

The HIT Clinical Profile of Psychedelic Drug Users

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Abstract: Forty-three psychedelic drug users and 39 non-drug users matched by age, sex, and amount of education, were given the Holtzman Inkblot Technique (HIT). Scores were plotted on the HIT Clinical Profile Sheet. Psychedelic drug users scored significantly higher on Movement, Human, Abstract, Color, Hostility, Pathognomic Verbalization, and Sex. Cluster analysis of HIT variables showed that reality contact was adequate for both groups. Drug users were shown to be more actively imaginative, to demonstrate a greater capacity for empathy, to fantasize more, and are more likely to act-out their feelings and possess more unconscious hostility. Although drug users gave a greater number of deviant responses, profile analysis contraindicates evidence of psychopathology. In general, the drug users were significantly more inner-directed than the non-users. It was found that plotting mean scores on the HIT Clinical Profile Sheet without statistical analyses does not accurately reflect the degree of differences between groups of subjects.

There are two main purposes to the present investigation: one, to further validate and extend the use of the Holtzman Inkblot Technique Clinical Profile Sheet by providing additional group norms; and two, to present a more complete and comprehensive personality description of drug users.

In order to facilitate the clinical interpretation of Holtzman inkblot variables, Megargee and Velez-Diaz (1971) developed a profile sheet similar to that used with the MMPI and CPI. Using Holtzman, Thorpe, Swartz, and Heron's (1961) average adult sample as the basic normative group, means and standard deviations were used to compute T score equivalents for all possible HIT raw scores on each scale. The resulting T scores were then plotted on a profile sheet. After some revisions, the Clinical Form of the HIT Profile Sheet emerged, consisting of 22 scales arranged into six homogeneous and clinically useful clusters.

The present study makes available group norms for psychedelic drug users. In addition, the comparison group of nondrug using college students studied update Holtzman's college norms which were collected in 1957.

A problem with Holtzman's college students concerns his choice of subjects:

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"A majority of the subjects were selected from a large pool of students seeking routine educational or personal counseling from the Testing and Counseling Center" (Holtzman, et al., 1961, p. 89). This poses the question as to whether Holtzman actually obtained a sample of "average" college students.

Research using projective techniques to study the personality characteristics of drug users is sparse. Much of the data on drug users is observational, physiological, based on interviews, and derived from paper and pencil tests. Many of these studies have used individuals who were hospitalized because of drug abuse or some other personality problem, and subjects who were seeking outpatient treatment for drug abuse (Cohen, White, & Schooler, 1971).

The drug users of the present study had no history of hospitalization, were not living with their parents, and had peer group support for their drug-taking. During the period of data collection (Summer, 1967) all had established residence in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco, then a haven for psychedelic drug users.

This study is concerned with investigating the following questions:

1. Do psychedelic drug users differ in important ways from nondrug users?
2. How do drug users compare with non-users on such personality variables

as reality contact, empathy, creative capacity, hostility, and psychopathology?

3. As a group, are psychedelic drug users more disturbed than nondrug users?

4. On inner vs. outer-direction, how do "seasoned" psychedelic drug users compare with nondrug users?

With respect to the last question, Klavetter and Hartung (Note 1) found that drug-naïve individuals were significantly more inner-directed three days after having received a large single dose of LSD. As measured by the Personal Orientation Inventory (POI), they also showed significantly more self-regard, and obtained a significantly higher total self-actualization score. Research on the POI shows that it is largely a measure of inner direction (Klavetter & Mogar, 1967), and that increases in self-actualization tendencies on the POI are negatively correlated with neuroticism and pathology (Shostrom & Knapp, 1966). The question remains as to whether this greater inner direction was temporary or lasting; follow-ups were not conducted. The Klavetter findings also say nothing about how drug users compare with nondrug users on inner directedness. Perhaps the degree of inner direction after LSD is not any different from that found for nondrug users. The present study provides an opportunity to clear up some of these questions.

Method

Psychedelic drug users were defined as subjects who had taken LSD twice or more, were living in the Haight-Ashbury district during the summer of 1967, and had been to college for at least one semester. The Haight-Ashbury was defined by the zip code boundary for that area. The drug users consisted of 43 subjects (26 males and 17 females) whose ages ranged from 18 to 38 with a mean age of 21.9 years. Their college experience ranged from one semester to 6.5 years (mean = 2.4 years). Six subjects reported having received their Bachelor's degrees. The criterion of college experience was used to control for educational level.

The number of LSD trips ranged from 2 to 200 (median = 10). Half of the sub-

jects reported that they had consumed LSD between 2 and 10 times, while only two subjects estimated their use of LSD to have exceeded 100 times. By setting two or more LSD trips as a criterion, the investigators hoped to distinguish those subjects who used, and those who merely tried psychedelic substances. From a questionnaire, it was found that drug subjects did not confine themselves to the use of LSD. They also reported having used marijuana and a large variety of hallucinogens, including some stimulants, depressants, and narcotics. Of some 50 different drugs named, the most commonly used were marijuana (*n* 32), hashish (*n* 23), methadrine (*n* 22), opium (*n* 20), and DMT (*n* 18). The population of this study thus consists of mixed-drug users who have a definite preference for psychedelic-type drugs.

Each of the psychedelic drug users was matched on age, (within one year), sex, and number of college units (within 15 units) with a control subject who had never taken LSD, marijuana, or any other psychedelic substance.

For four of the 43 drug subjects, a matched control could not be found. The number of control subjects was, therefore, 39 (22 males and 17 females). Only nondrug users living in the San Francisco Bay Area were used in the control sample. It was impossible to obtain a control group from the Haight-Ashbury district, since all of the young people screened for the study had tried at least marijuana, and most had tried other drugs. Had nondrug users from the Haight-Ashbury district been available, they would have made a much more desirable control group.

Drug-using subjects were collected by personally requesting their participation in the study. Potential drug-using subjects were approached on the street, in the park, or in communal living places in the Haight-Ashbury. Most of those who met the requirements of the study were tested in a home near the Haight-Ashbury. A few were tested in their own place of residence. Any nondrug using person who could be matched with a drug-using subject served as a control. Control sub-

Table 1
Differences Between Psychedelic Drug Users and Nondrug Using Controls

Holtzman Inkblot Variables	Psychedelic Drug Users		Nondrug Users		<i>t</i> Score <i>df</i> = 80
	Mean	<i>SD</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>	
Reactions to the Stimuli					
Reaction Time (<i>RT</i>)	21.29	11.73	20.18	10.43	
Rejection (<i>R</i>)	1.60	3.68	2.51	3.44	
Manner of Approach and Organization of the Blot					
Location (<i>L</i>)	18.90	12.93	21.46	10.41	
Space (<i>S</i>)	0.41	0.63	0.64	0.65	
Balance (<i>B</i>)	1.15	1.80	0.83	1.29	
Form Definiteness (<i>FD</i>)	71.95	20.32	71.87	15.82	
Reality Contact and Commonality					
Form Appropriateness (<i>FA</i>)	41.73	5.86	40.56	6.04	
Animal (<i>A</i>)	24.66	8.32	27.76	9.63	
Popular (<i>P</i>)	10.45	2.78	10.28	2.44	
Intelligence and Maturity					
Movement (<i>M</i>)	57.35	17.87	46.23	16.81	2.88****
Barrier (<i>Br</i>)	7.76	3.51	6.88	3.09	
Human (<i>H</i>)	30.66	10.59	24.53	8.72	2.83****
Abstract (<i>Ab</i>)	8.90	9.67	2.53	4.27	3.79*****
Emotional Responsivity					
Color (<i>C</i>)	21.54	10.09	17.33	6.71	2.20**
Shading (<i>Sh</i>)	10.88	5.74	10.66	4.88	
Anxiety (<i>Ax</i>)	20.97	11.19	16.74	7.76	1.96*
Hostility (<i>HS</i>)	16.28	8.26	12.25	5.03	2.63***
Penetration (<i>Pn</i>)	4.40	3.36	4.66	3.14	
Psychopathology					
Pathognomic					
Verbalization (<i>V</i>)	28.19	22.44	14.46	10.67	3.47*****
Sex (<i>Sx</i>)	2.23	4.13	.76	1.69	2.07**
Anatomy (<i>At</i>)	3.92	3.92	4.82	4.05	

Nondirectional (two-tailed) tests.

* $p < .10$.

** $p < .05$.

*** $p < .02$.

**** $p < .01$.

***** $p < .001$.

jects included Peace Corps trainees and summer school students at San Francisco State College.

All subjects were individually administered the Holtzman Inkblot Technique by either a male or female examiner. Twenty-two of the drug users were given Form A of the test, while the remaining 21 were given Form B. Although an attempt was made to give each member of a matched pair the same form of the test, four pairs could not be matched this way and received alternate forms.

In order to serve as subjects, drug users

had to be "down," i.e., not have consumed any hallucinogen, amphetamine, or other drug within the preceding 14 hours. The widespread and frequent use of marijuana precluded strict adherence to this 14-hour abstinence requirement. Therefore, the mean time since marijuana use was 10.8 hours, with a range of from one (2 subjects) to 24 hours.

Results

Twenty-one Holtzman inkblot variables were blind-scored by two experienced scorers. Interscorer reliabilities

were found to be high, similar to those reported by Holtzman et al. (1961).

Statistical analysis of Barrier, Penetration, Popular, Reaction Time, Rejection, Balance, Color Naming, and Space are reported by Hartung, McKenna, and Baxter (1970) in a previous study. No significant differences were found on these variables between psychedelic drug users and nondrug controls. The means and standard deviations for these variables, as well as those considered in the present study, are presented in Table 1.

To determine if any of the remaining inkblot variables discriminated between the drug and nondrug users, *t* tests for independent samples were used. Significant differences were found for Movement ($t = 2.88$; $p < .01$), Human ($t = 2.83$; $p < .01$), Abstract ($t = 3.79$; $p < .001$), Color ($t = 2.20$; $p < .05$), Hostility ($t = 2.63$; $p < .02$), Pathognomic Verbalization ($t = 3.47$; $p < .001$), and Sex ($t = 2.07$; $p < .05$). On all these variables, the psychedelic drug users obtained significantly higher scores than did the nondrug users. Table 1 presents the means, standard deviations, and *t* scores for these variables, arranged into meaningful clusters following the method used by Megargee and Velez-Diaz (1971).

Figure 1 shows the groups' mean values for 21 variables¹ plotted on the Clinical Form of the HIT Profile Sheet devised by Megargee et al. (1971). A *t* score of 50 represents the mean value of Holtzman's Average Adults for all 22 scales.

It is common practice with individual profiles to consider a difference of 10 *T* score points or more as reflecting a meaningful change or discrepancy. However, this rule should not be arbitrarily applied to group profiles. Findings from the present study indicate that a *T* score difference of less than five points may actually be very meaningful (e.g., Color, which showed a significant difference between the groups), while a *T* score difference of nine points may have questionable validity (e.g., Anxiety). Consequently, there is no reliable way of determining from inspection of group pro-

files alone whether a change or difference is functionally or statistically significant. A small difference on the profile sheet may actually be more meaningful than a larger difference.

A look at the distribution of the nine most frequently scored categories of Pathognomic Verbalization (*V*) for both groups of subjects shows that Fabulations (*FB*), Fabulized Combinations (*FC*), and Queer Responses (*QR*), contributed most to the total *V* scores of both groups. Although giving significantly fewer deviant verbalizations, nondrug users gave qualitatively the same type of pathognomic responses as did the psychedelic drug users.

Discussion

Reality Contact

The scales in cluster III on the profile sheet show that reality contact is adequate for both psychedelic and nondrug users. The slightly below average *T* score on Form Appropriateness (*FA*) and elevation on Popular (*P*), show that the imaginative capacity of both groups is grounded in reality. The above average Animal (*A*) and *P* indicate that both groups tend to be somewhat conventional in their values. McKenna-Hartung, Hartung, and Baxter (1971) found that these same psychedelic drug users idealize conventional values.

Cognition and Maturity

Cluster IV scales suggest that the drug users are significantly more verbally fluent and somewhat loose in their thinking (*Ab*). The high elevations on Movement (*M*), Human (*H*), and Abstract (*Ab*) indicate that the ideational activity of the drug users is fairly well integrated. Ego strength (*Br*) appears to be very good for both groups. The near average elevation on this scale for the subjects suggests that their defenses are relaxed and not rigid. The combination of significantly more *M* and *H* responses with flexible defenses (*Br*), suggests that the psychedelic drug users experience a greater press for warm, empathic relationships. Further, the ratio of *H* to *A* responses suggests that the drug users ($H > A$)

¹ Integration (I) was not scored and is, therefore, not plotted.

PROFILE SHEET FOR THE HOLTZMAN INK BLOT TECHNIQUE

CLINICAL FORM

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ANGEL VELEZ-DIAZ

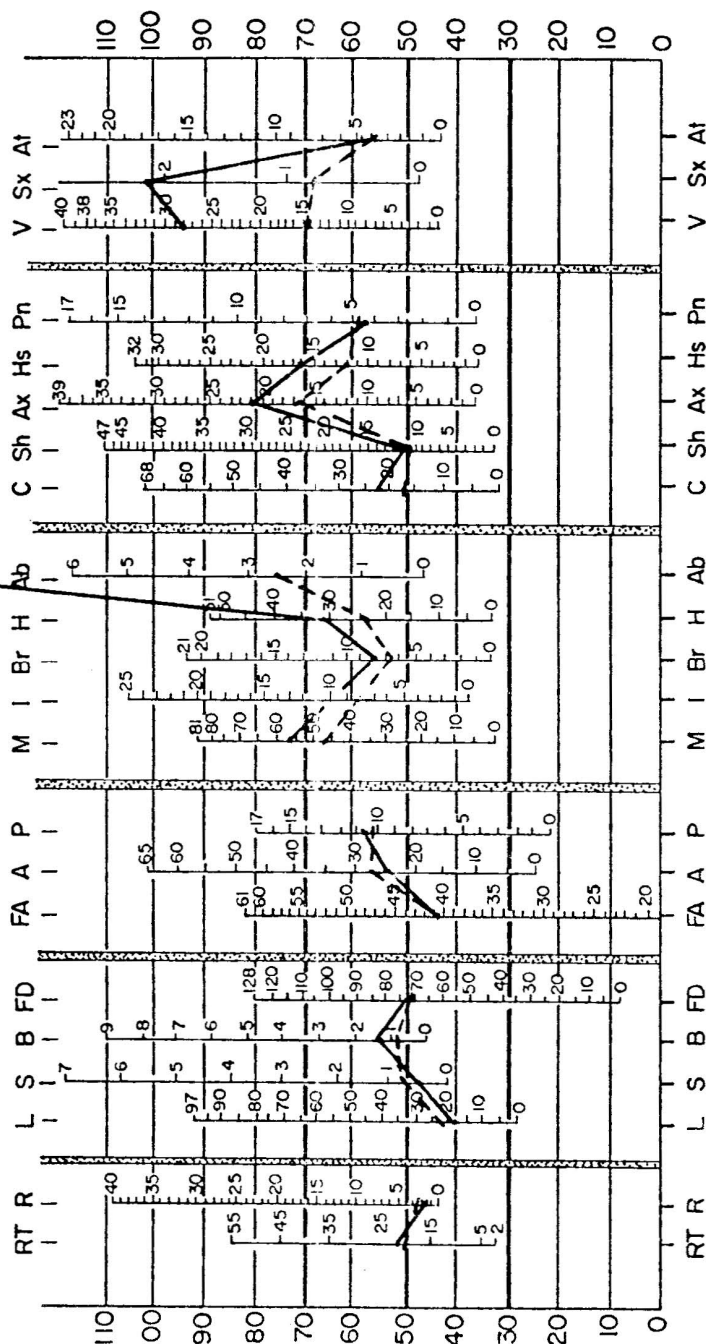


Figure 1. Plotted mean scores for psychedelic and nondrug users. — Drug Users ($n = 43$) - - - - Nondrug Users ($n = 39$)

demonstrate somewhat greater interpersonal sensitivity than the nonusers ($H = A$).

Hogan, Mankin, Conway, and Fox (1970) found that marijuana users score higher on empathy (CPI) than nonusers. Additionally, they found that frequent users of marijuana were more adventure-some, pleasure-seeking, impulsive, and hostile (rebellious) to rules and conventions. While nonusers of marijuana received high Socialization and low Empathy scores, frequent users scored low on Socialization but high on Empathy, indicating that the latter's disregard for the conventional is expressed in the context of a positive regard for others. As can be seen, these personality correlates of marijuana users closely resemble the findings for psychedelic drug users.

The significantly higher incidence of *Ab* responses for the psychedelic drug users may also be due to their greater degree of fantasy acceptance (Hill, 1972). In light of the revolutionary life style led by these subjects it is interesting to note that Piotrowski (1957) found *Ab* responses in the records of adolescents and superior individuals who were leaders, reformers and doers.

Emotional Responsivity

Cluster V shows that psychedelic drug users differ from nondrug users in various aspects of emotional responsivity. The significantly fewer number of Color (*C*) responses given by the nondrug users suggest they are somewhat more inhibited and conforming in their reactions to others and the environment than the psychedelic drug users. Nevertheless, both groups appear able to form smooth interpersonal relationships, are considerate of others, and are sensitive and responsive to environmental cues (*C* responses in average range). The similar elevations of *C* and Shading (*Sh*) suggest that as a general rule, members of both groups are able to use affect without loss of emotional control. Average Form Definiteness (*FD*) for both groups supports this interpretation.

The significantly more elevated *C* and Hostility (*Hs*) scales in cluster V show

that psychedelic drug users are more prone to act-out their feelings. Their nonconformist and rebellious behavior — that of taking drugs, the expression of free love, and creating a counter-culture of their own — all attest to this.

Although both groups obtained rather high elevations on Anxiety (*Ax*), the difference between the groups was not statistically significant. It is noteworthy that of normal populations sampled, college students have the highest mean scores on *Ax* and *Hs*. College students also tend to give a large number of *Ab* responses.

The significantly higher *Hs* score for the drug users indicates that they projected more hostility onto the inkblots than did the nondrug users. On a conscious level, these same drug users described themselves as being more hostile (rebellious-destructive) than the nondrug users (McKenna-Hartung, et al. 1971). Moreover, they appeared to be more aware and accepting of their hostility, i.e., the discrepancy between their self and ideal-self ratings was significantly less than for the nondrug users (McKenna-Hartung et al. 1971). Mursstein (1966) found that a "hostile-insightful" group of male college students (as opposed to a "hostile-noninsightful" group) projected more hostility onto the Rorschach. The greater underlying hostility of the psychedelic drug users, thus, appears to find expression through hostile skepticism, rebellious disidentification with society, and critical rejection of the conventional.

Psychopathology

The significantly elevated Pathognomic Verbalization (*V*) and Sex (*Sx*) scales for the psychedelic drug users, in this case, are not sufficient evidence for psychopathology. To clearly establish the presence of disturbed and disordered thinking, cluster III scales should be low while cluster VI scales should be high. The high scores on cluster IV would also contradict a pathological interpretation of the findings for cluster VI, i.e., schizophrenics usually score low on both clusters III and IV, while having elevated

scores on cluster VI (Megargee et al. 1971). Additionally, both study groups gave normal reactions to stimuli (cluster I) and displayed adequate intellectual functioning (cluster II). Taken together, the findings for all six clusters preclude any conclusion that the psychedelic drug users are more disturbed than the non-drug users.

Blacker, Jones, Stone, and Pfefferbaum (1968) present data on chronic users of LSD which support the above findings. Also obtaining their subjects from the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco in the summer of 1967, they found no abnormality on the auditory two-tone evoked potential, a measure which is reportedly sensitive to intellectual disorganization in schizophrenia.

The interpretive meaning of the predominant type of Pathognomic Verbalization (*V*) responses given by both groups suggests that the greater number of *V* responses given by the drug users is largely due to a less restrained and more active imagination. Fabrications (*FB*) are frequently given by introspective and sensitive persons who enjoy a play on language containing high affective components. Swartz (1969) found that normals gave significantly more *FB* responses than did mental retardates and schizophrenics. Codkind (1964) found that persons high in the acceptance and use of imagery score higher on *FB* than those who reject imagery. "A high number of *FB* responses is sometimes characteristic of clinical groups with quantitatively and qualitatively rich ideation whose thinking is not so unrealistic as to be judged clearly psychotic (Hill, 1972, p. 123)."

Fabulized Combinations (*FC*) involve a relinquishing of critical control over the responses. Swartz (1969) found *FC* responses more common among depressives and normals than among schizophrenics and retardates. "Well organized normals and neurotics who give *FC* responses are aware of the irregularity of their responses (Hill, 1972, p. 123)." *FC* responses may reveal a relativistic feeling that any combination of things is possible.

Queer Responses (*QR*) are not always frequent in schizophrenics, and merely imply psychotic reasoning because they are odd, peculiar, and unusual. They are due to the influence of inner-directed fantasies. The remaining six categories of Pathognomic Verbalization (Incoherence, Austistic Logic, Contamination, Self-Reference, Deterioration Color, and Absurd Response) are more reliable indicators of disturbed thought processes and schizophrenia (Hill, 1972). Both groups of subjects gave very few of these type of responses.

Hartung, McKenna, and Baxter (1969) conducted a study which showed that subjects who respond to inkblots in an uninhibited and open manner tend to give more pathognomic verbalizations. One group of subjects was told to "let your minds go freely," while the other group was instructed to consider "exactly what the inkblots look like." Those subjects urged to give imaginative associations gave more total *V* responses, more *FB* and *FC* responses, and significantly more *SR* and total number of responses. The results of this study indicate that imaginative versus constrictive mental sets can influence *V* scores. Perhaps the psychedelic drug users exerted less control over their responses and were able to let their associations flow more freely than the nondrug users. The significantly higher incidence of *V* responses among the drug users may thus indicate not so much truly illogical conceptualization as a willingness to "let go," to respond in an uninhibited and open manner to the inkblots.

The significantly greater number of blatant Sex (*Sx*) responses given by the psychedelic drug users most likely reflects their uninhibited interest in sexual activity as well as their sexual preoccupation. The practice of free sexual expression was quite prevalent in the Haight-Ashbury. The *Sx* response given by a person in a culture that sanctions free sexual expression may, therefore not necessarily reflect pathology.

Inner-direction

The Movement (*M*), Color (*C*) bal-

ance (higher M than C ; see Figure 1) indicates that both groups have introverted tendencies with the psychedelic drug users being significantly more introverted than the nondrug users, i.e., drug users gave significantly more M responses.

The markedly introverted person is one who has a well-developed imaginal function, either in terms of fantasy, long-range goals, or acknowledged impulses, while his responsiveness to and involvement with the outer world are reduced... More important, he tends to restructure the world in terms of his own values and needs... At worst this leads to distortion of reality; at best it is invaluable in enabling him to deal with reality more effectively, since he is not bound by the immediate structure of the reality situation but is free to imagine it as different and to shape a course designed to make it so (Klopfer, 1954, p. 371)."

This seems to describe the behavior of the psychedelic drug users who, by establishing the Haight-Ashbury subculture, restructured reality to meet their needs as they saw them. While both groups appear to have an active fantasy life, the psychedelic drug users are more inner-directed than the nondrug users. The drug users tend to use more imagery than facts to express themselves.

Caution needs to be exercised in accounting for the group differences found in this study. There is no way of knowing with certainty if the observed differences are due to having taken drugs, or if they reflect antecedent personality factors which led to drug use. For example, the findings of Klavetter et al. (1967) support the conclusion that the greater inner-directedness of the psychedelic drug users was due to drug use rather than to some pre-existing personality factor. On the other hand, a study by McGlothlin and Cohen (1965) suggests that the greater introvertedness of the drug users could have predated their use of psychedelic drugs. They found that students with positive attitudes toward taking LSD were more intuitive (utilized their unconscious more) and perceptive as measured by the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator than those with neutral and negative feelings.

In conclusion, the findings of the present investigation are not generalizable to all drug users or drug-taking subcultures. While the results of this study may be applicable to individuals who are predominant users of LSD or psychedelic-type drugs, they are more relevant to psychedelic drug users living in communes or subcultures where psychedelic drugs play an important part in religious or social rituals.

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1. Klavetter, R., & Hartung, J. *Short-term effects of LSD on HIT and POI performance*. Unpublished data, 1967.

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