions’ That was a reasonable demand.”

The actual preparations for the General Strike now enter the story
at long last. What spurred the General Council was, first, a dawning
realization that final negotiations were proceeding fruitlessly and,
secondly, news which now came to them of Government prepara­
tions for a strike.

Apparently the first evidence of Conservative action against the
TUC was a press circular sent from the Conservative central office
on Monday 26 April. This told editors that “reference may be
made to the questions of hours, upon which it is desirable to concen­
trate attention rather than upon a reduction of wages.” After read­
ing this document on the evening of 30 April, Thomas said that
Stanley Baldwin, when confronted with this document, claimed to
know nothing about it. Still, Thomas pointed out, it was a damning
pronouncement to proceed from a supposedly neutral government.

He proceeded then to read this announcement

Q M S  Organization for the Maintenance of Supplies
The Government has proclaimed a state of
emergency. All loyal citizens who are able and
willing to undertake any public service should
register at once at the local office of the
O M S.

Baldwin claimed (Thomas said) that the document had “been re­
fused to be published,” but the negotiators replied

Where is it leading to? While we have been striving for peace,
while we have been pleading for peace, whilst we have laid all
our cards on the table and played cricket, what can be said of
that kind of thing and all that it means?

Thomas later asked the House of Commons to “consider the situa­
tion when we were striving and working for peace, keeping those

41 Alan Bullock, The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin, Vol 1 Trade Union
42 Great Britain, 5 Parliamentary Debates (Commons), CXCV (1926), 78
43 ibid, Col 81
44 Mining Situation, p 31
45 ibid
46 ibid, p 32
47 ibid
things back, and then to be told that the other action had caused
the negotiations to break down. Trade union leaders insisted after
the Strike that it had been provoked by the government (specifically,
by the above-mentioned actions and the Emergency Powers Act)
which made the calling of the Strike purely defensive. The debate is
akin to that which still goes on over the origins of World War I —
that is, was a given action merely a logical response to the actions
of the other side or did it include an additional element which made
it aggressive? This argument deals too much with imponderables to
be settled here, but it does seem to the writer that the action planned
by the Government, which came to the TUC's attention, was, to
the trade unionists, merely a response to the strike threat. This
response would have been canceled (or, in the case of the Emergency
Powers Act, allowed to lapse) had no General Strike been declared.
Thomas, a man with Cabinet experience, could expect the Govern-
ment to prepare, indeed, he was to say in July that the Cabinet
"would have been unworthy of office and unfit for their job if
they had not prepared for a struggle." MacDonald, in a letter to
The Times the previous October, had said the same thing — and
that journal was now careful to remind readers of the fact.

Ben Turner, a General Council member, says that it was the sight
of the O M S handbill that "caused our committee to prepare for a
General Strike." Indeed, it was at this late date that specific plans
were first drawn up for the great strike. Turner's committee was the
Ways and Means or Strike Organization Committee, chaired by Pur-
cell, of which Bevin was the moving spirit. Bevin had the task of
explaining the strike plans to the Special Conference. "Under cir-
cumstances when we had no thought of war," he told the delegates,
"when I think all our General Council believed peace would accrue,
and when you as a Conference decided on that very resolution the
day before, we could not imagine" that the Government would not
accept the General Council's proposals. Only a few voices were
raised to say that these plans had been drawn up too late. And now
plans had been drawn up which took the general strike, most feared
of all labor's weapons in theory, from the syndicalist's soapbox to
the briefcases of realistic trade-union leaders. What was the theory
behind this General Strike? And why did the General Council
choose this weapon?

48'Great Britain,' 5 Parliamentary Debates (Commons), CXCV (1926), op
cit.
49Crook, op cit., p 349
50The Times (London), 3 May 1926
51Ben Turner, About Myself (London Humphrey Toulmin, 1930), p 307
52Mining Situation, p 34
With the early versions of a theory of the general strike in Great Britain we shall not concern ourselves here. We agree, rather, with John Murray's statement that one reason the regular trade-union leaders of Britain so loathed the idea of a general strike was its strangeness. The idea had simply not developed well in theory in Great Britain, the movement had never given any thought to organized mass action. It is almost, though not quite, safe to agree with Leslie Paul that the country had no anarcho-syndicalist tradition.

Syndicalism proper did have its vogue before the war, when Britain went through its most severe waves of strikes. Political Labor was at the time winning a firm foothold in Parliament, and industrial Labor (which had given this operation staunch support) was finding that instead of the government becoming more revolutionary, its own men in Parliament were becoming less so. Syndicalism caught on in 1910—a great appeal to an hysterical age.

The central figure in the upsurge of Syndicalism was Tom Mann, who returned to Britain in 1910 from a long tour abroad which had taken him to Australia and South Africa. In the former country he had a chance to see the IWW at work and liked what he saw. On his return he started a vigorous nationwide syndicalist campaign, calling for industrial unionism and an aggressive use of strikes as weapons in the general class of war. The idea of industrial unionism was American, that of the strike as a class-war weapon was French. Combined, they exerted much influence on Left-minded workers in heavy industry, the most famous Syndicalist pamphlet, The Miners' Next Step, had A. J. Cook as one of its authors. Syndicalism attacked political action such as that of the Labor Party, it pronounced nationalization no cure if the state remained in capitalist hands. For this reason, perhaps, the doctrine came under bitter criticism from the Labor Party and many of the unions.

An interesting example of this is Ramsay MacDonald's little book on Syndicalism, published in 1912, in which the doctrine is compared at length with "socialism" (as the author sees it) with conclusions which may be imagined. The future Labor leader defined Syndica-

---

54 Paul, op cit, p. 83
55 Crook, op cit, p. 214
57 Crook, op cit, p. 214
59 Pribicevic, op cit, p. 2
dicalism as "British realism captured by French idealism,"\textsuperscript{60} as a revolt against parliamentary institutions — a revolt against Society, which "must be Parliamentary, or nothing."\textsuperscript{61}

Central to the doctrine of Syndicalism, of course, was the theoretical general strike Mann preached the general strike as a practical weapon, he seemed to think that there was very little that it could not accomplish.\textsuperscript{62} At one point he predicted that the great strike would be "the actual Social and Industrial Revolution."\textsuperscript{63}

In the years 1910-13 the ideas of Syndicalism, and especially that of the general strike, took an unknown part in fomenting the wave of industrial disputes and struck an unknown amount of terror into the hearts of the middle classes. In 1913 the doctrine suddenly died.\textsuperscript{64} The \textit{Daily Herald}, then a flaming radical sheet edited by George Lansbury, carried them on in a way, when war threatened in 1914 it called for an international general strike which would make war impossible.\textsuperscript{65} But Syndicalism, whether live or dead, went underground. It had had considerable influence on the big unions, especially the Miners' Federation.\textsuperscript{66} Tom Brown, a Syndicalist pamphleteer, claims that "The General Strike propaganda of the old Syndicalist groups had a much greater effect than was ever expected of it."\textsuperscript{67} There is no way to prove it, if an idea is adopted and put into effect anyone who has advocated it at some time can claim part of the credit. When the writer asked Brown how much Syndicalist influence there was in the 1926 General Strike, he said simply, "Very, very little." When questioned about indirect influence, though, he said that it was "a case of a little leaven" being enough to bake the loaf.\textsuperscript{68}

Brown emphasized the very simple nature of the theory of British syndicalism. It boils down, in his view, to a matter of solidarity, its core is the old trade union idea of "an injury to one is an injury to all." And, he claimed, "It was Syndicalism which had publicized those ideas."

\textsuperscript{60}MacDonald, \textit{op cit}, p 1
\textsuperscript{61}\textit{Ibid}, p 61
\textsuperscript{62}Pribicicvic, \textit{loc cit}, p 19
\textsuperscript{63}Julian Symons, \textit{The General Strike} (London The Cresset Press, 1957), p 51
\textsuperscript{64}Pribicicvic, \textit{op cit}, p 20
\textsuperscript{66}Isador Lubin and Helen Everett, \textit{The British Coal Dilemma} (London George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1927), p 206
\textsuperscript{68}Personal interview with Mr Tom Brown, 14 February 1964
The attitude of the leaders of political and industrial Labor toward the General Strike is well documented and shows a certain unanimity. In his 1912 book, MacDonald asserted that the strike would starve the poor first and rouse their ire against the strike leaders, not the government, and that time would work against, not for, the strikers.69

A political strike — like the successful Belgian and German ones of 1913 and 1920 — could be legitimate, MacDonald admitted, and even successful, but was more likely to antagonize other classes who were willing to confine their protests to the ballot box.70 The general strike, finally, set forth no specific goal, it was likely to drag on until funds dried up and morale broke down.71

Other Party leaders shared MacDonald's enmity to the general strike both on theoretical grounds and because, we may conjecture, it was an open assault on their own settled and gradualist world.72 Beatrice Webb foresaw the Strike and called it a catastrophe.73 J R Clynes went about declaring that if it came it would be a national disaster and fatal to trade union prestige.74 Margaret Bondfield declares that the moderate leaders' opposition was based on antipathy to "any step that depended upon the demonstration of force."75 To put it in a more general way, they thought not in terms of "the working class" but of "the community", any quarrel between sections of that community was to be avoided if possible.76

The General Council's Special Industrial Committee, when it sat down to draw up plans for a real General Strike, had little thought of theory, partly because the idea had had little lasting influence on British working-class thought. Yet there was some rationale behind their choice of this weapon and not another which cannot be explained by the needs of the minute alone. What was the theoretical basis of this strike?

It has been emphasized above that Syndicalism in Britain was not a visionary or even a theoretical creed, but simply an extension of the old trade-union maxim, "An injury to one is an injury to all." In

69 MacDonald, op cit, p 69
70 Benjamin Sacks, J Ramsay MacDonald in Thought and Action (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1952), p 243
71 Ibid, p 246
72 Symons, op cit, p 51
73 Webb, op cit, p 68
this saying is found all the theory that the British strikemakers of 1926 thought they needed. Arthur Pugh said as much at the 1926 Trades Union Congress when he stated that the workers had in the General Strike invoked no new weapon but, on the contrary, had simply made the traditional refusal to accept dictated terms. If the principle of "an injury to one is an injury to all" is to be accepted, Pugh went on, it is to have any significance, it must be recognized that the trade-union movement as a whole has the right to resist the imposition of unjust conditions on any of its sections.

The theory behind the 1926 Strike seems, to put it another way, an extension of the sympathetic strike. This weapon, even when used by one union only, was not universally accepted in the Labor movement. MacDonald wrote in 1924 that he had opposed it “all my life” because “it has one certain result — a bitter and blinding reaction.” Trade unionists, though, looked on the sympathetic strike itself merely as an extension of something else — the kind of solidarity within a craft or a plant that won better wages and working conditions. From the “solid” strike to the sympathetic strike was only a step, from the sympathetic strike to the general strike was only another.

MacDonald himself wrote to the New York Nation after the Strike that “owing to the growing power of capitalism trade unionists have for some time been concluding that the sympathetic strike was the best way to help an attacked section.” W. Milne-Bailey, who was working with the General Council, told another American periodical that to British trade unionists the General Strike was viewed “not as the embodiment of a theory, but as an extension of an ordinary trade dispute merely a sympathy strike on a bigger scale.”

The crucial question, of course, is whether the easy progression in logic from solid strike to sympathetic strike to general strike holds good in practice or whether there turns out to be, in real life, a clear division between these steps. At least one contemporary observer doubted it, writing that the General Council had “absorbed without intelligent thought a muddled philosophy of the sympathetic strike which by still more muddled and hasty action developed into a general strike.”

77 Trains Union Congress, Report of Fifty-Eighth Annual Congress (Bournemouth, 1926, [London By the Trades Union Congress, 1926]), pp 74-75
80 W. Milne-Bailey, “After the General Strike,” American Review of Reviews, LXXIII (July 1926), p 45
Looked at another way, the arrival at the idea of a very large strike was a response to a corresponding process which many trade unionists saw, or professed to see, on the part of employers and government. Employers of labor had built up great combines and banded together in employers' associations; the government, of whatever party it might be made up, was bound to side with employers to some extent when any large strike threatened because private enterprise kept the nation fed and the wheels of communication turning. To many it seemed necessary to extend Labor's front correspondingly. To them, as the Nation of London wrote, "it seemed just the natural development, the final culmination of the tendency to enlarge the area of conflict from industrial works to districts, from a district to a national stoppage, which seemed inherent in collective bargaining." It was at this idea of a "counterassertion of power" that the forceful mind of Ernest Bevin had arrived, he had no patience with revolution but believed that an attack on a wide front must be met by a defense in kind. Bevin and his colleagues, it should be said, once and for all believed neither in the possibility nor the desirability of revolution, their action was defensive, and they meant it to be solely industrial, without political implications. Whether this wish was realistic will be discussed below. Syndicalism as such was dead, its habit of mind was only underground. Trade-union leaders believed in Parliamentary reform, but also believed that if the attack were heavy enough they could reply in kind, even if the economy were disrupted in the process. At the time, at least, few saw any contradiction.

THE GENERAL STRIKE DECLARATION

We have attempted to answer the question of the theory behind the general strike in Britain and that behind the General Strike of 1926. This does not answer the question why was the general strike called? This question was the cause of considerable discussion and sometimes flat disagreement after the Strike. To this debate we turn now.

Many voices are raised to tell us that the General Council, in calling a General Strike, never expected it actually to occur. Clynes, a General Council member, says the Strike was never planned as a serious trade-union object. G D H Cole attributes the General Council's confusion when negotiations were broken off to an expectation that they would never have to go through with it. How do

---

82 Bullock, op cit, p 271
83 Williams, op cit, p 129
84 Bullock, op cit, p 321
writers holding this point of view attempt to explain why the General Council expected no General Strike.9

The answer to this question is seemingly unanimous: the Council hoped to bluff.1 George Lansbury’s journal later made some differentiation, saying that only some members of the Council thought the Strike a bluff.2 But there is general agreement that the General Council assigned a high value to Red Friday and believed that this more drastic threat would get the same results. If a man believes he can wield a weapon without having to strike with it, he may be tempted to do so even if the use of the weapon is repugnant to him, this may explain why men like Thomas went along with the calling of the Strike.3 Again, the leaders may have harbored hopes that the success of the Strike would be evident immediately, intimidating the government and making it climb down, but in view of their previous attitudes and experience, this does not seem very likely.4

There is a substantial body of opinion holding that the General Council, whether or not it expected the General Strike to occur, had very little idea what a general strike implied. Various writers of intellectual stripe note that the Council had a very vague notion of the objects it hoped to attain.5 The Council, suggests ILP member John Paton, extrapolated from its previous strike experience and forgot that in intention and scope this one was quite different.6 Lansbury’s, sharing the view that the Strike was revolutionary by its very nature, calls it idle to carry through such an operation for a limited aim.7 And W. J. Boothroyd, an employee of the Council who had to handle some of the tasks involved in carrying it through, is one of several writers who complain that “a complete lack of definition as

---

6John Paton, Left Turn (London Martin Secker & Warburg, Ltd., 1936), p. 262
7“Secret History of the Great Strike,” op. cit., 6
to its intended effect" severely hampered the practical side of the operation.  

Did the General Council grasp the implications of the General Strike — of any general strike, that is? Just what these are will be discussed below, whether a misconception of them influenced the General Council should be mentioned here. There is no little accord on the Left that failure to think this subject through had its bad effects on the Council's willingness to call the Strike. To Beatrice Webb it was quite self-evident that the General Council was "playing at revolution" and by saying it was not it could only "run away from the consequences." The Manchester Guardian's well-informed Labor correspondent reported that the General Council "had not thought out, and certainly did not intend to carry out, the logical implications of its actions." Such a failure can easily have been one factor in a readiness to declare, or at least to threaten a general strike. It should perhaps be noted that some thought there was something else better. J.R. Clynes advocated a levy on trade-union funds to help the miners, a course advocated after the fact both by MacDonald and by Brailsford of the I.L.P.  

Among the many who claim that the General Council was forced into leading the Strike more or less against its will, are those who put forth all sorts of explanations as the reason for its action. The influence of Black Friday, the overtones of betrayal and defeat which those terms carried, have been touched upon above. "Both leaders and rank-and-file," comments W. Milne-Bailey, "were extraordinarily anxious to avoid the appearance of another Black Friday." Bevin said after the Strike that the psychological after-effects of the previous crisis had been taken into the General Council's calculations. 

If the General Council didn't want the strike, why did it lead it? Railway leader C.T. Cramp, close to the Council though not a member, is reported to have told a friend during the special conference, "Pure fatalism — we can't win." An obvious reason for go-

---

9Cole, op cit., p 422  
11Manchester Guardian, 17 May 1926  
14Ibid., pp 134-35
ing along would be the thought that a leaderless movement would turn into a rout. "They would have been generals watching their armies go on to battle without orders and without plan, the battle would not have been prevented but serious disorder and defeat would have been well-nigh certain."\textsuperscript{15}

Other reasons are given for the Council's action which take it as a response to pressure from below. Lansbury's Labour Weekly said that the Conference of Executives forced the strike, "if it did it was through pressure exerted behind the scenes."\textsuperscript{16} More common is the belief that both Council and Conference yielded to the pressure of the rank and file.

"We had never sought the strike," says J. R. Clynes in his memoirs, "our men ran away with us."\textsuperscript{17} Cramp, whose pessimism is recorded above, said in January 1927 that "the great bulk of the workers of this country did believe in a general strike" at the time one was declared.\textsuperscript{18} On the first day of the Strike, Beatrice Webb wrote in her diary that with the movement in its current state of mind, such an attempt was inevitable.\textsuperscript{19} Three days later she noted that by her information "the working-class generally is far more anxious to strike than the G C of the T U C."\textsuperscript{20} Said the lone Communist M P just before the Strike: "all the figures who are acting are being picked from behind there is no doubt that it is the common voice of Labour that is now expressing itself, and which induces the leaders of the Labour movement."\textsuperscript{21} to take a stiffer attitude than usual. An onlooker at the Special Conference said the feeling was that the delegates "were being carried away by the feeling that they had to do it, that the rank and file would expect it, that another Black Friday would be intolerable."\textsuperscript{22} It should perhaps be noted that to Conservative observers the General Council was yielding not to the working class but to its radical section. The Spectator blamed the calling of the Strike on the extremists, the Annual Register sedately opines that the General Council was less motivated by

\textsuperscript{15}"The Week," The New Republic, XLVI (12 May 1926), p. 341

\textsuperscript{16}"Secret History of the Great Strike," op. cit., p. 3

\textsuperscript{17}Clynes, op. cit., p. 82

\textsuperscript{18}Trades Union Congress General Council, National Strike Special Conference Report of Proceedings at a Special Conference of Executives, 20-21 January 1927 (London By the General Council, 1927), p. 56 (Hereafter referred to as National Strike Special Conference)

\textsuperscript{19}Webb, op. cit., p. 91

\textsuperscript{20}ibid., p. 93

\textsuperscript{21}Great Britain, 5 Parliamentary Debates (Commons), CXCV (1926), 151-52

\textsuperscript{22}Symons, op. cit., p. 135
a desire to aid the miners than by that section of the movement that wished to try conclusions with the Government.

Less favorable to the Council than the reasons suggested above are those submitted by writers who think the General Council acted only to save its position. A. J. Bennet accuses it of staying at the helm only to control negotiations. His fellow Communist, "C. B." says that to have turned down the Strike would, given the prevailing working-class temper, have meant the end of the whole Right wing, and points out, not without logic, that — given the General Council's after-the-fact hostility to the idea of a general strike — there is nothing in its report to tell why it called it. Syndicalist Tom Brown makes the strongest charges of all by calling the Council members agents — provocateurs for leading a struggle they opposed, in order to control and hamper it.

Would a mine strike have spread, perhaps engulfing the country in conflict? If the General Council was motivated by such fears, it gives Leftists evidence that they feared revolution and the resultant emancipation of the working class. One of them says outright that the Council took charge to stop the miners' struggle from growing or becoming a general revolt. Both Bevin and MacDonald felt, indeed, that trouble would have been likely had not the General Council taken charge. The dockers' leader spoke of the "widespread unofficial fighting" that would have prevailed had the strike not been called, the Labor Party chief guessed at "unauthorized strikes" that would have paralyzed industry.

All these explanations of the General Council's behavior postulate a basic unwillingness to call the strike which the Council managed to overcome in one way or another. Let us now turn to a class of explanations for the calling of the strike which assume that the Council thought the Strike had a chance of success or, at least, hoped for the best.

27 Bennet, op. cit., pp. 17, 20
The General Council itself afterward defined its reason for striking as a desire to protest against having to negotiate under threat of a lockout and to agree to wage reductions before negotiating on the rest of the Samuel Report. Thomas in January 1927 insisted that the General Council had made this clear throughout to the delegates to the Special Conference. The Council's strike sheet, the British Worker, stressed this point at length during the post-strike recriminations. Chairman Pugh said categorically in its pages that the only issue to the Council from the time lockout notices were posted was to get them withdrawn. And a week after the Strike the Council's Publicity Committee stated that the Strike had been called "to help the miners resist the lockout" declared to enforce a reduction of wages as preliminary to negotiation on the Samuel Report. This lets Left-wingers point out sarcastically that the "General Council called a general strike in an attempt to implement the recommendations of the Coal Commission appointed by the Conservative Government." Indeed, when the Council's report on the Strike came out, H N Brailsford entitled his review, "How the TUC Struck for Wage Reductions."

Did the General Council think the General Strike a potent weapon? The only person the writer can find who makes this claim is not even a representative of the Labor movement. W M Citrine, to be sure, said at the National Strike Special Conference that the Council expected such drastic action to "make the Trade Union Movement rise above its rules, rise above every other consideration in a generous desire to help the miners." But there is no doubt whatever in the writer's mind that the General Council thought the miners' cause just — could not, indeed, help so feeling even if it wished, its spokesmen at the Special Conference emphasized this.

Later, General Council sympathizers said that the belligerent at-

---

29 National Strike Special Conference, p 25
30 British Worker (London), 15 May 1926
31 ibid., 11 May 1926
33 Bennet, op cit., p 13
34 H N Brailsford, "How the TUC Struck for Wage Reductions," New Leader, XIII (25 July 1926), p 8
35 Rayner, op cit., p 255
36 National Strike Special Conference, p 43
37 Trades Union Congress General Council, The Mining Situation Report of a Special Conference of Executive Committees of Affiliated Unions, 29 April 1 May 1926 (London By the General Council, 1926), pp 9, 31 (Hereafter referred to as Mining Situation)
titude of the Government made drastic measures obviously necessary. Bevin said that the idea of an embargo was rejected because one had failed in 1921. Hamilton Fyfe doubtless boils it down well when he says that the TUC needed another weapon, and here was one ready to hand — the only one.

But the demands of certain sections of the working class (or, to be more exact, their leaders) were undoubtedly influential in bringing about the wide extension of the struggle. In any general strike, the crucial sector is transport, for if goods cannot be transported, it helps little to produce them. The shock troops thus were the transport workers, a situation they were used to, but not particularly happy with. They wanted help, they demanded that they not be asked to bear the whole burden. As a matter of fact, this can be called not only a practical but a theoretical consideration, for it helps to explain the rationale behind the strike. The germ was the help the transport workers could give. But they would demand aid, "fairness demands that all burden should not be thrown upon the transport unions, and since immediate action by certain other unions is the best form of help, let them stop from the beginning."

The third and final day of the Special Conference of Executives began shortly after noon on May Day, 1926. The General Council's "Plans for Co-ordinated Action" had been distributed the night before, and the unions were now asked to approve them. They did so by a vote of 3,653,527 to 49,911.

What was the mood of this assembly? Clynes called it "stormy", the Syndicalist Tom Brown said it was almost the only trade union conference that ever represented well the will of the rank and file. At least one delegate spoke feelingly the next January about the atmosphere of exultation but on the whole it would seem that the feeling was of duty, not of enthusiasm per se. The Manchester Guardian's labor correspondent, in a revealing statement, says

38Bevin, op cit, p 242
41Manchester Guardian, 17 May 1926
42W. Milne Bailey, "After the General Strike," American Review of Reviews, LXXIII (July 1926), p 47
43Clynes, op cit, p 77, Brown, op cit, p 5
44National Strike Special Conference, p 50
It had intensity, a curious thrill of adventure, but lacked absolutely any exaltation. It was as though an army of martyrs were going out very reluctantly, almost sacrificially, to battle. A placing of the union’s “all on the altar of our great movement,” Mr Bevin called it. There can hardly have been in the history of Labour a more revolutionary decision taken with so little hope and so little fervour.

In remarking on this conference, some have observed that the General Council hid its true views from the movement. So the Miners were to point out, saying that the workers “entered into the General Strike on which they were called out in the belief that they were fighting for the policy which had been enunciated in July, 1925, and then as recently as the end of February, 1926.” If Thomas thought the Strike would fail, asks one Communist, why didn’t he warn the Conference instead of drifting along with it? The railway leader’s defense is adequate, he points out that to resign would seem like siding with the Government, and that such action could not have stopped the Strike.

“I felt satisfied that my duty was clearly to endeavor to make the best of what I then knew must be a bad job”

But several voices are raised to declare that the Conference had, so far as it knew, left the movement committed to the miners’ three points. So Smith implied when he told his own delegate conference the same afternoon that the workers “are going to stand by us.” Cook says in his pamphlet that the General Council met the miners before the 1 May conference and specifically promised to hold to the three points. (The Council itself says that the miners agreed to powers of consultation only.) Cook threw this challenge to the 1927 Special Conference.

Did you not decide that you would support the miners against a reduction of wages, longer hours, and district settlements?

---

45Manchester Guardian, 3 May 1926
46Miners’ Federation of Great Britain, Statement of the Miners’ Federation of Great Britain on the Occasion of the Conference of Trade Union Executive Committees (London, By the Miners’ Federation of Great Britain, 1927), p 8
49ibid, p 104
50The Times (London, 3 May 1926)
52Trades Union Congress General Council, Mining Dispute National Strike Report of the General Council to the Conference of Executives of Affiliate Unions, 25 June 1926 (London, By the General Council, 1926), p 9 (Hereafter referred to as Mining Dispute National Strike)
Was there anybody who said in any speech at that conference — and there is a verbatim report — that we should be prepared to accept a 2 per cent reduction, a 5 per cent reduction, or a 10 per cent reduction? Everybody went from that conference believing that the decision was to support the miners.

The miners’ statement to this same assembly charges that the General Council acted as if it had been given power “to sign away the settled policy of the whole movement” — meaning, of course, the three points.

The leader of the Labor Party spoke at the end of this last session of the Conference. Oratorically, MacDonald’s speech was not particularly good, yet it was a beautiful piece of rhetorical mummer, “as remarkable for what it left unsaid as for what it said.” Dwelling at length upon the woes of the miner and the justice of his cause, MacDonald omitted to mention his complete hostility to the General Strike. He did hold forth hope of yet making peace, and promised to raise a debate in the Commons on Monday; “We will not, perhaps, be dancing about, but we will be by the miners’ side, because it is a just side, an honourable side.” Some at least saw through the speech, a Communist organ called it “pathetic.”

The two most debated points regarding the Conference are first, the powers the General Council received, and, secondly, those the Miners’ Federation retained. Let us now survey some of the debate on this issue.

Individual trade unions were, as might be expected, a bit reluctant to turn over their prerogatives to central direction, undoubtedly Citrine was right when he said it took a general strike to “make the Trade Union Movement rise above its rules.” To help the movement do this Citrine and his colleagues inserted in the “Proposals for Coordinated Action” a section promising all unions that if agreements were at any time put in jeopardy, “it be definitely agreed that there will be no general resumption of work until those agreements are fully recognized.” It is probable that trade union willingness to go along with the Strike was due in part to this provision.

53 National Strike Special Conference, p 31
54 Miners’ Federation of Great Britain, Statement of the Miners’ Federation of Great Britain on the Occasion of the Conference of Trade Union Executive Committees, loc cit, p 15
55 MacNeill Weir, The Tragedy of Ramsay MacDonald (London Seeker and Warburg [1938]), p 198
56 Mining Situation, p 39
57 Workers’ Daily (London), 3 May 1926
59 Crook, op cit, p 374
Just what powers did the General Council get to carry on the dispute? Apparently it let a fatal ambiguity creep in Bevin's biographer points out that while he spoke during most of his policy speech as if the strike were inevitable, he concluded "that is to say, if a settlement has not been found." Later, at the National Strike Special Conference, a delegate declared that the Special Conference never had the power to call the Strike at all! But for most trade unionists, the question was whether the General Council was given permission, explicit and implicit, to call the dispute off.

At the January 1927 Conference this was a basic issue. The General Council argued that the Special Conference of 29 April-1 May put the dispute, completely in its hands, allowing its discretionary power to get whatever terms it considered the best possible. Bevin insisted that the General Council did have this power, while Chambers of the Federation told the assembled executives that "these people never did carry out your instructions." Between these extremes, however, lies the position upon which many agree that the miners put their case into the General Council's hands, but not unreservedly.

MacDonald insists that one reason the unions were willing to strike was that the Miners' Federation agreed to the status of any one of them. The wording of the actual General Strike order bears out the General Council's interpretation, it asks executives "to report as to whether they will place their powers in the hands of the General Council and carry out the instructions which the General Council may issue from time to time concerning the necessary action and conduct of the dispute" — not "conduct of the strike." Pugh, before calling the roll of affiliated unions, stressed that "the scheme requires that the Miners' Federation hand over to the General Council the conduct of this dispute." In its official report, also, the Council says that in calling off the Strike on its ninth day, they were acting in accord with "the responsibility imposed upon them by the conference of May 1st." Obviously the Council believed that the Conference gave it carte blanche.

But H N Brailsford insists that the miners never put their case unreservedly in General Council hands, and a good many others

---

60 Mining Situation, p 35, Bullock, op cit., pp 305-06
61 National Strike Special Conference, p 45
62 ibid., p 61
63 MacDonald, "The Outlook," op cit., p 3
64 Printed in Arnot, op cit., p 163
65 Mining Situation, p 33
66 Mining Dispute National Strike, p 25
agree that the miners were to join in negotiating and ratifying the final settlement. Cook says so (he also says the Council was committed to work for his three points). At the National Strike Special Conference he noted that Thomas, on behalf of the General Council, assured him that the conduct of the dispute by that body “does not mean that we are going to decide the terms of settlement. Nobody but me could decide the terms for the railwaymen.” Smith said the same thing, adding that “I would not hand the miners’ case over to someone else any more than I would expect the engineer to hand his case over to me.” There was a serious error made, it is obvious, in not making an exact definition of what rights the miners retained. Obviously, to reason the matter through, the General Council could not give the Federation power to decide when all unions should return to work — this would be an unthinkable denial of its responsibilities. Yet it is nowhere made clear what was to happen if a solution appeared which only one party felt inclined to accept. We must agree with Laski that “on the documents, the Federation’s position is unassailable,” that it never made the General Council its plenipotentiary.

There is some evidence that the miners realized that this had not been made clear, that in the end they were hesitant about turning their independent powers over to the General Council. A J Cook gives no hint of any such feeling in his pamphlet, if the miners did so feel, as W H Crook remarks, it would be ironic indeed, since it was they who had led every movement for “trade-union unity.”

Two comments of Smith’s during his last speech, just before the Conference broke up, have been the focus of no little controversy. He asserted, as he had before, to take the Samuel Report “from page one to the end of that report, and go thoroughly into it and inquire into it, and accept the findings when we had gone through it.” When MacDonald finished his speech, just before the Conference broke up, the Federation’s president stood up again, obviously on someone’s prompting, and spoke as follows:

I just want to make clear that I did not mean to say that I agreed to accept the Report. What I did intend to imply was

---

67 Brailsford, *op cit*, p 8, Nearing, *op cit*, p 34
68 Cook, *op cit*, p 8
69 *National Strike Special Conference*, p 31
70 ibid., p 16
73 Crook, *op cit*, p 355
74 *Mining Situation*, p 36
that I am prepared to examine that Report from page one to the last page, and to stand by the result of that inquiry.  

Thomas says that “I and many other leaders were delighted” at this, and claims that though Cook had told Smith to speak again and clarify his position, the president had only repeated his statement (although in different words). Thomas’s report is backed by that of Council member Ben Turner. The Times thought that Smith’s two statements differed, but there is no suggestion by any Labor writer that “to stand by the findings” meant the findings of the Coal Commission instead of the findings turned up by the scrutiny of the Report which Smith was advocating.

The General Council thought this to mean (or so it professed) that “so far as the question of wages was raised in the Report, if it was discussed in proper relation to the Report as a whole, that the miners were not averse” to reductions in the amount called for by that document. Brailsford of the I L P, noting this, says scornfully with regard to Smith’s statement that “everyone outside the Council knew what this meant.” MacDonald, following Smith, apparently did not, he called attention to the miner’s statement and declared that it meant that “there is no cause or impediment, so far as the miners are concerned, against full negotiations on that report” — a point made by the General Council the next January. Smith himself defended his statement by saying that if reorganization of the industry were carried out reductions would be unnecessary! He said also that his second statement was meant to say the same as the first, and that another miner, not Cook, had suggested he make it. It is interesting to note the fox-and-grapes handling of Smith’s statements by Communist pamphleteer A J Bennet. He finds it hard to deny that Smith’s statement admitted that reductions might be accepted, so he simply says that the statement was “not an expression of the miners’ will.”

The other questioned utterance of the miners’ chief shows an interesting discrepancy of documents. In talking about the miners’ surrender of independent negotiating powers Smith, according to the

---

75 *ibid*, p 40
76 Thomas, *op cit*, p 101
78 *The Times*, (London), 3 May 1926
79 *Mining Dispute National Strike*, p 8
80 Brailsford, *op cit*, p 8
81 *Mining Situation*, p 38
82 *National Strike Special Conference*, p 5
83 *National Strike Special Conference*, pp 16-17
84 Bennet, *op cit*, p 13
official report, said that “we are offering nothing [to the General Council] except the revolver, and the revolver in this instance is the tongue.”\textsuperscript{85} The report in \textit{The Times} contradicted this, saying that Smith offered “everything but the revolver” — a version supported by Smith’s own quote of himself to the miners’ conference that same day \textsuperscript{86} This version — implying that the miners would go along but speak their minds on any terms offered — seems the correct one, especially since J H Thomas himself agrees with it \textsuperscript{87} Why this discrepancy? W H Crook leaves the question unanswered, suggesting either mistaken reporting or “doctoring” of the General Council’s report, this writer will not presume to attempt a solution \textsuperscript{88}

Thus the Special Conference departed, with unsolved dilemmas hanging unseen above its head. Little had been firmly decided, there is no good answer to the scorn of J T Murphy, who rebukes it for leaving the conditions of ending the Strike unsettled, calling it un-prepared, muddle-headed, blind and “easily tickled with sentimental gush”\textsuperscript{89} So the delegates left for home, but sentimental or not, it is hard to argue with Bevin’s words “... it was a magnificent generation that was prepared to do it rather than see the miners driven down like slaves”\textsuperscript{90}

The reception of the General Council’s decision in the next few days was varied. Not a few writers are prepared to assert that the miners, never having asked specifically for a general strike, were a bit taken by surprise when one was declared \textsuperscript{91} Citrine at the National Strike Special Conference accused Cook of berating the General Council for not preparing a strike when the Miners’ Federation had never asked for one — and had indeed (as we have seen) delayed action on Citrine’s own “preparation” plans \textsuperscript{92} MacDonald, on the other hand, asserts flatly that the Strike was called “at the invitation of the miners”\textsuperscript{93}.

Word of the Strike spread fast and many hailed it with joy. The same afternoon, at Melksham, J R Clynes declared that it could neither solve any problems nor benefit anyone \textsuperscript{94} But I L P officer John Paton recalls that “it was a proud moment for Socialists like

\textsuperscript{85}Minning Situation, p 37
\textsuperscript{86}The Times, (London), 3 May 1926
\textsuperscript{87}Thomas, \textit{op cit}, p 118
\textsuperscript{88}Crook, \textit{op cit}, p 353
\textsuperscript{89}Murphy, \textit{op cit}, p 77
\textsuperscript{90}Minning Situation, p 34
\textsuperscript{91}Annual Register A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, \textit{loc cit}, p 39, Isador Lubin and Helen Everett, \textit{The British Coal Dilemma} (London George Allen & Unwin, Ltd, 1927), p 92
\textsuperscript{92}National Strike Special Conference, p 41
\textsuperscript{93}MacDonald, \textit{op cit}, p 2
\textsuperscript{94}Manchester Guardian, 3 May 1926
myself who'd lived in hope of such a day. J T Murphy, then a Communist, admits that "the Communist Party itself was caught by surprise," having expected only a repeat of the previous summer's action. The mass of workers very likely shared this feeling. W H Crook cites the numerous strikes then in progress as evidence that few expected a bigger strike to interrupt. But the General Strike news certainly gave heart to the massive May Day demonstrations.

And what of the leaders? The General Council, though it might try to feign enthusiasm, wanted nothing so much as peace, as we shall see shortly. The Labor Party as a whole probably feared the Strike more than it welcomed it. Paton, who knew many of them, said that to the political leaders of the Party "the strike appeared to be an unmitigated disaster, barren of any possible good, and certain to endanger the political gains they'd gathered with such careful labour," and adds that their one desire was to have it over with.

There is no little chance that the leaders feared victory more than defeat, if a Conservative government could be coerced by such action, a Labor government could, too.

J R Raynes tells how he met MacDonald just before the Strike began in jaded tones he said 'We have completely broken down, the Strike is on.' There is no doubt that the Leader hated the Strike and would have done anything to end it well or ill. Snowden says that when he conferred with MacDonald and Thomas on Sunday 2 May, both were concerned about the Strike's possible effects and neither thought it could be successful (Snowden himself thought this sort of thing futile and foolish). The Spectator is undoubtedly right when it says that MacDonald was plunged into mental agony by the step against which he had written and preached so long, the Herald quoted him as saying just before the Strike "I don't like General Strikes I haven't changed my opinion I have said so in the House of Commons I don't like it, honestly I don't like it, but honestly, what can be done?".

---

95Paton, op cit, p 244
96Murphy, op cit, p 80
97Crook, op cit, p 368
98Murphy, op cit, p 80
99Raynes, op cit, p 241
100Paton, op cit, p 261
101Raynes, op cit, p 241, Symons, op cit, p 40
102Raynes, op cit, p 239
104Ibid., p 731
105"News of the Week," The Spectator, CXXXVI (May 1926), p 839
106Printed in Arnot, op cit, p 173
THE LAST NEGOTIATIONS

On the afternoon of May Day the Miners' Federation wound up its delegate conference. Smith declared that the miners would accept no further reduction of their wages, which, he said, were already too low. The delegates gave this statement warm applause, then left for home after deciding that another conference would take place before work was resumed. Thomas later explained in the Commons that since lockout notices had not been posted in all districts, the miners' leaders felt they had to go and take charge to avoid the resultant confusion. But there is no doubt that the Special Committee knew nothing of the departure at the time. Bromley was to suggest later that in leaving town the miners' leaders "precipitated" the strike. Cook says in defense that the miners felt confident, in view of the near-unanimous decision and the General Council's undertaking "not to negotiate without us" that they could leave London safely.

In the meantime W. M. Citrine, acting General Council secretary, sent two letters to the Prime Minister. One told Baldwin that the General Council was prepared to assist in the distribution of essential foodstuffs, the other informed him that the British trade unions, including the miners, had handed over the conduct of negotiations to the General Council. Citrine concluded "I am directed to say that the General Council will hold themselves available at any moment should the Government desire to discuss the matter further". The General Council's report says that the miners' union office was informed of these letters and copies sent to them. But Cook was out, and did not see the letters.

Still, Citrine did not inform Cook when the Special Committee was asked by Baldwin to come round to Downing Street — "he apparently did not think it necessary," the editors of Plebs put it sarcastically. The General Council, determined to make peace if peace...
could be made, went to see the Prime Minister only a few hours after the General Strike had been declared.

Did it have the right? Julian Symons makes an understatement when he says that this approach later became "the subject of harsh comment," the subject has been discussed as the question of just what powers the General Council was given. The Council was unsure of itself without a doubt, it knew that any settlement it reached would not hold good unless the miners were brought in and persuaded to go along with it. General Council member John Bromley in July severely criticized the miners for their reservations, which he said crippled the Special Committee in its negotiations. At one point Pugh had to tell Baldwin that though the Committee could negotiate it could make no binding decision.

Yet the General Council's Committee made progress that day. A few writers suggest that they thought the declaration of the Strike would make a potent weapon with which to force the Government to give in.

The small subcommittee appointed from the Cabinet and the Special Committee arrived at a "formula" early in the morning of Sunday 2 May. It reads as follows:

The Prime Minister has satisfied himself as a result of the conversation he has had with the representatives of the Trades Union Congress that if negotiations are continued (it being understood that the notices cease to be operative) the representatives of the Trades Union Congress are confident that a settlement can be reached on the lines of the Report within a fortnight.

Bevin told his own officers later that he suspected that the Special Committee and the Government had drawn up the formula with the understanding that it provided for wage reductions or increases in hours. He stuck to this suspicion, though Thomas denied it.

In the middle of the evening Thomas ran into General Council

---

14Mining Dispute National Strike, p 10
member Mary Quaile, who informed him that the Special Committee was with the Premier. "I could feel nothing but apprehension," he says, "seeing I had not been informed, and they were there presumably discussing the miners' case in the absence of the miners' representatives." But he did not meet with the Committee until the next (Sunday) morning. At this time he reproached it for going behind the miners' backs, but the Committee was no less dismayed to find that the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation had left London — Thomas says it was "staggered." It was quickly agreed to call the miners back, in the meantime, the Special Committee presented its formula to Cook. Brailsford declares confidently that the Committee thought that the miners' executive would not back up Cook in the event he proved uncooperative.

Cook has two versions of this episode. In his pamphlet, *The Nine Days*, written soon after the Strike, he says that he saw the formula agreed upon the night before and didn't like it because it "clearly meant a reduction of wages and district agreements." But in his statement to the National Strike Special Conference he said that the formula shown him was the so-called Birkenhead formula which, as we shall see, was rather less favorable from the miners' point of view, but which from all other accounts was only arrived at late that night. Communist writers have given out as truth this second version, which is more prejudicial to the General Council, one Communist attempts further to clarify the situation by remarking that behind the scenes MacDonald and Thomas were already "plotting unconditional surrender."

At any rate, the interview was unfriendly, and Cook was especially irritated when Bromley and Thomas told him that their men had had to take cuts and the miners should be ready, if need be, to do likewise.

It had been arranged to meet Baldwin again that noon, and the

---

17Cook, *op cit.*, p. 9
18Thomas, *op cit.*, p. 123
20Cook, *op cit.*, p. 10
21*National Strike Special Conference*, p. 32
23Cook, *op cit.*, p. 11
Special Committee forgot to telephone him and explain that the miners’ Executive had had to be called back to town. This caused strained feeling among Cabinet members, who may well have thought that the Special Committee had known all along that the miners’ Executive was no longer in London. About nine o’clock the Committee and Cabinet met again, and again sent a small subcommittee from either side to do the actual talking.

This time they produced the “Birkenhead formula,” so called because it was that noble lord who actually wrote it down. This vague and ambiguous sentence can be looked at as a monumental piece of self-deception by the General Council, it was agreed when it became public that the miners would never have accepted it. It reads:

We the TUC would urge the Miners to authorize us to enter upon discussions with the understanding that they and we accept the Report as a basis of settlement and we approach it with the knowledge that it may involve some reduction in wages.

The question is did the General Council accept the Birkenhead formula? Debate on this question lasted for months and was never completely settled. On Wednesday 5 May, the Prime Minister read the Birkenhead formula in the House of Commons and asserted that the TUC — or, specifically, Thomas — had accepted it by the time negotiations were finally broken off. The next Monday Sir Douglas Hogg, the Attorney General, published an article in the Government’s British Gazette in which he repeated this story. This got a hot rejoinder in the British Worker the next day from no less a General Council spokesman than Arthur Pugh. The Chairman, whose reputation for honesty is as good as any man’s, called Hogg’s story “a gross misrepresentation of the facts — no such formula was ever dictated by the trade-union representatives, nor assented to by them or in their possession.” Finally, Walter Citrine told the Special Conference of January 1927 that the General Council never saw the formula at all, and was able to score off the miners by pointing out that they had apparently ignored Pugh’s denial.

But wait! Pugh and Citrine, we remember, said that the General Council had never seen or assented to such a formula. Nobody denies this, but the General Council was not doing the negotiating.

25 Great Britain, 5 Parliamentary Debates (Commons), CXCV (1926), 412
26 ibid., pp. 195, 412
27 British Gazette (London), 10 May 1926
28 British Worker (London), 11 May 1926
29 National Strike Special Conference, p. 39
small committee was — Pugh, Citrine and Thomas — and a rereading of the statements of the former two will show that they never denied having seen the formula. Neither did Thomas. It would seem that these three agreed on it with Baldwin, but, in view of the miners' attitude and the subsequent breakdown of negotiations, never got around to releasing it, so that it was first exposed to public view when Baldwin mentioned it on Wednesday. And the miners' report is not unfair at all, it only refers to "the Birkenhead formula subscribed to by representatives of the General Council". It should be noted that one General Council member, Ben Turner, who didn't see the formula during the negotiations, actually defends it ("it would have overcome the difficulty")

It was the first formula that the General Council took to discuss with the miners when they arrived. "As always," says Lansbury's, "the Special Committee was putting pressure on the miners to get them to concede part of their position." The miners' leaders were, of course, in a bad spot, they had for a month been bound to the three points and faced repudiation if they deserted them. Beatrice Webb put it simply and well "As for the Miners' Executive, they knew their districts would not accept a reduction without a fight however hopeless and disastrous the fight was." Some would have it that the miners and the General Council were quarreling at the breakoff of negotiations. Brailsford speaks of friction which nearly brought a rupture, due mainly to the activities of Thomas "Him, the miners deeply distrusted, and said so in the bluntest language before the Council." We do know that when negotiations were ended, Bevin was writing out a specific proposal to replace the formula, embodying a National Mining Board which should undertake the scrutiny of the Samuel Report and the reorganization of the industry. The document has an interesting subsequent career which is touched on below.

30 Miners' Federation of Great Britain, Statement of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain on the Occasion of the Conference of Trade Union Executive Committees (London By the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, 1927), p 9 footnote
31 Ben Turner, About Myself (London Humphrey Toulmin, 1930), pp 295, 308
35 Brailsford, op cit, p 7
36 Bullock, op cit, p 311
Meanwhile a “wildcat” strike, unexampled in its effects, was taking place at the offices of the Daily Mail, as machine-men refused to print the famous provocative leader. The strike was in no way official, George Isaacs, then a typographical union secretary, pleaded with the men to return to work, but without success. One highly anti-Communist writer suggests that Communist trades council leadership caused the strike, but can bring no evidence to support the view.

This strike is a good Left-Right touchstone, that is, it divides those with a consistent idea of morality from those who believe that all is fair in class war. Thomas says that though it shows the strength of working-class feeling it is undoubtedly misguided, Syndicalist and Communist writers commend it. Two days later, indeed, the Communist strike sheet praised “the gallantry of the printing workers in silencing the lying capitalist press.”

On the other hand, it is right-wingers who stress the importance of the Daily Mail strike, even saying that peace was secured and only the Daily Mail incident lost it. Says Thomas “Had it not been for the Daily Mail incident I am perfectly sure a way out would have been found.” And moderate Laborites do not hesitate to blame the Baldwin government for provoking the strike, using the exploitation of this incident as their best talking point.

There is no doubt that the Special Committee were aghast at their abrupt dismissal. “We were staggered,” says Thomas, and G D H Cole speaks of the Committee’s “bewildered confusion.” If they had indeed been bluffing, this final “call” of their bluff must have been a cruel blow indeed.

---

37 G G Eastwood, George Isaacs Printer, Trade-Union Leader, Cabinet Minister (London Odhams Press, Ltd, 1952), p 77
38 M Margaret Patricia McCarran, Fabianism in the Political Life of Britain, 1919-1931 (Washington Catholic University of America Press, p 442)
40 Workers’ Bulletin, (London), 4 May 1926
42 Thomas, op cit, p 127
43 Daily Herald (London, 3 May 1926, Nearing, op cit, xi (Ellen Wilkinson)
45 Rayner, op cit, p 254
What did the General Council hope for in these last two days after the General Strike was declared? What it wanted, obviously, was to reopen negotiations — “free of the threat of a lockout” if possible but if not, so be it. This incurs the wrath of Leftists, who point out that the Council’s goal should have been the three points, not just free negotiations. They also accuse it of timidity, one saying censoriously: “In the class struggle moderation is often little better than timidity and cowardice, one must go all out to win.”46 Clynes admits that the Special Committee was begging “almost on its knees,” there is little doubt that its members wanted not at all to “fight the situation out on the industrial battlefield.”47 Some assert that the Special Committee was so supine that it earned the contempt of the Government, who therefore thought it safe to commence the Strike in the hope of dealing the Labor movement a shrewd blow.48 R. Palme Dutt suggests the opposite that the Government treated the negotiators with contempt because it had decided that such weaklings could not truly represent the movement.49 A couple of other Left-wing writers, one a Syndicalist, imply that the General Council was really pinning its hopes to the Government, imploring it to find a way out.50

Left-wingers, indeed, at this point join with diehard Tories in gratitude for the Cabinet’s breakoff of negotiations. To Thomas the action is simply a colossal blunder, and Baldwin “must have been out of his mind.”51 Clynes says that the Strike started because the Cabinet had been temporarily won over by anti-trade union ideas.52 Others, not all radicals, think that only the Daily Mail incident saved the miners from desertion. Lubin and Everett, in their textbook on the coal industry, judiciously suggest that if the Special Committee had been unable to make the miners swallow one formula or the other “they might have withdrawn — as they eventually did.”53 And

47Clynes, op. cit., p. 78, Crook, op. cit., p. 360
50Brown, op. cit., p. 5, Leslie Paul, Angry Young Man (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., [1951]), p. 78
51Thomas, op. cit., p. 101
52Clynes, op. cit., p. 95
no few Leftists go along with Brailsford’s sweeping statement that “another rupture and another ‘Black Friday’ were imminent”.

They assume, of course, that the miners would never have accepted reductions. Whether or not this is true is perhaps the greatest enigma of all. After the Strike, the miners’ position was simply that they had stood staunchly for their three points from first to last, and their defense is almost entirely ironclad. MacDonald said in July that in the first days of May “the miners were in a more amenable frame of mind than they had been. Discussions with them had shown that some wages might be reduced,” while in January Pugh insisted that Smith’s statements implied a willingness to consider reductions. Lloyd George remarked in these days, quite reasonably, that if the miners had not been prepared to take cuts, the TUC would never have declared a strike in support of them. But the matter was not so simple, the TUC did not think the miners had gotten a fair chance to declare for or against reductions. The miners later declared that they could not have offered to give up anything because they had (in Smith’s famous phrase) “nowt to give.” Leftist pamphleteers back them up, berating the General Council for suggesting that the miners were ever ready to consider reductions. The Sunday Worker at the time warned all miners away from the Samuel Report. Perhaps there was disagreement among the miners’ leaders, but in such a union to express it would only have meant repudiation by the membership. It is worth noting that on Sunday afternoon a press release signed by Cook categorically squelched rumors of lessening Federation intransigence and roundly declared that “under no circumstances can the miners accept any agreement which lowers their standard of living.”

R. Page Arnot, in his history of the British miners, says that the full work of preparation for the General Strike could not begin until it was actually declared “But thereafter,” he says, “the most urgent part of the activities of Labour headquarters was concentrated on a

55MacDonald, op cit, p 4
56National Strike Special Conference, p 4
57Frank Owen, Tempestuous Journey Lloyd George, His Life and Times (London: Hutchinson & Co [Publishers], Ltd, 1954), p 705
58National Strike Special Conference, p 36
59Bennet, op cit, p 13, Murray, op cit, p 66
60Sunday Worker (London), 2 May 1926
61Crook, op cit, p 357
62The Times (London), 3 May 1926
further process of negotiations "63 To the writer this statement seems to pinpoint one of the General Council's biggest stumbling blocks — its efforts to prepare at once for war and for peace. This engendered a state of mind that hampered both kinds of preparation Perhaps if Pugh could have kept aloof, sending Thomas to negotiate and Bevin to prepare for war, he could have facilitated both tasks.

On Sunday the Communists issued a manifesto in their Sunday Worker which defined their position regarding the stoppage. This endorsed the three points, called for unity and urged strong, if necessary independent, action by workers. 64 Leslie Paul says of this manifesto that if adopted it would have carried the Strike to revolution. 65

The next day, true to MacDonald's word, the Labor Party took part in a debate on the Strike in the House of Commons. It was not a particularly belligerent performance, all agree on that. The Annual Register even remarked that Thomas's speech "reflected his own lack of conviction in the rightness of his cause." 66 Cook speaks with utter scorn of the "humiliating pleadings of these leaders," calling MacDonald's speech "sickening." 67 Cook, we are told, was in the gallery muttering about men who cried peace when there was no peace, 68 but Thomas claims that Cook voiced satisfaction with the Party's performance on the whole. 69 The railway leader certainly left himself open to criticism in emphasizing the non-constitutional nature of the dispute: he cried that he had "never disguised that in a challenge to the Constitution, God help us unless the Government won," 70 and, in his words, "gave way to tears" when he left the chamber. 71 Left-wing feeling was of disgust, 72 it would not have considered a compliment Duff Cooper's remark that Thomas had spoken well and with moderation. 73

It is no secret that on this last day before the Strike, the TUC was still trying to persuade the Prime Minister to get the lockout

63 Arnot, The Miners, op cit, p 425
64 Sunday Worker (London), 2 May 1926
65 Paul, op cit, p 83
66 Annual Register A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad 1926 New Series (London Longmans, Green and Co, Ltd.), p 48
67 Cook, op cit, pp 15-16
69 Thomas, op cit, p 126
70 Great Britain, 5 Parliamentary Debates (Commons), CSCV (1926), 81
71 Thomas, op cit, p 104
72 "The Secret History of the Great Strike," op cit, p 4
73 Cooper, Duff (Viscount Norwich), Old Men Forget (London Rupert Hart-Davis, 1953), p 148
notices removed Cook, Thomas and some other T U C representatives had fruitless meetings with the Prime Minister and the Attorney General. The *Manchester Guardian* published a report that the Parliamentary Labor Party had found a peace formula which at 9:30 the miners had not yet promised to accept. An hour and a half later the fruitless talks had ended. Meanwhile, the *Daily Herald* had published an editorial entitled "Trust Your Leaders!" — warning against spies, provocateurs and (cryptically) Communists. "Any who try to sow distrust," said the editor, "are the worst foes of Labour, worse than any Capitalist. These others are foes in disguise. If they seek to exert their sinister influence, deal with them, too." This was the last issue of the Herald, with other journalists, its staff went on strike as soon as the presses stopped. The General Strike had begun.

^74 Crook, *op cit*, p 367
^75 *Manchester Guardian*, 4 May 1926
^76 Crook, *op cit*, p 367
^77 *Daily Herald* (London), 3 May 1926
Kinesics, a relatively new addition to the field of linguistics, is the study of the bodily movements that accompany and frequently replace spoken language. Since people use gestures to emphasize and explain their ideas, and show their sentiments and attitudes, one person's understanding of what another person says is founded to a large extent on the message imparted by the speaker's bodily movements. The late Edward Sapir wrote

Linguistic, as opposed to gesture, communication tends to be the official and socially accredited one, hence one may intuitively interpret the relatively unconscious symbolisms of gestures as psychologically more significant in a given context than the words actually used.¹

This project, an inventory of the gestures used by Mexicans, is based on material gathered during a two-month stay in Mexico City in the fall of 1963. In addition to direct observations, principally of Mexican university students and residents of the capital, it is indebted in no small measure to similar studies by Dr. A. Bruce Gaarder in his doctoral dissertation *El habla popular y la conciencia colectiva*, and by Edward J. Cervenka and Robert L. Saitz in their book *Colombian and North American Gestures*. The gestures have been arbitrarily divided into ten categories depending on their general meaning. For each separate gesture the part of the body used, its motion and its relationship to other parts of the body is described. In manual gestures it is to be assumed, unless otherwise stated, that the movement is performed with the right hand, taking into consideration that this will vary with circumstances. If particularly significant, the sex, age, or social class of the performer has been specified.

Included, where possible, are either the idiomatic expression that may accompany the gesture verbally, the Spanish name for the gesture, or its "word-equivalent" in Spanish and English.

The authors wish to express their gratitude and appreciation to Dr. Peter Boyd-Bowman, Chairman of the Foreign Language Department.

¹David G. Mandelbaum (ed.), *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality*, (Berkeley, 1951) p. 105

Joan M. Van Deusen, from Hickory Corners, Michigan, is teaching assistant in Spanish at the University of Illinois.

James D. Gunn, of Kalamazoo, Michigan, is enrolled in the graduate school of the University of the Americas in Mexico City, Mexico.
partment at Kalamazoo College, and director of their project, for his guidance, understanding and encouragement during the preparation of this thesis.

Appreciation is expressed to Srta Luz Fernandez, Sr Raul Avila, and the other students at the Colegio de Mexico, and to the young men at the boarding house where the authors lived, Pepe, Carlos C, Paco, Fuad, Oscar, Carlos A, Pedro, Alberto, Adolfo, Heblen, and Rich, for their patience and cooperation during the long hours of interviews and interrogation.

Acknowledgment is due also to Mr R D Van Deusen, Miss Katherine Van Deusen and Miss Mercedes Cardenas who aided greatly in various ways with the preparation of the photographs used for illustration and the colored slides for the educational slide program that has been developed in conjunction with the thesis.

GREETINGS AND LEAVETAKINGS

Greetings
1. The abrazo is a gesture very common in Mexico, and indeed throughout Latin America. When two women who know each other well meet, they embrace each other and touch cheeks, first on one side and then on the other. As they touch cheeks they may kiss, or more frequently, simply make a noise as if kissing. When men use this greeting they will usually omit the kiss and pat each other vigorously on the back and shake hands instead. This gesture is used in greetings and farewell between members of the same sex, but rarely between a man and a woman unless their relationship is very close, or they belong to a group, usually of the upper social class, that considers the abrazo as the proper, sophisticated greeting or farewell to use.

Note: The American tends to feel uncomfortable when confronted with such a gesture because of his distrust of such close physical contact with members of the same sex.

2. A more formal and much more frequent greeting is the handshake. This is a very important gesture and is seldom omitted whenever a greeting or farewell is called for.

3. For a more enthusiastic version of the handshake a man may grasp the forearm or the shoulder of the other man with his left hand, or he may grasp the other man's hand with both of his. Generally the recipient returns this action with equal enthusiasm.

4. A "half-salute" gesture is often used by young men as a greeting or farewell. The forearm is raised with the hand cupped, palm facing down, and held between the shoulder and temple. A very
short and quick movement is then made away from the body with this hand. It is often accompanied by some verbal remarks such as "Que tal?" in the case of a greeting or "Nos vemos" in the case of a farewell.

5 A slight nod of the head is often used to greet an acquaintance on passing.

6 Close friends often clasp each other’s thumbs when shaking hands. This handshake seems to be especially popular among younger people (See Figure 1).

![Image](image1.png)

Figure 1

7 The forearm is raised vertically with the hand in a slightly cupped position and held at, or slightly above, shoulder level with the palm toward the performer. The hand is then lowered about six to ten inches in the direction of the recipient.

8 In shaking hands men may grasp each other’s wrists or forearms instead of the hand. This is a more enthusiastic greeting than an ordinary handshake and is a sign of close friendship.

9 A handshake in which the little fingers of the performer’s hands are interlaced, indicating a high degree of friendship, was observed but seems to be relatively rare.

10 A wink of the eye is sometimes used as a greeting among young people when they are at a distance and unable to speak.

Note: The degrees of closeness of relationship are often indicated by the type of greeting used.

Leavetakings

1 Two women who are good friends will frequently shake hands.
and simultaneously kiss each other on the right cheek when taking leave of one another.

2 The handshake is the most common gesture of farewell, especially among men.

3 A sort of "backward" wave is often used as a leavetaking. This gesture is made by raising the hand to about ten inches before the head with the slightly cupped palm toward the face of the performer. The fingers are then rapidly moved in toward the palm, either simultaneously or separately, several times Adios Hasta luego (See Figure 2).

\[\text{Figure 2}\]

4 The open hand may be held at about shoulder level with the fingers spread and the palm facing outward. The hand is then moved slightly from side to side. This gesture is used by women, and occasionally by men, when taking leave from a distance.

Note: Among young people who are good friends a slight nod of the head, a "half-salute" gesture, a wink of the eye or a verbal leavetaking are often sufficient.

Note: The gestures of greeting and leavetaking are very important and much more frequent in Mexico than in the United States, and their omission or improper use may be interpreted as a sign of discourtesy. The farewell is given only after the conversation has been closed. If the conversation should be resumed the handshake must be repeated at its close.

Note: A person leaving a group often excuses himself by saying con permiso and then looking at each individual as he leaves.
Omission of this slight gesture may be interpreted as annoyance or disapproval of some member of the group, or of the group as a whole.

COMMANDS, REQUESTS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. “Wait!” The open right hand is held palm outward at shoulder level, about ten inches from the body. *Espere! Esperate!*

2. “Just a second.” The last three fingers of the hand are curled in towards the palm while the extended index and thumb are held horizontally about a half an inch apart. This gesture is used whenever reference is made to a very short period of time. *Momentúo* (See Figure 3)

3. “Attention!” The index finger is extended upward and held near the ear. It is the type of gesture a professor might use to a class to get their attention. *Atención! Silencio*

4. “Be quiet.” The extended index finger is placed against the pursed lips, and frequently a stream of air is forced through the teeth, making an audible hissing sound. *Chiton Silencio* “Shhh, be quiet.” *Callate! “Shut up!”*

5. “Continue.” The hand, palm upward and the fingers slightly cupped, making small counterclockwise, circular motions at about chest level means that the performer wishes the referent to continue with whatever he is doing or saying. *Siga, siga*

6. “Let’s take a walk.” The index finger is held downward and circled several times at chest level. *Vamos a dar una vuelta*

7. “Hurry!” “Quickly!” A snap of the fingers may mean to hurry and is generally considered discourteous. *Rapido! Ten prisa! Date prisa!*

![Image of a hand gesturing](image-url)
8 “Pay me” “Give it to me” The open hand is held out before the body with the palm up Pagueme Demelo

9 “Let’s have something to drink” The hand forms a fist with the thumb and little finger extended. The hand is held in front of the performer’s face and rocked back and forth, the thumb pointing in the direction of his mouth. This gesture is used in reference to drinking alcoholic beverages, to getting drunk, or to an inebriated person Vamos a tomar un trago (See Figure 4)

10 “Pour me a drink” The same gesture as the preceding one is made except that the thumb is pointed downward as if into a glass

11 “Sit down, please” The hand, palm facing up, is extended in the direction of the proposed seat Síntese, por favor

12 “Stand up, please” The hand is held, palm upward, about chest level and makes slight upward movements Levantese, por favor

13 “Let’s eat” The thumb and four fingers of the hand are placed together at the tips, forming a cone-like shape. Short, quick movements are then made directly before and in the direction of the mouth Vamos a comer (See Figure 5)

14 “Be careful” The lower eyelid is pulled down slightly with the tip of the index finger so that the eye is wide open. This gesture signifies that the referent should be very careful and “keep his eyes open” Tener mucho cuidado, mucho ojo (See Figure 6)

15 “Watch it for me” The extended index is tapped just below
the eye and then pointed toward the object the performer wishes watched  *Cuidamelo*.

16 "You go first" The whole right arm, with the hand open and slightly cupped, is swept from the right side to the left with a rapid but graceful motion. The gesture may also be performed with the left arm beginning from the left side of the body. It is sometimes accompanied by a slight bow, which, if exaggerated, makes it a comic gesture.

17 "Look!" The extended index finger is pointed to the eye and then to the referent  *Mire!*.

Note: The action of poking someone with the elbow to get their attention is used frequently by both men and women.

18 "Look!" The extended index finger is used to point in the direction of the object or person of interest as it is done in the United States. The thumb is also used frequently to point, especially to indicate a person behind or to the side of the performer when the gesture must be discreet.

19 "Don’t do that!" The index finger is held vertically in front of the body and moved from side to side several times in the space of about two inches. Frequently the performer will point to the referent and what he is doing before shaking his finger  *No hagas eso!*.

20 "Come here" The arm is half-extended before the body with the hand cupped and the palm down. The fingers are then moved simultaneously in toward the palm several times  *Ven aca* (See Figure 7).

21 "Come here" At a distance "come here" is expressed by cupping the hand with the palm down, then by moving the whole
arm, the hand is brought forward and downward in a long arc from above the shoulder level to almost knee level. This may be repeated several times.

22 “Come here” The gesture may also be made as in the United States, by holding the hand with the palm upward and curling the index finger in toward the palm several times while the other three fingers remain folded in on the palm. A variation of this is to hold the cupped hand out with the palm up, and then to agitate the fingers rapidly, either simultaneously or separately.

Note: The three preceding gestures for “come here” are all used only among good friends and in informal circumstances. To indicate to someone less well known that he should approach, a verbal request is always used.

23 “Get out of here!” The right hand is held in a fist with the thumb extended. The thumb is jerked rapidly and abruptly several times to the right. Fuera!

24 “Get out of here!” The gesticulator may indicate with the index finger the direction in which he wishes the referent to go, or he may jerk his head to one side. Vete! Andate! Largate!

25 “Get out of here!” The palm of the right hand is energetically struck against the palm of the left hand several times with an upward motion. Largate!

26 “Get out of here!” A movement is made with the first two fingers of the hand as if cutting with a pair of scissors. Cortate! Vete! (See Figure 8)

27 “Go away, don’t bother me.” The forearm is held horizontally in front of the body at waist level, the hand extended and palm down. It is then moved rapidly downward and to the side of the body. Vete! No me moleste.

28 “Be firm.” The performer grasps the waistband of his trou-
sers with both hands and moves them up and down several times. This gesture indicates that the referent should be strong or firm. In the case of a man with a family it may mean that he should “show them who wears the pants.” This, of course, is a masculine gesture.

29 “No more” The forearms are crossed in front of the chest with the hands open and the palms facing out. Then, with a quick movement, the arms are uncrossed and moved out to the sides of the body. It is a gesture often used for finality. A variation is made by using only one arm instead of both. No mas (See Figure 9)

30 “Go to sleep” The index and second fingers are extended in a V-shape and passed down over the eyes of a child. This gesture is used in particular by a mother to her child. Duermete (See Figure 10)

31 “Go to sleep” The two hands may be held together palm to palm and to one side of the head which is then laid against the hands.
32 “May I speak?” The index (or the first two fingers) is held up between shoulder and head level, palm facing outward The hand is frequently moved back and forth slightly, indicating that the performer has something to say.

33 “What time is it?” The questioner glances at the back of his wrist or taps the wrist where a watch would be. *Que hora es?*

34 “What did you say?” The open hand is held behind the ear, pushing it out slightly. *Que dijo usted? Mande usted?*

Note A popular and comic gesture often used by Mexican university students when they do not hear what was said is to grasp the right ear lobe with the left hand and then to raise the right arm above the ear to its full length, as if pulling up an antenna. This gesture may also indicate that the performer is listening attentively, or that the other person should do so.

35 “What happened?” The chin is jutted slightly forward and the eyebrows raised. The forearms are held up and out to the sides simultaneously with the palms horizontal and almost at shoulder level. The head motion alone is used if the hands are occupied. *Que paso? Que hubo?* (See Figure 11)

36 “Will you dance with me?” The hand is held with the palm facing upward, the last three fingers held down by the thumb. The extended index finger curls in several times towards the palm and then is pointed downward and moved in a counterclockwise circle. It is used at a distance and only between good friends.
"Only an internal revolution will carry the U.S. to the achievement of a true democracy. Luxurious clothing and good food with lots of vitamins are not enough to elevate the Negro to the dignity of a human being, in the U.S., even the dogs enjoy such privileges."

Drawing and quote by an anonymous UNAM student
ATTITUDES OF MEXICAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TOWARDS SEGREGATION IN THE UNITED STATES

By Barent F. Landstreet, Jr *

This thesis is the result of a study done in Mexico City at the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico from October to December of 1963. One often hears that racial discrimination in the United States has lowered our international prestige, but little has been said about where, who, how, why, and to what extent Mexico, for reasons related to its geographical proximity but cultural distance, seemed like a fruitful place to look for answers.

It would be impossible to thank here all the people who helped me to accomplish this study, but credit must certainly go to the following people: Professors Peter Boyd-Bowman and Richard L Means of Kalamazoo College, Sr. Tobias Chavez, director of the central library of the Universidad National Autonoma de Mexico, Alberto Alcaraz Altamirano, Oscar Canto Chacon, and especially Carlos Arreola Videgaray, and finally my wife Marilyn.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The questionnaire method was chosen in preference to the interview method because in my particular situation its advantages considerably outweighed its disadvantages. The relative merits of the questionnaire and the interview as research methods for securing information about attitudes are well-known, but are worth commenting upon here, for an American doing research in Latin America is faced with some unique procedural problems. It is hoped that the experience gained from this study will be helpful to others interested in doing research outside of the United States; hence the somewhat lengthy section on methodology.

In the first place, questionnaires permitted the securing of a larger number of respondents than would have been possible with personal interviews. There simply was not enough time available to secure, by interviews, a statistically significant sample.

Secondly, a questionnaire is standardized to a degree that is almost impossible to attain in successive interviews. This helped to insure uniformity of presentation, ruling out as much as possible different responses due to variations in the manner of presenting the questions.

Thirdly, the questionnaire approach allows more time for reflec-

*Barent F. Landstreet, from Battle Creek, Michigan, is a National Defense Education Fellow in Vanderbilt University's Department of Sociology
tion on the questions than does an interview. The respondent could take as much time as he pleased to answer, and could return to questions of which he was not sure.

A fourth advantage concerns the fact that I was an English speaker doing research in a Spanish-speaking country. Although my command of Spanish is good, and I feel quite at ease in the language, there always would have been the possibility of phrasing a question in such a way that it conveyed a meaning somewhat different from that intended. The same could also have been true in interpreting answers. By means of a standardized questionnaire with a limited set of answers which had only to be checked, the possibility of distortion arising from an imperfect knowledge of Spanish was minimized. The danger was still present to a small degree since there was a blank space on the last page of the questionnaire, which asked for any additional comments on segregation or on the structure of the questionnaire itself. But care was taken to check with either Dr. Boyd-Bowman or with Mexican friends on any point which was in doubt. In any case, the comments were written down by the respondents themselves, thereby avoiding any distortions which might have arisen due to misunderstanding of the interviewer.

Finally, a questionnaire is anonymous and impersonal. Insurance of the anonymity of his answers is often an important factor in having the respondent give opinions which he thinks are true but which he feels might cause him trouble if they became public. In having the respondents fill out an impersonal questionnaire which did not have to be signed, they were assured that their identity would be unknown.

By the same token, the lack of the presence of an interviewer, to whom all opinions would have had to be told directly, also helped to elicit truer opinions. This was undoubtedly crucial in my particular case, being an American researching opinions about segregation in the United States. To have attempted to do interviews personally would have been to introduce a very serious bias. In the United States, a Jehovah's Witness could not expect to do a very valid study of people's attitudes toward his religion if before every interview he introduced himself as a Jehovah's Witness. Neither could a very Jewish-looking person interview Protestants on their attitudes towards Jews with much assurance of the validity of their answers. So it was in my case. I was insuppressibly American. Being American alone would introduce bias, but I was also white, and the questions were about the relations between white and Negro Americans. (This is not to say that had I been Negro I could have fared any better in eliminating bias, of course.) The bias that would have been in-
jected by doing personal interviews could have taken several different directions, depending on the attitudes of the individual respondents. Some, with an oversimplified picture of American race relations, might have tended to automatically equate being white with being prejudiced, either holding me personally responsible for the misery of the Negro and letting me know it, or answering carefully so as not to offend my unfortunate prejudices too much. Others, believing that no segregationist would be imbecile enough to look for support for his beliefs in so largely a mestizo country as Mexico, might have correctly taken me for an integrationist. This would have been less damaging in terms of bias, of course, because Mexican university students are not noted for being prejudiced against any minority group (except yanquis imperialistas). But in some cases it might have led to the respondent portraying himself as more concerned with the problem than he really was. By using questionnaires, my “Americaness” was kept out of the picture, except for one mistake which will be discussed shortly.

But questionnaires have their disadvantages. They are, of course, less flexible than interviews. If a question is for some reason misunderstood by the respondent, this can be spotted on the interview situation and reworded so that its meaning becomes clearer to him. Also related to the lack of flexibility is the fact that a questionnaire provides no means of following up on apparent contradictions. In an interview, if two of a respondent’s answers seem to conflict, the interviewer can check to see if he understood the questions properly. But we might note here that answers which appear to contradict each other to the interviewer may not of necessity seem contradictory to the respondent. The job of the public opinion researcher is not to try to force logic and consistency into the respondent’s answers, it is merely to record what the opinions actually are. Although contradictions cannot be remedied in a questionnaire, one of their principal sources can be, namely confusion as to the meaning of questions. By careful wording and pretesting the questionnaire, most trouble spots can be eliminated.

The fact that questions with fixed-alternative answers were chosen over open-ended questions had both advantages and disadvantages. A few of the respondents who wrote additional comments on the last page of the questionnaire made criticisms regarding this point. “Some questions limit the opinion that one could give. They should be formulated in such a way as to give a more extensive answer.” “The majority of the questions can’t be answered with one simple reply. My opinion is that while a questionnaire can simplify complicated material, it shouldn’t go to the extreme of fixed answers.” "It
seems to me that the questions and answers in this questionnaire are too concrete. They should be more elastic so one could elaborate.

True, fixed-alternative questions limit the range of possible answers, run the risk of oversimplifying material, and in some cases may lead respondents to answer a question on which they have no real opinion. But no question had to be answered. Only a few of the questions were answered by every single respondent. An alternative to leaving the question unanswered (or in the last set of relatively factual questions, marking the "don't know" response) was to use the blank space on the last page of the questionnaire which asked for any additional comments. About one-third (ninety) of the respondents made use of this space, some also using the back of the page or even several pages. Frequently it was used to enlarge upon previous answers, but there was no case in which the enlargement disqualified the short answer to which it referred.

The above cited criticisms are implied in the following comment made by a respondent, but this one raises several additional points.

Several of the questions are not precise enough, and the alternatives from which to choose do not correspond to the gradations of opinion between which they pretend to distinguish. Thus the answers are not good indications of the diverse opinions which people have on the subject. Consequently, the questionnaire is self-contradictory in some of its parts, since it misses the important and essential aspects of the problem. For these reasons, I don't think your results will be anything but vague and distorted generalizations.

We can dispense with the statement that the questionnaire is self-contradictory, since it would not be made so by missing "important and essential aspects of the problem." It could only be self-contradictory if it expressed conflicting points of view, and by nature a questionnaire does not express— it asks. As for the statement that "the questions are not precise enough," he does not specify which ones, so no specific questions can be defended. All the questions were discussed at length with several Mexican students, and changes they felt to be necessary were made before having the final copy printed. In addition, the use of fixed-alternative questions probably helped to clarify any doubtful questions. A glance at the given responses would make clear the intent of the question. Put another way, the fixed answers probably kept the responses more relevant to the intent of the questions than would have been the case in open-ended questions.

It was necessary to be selective in asking questions, and of neces-
sity not all "essential aspects of the problem" were covered. A ques-
tionnaire covering all "essential aspects of the problem" would have
been formidable—indeed, and probably would have frightened away
most potential respondents by its sheer size.

Finally, it is asserted that "the answers are not good indications
of the diverse opinions which people have on the subject." In a
sense, this is quite true. However, had open-ended questions been
used, it would have been necessary later to boil down the answers to
something resembling the fixed answers shown on the questionnaire
anyway, in order to treat the information statistically. By using fixed
answers, the respondents themselves were asked to judge their own
attitudes and present them in a simplified and generalized form. Of
course fuller elaboration of opinions would have allowed analysis of
the material in more varied and complex ways. This brings up what
was perhaps the most crucial question in determining the research
design—given the amount of time and money available for the study,
with what degree of complexity could I reasonably hope to deal?
When the questions and answers are quite generalized, conclusions
drawn from them can hardly be expected to be specific. But this will
not make them any less "valid"; we must simply realize with what
level of generalization we are working.

The questionnaire used in the study (see the appendix for the
English translation) was divided into four parts. Questions 1-12 are
the independent variables, 13-19 are multiple choice questions test-
ing the respondent's opinions and conceptualizations of segregation
in the United States, 20-22 refer to racial prejudice in Mexico, and
23-31 test the respondent's level of information about segregation.

Although I began to construct the questionnaire from hypotheses
that had been developed in the United States, and later from con-
versations with Mexican students, the questions were not limited
strictly to these. Because of the relative dearth of reference material
concerning the subject that was being explored, the decision was
made to combine with the hypotheses what is frequently called the
"shotgun" approach. It was hoped that each independent variable
would correlate with at least one, or several, of the dependent vari-
able. As it turned out, a fair number of the hypotheses were con-
firmed, a few were disproved, and some unexpected correlations
were found as a result of the inclusion of questions not directly re-
lated to the hypotheses.

The questionnaires were distributed at the Central Library of the
university. Instead of handing them out personally, they were left on
the counter of the main sign-out desk where they were in sight of
nearly everyone who came into the library. There was a folder in
which completed questionnaires were placed, and the stack of blank questionnaires was renewed twice daily when the completed ones were collected.

The decision against handing them out personally was made to keep bias at a minimum. The previous discussion of bias will be recalled. It was reasoned that if less bias (due to my being American) would enter a questionnaire than an interview, then bias could be still further reduced by having the respondents think that the researcher was a UNAM student. Accordingly, a note was left by the questionnaires, stating only that the questionnaires were to be used for a sociological thesis, that they were non-political in nature, and that I would appreciate their help. The explanation that the study was non-political was prompted by the suggestion of several university friends. They said that many people might choose not to answer the questionnaire because the Communist organizations were the ones most active in distributing written material to students, and that it might be thought to be Communist.

The method was successful. Out of 650 questionnaires taken, 266 were completed, giving a return rate of 40%. Several students left their addresses, asking for copies of the thesis or wanting to know when it would be ready. Others appended personal notes to their comments. "My best wishes for your next professional examination and your success in the field of sociology. As I presume that your thesis will be in your school's library, please (if it's not too much trouble), send me a postcard telling me when I can read it." "I wish you the greatest success on your thesis, and I hope that your dedication to sociology will bring honor to the University and to Mexico. May this study not be the only one you do."

After all the questionnaires had been distributed, it was decided that more would be needed, and this necessitated retyping the questionnaire. The second time, however, an error was made, in which the word *cuestionario* (questionnaire) was accidentally spelled with a "q," giving *questionario*. In a way, the mistake was a lucky one, for I had an opportunity to see what would have happened if my identity as an American had not been disguised. The mistake was quickly corrected on the rest of the questionnaires, but a few had already been taken, two of which came back with the following comments:

I could swear that this questionnaire came out of the offices of the US Embassy in Mexico, just by looking at the spelling of the word "questionario," which should be spelled with a "c," not a "q." The act of having written the word with a "q"
means that the person who formulated it is of pocho, or North American, origin.

We Mexicans can't forget that our northern neighbors once robbed us of a section of our territory bigger than that which we now have. This was done with the complicity of the traitor Santa Anna, President of Mexico in those times. History repeats itself to call Santa Anna a traitor means giving the same name to Miguel Aleman. The U.S. believes that in order to maintain its position as the leader of the capitalist world it is necessary to keep Latin America subjugated by means of the imposition of presidents of the Latin countries. An example of this is Diaz Ordaz in Mexico, who is a complete rightist and is intimately connected with the clergy.

What a way to try to poison people's minds with this questionnaire! The Mexican has learned to be liberal and not stick his nose into other people's business. In Mexico the only discrimination that exists is that which exists in the minds of Americans. Discrimination, unfortunately, is a problem in the U.S., but we have to let you Americans solve it yourselves.

The Negro has been superior in the U.S., and the white gringo is envious of him.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Segregation was universally declared a problem. Only 3 students out of the 266 said that it was not. Moreover, 85% called it a serious problem. Almost every student who made a comment on the last page of the questionnaire included some criticism of segregation.

Sample comments:

"The U.S. is stepping into dangerous territory when it makes a racial distinction. A man's color doesn't matter — what is important is his spirit.

If, someday, the North Americans civilize themselves, they won't be prejudiced against Negroes.

Every human being has the right to live as well as possible, as a biological-psychological-social entity.

Racial discrimination must disappear from the face of the earth, because all men are equal.

Racial segregation is, apart from what has already been an-

*Miguel Aleman was President from 1946 to 1952. Although the country made considerable economic progress under him, his administration was marked by a good deal of corruption. It is said that his theft of government funds made him one of the world's ten richest men at that time.

**Diaz Ordaz, the man who will undoubtedly succeed Lopez Mateos as President in 1964."
answered above, immoral and stupid. Immoral, because it goes against what Christians, who are a large majority in the US, teach, and stupid, because I just can’t see the reason for such a display of uncivilized behavior.

Moreover, not all students looked on segregation as an American problem which Americans would have to solve by themselves. Some stressed that concern about segregation should be universal.

Segregation in the US or anywhere in the world is a disgrace. If some men take away rights from their fellow citizens, other men must restore them. Segregation is not a local problem of the US, but a personal problem of every person on earth.

In the question relating to the students’ opinions of the United States, one possible answer was that “most Americans are trying to solve the problem, but great social changes do not occur rapidly." One student added in the margin “—in the United States" Another added “Since Lincoln?!”

The great majority saw segregation as declining in the future. Only 5% of the students thought that the situation would not have improved fifty years from now. Over half thought that by that time little or no segregation would remain.

The government of the United States was generally pictured as not being motivated by egalitarian ideals. 60% of the students thought that pro-integration activity on the part of the government was caused by practical considerations, mounting Negro pressure, international prestige, etc.

Recent Negro progress was generally thought of as substantial. Almost 60% said that gains in the last decade had been considerable or great. Only 10% saw very little progress or none at all.

There was broad agreement that the Negroes, in their struggle for equality, should confine themselves to peaceful (but not necessarily legal) means. 83% of the students felt this way.

I believe that the Negroes are ready to fight for equality, and that the whites, and principally the government, leave them the alternatives of doing it in a peaceful way or by means of violence. But I think that the best solution for all (the government and the people of the US), and above all for the Negroes, would be to find a peaceful way which would put an end to the necessity of bloodshed. Violence would only produce more hatred and economic and numeric disadvantage for the Negroes.

I agree completely that the Negro should continue his struggle to end discrimination, but he should do it in a more united
way, always taking advantage of all legal means available to him, but never stooping to illegality or violence.

5% of the students felt that the most hopeful solution, from the point of view of the Negro, at least, would be to set up an independent state. The Negro race should — for its own good, although this would bring many problems — leave the U.S. and immigrate to the country of its origin, since there they can live without a bit of discrimination. Because racial discrimination will never disappear from the earth. AMEN.

The Negroes should not form an independent state within American territory. The U.N. should set aside a territory for them far from the U.S., so that they can live in absolute liberty and independence.

Violence, as a means to win equality, was favored by 9%. As one student put it, "Every person has the obligation to demand his rights, at any price — even his own blood." Yet the number of students actually wishing widespread violence, or civil war, must have been quite small, for often students would qualify their answers.

I refer to violence because, in the specific case of the U.S., it happens that local governments often are not capable of accepting the modern situation (Wallace, for example), and even refuse to obey the federal government. Therefore, I feel that if the government does not protect its citizens, its citizens must take violent steps, if it is necessary to resolve the situation. I mean that violence should be used when, and only when it is necessary, and that it should be avoided whenever possible.

Specific solutions to the problem of segregation were not asked for in the questionnaire, but many students volunteered them. The following samples give some idea of the diversity of the solutions offered.

The problem of segregation in the U.S. is a matter of time and of making certain reforms in the American laws, which, to a degree, help to keep segregation alive. By changing the laws little by little, good results could be obtained.

Segregation is purely a matter of present political temperment. The problem exists, but it is only a matter of educating the Negro.

Discrimination will be ended very shortly, because we can all do something to help. I believe that the Americans will realize that their attitude towards the Negroes has been less than adequate, and that they will then change their attitude. Look, companero —
The problem is largely psychological, and the present attempts to solve it are in error. Legal statutes will not modify it, only psychoanalysis will solve it. Allport studied it,* without getting at the essence, unfortunately. I believe that the problem is an intrinsic part of the human personality, and that it can only be modified by dealing with the individual, not the society.

Until colored men have the same “privileges” that whites enjoy, nothing will be gained, because opposed to equality is an idiotic pride and a ridiculous superiority complex. The typical North American firmly believes that the mere fact of having been born white gives him an advantage over those whose only fault is that of having been born black. I propose that the whites should be educated first.

I think that the Negroes bear 80% of the guilt of the racial problem. One of the ways to solve the problem would be (as I think is being done now) to have Negroes move from the great southern concentrations to places like New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago, where there are many Negroes but no racial discrimination.

A minority of 2% felt that Negroes should do nothing, but should let social changes occur “naturally.” A few white students seemed to find unattractive the idea of racial mixing. The term “criminal segregation” in the first quote is somewhat enigmatic.

Segregation must be considered as something fundamental, and must be put to an end, but only when it is criminal segregation. As for racial segregation, I don’t accept it because I haven’t lived with it, and it doesn’t affect me. How about you? Would you like your sister or mother to marry a 100% Negro? Think about this in detail. Would you marry a Negro?

The Negro race is quite numerous in the U.S., and I think that the whites should not accept the Negroes as equals, because when prejudices disappear, a lot of racial mixing occurs, and there would soon be a great number of mulattos throughout the country.

The general level of information about race in the United States cannot be called either high or low, since we have nothing with which to compare it. Out of eleven possible correct answers, the average score was slightly under five. Certain groups, however, scored better than others. Men scored higher than women, older students higher than younger ones, students with a good knowledge of

*Gordon W Allport, author of The Nature of Prejudice
English higher than those knowing little English, and students who had travelled in the United States higher than those who had not.

Students reporting one racial group in Mexico to feel superior to another were in the minority. Approximately 30% of the students said that, in general, Mexican “whites” feel racially superior to mestizos, and 40% said that mestizos think themselves to be superior to Indians. But the magnitude of Mexico’s “racial problem” was considered far smaller than that of the United States. Only 17% felt that racial prejudice was a serious problem in Mexico, as opposed to 86% who thought it was a serious problem in the United States. 23% said that it was a minor problem, and 60% said that there was little or no racial prejudice in Mexico. Only one student said that prejudice was as serious in Mexico as it was in the United States.

“In Mexico, we are in the same situation with respect to the Indians.”

Many students insisted that certain forms of discrimination exist, but that they are not strictly “racial,” that is, they are not racial in the English, physiological sense of the word. “The discrimination which exists in Mexico is more cultural than racial.” “Racial discrimination in Mexico is mainly economic, and since it is mainly the Indians that occupy the lower social classes, it is they who are discriminated against.”

Most students, when referring to Mexico, spoke only of the Indian. The Negro was rarely mentioned. One student, though, made a rather humorous comparison: “In Mexico, discrimination against the Negro does not exist, and even North Americans, when they meet a Negro here, greet him as if he were an old friend.”

Some went a little deeper into the nature of race relations in Mexico. The following quotes are examples:

I believe that in Mexico the Indian race presents a great problem, as long as it is not incorporated into our civilization. The Indian who lives in the city is not segregated from society. With the effort of society to educate him, and with his own effort to be outstanding, he will be able to reach great cultural heights and fame — even in politics, which is not prohibited to anyone for the mere fact of being an Indian. In Mexico, we have overcome many of the ideas of caste-thinking, or dividing the country into racial groups. This is principally because of the great racial mixture of our people, which keeps them from knowing (except in the case of the pure Indian) to which racial group an individual belongs.

To say that racial discrimination exists in Mexico would be tantamount to saying that we don’t know about the civilizations
and culture preceding Cortez. But we do know about them, and the fact that Indians have occupied public offices (Morelos, Guerrero, Juarez) proves our human equality. In daily life we find that the different capacities that people have are influenced most by the place in which their personalities are developed, and that the racial aspect has nothing to do with it. I believe that those Mexicans who speak disparagingly of the mestizos and Indians are not showing racial prejudice, they just realize that there are certain abilities that these mestizos and Indians don't have, and use the situation to release their frustrations and tensions.

Women students, in general, saw segregation in the United States as a more serious problem than men did, but were less apt to make broad condemnations of the Americans. They thought that recent Negro progress had been greater than the men did, and were somewhat more convinced of the possibilities of racial harmony.

Younger students tended more toward extreme answers than did older students. They thought of segregation as a larger problem, were more apt to condemn Americans, pictured Negro discontent as higher and recent progress as smaller, projected a darker future for the Negro, and reported racial prejudice in Mexico to be higher. On the whole, their answers seemed to reflect the cynicism of a disappointed youthful idealism.

Highly religious students were relatively moderate in their answers, as compared to less religious students and non-believers. Their criticisms of Americans were less extreme, and they were more apt to think that the Americans were trying to solve the problem. They pictured the government as more idealistic, preferred peaceful methods of combating segregation, and reported less prejudice in Mexico. In addition, they seemed to consider segregation a somewhat less serious problem in the United States than did the more secularly-oriented students. These answers showed a less militant way of interpreting life, and also reflected their more highly conservative politics.

The only certain trend related to knowledge of the English language, aside from having a higher information level, was for those who knew English well to be less critical of Americans with regard to segregation. Knowledge of English, as noted earlier, is strongly related to social status, which probably operates as an intervening variable in this case. In addition to the tendency to identify more closely with the United States, the very knowledge of English must, in some cases, reflect sympathy with American phenomena.

In general, the lower-class students gave the most extreme an-
swers, and the upper-middle-class students the most moderate, with the lower-middle and upper falling between the two extremes. The upper-middle-class students saw segregation as a less important problem, pictured Negro discontent as lowest, thought of the United States government as more idealistic, preferred peaceful means of Negro action, and reported the least prejudice in Mexico. If, as was said at the beginning of the paper, wealth and power are more important than racial factors in Mexico, this would seem to indicate a connection between "economic prejudice" and racial prejudice in the mind of the lower-class respondent. On the other hand, the moderation of the upper-middle-class students' answers reveals an anxiety about status which is frequently called typical of this class, a class of "strivers."

Students describing their political beliefs as "leftist" were more apt to give extreme answers than rightists. They called segregation a more serious problem, were more critical of Americans, pictured Negro discontent as greater (and, in particular, as more ready to resort to violence), thought of the government as less motivated by ideals, saw less recent Negro progress, and proposed stronger methods of action for the Negroes. But they also projected a somewhat more optimistic future for them. In general, these trends represent a more militant outlook on life, and, of course, greater general hostility towards the United States than the rightist students. Underlying the dislike of segregation, which is undoubtedly real, may be, in many cases, a rejection of the American government as well. For example, little Negro progress has been made because American politicians block the way, and discontent is high because the government continually frustrates the Negroes, etc. The more optimistic projection of the Negro's future, on the other hand, may in some cases be a manifestation of revolutionary zeal and a conviction that the world's future, including that of the United States, belongs to socialism. Some of these tendencies are obvious in the following quotes from leftist students:

The fight of the colored race in the U S can be termed a class struggle, in which the Negroes are the oppressed. If it is necessary, they should take up arms to wipe out their exploiters, and together with the more conscientious Americans, they will make a free and democratic country. By free and democratic I mean without economic interests in the rest of the world. All this will help to bring about the liberation of, and end discrimination in, the old and new colonies.

I believe that the U S is nothing but hypocritical towards the rest of the people of the world. It acts in such a way as to take
advantage of the economic problems of other countries. And if it would do that with other countries, why wouldn't it do it with the Negroes?

The U S may be a civilized nation, but it's not cultured (one must note the difference) It criticized the Nazis (I'm not a Nazi) for their discrimination against and killing of the Jews (I'm not a Jew), but still they try to dominate certain Latin American countries because of economic and military interests.

Students holding the Mexican racial problem to be relatively serious also thought of the problem in the United States as more serious. They pictured the discontent of the American Negro as higher, made stronger criticisms of the United States, thought of the government as less idealistic, and were less optimistic about the Negro's future. Causation is not necessarily implied here, although in some cases it may take the form of projection of beliefs about the nature of Mexican race relations upon the United States. In the main, however, it seems that we are dealing with a group of students that are simply more sensitive to racial discrimination in general, be it in Mexico or the United States.

Those students who had travelled in the United States gave the familiar moderate answers: a less serious problem, less criticism, more government ideals, less Negro discontent, more recent progress, a brighter future, and a preference toward peaceful methods of Negro action. The same comments regarding knowledge of the English language apply here: these students are obviously more sympathetic towards the United States. The sympathy may have motivated the travel, and the travel may have generated increased sympathy.

The same broad trends appeared among students who had personally suffered discrimination in the United States and those having a good friend discriminated against Negro discontent was seen as higher, stronger methods of action were preferred, recent progress was thought lower, the government was called less idealistic, and condemnations were more frequent. The personal or vicarious experience of being humiliated by discrimination appeared to cause emotionally charged resentment, as well as to reinforce existing negative attitudes toward segregation.

Attitudinal differences between whites and mestizos were not very marked. Whites seemed to see segregation in the United States as a slightly more serious problem than did mestizos, and pictured Negro discontent as being higher. Perhaps this represents a form of guilt-identification with American whites, with consequent overcompensation. On the other hand, however, white students tended
to be somewhat less critical of Americans with regard to segregation, to see recent progress as greater, and to project a brighter future for the Negro. As suggested earlier, the fact that attitudinal variation between whites and mestizos was as small as it was is certainly as revealing as the minor differences that did appear between the two groups. It indicates the relative unimportance of racial categories themselves in Mexico.

In conclusion, there is one aspect that has not been touched on directly, but which was perhaps the single most frequent observation on segregation in the United States. This is the Mexican student's indignation at the gulf between pronounced American ideals and actual American practices. The fact that Mexicans are of mixed racial heritage is of immense significance, and undoubtedly makes them more sensitive to discriminatory practices in the United States. It leads them to ask questions like the following: "The only thing I can say is that I don't see why American whites discriminate against the Negroes. Do they believe themselves to be superior, like Hitler's Aryan race? If so, then why did they fight against him in the Second World War?" In reading over the students' comments, I continually sensed a feeling of frustration — an inability to understand why Americans discriminate. There was a powerful — and, to me, gratifying — urge on the part of the Mexican to identify with the American Negro. It was most effectively expressed by the following student:

A country which holds an important position in the world in the fields of science, technology, economy, etc., should also pride itself on having a great culture, but, in the case of the Americans, if they have it, they will lose it all if they persist in their obsession for discriminating against the Negro and the non-white races (including Mexicans) who visit them. Man, as such, should aspire to perfection, and in the U.S. perhaps the Negro will be the first to approach it, for he has learned to carry a burden with resignation. But now he is not disposed to continue carrying it, for he wants to stop being a janitor, waiter, etc., in order to dedicate himself to activities which were previously destined exclusively for whites. The Negro is a man like any other, with his own intelligence and personality, and although he is not the color that many millions of North Americans would like, he has the right to educate himself in an atmosphere of peace and confidence which would help him to better himself. There is no doubt that he will achieve high goals. For the foregoing reasons, I believe that all Mexicans and the entire world should condemn racial segregation un-
reservedly, for there is no possible doubt that it is against humanity

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE SEGREGATION OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

The purpose of this questionnaire is to determine the opinions of the university students on the current problem in the United States with respect to the segregation of the Negroes. It will be used as the basis for a sociological study of the subject.

Thank you very much for your help, please return the questionnaire as soon as possible to the place you found it.

1. Sex  male __, female __
2. Years of university education __ years
3. Your background is rural __ or urban __?
4. Race  Indian __, mestizo __, Negro __, mulatto __, white __
5. Socially, or with respect to your career, do you think that your race has been a benefit __, an obstacle __, or that it has had no importance __?
6. How much does religion affect your life? very much __, average __, little __, not at all __
7. In the following scale, indicate where you think you would locate yourself with respect to your political beliefs (1 = extreme leftist, 7 = extreme rightist)
   left _______________________________ right
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8. In the following scale, indicate where you think your family would be located with respect to social class
   upper class ___________________________ working class
   1 2 3 4 5 6
9. Knowledge of English  excellent __, good __, fair __, little __
10. Have you travelled in the U.S.? yes __, no __
11. If you have travelled in the U.S., did you suffer there from any incident of racial discrimination? yes __, no __, I have not travelled in the U.S. __
12. Do you have a good friend who has travelled in the U.S. and suffered there from racial discrimination? yes __, no __
NOTE In the following questions, please check one answer, the one closest to what you believe.

13 What is your personal opinion regarding the segregation of the Negroes in the U S?
   a __ It is the biggest present problem in the U S
   b __ It is one of the biggest problems
   c __ It is without doubt a problem, but not a principal one
   d __ It is a minor problem, without much importance
   e __ It isn’t even a problem

14 Regarding the present integrationist movement in the U S, do you think that
   a __ Almost all the Negroes are ready to resort to violence for their liberty?
   b __ The majority of the Negroes are very concerned with the problem and want to work actively, but peacefully, for equality?
   c __ The majority of the Negroes are concerned with the problem, but not many want to work actively for equality?
   d __ A minority of the Negroes are concerned with the problem, and only a few participate actively?
   e __ The situation has been exaggerated by the press, and most Negroes are content?

15 What is your opinion of the U S with relation to the segregation of the Negro?
   a __ I condemn the U S without reservation for their treatment of the Negroes. The difference between ideals and practice shows that it is a nation of hypocrites
   b __ I criticize the majority of the Americans for moving too slowly in finding a solution for the problem
   c __ I think that the majority of the Americans are trying to solve the problem, but that great social changes don’t occur rapidly
   d __ It is inevitable that a society has some problems, and this is one of the U S’s, it wouldn’t be just to censure them too much
   e __ I approve of segregation in the U S

16 What do you think the situation of the American Negro will be like in 50 years?
   a __ The Negro will have won complete equality, and no prejudice of any kind will remain
b ___. All institutional and systematic forms of discrimination will have disappeared, but some traces of former prejudice will remain.
c ___. Systematic discrimination will have been reduced, but will remain in some areas.
d ___. The situation will be similar to the present.
e ___. There will be even more discrimination.

17 Do you think that the government of the U S has conceded to the demands of the Negroes only for selfish reasons, due to the loss of international prestige and to the internal pressure of Negro organizations? yes ___, no ___, I don’t know ___.

18 What is your opinion of the progress gained by the Negroes towards equality in the last 10 years?
a ___. The Negroes have gained much in almost all aspects of life.
b ___. While the progress of the Negro has been considerable, it doesn’t seem like much compared to what it should be.
c ___. The Negroes have gained little.
d ___. There has been almost no progress.
e ___. They have lost more than they have gained.

19 What action should the Negroes take?
a ___. They should try to withdraw from American society and organize an independent Negro state.
b ___. They should resort to violence in order to make themselves accepted as equals.
c ___. They should use any method, legal or illegal, except violence.
d ___. They should use only legal methods.
e ___. They should try to fight discrimination only by means of education and the vote.
f ___. They shouldn’t do anything, but should allow social changes to occur naturally.

INSTRUCTIONS Questions 20-22 refer to Mexico.

20 Do you think that the white Mexicans feel themselves to be racially superior to the mestizos? yes ___, no ___, I don’t know ___.

21 Do you think that the mestizos feel themselves to be racially superior to the Indians? yes ___, no ___, I don’t know ___.

22 In your opinion, does Mexico have a racial problem with respect to those of Indian blood? a ___. Yes, the racial problem is the biggest which presently exists in Mexico.
b  It isn't the biggest problem, but it does represent a serious conflict between the ideals and practice in Mexico.
c Racial prejudice does exist in Mexico, but it is a minor problem, and will have disappeared after a few generations.
d There is almost no problem, one only finds traces of former prejudices.
e Mexico is completely free of racial prejudice.

INSTRUCTIONS  In this last part, please do not consult reference books or discuss the questions with others before answering them.

23 What do you think is the percentage of Negroes in the total U S population?
   5% __, 10% __, 20% __, 30% __, 40% __, 50% __

24 a The laws of the Southern states say specifically that the Negro does not have the right to vote yes __, no __, I don't know __.
b The laws of the Northern states prohibit Negroes from voting yes __, no __, I don't know __.
c The federal laws prohibit them from voting yes __, no __, I don't know __.

25 In no Southern state may a Negro sit in the front seats of a bus true __, false __, I don't know __.

26 The majority of the educational institutions in the northern states are integrated yes __, no __, I don't know __.

27 The forms of discrimination in the South and in the West are almost identical yes __, no __, I don't know __.

28 In most northern states, a Negro may live in almost any neighborhood yes __, no __, I don't know __.

29 Almost all the Negro demonstrations have been in the Southern states yes __, no __, I don't know __.

30 The churches are almost the only institutions in the South which are free of discrimination yes __, no __, I don't know __.

31 President Kennedy has declared himself to be definitely against segregation yes __, no __, I don't know __.

If you wish to express any additional opinion on discrimination in the U.S. or in Mexico, or on the questionnaire itself, please do so here.
THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS
OF JAMAICAN GROWTH

*Reprinted are the introductory and concluding chapters to a study on the international aspects of Jamaican economic development in the post-war period. The intervening chapters deal in considerable detail with international trade, foreign investment, and immigration — all of which have been crucial factors in the successful launching of the Jamaican take-off. The portion printed here presents a more general picture of the economy. The conclusions developed from the analysis in the main body of the study are easily discernible with the possible exception of those dealing with the importance of migration. Emigration from the island to the United Kingdom reached a rate of 30,000 per year in the early '60's, revision of the Commonwealth Immigration Act has cut this flow to 4,000 per annum. Because development has relied so heavily in the past upon factor movements — the efflux of labor and the influx of capital — the removal of the first of these possibilities confronts Jamaican policy-makers with a momentous problem. During the 50's it was only necessary to concentrate upon inducing foreign investment in the island. In the immediate future the crucial variable susceptible to policy manipulation will be population growth.

DEVELOPMENT IN THE POST-WAR ERA

Extent of Jamaican Development

Jamaica is one among a multitude of the very diverse nations which are so frequently lumped together under the genus "underdeveloped." For analytical purposes, this terminology frequently dissembles more than it illuminates. Before attempting to relate Jamaican growth to the theory of economic development, it will be necessary to examine the structure of the Jamaican economy to determine how it differs from other underdeveloped economies. In so doing it is hoped to clarify the meaning of such vague terms as growth and underdevelopment.

The most common means of measuring relative development is income or product per capita. From the following table of selected countries it can be seen that Jamaica is relatively well off, especially compared to the Asian countries. Most remarkable is the comparability of Jamaican gross domestic product per capita with that of Japan — a nation normally classed as at least "semi-developed."

*Gene M Tidrick (Kimbolton, Ohio) is doing graduate work in economics at Harvard University's School of International Trade.
There are severe limitations to the use of this measuring stick for international comparisons. Jamaica’s tropical climate and the consequent reduced needs in shelter, fuel, and clothing may cause real income to be understated in relation to nations with a more temperate climate. Services which do not enter into international trade and thus determination of the exchange rate, leave further room for error. But as a rough indicator, per capita product still is serviceable as a measure of relative standards of living. By this measure it will be seen that though Jamaica ranks far below North Atlantic standards, she is relatively wealthy by Afro-Asian criteria.

### TABLE 11

Per Capita Gross Domestic Product at Factor Cost, Selected Countries (in U.S. $)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1958</th>
<th>1961</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>2324</td>
<td>2572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>1084</td>
<td>1244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAMAICA</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>n.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>n.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>n.a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


To get the Jamaican economy into true perspective it is necessary to abandon static conceptions. Rather than being viewed at a given moment, it must be regarded over a period of time. Taking this dynamic outlook, one can say that Jamaica has a “developing” economy, passing from what must be regarded as genuinely underdeveloped in 1950 to semi-developed today.

In 1950 Jamaica had scarcely recovered from the effects of the war, during which her export markets were disrupted. Real income per capita was actually lower than pre-war since population growth had outstripped the growth of production. From 1950 to 1962 gross domestic product at current prices increased nearly four-fold. Real (constant price) GDP, a more significant measure, increased in the decade 1952-61 by 107%. Even with a rapidly growing population, real incomes per head have been more than doubled. Clearly this is a remarkable expansion. In fact, for the period of the middle 50’s Jamaica had the third highest growth rate in the non-communist
world, being outstripped only by two other islands, Puerto Rico and Japan

TABLE 12

Gross Domestic Product in Current and Constant Prices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>GDP (E$)</th>
<th>% Inc</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Per Cap GDP</th>
<th>% Inc</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Per Cap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>102.5</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>95.0</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>117.2</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>106.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>130.5</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>119.7</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>143.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>136.4</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>158.5</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>158.5</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>171.4</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>191.9</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>184.0</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>198.7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>194.5</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>212.1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>207.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>230.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>212.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>244.3</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>212.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>252.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>212.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

approximate converted from 1950 to 1956 index

Sources
Jamaica, Five Year Independence Plan 1963-1968

Equally striking was the structural change in the economy. Five major trends can be discerned during the past decade: the relative, though not absolute, decline of the importance of agriculture, and expansion in the relative contribution of mining, miscellaneous services, construction, and manufacturing.

A decline in the importance of agriculture seems to be universally associated with the transition from "underdeveloped" to "developed." Whether this decline is the cause or result of development is the subject of much debate and need not detain us here. The important thing to note is that the percent contribution of agriculture to GDP has declined from 30.8% in 1950 to 12.7% in 1961.

By far the most dramatic change has resulted from the discovery and exploitation of bauxite. Mining accounted for practically nil in 1950 but by 1961 was contributing between 8%-9% of GDP. No doubt the mining of bauxite has been decisive in the surge of growth during the past decade. The importance of bauxite development was enhanced because of its value as a dollar earner. All development has been undertaken by U.S. and Canadian aluminum companies.
and similarly, nearly all the bauxite mined is exported to the dollar area. When one considers that investment in the industry has ranged as high as $30 billion in one year, that bauxite and aluminum account for about one-half of domestic exports, and that Jamaica is the largest producer of aluminum ore in the world, then one begins to appreciate just how crucial a role bauxite has played.

### TABLE 13
Gross Domestic Product at Factor Cost by Industrial Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>£m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction, Installation</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Utilities</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, Communication, Storage</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale and Retail Distribution</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking Insurance, Real Estate</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ownership of Dwellings</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc Services</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Includes mining
Includes storage

Source: Jamaica, *Economic Survey 1962*

### TABLE 14
Percentage Contribution Made by Industrial Groups to Gross Domestic Product

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction, Installation</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Utilities</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, Communication, Storage</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.4*</td>
<td>6.6*</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ownership of Dwellings</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc Services</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* denotes storage included

Source: Jamaica, *National Accounts Income and Expenditure, various years*
A third prominent feature of Jamaican growth has been the rise of the tourist industry, (included in miscellaneous services) The number of tourists has increased from 74,892 in 1950 to 206,838 in 1962 1 The importance of tourism is not reflected solely by the increase in numbers or the increased importance of miscellaneous services (the increase being largely due to tourism) from 15% to 19.2% of GDP Like bauxite, tourism has been a significant dollar earner and has reduced the vulnerability of the economy through diversification

Development of the construction sector from 7.6% of GDP to 11.2% is primarily a reflection of increased investment in other sectors This change is indicative of the quickened pace of the Jamaican economy Because of its labor-intensity and use of local materials, increased constructional activity is of particular interest due to its impact on unemployment and balance of payment problems

Finally, the increased manufacturing activity should be pointed out Development was most marked between 1938 (6.5% of GDP) and 1950 (11.3%) but in the rapid growth of the past decade, manufacturing has increased its share of GDP to 13.3% If Jamaican officials are prone to indulge in a bit of breast beating about the development of manufacturing, it is understandable For industrialization holds a key position in most of the literature on economic development, especially for Jamaica it must represent virtually the sine qua non of economic progress, as we shall attempt to demonstrate later Moreover, if one may make a distinction among independent, dependent, and policy variables, the increased importance of manufacturing is most clearly a policy variable, i.e. the deliberate attempt to foster industrialization

An examination of employment by sectors of the economy imposes an element of restraint in one's optimism Table 15 shows that whereas the contribution of agriculture to GDP has steadily declined throughout, the percentage employed in agriculture actually rose after the war Although the decline in the proportion employed in agriculture has been impressive since 1954, nearly 40% of the labor force continues to be engaged in that occupation In absolute terms, the number engaged in agriculture has declined by slightly over 100,000 since 1954 (330,500 in 1954 to 229,700 in 1960) 2

1 Jamaica, Economic Survey (various years), prepared by the Central Planning Unit of the Ministry of Development and Welfare (Kingston)
TABLE 15

Percentage Employed by Industrial Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1943-46</th>
<th>1954</th>
<th>1957</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minning</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* includes mining

Sources
1954, Lloyd Best, "Economic Structure of Jamaica and Trinidad," p 114, op cit
1957, G E Cumper, "Employment and Unemployment in the West Indies", p 169, Cumper, op cit
1960, Jamaica, Census of Jamaica 7th April, 1960 Vol I, Part D, Department of Statistics (Kingston 1963)

Excluded from 1960 figures are forestry, fishing and mining, electricity and water, commerce, insurance, real estate, transportation and communication, public service and unspecified

Since the 1960 Census has not been fully tabulated it is impossible to get a more complete breakdown of labor force distribution. But it seems reasonable to assume that most of those classified as engaged in "personal service" (14.5%) are not employed in the tourist industry. This supposition, if correct, implies that an unusually large proportion of the labor force is engaged in domestic service, a common indicator of underdevelopment. Distribution, which is carried on primarily by an army of small traders and "hugglers" (women who market agricultural produce), similarly seems to be organized in a manner characteristic of underdeveloped areas.

The problems inherent in trying to draw conclusions from figures of occupational distribution are fully recognized. Even when figures are accurate and detailed the relative lack of specialization in a country like Jamaica necessitates careful use of the statistics. Yet, bearing these limitations in mind, it is still clear that product per worker in the manufacturing sector far exceeds product per worker in the agricultural sector. In 1960 the figures were £342 and £115 respectively, a factor of three.

Given the dichotomy between industry and agriculture, two processes whereby national income may be raised exist. Either product per worker in the agricultural sector must be raised to the level of

the manufacturing sector, or workers must transfer from agriculture to manufacturing. In practice, both must be done. Jamaica may very well have reached the limits, under present technology, of increased product per acre in agriculture. Therefore, in order to increase product per worker — the object of economic development — the number of workers engaged in agriculture must be decreased. The developmental process consists of capital being substituted for labor in agriculture with the displaced workers complemented by capital in manufacturing.

Perhaps the structural imbalance can be illustrated by the following exercise. Assume that instead of the present occupational distribution of 37.8% in agriculture and 14.7% in manufacturing, we could redistribute those workers so that 20% were engaged in agriculture and 32.5% in industry. Assume further that product per worker in the two sectors remained constant at £115 and £342 respectively. Then the average product per worker in the two sectors would rise from £179 to £239, a remarkable 33 1/2%. If we assume that agriculture is simultaneously mechanized and total agricultural product remained constant, the increase would be even more astounding.

This armchair arithmetic illustrates an important point. In an overpopulated country where land and capital are very scarce in relation to labor, the process of economic development must not only consist of the accumulation of capital, this process also necessitates the redeployment of labor. In other words, there must be a structural change. Despite the rapid advances of the past few years, Jamaica still has a long way to go before the structure of her economy approaches the "developed" stage.

**The Jamaican Take-Off**

To get Jamaican development into proper perspective it is instructive to view it within the Rostovian framework. By Rostow's criteria, Jamaica has clearly entered "take-off." The take-off is defined as requiring the following three conditions: (1) a rise in the rate of productive investment to over 10% of national income, (2) the development of one or more substantial manufacturing sectors, with a high rate of growth, (3) the existence or quick emergence of a political, social and institutional framework which exploits the impulses to expansion in the modern sector and the potential external economy effects of the take-off and gives to growth an on-going.

---

character. Official national income accounts show that by 1956 the ratio of net fixed capital formation to national income was 19.7%. In 1960 the ratio was 16.3% and in 1961, 13.8%. This is not indicative of a secular decline but rather of normal fluctuations in investment, since the 1960 ratio was lower than that for 1959.

Rostow’s second condition appears to have been met by the development of the bauxite industry. The only direct effects upon the rest of the economy perhaps were in construction, but the government revenues from bauxite have formed the basis for further capital development and the original impetus given to the economy has induced the establishment of new industries in response to the expanding market. Growth begets more growth.

But has the third condition, the nebulous requirement of institutions and attitudes conducive to growth, been established? Failure to do so results in what Rostow calls an “enclave” economy—one in which the necessary investment is being made but the leading sector fails to transmit its growth to the rest of the economy. There is a possibility that the secondary and tertiary effects of foreign investment (especially in mining where the ore is exported) will be induced in the investing country. In other words, it is conceivable that the bauxite industry could best be regarded as an outpost of the North American economy rather than as an integral part of the Jamaican economy. This does not seem to have been the case because (1) the concomitant rise of other “growth” sectors such as tourism and manufacturing has reinforced the impetus given by bauxite investment, and (2) the necessary institutions and attitudes for further growth seem to have been inculcated.

**Social Structure and Economic Development**

The Jamaican social structure appears not to present the serious impediments to growth that it does in most parts of Africa, Asia, and even parts of Latin America. Jamaica is a multi-racial society though Jamaicans are predominantly of African or mixed African stock. 76.8% of the population is of African origin, 14.6% is Afro-European, and most of the remainder is of Chinese, East Indian, or Syrian origin. By no means can Jamaica be called a “plural society.”

---

5 *Ibid.,* p. 39
6 *Loc Cit*
"The dual requirement of a ‘manufacturing’ sector is that its processes set in motion a chain of further modern sector requirements and that its expansion provides the potentiality of external economy effects, industrial in character. Timber in Sweden and dairy products in Denmark are thus ‘manufacturing’ industries."

in the sense of Malaya. It is significant, for example, that there are equally as many Afro-Chinese and Afro-East Indians as there are pure Chinese and East Indians in the population. Miscegenation is quite common.

This is not to say that racial integration is complete nor discrimination wholly absent. The class structure tends to run from black to white. Whiteness is associated with wealth, power, and literacy. Consequently, the whole set of attitudes tends to have a white bias. But a person's skin color may become "lighter" during his lifetime. In other words, he may move up in social class. Social mobility is relatively great. Class tends to be associated with color more by historical consequence than by present discriminatory design.

In fact, with Jamaica now independent, blackness may become an asset rather than a liability. The question is, will the best talent be directed into professional and political channels of advancement rather than economic? With education still the primary source of mobility and the educated Jamaican's scorn of "business," entrepreneurial talent may have to come from the non-African classes.

In many parts of the world the extended family hinders economic growth. When financial responsibility is felt for a whole array of cousins, uncles, and more distant relatives, it is evident that incentive to better oneself economically is greatly diminished. Because of the deliberate policy under slavery of breaking up tribes and even families, Jamaican society tends to be highly atomistic. Few clan or tribal loyalties exist. Yet a large percentage of the population is unemployed and subsists without unemployment insurance. This indicates that a measure of the extended family still exists in Jamaica. While broad generalizations are to be viewed with caution, it seems safe to suggest that Jamaica enjoys the best of two worlds: extended family unity is not so strong as to be an actual disincentive to increased economic activity, yet is strong enough to provide a measure of social security adequate to relieve the government of this task.

Officially, the policy of the government has long been to promote economic development with all possible vigor. In 1952 the Industrial Development Corporation was established with the avowed intent of promoting development. A ten-year plan was instituted in

---

9 Ibid., p. 9
10 For a good discussion of this problem see Bauer and Yamey, op cit., pp. 64-67, or W. A. Lewis, Theory of Economic Growth, Unwin University Books, (London, 1955), pp. 113-114
1957\textsuperscript{11} — not a very good one, to be sure, but an effort nonetheless. Politically, the climate is favorable to foreign investment. There is a strong two-party system of government — one of the few such systems in the Western Hemisphere south of the Mason-Dixon line. Moreover, the major parties and the Jamaican populace are staunchly anti-communist. Jamaica has remained a member of the sterling area and in general maintains strong ties with Britain, Canada, and the United States.

If anything, the sense of Jamaican nationalism is not sufficiently developed. While it is refreshing to a Western observer to see a newly independent nation that does not blame all its difficulties on colonialism and racial discrimination, there is a tendency among Jamaicans to be perhaps too pro-British. It may not be altogether desirable to depend so heavily on others, a point which will be raised again in connection with foreign investment and migration policy. Nationalistic feelings must be at least strong enough to generate a feeling of self-confidence and self-reliance in a new nation.

Despite the presence of a social milieu favorable to economic development, certain obstacles remain. It is questionable whether the idea (or benefits) of economic growth has penetrated to the masses. There are in fact “two Jamaica’s” — the large multi-racial middle class with all the values and attitudes conducive to economic growth, and an even larger traditional culture black and maintaining a high degree of African influence\textsuperscript{12} This latter group accepts as an ideal the middle class values of the European-oriented cultural group but rarely achieves them in practice. For instance, the ideal of legal wedlock prevails but 70% of children being born are “illegitimate”\textsuperscript{13}

Land ownership is still an important basis of economic status. But with population pressure decreasing the opportunities for land ownership\textsuperscript{*} this traditional pattern is breaking down. To bridge the gap between these two cultures — to ensure that when traditional values break down desirable “middle-class” values will replace them — remains a basic problem.

\textsuperscript{11}Jamaica, \textit{A National Plan for Jamaica} 1957-1962, Government Printer, (Kingston, 1957)
\textsuperscript{13}Five Year Plan, op cit, p 42
\textsuperscript{14}Cumper, “Notes on the Social Structure,” op cit, p 5

Not only because of smaller plots, but because of longer life expectancy. Fifty years ago a son born when his father was 25 had a chance of inheriting the land when he was 25. Now he must wait 10 more years.\textsuperscript{14}
The large number of very small farms is an obstacle to both economic development and social stability. The average size of a farm is 10.7 acres, but this figure obscures some great disproportionalities. Seventy-one point five percent of the total number of farms are four acres or less in size but these farms contain only 11.8% of total acreage. Farms of 500 acres or more however, comprise only 2% of total farms but 45.3% of total acreage. This represents an improvement since 1954, but it is clear that something in the nature of an agricultural revolution has yet to occur if agriculture is not to become a millstone about the neck of the economy and if the fruits of development are to accrue to the entire population.

Implicit in most of the foregoing has been the proposition that over-population is the basic problem in Jamaica. By over-population I mean simply that there are just too many people in relation to the availability of co-operant resources. At the end of 1962 the island had a population of 1,663,000 on its 4,411 square miles. This is a density of 377 per square mile, slightly higher than India. But only 20% of the land is flat or undulating, parts of Jamaica being so mountainous that they are virtually uninhabited. About 36% of the land is used for agriculture but more of this is in pasture than arable cultivation. The density per square mile of cultivable land (including permanent grassland, a questionable procedure) is approximately 1050.

Colin Clark, probably the most optimistic of those who have written on population problems, believes that at Danish productivity and consumption standards the world could support twelve billion people. Again at Danish standards, he concludes that a square mile of cultivable land should support 500 people. By this criterion Jamaica has from two to four times as many people as it can feed at Danish standards (depending upon whether one considers grassland “cultivable”).

But even the problem of land shortage could be surmounted were it not for the concomitant shortage of capital. This need not be fatal either, capital can be accumulated. The basic problem is, whether capital accumulation can outstrip population growth. For,

---

15 *Five Year Plan, op cit*, p 16-18
16 *Ibid*, p 7
with the supply of land fixed, by the law of diminishing returns capital accumulation must exceed population growth by a certain margin even to maintain present levels of output per capita.

During the 1950's population grew at a rate of 2% per annum owing to heavy emigration. But the rate of natural increase of population in Jamaica is about 3% — and the possibilities of alleviation of the problem by further emigration are slight because of changed British immigration laws. This is one of the highest rates of growth of population in the world. And it is one area in which the situation seems to be, if anything, worsening. Not only has the rate of emigration slowed down, but the birth rate has risen to more than 40 per thousand, again one of the highest in the world.

The magnitude of the problem may be illuminated by the following exercise. Singer has devised an equation showing the relationship of the rate of growth of per capita income (D), the rate of net savings (s), the productivity of capital (p), and the rate of population growth (r). The equation is:

\[ D = sp - r \]

In Jamaica, as we have shown previously, the rate of net savings appears to fluctuate about a figure of approximately 15%. This, it should be noted, includes foreign investment. The productivity of capital is simply the capital/output ratio inverted. The Jamaican capital/output ratio has been estimated by Arthur Brown of the Central Planning Unit to be 4 1/2, but Carleen O’Laughlin claims that figures show it to be variously 1 5 1 or 2 5 1 depending upon the years used for calculation. If we take a 3 1 K/O ratio as a reasonable approximation, then with a population growth of 3% per capita, incomes will rise by only 2% per annum (\( (15)(33) - 3\% = 2\%\)). If a 4 1 K/O ratio obtains, D will only be 75%. The figures can be manipulated to show anything, but they do indicate the policy measures open to the government: the rate of savings and investment can be increased (either foreign or domestic), the productivity of capital is subject to some improvement through, for example, investment in social overhead capital, and the populace can be persuaded to voluntarily limit the size of their family. The relationship between population growth and economic growth is not clear, the former

\[ \text{References:} \]

may be necessary to stimulate the latter. But it is clear that an annual population increase of 3% is not necessary.

From this necessarily brief survey of the Jamaican economic landscape, we can draw a few conclusions. Jamaica by most international standards of comparison has risen from an underdeveloped to a semi-developed nation in the period since World War II. Population pressure appears to be the most serious obstacle to continued economic betterment. If the Jamaican economy can be said to have entered "take-off," the danger still exists that it will be brought crashing to the ground because of too many passengers attempting to climb aboard.

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Jamaica has made rapid strides in the post-war era in economic development. Real per capita gross domestic product rose by over 90% between 1950 and 1961. More recently, some progress has been made in reducing unemployment — the second major economic goal of Jamaican policy. Between 1957 and 1960 seasonally adjusted unemployment dropped from 18% to 14.5% of the total labor force. Because of the island's dependence upon foreign capital, an examination of the international aspects of Jamaican development has isolated the major forces behind the rapid strides of the past decade.

Foremost among these forces was the expansion of bauxite production from zero to the point where Jamaica is the world's leading producer. Though providing limited employment opportunities, heavy dollar investment in bauxite expanded productive activity throughout the rest of the economy, provided the government with a major source of revenue, and greatly increased the supply of foreign exchange available to Jamaica. The other major forces were the expansion of sugar exports, the influx of tourists into the island, the development of substantial manufacturing activity, and the massive exodus from the island prior to 1963.

Most remarkable about all five of these pillars of development, is that all have been heavily dependent upon an Anglo-American outlet for Jamaican goods and factors (labor) or upon the influx of Anglo-American capital and tourists. This by no means belittles the achievement of the Jamaican policy-making elite. It is difficult to determine the extent to which each of these five factors has been an autonomous, induced, or policy variable, but it seems clear that government policy has at the very least been successful in capitalizing on exogenous forces.
In fact, Jamaican policy has been virtually the epitome of the "new orthodoxy" expounded by Lewis, Nurkse, Singer, et al. Tariffs have been raised to stimulate domestic production, every effort has been made to create a favorable climate for foreign investment, subsidies have been offered to stimulate manufacturing, marketing boards for agricultural exports have been established, and the Government has not only provided social overhead capital, but has been willing to engage in directly productive activities. Yet, by and large, government has been able to create many of the necessary conditions for development, but it still remains true that completion of the sufficient conditions is dependent upon the actions of foreign governments and investors. In the coming decade it may be necessary to formulate more radical policies, for prospects for continued growth and more particularly, the growth of employment opportunities outstripping the growth in the labor force, are considerably less bright.

In the new Five Year Plan (1963-68) the government has projected a 5% rate of growth in the economy for the period 1963-67. Table 6.1 shows the projections by sectors and the sectoral changes which are expected to take place. It is notable that Jamaica can no longer depend upon mining to give the impetus to growth that it has in the past.

It is beyond the scope of this study to examine these projections or the proposed means for achieving them in detail. However, a brief analysis of the most pressing problems facing Jamaican planners and the general orientation which policy should take in the future is in order.

### TABLE 6.1

Five Year Plan (Projections)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>1960 (£m)</th>
<th>% of Total GDP</th>
<th>1963 (£m)</th>
<th>% of Total GDP</th>
<th>1967 (£m)</th>
<th>% of Total GDP</th>
<th>Average Annual % Rate of Growth 1963-67</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacture (including Sugar)</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>496</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Utilities</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ownership of Dwellings</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2310</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2531</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3079</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Five Year Independence Plan 1963-1968*, p. 68
Two relatively minor problems may be dealt with quickly. We found that further expansion of tourism is largely dependent upon tapping the middle-class North American tourist market. Provision in the Five-Year Plan for the Negril Development Scheme and the establishment of a national airline are projects which should help to achieve this aim. One is instinctively wary of a proposal for a national airline. For some nations these have proved decidedly uneconomic, functioning primarily as a prestige symbol. However, if the price elasticity of demand for Jamaican vacations on the part of American tourists is as high as I believe it to be, this project should prove to be a highly profitable investment.

The second minor problem which might arise in the future is a balance of payments problem. The flow of profits, interest, and dividends out of Jamaica, all of which cross the balance-of-payments, has already increased to nearly £12 million (1961). This corresponds to a deficit on current account of £4.4 million in the same year. Increases in foreign investment comparable to those of the past decade might well pose an impossible balance of payments problem in the future. The balance of payments problem may conflict with the proposed policy of extending tax incentives further. Having said that, however, it must be recalled that a substantial portion of the capital which Jamaica hopes to attract will be direct investment which should be self-financing through saving or earning foreign exchange.

The whole problem of foreign control of industry may some day flare up. Even in Canada and England there has been some reaction to Yankee industrial control. Given the ideological orientation of both political parties, this is likely to be a problem only in the long run if at all in Jamaica.

Population pressure has been thoroughly dealt with in previous chapters. An adjunct of this most serious Jamaican problem is the low productivity of labor, which may yet prove to be the greatest deterrent to industrialization. According to a Canadian government report on foreign investment, there are three main obstacles hindering the flow of capital from advanced to underdeveloped areas: (1) the retarded economic development itself, (2) exchange controls, and (3) labor problems. Exchange controls present no problem in Jamaica. Rising incomes make an increasingly wider range of investment profitable. But labor productivity, so crucial in manufacturing enterprises, is so low in some instances as to lead one frus-

24Balance of Payments Jamaica 1961, op cit, p 18
25Higgins, op cit, p 589
trated manager with experience in several areas of the world to ex-
claim that Jamaican labor was the most expensive in the world

Neither in his innate disposition nor his cultured background is
there anything to suggest that the Jamaican should be unsuited to in-
dustrial employment Jamaica shares a common language with the
most industrialized nations in the world, has had continuous contact
for centuries with Great Britain and North America, and for the most
part the educational system is British, even down to the subject mat-
ter Moreover, even rural Jamaicans are fully accustomed to a
money economy In fact, it appears that labor drawn from rural
areas is more adaptable to modern industrial techniques than the
urban laborer 26

Yet it is clear that one of the major differences between, say,
Japan and Jamaica is the quality of the labor force Both are densely
populated with capital and land in relatively short supply, and both
have about the same per capita incomes Yet the Japanese have been
able to produce optical and electronic instruments requiring a highly
skilled labor force Such industries would not even be considered
in Jamaica, not because foreign industrialists might not like to invest
in such industries, but because the skilled workers don't exist In
lesser form this problem pervades the entire labor force down to
the domestic servant

There are three essential reasons for this Firstly, emigration has
taken a particularly heavy toll of skilled workers Stated in another
way, technical training schools have failed to produce enough grad-
uates to take up the slack In fact, technical training is to some extent
self-defeating since many of the graduates emigrate to the United
Kingdom

Secondly, because Jamaican labor after training has proven as
efficient as any in some operations, we concluded earlier in this study
that part of the problem stems from the nature of the operation —
whether it is operator or machine paced Most of the complaints of
low productivity come from the construction industry which is oper-
ator-paced It would seem that low productivity stems not only from
a lack of skills, but from a lack of proper working habits and atti-
tudes Since machine-paced operations foster both, Hirschman ad-
 vocates more capital-intensive processes if these are machine-paced

Here there is a conflict Macro-economic considerations — labor
is abundant and capital scarce — seemingly dictate the most labor-
 intensive method of operation Microeconomic considerations —
labor's marginal productivity is so low due to low efficiency that the
market price of capital is cheap by comparison — dictate the use of

26Aronson, op cit, pp 181-182
capital-intensive techniques. Furthermore, Hirschman would argue, since capital-intensive, machine-paced operations tend to improve the skills of labor over time, this production technique should be favored.

One can subscribe to this argument only with a great degree of caution. Ceteris paribus, machine-paced operations are to be favored. However, Jamaica's greatest problem remains unemployment, and for this reason labor-intensive industry is essential. It may be possible to simulate the conditions of machine-paced operations even though the production method is process-centered. In effect, this would require that managerial techniques be designed to artificially create the regular pace normally set by a machine. It may be as efficient to import skilled management personnel rather than machines, thereby securing the training effects of machine-paced operations even though using a more labor-intensive technique.

A third factor hindering increased productivity is the high rate of unemployment and the occasional nature of many jobs. Prevalent among Jamaican workers is the "lump of work" attitude. One of the construction foremen on the Esso Refinery project reported that workers were constantly coming to him and asking when the job would be over. Because prospects of further employment are highly uncertain, workers attempt to stretch out a job as long as possible. The result is another vicious circle; unemployment contributes to low productivity but more employment opportunities can be created only by raising productivity. Another implication of the lump of work attitude is that in some instances it, as much as the absence of machine-paced operations, may be responsible for low productivity in certain industries. Manufacturing may, for instance, elicit greater effort from workers even if operator-paced, because it provides more security of employment than, say, construction.

Analysis of why productivity is low is far simpler than prescription of a solution. Banning the emigration of skilled workers is hardly feasible. Not only is this politically repugnant to the majority of Jamaicans, it might reduce the economic incentive to save and learn new skills. In the past the prospect of emigration has apparently stimulated many Jamaicans to work harder. Yet, Jamaica can only afford to provide technical training if workers plan to stay in the island, just as a firm cannot afford to train workers if the economies are to be mostly external.

A possible solution to this problem would be to greatly expand technical training programs, but require workers so trained to remain in the country a certain number of years. The government could in return educate such workers free of charge and guarantee
them employment which would make use of their talents. There is no reason to believe that a guarantee of employment would present much of a problem because the absorptive capacity for skilled workers should be virtually unlimited.

In most cases where alternative techniques exist, government policy should favor the most labor-intensive. In practice the scope of alternatives will probably be very narrow, but with proper management techniques it should be profitable to substitute labor for capital in some industries. This is not to be construed as a work-spreadmg policy. Rather it is felt that the real cost of labor-intensive activity will frequently be less. This implies that foreign management must be as freely accepted in Jamaica as foreign physical capital. Only if the productivity of labor is raised can Jamaica attract foreign capital to raise it even more. Such is the paradox of under-development.

The second major obstacle to further development and industrialization is agriculture. At present holdings are very uneconomically distributed. Large plantations and the holdings of bauxite companies have tracts of unutilized land while more than 100,000 farms are less than five acres in size. Quite obviously most of the latter must be amalgamated if the farmer is to be able to raise his standard of living. Equally obvious is the necessity of using to the fullest every arable acre of land in the island.

The present Five Year Plan proposes a moderate program of land reform. Unused lands will be acquired or leased and allotted to farmers of proven ability who may be allowed to buy the land. Farms will be of two types: medium-sized (15-30 acres) and small (5-14 acres) farms. Provisions in the terms of sale will prevent excessive subdivision through inheritance. Many of the farms so created will be dairy farms, some will be devoted to export crop production and others will be devoted to mixed farming. Machinery pools available to small farmers will be established and an Agricultural Marketing Corporation will ensure an outlet for food crops.

In short, the land reform program shows great promise in regard to utilizing the 150,000 to 200,000 acres of idle land on farms of more than 100 acres in size. No solution is offered, if indeed one short of compulsion exists, for the amalgamation of presently uneconomic holdings.

Earlier we concluded that any substantial increase in agricultural exports where a larger market exists than is presently being supplied, such as cocoa and coffee, will require a reduction in costs.

\[\text{Five Year Plan, op cit, pp 113-120}\]
Costs can only be reduced at the expense of living standards under present land tenure. The alternative is to reduce the number currently engaged in agriculture and to increase the size of holdings.

This applies equally to the growing market for livestock and other production for the local market. Income elasticity of demand for many local products is greater than that for exports. To compete successfully with imported foodstuffs, other than by raising tariffs (which would only be a form of regressive taxation on the middle class), farming units must be of a larger, economically viable scale. Import-competing agricultural production may for the next few years be more profitable than production for export. If export production is not to be diverted to production for the local market, (and indeed agricultural exports should expand moderately, not contract) then total production must increase. Again this can only be done if the system of land tenure undergoes drastic change.

Thus workers presently engaged in agriculture must find employment elsewhere. They must do this so that not only may product per worker of the remaining farmers increase, but that total agricultural production may increase. Only if some workers are forced off the land can the reorganization of productive units necessary for increased production be effected.

The essential complementarity of agriculture and industry is thus highlighted. Industry must absorb the army of workers released from agriculture. If workers are not released from agriculture, economic stagnation will result.

Projections made in the present Five Year Plan are based on the assumption that the net migration rate will be of the order of 10,000 per year. Even then the labor force would increase by 10%, i.e., 65,000 workers, over the period of the Plan. The further assumption is made that the influx of foreign capital — the deficit on current account — will increase from an estimated £12.2 million in 1963 to £17.8 million in 1967. It seems likely that the labor force will increase more than the estimate. To provide employment for the 65,000 or more additions to the labor force, Jamaica quite obviously intends to rely heavily upon foreign investment in manufacturing industry.

Is this misplaced faith? Would Jamaica be wiser to rely on her own resources? The complex problem of development cannot be resolved by a simple yes or no answer. Certainly Jamaicans must face the realities of their situation. Population growth must be reduced. Agriculture must undergo a veritable revolution. Labor ef-
Efficiency must be increased. Solution of these problems is essentially in the hands of the Jamaican people.

But because of the limited internal market, any program of industrialization must rely upon foreign markets. The complexities of invading a foreign market require in most cases a marketing organization which can only be supplied by a foreign firm already well established. It depends more importantly upon the good-will of other countries. Recent action to protect its domestic cotton textile industry by the U.S. is not encouraging.

It is far from certain that a policy aimed at industrialization for export will succeed. Rather, the case for such a policy is based upon the belief that any other course is bound to fail. If Jamaica fails to develop by this pattern, the result may be an attempt to industrialize by totalitarian means. Pursuit of a vigorous and well-defined policy by the Jamaican government coupled with the maintenance of international goodwill and economic liberalism may yet move Jamaica towards a high standard of living and full employment in the context of political democracy and individual freedom.

\[Economic Survey 1962, op cit, p 47\]
CONFRONTING THE ISSUE OF APPORTIONMENT

By Bruce A Timmons

The issue of legislative apportionment has become one of the major domestic issues of our times. Due to its fundamental role in the decision-making process of free government, the distribution of legislative districts involves the essence of democratic government and determines the framework through which the inevitable conflicts of human interaction are peacefully resolved in our society.

One might assume that a legislative body should approximately reflect the composition of the society of which it is a part. In recent times, however, state legislative systems have become notoriously biased in favor of the less populous, rural areas, the resultant provincialism and conservatism have contributed to the diminishing importance of state government by virtually ignoring the current dilemmas of our age — civil rights, mental health, urban renewal, education, minimal standards of living, and so on. Such disproportionate political power seems to contradict the American ideal of political equality.

Michigan is particularly illustrative of the scope of the apportionment controversy. All the elements are present — intense political competition, ideological conflict, legislative stalemate, and a constitutionally conservative state senate despite a noticeable statewide liberal bias. Moreover, all attempts to establish an equitable system of representation have ended in failure. The 1952 initiative campaign, judicial litigations, and constitutional revision. The turning point came in 1962 in the United States Supreme Court decision *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962), which made apportionment subject to judicial challenge under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. Consequently, the apportionment controversy has become especially acute in Michigan and, in the absence of specific legal requirements for apportionment, has created a highly inflammable state of electoral and political chaos. As of May, 1964, voters faced the awesome possibility of at-large elections for 38 senators, 110 representatives and 19 United States Congressmen — if elections were to be held at all! Since then congressional and state legislative districts have been established, but the legal validity of the latter are still very much in doubt.

It was in this atmosphere of uncertainty and controversy that the author undertook the contemporary study of Michigan's apportionment.

Bruce A Timmons, from Ferndale, Michigan, is currently a student in the University of Michigan School of Law.
ment turmoil — and cynically entitled the resultant thesis *One Man, One Vote — in Michigan?* The following discussion, consisting of the ninth chapter of the thesis, was designed to confront the major issues of apportionment and to challenge what the author believed to be highly inadequate rationalizations in favor of continuing mal-apportionment and judicial restraint.

Throughout previous discussions, we have occasionally alluded to the major issues of malapportionment — the rationale and ramifications of the situation and the consequences which might be expected from an alleviation of the condition. Opposing arguments received only passing notice, but little attempt was made to judge the merits of the alternatives. At this time we shall therefore abandon the neutrality of presentation for the direct confrontation of the issues in terms of merit and validity.

Since government possesses authoritative control over the members within a society, whoever secures the reins of power has a great deal to do with the allocation of values and resources within that society. Since democratic forms of government ultimately depend upon the people, the distribution of the decision-making powers of government is especially important. Under such forms of government it is generally assumed that powers of legislation reside in the people as a whole. Since societies today are so large and complex, only a very few individuals can actually participate in the legislative process. This is where legislative apportionment assumes its tremendous significance and why it pervades the entire operation of our political system.

Apportionment determines the means by which the people participate in the formulation of policy. Any system of apportionment constitutes a judgment or preference on the part of its creators and benefits certain groups and individuals within a community. The accepted criterion determines how representative a particular structure is of the people as a whole and the components of society. Representation serves two purposes: presenting divergent viewpoints and selecting from these alternatives those policies which will be enacted into law. A system like the United States Senate may be highly representative in the first function but not in the second. Thomas Jefferson maintained "that a government is republican in proportion as every member composing it has his equal voice in the direction of its concerns" by representatives chosen by himself."¹ This proposition reflects the second objective of representa-

tion, and the one that is ultimately most important since it determines laws and policies. It is upon this conclusion that evaluation of various apportionment structures must be based.

Many people assume that Jefferson's proposition implies numerical equality and a majoritarian philosophy. They point out that a majority can be tyrannical, and therefore any governmental action should reflect agreement by a substantial portion of the total society — more than just a bare majority. This view, referred to as consensus democracy since John C. Calhoun's famous defense and justification of it, has been used to justify super or inflated majorities in the determination of legislative policy. Adherents to this philosophy make a deliberate choice between majoritarian and consensus democracy. But these two elements are not mutually exclusive, in fact, both can and must be combined in democratic government. Ordinary policies must reflect the will of the majority. To permit super majorities at this level results in minority rule and erroneously assumes that evil results only from positive action. In fact, the failure to solve critical problems and to meet the needs of a large portion of a community can be just as detrimental, if not more so, revolutions generally result from the latter. The element of consensus enters the system through the separation of powers between the branches of government and the need for consecutive constituency majorities. But even more significant is the consensus which forms the framework within which policies may be formulated peacefully and acceptably by majorities. A rule of law can exist only where the society as a whole respects the operations of government and will obey laws with which portions of the society disagree. In other words, democratic government demands a social consensus as its basic foundation, requires some political consensus through institutionalized separation of powers, but at the same time acknowledges the right of the majority to determine policies.

It goes without saying that no system should be inaugurated in which militant minorities can defend their position against all future proposals for change.

Implementation of the preceding propositions and deductions has hardly proceeded with automatic regularity or conformity! Justifications for departing from such concepts have been many. We shall now endeavor to analyze them, especially with reference to judicial involvement in the controversy.

Many persons desirous of retaining most present systems of representation consider voting and representation not as rights but as

---

privileges which may be granted and regulated by a state at will. Perhaps the term “privilege” is a preferable description since states do exercise considerable discretion in determining who shall vote therein and how. But whatever the terminology, the exercise of the franchise and the selection of representatives constitute fundamental, inseparable elements of democracy. It is through these indispensable elements that government remains popular and responsible. Arbitrary infringement of these privileges is intolerable. While the United States Constitution does not expressly prohibit state manipulation of such elements, the Fourteenth Amendment has consistently been interpreted to prevent inequitable state action — especially that action which involves an unjustifiable and irrational classification of the citizenry. Equitable voting and representation are thereby protected to as much as they involve a classification distinguishable from other state classifications only in terms of its ultimate significance to a democracy. Therefore, no state, not even acting through the expressed will of the majority, may deny or invidiously infringe upon these rights — that is, if the Equal Protection Clause is judicially enforceable.

The apparent attempt by the United States Supreme Court to restrict the states’ discretion in the selection of representative systems in the absence of expressed constitutional demands has led to much criticism of judicial revisionism. Attackers claim that the judicial function is one of application of law, not law-making. But such views erroneously assume that law definitively asserts a static condition. Rather, law is as dynamic as society itself. “Necessary and proper” legislation, “equal protection of the laws,” “due process of law,” “commerce” — such obscure phrases, left purposely vague in the American Constitution, preclude unequivocal definition. Under such circumstances it is understandable, perhaps inevitable, that the federal judiciary, which possesses the recognized function of interpreting the Constitution, differs within itself and sometimes even changes its mind. The resultant flexibility has permitted each generation to supply its own content to the framework of the fundamental charter and thereby adapt the law to meet the new problems and conditions caused by social, economic, and political changes attributable to the passage of time. In other words, history has a way of undermining the reasoning behind past judicial decisions — making irrational what was once rational.

Results must often be tentative and temporary. Views that seem adequate at the time are announced, applied and developed, and yet, by and by, almost unperceived, they melt away.
in the light of later experience, and other doctrines take their place.

_Baker v. Carr_ readily exemplifies this process of judicial adaptation.

Opponents of judicial action view the prospective intervention in state governmental processes as a further assault upon the federal system and as a presumptuous confinement of a state’s right to determine its own republican form of government. They continue to decry the centralization of power in Washington. Had the states been more vigilant in their protection of civil and political rights in the first place, they would not have necessitated the current confrontation with the Supreme Court.

It is vain for the people to hope for reform of abuses or righteous results in legislation if the legislative bodies are not fairly representative of the spirit, purpose and will of all people, without discrimination.

Unable to obtain state action to relieve their serious problem, urban interests, like an electrical current, followed the path of least resistance — straight to Washington, where they have been ever since. By attacking those mechanisms which have precluded political change and adaptation to new demands, judicial action — far from disrupting state government or destroying state rights — would revitalize such government, enhance its position vis-a-vis the national government, and thereby strengthen the federal system.

Rural interests, declining in numerical support, fear domination by an oppressive, radical, monolithic, urban majority which will neglect the needs of the less populous areas. How valid is this fear? In the first place, the creation by industrialization of a mass culture, which often seems more concerned about its “rights” than the coordinate responsibilities, definitely poses potential danger in a free society, but to assume that persons in less populated areas are thereby less susceptible to regimentation or intolerance constitutes a presumption this author is not prepared to make. Block voting, attributed to urban politics, actually “seems to be about as prevalent in rural areas as in cities.”

Malapportionment does not automatically bring the best men and women into the government — except insofar as they happen to live in the smaller, rural commun-

---


4Stiglitz v. Scharidian, 239 Ky 799 (1931), as quoted in Romani, p 35

5The Twentieth Century Fund, “One Man — One Vote,” A statement of basic principles of legislative apportionment as agreed upon at a conference of research scholars and political scientists held by the Twentieth Century Fund (New York, 1962), p 7
The tragic incidence of rural myopia in state legislatures further detracts from the argument. In the second place, the United States has evidenced a pluralistic society which has never experienced a responsible, determined, coherent majority. Many divergent interests, apparent even in the populous metropolitan areas, strive to influence and direct governmental activity. Majorities in any sense are expedient, transitory coalitions. Even in Michigan the fear of Detroit oppression has been exaggerated and exploited to justify retention of the rural veto, present changes within the state — about which more will be said later — and their impact on partisan alignments tend to dispel the transparent illusion of urban tyranny. In other words, this fear is largely assumed and illusory, it cannot justify minority rule.

Attempts to protect minority interests of any kind through a disproportionate share of representation likewise prove vulnerable to attack under analysis. Proponents of such action sometimes refer to the need of a consensus in formulating policy, but we have already challenged the faulty assumptions of this argument. But there are other weaknesses to the concept, too. In the first place, the hypothesis is usually extended to justify representation of the interests themselves — as though trees, copper, or recreational facilities had some intrinsic value in and of themselves, irrespective of the people who use them. The inability to classify and weigh interests renders them unsuitable as a rationale for representation. In the second place, the advocacy of special consideration for minority interests has placed a premium on one's having fewer immediate neighbors. No one seems to have intimated that Omaha, Nebraska, should have increased representation because its urban interests are "overwhelmed" by the rural majority. In the third place, this concept can be exposed as a blatant attempt to preserve undue political advantage, legislative majorities are artificially created. Such super majorities in actuality bestow the power of determination on lesser minorities. This concept constructs an institutionalized minority veto, which is inconsistent with democratic principles and whose most noticeable product is governmental stalemate. "The right to be protected in the exercise of basic rights cannot be construed as including the right of a smaller number to make policy for the larger body of citizens." In the fourth place, minority rights are essentially secured through the Bill of Rights and the judicial process. They are

further secured by the plurality of our society and the distinct lack of a cohesive majority. Finally, the preoccupation with minority rights seems to have overlooked the rights and interests of the majority. In attempting to justify Michigan's new apportionment system, James K. Pollock surmised that the right of decision belonged to the majority but the right of representation belongs to everybody. Upon viewing this apportionment plan, one cannot help but think that a preferable emphasis would be: The right of representation belongs to everybody, but the right of decision belongs to the majority.

The protection of minority interests has often been used to justify the utility of bicameral legislature. There are those who claim that two houses can be justified only if different bases are used in distributing their seats, in this way the two chambers provide an extra check in government and, when one chamber secures minority rights, a check against the unrestrained majority. As we concluded above, minority rights are protected by means other than artificially created legislative majorities. While the second house provides an additional check on the use of governmental power, that check is inherent in the very existence of two separate bodies composed of different members representing different constituencies—not as a result of drastically different bases of representation. Even when based solely on population, two houses tend to foster deliberation and to temper hasty action while at the same time not permanently stifling the will of the majority. The utility of this fact can be seen in the equitable apportionment systems employed for both houses in several state legislatures during our country's history. Also, that little extra protection of minority interests urged by rural areas provides little benefit to the majority.

A misrepresentative legislature (or even one house) can nullify whatever attempt is made to embody into law a program apparently endorsed by the electorate. Even a governor's choice of his own cabinet and other important appointive posts must often meet the approval of a hostile house. (Emphasis added)

Even this kind of attempt to institutionalize minority rule cannot be tolerated or legitimatized if it is assumed that there should be a direct relationship between numerical support and the power to govern.

Proponents of the kind of bicameralism just discussed often point

---

to the United States Congress as proof for the validity of their argument. *The Federalist Papers* described our federal system thusly:

If indeed it be right, that among a people thoroughly incorporated into one nation, every district ought to have a *proportional* share in the government, and that among independent and sovereign States, bound together by a simple league, the parties, however unequal in size, ought to have an *equal* share in the common councils, it does not appear to be without some reason that in a compound republic, partaking both of the national and federal character, the government ought to be founded on a mixture of the principles of proportional and equal representation.  

While the resultant system undeniably reflected a political compromise, it also recognized the fact that sovereign states had entered into a federal union by voluntarily surrendering a portion of their sovereignty. The price of union was equal representation among political units in the Senate. States still retain remnants of authority for which they are not dependent on the national government. But the states themselves are unitary governments which derive their power from the people. Their own political units — counties, cities, and townships — are creatures of state authority, they possess no inherent power, they may be altered, consolidated, or even abolished by state action. In an age of social and economic interdependence such political units have often ceased to denote real communities.

"In fact, there are numerous counties in many states which scarcely have any justification for separate existence, much less equal representation." (Considering how important countries used to be as administrative agencies, we again see how time inadvertently "amended" the political system.) The degree to which increased centralization of authority has tended to make the national government more unitary and less federal and the continuous extension of equality in the country have almost rendered the United States Senate an anachronistic structure, whose unique origin cannot justify similar arrangements in the states and which hardly serves as a standard of equality. The claim that such a conclusion implies the judicial right to reshape the Senate and renders the representative system of the United Nations unjust is too nonsensical to warrant further rebuttal.

It has been claimed that equality forms a deficient guide for the reasonableness or fairness of representation, primarily because the

---


equality dogma produces "a defective organization of public opinion and political activity". This argument recognizes the fact that equal representation can and probably always will contain certain social distortions. But having empirically observed the unresponsiveness of state legislatures to the severity and complexity of urban needs, we cannot conclude that present malapportioned representative systems accurately and effectively organize social forces and public opinion any better — unless effectiveness is determined by the ability to secure political power against opposition and change. Moreover, the premise "to make votes count best, they cannot be made equal" inevitably requires a qualitative value judgment as to the comparative worth of individuals, beliefs, and interests and assumes that minorities are better equipped to govern. The incorporation of political equality into a representative system makes no assumption as to personal beliefs or political interests and enhances the opportunity of every individual to effectively influence governmental decisions.

Another objection against judicially-imposed equality claims that such a standard forbids the legislatures and electorate to achieve apportionment systems the only way possible — through seeking the satisfactory accommodation of conflicting interests. Yet it is this inclination to compromise over so essential an element of democratic government as representation — with rural interests determining the conditions of bargaining — that has necessitated judicial interference to keep our belief in political equality from becoming a mockery. Moreover, such equality will not eliminate compromise from the normal political processes.

We continue to hear the charge that the judiciary is an inappropriate agency for apportionment reform, desired changes should be achieved through the expression of the popular will and not by judicial fiat. But the self-perpetuating nature of malapportionment has precluded any constructive changes through normal political processes — as is so readily apparent from the futility of such methods in Michigan. It must be admitted that the absence of concrete constitutional requirements for state representative systems and the assumed absence of judicial power to produce satisfactory remedial action have posed a persuasive justification for judicial restraint, but such difficulties are not insurmountable. Other arguments, such as the claim that jurists simply don’t have the talent, time, or taste to

12 Alfred DeGrazia, Apportionment and Representative Government (New York, 1963), p 175
13 Ibid., p 176
accomplish the task of revamping state legislative districts, are less significant, there is certainly no apparent reason why jurists are any less capable of apportioning districts than are state legislators. In fact, life tenure, which removes federal jurists from the direct political pressures of the electoral process, may provide an objectivity and impartiality — not in terms of result but in terms of intent and attitude — conducive to actual reform.

One other meritorious argument against judicial action in the area of apportionment concerns the effect of such action upon the courts themselves. It is assumed that respect for judicial authority depends upon judicial detachment from political and controversial issues, which would otherwise destroy the artificial but essential aura of objectivity and impartiality in the dispensation of justice. But to refrain from protecting a right simply because a "delicate" situation might arise can soon jeopardize the administration of justice, rights themselves are delicate, too. Respect for a judicial system which readily succumbs to this form of coercion is hypocritical and contemptible. Rather the integrity of the judicial process depends upon the direct confrontation of those attempts to subvert individual rights and upon the preservation of those rights despite unpopular sentiment. The very strength and value of the American judiciary can be attributed to its defense of procedural, civil and political rights against encroachment by minority and majority alike.

Thus upon examination of the rationale behind malapportionment, we have discovered the inherent weaknesses and injustice of those state representative systems which allocate disproportionate political strength to special groups within a society. "It is essential to [a republic] that it be derived from the great body of the society, not from an inconsiderable portion or a favored class of it." But what we have observed in actuality seems to contradict the whole discussion. Inequality is by far the dominant feature of our representative systems today. Yet we also know why this is so and what it has meant. We have seen how such malapportionment arose — constitutional restrictions, the irrational fear of urban interests, the desire to preserve one's political advantage despite fundamental law, the desire to secure the past and the present against encroachment from the present and the future. We have observed how malapportionment became self-perpetuating and have noticed how politics pervades the apportionment controversy as it inevitably does all aspects of the governmental process. In Michigan, in particular, we have

seen how political polarization and malapportionment produced a self-perpetuating reinforcement of one another. We have also taken cognizance of continuous social and economic dislocations and adjustments which have produced the monumental problems of industrialization and urbanization — problems which state political systems have quite frequently ignored. These perplexing dilemmas have produced social upheavals, anxiety, frustration, and disillusionment. Solutions have been slow in coming — mainly because the governmental processes had constituted impenetrable barriers to the emerging forces of a dynamic society. Lastly, we have observed the understandable reluctance of the American judiciary to delve into so political and controversial an issue — with the result that complainants were ironically reverted to the very processes under challenge for satisfactory relief. The situation in Tennessee amply emphasized the absurdity of the dilemma and persuasively argued for a judicial change of heart.

Despite judicial reluctance to intervene, there was an increased awareness that citizens were being unjustly deprived of a right of utmost importance in a democratic society — the right of equitable representation. It was becoming obvious that injury to the voter was irreparable, literally and legally, the damage to society was nothing less. Something had to be done. By the early 1960's, with political avenues stymied, there was a growing opinion "that discrimination against city and suburban voters was intolerable and could not be cured in any way except by the courts." The courts did not search out this issue nor generate the controversy — nor did they produce the problems of an industrialized society and a technological age. Circumstances and forces within the society operated to create a situation which jeopardized the very integrity of the American democratic system. Spurred by the barbs of the Dyer and Magraw Cases, the United States Supreme Court tore down the hastily constructed barricade of the incomparable Colegrove doctrine and handed down a decision of tremendous purport — Baker v. Carr. In essence "The Court moved in only when the rest of our governmental system was stymied, when there was no other practical way out of the moral dilemma." Within weeks the tides of pent-up energies burst forth on the courts with an incredible onslaught of apportionment.

litigations — 78 lawsuits involving 38 states in one year. When the court ruled on *Gray v. Sanders* a year later, it seemed certain that for better or for worse the American judiciary had become irrevocably involved in the apportionment controversy.

Throughout its existence, the United States has looked to the Declaration of Independence as the embodiment of the essence of its political heritage — especially the ideal of political quality. In actuality, such espoused equality has been consistently curtailed. But inequalities within our system have been subject to continuous attack. A glance at the amendments to the United States Constitution reveals that no fewer than six have pertained to the extension of equality and the suffrage — Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-third. Four others have concerned elections and representation, including one passed within the last ten days. Civil Rights legislation and major Supreme Court decisions have continued the advance of equality. The drive for equitable representation sustains this trend. Perhaps this is what Justice Clark referred to when he said in *Baker v. Carr* “In my view the ultimate decision today is in the greatest tradition of this Court.”

We have now observed how this judicial transition occurred and the immediate consequences. We have especially noted how the *Colegrove* and *Baker* decisions affected the apportionment situation in Michigan and how that one particular state sought to cope with the magnitude, uncertainty, and turmoil that resulted. Shortly, we shall glance to the future, but before we do so, some additional comments and warnings are in order.

It would be erroneous to assume that equitable representation will serve as a panacea for all social and political ills — either in Michigan or the rest of the country. Rapidly advancing technology, the growing interdependence of all people within and without the society, and the complexity of modern socio-economic interaction have contributed to a deep-seated uncertainty and a degree of disillusionment within our society. The resultant problems will continue to require solution, and new ones will inevitably arise with the passage of time. Individuals and groups, desirous of resolving conflicting demands in different ways, will continue to seek political advantages and in so doing will modify the formal structure of governmental authority as they have always done in the past. For instance,
the bastions of conservatism — the seniority system and bureaucratic inertia — will continue to exert tremendous influence on policy formation. In effect, “whatever the legal system of apportionment, other criteria will enter the system and modify it.”

But the significance of the apportionment revolution lies not in automatic resolution of problems, but in its destruction of those institutionalized obstacles which have precluded adaptation to change and susceptibility to resultant demands. Reapportionment should facilitate government’s responsiveness to the majority-of-the-moment. Such a system will be more accessible to urban forces.

While equal representation is no panacea for all urban problems, it can at least clarify the question of responsibility and provide a sounder psychological climate for political institutions.

We have noticed how malapportionment contributed to the centralization of authority in the national government. While the complexity and interdependence of our modern society have also necessitated this trend, equitable apportionment may permit the states to assume an active role in combating problems of our age and to become more than administrators of federal programs.

The essential political truth is that — today more than ever — the preservation of States’ rights depends upon the exercise of State’s responsibilities.

In other words, “The only way to maintain the powers of government is to govern,” and the destruction of the rural stranglehold on state legislatures should afford states such an opportunity. At least, and at last, states will be required to recognize the existence of the twentieth century!

Perhaps the most pervasive product of the apportionment revolution will be a complete redistribution and realignment of political forces. The rapid growth of suburban areas at the expense of both rural and metropolitan areas poses a new force on the political scene and one which will benefit the most at this time from equitable apportionment. It seems highly probable that the Republican Party, in particular, operating under the stigma that it is out of step with the times, will undergo a significant transition which will disrupt its traditional bias toward rural conservatism and thereby enhance its appeal to the emerging suburban electorate. Perhaps suburban and

23De Grazia, Loc cit, p 28
24Baker, Rural Versus Urban Political Power, p 39
25Nelson Rockefeller in Time, LXXIX, No 24 (June 15, 1962), p 18
26Elihu Root, as quoted in “What Can’t Be Conserved,” editorial, Fortune, LXV, No 5 (May, 1962), p 100
rural interests will combine to fight urban power, but the trend of America toward total urban living indicates that tomorrow's political battles will concern the conflicting desires of different segments of urban (including suburban) populations. Rural influence must inevitably decline and perhaps be relegated to the role of just another interest group rather than the core of a political party. Such a transition could revitalize our two-party system. The realignment of political power in conjunction with mobile populations and the continuous vacillation of social forces could have a marked impact on the future of this country.

Regardless of how far the judiciary enters into the apportionment controversy, it will not have the last say. Courts have only initiated a reform which must be ultimately accepted or rejected by society as a whole. Much opposition has arisen among those who will be adversely affected by a change in the balance — or imbalance — of power. The three 'disunion' amendments mentioned earlier indicate such resistance. Should such forces generate enough support, the reform will collapse. The judiciary cannot oppose an entire society determined to refute its judgment any more than law can restrain a substantial militant minority or majority. On the other hand, if the American concept of democratic government is to retain its vitality and integrity, there must be a consensual recognition of the premise that

nothing political can be conserved — nothing is worth conserving — except principle and the fundamental framework of decision. 27

27“What Can't Be Conserved,” p 100
THE SYNTHESIS AND REACTIONS OF 6-HYDROXY-5-FORMYL BENZOFURAN

By James A. Weis

Synthetic furocoumarin chemistry has received increased attention in recent years because of the photosensitizing activity possessed by several members in the furocoumarin series. It has been demonstrated that a linear furocoumarin like psoralene (I, R=H) is essential for erythema response whereas an angular structure like isopsoralene (II) has little or no photosensitizing activity. However, the synthesis of linear furocoumarins has always met with greater difficulty than the corresponding non-linear structures owing to unfavorable directive influences. Inasmuch as the benzodifuran ring system bears marked similarity to the furocoumarin structure, it occurred to certain investigators that some members of the benzodifuran family might also exhibit photosensitizing activity.

The present study was motivated by the possibility of obtaining a compound which could serve as a common intermediate in the synthesis of psoralenes or linear benzodifurans. 6-Hydroxy-5-formylbenzofuran (III) has proven to be just such an intermediate and can be used to prepare unsubstituted psoralene or benzodifuran as well as substituted homologs.

The author is deeply grateful to the directors of this study, Dr. Kurt D. Kaufman and Dr. Leonard R. Worden, for their cooperation and assistance. Thanks are also extended to the Upjohn Company, Kalamazoo, Michigan for carrying out combustion analysis and to the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas for carrying out Nuclear Magnetic Resonance spectral analysis.

Versatility of 6-hydroxy-5-formylbenzofuran (III) may be seen from hypothetical conversions to a furocoumarin or a benzodifuran. Malonic acid condensation and subsequent decarboxylation should give the linear furocoumarin, psoralene (I, R=H). By application of the Perkin condensation 3-alkyl-substituted psoralenes should be directly accessible. The unknown, linear benzo[1,2-b-5,4-b'] difuran (IV, R=H) should be obtained by application of the Williamson ether synthesis and cyclization of the resulting α-formylphenoxy-

acetic acid 2-Alkyl-substituted benzodifurans (IV, R=Alkyl) should be accessible by cyclization of substituted phenoxyacetic acids

The possibility that 6-hydroxy-5-formylbenzofuran (III) might furnish a direct route to the synthesis of psoralene (I, R=H) motivated Karrer, et al. to attempt the synthesis of 6-hydroxy-5-formylbenzofuran (III) by application of the classical Gattermann reaction to 6-hydroxybenzofuran (V) 4 When the product obtained from the Gattermann reaction was subjected to the Perkin condensation, no furocoumarin was produced. It was suggested that such anomalous behavior was due to the formation of the trans-o-hydroxy-cinnamic acid (VII) instead of the necessary cis-isomer (VIII) 5 6

6R T Foster, Alexander Robertson, and Anis Bushra, J Chem Soc, 2254-60 (1948)
Subsequently, Foster, Robertson, and Bushra\textsuperscript{6} obtained evidence that the product of the Gattermann reaction applied to 6-hydroxybenzofuran was the 2-formyl derivative (VI) rather than the 5-formyl compound, and attempts to synthesize psoralene by this route were abandoned.

That the substance in question was not 6-hydroxy-5-formylbenzofuran (III) is unequivocally established in the course of the present work by the total synthesis of 6-hydroxy-5-formylbenzofuran, a substance differing widely in physical and chemical properties from the material reported by Karrer and his co-workers.

In view of the versatility of 6-hydroxy-5-formylbenzofuran it is surprising that no other attempts to synthesize this substance have been published up to this time. It has been established, however, that 2,3-dihydro-6-hydroxybenzofuran undergoes the Gattermann reaction to yield 5-formyl-6-hydroxycoumaran (XII) \textsuperscript{6}

This fact has been utilized in previous studies involving the synthesis of psoralene \textsuperscript{6,7} Since the present work is in part concerned with a new synthetic route to psoralene, it seems proper to briefly review the recent work by Horning and Reisner on the synthesis of psoralene using 6-hydroxy-5-formylcoumaran (XII) as an intermediate \textsuperscript{7}

\textsuperscript{7}E C Horning and D B Reisner, J Am Chem Soc, 72, 1514 (1950)
The Hoesch condensation of \( \equiv \text{-chloroacetonitrile with resorcinol (IX)} \) yielded 6-hydroxycoumaran-3-one (X), which after acetylation and catalytic dehydrogenation gave 6-acetoxycoumaran (XI). Conversion of 6-acetoxycoumaran (XI) to 6-hydroxy-5-formylcoumaran (XII) was accomplished by deacetylation followed by application of the Gattermann reaction. Malonic acid condensation with 6-hydroxy-5-formylcoumaran (XII) gave dihydropсораленe-3-carboxylic acid (XIII), and this material when boiled in diphenyl ether was dehydrogenated and decarboxylated to give psoralene (I, R=H).

The Hornung and Reisner synthesis furnished psoralene in an overall yield of 8% from resorcinol. The poor-yielding dehydrogenation-decarboxylation step is the main disadvantage. Nevertheless, this method has proven to be the highest-yielding synthesis of psoralene from a readily available starting material to this date.

A new synthetic route to psoralene has been recently published by Seshadri and Sood, but the overall yield starting from \( B \)-resorcylic aldehyde is not only low but also indeterminable since the yields of certain steps are not mentioned.

It is interesting to note that in contrast to the work done on synthesizing unsubstituted furocoumarins, the synthesis of an unsubstituted benzodifuran has not been reported. In the furocoumarin family unsubstituted ring systems \( a \) and \( b \) have been synthesized, but \( c, d, e, \) and \( f \) are unknown. In the benzodifuran family none of the possible isomers \( g, h, i, j, \) and \( k \) has been synthesized.

---

8T R Seshadri and M S Sood, Indian J Chem, 1, 291 (1963)
9E Spadth, B L Manjunath, M Paiher, and H S Jios, Ber., 69B, 1087 (1936)
10R C Elderfield, VII, pp 29-31
An early work, however, describes the synthesis of symmetrical benzotetrahydrodifuran (XV) by dehydration and simultaneous cyclization of \( di-B \)-hydroxyethyl-\( m \)-phenylene ether (XIV) \(^{11}\) A later investigator attempted the dehydrogenation of symmetrical benzotetrahydrofuran (XV) using various catalysts and conditions, but the desired benzo[1,2-b-5,4-b'] difuran was not obtained \(^{12}\)

\(^{11}\) R E Rindfusz, R M Ginnings, and V L Harnack, J Am Chem Soc, 42, 157 (1920)

The present study introduces the first total synthesis of benzo [1,2-b-5,4-b'] difuran using 6-hydroxy-5-formylbenzofuran (III) as an intermediate

DISCUSSION

Two main routes are available for the synthesis of furocoumarins: the addition of the furan system to an o-hydroxyaldehydocoumarin and the addition of the α-pyrone system to an o-hydroxyaldehyd benzofuran. The difficulty in synthesizing a linear furocoumarin (a psoralene when derived from resorcinol) resides in the fact that 7-hydroxycoumarins or umbelliferones are most readily substituted at the 8-position and benzofurans at the 2-position.

For example, application of the Duff reaction to umbelliferone

(XVI) yields 8-formylumbelliferone (XVII) in 10% yield. In analogous manner, the Fries rearrangement of 7-acyloxycoumarins gives 7-hydroxy-8-acylcoumarins along with small amounts of 6-acylcoumarins. Moreover, 4-methyl-7-allyloxy coumarin (XVIII) undergoes the Claisen rearrangement to give 4-methyl-8-allylumbelliferone (XIX).

With regard to the Claisen rearrangement of 4-methyl-7-allyloxy coumarin (XVIII), Kaufman, Russey, and Worden report the suc-

13 R C Elderfield, VII, p 13
15 R C Elderfield, II, p 194
16 Ibid, p 195
17 Ibid, p 193
cessful synthesis of a psoralene by use of the amino group as a remo-
vable blocking group in the reactive 8-position of XVIII, thereby
forcing rearrangement to the desired 6-position.

One explanation of the greater reactivity toward electrophilic sub-
stitution at the 8-position as against the 6 in umbelliferone is found
by considering the electron resonance structures of the two iso-
meric intermediate states in a mixed acid nitration. Recently evi-
dence has been accumulated19 which indicates that the species being nitrat-
ed in concentrated sulfuric acid is the pyrillum ion (XX). The 8-substi-
tuted intermediate state can be represented as a resonance hybrid of
the two resonance structures XXIa and XXIb, and the 6-substituted
intermediate can be visualized by structure XXIc. It is important to
recognize that resonance forms XXIa and XXIb represent aromatic
type resonance in the pyrone system which is not possible in the
6-substituted intermediate.

Like benzofuran20 (XXII, R = H) 6-hydroxybenzofuran (XXII,
R = OH) undergoes electrophilic substitution in the 2-position. Ap-
lication of the Hoesch ketone synthesis with trifluoroacetoni-
tile and trichloroacetoni-
tile to 6-hydroxybenzofuran (XXII, R = OH) and 6-methoxybenzofuran
(XXII, R = OCH₃) yields the corre-

---

20 R.C. Elderfield, II, p. 18
sponding 2-trihaloacetyl derivatives, \((XXIII, R=\text{OH and OCH}_3, R'=\text{COCF}_3 \text{ and COCCl}_3)\)\(^{21}\) Similarly, 6-hydroxy-3-methylbenzofuran (XXIV) and 4,6-dimethoxy-3-methylbenzofuran (XXVI) when subjected to the Gatterman aldehyde synthesis give rise to the corresponding 2-formyl derivatives, \((XXV, XXVII)\)\(^{22,23}\)

![](image)

XXIV \quad \text{ho} \quad \text{CH}_3  

XXV \quad \text{ho} \quad \text{CH}_3  

XXVI \quad \text{CH}_3 \quad \text{OCH}_3  

XXVII \quad \text{CH}_3 \quad \text{OCH}_3

The application of the Gatterman reaction to 6-hydroxy- and 6-methoxybenzofurans unsubstituted in the 1- and 2-positions results in resinification due to the sensitivity of the furan moiety to mineral acids\(^{24,25}\).

It is possible to direct electrophilic substitution into the benzene ring if an appropriate blocking group at the 2-position is employed and if the benzofuran system is derived from phloroglucinol. Attack then occurs at the 7-position\(^{24,25}\).

Up to this point emphasis has been placed on the synthesis of

\(^{21}\text{W B Whalley, J Chem Soc, 3479-83 (1953)}\)
\(^{22}\text{R T Foster, Alexander Robertson, and Anis Bushra, ibid}\)
\(^{23}\text{R C Elderfield, II, p 24}\)
\(^{24}\text{Ibid, p 25}\)
\(^{25}\text{R C Elderfield, VII, p 31}\)
psoralenes and the difficulties associated therewith. In briefly discussing the synthesis of benzodifurans it should be apparent that any attempt to prepare linear benzodifurans from 6-hydroxybenzofurans will be plagued by much the same difficulties encountered in the synthesis of psoralenes. For example, likely intermediates such as 6-hydroxy-5-formylbenzofurans are not accessible by application of the Gattermann reaction to 6-hydroxybenzofurans. Instead the 2-formyl derivatives are obtained. Moreover, when the 2-position is protected by a carbethoxyl group and the benzofuran is derived from phloroglucinol, formylation occurs in the 7-position and not in the desired 5-position.

In view of the unfavorable directive effects, using electrophilic substitution reactions, it was felt that some alternative method of introducing a substituent on a 6-hydroxybenzofuran system should be investigated.

Metalation of 2-methoxynaphthalene (XXVIII) by butyllithium gives 3-lithio-2-methoxynaphthalene (XXIX) which can be converted to 3-allyl-2-methoxynaphthalene (XXX) by treatment with allylbromide. Also, metalation of 1,7-dimethoxynaphthalene (XXXI) by butyllithium gives rise to 6-lithio-1,7-dimethoxynaphthalene (XXXII) which when treated with N-methylformanilide is converted to 6-formyl-1,7-dimethoxynaphthalene (XXXIII).

In both the preceding examples metalation occurs ortho to a methoxyl group. This same behavior is observed in a great number of metalation reactions involving aryl ethers and related compounds.

---

26 Narasimhan and Paradkar, Chemistry and Industry, 1529 (1963)
This fact is explained as resulting from a preliminary coordination of the lithium with an electron-donating atom like oxygen followed by attack of the alkyl lithium carbanion on an ortho hydrogen. It follows that the hydrogen favored for removal is the relatively more acidic. The actual metalation of XXVIII at the 3-position and of XXXI at the 6-position can be accounted for by the resonance effect of the methoxyl groups. The number of important resonance structures having a negative charge at an ortho-position is indicated by the (1-) and (2-) figures on XXVIIIa and XXXIa. The relatively more acidic protons are those at positions 3 in XXVIIIa and 6 in XXXIa. Hence metalation in the observed positions is explained.
On the basis of this information, it appeared likely that metalation of 6-methoxybenzofuran would occur in positions 5 or 7 (ortho to the methoxyl group) and that treatment with N-methylformanilide would lead to 5 (or 7)-formyl-6-methoxybenzofuran. From a resonance argument it seemed likely that metalation would occur in position 5 since electron resonance structures indicate a relatively higher electron density at position 7.
The preparation of 6-methoxybenzofuran (XXXVII) was achieved in three steps starting from B-resorcylaldehyde (XXXIV). Partial methylation of B-resorcylaldehyde (XXXIV) with dimethyl sulfate afforded 2-hydroxy-4-methoxybenzaldehyde (XXXV) in 46% yield. This material was converted to 5-methoxy-2-formylphenoxyacetic acid (XXXVI) with chloroacetic acid in 51% yield. Cyclization of the acid (XXXVI) after the procedure of L. R. Worden\(^{29}\) by refluxing in acetic anhydride, acetic acid, and sodium acetate furnished 6-methoxybenzofuran (XXXVII) in 57% yield.

![Chemical structures]

Three attempts were then carried out to convert 6-methoxybenzofuran (XXXVII) into 6-methoxy-5-formylbenzofuran (XLVIII) by metalation with butyllithium\(^{30}\) and subsequent formylation with N-methylformanilide \(^{31,32}\). None of these attempts was successful. In one case 5 mg of a sharp-melting, unknown substance was isolated and identified as an aldehyde solely by infrared spectral analysis. In view of these successive failures it was decided to attempt the synthesis of the carboxylic acid derivative by treating the lithio-intermediate with dry ice\(^{33}\) instead of with N-methylformanilide. Thin layer chromatographic analysis of the bicarbonate-soluble material isolated from the reaction mixture indicated the presence of at least seven separate components. Hence it appeared that metalation was taking place at several positions on the benzofuran ring system.

\(^{29}\) L. R. Worden, Ph D Thesis, University of Kansas, 1963, pp 65-75


\(^{31}\) Ibid, p 579

\(^{32}\) Roger Adams, VIII, p 260

\(^{33}\) Ibid, pp 287-288
Further attempts to synthesize 6-methoxy-5-formylbenzofuran by metalation were not made. Instead, attention was given to the metal-halogen interconversion reaction as a possible route to the synthesis of 6-methoxy-5-formylbenzofuran (XLVIII).

It has been shown that 1-bromo-2-methoxydibenzofuran (XXXVIII) can be converted to 2-methoxydibenzofuran-1-carboxylic acid (XXXIX) in 73% crude yield by metal-halogen interconversion and treatment with dry ice. In like manner, 2-bromobenzofuran (XL) gives rise to coumarilic acid (XLI) in 86% crude yield.

It was anticipated that application of the metal-halogen interconversion reaction to 6-methoxy-5-bromobenzofuran (XLVII) would give rise to the desired 5-lithio intermediate, which upon treatment with N-methylformanilide would afford 6-methoxy-5-formylbenzofuran (XLVIII).

Several routes to prepare 6-methoxy-5-bromobenzofuran (XLVII) were investigated. It was found that B-resorcyraldehyde (XXXIV) underwent nuclear bromination to give 5-bromo-2,4-dihydroxybenzaldehyde (XLII) in only 20% yield. Furthermore, partial methylation of 5-bromo-2,4-dihydroxybenzaldehyde (XLII) resulted in a 19% yield of 5-bromo-4-methoxy-2-hydroxybenzaldehyde (XLI). On the other hand, a near-quantitative yield of

---

34 Roger Adams, VI, pp 339-366
36 H. Gilman and D.S. Melstrom, J. Am. Chem. Soc., 70, 1655 (1948)
5-bromo-4-hydroxy-2-methoxybenzaldehyde\textsuperscript{38} (XLIII) was obtained by bromination of 4-methoxy-2-hydroxybenzaldehyde (XXXV) However, under conditions of the Williamson ether synthesis 5-bromo-4-hydroxy-2-methoxybenzaldehyde (XLIII) gave rise to ethyl 5-methoxy-4-bromo-2-formylphenoxyacetate (XLIV) in only 26% yield In contrast, nuclear bromination converted ethyl 5-methoxy-2-formylphenoxyacetate (XLV) to ethyl 5-methoxy-4-bromo-2-formylphenoxyacetate (XLIV) in near-quantitative yield Upon treatment with sodium ethoxide\textsuperscript{22} this ester (XLIV) was found to yield 6-methoxy-5-bromo-2-carbethoxybenzofuran (XLIX) Saponification of the ester (XLIV) afforded a high yield (95\%) of 5-methoxy-4-bromo-2-formylphenoxyacetic acid (XLVI), which was cyclized after the procedure of L R Worden\textsuperscript{29} to give a 68\% yield of 6-methoxy-5-bromobenzofuran (XLVII) and a small amount of 6-methoxy-5-bromobenzofuran-2-carboxylic acid (L)

Application of the metal-halogen interconversion reaction to 6-methoxy-5-bromobenzofuran (XLVII) afforded 6-methoxy-5-formylbenzofuran (XLVIII) as tabulated below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mnoles</th>
<th>Mnoles</th>
<th>Rxn</th>
<th>Temp</th>
<th>Mnoles</th>
<th>Yield</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XLVII</td>
<td>Butyl Li</td>
<td>Time (min)</td>
<td>NMFA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 20</td>
<td>2 40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>2 22</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 41</td>
<td>5 51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>5 51</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 41</td>
<td>5 51</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>5 51</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 41</td>
<td>8 80</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>9 25</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 5</td>
<td>12 5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>15 6</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 2</td>
<td>13 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>16 5</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* a=room temperature, b=ice-salt bath temperature

\textsuperscript{38}M G S Rao, C Srikantia, and M S Iyengar, J Chem Soc, 1578 (1929), Beil 8, 274 (1948)
Treatment of the 5-lithio intermediate with solid carbon dioxide gave rise to 6-methoxybenzofuran-5-carboxylic acid (LI)

![Chemical structure of LI](image)

Attempted demethylation of 6-methoxy-5-formylbenzofuran (XLVIII) using aluminum chloride in anhydrous ether\(^{39}\) resulted only in recovery of unchanged starting material. However, when demethylation was carried out in ethylene chloride\(^{40}\) with two equivalents of aluminum chloride, a 72% yield of 6-hydroxy-5-formylbenzofuran (III) was obtained.

Under conditions of the Perkin synthesis 6-hydroxy-5-formylbenzofuran (III) gave rise to psoralene (I, R=H) in 61% crude yield. Application of the Williamson ether synthesis to 6-hydroxy-5-formylbenzofuran (III) afforded a 50% crude yield of ethyl 2-formyl [5,4-b] furophenoxyacetate (LII). Saponification of the ester (LII) gave 2-formyl [5,4-b] furophenoxyacetic acid (LIII) in 85% crude yield. Cyclization of the acid (LIII) after the method of L. R. Worden\(^{29}\) furnished benzo [1,2-b-5,4-b'] difuran (IV, R=H) in 31% yield.

![Chemical structures of LII and LIII](image)

\(^{39}\) R. Seshadri and M. S. Sood, Indian J. Chem., 1, 291 (1963)

FOREIGN STUDY
THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT ONE VIEW

By Allan Fisher*

The American University of Beirut was for nine months my window on the Arab world. At probably no other place in that world could I get a more cushioned, Westernized view of it, but at no other place in the Middle East could I have better spent a year studying the liberal arts. AUB’s most unique characteristic, more so than its Arabic flavor, is its international character, and Beirut itself is the most international, cosmopolitan center of the Arab Middle East. Incidentally, the comparison does not end here. Beirut in general and AUB in particular constitutes the principal focal point from which Western ideas penetrate the Arab world, and as AUB is the most important single educational institution in Lebanon’s educational system far surpasses that of any other Arab country. Besides the many Arab students at AUB, a considerable number come from Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and points as far east as Formosa. A tremendous bloc of African students come to study agriculture, medicine, public health, and some social sciences. The homes of the remaining students are scattered through Europe and the United States. Thus AUB’s principal challenge is to create from a group with such tremendously varied national concerns and interests a true university community in which uniquely varied ideas flow freely in an academic atmosphere.

Tragically, AUB is failing the challenge. Those students coming to the University with friends stick with them, and those who do not, become acquainted with fellow nationals and seldom leave that circle. Everyone speaks his native language unless forced to speak English, effectively stifling most spontaneous discussions between different nationalities. And no organization on campus aims at bringing students together on the intellectual level where discussions and provocative speakers would be in order. The only group that tries to cross the national lines, Friendship International, succeeds only on the social level. This is good, but not good enough. The principal responsibility here probably falls on the students as much as the administration, for the Asians, Arabs, and Africans at AUB seldom look at college as a place of intellectual incubation and development, as a time to really search for the deepest truths and meanings of life no matter what consequences that search may have for former beliefs. They are quite contented with the beliefs they bring to the University, religious, social, political, even beliefs about

*Allan Fisher, from Goshen, Indiana, is a senior majoring in religion.
people of other nationalities. What is there left to make a community out of such a group? Most of them recognize only the necessity of grinding out the assignments, memorizing wherever it might help, getting just the grades their family and friends expect of them, and receiving the diploma. And this does more for fragmentation than for unity.

Another characteristic of the Asian, Arab and African student, a characteristic felt by all American students there, is his inability to analyze, to think creatively and inductively. He can master a tremendous bulk of material, learning in great detail what it says, but when he must think critically, he just cannot do it. Especially on the political level does this become apparent. Few students get beyond a party line (Baathist, or Nasserite, or what have you), and even fewer of the Arab students, for example, can look at Israel and see anything but the day when the Zionists can be dumped into the sea. Most of the Arab students accept as truth the generally unreliable Arabic newspapers. African students, after being harangued by Malcolm X, came away convinced that everything he said is true, and refused to be told differently. Tragically again, AUB has not been able to instill in them the ability of objective, critical analysis. Instead, fearing the way the Africans, for instance, might react to a fiery, American civil-rights speaker, the administration tries to keep such speakers off campus. Anybody who comes on campus gets finely screened, and no controversial speakers hold chapel lectures to which all students may come. The administration probably judges rightly that too many of its students react emotionally and with the crowd rather than on an intellectual level.

Partially in consequence of this, all above-board political activity — discussions, assemblies, political clubs — has long since been banned from the campus. But most of the nationalities on campus organize, and in these groups plenty of political discussion on national problems survives. Now and then this activity shows its head above ground when the administration allows a certain leaflet to be distributed on campus. The Palestinians passed out a sheet reminding everyone of the 16th anniversary of the partition of Palestine, which it declared unjust, immoral, illegal, undemocratic, unrepresentative and invalid. Reasons were given for each charge. The administration even refuses permission for a Student Council, simply because elections become based not on campus issues but on national and international ones. Students follow the lines of national Arab parties, obtain official support from party leaders, and run in university elections that intensely concern these parties. What with party money and support, the significance of the elections to the
party and to the campus is blown up out of all proportion.

In the light of these remarks, the history of AUB's short-lived student government can better be understood. Organization of student government first took root during 1948-49, a time of extreme political unrest, popular disappointment and outrage in the Arab world over the Palestine issue. Arab Nationalists were finding new life, with Israel as the common enemy, while Communists were stepping up activities to exploit sweeping Arab discontent. But in the beginning the Student Association was not a political forum. Even at this time official AUB policy prohibited outright political activity, though the exact forms allowed were constantly in question, especially so due to a number of students being expelled for activities as Communist Party members. The field of Arab politics was left to a society called Urwa, frankly Arab and usually quite nationalistic. By 1951 Urwa had faded into the background, the Student Council becoming the center of controversy. The Council, through 1950, stuck to campus affairs, to such things as negotiating with movie theaters for reduced prices for students, and fighting exorbitant boarding costs. Always hampering progress were a number of uninterested representatives habitually absent from meetings and vital discussions. The Student Council's 30 members were elected by the entire student body, viz. the Student Association, and then elected Cabinet members and nominated Presidential possibilities from whom the entire student body would again choose. This was the big election. Circulars by the hundreds were distributed, energetic campaigns canvassed students, and finally on election night, awaiting final tallies, several hundred students congregated in West Hall and passed the time with singing. Cheers went up as election results were finally announced and the winning candidate stepped forward for an acceptance address.

But for all his prestige, the president retained little power. He was chairman of Council meetings and could neither enter discussions nor vote unless a tie developed. Before the spring term ended in 1951, some students won acceptance for a new constitution. Seeing the lack of presidential power under the old form, this movement set up a new constitution similar to one of a miniature government. The election of Council and president remained the same, but now the president held a veto power over the Council's "legislation." The president's appointment of the cabinet depended on the Council's vote of confidence, a vote that could be withdrawn at any time. So stood president and Council against each other in an attempted balance of power. In May, 1951, the transition to the new constitution was smoothly made. The student newspaper editor
wrote at this time "Perhaps the success (or failure) of the Student Council in the near future will reflect the degree of success, in the more distant future, of the democratic ideals in the Arab countries and the extent to which they will penetrate the present blanket of emotional superficiality [as recently was witnessed in a student demonstration which destroyed a local French monument and threatened the French embassy]

By the start of school in October, 1951, more unrest disturbed the Middle East military activity in the Suez Some students wanted a protest strike, but the Council narrowly voted down such an idea Despite warnings of suppression from the Lebanese government, a minority of students undertook to demonstrate anyway This was hardly the first student strike in AUB history, demonstrations had supported independence in 1943, protested Palestine in 1947, sympathized with Morocco in 1951 But this was more serious than all the earlier ones Some 200 attempted "to parade through the neighboring streets," but were bottled up on campus by the police Several suffered injuries And all of this after the university forbade any demonstrations

Politics got irrevocably mixed into student government when Fall Council elections followed the demonstration A majority of Arab Nationalists won control of the Council, but for president a "self-styled Neutral" outran his Nationalist opposition The split over politics widened with the refusal of the Council to give a vote of confidence to the President's first-appointed cabinet And for almost two months, every proposed cabinet met the same adamant reaction The campus split wide open Arab Nationalists and Communists, on the one hand, and Neutrals and the PPS on the other

The President could, by December, find accord on only one issue with his Council, that of a strike in support of the demand from Tripoli students for universal military training for Lebanese undergraduates To avoid Council-administration conflict, the University called off classes for the day

Contention among the students was still rife by the end of January This time a clamp-down by the Syrian government on all political freedom of university students brought down calls for that semester's third strike Again the Lebanese Prime Minister, fearful for Lebanon's internal security, absolutely forbade it, the Council voted for it Students gathered on campus to proceed to the police-guarded gate (a stone wall encompasses the campus) A partial break-through, flying stones, student-soldier scuffles, a police arrest of some 50 students (some clearly innocent), and the demonstration was over During the strike, some student groups attempted to
halt all classes, to the point of carrying some professors out of their lecture rooms

University President Penrose reacted, decisively. All students were required to re-register, repledging to do nothing to interfere with the academic program. Strikes at any time would be illegal. After two months, the decision came down to abolish the Student Council, at least for that semester. It never again saw light. The challenge of creating some kind of student government was and is the students' challenge, and at AUB it is made most formidable by the wide variations in student interests and allegiances. Common concerns must be found in the university community — its intellectual life as well as more prosaic, technical campus affairs. But while there are many intellectual lives being lived at AUB, there is no community intellectual life, and the student government either failed to see the need or simply failed to work toward rectifying it. This failure rests squarely on the students' shoulders. And the more prosaic duties of student government became buried under an avalanche of Middle Eastern political concerns. Unfortunately these concerns found expression only in demonstrations, never in constructive discussion. Ironically, with the tremendous number of AUB graduates who return to their country to take responsible political positions, during only three of the University's 100 years have students been able to maintain a student government, and then it was dissolved ignominiously.
CAREER AND SERVICE
NEW YORK, 1964

By Astrida Butners*

Never before in my adult life had I been in a situation so entirely different as the one I faced in the lower East Side of New York. No amount of reading or motion pictures or commentaries from other sources could bring the reality home to one outside the situation. New York was a highly personal experience. The slums, eight, nine story tenements block after block, stretching to the East River, the men on the Bowery, dirty, ill, sodden, lying in doorways and sleeping on sidewalks, the huge factories, the film of coal dust that filtered into every room, every corner, the garbage cans, the cheap bars — these are the lower East Side where I lived for three months.

I was struck as never before with the immense differences which exist between those moneyed individuals holding privileged places in our society, and those whose language and skin colors are not accepted. Within ten city blocks of St. Barnabas began the expensive apartments of 5th and Park Avenues, while just behind our House was a ten story tenement. On hot days the people would pour out onto the fires escapes and the children would spill into the streets. I was struck by the number of children, dirty, tattered, shoeless, playing in the gutters and darting between the trucks which came from the factory next door. At these times I felt how fortunate were my children, children referred to us by the courts or the New York City Welfare Department. They were there because of cruelty, neglect, and desertion. Yet, now they had enough of the basic physical essentials and someone at least cared what happened to them.

I had fifteen five-year olds, most of them Negro or Puerto Rican. I had a strange feeling the first day as I was surrounded by Negro children, knowing they were simply children and yet that they were also Negro. I don’t believe this was some hidden prejudice coming to the surface, but rather a lack of familiarity with Negroes. I had never touched the hair of a Negro, this first time I felt awkward.

Besides the differences of the children's physical presences, there was something unusual in their behavior. Many had never been properly disciplined or socialized. Their play was so undisciplined at times that I had to watch closely so that they wouldn’t harm themselves or others. At first, they gave me token obedience, but when I had been there a week, the situation changed. They wouldn’t mind. It was a constant battle between us, a battle involving their trust, their confidence, their affection. Sometimes I would be so ex-

Astrida Butners, a junior sociology major from Kalamazoo, is presently studying at the University of London in England.
hausted after a day's work that all I could do afterwards was to take a shower and rest. Sometimes I would leave the children alone with the other counselor and go sit in one of the small rooms by myself. I found that I had to discipline myself to keep proper perspective, to remember that these were children. I had to stop the feelings of frustration that I could feel beginning at times when I would have to repeat and repeat. Yet, I liked the children, and they somehow felt my feelings toward them. I think that it was in part their own great need for love and something identified within myself which finally led to an understanding between us.

As the weeks went by, I felt closer and closer to every child. I found in myself the capacity for giving love that I had never been aware of before. I found in these children a terrible hungering for love. My exhaustion was not from disciplining, but merely from giving myself to so many children. I felt a drive that needed immediate satisfaction, and yet I felt so very limited because I could only give my attention and affection for my eight hours of duty. Those eight hours became very important to me because of the many things I had to accomplish.

I came to realize the marvelous potentiality of every child. Each one had the capabilities, the same potentials for growth and development. I looked in their faces and felt the wonderful wondering quality of childhood. I think I had forgotten and taken for granted the luxuries of green grass or a quiet pond. My children played on the tarred roof of St. Barnabas House, which despite the efforts of janitors was constantly covered with a thin film of coal dust. I learned to appreciate living and came closer to realizing what life truly is.

I was amazed by the children themselves. They had seen and experienced such things in their first five years which I hadn't in my twenty. Sometimes, lashing out in frustration or anger, they would use profanities which surprised me. The most startling thing was that they knew exactly what the words meant. It made me very sad to see how robbed they had been of their childhood, their innocence. The cruelest thing perpetrated by society is this robbing of innocence, not allowing a child to have some moment of accomplishment, of self-worth. How can a child like one of my little boys, who lived with thirteen other people in two rooms, have his private world of innocence and a chance to develop normally?

I was amazed at the apathy of the New York public. During my stay in New York there were some notable incidents which stirred the country. The apathy need not be as overt as having 38 people watch a woman being murdered without raising their voices. Apathy
is involved in the fate of five-year old children who have to be in an institution because no established middle class couple wants to provide a foster home for them. It is surprising to find what kind of child is in demand, unfortunately, New York social agencies don't have an oversupply of cute, healthy, blonde, pretty, three-year old girls. I think that this is an apathy which comes from satiety. These children reach out and need love, these children who have been beaten and brutalized, some with scars which they will forever carry, both physical and emotional. Yet who wants a Negro child, five years old, who wakes up crying from nightmares and who can't control his play? It appears, from my own personal experience, that not many do.

Apathy is reflected in education. The St. Barnabas children, because they were predominantly Negro, were transferred from an all-white school near Washington Square Village to one eight blocks away, on the edge of China Town and the Italian slums. I took my children to school because there was no supervision during the lunch period. The children played ball in the streets because they had no playground. Every day, I saw children nearly hit by heavy commercial traffic. When I asked a mother why nothing had been done about this, she replied that they had done as much as they could, but the school still hadn't acted. The school authorities had asked for police help in blocking off part of the street, without any results. Then, one day I saw a child hit by a car on this street, one block from the Central Headquarters of the New York Police Department. Finally, a part of the street was blocked off. It struck me how unfortunate it was to have a child injured before something was done. The school building is old, crumbling, and overcrowded, yet I was told I should see the ones in Harlem.

It seemed to me that the professionals working in these areas had spent so much of themselves. I could see this in the lack of life in some of the social workers. Their case loads were so heavy that they couldn't possibly give proper attention to each child. I saw resignation also at Bellevue Hospital, a public institution where St. Barnabas children were taken for clinics. I think that I've never been quite as depressed and angry as when I left there. We sat waiting and waiting for three hours before the doctor got to my child. In the hall were many more people who had been waiting longer than we. The whole place exuded hopelessness. I'll always remember the old man, covered by a dingy hospital blanket, crying as he waited for his X-rays, and the blank, emotionless look of the orderly who pushed the beds around.

And yet, each of these individuals who reaches the public wel-
fare stage presents a staggering problem. Each case history has something in common with all the others: enormity and hopelessness. I felt pity for the adults, but the tragedy of the children affected me the most. For many of them there was no hope beyond a permanent institution. For those discharged, the slum was waiting. I remember one of my little girls who was discharged and who returned with her mother for an interview. Already the dirty dress and the uncombed hair, the unsmiling, sad little face testified to the quality of her life.

The personality damage to a child raised to maturity in an institution is tremendous. Even at St. Barnabas, which was one of the better ones, the child has no personal property. The clothes he wears, the larger part of the toys he plays with, the room he sleeps in, his meals, are always common property. Each child, I believe, is entitled to the right of having a chance to be an individual, of having a world of imagination all his own, of something that is his very own. Yet it is almost impossible, with fifteen children, to give everyone the individual attention needed. I found out that I had to be very careful not to give too much attention to one child because of the tremendous jealousy which was present. There had to be a set routine and the child had to follow it.

My work as counselor involved also the role of music teacher. Through our music and art programs we tried to give the child something of these imaginative worlds. They enjoyed it tremendously because it opened entirely new worlds. It took me about 2 1/2 months to finally break through the children's barriers and reach them as human beings. Even when they were naughty or disobedient, I knew and felt the closeness of understanding. Finally, I had penetrated to the child's affection. I could look at my children without thinking of one as a Negro, one as white. They were all the same, and the hair no longer felt unusual. It was only here that I could be truly effective in my work. Unfortunately, my job experience had but three weeks remaining. Yet, I felt that I had accomplished the most important thing. I must admit that I had never felt more useful, more needed. There was never a boring moment, never a moment that something new wasn't happening that challenged me. I felt that I could give and give and give. I felt that for once there was a reason for my existing. I think all of us have some qualities which are unique to ourselves, and I believe these can best be utilized for some specific purpose. The face of one child smiling at you, putting his arms around you, and saying quietly, as if in secret, "Miss Butners, I love you" is worth all the hours of work, all the thousands of words of reprimand, all the tantrums. Each child is as complex as...
any adult, and he feels with some instinctive sense whether you really care or only say you do.

What I gained from my work experience is a reaffirmation of my vocational plans. I know that I can never be the same person I’ve gained more in personal maturity. I’m not as naive, but neither am I disillusioned. I still realize that I can do only a small part to help. Yet, the fact that just a few individuals are given a chance for life is enough. I truly believe in the right of each individual, especially each child, to have a chance for a life which gives him the basic essentials and satisfies his primary emotional and developmental needs. New York itself gave me a perspective on the degrees of variation in the human condition. I saw the glamorous midtown section, the quiet clean residential sections of Queens. Yet, wherever I went, I could never erase the faces of my children or the slums on Houston Street.

There is here a responsibility that every person in New York must undertake. The waste of human potential, the waste of human beings cannot be explained by any rationale. I know myself that I can never have a satisfied, satiated life, knowing that there are thousands of children like my own. I think that I’ve never realized before the responsibilities I have as a college student and future professional. I owe it to my own conscience and to the children to try to achieve the greatest educational level, in order to help.
WASHINGTON

By Robert W Ionta*

Part One  The City

Stew Spaghetti, macaroni, goulash, chop suey Pack 'em in!
Chicken, turkey, dark meat, light meat, yellow meat — ground up, squeezed into this iron-gut casing and steamed till done In the front, grind em up, out the back No, No! The back D C Sausage, Can't you read the sign? Move to the Rear and depart by the rear door Ouch! Excuse me roar ding Ding DING

Wherever you go in the city, you can see it Lighted at night, white and shining during the day, sometimes obscured by low clouds or high fog, always there stabbing skyward It serves as a beacon, a gigantic "home tree" visible from the hot dusty streets of South East to the cool greenness of the cobblestone sidewalks of Georgetown It leads you back from wherever you are lost If you can see it, you can reach it If you can get to the monument, you can find your way home Even Lincoln's memorial in its austere beauty and the Capitol itself, with its winding corridors, herds of tourists, plush lounges fitted with overstuffed senators and other furniture, cannot rival the impressiveness of that stone needle sitting comfortably on its small rise of ground It is the most singular monument in the city

You walk — to save money if for no other reason There is a better reason The only way to see the city is to walk around it! Three and one-half miles each way, every day, from home to work and back It's not that bad — there is a great deal to be observed Your way leads up past the expensive shops of Connecticut Avenue (Anything you could want, everything you could need can be found on Connecticut or in the night clubs of Georgetown)

There are people
"Say, buddy, can y' help me out?"

"Would one of you gentlemen be interested in a fine movie camera?"

"Paper! Buy a paper, mistuh?"

"Fine candid photo of you in front of the White House, buy one?"

"Issa cerream, POPsickles, ESK-i-MO PahEE!"

A club-foot beggar crawls toward you holding a tin cup in his

*Robert Ionta, a junior mathematics major from Skaneateles, New York, is presently studying in Munster, Germany
hand. A woman in a sari strolls by. A drunk falls face down in the street in front of you, a crowd of screaming tourists floods across the street. People.

Then, suddenly, you're off Connecticut and heading up 19th — a quiet residential street with children playing, and fence-enclosed front yards overflowing with greenery. Not a wealthy area, but a good middle-class neighborhood.

They're putting up a new Hilton hotel facing Florida. A giant, many-plush-room construction that is far from finished. Its still-damp walls and cellars hold the cooler air, and on a hot day a refreshing breeze blows across 19th Street at Florida. You can see it now.

You reach the Orange and Grapefruit State's avenue. No cars, go ahead. Cross the street. At once the atmosphere changes! A dank wind is expelled from the lower intestinal tract of the Hotel and whistles across the street and around the back of your neck, an involuntary shiver follows. You look up, the crumbling shell of the old Chinese embassy stares sightlessly down at you through shattered windows. You look around: faces — none white, none friendly. You look down: almost covered by dirty newspapers and broken bottles, almost lost among the other inscriptions on the surface of the sidewalk, appears an epitaph scrawled in childish hand: "I HATE." You turn the corner onto Vernon Street and climb the steep steps to a nondescript door in a block of nondescript doors — Great Lakes College House and Sanctuary, Public not invited.

*You're* the interloper here, here is not your home. Watch your step!

Washington is an easy city in which to walk. If you imagine an open book, the Mall is the center between the pages. The Capitol is at the very bottom of the Mall, the Lincoln Memorial at the top. You may imagine that the right-hand page is North West and the left page South West. The rows of type are the numbered streets starting from the bottom of the page and going up towards the Memorial, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc. Parallel to the Mall are the alphabetical streets, C, D, E. These start from the second streets beyond the Mall and count out towards the outsides of the pages. The two streets on either side of the Mall are Independence and Constitution. Finally, if you were to imagine cobwebs criss-crossing the open pages, they would be the large streets with the names of states, Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, etc. But remember, there are four sets of numbered and four sets of lettered streets, one for each division of D.C. It is necessary to keep them straight in order to avoid much, much pain.
Georgetown, where the cheapest haircuts may be found, the best
night clubs are located, and most of the college students from G W
and American University may be found, extends from 7th N W to
35th and from M N W to R N W Food and beverages may be pur­
chased at many local markets and drug stores, etc The only rules
which you must obey are the rules that say you have to be to work
at 9 a.m Monday through Friday So watch the parties on week
nights Don't count on driving around, it is usually as fast to walk
and parking is always a problem

By all means bring some money Those who choose to rent apart­
ments will need about $150 to get started, those who live at the
college house will require at least $50 Most likely you will be paid
at the END of the first month of work, at the earliest after two
weeks So plan for it Watch yourself at night D C crime rate is
high If you plan to cook for yourself, food should run about $15
per week There are reasonable government cafeterias where lunch
may be purchased

Above all, go sight-seeing during your first weeks you are here
Soon it will all become familiar to you and you and your friends will
be able to stand on the street corner, watch the high-school tours,
church groups, and other tourists, and say just loud enough for ev­
everyone to hear "Have you ever seen so many damn tourists in your
life!" It gives one a superior feeling

Part Two The Job

Here we are, Children, Health Education and Welfare Depart­
ment, Public Health Service, Department of Chronic Diseases, Can­
cer Control Program, Operational Studies Section, Statistical Meth­
ods, Student Trainee If you stretch your importance a bit, perhaps
you could be called an assistant statistician after a few weeks on the
job But your primary purpose is to learn Mr Geller, Section Chief,
and Mr De La Puente believe in introducing students to the field of
statistics Their belief is the cause of your job Fine, so you're here,
what do you do?

The Public Health Service gives financial grants to various hos­
pitals and medical schools across the country to instigate or aid their
local programs in popular education concerning diagnostic tests and
treatment for certain types of cancer In particular the types of can­
cer with which you are concerned are cervical cancer in women and
oral cancer The local agencies establish cytology clinics to which
patients are encouraged to come and be tested Some projects do
this through the local physicians (GP's) and just act as a coordinat­
ing agency for their individual efforts It is assumed by the PHS that
these programs will someday become self sufficient and at that time aid will cease. The overall goal is, then, to reduce the mortality of cancer through educating the public to have regular tests.

In return for these goodies, the PHS requires that the projects submit a cumulative casefinding report every six months, listing all patients examined and treated. Along with this they must submit a narrative report on the progress which they may or may not have made in the preceding six months and individual patient reports on each patient treated.

Your job, in part, and a large part of the responsibility of the Section is to evaluate these reports, compute analyses, and check them for errors. Normally this would be an easy job, however, it is a law of nature and probably one of the commandments that doctors can't add. Nor can they fill out the forms correctly. Statistical Methods is responsible for straightening out these reports and finding out why the hospital may list more patients treated than had cancer, etc.

The Section also does the miscellaneous statistical work for the Program — correlations, Chi-squares, graphs, tables, and most anything else that comes along. Operational Studies Section is a “service” group, and it does everyone's dirty work. That means the mathematical calculations that must be done, the actual work of putting tables and charts together — one of the most important jobs in the Program.

To return to the individual projects, there are two sets of files, one file for each project. One set is in this office and contains only those items relating to the statistics of each project. The other is found in Mr. Desjarlais' office. These are filled with copies of the application, communications, expenditure reports, etc. Probably your first job is with these files. The large casefinding reports must be checked for errors. How? You must add them over again, add up, add down, add across, add backwards, and add any other way you can think of. What's on the front must agree with what's on the back. But you soon learn most of the intricacies of the form.

Each of the patients examined or "screened" by a project appears in at least one place on the form. She may be (I say she because these comments relate to cervical cancer projects and not oral) listed in the totals column only. In that case the patient would appear under "Unsatisfactory," meaning the test was not conclusive because the slide was not readable. She may appear in any of the other categories in the top group (totals). If this happens, then the same person should be accounted for in one of the divisions of part 5. If her test result is negative, that is to say no abnormal cells were discov-
ered, she will appear somewhere in the “Negative” group If some irregularity was noticed but it did not necessarily indicate cancer, she would appear under “Atypical” If the results of the test show that she may have cancer, the patient will be found in the “Suspicious” category The “Positive” category is reserved for people whom the slide indicates have cancer Finally, the patient may appear, if she was treated or should have been treated, on the back of the sheet

The categories mentioned above are related to the method of detection, the Papanicolaou test or “Pap smear” A small amount of tissue is removed from the patient — scraped off with a small tool — and placed on a glass slide This slide is then sent to a cytotechnician who reads the slide and places it in its proper category After the Pap smear results are received the hospital may order a biopsy to determine exactly what ailment the patient has or the degree of the cancer Insitu cancer is a well-behaved cancer growing quietly within a certain tissue which may be removed rather easily Invasive cancer is a malignancy which has spread to other tissues of the body and is usually treated with radiation because it is almost impossible to get all of it out by surgery How far it has spread is shown by the degree listed on the individual patient treatment sheets Grade 0 is insitu, all above that are invasive to various extents Dysplasia is a classification into which is dumped all the abnormalities which no one can exactly classify but which may someday turn into insitu cancer However, this is not included as cervical cancer “Under Cytology Supervision” includes those people who, for some reason, are not otherwise classified and who will have another smear within a short time

These casefinding reports must be checked against the patient treatment sheets and the resulting discrepancies corrected After this is done the Statistical Summary and Analysis must be computed and filled out Essentially they list the same information as the Casefinding report, but they have spaces for various rates and percents which are used by the Section in evaluating the project

As was said, these projects are the main concern of the office, however since other matters are taken up by the same staff and since you are a student and are here to learn about the program, you will normally find yourself doing many odd jobs You run errands to the North Building, sort IBM cards on the card sorters downstairs (it is hoped that soon most projects will have their individual patient reports coded on these cards), proofread pages for copying or publication, code IBM cards, punch IBM cards, look up material in the library on the third floor, draw graphs and make up charts, fill cof-
fee pots, answer telephones, hunt for information in the large files in Mr. Dejarlais' office, design summary forms, calculate correlations, and do Chi-squares (A Chi-square is a method of determining if the difference between the information reported in a table and the theoretical value of this information is due to chance variation or whether it is biased in some way — that is, whether the person doing a table has fudged his statistics.) This is about as close as you get to theoretical statistic work.

Most of the work which you do is routine — of necessity, for, as students, you are not expected to have any special skills or knowledge. However, it is important work, because it is the basis for all the major decisions made by the Advisory Committee and for the reports and publications which leave the Program. While you are here you learn the operation of a desk calculator. Hour after hour you sit at that damn machine and listen to its incessant clacking. But the calculator is a necessary tool and very handy when you need it.

Actually, what you need for this job is a little intelligence, the ability to write legibly, and the ability to add and subtract. Since I had neither of the last two I suffered greatly. As most of the employees of CCP will say, this office is the best in the program, the friendliest, the most coordinated, and the easiest in which to work. The pressure is not in excess, although it increases as the Advisory Committee meetings draw near. You have a chance to make almost as many mistakes as you are able before Mrs. Namey's patience wears thin, you have time to learn about the office and what's going on. Overall, I should say this office is a good place to work.
ISLANDS

By Sally Mendelsohn

For the past two weeks, the break between straight work and school work, the word “nice” has been used voluminously in my small, descriptive vocabulary. On my way back to school, sitting in an open motel room, after an afternoon on Lake Michigan, the sun is setting warmly in a rosy, golden haze between the trees. The early evening air is pleasant and outside our front door there is just a drift of cars at an undisturbing distance. The atmosphere is one of peace and calm. Thus the word that shapes itself is “nice,” a word that describes so indefinately yet fully the unexpressible peace.

I’ve felt this way since my time in New York City. Calm. It has been a vacation, a release from duty. I’m tempted to describe the beautiful moments (motoring on the Ohio River, churning up its inky blackness, touching its watery surface, which meets the sharp night air, or, driving Ohio countryside at 5 in the morning — heavy fog and mist rising from our River — the incomparable wild beauty of it and the sun turning whole spots and bends into spun gold with every green leaf standing out etched starkly in color and morning dew) to express my mood since New York and probably largely a result of my experience there.

It’s difficult to summarize that time, because my joy in these two weeks has been calm and mute. Sometimes it breaks about — frolicking, coltish to an unthinking crescendo, but more often it is just there — inside, far below the surface — beyond the talking point, but definitely a part of me.

New York was a different time, a different pace. I place it as the Island we all know it to be vibrant with millions of people and hundreds of activities, and yet in this same sense of movement, there is often a horrible hundred-fold vacant staring and ultimately purposeless rush due to the city’s accepted functionalism that has neither created nor left much beauty. It is an Island of contrasts and explosiveness, particularly full this year of America’s disturbed, “out of joint” quality. And of course the World’s Fair adds its discordant number to the simmer.

I lived, with Lucinda Nelson and Astrida Butners, in an insular community, one of many the larger island affords. I lived at St. Barnabas House, a long, squat building, off of Bleecker Street, between the Bowery (two blocks East) and the Village (about four blocks West). St. Barnabas is a temporary shelter housing seventy

*Sally Mendelsohn, a junior English major from Cincinnati, Ohio is presently studying in Caen, France.
children, staff (some live in, most do not), offices for staff members, as well as the offices for the New York Protestant Episcopal Mission Society (where I worked) Our smaller island provided hours of interest — treks to the Village and explorations of the Bowery We were slumming and worriedly well aware of it when night had long before dropped its curtain of explosive darkness

Living there was indeed meaningful The three of us became close friends, living in two adjoining rooms at the end of one of the staff halls on the second floor We came to know almost all the staff — the Executive Director of St Barnabas House, and his wife, nurses, psychiatrists, social workers, counselors, and Lucinda and I got to know the thirty school-age children who lived on the second floor, due to our Wednesday night volunteer sessions from five til eight or nine The last was particularly meaningful for me I discovered in this first time ever working with children that I do like them, that I want to see and help them grow

Life in these two islands was full — full enough for whole days Solitary or joint explorations of neighborhoods, plays, movies, museums, children to work with, people to get to know, etc, etc, etc

But I haven’t gotten to that third island yet, my field work with the New York Protestant Episcopal Mission Society, which I mentioned above It was decided that I should work here The Society is a social service agency The meat of this report is my daily journal of reports made for my three supervisors, Father Snyder, Mrs Marshall and Miss Bennett These people provided me with the most pleasant, yet profitable, non-job one could hope to be blessed with Particularly the older of the three, Mrs Marshall and Father Snyder, tried to treat me to as much talk, experience and work as it was possible for me to digest and grow on

I think they succeeded well, because I enjoyed every day there, and as much as I loved week-ends, I also looked forward to the next surprising day of work, or as I term it, “non-job ” There was time to see, to do, to think, to learn, to record and to evaluate (through the journal I have mentioned and will enclose)

Mrs Marshall was an indefatigable, ageless woman Solid and a fine person, due in a large part I suspect to her personal goals and beliefs Her aim for me was growth, as much as possible, open mindedness and an examination and planning before action

Father Snyder is the head of Family Service and co-ordinator of the other services Frequently in the journal you will find references to talks with him He is that kind of man — always there, willing to listen and help whenever possible We spent much time going over my work or talking seriously or reminiscently or humorously
Miss Bennet, who was my other supervisor, is a young woman in her twenties. Capable and a hard, efficient worker. She quit a little after I did, to continue her master's work.

Often I did secretarial type work, so Carmen, Mrs. Green and Mrs. Harned, the three secretaries, and I became joking or serious friends. They too, very much, contributed to the sense of liking work and looking forward to it. There was discord in the office, but it surfaced very little and the participants contained it in themselves. In fact, it was really only during the last week that I was aware of these tensions.

I realized during these days what a vastness New York is. It is almost an island, "entire to itself," one could work there all his life, constantly giving of himself, his education, his talents and his human warmth, to try to ameliorate the human situation. I questioned often, though, how much a social service person can do or rather how much one man can do for another. The experience reinforced my ideas that each man must live his own life, serving and being served. One must be developed, develop himself, be aware with a perspective and give as much as he possibly can.

I don't know yet what I will "major" in — I mean this in regard to school and to vocation. I do know that I "can do," "can get along." I like the beautiful moments and want to create more of them!

I'm all for Experiential Quarter! Even better would be two. My experience was particularly educational — in the sense of person and life. Islands all related!

PS

The time between quarters is a period of hesitation. Unless one must be working from 9 'til 5 or keeping regular hours, time is shifting sands and bright spots — mirage thoughts or genuine
I've liked this week here — as much as those moments of beauty at home. Here beauty is contained in the week — but in a different way. One is struck by passages in reading, by sentences uttered, by feelings of rapport. This week of school is rightly different from the others. It is wonderful to have a new room, a new roommate — a new season, charming, open to work in.

It was almost impossible to adjust immediately. Last Thursday night — at our grandiose Fine Arts Theatre — I turned away from the movie in a state of shock. I was near the back and could file out among the first. Lucinda and I, two New Yorkers, stood near each other. Time-order, space order were out of shape. I saw K's population file by and felt no immediate connection with them. Instead I felt the freedom of being in just another new public theatre, free to act, move and talk at will. But I recognized familiar faces and forms, as if out of my past. Gradually then I came to adjust to this summer's residence.

Afterwards I went to the discussion for Voter Registration. Because I know now that I want to be involved, involved in my times and my people. This is not denying the past or the future but rather reinforcing them.

Goals are forming within myself for perhaps the first time. I feel that we are all here together — that we must help each other along. We must be trained and develop so that we can continue these processes in ourselves and then help others to form.

I don't know what field I will enter — but I know that I want to help. Now I must try to work, to test myself, feel genuine friendship and love. What can I do? Self confidence must grow.

Needless to say, the Career and Service Quarter has helped me in great measure. I wish there were time in the program for another — in a different field and a different place.

Dr. Thomas — thank you.

Sincerely,

Sally Mendelsohn
GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT AND I

By Oliver Nicholson*

This spring Gainful Employment and I crossed paths in a town near my home, Westborough, Massachusetts. The result of this meeting was a position as an attendant-nurse in the town's state hospital. Previous experience in another hospital of the same type led me to believe that as a new employee I would be stationed in some back ward populated with moronic homosexuals and incontinent patients. But as it happened, out of the dozens of wards that contain the 1600 or so patients, I was fortunate enough to be assigned to the new (3 year old) Admission and Treatment Building.

The A&T Building, as the name implies, functions as a reception center for new admissions and the main treatment building for the new patients for a period up to three months (after which time the patient is either discharged or transferred to another ward). The wards of the A&T Building are staffed by male and female attendants (most of whom are Northeastern University students working under their co-op program), student practical nurses from Westborough's own school, licensed practical nurses, and registered nurses who function in the capacity of head nurses and supervisors. On the whole, it appeared that most of the employees were quite competent and had a genuine interest in their profession.

The activities that compose an attendant's job range from the boring to the dangerous to the educational. For example, on some days there might be nothing to do except to dispense medications and take a few blood pressures. The remainder of the day is spent playing cards with the patients or watching television. But the next day a new patient could be admitted who might be quite violent. In such a situation it is necessary to overpower the patient, put him in a seclusion room, remove his or her clothes, get him into hospital clothing, and restrain him while a sedative is administered. Instances such as these are sometimes dangerous for everyone involved. Then there is the educational aspect. Being a new employee, it was necessary for me to attend a series of orientation lectures which covered, among other things, examination of some selected case histories, including an interview with the patient under discussion. Not only did these lectures cover the particular problems of the patient, but they also brought under review the type of care and treatment a case of this type could receive from the state, and opinions on the state's responsibility toward such cases. This type of "formal" education.

*Oliver Nicholson, a junior philosophy major from Whitinsville, Massachusetts, is presently studying in Aix-en-Provence, France.
was supplemented by instances of on-job training, such as when the opportunity arose to assist in electro-convulsive treatments (about 50 in number) and in a post-mortem operation.

By far the most valuable training came from the wards. While supervising or playing cards with the patients it is possible to observe the actions and reactions that constitute the symptoms of their illness. The observations, together with the comments from the nurses concerning the particular forms of mental illness, gave me a rather good insight into the problem that directly affects a tenth of our population. With the explanations from the nurses it was possible to bring together theory and observation. Now that I knew that the quiet patient over in the corner was suffering from a manic-depressive form of neurosis I could better understand his needs as expressed by his actions, and probably could be in a better position to help him in some way. Because I have a minor in psychology, I found this aspect of the job, the unification of theory and observation, highly interesting, although often frustrating because it pointed out of what little aid a person is with only theoretical knowledge when faced with actual problems.

On the sociological level there were also some interesting things to be noted. Goffman, in his book *Asylums*, points out how in a closed institution, such as a state hospital, a patient is stripped of his identity and is "rebuilt" along lines that are in accordance with the aims of the particular institution. This is done by taking away all the patient's personal property, by the patient losing certain legal and social rights, and by having the patient's comfort (or existence) being made greatly dependent on the hospital personnel. It was Goffman's thesis that once the patient is "broken" (either by direct plan or indirectly by the patient to employee relationship) he can be retrained to live within the norms of a society. Such a situation still exists in some institutions. In another state hospital I have seen patients who have had to beg for matches, patients who never saw the clothing and other gifts brought to them by their relatives, patients who have been beaten because they have not eaten quickly enough. This has been going on for years. These people were broken, but I doubt if they could ever be retrained for anything.

At Westborough the situation is quite different. The patients have lockers and bedside tables in which to keep their possessions, and they are aided by the employees whenever they have a reasonable request. They dine on some of the best prepared food in the state. They are not herded around but are encouraged to do things for themselves. The employees function in the role of medical aides, not as guards watching inmates. The aim of this hospital is not to break
the patient, but to provide him with the treatment and environment where he can be helped to regroup his mental faculties in order that he can readjust himself for his eventual return to society.

It appears that one of the main factors affecting the type of situation found in the different institutions is the supervisory personnel. In the more backward hospital the chief supervisor was a man who, over the years, rose from a position as an attendant to the head of the male section. Under his authority are all the attendants, the licensed practical nurses, and registered nurses in that section. At Westborough the equivalent of this job is handled by four female registered nurses. There is much that can be said about this difference, but it is material for another paper.

Observing reactions, both "normal" and "abnormal," does two things. First, it gives insight into the actions of others, and second, it gives insight into one's own actions. Observation of "abnormal" acts gives one a better idea of what type of criteria might be used to judge the appropriateness of the actions of those about us. In such a hospital situation it is possible to see the outcome of decisions that border on the appropriate. These outcomes, once observed, become part of the observer's knowledge of the possible range of human reactions and are used as a basis for analyzing future acts and decisions. This is what might be considered meaningful (i.e., useful), for by having some knowledge of the range of human reactions one is in a better position to evaluate the responses that one encounters in one's environment, which, in turn, leads to a better overall understanding of the environment per se. The relation this has to one's formal educational program is obvious.

Again, this type of experience aids in integrating the theoretical (in this case psychological theory) with the practical problems in that field. But also on a broader level, the greater the experience repertoire (speaking now of experience generally) one has, the greater is one's ability to integrate and speculate on all levels of the theoretical. Therefore, "the significance of this experience as a part of my over-all formal educational program" is that, like any other experience, it gave me more ground (or improved the ground) in which is planted the seeds of formal education.