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With affection and respect,
this issue of EXPLORATIONS is dedicated to Carroll Terrell, Professor Emeritus of English.
CARROLL TERRELL
AND THE
GREAT AMERICAN
POETRY WARS

by Burton Hatlen

The history of a culture is shaped by uncountable billions of decisions by individual human beings. Some of these decisions are made by very visible people, including those unique ones that we call geniuses. The appearance of a William Shakespeare, a Charles Dickens—or, today, a Stephen King—can change the images in terms of which millions of people see themselves and the world. We can’t really imagine what our culture would be like today if Shakespeare or Dickens (or Mark Twain or William Faulkner) had never been born, nor can we really believe that the historical function performed by such writers would have been carried out by someone else, if the people I have named had not been born. So, in some significant ways, the history of a culture is shaped by individual geniuses. Yet I suspect we exaggerate the degree to which such geniuses control the direction of a culture, simply because their influence is so visible and is fairly easy to talk about. But no less significant are the decisions made by all those people who decide to read or not to read the books, buy the paintings, watch the movies, etc., created by various geniuses and non-geniuses. When people decide to watch this television show rather than that, to read this book rather than that, they help decide which television shows and books will survive, and which ones will disappear into the limbo of cancelled shows and books forgotten in the basements of libraries. Yet it also doesn’t take much study to discover that the merchandising decisions of television networks and publishers and art galleries have an important impact on consumer decisions: in the absence of the kind of sensationalized promotion to which we have all now become accustomed, even a fine book or television show or painting will have a hard time making it today. So corporation executives of various sorts also clearly have a major influence on the history of a culture. Further, the critics also shape consumer decisions: we can’t see every movie that comes out, so we all come to rely on someone (I personally like Stanley Kauffman and Andrew Kopkind) for clues as to which ones are worth seeing. Ministers, priests, and rabbis, by urging their members to take certain books or movies seriously and to avoid others as corrupt or dangerous, also shape the history of culture. Finally, professors too can have a major influence on the history of a culture: the academy’s decision as to which cultural artifacts are valuable enough to survive and which are not worth keeping determines, in large measure, if not entirely, what kinds of models are available to members of the younger generation.

In this essay, I want to describe the influence which one such professor has had on one part of our culture—the writing and reading of poetry. The professor in question is Carroll Terrell, universally known as Terry, a member of the University of Maine faculty since 1948, and currently Professor Emeritus of English. Terry has published some poetry and some criticism of his own. Yet his influence over the history of poetry has come primarily through his work as an editor of scholarly journals, a publisher, an organizer of conferences—and, more broadly, a builder of networks among poets, critics, and publishers of both books and literary magazines. Terry early on recognized that the modern American university can be both the friend and the enemy of poetry. The university has the power to insist that young people read certain poems, and it has the economic resources to preserve poems by keeping them in print and by providing a means through which people who care about poems can exchange ideas about them. Yet the modern university—in this respect like the famous French Academy, which determines what is or is not properly French—also implicitly claims the right to decide what is worth

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saving and what isn’t, and by its very nature the university tends to be conservative, more concerned with preserving the past than with confronting the future. Thus the university tends to reject the new, the avant garde—and at this point the adjective academic becomes synonymous with stale, stodgy, and unimaginative. The struggle between academic and experimental tendencies within American poetry has, since the 19th Century, issued in a series of Poetry Wars, and the significance of Terry’s work can be fully understood only when it is seen within the context of these wars. Can the resources of the American university be directed not only toward the preserving of traditional types of poetry but toward the nurturing of new, experimental poetic modes? Terry’s life at the University of Maine has demonstrated that the answer to this question is yes. But to understand this life, it is necessary to place it in a broader context. Accordingly, in the next section of this essay I shall briefly recount the history of the Great American Poetry Wars. Then in the second section I shall describe Terry’s intervention in these wars and shall assess the impact of his work to date.

As early as the late 19th Century, American poetry had diverged into two distinct poetic traditions. One tradition was represented by the Five New England Worthies, whose variously bearded images, in oval frames, still grace my high school English classroom in the 1950s: Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, John Greenleaf Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes. These gentlemen with three names were the American analogues to Alfred Lord Tennyson, apostles of poetry as a respectable public activity. Longfellow, Lowell, and Holmes were all Harvard professors—Holmes in the medical school. Lowell served as ambassador to Spain and England. Holmes was one of the most successful physicians of his time, and his son became the most famous Chief Justice in the history of the American Supreme Court. Emerson and Whitman lived more modest lives, but they too were eminently respectable men. And Emerson, acclaimed during his own life as a prophet, has—alone among the New England Worthies—remained an influential figure into our own century, as the chief spokesman for that creed of self-reliance which remains the dominant American ideology. Yet except for Emerson (and even he is today admired less as a poet than as an essayist) the Worthies today exercise no influence whatsoever on American poetry. Only two 19th Century American writers have had a visible influence on the American poetry of the last fifty years: Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson. There were no pictures of Whitman and Dickinson on the walls of my high school English classroom, for both stood outside the cultural mainstream represented by the five Worthies. First of all, they were socially marginal: Whitman was, not a Harvard professor or an ambassador, but a carpenter, a printer, and a Washington file clerk, and Dickinson spent most of her adult life as a recluse, the semiofficial village eccentric of Amherst, Mass. Both were, moreover, artistically as well as socially disreputable. Whitman’s urgent cadences exploded the iambic pentameter line, and his sensuality, often homoerotic in its overtones, scandalized the spokesmen for public morality. And Dickinson was marginalized not only by her unconventional, mildly sardonic treatment of such themes as death (I heard a fly buzz when I died) but by her penchant for poetic experimentation. Rather than exploding the iambic pentameter line, she implored it, working out taut, extraordinarily subtle rhythms within the limits of one very constricted verse form, the 4/3/4/3 stanza of the hymns she had heard in childhood, and inventing metaphors which still have the power to shatter the stereotypes in terms of which we see the world. The poetry of Dickinson and Whitman offers a distinct alternative to that of the five Worthies: a poetry which pushes constantly at the limits of language and poetic convention, as it explores forbidden territories of experience, revealing to us in the process something essential about what it is like to live as a homosexual or as a woman. Whitman and Dickinson also offer us a model of a poetry which remains faithful to the fullness of human life, issuing not out of the head or the eye or the gut, but out of all of these centers of experience at once. Yet the very qualities which make the writing of Whitman and Dickinson poetically powerful also made them disreputable, marginal to the culture of their time—and, it must be admitted, marginal to the culture of the 20th Century as well, for what they have to say, if we will really try to hear their voices, is still shocking, scandalous.

Two kinds of American poetry, then—a poetry which is part of the cultural mainstream, its practitioners thoroughly proper and respectable men, writing poems which won for a time both popularity and a place in the high school literature anthologies, but which have had no long-term staying power; and a poetry which is culturally marginal, its principal figures distinctly odd in one way or another, outsiders writing an underground poetry which often was published by the author or not at all, but which has proven in the end far more vital than the works of the mainstream poets. Looking back at the 19th Century, we find it fairly easy to distinguish between these two kinds of poetry, and most of us probably like to imagine that if we had lived in Amherst we would have instantly recognized Emily’s genius. Yet we should remember that it is always much harder to distinguish the Whitmans and the Dickins­ons from the Lowells and Longfellows of one’s own time. Of course the notion that, say, Robert Lowell might turn
out to be the James Russell Lowell of our time is obviously hard for his admirers to accept. And any such prediction can only be offered with great hesitation, for theorizing about how history will see us is always a risky business. But a recognition of certain ongoing patterns in American culture will, I think, help us to understand how and why the two poetic traditions which I have here defined have survived into our own times. The opposition between the New England Worthies on the one side and Whitman and Dickinson on the other suggests a split between a (relatively) elite culture looking to Europe for its forms and norms and centered in certain private Eastern universities, a culture that is academic in all senses of that term (i.e., which claims the right to set cultural standards, as does the French Academy, which finds a home in educational institutions, and which degenerates into a set of empty gestures that have no relevance to real life) and a second culture which seeks to root itself in the lives of common people, a populist culture. This first culture is conservative both socially and politically. It emphasizes standards and speaks in hushed tones of tradition, and while this elite culture may not overtly claim that only people of good birth should be admitted to the sacred precincts of art, many spokesmen for that culture tacitly assume as much. On the other hand, the populist tradition seeks both to bring the arts to the common people and to open itself to the lives of workers and farmers, finding there both new artistic forms and new subject matter.

At times the opposition between these two cultures assumes clear and simple forms: Henry James versus Mark Twain, John Singer Sargent versus Winslow Homer, Elliott Carter versus Woody Guthrie. In poetry, we can see a similar contrast between, say, T.S. Eliot and Carl Sandburg. However, as well as most other modern students of poetry have some difficulty taking Sandburg seriously. But I do believe that there is an authentic American populist poetry in our century, and that this poetry has developed in opposition to a tradition of American academic poetry. To lay bare the forms which this opposition has taken will, however, take some digging.

To understand the 20th Century American poetry wars, we must first recognize that in the 1930s a New Academic Poetry emerged in this country, in the work of a group of poets and critics centered around John Crowe Ransom at Vanderbilt University. The approach to poetry represented by Ransom was carried to other American universities by his students and disciples: Princeton (R.P. Blackmur), Yale (Robert Penn Warren, Cleanth Brooks), the University of Michigan (Austin Warren), the University of Minnesota (Allen Tate). Through various textbooks by Brooks and Warren, especially the famous Understanding Poetry, this group of poet/critics achieved a virtual hegemony over the way poetry was taught in American universities from 1940 until well into the 1960s. The New Academic Poets vastly admired three poets of the immediately preceding generation: T.S. Eliot, Wallace Stevens, and Robert Frost. Eliot, Stevens and Frost had all been touched by the flurries of poetic experimentation which had gone on in American poetry around 1910, and which had been orchestrated largely by Ezra Pound, about whom we will hear more later. This moment of poetic experimentation, which is usually subsumed under the label Imagism, had sought to incorporate and move beyond the poetic possibilities opened up by Whitman and Dickinson in America and by the French Symbolists. Thus, the acclaim which Eliot, Frost, and Stevens received might suggest that in their work the other American tradition, the radically exploratory tradition initiated by Whitman and Dickinson, had become the poetic mainstream. Yet a more skeptical observer (and I would put myself in this camp) might instead speculate that perhaps the function of Eliot, Stevens, and Frost was to tame the energies unleashed by Whitman and Dickinson. The Methodist minister who gave the baccalaureate sermon to my 1953 high school graduating class quoted Eliot at length, and when John F. Kennedy summoned Robert Frost to bless his inauguration it seemed for a moment that the split between poetry and our public life might be at last healed. As these examples suggest, by the 1950s Eliot and Frost had become public personages—perhaps the last examples of a type that extends back to Tennyson. And Stevens, meanwhile, had begun to play a similar role for a more elite audience.

Yet Frost and Eliot won their public acclaim at some cost, Frost—like his admired Emerson—by effectively burying the darker elements in his own character and in his view of the world, and Eliot by quietly giving up the poetic experimentation of The Waste Land in favor of the resonant pieties of Ash Wednesday and the Four Quartets, which have all the limitations of poems that are designed to be ritually intoned on solemn public occasions—I think of Kipling's Recessional, for example, Longfellow's The Psalm of Life and Excelsior or Holmes' The Chambered Nautilus. As for Stevens, he made few compromises, but he did nurture a kind of complacency in his admirers, a sense that the cultivation of a refined, ironic sensibility is the highest goal possible to humankind. These various compromises and/or retreats in turn made possible the even more profound compromises of the next generation of American poets, the generation of John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, and Robert Penn Warren, in whose work the impulse to press against the limits of language and the conventions of poetic discourse gives way to a ritualized reenactment of traditional poetic gestures. In the writing of these New Academic Poets, the retreat is complete: to judge from their work, poetry has no task but to give us that shiver of security we feel when we encounter one of the Eternal Verities, in a form (the sonnet,
perhaps) designed to remind us just how Eternal these Verities actually are.

If the most visible current in 20th Century poetry—i.e., the current represented by Eliot, Frost, Stevens and their various heirs—represented, despite its brief brush with avant garde Modernities, a return to the propriety of the New England Worthies, then what became of the other tradition, the Whitman/Dickinson tradition? In the late 1950s, the almost simultaneous publication of two major anthologies finally allowed poets and critics to answer this question. The first of these anthologies, The New Poets of England and America, edited by Donald Hall, Robert Pack, and Louis Simpson, appeared in 1957. Here, neatly lined up for public display, were what might be called the third generation of the Twentieth Century academic poets. Eliot (the later Eliot that is), Frost, and Stevens had spawned Ransom, Tate, and Warren: these poets had now in turn given birth to a shoal of younger poets. Some of these new poets had already begun to achieve star status by the time the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology was published: Robert Lowell, Howard Nemerov, Richard Wilbur. Others would soon achieve that position: Robert Bly, Adrienne Rich. Collectively the writers I have named define a poetic moment. The career of Robert Lowell seems archetypal of this movement: beginning as a student of Richard Eberhart (a lesser member of the Ransom/Tate generation, but generally sympathetic to their kind of poetry), Lowell traveled at age 21 to Tennessee to study with Allen Tate and then enrolled at Kenyon College to study with John Crowe Ransom. At Kenyon he roomed with Randall Jarrell, who would also become a major figure of this third generation. Lowell’s first full-length book, Lord Weary’s Castle, published in 1946, was instantly hailed by such influential critics as Tate and Jarrell as the work of a major poet, and it won the Pulitzer Prize. By the late 1950s, Lowell as a teacher had already begun to influence slightly younger writers like Sylvia Plath and Anne Sexton, who studied with him at Boston University. These lines of personal filiation suggest the structure of the poetic Establishment which assumed dominance over American poetry by the 1950s; and the publication of the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology both attested to the existence of this Establishment and served to define its boundaries.

Yet only three years later, in 1960, a second anthology, Don Allen’s The New American Poetry, decisively challenged the hegemony of the Establishment represented by Lowell and his friends. Of the 44 poets in Allen’s anthology, not one appears in the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology. And in various prefaces and appendices, Allen and the poets he has assembled make clear their own poetic loyalties. They look back, not to Tate and Ransom, Eliot and Frost, but rather to William Carlos Williams, who throughout a long career had persistently defended the claims of an open, experimental poetry, and above all to William’s lifelong friend and poetic mentor, Ezra Pound, the most important figure in that astonishing opening out of American poetry which came just before World War I. Of course, the poetic establishment had never wholly ignored Pound and Williams. In the official poetic histories current in the 1950s, Pound was seen as having early on done some important work which had climax ed in the ironies of Hugh Selwyn Mauberley. But the new poetry initiated by Pound had really, these histories implied, come to fruition in the work of Eliot, while Pound had meandered off into an interminable, largely unintelligible poem called The Cantos, a work which is only partly redeemed by some flashes of lyric brilliance in the late section called The Pisan Cantos. As for Williams, both Lowell and Jarrell had, in the 1950s, joined in the growing celebration of his homespun good sense. But Allen’s poets, most notably Charles Olson, insisted that not only Lowell and his friends but even Eliot himself had missed the point about Pound, and that the 1950s celebration of Williams had also missed the point: the point being that Pound and Williams had worked out certain radically innovative poetic methods which were still usable, and which offered a starting point for a poetry that would be new not only in its date of composition but in its form and its effect. The poets of Allen’s anthology labelled as academic the poetry they read in the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology. And their own work represented, says Allen in his preface, a total rejection of all those qualities typical of academic verse. With the publication of Allen’s anthology, then, the struggle between the two American poeticities emerged out of the closet, and for a time at least partisans of these two poeties would continue to hurl polemics at each other—usually in print, but sometimes in the streets.

Were the poetry wars of the 1950s and 1960s merely an exhalation of various kinds of hot air, or were some genuine issues there at stake? I think that the difference between the two poetic schools were and are real. In part, these differences were social and regional. It is no accident that Robert Lowell, the leading figure of the third generation, was by birth an archetypal Boston Brahmin, and that many of the other key figures in the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology were/are also products of what political folk like to call the Eastern Establishment (Richard Wilbur, James Merrill, Anthony Hecht, William Meredith). Others were Southerners, (Donald Justice, Vassar Miller) or midwesterners who identified with the socially and poetically conservative styles of the Eastern cultural elites—although some of the midwesterners, notably Robert Bly and James Wright, were in 1957 already laying the foundation for a distinctive middle American poetry. By contrast, almost all the poets of Allen’s anthology aggressively identify themselves with groups standing outside traditional centers of cultural power. Charles Olson, son of a Swedish postal carrier and an Irish Catholic mother, of
fers a convenient contrast to Lowell. Olson had a brush with Harvard as a graduate student, but he quickly put as much distance as possible between himself and this elite institution, and the central figures in his epic *Maximus* are not Boston Brahmins but Gloucester fishermen. So too, poets from the Don Allen anthology like Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and Gregory Corso enthusiastically identified with the poetic tradition represented by Walt Whitman, unsuccessful carpenter and printer and for considerable periods a wanderer of the urban streets. The Allen anthology also includes a large selection of poets from the far West, including such important figures as Robert Duncan, Jack Spicer, Gary Snyder, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and Michael McClure, whereas the closest thing to a Western poet in the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology is Melvin Walker La Follette, who emigrated to California from Indiana. Finally, the Allen anthology includes several poets from socially marginal groups, including Blacks (Leroi Jones, now Amiri Baraka—the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology includes no Blacks) and gays (Frank O’Hara, Robert Duncan, Allen Ginsberg, John Weiners, and probably half a dozen other contributors to the Allen anthology were publically avowed gays, while any gays in the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology were still in the closet). The Allen anthology doesn’t do any better by women poets (four out of 44) than does the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology (seven out of 52). But with this exception the Allen anthology represents a distinct opening out beyond the Eastern establishment, toward socially and geographically marginal groups.

But the differences between the two groups are as much aesthetic and thematic as social. The characteristic poem in the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology tends to be a briskly self-contained unit, rarely more than a page long, squared off in lines of more or less uniform length, often punctuated by end rhymes, and with a last line that seeks a tone of finality, of closure. In contrast, most of the poets in the Allen anthology seem to be writing more or less endless poems—the implicit model is, not the neatly shaped lyrics of Yeats or Frost, but Pound’s *Cantos*. Some of these poets splash their lines all over the page, and these lines often vary in length and seem to be patterned by ear rather than by some identifiable system. Others deliberately run the syntax on through the line breaks, to create an effect that seems more like a jaunty prose than verse. Rather than ending their poems with resounding last lines, the Allen poets seem to be subverting the impulse toward closure—the last lines of their poems are often deliberate throwaways. There is, as Robert Duncan would insist, plenty of rhyme in the Allen anthology, but virtually none of it is end-rhyme. Rather the poets in Allen’s anthology prefer cross-echoes within lines and patterns of vowels and consonants worked out from line to line. Here we have an *open* poetic mode, corresponding to a social, political, and cultural stance that seeks to open itself to all varieties of experience—just as the closed forms of the Hall/Pack/Simpson poets imply an attempt to privilege a finely honed, carefully discriminating way of looking at the world, an aristocratic sensibility distilled through generations of careful tutoring. There are also some important differences in the subjects chosen by the two groups. The Hall/Pack/Simpson poets tend to start with some incident in their personal experience, the psychological implications of which the poet then probes. The poets of the Allen anthology tend instead to start with some bit of lore, historical or ethnographic, and these poets are, paradoxically, far more scholarly than their academic counterparts. Following Pound, the poets of the Allen anthology seek to incorporate history into their verse. Olson, for example, weaves into his poetry his own immense learning concerning geology, ecology, history, and theology, and to read Robert Duncan we must develop at least some knowledge of the Kabbalah. In all these ways, the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology and the Allen anthology defined two distinct approaches to poetry, and in the late 1950s almost all young poets began their careers by committing themselves to one or another of these camps.

In the decade or so after the publication of *The New American Poets*, the poetry wars gradually became less noisy. Some of the Hall/Pack/Simpson poets, including W.S. Merwin, Adrienne Rich, and even Robert Lowell himself, moved toward more open poetic modes. Meanwhile, the aggressively countercultural stance of many of the poets in Allen’s anthology gradually moderated, as the 1960s’ dreams of instant revolution faded: eventually, even Allen Ginsberg cut his hair and bought a sport coat. In *A Controversy of Poets*, an excellent 1963 anthology edited by Paris Leary and Robert Kelly, representatives of the two groups intermingle, and some of them actually seem to be talking to one another. And later still, in *Naked Poetry*, a popular anthology edited by Stephen Berg and Robert Mezey, a merger seems to be occurring. Further, some poets of the period—I think especially of Galway Kinnell, James Wright, Richard Hugo, and William Stafford—seemed to define a genuine middle ground, toward which some poets from the two erstwhile competing groups—Denise Levertov and Gary Snyder from the Allen anthology, Philip Levine and W.S. Merwin from the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology—gradually gravitated. Still, Charles Olson, the most influential of the Allen poets, died in 1970 without ever receiving even a nomination for any of the major literary prizes; and neither Robert Creeley nor Robert Duncan, by broad consensus the most important living members of the open form school, has ever been considered for such a prize either. These exclusions suggest that beneath the surface the old oppositions were still rumbling, and during the 1970s, in poetry as in so many other areas of American
life, the old Establishment gradually tightened ranks. And now, midway into the 1980s, all the evidence suggests that the Establishment is again trying to exclude the other tradition in American poetry from the places where respectable folk dwell, with the result that we are once again on the verge of open warfare.

The opening salvos of the latest American poetry war were fired in 1985, which saw the publication of two major new anthologies of recent poetry. The first of these anthologies was compiled by Helen Vendler, recently appointed Professor of English at Harvard (how this institution continues to haunt us!) and poetry critic of The New Yorker (and if there is a Cultural Establishment in this country, here is its principal journal). This anthology is titled—by deliberate analogy with the various Oxford anthologies which have served to define the canon of English literature—the Harvard Book of Contemporary American Poetry. This collection of contemporary poetry begins with Wallace Stevens, dead since 1955; while it omits Ezra Pound, William Carlos Williams, H.D., and Marianne Moore, all born after Stevens. Among somewhat later (but still dead) poets, the anthology includes all the significant members of what might be called the Lowell Club: Theodore Roethke, Elizabeth Bishop, Randall Jarrell, John Berryman, and Lowell himself. We also find here no less than ten other poets who appear either in the first or the second editions of the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology. By contrast, the anthology omits not only the founding figures in the Pound/Williams/H.D. tradition but also all the significant poets of the middle generation (George Oppen, Louis Zukofsky, Charles Olson, Lorine Niedecker), and it includes only four poets from the Allen anthology—Allen Ginsberg (here included as a token wild man), Gary Snyder (a token representative of the counterculture), Frank O’Hara (a token representative of the New York School), and John Ashbery (a poet who has long since been assimilated by the Establishment). Most strikingly missing are Robert Creeley and Robert Duncan, whom many of us regard as the two finest poets writing today, nor does Vendler have room for such important poets of the other tradition as William Everson, Paul Blackburn, Denise Levertov, Jack Spicer, etc., etc., and the poets under forty in Vendler’s anthology are all also safely academic.

Published almost simultaneously with Vendler’s anthology was another fat book, this one devoted entirely to poets born after 1940, The Morrow Anthology of Younger Poets, edited by Dave Smith and David Bottoms; and this anthology too suggests that after the brief dialogue between the two traditions which seemed to take place in the 1960s, the boundaries between the academic and the experimental wings of American poetry have once again hardened. The poets in the Morrow anthology might also be labelled the American Poetry Review poets, for almost all of them have appeared in this bi-monthly tabloid. The poems both in the anthology and in APR display an astonishing uniformity. In the typical APR/Morrow Anthology poem we are addressed by a voice which speaks in a tone of urgent sincerity. We are often addressed as you, and the subject is some incident from daily life—often an incident that reminds the poet of past such moments, so that the whole is bathed in a glow of nostalgia. The goal of the poem is to make this incident vaguely mysterious, although the precise meaning of the incident (religious? social? moral?) remains undefined. There is relatively little traditional rhyme or meter in these poems, but the rhetorical uniformity suggests that once again a kind of period style has here emerged. That this style is also distinctively academic in character is also suggested by the biographies of the poets in the Smith/Bottoms collection: of the 104 poets here assembled, well over half have advanced degrees from creative writing programs (often from the famous University of Iowa Writer’s Workshop), and three-quarters teach in colleges and universities. All this would not be a problem if in fact the Smith/Bottoms anthology recognized the full range of writing going on in the United States. But in fact the anthology excludes both the rich body of politically conscious writing being created in this country (by, for example, the poets grouped around Hanging Loose magazine), and the large and vital body of experimental poetry by members of the Language group (Barrett Warren, Ron Silliman, Charles Bernstein, etc.), as well as by other experimental writers who are more or less sympathetic to this movement (Gustaf Sobin, Toby Olson, Rachel Du Plessis, Peter Klappert, Joan Retallack, and many others). Of course, an anthology has a right to restrict itself to a certain kind of writing: but the Smith/Bottoms anthology does not openly define its patterns of exclusion, and it pretends to be giving us all the current poetry that is worth our attention. This blind complacency is vividly reminiscent of the tone of the Hall/Pack/Simpson anthology. Implicitly, the Smith/Bottoms anthology once again—like Longfellow, Lowell, and Holmes in the 19th Century, like Ransom and Tate in the 1930s—proclaims that there is a standard of decorum to which all real poetry must live up, a standard that has been established by the better universities. As such, the Morrow anthology once again declares war on the other tradition in American poetry, the tradition of Whitman and Dickinson. Are we due for another counterattack, another New American Poetry which will demonstrate the vitality of this other tradition? I think we are.

Well, what do all these quarrels about the nature and function of poetry have to do with Carroll Terrell, Professor Emeritus of English, the University of Maine? Simply this: Terry has done as much as any human being now alive to ensure that 20th Century poets of the other
tradition, the anti-academic tradition, will receive a fair hearing from academic scholars and critics. As might be suggested by the slippery overtones which the word academic takes on in the previous sentence, there is a paradox here. Terry himself has lived virtually his entire life in the academy. He spends at least six hours a day, often seven days a week, in his office; his circle of friends consists almost entirely of long-time colleagues and former students; he has even made the university his principal heir. A deeper devotion to the academy would be difficult to imagine. Further, Terry early on recognized that in the 20th Century the academy has become virtually our only means of passing on a living culture. The loose communities of avant garde artists (Bohemians) which in the 19th and early 20th Centuries could be found in most major European and American cities have vanished, along with that General Reader once beloved of popular writers. If a poem is to survive today, it must win the attention and the respect of the academy. So today, paradoxically, even an anti-academic poetry must find a place within the academy. Terry early recognized this dilemma, and the effect of his work over the last twenty years has been to secure a place within the academic curriculum for poets like Ezra Pound, William Carlos Williams, H.D., Louis Zukofsky, George Oppen, Charles Reznikoff, Charles Olson, and many more recent poets in the experimental tradition of American poetry. Terry has not worked alone. In particular, the critic Hugh Kenner—whose ten books and numerous articles, including many front page reviews for the New York Times Literary Magazine, have made him one of the two or three most influential living critics in the area of modern literature—has tirelessly defended the significance of the other tradition. Kenner has deeply influenced the editorial policies of the University of California Press, which has published a good many books by and about poets in this other tradition. Still another important figure here is James Laughlin, who founded New Directions Publishers in the 1930s; who has published and kept in print the works of Pound, Williams, H.D., Olson, Lever- tov, Creeley, Duncan, etc., and who has continued to seek out younger experimental writers and offer them a forum. Terry has become a close friend and ally of both Kenner and Laughlin, and he has worked with them to encourage scholarly and critical work on the poets in the other tradition. How this happened and what sort of effects Terry’s work has had— these will be my principal concerns in the rest of this essay.

First, a brief biographical excursus will be useful. Terry was born in 1917 in Richmond, Maine. His mother was a schoolteacher and his father was a shoe cutter, an oc-

occasional farmer, and sometimes a telephone lineman. On a scholarship reserved for bright young men from Rich-

mond, Terry entered Bowdoin in 1934; he left in 1936 to hitchhike around America for two years, and then re-

turned to Bowdoin to graduate in 1940. From Bowdoin he carried away an abiding love of poetry and some skill in Greek and Latin. In 1942, he was drafted into the Army; he went to Officers Candidate School and then spent the rest of the war years in the Caribbean area. Returning to Richmond in 1946, he was immediately drafted to teach high school English. After two years of battling with Rich-

mond farm boys, he came to Orono, intending to pursue an M.A. in English. There he was again immediately drafted to teach, as an Instructor, and for two years he taught five courses a semester while taking graduate courses. In 1950, he received an M.A. in English, submitting a thesis on T.S. Eliot's Gerontion. Terry continued to teach at Orono until 1955, when he took a year off to complete work for a Ph.D. at New York University. Again the focus of his graduate work was T.S. Eliot, and his dissertation surveys all of Eliot’s work. In September, 1956, Terry was back in Orono, where he has remained ever since. And since then—aside perhaps for some early romantic adventures which he prefers not to discuss, and a few trips to visit old friends in Washington, and a monthly poker night with fellow University of Maine faculty, and, recently, an occasional lecture trip to England or the West Coast—Terry has, as far as an outside observer can tell, devoted himself exclusively to his work. For many years he has lived in an apartment in a house owned by Richard Hill, Maine’s well-known expert on wood heating. Terry appears to own nothing except his books, which he generously gives to anyone who asks; a car, which sometimes runs; and a baby grand piano, which he plays with virtually no encouragement. Terry also acquired some land near Augusta after World War II, but a few years ago he gave the land to the University of Maine. For some years before his retirement, he also gave a portion of his salary back to the University. Both the receipts from the sale of the land and the money from his salary have gone into a special fund which Terry has created to ensure that his work will go on after his death.

As this brief biography suggests, the focus of Terry’s early work was T.S. Eliot. By the 1950s, as I have noted earlier, Eliot had become a major presence on the cultural scene, a position that was confirmed by the Nobel Prize which he received in 1948. The respect accorded him had a good deal to do with his willingness to serve as a spokes-
person of political and cultural conservatism. In the late 1920s, he had proclaimed himself a royalist in politics, a classicist in literature, and an Anglo-Catholic in religion, and in the post-war years a resurgent conservatism found all these attitudes congenial. The 1950s saw a steady movement of intellectuals back into the churches—and the higher the church the better, as people like Jacques Maritain and Etienne Gilson demonstrated that subtle thinkers could also be Roman Catholics. Eliot never quite made it
to Rome, but he did make fashionable a kind of religion that was more concerned with preserving a cultural continuity than with sin or redemption. Eliot’s royalism was little more than a gesture, but his self-description suggests that, unlike some of his contemporaries, he saw no need to temper a cultural conservatism with a political radicalism. Further, that Eliot’s most visible poetic disciples—Ransom, Tate, etc.—had revived traditional metrical forms seemed, in the 1950s, proof enough that Eliot’s conservatism was consistent through and through. But this image of Eliot failed to acknowledge that his early poetry is radically experimental, that none of this poetry is particularly classical, and that none of it has much similarity to the work of Ransom and company. Undoubtedly, some scholars of the 1950s turned their attention to Eliot because they shared his political and cultural conservatism. But others found in Eliot a poet whose methods were innovative enough to be exciting, and whose public reputation was sufficiently high so that dissertations on his work could receive a fair hearing. Terry had flirted with the Communist Party in the 1930s and had been a Henry Wallace campaign organizer in the 1948 presidential election, and he has never experienced that dramatic disillusionment, followed by a leap from Far Left to Far Right, experienced by ex-Communists like Whitaker Chambers. Rather Terry remains today a more or less liberal Democrat. Appropriately, therefore, his interest in Eliot was more aesthetic than socio-political. He was drawn to the richness of Eliot’s language, the elegance of his poetic line (essentially an opened-out iambic pentameter), the complex play of his allusions to arcane religious doctrines, and the abrupt juxtapositions for which poems like The Waste Land are famous. And it is to these subjects that Terry’s writings on Eliot are devoted.

Yet Terry—even though he wrote an M.A. thesis and a Ph.D. dissertation on Eliot, even though his students from the early 1960s remember him as at that time still celebrating Eliot as the most exciting modern poet, and even though in his earlier years he himself wrote a fair amount of distinctly Eliotian poetry, most of it never printed—never published any scholarly or critical works on this poet. Instead, in the years from 1955 to 1965, his primary attention gradually shifted from Eliot to Ezra Pound, the poet to whom Eliot had dedicated The Waste Land, there proclaiming Pound Il Miglior Fabbro, the better maker. Terry himself remembers this process as slow, even painful, for his increasing interest in Pound produced an even more intense conflict between his political and his aesthetic sympathies than he had felt during his work on Eliot. If Eliot had a reputation of being a dignified conservative, not only a spokesman for but the embodiment of The Great Tradition, Pound was the man who seemed to have carried all these tendencies too far, whose loathing of Bolshevism had led him to espouse, not Eliot’s royalism (so irrelevant to the modern world as to seem merely a foible) but Fascism, a violent and repressive creed which seemed all too relevant to the modern world, and whose allegiance to Mussolini had turned him into a traitor (during the war he had delivered pro-Fascist radio broadcasts from Rome, directed to American soldiers) and an anti-Semite (he blamed the Jews for starting the war). Indeed, only one fortuitous set of circumstances saved Pound from following to the gallows Lord Haw Haw and other allied citizens who had agreed to do propaganda work for the Axis powers: in 1946 he had been declared insane and therefore unfit to stand trial, and he had then been sent off to St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington. Further, Pound’s poetry had the reputation for being, not merely difficult—the adjective universally applied to Eliot—but unintelligible. But the more intently that Terry looked at Pound’s Cantos, the more convinced he became that others saw the poem as unintelligible only because its method is—far more than Eliot’s, who in this respect is a relatively weak imitator of Pound—radically innovative. Hugh Kenner’s first book on Pound, The Poetry of Ezra Pound, first published in 1951, offered a full explanation of Pound’s ideogrammic method, which proceeds not by conventional Western logic but by juxtaposition of concrete particulars. Not only did Terry find Kenner’s explanation of this method persuasive, but he gradually came to believe, in his own words, that Pound is a much greater poet than Eliot. He also found more and more evidence to suggest that what unsympathetic observers had labelled Pound’s anti-Semitism was in fact a delusional system which had developed in the 1930s and which persisted into the mid-1960s. Afflicted by this delusional system, Pound was, Terry concluded, indeed clinically insane—though harmlessly so, making his continued incarceration in St. Elizabeths unnecessary. But in no way, he also concluded, should Pound’s delusional system be seen as invalidating the poetry. Only at a few brief moments does this system invade the poetry. And except at moments when the delusional system is at work, both Pound as a man and the poetry he created are as sane as we could wish. The conception of Pound which I have here sketched allowed Terry to pursue without inhibition his enthusiasm for the writings of this poet, and by the late 1960s Terry—who was himself now in his early 50s—decided to dedicate the rest of his life to making Pound’s work accessible to readers, with the long term goal of persuading the scholarly establishment that Pound deserves a high and permanent place within the canon of American poetry.

As a first step toward this goal, Terry decided to establish a journal dedicated to the explication of Pound’s poetry. He envisioned this journal as scholarly rather than
critical. The journal would provide readers the information that would allow them to understand Pound’s poetry. Criticism, a reasoned assessment of the value of the poetry, should, Terry believed, come after this scholarly explication. There was (and still is) a curious contradiction in Terry’s thinking on this score. Obviously, he himself had already judged Pound’s poetry, and had declared it great. (I used to think that Pound was the greatest poet since Dante; he likes to say, but now I think he was the greatest poet since Homer.) Yet any systematic attempt to spell out exactly what makes the poetry great (and that enterprise seems to me the chief goal of criticism) was to be excluded from his journal. Instead the goal of the journal would be to give us the facts. (My readers may detect here some echoes of a debate which Terry and I have been conducting for the last ten years, over the respective roles of scholarship and criticism.) With virtually any other poet except perhaps Dante, a journal dedicated solely to the facts would quickly become tedious. Yet the peculiarities of Pound’s poetic method made a focus on the facts appropriate. As long ago as the 1940s, Eliot himself, Pound’s most famous disciple, had complained that Pound writes as if he expected all his readers to know everyone that he knew, to have read every book that he had read, etc. A typical page of Pound’s Cantos consists of phrases from such languages as Greek, Latin, French, and Chinese as well as English, along with a flood of decontextualized allusions:

Great bulk, huge mass, thesaurus; 
Ecbatan, the clock ticks and fades out 
The bride awaiting the god’s touch; Ecbatan, 
City of patterned streets; again the vision: 
Down in the viae stradae, toga’d the crowd, and 
arm’d 
Rushing on populous business, 
and from the parapet looked down 
and North was Egypt, 
the celestial Nile, blue deep, 
cutting low barren land, 
Old men and camels 
working the water-wheels; 
Measureless seas and stars 
Iamblichus’ light, 
the souls ascending 
Sparks like a partridge covey, 
Like the “ciocco,” brand struck in the game. 
“Et omniformis”; Air, fire, the pale soft light. 
Topaz I manage, and three sorts of blue; 
but on the barb of time.

The first questions any reader asks about poetry like this are, Where or what is Ecbatan anyway? And who was Iamblichus, and what did he say about light? And what do those phrases in Latin and (apparently) Italian mean? Terry’s scholarly journal would, he resolved, assemble all the information necessary to provide answers to questions such as these. Initially, he envisioned the journal as running for ten years, with three issues a year. In that period, he estimated, the journal would be able to bring together all the facts about Pound’s life, his friends, his reading, etc., that would answer any questions that any reader might have about any passage in Pound’s poetry.

By 1971, Terry was ready to move on this project. He established the National Poetry Foundation as a nonprofit corporation, to serve as the official publisher of the journal. He recruited Marilyn Emerick, English department secretary, as an unofficial co-conspirator. (Any editor spends inordinate amounts of time writing letters, and Marilyn estimates that she has typed an average of ten letters for Terry every workday since 1971, for a total of something like 39,000 letters, along with numerous grant proposals, manuscripts, etc.) He then recruited as senior editors two internationally famous figures in Pound studies: Hugh Kenner, who had followed up his 1951 The Poetry of Ezra Pound (in between he had also published major books on Joyce, Eliot, and Wyndham Lewis) with the massive The Pound Era (1971), a book that makes a systematic effort to establish Pound as the most important English language poet of the 20th Century. Kenner’s book had been greeted by enthusiastic reviews in the New York Times Book Review and other mass circulation publications, an unusual fate for a work of literary scholarship. The book itself is also not only subtle in its argument and comprehensive in the way it places Pound in a broad cultural context, but also engaging in its method of presentation—quite simply, it is good fun. Terry began to correspond with Kenner shortly after the publication of The Pound Era, and the title and editorial focus of the journal were worked out in these letters. In effect, Terry’s journal would carry on the project initiated by Kenner’s book—the project of persuading the literary world that Pound’s poetry is central to our culture. A few years later, in the mid-1970s, Kenner moved from the University of California to become Andrew Mellon Professor of Literature at Johns Hopkins, and since their return to the East the Kenner family has vacationed in Maine every summer, often in the guest house next door to Dick Hill’s house on the Stillwater River, and today Kenner and Terry often talk over plans for the journal during these visits to Maine. As a second senior editor, Terry recruited an equally influential figure, but this time
from Europe rather than America: Eva Hesse, translator of Pound's _Cantos_ into German, editor of an extremely influential collection of critical studies titled *New Approaches to Ezra Pound* (1969), and author of an enormous and properly Germanic *Kulturgeschichte* commentary on Pound's work, neo-Marxist in its orientation, and entitled *Ezra Pound: Von Sinn Und Wahnsinn* (1978). These senior editors were invited to send in contributions by themselves and by their students and associates. But Terry would do the real editorial work out of his Orono office. In consultation with Kenner, Hesse, and other Pound scholars, Terry decided to call the new journal *Paideuma*, a Greek word which Pound had borrowed from the German anthropologist Frobenius, to describe the *tangle or complex of the intertwined ideas of any period*, ideas which Pound sees, not as inert, but as *in action*. Just as Pound's _Cantos_ had assembled, collage-like, various radiant gists which encode the large patterns of human culture, so *Paideuma* would trace the grizzly roots of *[the] ideas that are in action* within Pound's poetry. The first issue of *Paideuma*, now a collector's item, was printed in 1972 by the University of Maine Press, and shortly thereafter went out to a select group of less than 100 initial subscribers, most of them recruited by direct mail. The first issue contained so many typos that Terry resolved never again to send to press a copy of the journal before someone other than himself had read it. (This early on became the job of Nancy Nolde, wife of history professor John Nolde, and since 1975 Terry's halftime research assistant.) But the first issue also won warm letters of applause from many established Pound scholars. Within five years the subscription list had grown to 800, with readers in such exotic regions as Jordan, Poland, Nigeria, India, and Japan as well as Europe and the United States. By the mid-1970s the production system for *Paideuma* was also in full gear, with copy typeset on an IBM composer (first by Sharon Stover and more recently by Marie Alpert) in an office next door to Terry's, and then printed at the University of Maine Press. By the mid-1970s, then, *Paideuma* was on its way, full steam. And by this point Terry was ready to think about some new projects. In 1974 he launched a book series, with the publication of James Wilhelm's *Dante and Pound*. And in the mid-1970s Terry also organized the first of what has now become a series of conferences, designed to bring to Orono the scholars who read and write for *Paideuma*.

It was, I suspect, largely these conferences which brought about the next major shift in Terry's life. The first conference that Terry organized took place in Orono in the summer of 1975, in commemoration of Pound's 90th birthday. The participants included a few people who had been drawn to Pound by his Fascist politics. But by the mid-1970s that sort of Poundian had become very rare. Instead, most of the participants were scholars and critics interested in the specifically verbal qualities of Pound's poetry. But also mixed among the participants were more than a few poets. Usually the world of the poet and the world of the literary scholar remain distinct, but early on Terry learned (somewhat to his surprise, I suspect) that the readers of *Paideuma* included poets as well as scholars. For example, Robert Duncan, whom I have already identified as a major figure in the Don Allen wing of contemporary poetry, was an early subscriber. And one of the most visible participants in the 1975 Pound conference was Louis Zukofsky, a poet who had known Pound well in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and whose own writing is grounded in certain poetic principles that he had learned from Pound. Zukofsky had remained throughout his life a rigorously experimental poet, toiling away in almost total obscurity, while supporting himself by teaching composition and introductory literature courses at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. Not for Zukofsky the compromises of an Eliot or a MacLeish. Gifted with perhaps the most subtle musical sense of any 20th Century writer, he pursued rigorously a series of careful linguistic experiments, culminating in the 802 page epic _A_, a lifelong project which builds from a Poundian collage poetics into its monumentally opaque late sections, in which language becomes less a system of meanings than a plastic material substance which the poet bends into shapes rich and strange. None of Zukofsky's books had ever sold more than a few hundred copies. Yet his work was deeply admired by many poets of the Allen anthology group, especially Creeley, Duncan, and Levertov. And here he was, living and breathing in Orono, Maine, (I have a vivid image of him from that conference, an impossibly elegant little man, stooping to inspect a flower—he was at that time working on what would become his last book, _80 Flowers_), and eloquently affirming to anyone who would listen his sense that Pound was the source of the most important formal innovations to occur in poetry in our century.

With the advent of Louis Zukofsky into Terry's world, our story begins to come full circle. Zukofsky's visit to the conference was arranged by Hugh Kenner, who had come to know Zukofsky well. At the time of the 1975 conference, Terry actually knew almost nothing of Zukofsky's work—indeed, in the materials about the conference printed in the Fall-Winter 1975 issue of *Paideuma*, Zukofsky's name is consistently misspelled as Zukfksi. Yet after the conference Terry began to read Zukofsky's poetry in earnest, for during a conversation at the 1975 conference, he had, at Kenner's instigation, agreed to devote a special issue of *Paideuma* to Zukofsky. (This special issue was published in late 1978, a few months after Zukofsky died.) Terry's burgeoning interest in Zukofsky seems to me interesting in several ways. Zukofsky was a Jew, a committed Marxist (although
never a party member) in the 1930s, and generally left-liberal in his politics even in his later years. Zukofsky did not ignore Pound’s Fascism or his predilection for anti-Semitic rhetoric. He simply said that these were not the issue, and that the poetry, far from expressing a Fascist view of the world, actually liberates language in unprecedented ways. In this respect, Zukofsky helped to confirm Terry’s own judgment of Pound. Further, the example of Zukofsky also demonstrated to Terry that the traditional view of Pound as begetting Eliot, who begat Tate and Ransom, who begat Lowell and Berryman might be only half correct at best—that along with this lineage there is a parallel line of descent from Pound to Williams and Zukofsky (Williams was nearer Pound’s age than Zukofsky, but he developed as a poet relatively late, and in this respect Williams and Zukofsky were spiritual contemporaries as well as close artistic associates—together they founded the poetic movement which they called Objectiveism) and thence to Creeley, Levertov, Duncan, and the other poets of the Allen anthology. Allen excludes Zukofsky from his anthology by reason of age, but nevertheless he salutes the poet in his introduction. And Zukofsky also belongs with these poets in his position outside the poetic mainstream, his commitment to the open text, his insistence upon abiding by Pound’s maxim to Make it New, and his willingness to accept the public indifference which is experienced by any poet who seeks to push against the limits of a safe style. The example of Zukofsky suggested to Terry the existence of something which he soon began to call the Pound-Williams tradition and later still the Pound/H.D./Williams tradition—a tradition which seems to stand in sharp opposition to what might be called the Pound-Eliot tradition. Terry never explicitly repudiated Eliot. Rather he simply turned his attention more and more to poets like Zukofsky, the outsiders, the contemporary poets who have refused to accept the authority of the Academy, and increasingly he saw Pound as the ancestor of these poets.

To understand this shift in Terry’s view of Pound and modern poetry, it will be useful to look briefly at the two figures which Terry now links with Pound, as the three ancestors of this alternative tradition: William Carlos Williams and H.D. Both had been close friends of Pound—indeed, the three had grown up together in Philadelphia. But Pound went off to Europe while Williams stayed home, to pursue a dual career of medical doctor and poet in northern New Jersey. Around 1920, both Pound and Eliot suddenly became very visible figures in America, as representatives of a sophisticated, European-oriented poetry. At this point Williams assertively defined himself in opposition to what they (especially Eliot) represented. Instead Williams called for a poetry rooted in the local ground, a poetry that would take its language, not from books, but from the mouths of Polish mothers. William’s nationalism and populism may seem to link him with such poets as Sandburg and Vachel Lindsay. Yet he was deeply suspicious of the bombastic rhetoric characteristic of these poets. Instead he remained faithful to Pound’s demand for a language that adheres as closely as possible to the physical contours of things, rather than assuming heroic poses. Williams thus can be seen as a kind of populist Pound, and when we put his poetry beside Pound’s we can begin to see how much populism there is in Pound’s own poetry. Yet to his contemporaries Williams seemed an anomalous and marginal figure. The current celebration of William’s poetry makes it hard for us to remember that at a time when Eliot and Sandburg enjoyed very different but equally large public reputations, Williams remained almost entirely unknown. Not until he was more than 70 years old did he begin to find even a moderately large audience or to win any of those prizes which we like to give our poets. Unlike Williams, H.D. (her full name was Hilda Doolittle) followed Pound to Europe and spent most of her life there. Just before World War I Pound renamed her H. D. Imagiste, and under this name she had a period of fame in the years around World War I, as the archetypal Imagist poet. But by the late 1930s she had slipped into obscurity, and the magnificent poetry which she wrote during the years after World War II was, at the time of its initial publication, almost totally ignored. If the danger for Williams was the possibility that he might slip into the bombastic nationalism of a Sandburg, the danger for H.D. was preciosity. Her sensibility seems, at times, self-indulgently sensitive, refined to the point where she becomes only a tingling network of nerves. Yet her commitment to the open poetic forms pioneered by Pound in the end saves her work, and her later work develops a woman-centered poetic mode which has proved enormously fruitful to later feminist poets. But once again we see in H.D. a poet who preserves her integrity only by withdrawing from the literary marketplace, to become a kind of 20th Century Dickinson. In their very different ways, then, both Williams and H.D. demonstrate that in the 20th Century the other poetic tradition remains other, and to invoke a Pound/H.D./Williams tradition is to invite Pound to join them beyond the fringe, where they can pursue together the passionate quest of poetry, while leaving the Nobel Prizes to Eliot and his friends.

Terry’s burgeoning interest in the Pound/H.D./Williams tradition soon issued in a series of new projects. In 1979 he devoted a special issue of Paideuma to Basil Bunting, an English poet who had, like Zukofsky, gone to Pound’s home in Italy during the late 1920s, to work with the Master. Bunting’s career had followed a path parallel to Zukofsky’s: he too had worked on in almost total isolation for many years, finally winning some measure of recognition for his extraordinary late poem, Briggflatts.
A year later came a special issue on George Oppen, which I guest-edited. Oppen too had belonged to the Pound circle in the late 1920s, but had abandoned not only this group but poetry itself in the mid-1930s, to become a Communist Party activist. Only in the late 1950s, when he himself was well into his 40s, did Oppen return to poetry, to begin a second career which produced some of the most resonant poetry in our century. Oppen had won a Pulitzer Prize in 1969, but even so the special issue represented the first sustained critical examination of his work. Terry followed up each of these three special issues of *Paideuma* by publishing in book form collections of critical and scholarly writing on these poets, as part of what he called the *Man and Poet* series. (A problem in the title became apparent as soon as Terry decided to devote volumes in this series to May Sarton and H.D.) By the early 1980s he had decided to spin off the series of special issues into a new journal, to be devoted to poets in the Pound/H.D./Williams tradition. The title of this new journal came to him one night in a dream: *Sagetrich*, a pseudo-German word which Pound made up and which denotes both the wisdom of the tribe and the tale of the tribe, as well as, perhaps wise dream. The first issue of this new journal came out in 1982 and subscriptions for it have built steadily since that time. In the early 1980s, Terry also decided to make the *Man/Woman and Poet* series an independent enterprise, and set himself the goal of publishing one volume a year in this series, with each volume containing the scholarly, biographical, bibliographical, and critical materials necessary to allow readers to place the poet's work within the poetic tradition. The third volume in the series, edited by Constance Hunting, is devoted to May Sarton, who is an anomaly in this setting, since her poetry is neither particularly experimental nor particularly neglected. But the other volumes either published or planned are all devoted to poets who emerged before World War II and who worked in the *other* tradition: Charles Reznikoff, Patrick Kavanaugh, William Carlos Williams, H.D., Charles Olson, Hugh MacDiarmid, and David Jones. Nor has Terry limited his work on these poets to editing and publishing material on them. In the summer of 1983 he hosted the centennial William Carlos Williams conference, an event that brought to Orono not only most of the major critics working in modern American poetry but several major poets as well, including Allen Ginsberg and Robert Creeley. Writing in *Sulfur* magazine, Marjorie Perloff, recently appointed to an endowed chair in American Literature at Stanford, described this conference as a total joy, and added: I have been asking myself for years why Terry Terrell always manages to orchestrate such superb conferences. No state papers, already heard at other conferences, are presented. Everyone who is there is genuinely interested in the subject, in this case Williams (in the past, most often Pound). Defectors are in the minority... What is Terry's secret? Partly, no doubt, the particularity of the conference subject so that the complaints about smorgasbord, heard at the Humanities Institute, don't apply. But this is only part of the story. More important, I think, is that, unlike... other conferences... the Maine symposium was nobody's ego trip. Power, authority, prestige—the ruling principles at most conferences—don't operate here. If Ginsberg and Kenner were speakers, so were any number of unknown graduate students. At Orono, everyone participates in the discussions. There is no elitist governing board, as is the case in the Humanities Institute, and I don't know of anyone who has written on Williams and genuinely wanted to give a paper who was not invited to do so. People come from all over the country (indeed, from all over the world) because they are genuinely interested in William Carlos Williams and because they will come away having learned something new. It is a rare instance of art triumphing over academe. And in June, 1986, Terry will follow up the Williams conference by hosting the centennial H.D. conference on the Orono campus, an event that is also certain to bring to the University widespread publicity.

In the meantime, Terry has also continued or initiated a variety of other enterprises. Many of these enterprises center on Ezra Pound. Sometime in the mid-1970s, Terry conceived the goal of assembling a *Companion* to Pound's *Cantos*, a line by line commentary which readers could keep beside them as they read, to recontextualize Pound's allusions and to identify the sources of all the bits and pieces that Pound has collaged together. Much of the material in the *Companion* could, Terry realized, come from the pages of *Paideuma*, but he himself would have to fill in the gaps and to find some way of pulling all this material together. From 1975 to 1985 Terry devoted an average of three or four hours a day to working on the *Companion*. The first volume of this massive work was published by the University of California Press in 1981, and the second volume came out in 1985. These two volumes have established Terry as not only an editor of Poundian scholarship but a major Pound scholar in his own right. Throughout this period Terry has also continued to edit *Paideuma*, and to publish a series of book-length studies of Pound, at the rate of approximately one book a year. (In a recent essay on Pound published in *The New York Review of Books*, Alfred Kazin describes himself as surrounded by books on Pound, and lists eight specific titles. Half of the books that he mentions were published in Orono.) In 1983, Terry's work with Pound came to some sort of climax when he hosted the Centennial Pound Conference at Orono, an event that drew Pound scholars and poets from all over the world.

In the meantime too, Terry has also launched several new ventures. He is at last fulfilling a life-long dream of becoming a publisher not only of scholarly and critical works on poetry but of original poetry. As early as the late 1970s he had begun such publication in a small way, reprinting a small collection by Maine poet Virgil Geddes,
and issuing a chap-book by Denis Goacher, a longtime associate of Pound. Then in 1982 Cid Corman came to the Orono Campus for a poetry reading. Corman has a solid reputation as a poet, but he is best known as the editor of Origin, a magazine which had featured work of Charles Olson, Louis Zukofsky, and Robert Creeley in the early 1950s, when these poets were totally unknown. In 1983 Corman was in the process of moving to Japan, and he was planning to suspend publication of Origin. But Terry offered to take over the business end of the journal, with printing and distribution to be handled in Orono—an offer prompted in large measure by the fact that Origin is central to the history of the Pound tradition in American poetry. In the next two years Terry made similar arrangements with two other poetry magazines: Mark Rudman’s Pequod, a journal which emphasizes work by experimental writers who are somewhat younger than the Origin group, and William Packard’s The New York Quarterly, a magazine that seeks to represent all currents in contemporary poetry. Production and distribution of all these journals, as well as of Paideuma and Sagetribe, are now handled out of the National Poetry Foundation office in Neville Hall, an operation ably presided over by Nancy Sisko, its Business Manager. At the same time, Terry has also begun to publish collections of poems by younger poets, at a rate of one a year. Rather than trusting his own taste in selecting these poets, he is inviting established poets of the Pound tradition to select the poets in the series. In 1985, Robert Creeley selected and wrote an introduction for a collection by William Corbett, and this year Allen Ginsberg has selected a collection of work by Edward Marshall. Finally, Terry has in recent years expanded the time which he devotes to his own writing. He has published several reviews or essays about Pound and other poets—most recently, Kenneth Patchen—in such journals as The Boston Review and Contemporary Literature. And within the last year he has, in his late 60s, launched into the writing of a long poem of his own, a unique work which manages to be simultaneously an exploration of life in Maine, a passionate attack on religious, racial, and sexual oppression, and a commentary on Pound’s Cantos. Two installations of this poem have now been published: five more are promised.

What exactly has Terry achieved, in all his various enterprises? One simple statistic may be helpful here. Recently I went through the Modern Language Association Annual Bibliography, which seeks to list all scholarly work on literature, and counted all the items published in 1982 on the poets which Terry has made his own: Pound, H.D., Williams, Zukofsky, Oppen, Reznikoff, Olson, Duncan, Levertoff, etc. Nearly 10 percent of the items published on these writers in 1982 were published at Orono. This figure supports a statement which Cynthia Pondrum, an H.D. scholar from the University of Wisconsin, made to me last summer at the Pound Centennial Conference. The National Poetry Foundation and the University of Maine have, she said, done as much to establish the importance of American literary modernism as any institution in the world. And one can easily translate that statement to read that Terry has done . . . etc. The importance of the kind of poetry we are talking about was evident enough to the poets themselves. But Terry set out to make English teachers, as he likes to say, pay attention—first to Pound, and then to a whole galaxy of poets in the Pound tradition. And he has succeeded. In doing so he has brought together the two great commitments of his life: to poetry, especially to poetry which takes risks and which therefore does not quickly receive its due from the Establishment, and to the University of Maine. In working to win due respect for the poets he has adopted, he has also brought honor to his University, for by now everyone in this country who is interested in Pound and in the poets of the Pound tradition knows and respects the publishing activities of the National Poetry Foundation. I would also like to imagine that Terry could have done what he did only at the University of Maine. He himself is through and through a Mainer, cannily skeptical of the claims of those Harvard folks, a Yankee horse dealer at heart—and this quality has served him well in overseeing the business side of his enterprises. If Terry had been located at a more prestigious university, I suspect that the claims of the 20th Century Establishment poets, the respectable folks—I am thinking of Eliot, Frost, Stevens (with some qualifications here), Roethke, Lowell, etc.—to represent the true tradition of American poetry might have seemed irrefutable. But in part because he had elected to make his home within an institution which is itself on the margin—geographically, fiscally, but culturally too, a public university in a poor and isolated state—Terry was able to identify with and to make his own a poetic heritage which had been rejected by the cultural Establishment. Last summer at the Pound Conference, Terrell Crouch, an English graduate student who had attended almost the entire conference, said to me that he was struck by the sense that the people at the conference loved Terry. And it was true. The people who had come from Japan and Jordan and all over Europe and America to attend the conference—poets like Robert Creeley and Allen Ginsberg, scholars and critics like Hugh Kenner, Donald Davie, and Marjorie Perloff—did and do visibly not only admire but also love Terry. And truth to say, I do too. Ultimately, I suspect this essay is really a letter to Terry. And ultimately, what I really want to say is simply, Thanks.
The Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Fishery of the People’s Republic of China extended an invitation through the Citizen Ambassador Program of People to People International to receive a delegation of agricultural specialists from the United States. The invitation was a chance to meet members of the Chinese agricultural community, to observe their agricultural practices and to discover which of their problems are similar to those in the United States. Professor Forsythe was a member of the delegation.

ADVENTURES IN CHINA

by H. Y. Forsythe, Jr.

As an agricultural scientist, I consider myself extremely fortunate to have been given the opportunity to explore an ancient country with an agrarian society and one billion mouths to feed. What made the adventure even more fascinating was that westerners have not generally had much access to the world’s third largest country. A short term visit would not make any person an authority: every individual sees or looks for different things. My special interests were observing agricultural production, cultural mores, and the people themselves.

Although our agricultural production delegation first visited Taiwan and Hong Kong for a few days, the majority of our time was spent in and around three cities in the People’s Republic of China, the centers of three major crop production areas. Guangzhou, formerly known as Canton, is a city of about five million people located in a warm climate on the Pearl River near the South China Sea. Chengdu, a city of four million people, also has a relatively warm climate but is located in inland Sichuan Province near Tibet. Beijing, or Peking, the capital of the People’s Republic of China, is a more northern city of more than eight million people. The names of these cities are ordinarily encountered only in books and newspapers. Thinking of actually walking on their streets and sidewalks was exciting. A number of our agricultural delegation remembered times past when China was our ally during World War II. We also realized that the People’s Republic has been a communistic country since 1949, that its military forces fought on the side of North Korea in the Korean Conflict in the early 1950s, and that there was a disastrous internal cultural revolution in the late 1960s through the 1970s which set Chinese progress back. Although conditions and philosophies were reported to be changing for the benefit of the people, we were still not certain with what we would be confronted once in the country.

Entering China

Leaving Kowloon in Hong Kong by railroad to enter the People’s Republic of China, we became more apprehensive about what we would encounter. I wondered if the people would be friendly and how much restriction or harassment would be levied on us. A Hong Kong guide was with us on the four-hour train ride and would leave us at Guangzhou in the hands of a Chinese guide from the People’s Republic.

Although I saw no sign indicating our crossing the border between the two countries, it was apparent in which country we were. The first city we saw in the People’s Republic, Shenzhen, was different than those in Taiwan and Hong Kong. The traffic on the main streets was not composed of cars, taxis, motorcycles or even motorscooters, but people and bicycles and, occasionally, a bus. The people’s clothing was generally of white or drab color and commonly not of western style. There were no brightly colored signs or buildings of modern design. New construction of large apartment buildings was apparent everywhere, but the structural designs were all the same. Confirmation of our location came with the
prominent display of the bright red Chinese communistic flag with five gold stars. Here I was, entering a country which I never had the slightest inkling I would ever visit.

Everyone in our agricultural delegation was fascinated by the vast hectares of rice and other crops we saw and by the villages and people we passed. Finally arriving at the train station, we debarked and felt very much alone on an overcast afternoon as we vainly looked for an English word or a westerner. Even colorful advertisements on billboards at the station would have boosted our morale at that point. Our Hong Kong guide had to leave us at customs: our People's Republic guide could only contact us after we passed through customs. Going through various checkpoints was a rather somber event. (After two weeks in China, I reflected on the entrance experience and realized that had we been less apprehensive and more outgoing with the Chinese, the whole process would have been very enjoyable. The people are friendly, and most probably would have responded had we made the first overtures.) Finally, contact was made with three guides who had arrived from the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Fishery in Beijing to be with us during the entire adventure.

We rode three buses through Guangzhou to our hotel. (A delegation size of 37 westerners required two or three Chinese buses at each city in the People's Republic because of the relatively few seats available in a single bus; leg room was not plentiful but the sights we encountered every mile in this ancient country more than offset any discomfort.) We saw some taxis and a few colorful billboards, but many more people and bicycles. Generally on our rides through all three major cities, we encountered the same, although at times a number of trucks or passenger vehicles were on the roads.

**Lodging**

The Guangdong Guest House, where we stayed for four nights, was apparently owned by the government and was not ordinarily meant for western lodgers. The spacious clean lobby was practically deserted when we arrived. In fact, the only times we saw many people in the lobby were once when a red carpet was rolled out, as we were told, for visiting oriental dignitaries, and many cars and vans and even armed police were in the hotel courtyard. On another occasion, the lobby was full because of an oriental tour group staying at the hotel. The five-story hotel in Chengdu, the Golden Bull, was also government-owned and had just been reopened to accommodate our group for three nights. The large, open dining room at the Guangdong Guest House was filled with oriental diners; meals at the Golden Bull were prepared only for our group in the open dining area.

The accommodations at these hotels were pleasant and relatively modern. Television was present in our rooms, although the variety of stations, types of programs, and even times of broadcasting were very limited. I expected to see cultural, educational, and patriotic shows so I was amazed also to see movies made apparently in Japan or Hong Kong which showed western clothes, a different way of living, and even violence. I couldn't understand a word because the speaking was in an oriental language and the subtitles were presented in Chinese. One program I thoroughly enjoyed was a performance by the Peking Opera. The color and expressions were tremendous and enabled the program to cross through any language barriers.

Each room was provided with a large thermos of hot water and tea bags and a carafe of cold water to be used for drinking and brushing teeth. We were cautioned not to drink tap water in our rooms or anywhere else. Additional water and laundry service were available from a hotel floor clerk. At all hotels where we stayed, the young men at the floor stations were not well versed in English, but through sign language, persistence, and occasional help from our guides/interpreters, we usually succeeded in getting and paying for our laundry and in requesting more water, soap or whatever.

The hotel in Beijing was the Toronto-Beijing. Upon first seeing that hotel, we knew that this was not strictly a governmental building. The architecture, both inside and outside the hotel, was more modern and seemed to cater to westerners and other foreign visitors: even the luxurious dining room was partitioned into smaller areas. The floor and desk clerks seemed to have more command of the English language than we had previously encountered. Although we were told that tap water here was drinkable, the previous days in China had thoroughly ingrained in me the belief that tap water was only to be used externally. A day's stay in Japan on our way home finally released me from some of the strange habits I had acquired.

**Agricultural practices**

The primary reason for the visit to the People's Republic of China was to observe and exchange information on agricultural production and research. The first full day in Guangzhou was spent at a regional production center. A short briefing in the headquarters building was the common initial procedure for all these affairs. We sat around the edge of the large room. Tea and sometimes a fruit was served on the small table in front of each of us. Our cups were usually filled often while the interpreters were busy relaying statistics for the production area and being intermediaries in question and answer sessions. After these briefings at the regional production centers, South China Agricultural College, provincial academies of agricultural sciences, Wen Jiang Agricultural School and even the Ministry Agriculture Exhibition Center in Beijing, we were usually transported by bus to see field research plots or production areas.
Clockwise from upper right: Country bridge in Chengdu Province; The Badaling Wall in North Beijing Province; Rice threshing and drying in the country and a meat market, both in Chengdu Province; Pipe smoker.
After the briefing the first day in Guangzhou, we were taken to visit a vegetable production site. This was an experience in which I was extremely interested and in which I had hoped to participate. I was very surprised to see that modern tools and methods of agricultural production were not in use at these sites. As I was to see at other agricultural areas, farming is still being done in China primarily by hand and with hand tools. In the Guangzhou agricultural district, I watched a young lady dressed in drab blue trousers and jacket as she patiently and thoroughly pulled, by hand, weeds from a leafy vegetable patch. Similarly dressed, an older woman was hauling two baskets of produce out of the field; each basket was suspended by ropes from the ends of a bamboo pole riding on her shoulders. This manner of moving things, whether at a construction site or a farm, was very common in most areas to which we were exposed.

Occasionally, we saw workers dressed in more colorful clothes. One such young woman, who was very shy, was harvesting closely planted celery with a small sharp curved knife; she wore a purple velvet jacket, colorful trousers, and red sandals. I did not notice children working in the fields, although often they were present, watching farmers from their doorways or pathways around the field edges. Once I noticed a very small boy standing in a rice field intently watching a young male farmer plowing a field.

**Watering Plants**

At a vegetable planting near Chengdu, which had no irrigation ditches, water was hauled in two large buckets suspended from a bamboo pole on the shoulders of a young woman. Actual watering of plants was accomplished by a number of devices; in most cases a long handled dipper was smoothly and efficiently utilized to move water from buckets or irrigation ditches to water the plants, a very time-consuming task. An ingenious device was constructed from two oversized watering cans and a bamboo pole. Sprinkling of water from both heavy cans was effected simply by a twist of the pole as a man dressed in blue walked through the planting.

**Irrigation**

Irrigation ditches may suggest a highly mechanized system of watering crops. Although I saw systems of small dams and pumps here and there throughout our travels, their primary function seemed to be to get water to the fields. As far as the farmer was concerned, the ditch simply provided a convenient source of water which was placed on plants by handdipping. On the Min River west of Chengdu there is an awesome structure known as the Duijiangyan Irrigation Dam. It was constructed more than 2,000 years ago to assist in control of the river and to divert water for irrigating crops in the surrounding area. It is difficult to imagine how this massive yet intricate structure was put together by hand labor and still remains fully operational and effective.

**Fertilization**

This was one of the agricultural practices where I realized that the Chinese young people are assigned jobs at which our teenagers or preteens would ordinarily balk. One young girl in dark colored trousers and jacket was walking among a dairy cow herd diligently shoving up each manure pile and placing it in a two-wheeled wagon, apparently for incorporation into the soil of some crop field. Animal waste is used extensively for fertilizer in the orient. Although we had heard of *night soil* as a fertilizer, we had confirmation that human excrement was instrumental in plant growth in an incident near a small village near Chengdu. While waiting to board our bus, I noticed two preteen girls standing beside the dirt road with their large two-wheeled tank cart. As they looked at us westerners, I walked near the tank cart with its longhandled dipper expecting to see it full of polluted water. Instead, I was surprised to see that the opening to the tank was splattered with night soil. To this day, I marvel at the tasks some young people are doing in China, and I respect them tremendously.

**Land Utilization**

Crops were being grown wherever there was available land. Seldom was there wasted space among or between the plantings; a narrow dirt walkway or an irrigation ditch constituted the primary pathway for the farmers. A second crop was often growing underneath a trellised crop of long beans; a planting of another vegetable such as broccoli lined the vertical sides of an irrigation ditch and teetered over the algae-covered water. A fruit planting consisting of banana, papaya, and orange trees was so closely spaced that even if motorized equipment were available, it would not be possible to move it through the area. Similar close spacing of orange trees on a steep hill west of Chengdu was also evident. In fact, the only crops we saw in which trees were not crammed into a small space was an apple orchard near Beijing and a persimmon grove north of that city.

Vegetables near the cities were planted close to two or three story houses and to two to three meter tall brick walls surrounding apartment houses; only a meter or so of walk space surrounded the field. (The walls always seemed to be topped by a layer of hard cement in which broken glass had been embedded to discourage unwanted visitors.) In the country, rice and other crop fields came within a meter of the highways or villages. The farmers even seemed to make full agricultural use of a three to four meter wide space between a main highway and a river.

This desire to use every available space to produce food was even more evident in an agricultural district outside
Beijing. A visit to its vegetable producing area revealed numerous large plastic covered greenhouses with internal bamboo supports. Although tomatoes were being grown inside the greenhouses and crucifers outside, even more fascinating was the growing of plants in the half to one meter of space between greenhouses. It was in this district we saw our only dairy herd during two weeks in the People’s Republic. The Holsteins were confined to a very limited area; apparently zero-grazing was practiced and food was brought to the cows.

Plowing

In the warmer areas around Guangzhou and Chengdu, farmers were replanting areas to another crop; three crops in rotation in one space during the year was not uncommon, as we learned. In adjacent fields we saw crops being harvested and land being plowed in preparation for the next crop. Only once in all our exploration did we see mechanized plowing, and this was accomplished by something that looked like a rototiller. The only other forms of plowing involved hard manual labor. One common method consisted of a farmer, a single-bladed plow, and a water buffalo, although we occasionally saw gold oxen being used. Water buffalo were prevalent wherever we visited. Sometimes children were tending individual grazing animals when the animals were not being used for plowing, and occasionally we noted a young man who seemed to be responsible for five or six animals from neighboring farmers. Our delegation was very interested in watching and taking pictures of a water buffalo pulling a single-bladed plow in the field. To our gratification, we finally were given the opportunity for a close look in a vegetable area near Chengdu. The closer we walked to the operation, the more difficult the water buffalo became to handle until finally the exasperated young farmer had to discontinue the operation temporarily. Apparently the animal found us to be as unusual as we found him.

Another technique for plowing an area consisted of the tedious manipulation of a heavy long handled hoe. I admired the calmness and persistence shown by the operators as they took one full stroke to break the ground with the blade and, after a twist of the handle while the hoe was high over the operator’s head in a second full stroke, they smashed the clod with the heavy blunt end of the hoe. This instrument was not only used in some small plots of land, but I watched in amazement as an old man diligently and patiently plowed an area which must have measured at least 10 meters square. Another fascinating technique for plowing with these hoes was observed in a commercial ornamental operation near Chengdu. Preparation of the land was being accomplished by about 10 young women who were diligently hoeing together in a fairly even line. Although most of the laborers were conscientious and dressed rather drably, one young lady looked mischievous; she was dressed much more colorfully and by her laughing demeanor and constant glances at our delegation, I imagined she would have preferred to be enjoying her young life more like our teenagers.

Pest Problems

Being an agricultural entomologist, I was very interested in pest problems. We were told that there were some pests present, but most problems were related to plant diseases. Insects were apparently less of a problem because, in the field explorations, I noted only an occasional pest insect. Rather extensive insect injury was seen on plants inside and outside the greenhouses near Beijing and on some crops in the hills outside Chengdu. Insect control was practiced by use of insecticides, as we were told. We saw one pest control operation near Guangzhou. A young man who was shoeless, barelegged, barearmed, and bareheaded was walking in a narrow irrigation ditch filled with algae-covered water and spraying the crops with a simple three-gallon, hand-pump sprayer, a process which undoubtedly allowed some pesticide to get into the irrigation water. In response to our question concerning pesticide poisoning, the agricultural district leader said that poisoning was rather common. When we visited a regional hospital for a rest stop, it was mentioned that numerous farmers with pesticide poisoning were patients there.

In most all the farming operations we observed, I was impressed with the absence of weeds. Weed control seemed to be effected mostly by pulling weeds by hand or by hoeing. We occasionally observed individuals bent over the crops and patiently pulling up each weed. Another system which probably aided in reducing the abundance of weeds was the practice of continuous cultivation of the fields. We were told that in the areas we visited, a piece of land commonly was planted to at least two, and more likely three, crops a year. The frequent plowing would certainly aid in control of weeds.

Agricultural Research

Most of the agricultural research to which we were exposed at the various research units seemed to be centered around the development of new cultivars for higher yields and resistance to diseases. Visiting some of their field research plots showed us that much higher assistance was being utilized to carry out these objectives. At one site near Beijing, women in work clothes were bagging and labelling sweet potatoes from a yield experiment conducted by the local agricultural district. Those researchers in our delegation involved with State Agricultural Experiment Stations were extremely envious of the seemingly plentiful supply of patient and diligent hands to assist in data collection.

Agricultural Production

We were told that about 80 percent of the Chinese are involved in agriculture and that the country is doing a
much better job now of feeding its billion people, even though 60 to 70 percent of their wages are spent on food. At least one major reason for this success in producing food is the current policy of allowing farmers to sell produce on the free market. After each farmer meets the production goal set by a government agency, any additional yield can be sold, and the profit kept by the farmer. This incentive to earn extra money and gain material items may be the primary reason the farm workers we encountered or observed seemed conscionous and industrious, even in very menial tasks.

No matter where we traveled, whether it was near the hotels in downtown Beijing or along the main dirt road of a small village outside Chengdu, the free market was very much in evidence. Young and old people alike were patienty sitting or standing by baskets of produce which they had just brought in from the fields. Both small and large wicker baskets of leeks, sweet potatoes, radishes, lotus roots, etc., seemed to have been transported to market sites mostly on bicycles or suspended on ropes from a shoulder bamboo pole. Even on our early morning walks on the sidestreets near our hotel in Guangzhou, we encountered very busy sidewalk free markets where meats and vegetables were being sold. I believe that one of the most unusual sights I saw in China was a whole pig being taken to market on the back of a bicycle. (The pig was not a small one either.) The marketing of meat for individual consumption was accomplished, at least in part, in open air places, where large slabs of butchered meat were hung on hooks attached to bamboo frames.

**Construction**

Another activity which seemed to be very much in evidence in the People's Republic of China was construction. Although I was impressed with the new, wide highways in and near Beijing, many other roads on which we traveled were narrow or in the process of being widened. During the entire time we explored the country, I noticed only a few bulldozers and one old steamroller. The actual preparing of the roadbed was accomplished mainly by picks, shovels, and baskets wielded by many young men. At these construction sites it was common to see clusters of workers' bicycles parked at the side of the road. New buildings not yet completed were easy to spot because of an elaborate network of bamboo scaffolding which entirely surrounded each building. Large rooftop cranes to aid in transporting materials to the top were not seen in the places we traveled in Guangzhou or Chengdu. However, they were obvious in Beijing, the capital city. In a town west of Guangzhou, construction methods were also very old. The crushed rocks were being moved by men hauling two-wheeled basket carts. Large half meter by two to three meter concrete slabs were loaded from trucks onto two-wheeled flatbed carts, each of which was then pulled by means of a headband and the hands of a wiry, straining man. The construction of a stone bridge was being assisted by two young women who carried, down the ditch incline, two large stone blocks suspended by ropes from a bamboo pole supported on the shoulders of both women. Hand labor and many busy workers were obvious at every construction site. The People's Republic seemed to be on a building spree.

**Cultural Morés**

Our explorations in this fascinating country seemed to indicate that an economic and cultural reform is truly taking place. Even the people themselves seemed to be different than I expected. Although most people wore white or drab and dark colored clothing, western styles and colors were being adopted by many children and young women. Open-air roadside shops, even in smaller towns, offered brightly colored yarns, material, and clothing. Friendship stores in the major cities, which were originally set up to offer Chinese-made items to foreigners, had opened their doors to their own people, who now have more money to spend on themselves. Modern and colorful items seemed to be in great demand at these stores.

Except occasionally for little children, the Chinese people generally did not initiate a friendly smile, but most seemed genuine in returning our smiles. Two very young girls (about four to six years old) were especially receptive to having their pictures taken by our delegation. They performed admirably, dressed in bright red trousers and jackets, wearing a hint of face rouge, and responding with their school-learned English words of *Hello* and *Good-bye*. Their young father seemed very proud of them.

As our delegation explored agricultural areas not generally accessible to ordinary tourists or to other delegations more interested in industries and cities, we found the Chinese people very curious about westerners. At farms which we visited, the neighborhood children and some of the older people stood nearby and stared at us. Our buses also attracted frequent stares as we rode through many country villages and past farmers working in their fields. To visit a hilltop citrus grove west of Chengdu, all three buses drove up a long winding dirt road. The citrus farm family spent much of the afternoon looking and smiling at us. Through our interpreters, we discovered that no westerners had been there before. We also learned that one older gentleman claimed he had never been off the hill in his lifetime. It seemed that the more we initiated a show of friendliness, the more the Chinese people responded. There was appreciable people-to-people contact on our visits, and I felt that a mutual respect, trust, and interest was being developed.

In each city we had some opportunity to walk through streets near our hotel. The first night in the People's Republic, three of us walked the dimly lit sidestreets. We
were apprehensive about what to expect; however, quickly realized that westerners were not shown as much attention in a city as we showed to our new surroundings. Once we overcame our initial apprehension, it was fascinating to look in open-air shops and restaurants. It was common in the evenings to see older people sitting and talking in doorways and the younger people walking or riding bicycles side by side.

Restrictions

There did not appear to be any restrictions on where we walked. During our travels we saw policemen and security guards, none of whom seemed to be armed, except during the special incident of visiting dignitaries at the Guangdong Guest House. We often encountered the elderly neighborhood patrols, who were designated by a large red arm band. Not once were we approached by any of these officials. A few glances were the only signs of recognition shown us. During our preparational briefing in the United States, we were cautioned that photographs were not to be taken at airports, from airplanes, or at other sensitive areas. Our Chinese guides responded to our questions concerning photographs by saying there were no restrictions.

Images of China

When a westerner thinks of China, hordes of people and bicycles and images of the Great Wall often come to mind first. Although city buses always were filled and sidewalks were often crowded with people at certain times of the day, bicycles seem to be the main means of transportation. On both sides of main streets in the cities, there are wide lanes specifically for bicycle travel. Obedience to laws was in evidence at stoplights, where a red light resulted in waiting bicycles, five to ten wide and deep. Upon a green light, masses of these vehicles would unhurriedly move through the intersection. Occasionally bells would ring out; every bicycle was furnished with a bell. At night, I would see numbers of bicycles on the roads, but never once did I notice any equipped with a light. The bicycle riders showed tremendous patience and caution when they had to maneuver around buses cutting them off at a corner.

Crowds of people also were in evidence, especially at certain times and places — downtown, at a park on a weekend, going to or from work, riding town buses. Being in the vicinity of a middle school when it let out for the day at 5 p.m., we saw huge numbers of uniformed students in white shirts and blue trousers or skirts, entering the roads on bikes or on foot; we saw no school buses. We were not exposed to crowds of people or bicycles everywhere. On some modern highways in Beijing, there were certain daylight hours when we did not see more than a single bicycle or other vehicle.

The Great Wall

No tourist or official delegation can explore the People's Republic of China without a visit to the Great Wall. It is truly an awe-inspiring sight. The fortification was constructed hundreds of years ago in a continuous line across the tops of the steep rugged hills. At the major tourist sight north of Beijing at Badaling, I walked a section of the repaired wall. It might be more appropriate to say I maneuvered, pushed, and flowed with the tremendous number of people also walking the wall. What I found amazing was the predominance of oriental visitors; it appeared that only one of every 20 people was a westerner. By looking at the clothes of the many oriental visitors, I realized the Chinese were also interested in seeing famous places in their own country.

This visit to the Great Wall was near the end of my exploration of a fabulous country and made a truly memorable adventure an even greater experience. I will never forget it.
HARRY KERN
AND THE MAKING
OF THE NEW JAPAN

by Howard B. Schonberger

Some day I hope to start keeping the diary that I should have begun twenty-five years ago, Harry Kern wrote in 1960 to the Harvard Class of 1935, and write a book about my visits to President Nasser (of Egypt), King Saud (of Arabia), the Shah (of Iran), Prime Minister Kishi (of Japan) and the rest. Of all the many contacts he made, those in Japan, he continued, played more part in my life than any other. In turn, Harry Kern played an important role in the restoration of Japan as a modern industrial state allied to the United States in the Cold War. It hardly seems possible going to Tokyo today to realize what a wreck of a city one encountered fourteen years ago. I have since become, Kern joked of his many visits to Japan, a connoisseur of saki, Kyoto gardens, hot baths and geishas (who are not what you think).¹

Who was this obscure man who met with heads of state in Japan and world over? To unravel the mystery of Harry Kern is to uncover some of the most important secrets of U.S. relations with postwar Japan and the dynamics of American foreign policy more generally.

Born in 1911 in Denver, Kern joined Newsweek as an assistant editor after graduating from Harvard and quickly rose to become foreign affairs editor after the war. Affable, ambitious, and with a quick tongue Kern befriended W. Averell Harriman, Wall Street investment banker, skilled diplomat, and a founder and major stockholder in Newsweek. While Secretary of Commerce from 1946 to 1948 Harriman conveyed to Kern his strong concern that some of the initial American endeavors to demilitarize and democratize Japan would leave the U.S. without a strong ally against the spread of communism in China and elsewhere in Asia.²

Under the direction of Kern and Newsweek Tokyo bureau chief Compton Pakenham, an old Japan hand with connections to the Imperial Court, Newsweek assailed throughout 1947 the economic policies of General Douglas MacArthur’s occupation administration called SCAP. Returned from a visit to Japan, Kern hammered away at the theme that the breakup of the big Zaibatsu combines, the purge of Japanese businessmen, the emergence of an aggressive left-wing labor movement, and radicals and incompetents in SCAP were creating economic chaos in Japan and undermining that nation as the fulcrum of an anticomunist policy for all of Asia.³

General MacArthur, a consummate egotist whose staff was vigorously promoting a favorable press for a 1948 presidential bid, was infuriated by the Newsweek articles. He privately and publicly rebutted these charges. The ultraconservative administration of Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru and the Zaibatsu-militarists, the Supreme Commander accurately observed, were deliberately seeking to promote chaos as a way of reversing U.S. policies inimical to their interests. With less justification, he claimed they were not succeeding. Despite requests from Washington for delay, MacArthur proceeded to implement the initial policies for breakup of the Zaibatsu and other reforms of the Japanese business system.⁴

Encouraged by Harriman, Defense Secretary James Forrestal, and Army Undersecretary William Draper, Kern set out to organize a lobby group to pressure MacArthur and his dwindling coterie of defenders in Washington to halt further reform measures and shift U.S. policy toward emphasis on economic recovery and cooperation with the Japanese Old Guard. By the summer of 1948, Kern and some like-minded associates had organized the American Council on Japan (ACJ), the organizational umbrella for what has been termed the Japan Lobby. Unlike the notorious China Lobby that sought aid for the faltering regime of Chiang Kai-chek, the Japan Lobby was a small loosely-knit group operating largely behind the scenes. The chief workhorses in the ACJ were Kern, Pakenham, and Eugene Dooman, counselor to Ambassador to Japan Joseph Grew in the 1930s and a leading State Department advocate during

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the war of retaining the Emperor system and other soft peace policies for Japan. Kern and Dooman persuaded Grew and William Castle, a top Far Eastern specialist under ex-president Herbert Hoover, to become honorary co-chairmen of the ACJ. One of Kern’s most important collaborators in the ACJ was James Lee Kauffman, since 1914 a partner in a Tokyo law firm which represented Ford, RCA, GE, Standard Oil, and every major American investor in prewar Japan.5

The first program of the Japan Lobby was to assist Draper and other top Washington officials in persuading MacArthur to relax the business purge and halt the trustbusting operation. Kern was permitted by Draper to publish in Newsweek a copy of a portion of the classified document on the Zaibatsu dissolution program with the preface that it no longer represented U.S. policy. He also featured an article by Kauffman which attacked trustbusting for leading to the socialization of Japan.6 Kern then provided Senator William F. Knowland with classified documents which the California Republican used on the floor of the Senate to attack the whole reformist orientation of the Occupation. Meanwhile Grew and Dooman were privately making the case on Cold War strategic grounds for a reversal of the Zaibatsu program before the State Department’s policy Planning Staff.7

Forced by the embarrassing Newsweek publicity, Congressional criticism, and further Washington pressures MacArthur finally capitulated in the spring of 1948 and halted further implementation of the trustbusting program. The embittered Supreme Commander laid much of the blame for his defeat at the hands of the Japan Lobby. He attacked Kern as an unethical reporter and a reactionary and called Pakenham a British Fascist. Never again would MacArthur freely exercise the wide prerogatives he had enjoyed in the opening years of the Occupation.8

Flushed with the victory over MacArthur and the reformers in Tokyo and Washington, Kern and his friends pushed for further conservative changes in Occupation policy. The ACJ sponsored a dinner in the fall of 1948 for American business executives at which General Robert L. Eichelberger, former Commander of the Eighth Army and Pentagon consultant, advocated the creation of a large Japanese army (even though that was explicitly prohibited by the famous no-war article 9 of the new MacArthur-sponsored Japanese Constitution). Kern then had Newsweek give the talk extensive coverage.9 Kern prepared a lengthy report in 1949 that circulated throughout the State and Army departments recommending abolition of the reform-oriented Government Section of SCAP. He also urged, contrary to MacArthur’s position, swifter release from the restrictions of the purge orders of the Old Guard so that the Japanese could deal with the Communists in their own way, namely harassment and imprisonment.10

More than in any other area Kern and the ACJ gave close but less publicized attention after 1948 to policies affecting American private investment and trade. The ACJ lobbied in Washington for SCAP to set a uniform and fixed exchange rate for the yen, for a guarantee on the principal and interest on loans to Japanese industry, for revision of tax liability laws to allow American corporations to repossess their Japanese properties written off during the war, and for more pressure on the Japanese government to repeal or amend Japanese tax, patent, and antitrust legislation inimical to foreign investors. The liberal SCAP sponsored labor laws, Kern held, would have to be revised and measures taken to restrict Communists in the trade union movement to encourage the return of foreign investment.11

While publicly phrasing these demands in the language of economic recovery for Japan and the construction of an anticommunist bulwark in the Pacific, Kern, Kauffman, and Dooman represented the commercial interests of numerous large U.S. corporations, most of them clients of Kauffman. Not coincidentally, the ACJ used Kauffman’s law office as its main headquarters. In addition, the ACJ activists were keenly interested in making money from new business ventures in Japan. With Kern handling public relations, Dooman and his friends from the Morale Operations Branch of the Office of Strategic Services worked on the complex details of international business with Japan. Kay Sugahara, Dooman’s closest associate in the OSS (who today, as head of the Fairfield-Maxwell conglomerate, is regarded by the Wall Street Journal as the Nisei Onassis), set up the House of Pearls in Manhattan in 1946 to serve as an office for at least 19 different ventures Dooman and his group attempted to get off the ground during the Occupation period, including shipping, tuna fishing, insurance, copper, pearls, construction, and coal. Most of these ventures failed. But through the contacts and companies established during the Occupation period in Tokyo and Washington, Kern, Kauffman, Dooman, Sugahara, and others in the Japan Lobby became wealthy businessmen who had a continuing impact on U.S. policy toward Japan.12

Kern’s personal influence among Washington policymakers increased as the ACJ expanded its network of Japanese contacts. Kern and Pakenham provided an unofficial channel for numerous right-wing Japanese in and out of the government to circumvent MacArthur and reach their potential allies in the United States. Kern claims to have been on friendly terms with Prime Minister Yoshida. The purged Admiral Nomura Kichisaburo, an active ultranationalist and advocate of rearmament, was entertained by Kern on his many visits to Japan during the Occupation period.13 Just before the outbreak of the Korean War, Kern secretly introduced John Foster Dulles, appointed by President Truman to
negotiate the peace treaty with Japan officially ending the war, with the well-informed Japanese contacts of Compton Pakenham and friends of Dooman, including a chamberlain of the Imperial Household, the chief planner of the National Police Reserve (the euphemism for Japan's new army), and a finance ministry aristocrat who became a director of the World Bank. No doubt Kern's greatest triumph was to convey to Dulles, with whom he carried on a regular correspondence during the peace treaty negotiations, a message from the Emperor criticizing the irresponsible and unrepresentative advisors generally consulted by Americans in Japan after the war and calling for further relaxation of the purge.

The most sensitive problem for Dulles in his treaty negotiations with the Japanese during 1950 and 1951 was over the question of Japanese rearmament and, as earlier, Kern and the Japan Lobby attempted to be helpful. While Dulles repeatedly urged Prime Minister Yoshida to create a force of 350,000 men, one larger than Japan has ever had in the postwar era, Kern sponsored numerous articles in Newsweek calling for revision of the no-war article 9 of the new Japanese constitution and immediate rearmament. When Yoshida continued successfully to resist pressures for a rapid military buildup Kern reassured Dulles that the Japanese were being very helpful in the Korean war effort simply by production of tons of military goods for the U.S. He asked Dulles to assist Toshiba, the GE of Japan (and one of Kauffman's clients), to win contracts for electrical equipment to be used in Korea. He also conveyed to Dulles a message that Japanese intelligence agents, who formerly operated in China, could be recruited by the United States (a program which, in fact, was underway).

Kern and the Japan Lobby also contributed to Dulles's careful effort to avoid any serious controversy in the public and Senate debates over the peace and security treaties with Japan. Kern, Kauffman, and especially Dooman exploited the antiCommunist hysteria of the early 1950s to disarm any potential critics of the treaties and take revenge against old enemies as well. Using Kern's position at Newsweek to publicize their charges, they accused left-wingers in the State Department not only of being responsible for the coming to power of the Chinese Communists in 1949 but almost effecting a quiet version of national revolution in Japan. Dooman, for example, charged before a Senate investigating committee that the initial programs of democratic reform in Japan were similar to those in Russian occupied eastern Europe. Those who were behind trustbusting, he insisted, sought the destruction of Japanese industry in order to open the door to the communists.

At the end of the Occupation in 1952 with Japan securely locked into the Western bloc by the peace and security treaties, Kern abandoned the ACJ. But the peripatetic journalist did maintain contact with his Japan Lobby friends and continue his own and Newsweek's involvement in Japanese affairs. CIA sources told Watergate reporter Carl Bernstein in 1977 that the Agency engaged the services of numerous foreign correspondents and stringers from Newsweek and other magazines after Allen Dulles, John Foster's brother, became Director of the CIA in 1953. Malcolm Muir, Newsweek's editor-in-chief until 1961, said that Kern, while foreign editor until 1956, regularly checked in with various fellows in the CIA. But CIA officials suggested to Bernstein that Kern's dealings with the Agency were more extensive than just debriefings. Edward S. Hunter, a retired CIA man who was a Newsweek Far Eastern correspondent in the late 1940s, told the New York Times that he believed Kern, though not Muir, had been aware of his intelligence connections. In any event Kern told Bernstein that when I went to Washington I would talk to (Secretary of State) Foster Dulles or Allen Dulles about what was going on. We thought it was admirable at the time. We were all on the same side.

Whatever his exact relationship to the CIA while at Newsweek and later, Kern moved in and out of Japan frequently, consulting with a succession of prime ministers and other notable leaders of Japan. Among them, his closest contact was the infamous right-wing politician Kishi Nobusuke. After three years in Sugamo prison as a Class A war criminal suspect, Kishi made a remarkable political comeback within the ranks of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party, helped along the way by laudatory articles in Newsweek prepared by Kern and Pakenham. By 1956, Kishi was foreign minister and the next year prime minister. While Pakenham taught the new premier English, Kern, who left Newsweek in 1956 to operate a public relations firm called Foreign Reports, Inc., advised and assisted him in his relations with the United States.

Seeking to cash in on the many deals between American companies and Japanese government agencies, especially the sale of U.S. military planes to the Defense forces, Kern along with Kishi's press secretary, Kawabe Michio, also established a public relations agency in Tokyo. The PR Japan company conducted some legitimate business but had all the earmarks of an influence peddling operation directed by Kern. In addition to Kawabe, who served as president, Kern enlisted as advisors to his company a former ambassador to the U.S., a future vice president of Mitsubishi Company, the editor of the Japan Times, and the soon to be president of the most powerful business group in Japan, Keidenren.

One of Kern's pet projects, encouraged by Kishi, during the late 1950s and 1960s was promoting Japanese trade with Iran and Saudi Arabia. While still at Newsweek, Kern gave favorable publicity to the 1953 CIA arranged coup that placed Shah Pahlevi on the throne of Iran and ran feature stories on the benevolence of the royal family
in Saudi Arabia. With his ties to the Dulles brothers well-known, Kern had no trouble gaining access to these leaders of the richest oil states in the world. Kern helped arrange meetings between Japanese leaders, including Kishi, and Saudi royalty. The Japanese Foreign Ministry revealed in 1979 that it was one of only 180 subscribers worldwide to Kern’s Foreign Reports (price $10,000 a year) and rated Kern’s opinions and information on the Middle East, especially during the 1973 oil crisis, very highly.21

Given his close relations with Kishi and the highest ranking officials of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party as well as his ties to Japanese business through Foreign Reports, Inc., and PR Japan, it was not surprising that officials at Grumman Corporation in 1969 turned to Kern for assistance in promoting the sale of sophisticated E-2C Hawkeye early warning radar and reconnaissance planes in Japan. Since American companies were not allowed to sell directly to the Japanese government, Grumman had been using the giant Sumitomo as its trading company. But shortly after Kern was hired, Grumman changed its sales agent to the Nissho-Iwai trading company, reputed to be the most unscrupulous in the rough and tumble world of military aircraft sales. Former Grumman vice-president Thomas Cheatham later told the Asahi Shimbun that after meetings arranged by Kern with Kishi, former premier Fukuda Takeo, and the former Director-General of the Japanese Defense Agency, Matsuno Raizo, he had the strong impression that a switch by Grumman to Nissho-Iwai for sales of the E-2C planes was advisable. Kern, who continued as Grumman’s consultant until the Japanese finally decided to purchase the E-2Cs in 1978, joined Cheatham in recommending to company headquarters on Long Island the change to Nissho-Iwai.22

Why Kishi, Matsuno, and Fukuda, still powerhouses in the ruling party of Japan, would have been interested in such a matter neither Cheatham nor Kern explained. But suspicion of political influences and promises of payoffs involved in the Grumman switch was aroused by the revelation in a 1979 U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission report filed by Grumman that Nissho-Iwai had a secret contract with Kern under which he was to receive a staggering 40 percent of Nissho-Iwai’s commission.

As with the recent Lockheed, McDonnell-Douglas, and Boeing company bribery scandals that have cast a lurid pall on Japan’s most prominent politicians, the full truth of the Grumman case (and Kern’s part in it) will probably never be known. Following the SEC report Prime Minister Ohira Masayoshi promised the Japanese people a full and impartial investigation of the new scandal. But his actions aroused suspicion that he was orchestrating a cover-up not only to protect the Liberal-Democratic Party but to hide his own part in the intrigues of several U.S. aircraft companies. As Foreign Minister in the government of Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei (who was indicted in 1975 for receiving over a million dollars from the Lockheed company), Ohira was under intense pressure from the Nixon Administration to purchase Grumman’s E-2Cs and other U.S.-made planes to correct the increasingly serious trade imbalance between the U.S. and Japan. To accommodate the Americans, Japanese editorialists speculated, Ohira may have helped overturn a high level decision to have Japanese companies manufacture their own radar and reconnaissance planes in exchange for political payoffs.24 In any case, as Premier in 1979, Ohira adamantly opposed questioning of Kishi and other suspected Japanese politicians by investigators looking into the Grumman case. Also he backed down on publishing the names of officials found to have accepted questionable payments and he pressured the Diet to de-freeze the appropriation for the purchase of the first E-2Cs at a time when the investigation had scarcely begun. Not surprisingly when the public prosecutors ended their four month probe of the Grumman case none of the politicians or government officials suspected of taking bribes from Nissho-Iwai officials or Kern was indicted. Only two Nissho-Iwai officials were indicted.25

Meanwhile, Kern had brought a $30 million dollar libel suit against Grumman for its report to the SEC on his purported bribery role in the case. While waiting for his case to be heard he repeatedly proclaimed his innocence of any wrongdoing. For the first time since leaving Newsweek he granted interviews to reporters from Japan’s mass circulation dailies who, like most Japanese and Americans, had never heard of Harry Kern before. In these interviews Kern obviously sought to contain the damage to his reputation and his business operations from the Grumman scandal. He touted his leadership of the ACJ during the Occupation and its success in rescuing Japan from the grip of those he considered crackpots and radicals in Tokyo and Washington. At the same time Kern downplayed the work of others in the ACJ and ignored mention of any connections of ACJ members to the CIA or any commercial operations. Unfortunately for the historical as well as legal record, Grumman in 1980 settled Kern’s libel suit out of court for an undisclosed sum.26

Despite the potential implications for American foreign policy and public perception of Japan, there was a virtual blackout of news in the United States about the Grumman scandal and the part Harry Kern played in it. Americans were not provided the information needed to analyze the structure of dependency that had developed between Japan and the United States and specifically how the Grumman scandal was spawned in the United States by a runaway program of arms sales promoted by profit seeking aircraft manufacturers and by successive administrations alarmed by U.S. balance of payments deficits. Nor
were they informed that a top Nixon aide suggested a contribution of one million dollars from the Grumman corporation to the President’s reelection campaign fund in exchange for putting the sale of E-2Cs to Japan on the agenda of the Nixon-Tanaka Honolulu summit meeting of the summer of 1972. 27 Most disturbing, the American public was unable to learn of the influence on recent American foreign policy of such arms merchants as Harry Kern. Kern’s clandestine dealings as a consultant for Grumman involved unethical, if not illegal, transactions with leading Japanese figures. Why were they conducted without interference from CIA, State Department, or other American officials who almost certainly knew of them? Whatever the explanation, the available evidence points to the alarming conclusion that important political decisions in America and Japan were made by men moved by big money and who operated beyond the control of their respective people.

The activities of Harry Kern during and after the Occupation of Japan add an important dimension to understanding how American corporate and ruling circles used their dominant position in the world to attempt to manipulate Japan to serve their own economic and political interests. Kern was less a shaper of U.S. policy than a servant of those in power. As a propagandist at Newsweek and elsewhere for their interests and a conduit to pro-American political and business leaders in Japan and the Middle East during the postwar era, Kern quietly, at least until the Grumman scandal, earned the plaudits of his clients and reaped enormous financial rewards. 28

At the same time Kern’s career raises disturbing questions about the purposes and consequences of postwar American policy for Japan. The reversal of the early reformist orientation of the Occupation and the making of Japan into an economic and military bulwark against communism in Asia required the restoration to power in Japan of a highly reactionary leadership. Those who pointed to the repression, militarism, class tension, and deeply rooted political corruption in postwar Japanese democracy or criticized the structure of military and economic dependency of Japan upon the United States were ignored or faced the threat of being red baited by Kern and his friends. The new Japan which emerged at the end of the Occupation is today a strong economic challenger of the United States and a first-class world power. Americans like Harry Kern cut the new Japan from much the same cloth as the authoritarian, repressive, and corrupt old regimes prior to 1945. It was cloth that complemented their own garb.

Endnotes

9. Harry F. Kern to William V. Pratt, October 30, 1948, Pratt Papers, Naval War College Library, Newport, R.I.
11. Ibid.
14. Henry F. Kern to William V. Pratt, September 8, 1950, Pratt Papers; Watanabe, Takashi, Senryoka no Hicho Zaibatsu Obayake (Tokyo, 1966, 290-297). (My thanks to John Dower for providing this reference in English translation.)
17. Newsweek, April 24, 1950; Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Internal Security Subcommittee (McGarran Committee), Hearings on the Institute for Pacific Relations, 82nd Congress, 2nd Session (1951), 703-754.
FROM THE DISPATCH CASE
Update on Malnutrition in Maine

by Richard Cook

As described in the October, 1985, issue of EXPLORATIONS, a pilot study of a pediatric WIC population in Androscoggin County identified by surveillance data to be at risk for growth deficit, underweight, and overweight was conducted to study the role of malnutrition as a contributing factor to these public health problems. Dietary data analyzed to date indicate no major differences among the populations studied. Of all the children studied, however, inadequate dietary intake levels were documented for vitamin D and zinc, as well as excessive intake levels of total fat, sodium, and sugar. Only 25 percent of the children took vitamin/mineral supplements regularly. Not all parents felt they had enough or the right kinds of foods to feed their children, despite apparently adequate nutrient intake levels calculated from food records. Among the experimental population, it was found that children of parents who reported an inadequate supply of food had significantly lower intakes of protein, thiamin, niacin, iron and folate than those whose parents felt they had enough food.

Presently contributions of nutrients to major and minor food groups and from the breakfast meal are being investigated. Also, questions from a health history questionnaire and additional questions from the dietary habits and preferences questionnaire are being analyzed. Examination of the French ethnic influence will be made.

To date, the need to examine the dietary patterns of these high risk children before WIC intervention has been established as a high priority item. Such State of Maine supported research will begin soon, as data currently collected are still being analyzed.

Courtesy Eric Zelz, Bangor Daily News
Changing Approaches to Protein Structure Determination

by Robert Anderegg

Biotechnology, the science of putting nature's biomolecules to work for us, promises to have as profound and pervasive an impact on all our lives as the computer. One of the most important and best studied classes of these biomolecules are the proteins. Proteins function in an infinite variety of biological processes: structural proteins give the cell shape and strength, protein catalysts called enzymes control virtually every chemical reaction the cell performs, regulatory proteins control genetic expression by turning the appropriate genes on and off. Proteins mediate the metabolism of the food we eat, the detoxification of foreign substances, our entire immune system, our senses of sight, smell, taste, and touch, and even the process of memory itself.

The key to understanding the power of these incredible molecules lies in the determination of their structure. A deceptively simple blueprint — a long chain of small subunits — allows all the variation required to specify whether a protein will be a valuable digestive enzyme or a potent neurotoxin. The subunits are amino acids; twenty amino acids are commonly found in proteins. These simple amino acids are linked together in chains ranging from a few to many hundreds of units long (Figure 1). The variety exhibited by proteins may seem surprising in light of their simple structure, until one considers that a protein 300 amino acids long could have a possible $20^{300}$ structures! Protein structure determination, or sequencing is primarily a matter of figuring out the order of the amino acids in the chain, that is, which of the $20^{300}$ structures is the correct one. What follows is a brief description of conventional protein sequencing methods and some powerful new strategies involving mass spectrometry. Research in the latter area is being conducted in the Chemistry Department at the University of Maine.

Faced with the task of establishing the sequence of amino acids in a protein, the most direct approach one might envision is what is called sequence degradation. Beginning at one end of the protein, usually the amino terminus (Figure 2) one might break off one amino acid, separate it from the rest of the protein chain, and identify it. One could then go back and repeat the procedure for the second amino acid, the third, etc., until the sequence of the entire chain had been determined. That is essentially the approach taken by early protein chemists. Frederick Sanger in 1953 was the first to employ these methods to determine the sequence of insulin, a small protein with two peptide chains, one of 21 residues and one of 30, in an effort which earned him his first Nobel Prize. In the

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subsequent 33 years, hundreds of proteins have been sequenced using some variation of the sequential degradation scheme. The chemistry involved — both to cleave off a single amino acid and to separate and identify it — has been exhaustively studied, optimized, and even automated. One can now buy instruments which perform all the necessary chemistry and generate a computer printout of the sequence of amino acids.

The signal from the amino acid of interest becomes smaller and smaller with each successive cycle, the background becomes larger and larger, until a point is reached where it is no longer possible to distinguish signal from background, and the data become too unreliable to be interpreted. Depending on the skill of the analyst, this usually occurs from 10 to 40 cycles from the start. This means that one has sequenced the first 10-40 cycles in the chain, but can go no further. To sequence beyond this point, one must purify a fragment of the original protein that is somewhat shorter, and begin again.

There have been several recent advances in the sequential degradation technology. Automated sequence analyses can work with extremely small amounts of protein (<$10^{-9}$ moles) and can identify many amino acids in the chain before the signal is lost, but the two basic limitations remain: the need for a free amino terminus and the decrease in reliability as one moves away from the amino terminus. To circumvent these limitations, new methods have been developed, which are based on entirely different strategies than the conventional approach outlined above. Many of the most successful methods are based on mass spectrometry.

Mass spectrometry is an analytical technique which, as the name implies, measures the mass of molecules or fragments of molecules. In its simplest form, the mass spectrometer bombards a sample molecule with a beam of energetic electrons. When an electron collides with the sample, a second electron is ejected from the sample molecule, leaving behind a positively charged and rather energetic ion. This ion breaks apart to form fragments, some of which retain the positive charge. The parent ion and its positively charged fragments are separated, and the mass of each is recorded. The mass spectrum which results is simply a plot of signal intensity (related to the number of each fragment formed) versus mass (related to the size of each fragment). Since molecules fall apart in predictable fashion, one can interpret the mass spectrum, much like putting together the pieces of a puzzle, to determine the structure of the original molecule.

As an example, suppose one wanted to deduce the structure of a small tripeptide using mass spectrometry. The first step must be to bombard the sample with energetic electrons. Unfortunately, in order to get the sample into the instrument, it must be in the gas phase. Since amino acids, peptides, and proteins do not normally evaporate readily, one must make a chemical derivative to assist in the evaporation. There are many possible derivatives from which to choose; one popular variety is shown in Figure 3. While the final derivative is chemically quite different than the starting peptide, the relative position of the amino acid side chains is preserved, and that is the crucial information needed to sequence the peptide. When this derivative is evaporated into the mass spec-

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**Figure 2. Sequential degradation of proteins**

Despite the attractive directness of the sequential degradation method, it has several troublesome limitations. One must always start at one end of the chain, and that end must have a free amino (-NH$_2$) group. The chemical reactions that cleave off the single amino acid require the amine. While most proteins occurring in nature have such a group, many do not. For example, in some small peptide antibiotics and toxins, the chain closes back upon itself to form a ring. There is no longer a free end of the chain at which to begin the sequential degradation. In other instances, after a protein is synthesized by a cell, it is modified, or processed, by adding a small acyl group to the free amine on the end of the chain. Such proteins are said to be blocked. Again, there is no free amino group to begin the degradation procedure. In such cases, sequential degradation fails as a sequencing technique.

There is a second inherent limitation in the sequential degradation approach. Because one is starting at one end of the chain, the sequence information obtained is very reliable near that end; but as one moves further and further down the chain, the data become less and less reliable. For example, when one cleaves off the very first amino acid, if only 99 percent of the protein molecules actually cleave, on the second cycle, there will still be a few intact protein molecules remaining. When the second amino acid is cleaved off, some of the remaining first amino acid will be carried along. This problem is compounded at each subsequent step. A background of amino acids begins to appear in each cycle of the degradation.
Peptide derivative for mass spectrometry

By bombarding a molecule with electrons, a mass spectrum is obtained. Each line in the spectrum represents a fragment of the molecule; the height of the line is related to the number of ions of that size that were formed: a measure of the ease of formation and the stability of each fragment. As one examines the structure in Figure 4, one can observe two series of fragments: the A-series \((A_1, A_2, A_3)\) and the Z-series \((Z_1, Z_2)\). As different chemical bonds in the molecule are broken, different fragments arise. From the mass of the \(A_1\) fragment, the side chain of the first amino acid can be deduced. Since there are only 20 possibilities for this side chain, the task is rather simple. For example, the \(A_1\) ion in Figure 4 is at mass 204. If one subtracts off the mass of the \(\text{CF}_3\cdot\text{CD}_2\cdot\text{NH}\cdot\text{CH}\) group, one is left with a side chain mass of 91. Only phenylalanine has this mass for its side chain. The mass of the fragment labeled \(A_2\) provides information about the first two amino acids. Since we have identified the first amino acid from the \(A_1\) ion, \(A_2\) gives us the mass of the second amino acid. The \(A_3\) ion in Figure 4 is at mass 367. After subtracting off the \(\text{CF}_3\cdot\text{CD}_2\cdot\text{NH}\cdot\text{CH}_2\cdot\text{NH}\cdot\text{CH}\) and the mass of \(R_1\), we are left with a mass of 119, the mass of the derivatized aspartic acid side chain. Similarly, knowing \(A_1\) and \(A_2\), the mass of the \(A_3\) fragment tells us which amino acid was in the third position, alanine in Figure 4. The fragments arising from the other end of the peptide - the Z series fragments - can be used in a like fashion to deduce the sequence of the peptide starting on the right-hand end and working toward the left. The mass of the \(Z_1\) fragment tells us the right most amino acid side chain (alanine). The mass of the \(Z_2\) fragment allows us to deduce the penultimate residue on the right, etc. Obviously, these two series of fragments provide redundant information where they overlap. A single mass spectrum provides more than enough information to establish the sequence of the tripeptide.

Three amino acids make a rather small peptide; what happens when one goes to larger peptides? The strategy with larger peptides is to divide and conquer. The large peptide is first broken down randomly (using chemical or enzymatic agents) into a set of small fragments. This mixture of fragments is derivatized as before and then injected onto a gas chromatograph (GC). The GC separates the small peptide derivatives from each other. As each peptide elutes from GC, it is swept into the mass spectrometer, where the mass spectrum is recorded. The sequence of each of the peptides can be deduced from the mass spectrum as was done in Figure 4. Finally, all the pieces can be overlapped to generate the original peptide sequence.

This type of approach has been used, for example, in determining the structure of the cyclic pentapeptide malformin C, a peptide which induces malformations in young plants (Figure 5). Because the peptide is cyclic, no
Yet another contender has appeared on the protein sequencing scene in recent years. Due to extremely powerful new methods for sequencing nucleic acids, it has become routine in many laboratories to sequence genes carrying the information that directs a cell to synthesize a protein. If this genetic information can be correctly decoded by the analyst, the sequence of the protein which the cell would synthesize can be deduced without ever isolating the protein itself. Unfortunately, while the decoding of genetic information is a simple task, the resultant protein is not always cooperative. Many proteins undergo modification after they are synthesized (e.g., the blocking reaction described earlier), and these modifications are not indicated in the genetic sequence. Furthermore, a single error in the gene sequence can throw the entire protein sequence out of line, giving rise to a totally incorrect protein sequence. As with the sequential degradation and mass spectrometric approaches, the gene sequencing has strong points and weak points, but because it is based upon entirely different principles than the other two methods, these strengths and weaknesses are different than the strengths and weaknesses of the other methods. And, predictably, a combination of methods helps to take advantage of the strengths and circumvent the weaknesses of each technique. To illustrate, suppose a gene is sequenced and the corresponding protein sequence is predicted. Then suppose the protein is isolated and cleaved using a specific proteolytic enzyme such as trypsin. From the predicted protein sequence, one could predict the size of each fragment that would be produced. If the mass of

![figure 5. Structure of malformin C](image)

Cys-Val
Cys-Val-Leu
   Val-Leu
   Val-Leu-Leu
   Leu-Leu
   Leu-Leu-Cys
   Leu-Cys
   Cys-Cys

![figure 6. Peptides derived from hydrolysis of malformin C and the reconstructed sequence (1).](image)
THE SEARCH FOR EFFECTIVE POLICY
Meeting the Challenge of an Aging Society

by Dennis A. Watkins and Julia M. Watkins

As the population of the United States continues to shift from a youthful to an older society, problems which were formerly only indistinguishable parts of a larger web of social issues are now the driving forces shaping both public and private agendas. Effective policy must address not only the diverse needs of the elderly population in an adequate, equitable and cost-effective manner, but recognize the resource requirements of the larger society within the constraints of an increasingly competitive world economy.

In 1950, there were 12 million persons age 65 plus constituting 8.1 percent of the total U.S. population. By 1980, this number had increased to 25.5 million or 11.3 percent of the population. Projections to 2030 suggest that the population 65 plus years of age will grow to 59 million persons or 19 percent of the total U.S. population (Davis, 1986). Within this expanding group of older persons, a significant increase is occurring in the percentage 75 plus (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984). From 37.5 percent in 1975, this group of vulnerable and frail elderly will increase to almost 50 percent of those age 65 plus by the year 2030.

Coupled with the shift to an older population has been the rapid acceleration in the costs of health care and personal social services of which the elderly are primary consumers. The most expensive health care services, namely hospital and long-term care services, are used in greater proportion by the elderly than other population subgroups.

Overall, $12 billion were spent on health care in the U.S. in 1950. By 1984, this expenditure had increased in nominal dollars to $387 billion. This represents a doubling in the percent of GNP allocated to health care, from 4.6 percent in 1950 to 11 percent in 1984. Nearly one-third of this total expenditure for health care or $116 billion was spent for the care of elderly persons (Pifer, 1986). Given a continuation of current patterns, total U.S. health care expenditures are expected to be $900 billion by 1990 (Freeland and Schendler, 1984). Total federal outlays (including health care) benefiting the elderly were 26.6 percent of the total federal budget in 1981 and nearly 30 percent of the total budget in 1984 (Estes, 1984). Projections to the year 2030 suggest this expenditure category will constitute 60 percent of the annual federal budget (Morrison, 1986). The largest category of expenditures for the elderly is Social Security. Within the categories of Medicare, Medicaid, Social Services Block Grant and the Older American Act, the primary expenditure of funds has been for the services of physicians, hospitals, and nursing homes (Newcomer, et al., 1982).

Both the increasing size of the elderly population and the extent of federal financial outlays for health and social services have stimulated the search for policies adequately designed to address the complexity of an aging society. While the cost of income transfers, health and personal social services for the elderly is the largest single component of the federal budget (Etheredge, 1984), recent studies show that informal care by friends, family, and neighbors is the major source of support for the elderly (Morris and Sherwood, 1984). It has been estimated, for example, that family caregiving is significant for up to 80 percent of elderly persons requiring home health care (S. Brody, et al., 1978), and that for every elderly person cared for in a hospital or nursing home, two similarly impaired persons continue to live in the community with assistance from family, neighbors and friends (Comptroller General of the United States, 1977). While the informal caregiver provides the majority of care, the role of informal supports in the total care effort is unclear (Morris and Sherwood, 1984).

The need to develop strategies for strengthening the capacity of informal supports relative to the burgeoning
group of elderly 75 plus years of age is of increasing importance. For this single group of elderly persons, those with greater chronicity of illness and overall frailness, it is projected that formal care costs, primarily under federal old age policy enactments, will increase 67 percent in the next 15 years. Adding complexity to the issue is the relative weakness of informal support systems, in the lives of substantial numbers of the very old. The dilemma for social policy is clear: costs of formal services necessary to an adequate societal response are escalating dramatically while the caregiving capacity of friends, family and neighbors is at risk of being overburdened, is in diminishing supply, and is often unprepared for the tasks it may be called upon to undertake (Brody 1979, 1985; Morris and Sherwood, 1984; Treas, 1977).

Although the elderly recently have approached societal norms relative to income standing, substantial numbers remain in or near poverty levels. In 1981, 15.3 percent of the elderly had incomes below the poverty level, compared with 14 percent for the population as a whole (Davis, 1986). While more elderly persons may be in a position to pay for more of their health and personal service needs, the financial costs are not distributed evenly. Davis (1986) shows that . . . Those with incomes below $3,000 paid 10.2 percent of their income in health care in 1977 as contrasted with 1.7 percent of income for those with incomes above $15,000 (p. 231.).

The compelling issue to be examined relative to social policy is the interface of the two systems of care. Neither one system nor the other should be the exclusive focus for policy initiatives since this ignores the potential synergy between the two. Rather, the fundamental social policy task is, on one hand, to accomplish increased efficiency and effectiveness of the formal system without disrupting the strengths or exacerbating the limitations of the informal system. On the other hand, the policy task is one of strengthening informal supports by maximizing the quality of the interface with the formal system. The points of interface, how they are initiated and sustained within the context of changing need patterns of the elderly individual and changing caregiving capacities of the informal support system, become a primary policy consideration.

This project was designed to research and critically evaluate current social legislation and policy requisites that support the interface of formal and informal systems in addressing the care needs of the elderly population. The research objectives were as follows:

• To examine the nature and extent to which major social legislation benefiting the elderly, i.e., Social Security Retirement, Medicare, Medicaid, Supplemental Security Income, Social Services Block Grant, Older Americans Act Title III - Social Services, and Food Stamps are supportive of a beneficial interface of formal and informal systems of care;

• To determine the extent to which social policies beneficial to the formal/informal interface may be implemented and accomplish their intended goals;

• To develop an analytic framework for examining the quality of interface of formal and informal systems, and

• To suggest how the informal/formal interface can be strengthened by new policy formulations and modifications of current policy.

Procedures for the project employed methodological techniques ranging from a qualitative analytic review to a quantitative data collection procedure.

To focus discussion, the analytic framework for social policy consists of four dimensions across which choices are exercised in the decision making process (Burns, 1956; Gilbert and Specht, 1972):

Beneficiary The policy choice of who is eligible to receive a benefit and by what criteria the eligible beneficiary is identified.

Type of provision The nature of the benefit, i.e., cash, in-kind, services, or power and opportunities. The policy choice relates to consumer choice and the criteria set forth for achieving equity and social justice.

Delivery system The policy choice of how the benefit will be delivered to the eligible beneficiary. Systems are dichotomized as centralized or decentralized.

Funding The policy choice of how a provision will be funded and what will be the source of those funds.

The Environment of Social Policy

The interface of the informal and formal support systems is best understood within the context of the larger social, political, and economic environments. These environments are currently experiencing major turbulence with direct implications for the informal and formal support systems.

The informal support system is most frequently identified as neighbors, friends, and family, including spouse, living children, and siblings, which form a resource pool upon which the elderly person may draw to meet a variety of social, emotional, financial, physical and health care needs. Major changes occurring within the informal support system with implications for the interface of formal and informal systems are the changing role of women and the changing structure of the family, including its size.

Women, particularly adult daughters, continue to be the primary caretakers of elderly family members (Hendricks and Hendricks, 1977). They are now in the workforce more often than ever before (57 percent of all women 45-54 years of age in 1978 versus 11 percent in 1940) and find themselves in multiple and often conflicting roles of mother to their own children, wife to their husbands, daughter/caretaker to their own aging parents
or those of their spouse, and worker employed outside the home.

The three and even four generation family is not uncommon. Frequently, women who are elderly by chronological age at 65 plus years are the caretakers of parents and parents-in-law who are 85 plus years. In a national survey of older Americans, it was found that of all persons over 65, ten percent had a child over the age of 65 (NRTA-AARP, 1981). In addition to multiple role conflicts, women in the middle are often caught between values which support working outside of the home and those which support the traditional view that care of the elderly is the responsibility of women (Brody, 1979, 1983). Social policy initiatives have done little to support the needs of women as they carry out the caregiving function within the family context (Brody, 1979).

Statistics indicate that families are changing, but not necessarily dissolving. Divorce is common, but so is remarriage. According to the Wingspread Report (1978), Even if the family has experienced difficulty in fulfilling traditional roles, like the socialization of young children, there is little evidence that any other institution has stepped in to replace the family (p. 4). Adult daughters who work outside the home continue to care for elderly family members, foregoing recreation and leisure time rather than drawing upon other institutions to fulfill this responsibility (Cantor, 1983). Families are smaller and thus the number of persons in the kinship circle to call upon for meeting care needs is smaller than in previous generations (Brody, 1985; Treas, 1977).

The formal support system consists of those formally organized, hierarchically arranged, and professionally delivered benefits/services usually under the auspices of governmental or voluntary service agencies. This system, which developed primarily out of the social security legislation of 1935, is undergoing profound changes with legislative and provider focus on cost containment, decentralization, and privatization as central themes.

Within the formal system, the principal driving force for change has been cost containment. With the elderly population utilizing health and social services in greater proportion than other population subgroups, the impact in terms of fewer services available and increased out-of-pocket expenses is substantial. Within an environment dominated by cost containment, issues of service quality, equity, and access become concerns for substantial numbers of the elderly, particularly those who are low income.

Of the various methods suggested and currently utilized to promote cost containment, the outcomes are uncertain relative to the elderly population and the interface of the formal and informal support systems. Primary among the methods utilized for cost containment have been curtailment of the range of services, prospective rate setting for providers, increased beneficiary cost sharing, intensive enforcement of regulations under existing policies, increased competition in service provision, and higher premiums for insurance coverage (Rabin and Haske, 1985; Brecher and Knickman, 1985).

The accelerated devolution of administrative authority and funding of programs from the federal to state and local levels of government is a second force of change with implications for the interface of formal and informal support systems. The current pace and scope of decentralization suggests a possible shift of ownership from federal to state levels of government. The degree of decentralization is unknown, but the dimensions of this shift of ownership include the following: financial responsibility, goal setting, service selection, eligibility determination, and program management (Estes and Newcomer, 1984).

The fundamental question in this regard is whether or not the federal government will abdicate its social responsibility for vulnerable populations, including the elderly. Will states indeed assume the ownership of programs and commit sufficient resources to them? What will happen to the poor and vulnerable under state determined systems that are inclusive of goal setting, and service selection? On the other hand, will the greater state tendency to experiment and innovate lead to the development of programs which may serve as models for other states and at the same time stimulate federal government reform?

The third development having significant implications for the delivery of formal services has been the privatization of the social/health care system (Rabin and Haske, 1985). The relative advantage in the marketplace is assumed by those individuals and organizations who are experienced in dealing with profit and cost-minimization rationale. This is seen in the example of the integrated service provider who in providing services to the elderly is able to respond to the regulatory constraints of a cost-contained environment. By requiring the movement of patients into the lowest cost service as the needs of the person allow, an ownership interest in the spectrum of cost-differentiated services is maintained (Rabin and Haske, 1985). An illustration of this is the hospital that now offers outpatient as well as long-term-care services in addition to traditional acute-care services. Since private providers may select their patient/clientele, how the elderly will fare under increased privatization is a major issue for examination of the informal/formal interface.

Findings

Considerable discussion and research has been directed recently toward clarifying the reciprocal roles and functions of formal and informal support systems (S. Brody, et al., 1978; Froland, et al., 1979; Froland, 1980; Brody 1985; Treas, 1977; Morris and Sherwood, 1984). In addition, several studies have examined the impact of informal supports on maintaining levels of well-being of the
elderly (S. Brody, et al., 1978; Wan and Weissert, 1981) and on the mix of formal/informal supports utilized by the elderly (Spivack and Capitman, 1984). The former research has attempted to capture the nature of informal supports, their availability to the elderly person over time, and the types of support they provide. The latter studies have focused considerable attention on the effectiveness of the informal support system as a buffer between the elderly person and risks of institutionalization and on the relative merits of formal/informal supports substituting or complementing one another in the care of the elderly.

While the research findings are inconclusive in some respects, trends are emerging with direct importance for the interface relationship of the two systems of care. It is clear that informal supports provide for the vast majority of care needs of the elderly population (Shanas, 1979; Brody, 1983; Morris and Sherwood, 1984). It is becoming increasingly clear also that the informal supports are readily available to many elderly persons and that they are amazingly resilient in their care-giving response. Furthermore, within the context of the family as an informal support, caring for an elderly family member is being viewed as normative (Brody, 1983).

Policy makers have expressed concern that readily available formal support systems would usurp the responsibility of family, friends and neighbors for providing care to elderly persons. In fact, this concern has been advanced as a reason for cutting back on formal services. Taking issue with this stance, Brody (1979) asks the important question, At what point does the expectation of filial responsibility become social irresponsibility? (p. 1830). The research evidence, including the analysis contained in the Landscape Report (1978), does not support this assertion. Wan and Weissert (1981) found that social support actually mitigated deterioration in health status and reduced the risks of institutionalization - and thus the need for high-cost formal support services. Findings of Morris and Sherwood (1984) suggested that formal supports were ancillary to informal care givers who provide the majority of services needed by the vulnerable elderly. Furthermore, if formal services were available, only six percent of the informal helpers surveyed by Morris and Sherwood (1984) stated they would give up their helping role. National evaluation data of community-based long-term-care projects have shown in general that the introduction of formal services does not reduce the amount of informal care provided by family, friends and neighbors. However, in some projects evaluated it was found that a strong informal system correlated with increased formal service utilization. Furthermore, the elderly person in these instances had fewer unmet needs (Spivack and Capitman, 1984).

While the informal support system may be readily available and resilient to the care giving demands of an increasingly elderly population, it is not without its limitations. These prompt the need for a beneficial interface with the formal system as an important policy consideration.

Looking for a moment at the limitations, it is possible to develop a more precise understanding of the reciprocal and complementary roles of the formal and informal system. Froland (1980) suggested that a primary limitation of informal support is its lack of availability to substantial numbers of persons and the disinclination of some people to call on it for assistance. In addition, continuity of help over time with repeated requests for assistance, and a lack of knowledge about how to assist, are further obstacles to effectiveness of the informal support system.

The formal support system with its grounding in the principles of equity and social justice has limitations related to system and cost, and lack of a particularistic focus on the individual. Furthermore, as noted by Froland (1980), the formal system is generally unresponsive and fails to promote involvement in the decision-making process.

What roles, if any, distinguish the formal from the informal system and in what ways might the two interface in an effective, productive manner? A mailed questionnaire survey of State Agencies on Aging as part of this project showed relatively high agreement that the primary roles for the formal system were mediator, referral agent, coordinator of care, and source of cash benefits. Least appropriate for the formal system was providing for socio-emotional care needs. The informal system was viewed as most appropriate to provide care for socio-emotional needs and for basic activities of daily living.

These findings, based on a 65 percent response rate of the 50 State Agencies on Aging, suggest that the provision of cash benefits (income) remains the responsibility of the formal system. The findings also suggest support for other research data that indicates a coordination and facilitating role for the formal system. Policy initiatives, therefore, should seek to further clarify these functions in the context of a supportive interface of the two systems of care.

Legislation

The social legislation with importance specifically to the elderly population has been formulated with a bias toward institutional care and the medical model of intervention (Butler, 1979). The introduction of increased home-based and community-based care is a relatively recent phenomenon, deriving support from the legislative mandate of the Older Americans Act as amended in 1978, to develop greater capacity and foster the development of comprehensive and coordinated service systems to serve older individuals . . . and provide a continuum of care for the vulnerable elderly. (Sec. 301(a)).

Attempts to address the mandates of the Older Americans Act stimulated national demonstration projects —
Channeling Demonstrations and Community Based Long Term Care projects which have only recently come to completion. These projects represented a departure from the institutional bias, but were based on waivers of funding provisions of the Medicaid and Medicare programs. Preliminary evaluation data available at this time suggest inconclusive results from the projects.

For those projects, however, in which specific goals included working with the informal support system, findings were encouraging. Spivack and Capitman (1984) report that in general, formal care did not erode the informal care giving system. Supplementation of the informal system by the formal system was found to be important for those elderly for whom a choice between remaining at home or entering an institution would be a reality in the near future.

For the social legislation examined in this project, State Agencies on Aging suggested changes that would contribute to a more effective interface of formal and informal support systems. In summary these were as follows:

**Medicaid**
- expand waiver provisions to include financial support in the form of tax credits or federal subsidies to family caretakers.
- provide medicaid coverage for case management and day care services.
- revise the medical model criteria and income guidelines to include all social security recipients.

**Medicare**
- expand coverage to include adult day care and respite care programs.
- simplify regulations so elderly population can understand more easily.
- include provision for community-based long-term care with tax credits, deductions, and/or payment to informal care givers.

**Older Americans Act — Title III**
- eligibility determination based on need (health status) rather than income.
- funding channeled to informal care givers.

**Social Services Block Grant**
- increased levels of funding.
- funds directed to community based care, specifically for respite, hospice and family services.

For the two primary income programs, Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and Old Age Survivors and Disability Insurance (OASDI), increased payment levels were suggested. For SSI, respondents underlined the importance of dropping the 1/3 benefit reduction for those recipients not living alone.

**Policy Options**

For this research, the search for effective policy has revolved around one fundamental question: what policies promote the formal/informal interface? Before this question can be addressed, several cautionary points are in need of discussion. A Point of interface initiated by a simple substitution of informal for formal support should not be the thrust of policy modification or initiatives. A simplistic policy of substitution ignores the necessary floor or base support of formal services or income provision which is required to prevent premature institutionalization and maintain at the very least a minimally satisfactory quality of life in the community. This floor is prerequisite to enhancing the ability of the informal system to emerge, develop and be maintained in an effective manner.

Social policy which views the formal system as a last resort support mechanism ignores a potential synergy, albeit a difficult state to achieve. In this view, the formal support system is activated too late to accomplish the intended goals of preventing premature institutionalization and supporting a higher quality of life. Furthermore, the likelihood is increased that the informal support system will be exhausted and overextended before equilibrium can be restored.

Thirdly, attempts to develop incentives that will encourage informal caretakers to continue or initiate care giving behavior represent a misapplication of incentive policies. Since it has been shown that a significant portion of care is already provided by the informal system, it is doubtful that existing caregivers would be motivated to provide increased levels of care. Moreover, their care giving response is based on values that support filial responsibility for the care of elderly family members. For the small portion of potential caregivers who are unable or have chosen not to provide care, does an incentive raise an issue of economic gain as a priority over filial responsibility and to what extent do issues of quality become a focus of increased attention? A more appropriate application of incentive policies should be directed toward the formal system, perhaps further enhancing the synergy of the interface.

The four dimensions of social policy provide a framework for capturing the issues as well as the options relative to the formal/informal interface. Emerging from the insights provided by the State Agencies on Aging, the general literature and the review of social legislation are the directions for new policy formulations.

**Beneficiary**

Social legislation tends to be highly prescriptive in setting forth eligibility criteria. Moreover, the prescriptive-ness usually focuses on an individual as the beneficiary with little or no attention to others in the individual’s social context. A beneficial interface of formal and informal support systems suggests the expansion of the concept of designated beneficiary to include members of the informal system. No longer viewed as exogenous to the system, in-
formal caregivers become legitimate participants in the caregiving function and the view of the formal care system as one of last resort is tempered. Furthermore, the issue of substitution of the formal for the informal system is minimized.

The inclusion of informal caregivers within the definition of beneficiary is a policy response that formally recognizes and supports the role of women as caregivers. When the woman has other roles to fill, as is generally the case, or when the kinship network is thin, the formal system can function in ways so that needs of the individual do not go unmet. At the same time the gap filling function does not supplant the care that informal caregivers provide.

Under policies of decentralization and cost-containment the critical questions relate both to states’ ability to provide resources once available through the federal government and to provide services driven by need as opposed to cost. The potential result of too few resources coupled with the increased income level of many elderly persons is increasing reliance on a two-tier system, one for those who can pay, and one for those who cannot.

Inclusion of the informal system in the definition of beneficiary would require major changes in existing social policy. With such inclusion, however, the formal system could function in a capacity building role to the informal system, thus maximizing the use of scarce, cost-contained service dollars. In the short term, costs may exceed current levels where the beneficiary is defined as a single client. However, in the long term, the increased numbers of sophisticated informal caregivers and concomitantly the greater interactional experience of formal with informal caregivers should lead to lower costs, particularly within a cost-contained environment.

Form of benefit.

Service and income programs based in current social legislation are form specific. That is, the type of benefit is usually singular and specified by the legislation. Needs, however, are not always adequately met by a single form of benefit. The exception is when the level of cash benefit is high enough to allow consumer choice, assuming that an adequate array of services is available from which to choose and purchase services.

To support a beneficial interface of formal and informal systems given the assumption of an expanded definition of beneficiary, an appropriate mix of forms is called for. The policy focus changes from form specific to multiple forms of provision to meet a particular need, depending upon the strengths and limitations of the informal system at any given point in time. For example, a home health care benefit might be provided directly by an agency, the informal caregiver may be trained to provide the service and subsequently receive a tax credit or direct cash pay-

ment for doing so, a voucher may be used by the informal caregiver to purchase a given number of units of service, or cash may be used in the same way. The form of the benefit thus follows the need of the informal system and can be changed in a timely way depending upon circumstances of the informal system and characteristics of the delivery system.

Given the issues of cost containment, a prospective cap on the benefit pool may be desirable. The cap may also encourage innovation at the state or local levels under a decentralized delivery system.

The relative advantage of a pool of benefits is that different forms of a benefit may be activated as individual and informal system needs change. The informal caregivers have greater latitude to respond appropriately as they monitor care needs. The various roles of the informal system would be defined as related to the form of benefit being utilized.

Delivery system

The delivery system is characterized by a bias toward formal and institutional forms of care. In general, formal social policy supports centralization, professionalization, and services to meet acute care needs. The interface of formal and informal support systems takes place at a decentralized point. To occur in a beneficial way, centralized, formal policies must be flexible enough to allow local service providers to promote the interface. They also must provide a floor or base of benefit to assure stability and continuity of care giving efforts.

Increased flexibility in the delivery system may be achieved through decentralization. However, without an established benefit floor, and carried to the extreme, it risks the stigmatizing and inequitable side effects of a two-tier system of care as states and localities are unable to provide appropriate levels of resources.

Within the context of decentralization and the development of a systems interface, there is a need to reexamine the role of coordination and the various mechanisms by which it is achieved. Furthermore, as the informal support system develops its caregiving capacity, a major reexamination of policies and regulations of certification, licensure, and liability is necessary.

Increased flexibility at the local/state delivery level addresses in a positive way the competitive and conflictive service boundary questions. These are in part a function of rigidity in resource allocation. Flexibility stimulates innovative solutions in which the participants engage in a positive sum game to take advantage of opportunities to draw on and integrate the resources of the informal system into shared participation with the formal system.

Funding

The sources of funds supporting programs for the elderly have been varied but usually are viewed as either
public, tax-supported funds or private, voluntary contributions. However, at the level of program implementation this apparent dichotomy is not nearly so clear. To assume an expanded definition of beneficiary and a pool of benefit forms from which to draw, suggests funding questions of who pays, how programs are supported, and from what source(s) funds are generated. While it is not possible in this context to discuss the concepts of co-payment, long-term care insurance, tax credits, relative responsibility and estate recovery as mechanisms for funding programs, they are acknowledged as important in the current environment of cost-containment and privatization.

Generally, funding is attached to a specific program and cannot be shifted to support another program even though the need for the latter may be greater and funds for its implementation in shorter supply. This lack of flexibility is a barrier to provision of services based on need and to maximizing appropriate use of scarce funds.

In a manner parallel to the pooling of forms of benefit, funding in support of programs must also be highly flexible. That is, to achieve a beneficial interface of formal and informal support systems, funding must respond to changing life circumstances of the expanded beneficiary unit. For example, an unexpected financial crisis in the beneficiary unit may, under current social policies, force expenditure of all personal financial resources and subsequent reliance on a different and perhaps less desirable program. The optimal situation under policies of greater flexibility would allow the service provider to address service needs without moving the beneficiary unit into a new category after having been redefined as eligible under highly specific funding formulae and eligibility criteria.

Finally, flexibility of funding may be used as an incentive for formal systems to promote a beneficial interface with the informal system. Reimbursement procedures might include specific incentives for resources targeted to the informal system.

**Emerging Issues**

The short term perspective, i.e., what is effective social policy given today’s environment, has been the focus of this article. Looking to the future introduces an additional perspective where emerging social policy issues relative to the formal and informal interface acquire new meanings and significance.

As income levels of the elderly increase and become less differentiated from the general population, as health status improves, as the disparity between life expectancy of men and women decreases, and as the structural scarcity of resources continues, it will become more difficult to argue for policies which are defined by age-specific criteria. Thus, the growing obsolescence of age 65 as a point of reference for social policy determination must be acknowledged. Future cost containment elements in social policy might well draw on the preventive impacts of informal supports by insuring full integration into society of the elderly in the third quarter of their life spans. Moreover, the issue of equity in the distribution of resources becomes identified with need criteria as opposed to age. In this context, the concept of interface and its potential generalizability across the life span will be the most significant challenge in the search for effective policy.

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MAINE STATE POLICE

by Robert A. Strong

For several years, the University of Maine’s College of Business Administration has provided managerial assistance to the Maine State Police (MSP). During this period, the college learned that the MSP was interested in conducting a statewide citizen survey on certain aspects of police activities. A special topics class (BUA 645) during the Fall semester of 1985 provided a good opportunity for students in the Master of Business Administration program to combine a purely public service activity with a practical exercise in the design of a research methodology and the analysis of experimental data. The University of Maine therefore offered to conduct the survey for the police at no cost to them except for printing and postage.

The project was a broad success. The classroom activities were useful in discussing fundamentals of research and statistical inference, but the bulk of the learning experience probably occurred outside normal class hours, when the nine graduate students sought to arrive at a consensus on survey format, survey methodology, and administrative details such as printing procedures, envelope stuffing, and mailing.

The survey results received statewide coverage by most television/radio stations and newspapers. Approximately 150 copies of the written report were requested throughout the state.

Background/Previous Research

Figure I depicts the organization of the Maine State Police. The two field divisions, comprised of eight troops, constitute the majority of the uniformed officers. These are also the people with whom the public has the most contact and from whom impressions of the MSP are most likely drawn. Troop G is assigned to the Maine turnpike, while the other seven troops have specific geographic responsibilities within the state.

There have been many previous surveys of the public regarding police agencies. One reason for this is the difficulty in defining police output. Efficiency is normally measured as some ratio of output to input, but measuring the output of a service organization is difficult. How does one measure the number of crimes that were deterred by the presence of an officer? What is the value of a night building check?

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...tions such as these have been a continuing source of frustration to police administrators.

A report¹ commissioned by The President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice mentions the difficult problem of defining the role of the police in modern society. Part of the problem stems from the public’s perception that the primary function of the police is law enforcement. In fact, law enforcement activities are estimated to comprise only 20 percent of the typical policeman’s time.² Lab³ attributes the inaccurate view of the nature of police work to the police themselves. He states:

The inaccurate view of police work as predominately law enforcement is attributable to a few interrelated factors. First, the police themselves view their job as law enforcing. The orientation of training, daily activity, and often, advancement, hinges on detecting offenders and making arrests. Second, due to these job orientations, the police collect and disseminate information primarily on crime and clearance rates. The public, in turn, judges police operations along lines of arrests and convictions. Emphasis, therefore, is placed on law enforcement, the smallest part of police work. Rarely is information available on the service functions handled by police.

In the Maine State Police, approximately 82 percent of a trooper’s day is spent on such non-law enforcement activities as assisting other agencies, speaking engagements, court time, report writing, training, and patrolling. The remaining 18 percent involves investigation of criminal activity.

Previous studies,² e.g., have generally found a positive attitude toward police (ATP), although the degree of satisfaction varies when the sample is stratified by demographics. White⁶ extracts the following from previous ATP studies:

- Whites are more favorable toward police than are Blacks or minorities.
- Older persons tend to report more positive attitudes toward the police than do younger respondents.
- Positive contacts between the public and the police tend to produce improved reported public attitudes, while negative contacts tend to produce the reverse.
- The public’s perception of its local government affects citizens’ responses on public attitude surveys.
- Those individuals who are religious tend to support the police more than those respondents found to be less religious.
This a priori information was useful in constructing the survey instrument.

The survey design process also benefited from published criticism of past ATP surveys, Charles\(^1\) points out two common shortcomings of many such investigations: casual selection of the survey sample and a tendency to ask nonspecific questions.

The first point involves establishing an n (number) of sufficient size to allow statistical inference from the results and, where appropriate, cluster sampling in geographic regions.

The issue of nonspecific questions resulted in much disagreement among the students. Clearly, the results of the survey should provide information that is useful in the police decision-making process. Items that appear to be so what questions should have a specific purpose if they are to be included in the survey instrument, and it took several drafts of the question list before consensus was reached on the merits of each part of the survey.

Charles\(^1\) and White\(^6\) point out the value of measuring the respondents’ attitudes toward other criminal justice and governmental agencies, particularly since other research indicates that the public’s perception of its local government affects its attitude toward the police. The survey draft submitted for approval to the MSP contained such a question, but it was deleted by the police (the only question which they did not want included). The reason given for the deletion was that the MSP was interested in the health of their own organization and did not want to make comparisons that could be politically sensitive.

**Methodology**

*Survey Instrument Design*  A fundamental of business research is the necessity of identifying the problem before considering potential solutions. Management consultants spend much of their time helping firms develop a consensus on the nature of the problem.

This turned out to be a particularly useful learning experience for the class, since the police had some difficulty expressing why they were interested in a public opinion survey and what they hoped to do with the results. Several planning sessions led to the management statements in Figure II.

With this information, the class formed the research question best describing the project as *How do Maine citizens view the role and effectiveness of the Maine State Police?* Four investigative areas were subsequently established:

- the role and effectiveness of current MSP activities;
- changes desired by the public;
- citizen attitudes resulting from contact with a trooper, and
- citizen attitudes toward MSP public relations activities.

Survey questions were then prepared in each area. The survey instrument was pretested locally, revised, and approved by the Chief of the MSP in November, 1985.

*Sample Selection*  After reviewing the statistical implications of various sample sizes, the MSP elected to mail surveys to 3,000 randomly selected individuals throughout the state. It was necessary to ensure that individuals
The primary reasons for conducting a Maine State Police public opinion survey are:

1. To ascertain the perceptions Maine citizens have regarding the functions of the Maine State Police and how effectively those functions are being performed;
2. To ascertain from the public areas of concern that the State Police should be addressing, or should be addressing more effectively;
3. To gather valuable information and insight to assist the agency in formulating its annual mission statement, goals and objectives - key elements in the Policing by Objectives process;
4. To develop a base of information to assist in setting budgetary and enforcement priorities with the Maine Legislature; and,
5. To help the agency build a closer rapport with the people of Maine in order to better respond to their needs.

Figure II. MSP Management Statement

from each troop area were sampled in proportion to the population in the region. The MSP provided a police coverage schedule listing municipalities, towns, and unincorporated areas by troop responsibility. A summary of this information is in Table I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>York</td>
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<td>139666</td>
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<td>303149</td>
<td>209601</td>
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<td>134649</td>
<td>92157</td>
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<td>12.42</td>
<td>26.95</td>
<td>18.14</td>
<td>13.80</td>
<td>13.75</td>
<td>8.19</td>
<td>6.75</td>
<td>100.00</td>
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</table>

Five thousand random names and addresses of Maine citizens were purchased from a national supplier, and by cross-checking zip codes with the troop coverage information, survey recipients were identified. The actual survey documents, color-coded by troop area, were printed in appropriate numbers. After several marathon sessions of stuffing envelopes with the survey, a cover letter from the

Chief, and a stamped return envelope, the material was mailed from Augusta. A chronology of events is in Table II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>EVENT</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 1985</td>
<td>UMO's College of Business Administration offers to conduct the survey for the Maine State Police as a public service project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1985</td>
<td>Fall semester begins. 9 MBA students and one post-graduate student enroll in BUA 645 (Business Research Methods and Problem Solving).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1985</td>
<td>Survey instrument is prepared, pre-tested, and revised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1985</td>
<td>Survey instrument is approved by the Chief of the Maine State Police. Copies are color-coded by troop area and printed in numbers proportional to area population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1985</td>
<td>Random mailing labels are acquired from a supplier and the sample is selected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1986</td>
<td>Surveys are mailed from Augusta. 5th. First response is received in Orono.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1986</td>
<td>3rd. Surveys are mailed from Augusta. 5th. First response is received in Orono. 26th. Data analysis begins. 30th. Data analysis completed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1986</td>
<td>5th. Final briefing to commissioned officers of the MSP at UMO. News release prepared and distributed. Summary results are mailed to survey respondents who requested them (approximately 500 requests).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table III lists usable responses by troop area. It is encouraging to note that the percentage of returns from each troop area is generally consistent with the percentage mailed. This means no area is markedly over- or under-represented in the statewide statistics. Of the 3,000 surveys mailed, approximately 100 were returned by the postal service due to the death or relocation of the addressee. Fifty-eight responses were received too late to be included in the results, and another 42 were returned by respondents who indicated they didn't know enough about the MSP to respond.
TABLE III
RESPONSES BY TROOP AREA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Troop</th>
<th>Surveys Mailed</th>
<th>Percentage Of Total</th>
<th>Surveys Returned*</th>
<th>Percentage Of Returns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>12.42%</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>11.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>26.95%</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>26.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>18.14%</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>15.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>13.80%</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>13.75%</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>14.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>8.19%</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>10.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>6.75%</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>7.35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Usable responses

The results were analyzed with the Statistical Analysis System package at UMO. Table IV is the Executive Summary of the results as presented to the Chief of the Maine State Police. Complete copies of the 62-page report are available from the College of Business Administration. Two themes are evident in the results: Maine's citizens have a very positive view of the professionalism of the MSP, and they strongly favor measures to reduce the incidence of drunk driving.

One area of class concern was the very real potential that intramural competition among the lieutenants commanding the troops would lead to conclusions from statistically insignificant differences. As an example, the first survey question asked respondents to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale how effective they felt the MSP was in responding to the needs of Maine's citizens, with 1 representing not effective and 5 representing extremely effective. All seven troops had mean values in excess of three. A GLM analysis of variance procedure with the Duncan means option was used to test for significant differences among the troops. These sample results are in Table V.

It is easy to envision members of Troop A bragging about being the best, while the Commander of Troop B is certainly concerned about the fact that his troop is at the bottom of the list. Statistically, there is little difference in the troops (at the 5 percent confidence level). One can infer that Troops A and E are viewed as more effective than B, but comparisons beyond that are questionable. This point was stressed at the briefing to troop commanders, and more detailed information about these results was left with police headquarters in Augusta.

Responses to this question regarding overall police effectiveness are consistent with the results of previous ATP studies when the sample is stratified by respondent age. Figure IV is a plot of a linear model with question one as the independent variable and respondent age as the dependent variable. As in other parts of the country, it is apparent that Maine's older citizens tend to give the police high marks for overall effectiveness.

TABLE IV
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Maine citizens have a very positive view of the professionalism of the MSP.
- OUI enforcement is viewed as the most important state police function and also the activity at which the MSP are the most effective.
- Visibility, response time, and civic activity participation are the areas where the public feels the most improvement is needed.
- Crimes against the family and public education efforts are the activities which the public feels are least effective.
- Citizens in the F Troop area are unusually adamant about not wanting more stringent vehicle inspections.
- Citizens in the E Troop area feel non-interstate roads are inadequately patrolled.
- Citizens feel too few vehicles are stopped for speeding. This attitude is present in all troop areas to a marked degree.
- 79% of citizens favor the use of OUI roadblocks.
- 14% of citizens have been stopped at an OUI roadblock. This statistic ranges from a high of 23% in the Troop J area to a low of 9% in the Troop F area.
- 22% of citizens say OUI roadblocks have changed their driving habits. Many respondents indicated that they do not drink, and consequently their habits have not changed. This indicates that the percentage of drinkers whose habits have changed is higher than 22%.
- 69% of citizens have had contact with the MSP. 7% were stopped for a traffic violation in the last six months, and 25% have had MSP contact in the last 6 months.
- Maine citizens strongly believe that crime has increased in the state.
- When people have contact with a trooper, they are extremely impressed with the officer.
- Citizens expect to see 1.6 troopers per hour on the interstate.
- Citizens expect, on average, a trooper to arrive in 19 minutes after an interstate accident. 64% of respondents considered their anticipated interstate response time to be satisfactory.
- Citizens overwhelmingly favor greater efforts to educate students and the public in general.
- 69% of citizens have seen an MSP television announcement; virtually all viewed it favorably.
- The newspaper is the citizen's primary source of information about the MSP.
Table V
ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) of Survey Question 1:

How effective do you think the Maine State Police is in responding to the needs of Maine’s citizens? [1 = not effective, 5 = extremely effective]

Duncan’s Multiple Test Range

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grouping*</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Troop</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3.5870</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3.5514</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3.4758</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3.4474</td>
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<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3.3500</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3.2262</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3.1505</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Means with the same letter are not statistically different. F = 2.51 (significant at 5%)

With most survey results, statements about the level of significance need to be made carefully, since different response rates and question design usually result in varying significance levels. Certain survey questions received particular media attention, such as question 10: In your opinion, should roadblocks be used to check for drivers operating under the influence (OUI)? Six hundred seventeen respondents indicated yes, 155 said no, and 48 others didn’t know. This can be tested as a simple proportion using the test statistic \[\frac{pq}{n}\] where p is the percentage of respondents who answered yes and q is the percentage who answered differently. If we want to be 95 percent certain about statements we make, then

\[
2 \sqrt{\frac{(.743) (.257)}{830}} = 0.03
\]

What this means is that if everyone in the state had been surveyed, we can be 95 percent sure that the results achieved with 830 respondents would not differ by more than 3 percent from the true state-wide attitude.

In some respects, this survey process was like a seemingly healthy person getting a routine physical exam. The State Police did not think they had any serious problem, and it was useful to confirm that fact.

From a public policy perspective, two particularly important survey results emerged: 1, the widespread attitude that drunken drivers need to be discouraged from the road, even if roadblocks are necessary to do so, and 2, the attitude that shortcomings in the MSP are not due to a lack of training or motivation, but rather due to a lack of personnel. There were many unsolicited comments on the surveys expressing the view that the police were understaffed, that high response times were not the officers’ fault, and that each officer had too many miles to cover. These public attitudes should be useful in seeking additional support from the state legislature.

The public’s positive view of the professionalism of the MSP is a morale booster for the troopers; clearly, the police enjoyed the favorable coverage of the survey results in the news media. Sixty-five copies of the survey were requested by the Troopers’ Association after the results were formally presented.

Since 1984, the College of Business Administration has also been involved with a manpower allocation heuristic for the assignment of graduates of the state police academy throughout the state. This year the heuristic has been modified slightly as a consequence of the public’s view that response time is one of the areas in which the greatest improvement is needed. Response time statistics are available by troop area, and this year’s assignments are being made with greater emphasis given to the goal of reducing troop response times that are above the state average.

As a class exercise, this project turned out to be an excellent learning experience. It had the advantages of being a real project with real problems and financial constraints. It also had the merit of being a risky project, one where failure to produce a good product would have had quite negative consequences.
Several people with social science or market research backgrounds asked for additional information about the survey methodology, and we provided detailed information to all these people. The class received a well-deserved compliment from one private-sector researcher, who, having reviewed the survey methodology, made the following statement in a letter: *I think it [the survey] rates as one of the best to emerge from a university on a local issue of importance that I have ever seen, ... and many such surveys have come to my attention in 30 years as a market researcher.*

References


from p. 42


from p. 35

each fragment could be experimentally verified using mass spectrometry, one could be sure no errors or post-translational modifications had occurred. More importantly, if the measured masses did not agree, one could pinpoint where errors or modifications had occurred and could identify blocking groups or other modifications. The combination of methods has been used in the sequencing of several large proteins recently, 1, 3 and holds great promise for the future.

In summary, each of the methods for sequencing proteins — sequential degradation, mass spectrometry, gene sequencing — is a tool in the biochemist's workshop. No single tool, even a very good tool, is right for every job; a craftsman makes use of a variety of tools as the need arises. Similarly, the biochemical craftsman of the future must have as wide a selection of tools as possible at his or her disposal, and must know how and when to make proper use of each.

References


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AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MAINE AT ORONO