A TRIP TO AFRICA

The issues of Nigeria, and beyond

By STUART AWBREY and PAT BROWN

Director Jack Vaughn spent three weeks in Nigeria in October discussing Peace Corps policies and programs with Volunteers in an effort to re-establish what he called "a missing dialogue" between Volunteers and the Washington staff.

He met with about 600 of the 699 Volunteers in the nation in a series of small meetings held in each of the country's four regions. In each of 26 meetings with Volunteers, Vaughn was requested to comment on the three most pressing Volunteer issues in Nigeria: living allowances, hostels and vehicle policy. A large number of letters on these subjects, coupled with a series of complaining resolutions and petitions, encouraged Vaughn to move up the date of his Nigeria visit from January, 1967.

It soon became apparent to the director that while these issues loomed high on the Volunteer grievance list, they were symptomatic of what one top official of the agency called the "deeper ills" of the Peace Corps in Nigeria, including a breakdown in communication between Washington and the field.

At the time of the director's visit, six hostels had been closed in Nigeria, and a reduction of living allowances had been proposed by the country staff. Volunteers remained concerned about a 17-month-old ban on motorcycles. Underlying these issues was a feeling among Volunteers that Peace Corps headquarters in Washington was not seeking their advice on matters relating to their life and work as Volunteers, and that policy makers in Washington were making arbitrary and worldwide decisions without consulting them.

On arrival in Nigeria, Vaughn announced, "I came because a dialogue was missing." He said to the Volunteers: "I realize that those in Washington may have to be the whipping boy. But does the Peace Corps need scapegoats?"

"Our whole concern is for the Peace Corps," he emphasized in the sessions. "The Peace Corps is only one thing: trying to promote change." The director said that "the Peace Corps at its best does allow people to see things and do things for themselves."

The director discussed the questions in detail (see following story). His general statements on them were: "Everything I do as director is to make it difficult for Volunteers to settle into old patterns... I have never made a decision that was responsive to convenience or comfort... if my decisions are misguided, however, you must tell me. At least 90 per cent of the changes and improvements in the Peace Corps have occurred because Volunteers have told us—in programming, in training, in communications."

An underlying theme of the meetings was that the lines of communication must be improved to involve Volunteers in the decisions that affect them directly. It also became obvious that the Peace Corps was facing substantial problems in planning, programming, staffing and administration that did not lend themselves to easy or immediate solution.

Vaughn's journey was made against a background of political and economic turbulence in Nigeria. There have been two changes of government there in 1966, and members of the Peace Corps have often found themselves swept up in the turmoil of regional and tribal rivalries. In some areas travel has been difficult, which in turn has inhibited staff visits to sites, and the crisis atmosphere has delayed programming efforts.

Vaughn took note of these additional stresses on Volunteers and staff. He said the Volunteer performance under pressure had been exemplary, and suggested that Volunteers have always done better when a country is in crisis, as in the Dominican Republic. "They always rise to the occasion," he said. "I hope that happens here. We can tolerate a lot. We are here for the long pull."

The significance of the Vaughn trip lay in its attention to this "long pull." Beyond the immediate political situation, and beyond the critical concerns...
of Volunteers that prompted his visit with them, the journey represented a confrontation with the basic issues of mounting and administering a large Volunteer service program. For that reason, the focus that it afforded on such basic matters as staffing and programming will most likely have an impact on the Peace Corps beyond Nigeria.

STAFFING

Some Volunteer organizations, such as the British Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO), rely very little on overseas staff. But the Peace Corps, with its larger size, broad mission, diversified programs and strong field orientation, has traditionally relied heavily on the overseas staff member, and placed him in a key role with considerable and varied responsibilities.

A perennial problem in Nigeria has been a shortage of field staff and high rate of staff turnover. This in turn has negatively affected the vital functions of programming, placement, support and communications.

At the time of Vaughn's trip, there were 32 staff members in Nigeria, including seven doctors, two nurses and six contractor's overseas representatives. Their ratio in numbers to Volunteers is considered average. However, the number of on-the-road staffers among them—the regional directors, associate directors and the CORs—has been low. Many Volunteers in Nigeria have not seen much of their staff.

In addition to this shortage of field staff, heavy turnover plagued the Nigeria program from the beginning. In the 21 months prior to the Vaughn visit, for example, there had been no less than five regional directors in the Mid-West region. And since the first Volunteers arrived in September, 1961, there have been six different country directors, including two acting directors. Many staffers have been promoted and shifted to other programs.

Given both the shortage of staff and poor continuity, many staffers were hard pressed to perform support roles and to do an adequate job of programming and site selection. Subsequently, Volunteers who complained of bad assignments expressed resentment at staff attempts to support them in their first work, teaching.

Some field staffers who attempted to support Volunteers in their jobs also became embroiled in the classic classroom vs. community dilemma of Volunteer teachers. Volunteers who saw teaching as a full-time, professional job resented staff hints that they get more involved in the community (such suggestions often were shrugged off as the "Washington line"). Rather than take the time and effort to discuss the philosophy of Peace Corps teaching in Nigeria, some staff members yielded to the temptation to "support" Volunteers by honoring their wishes to be left alone to teach.

Feeling these pressures, many field staff members avoided being the vital link in the two-way communicative processes of the Peace Corps.

This in turn has inspired some confusion in the minds of Volunteers about the role of staff members. Are they, or should they be, desk-bound administrators, or professional back-stoppers, or evaluators, or soul massagers, or what? Does a Peace Corps country director "direct" Volunteers? Does a Peace Corps representative "represent" them? Nigeria Volunteers have expressed much uncertainty over the functions of staff, and many who questioned the staff role have had little personal contact with staff members. Thus, when policies were announced from the regional or national offices or Washington, Volunteers tended to categorize them as paternalistic, inflexible, arbitrary and inconsistent. Some preferred to be left alone, operating outside of a Peace Corps context. And many who said they wanted attention, advice, and support, did not receive it, simply because there were not enough staff members around.

Present staff shortages in Nigeria are being remedied. The staff contingent there is scheduled to increase to 42 by the end of 1966. Many Peace Corps officials feel that the experience in Nigeria has again driven home the lessons that sufficient, qualified overseas field staff is essential to the Peace Corps operation.

At the same time, five years of experience have shown the Peace Corps that staff support for Volunteers is not sufficient in itself, and for that reason it is anticipated that the addition of staff members in Nigeria is but one step—an important first step—in a slow, careful re-programming of the Peace Corps efforts there.

PROGRAMMING

One of the largest gaps in the "missing dialogue" is between what the Volunteers see as their role in Nigeria and their mission as viewed by the Peace Corps staff in Nigeria and Washington. An assessment of this gap led Vaughn, and other observers, to conclude that programming and placement topped the list of Peace Corps ills in Nigeria.

A typical Volunteer approach to the major program was expressed as follows at a completion of service conference: "The Peace Corps should recognize that our main job is teaching, and help us do it."

That is a crucial matter in Nigeria, where secondary school teachers com-
prise the bulk of the Peace Corps effort. Today 543 of the 699 Volunteers there are secondary school teachers, filling graduate teacher slots within the Nigerian educational system. Almost 1,000 Volunteers have preceded them in this work, teaching subjects ranging from French, English and Latin, to general science and mathematics, to fine arts, music and home economics, and other subjects, in secondary schools.

Well-educated, recruited, trained, selected and assigned to teach, these Volunteers have in the past five years ranked among the most articulate and most effective anywhere in the Peace Corps. Today they comprise 4½ per cent of all secondary school teachers in Nigeria, and about 20 per cent of those in graduate teacher slots. They are wanted by the education-conscious Nigerians, to whom graduate teachers are a vital necessity, and, obviously, by the Peace Corps, for whom they comprise the majority of the second largest country program in the world.

Yet many of these Volunteers felt cheated. They expected a classroom, but found themselves under pressure to use it as a vehicle to community development, for which they were not trained. They anticipated a "mud hut," but found themselves in comfortable expatriate housing, receiving an allowance that afforded servants and comforts that were considered routine among the expatriates and African educators with whom they worked. They hoped to meet a cross section of host-nationals, but the compound environment and the built-in associations made it difficult to become involved in the outside community.

A completion of service report describes it this way: "The Volunteers have been asked to teach in school systems where an estimated 97 per cent of the teachers are expatriates. They are accorded the position of senior staff members ... they are given modern quarters, usually a house with two bedrooms, running water, electricity (where available) ... they are expected to associate with other teachers (expatriates) and to participate in the activities of the community (at the club) ... the students, then, are often the only Nigerians with whom the Volunteers have any contact."

Expectations vs. reality

In the eyes of the Peace Corps, community involvement is an essential ingredient of the Volunteer job—as an associate director of the agency put it last year: "A full teaching job does not stop in the classroom or even in the school compound." Even while promoting this view, the Peace Corps placed Volunteers in the compound situations which made it difficult for them to move out into the community. Thus was born the dilemma of what a Volunteer expects and what he actually confronts. An evaluator recently called this "expecting certain results from a situation that couldn't possibly produce them."

The gap between expectation and realization often results in guilt feelings about being outside the "real"
Peace Corps, doubts about the credibility of teaching as a Peace Corps mission, resentment toward Peace Corps officials, publications and policies, withdrawal from identification with the Peace Corps, and even resignation.

Another completion of service conference report posed it:

"One can easily make the assumption that most Volunteers apply to join the 'image' Peace Corps. But the poor guy doesn't know that the two are not compatible in most instances... until it is too late. He then has to readjust his thinking and make the best of a non-image situation."

The solution, worked out by each individual for himself, usually follows a pattern of forgetting about the image and concentrating on being a good teacher, according to the Volunteers. But, for many, the doubts persist, and resignations.

These reactions, not uncommon among Volunteers elsewhere, raise questions about some of the more basic assumptions in the Peace Corps. How much, for example, does the Peace Corps owe a Volunteer in the way of training, placement, staff and technical support? In the wake of his trip, Director Vaughn suggested that the Peace Corps responsibility in these areas was great, and he questioned whether the agency had adequately used its experience to benefit the Nigeria program.

Two-way obligation

Conversely, does the Volunteer owe anything to the Peace Corps? Does he have a responsibility to the program, and the agency? What obligations, if any, does one accept by volunteering? According to former Volunteer Samuel Abbott, among others, these questions have received little attention among Volunteer teachers in Nigeria (in the November VOlunteer, Abbott wrote that Volunteers there were clear on what they were against, but had "lost interest in what they were for").

In his meetings with Volunteers, Vaughn noted that not one letter he had received from Volunteers treated the subject: "How can we help Nigeria more?" The director said, "If you feel a dialogue is productive with a Washington person, then someone will come. I like to receive your letters, but please put positive suggestions in them."

In the discussions, he sought positive Volunteer opinions on programming. When the Volunteers spoke, the general consensus was that the Peace Corps could do a better job for Nigeria by putting more emphasis on primary education and teacher training, with Volunteer teachers living off compounds, in towns, without host agencies taking care of the rent.

Current programming trends support some of these suggestions. Over the next five years, the Office of Planning and Program Review reports, the Peace Corps hopes to diversify the Nigeria program. In their projections, secondary school teaching will remain a priority, but it will be joined by teacher training (given the top priority in the projections), agriculture and rural development, small business services and health.

This reflects a key trend in Africa programming, toward "rural transformation." It is noted that in Nigeria agriculture accounts for 60 per cent of the gross national product and that 85 per cent of the citizenry derives its subsistence from agriculture. There are now 150 agriculture and rural development workers in Nigeria; Vaughn accompanied a new group of 78 of them into the country.

The top issues: hostels, Hondas, ‘pay’

The primary Peace Corps issues among Volunteers in Nigeria have been living allowances, hostels and vehicle policy, not always in that order.

Director Jack Vaughn discussed these matters in detail with most of the 699 Volunteers in Nigeria. A brief background of the issues, particularly as they relate to Nigeria, is presented below:

Living Allowance. To the Peace Corps, this monthly stipend is known as the "living allowance," or the "subsistence allowance."

Nigeria Volunteers often call it a salary, or "pay." A reduction proposed by the country staff became, to many Volunteers, a "pay cut."

Terminology notwithstanding, Volunteers in Nigeria receive living allowances that rank among the highest in the world; their status is even noted in Africa, where Peace Corps living allowances have generally been higher (a critical Volunteer from neighboring Niger commented: "All they talk about is Hondas and servants"). The monthly maximum allowance, in addition to housing, is $149; the minimum, $133. The average worldwide Volunteer allowance is about $108 per month; many Volunteers pay their rent out of the living allowance.

The pattern for living allowances in West Africa was established in Ghana 1961, by the Ghanaian government, which wanted to "pay" Volunteers at the same rate as their own graduate teachers ($162.50). This basic living allowance was followed in Nigeria, at $163 a month. A year later the Nigeria allowance was cut to its present rate. Many Volunteers in Nigeria believe that it should cover refrigerators and servants, and savings—and in fact it does.

Following procedures of past years, Vaughn asked each country director to review living allowances. In some countries, particularly in Africa where living allowances have generally been higher, this was interpreted as a call for a reduction. In his meetings with Volunteers, Vaughn emphasized that he had asked for a review and that country directors had discretion in setting allowances.

Vaughn said that the decision on the allowance level in Nigeria had been suspended because of the current unstable economic and political situation. Fluctuations in prices have made it difficult to gauge Volunteer allowance requirements after Jan. 1, 1967, when reductions previously proposed by the country staff were scheduled to go into effect.

Hostels. This has been a sensitive point among Volunteers in Asia and Africa, where some 75 hostels were in operation before their closing was
ordered last spring. Vaughan gave country directors until the end of 1966 to seek alternative ways of housing traveling Volunteers. So far, only one hostel, in northern Somalia, has been allowed to remain in use because no alternatives are available.

Nigerian hostels were closed at Lagos, Ibadan, Benin City, Enugu, Kaduna and Kano. Some Volunteers have felt that the convenience they enjoyed through the hostels was offset by their clannishness and detriment to the Peace Corps program. But they have also felt that the decision to close them was made arbitrarily and on a worldwide basis without consultation of Volunteers.

Vaughn challenged the view that field opinion had been ignored in the decision. He said that hostels had been a subject of debate for 5½ years and that Volunteers, staff members and former Volunteers had their views solicited and considered. During that time, Vaughan said, "no one has ever told me how hostels can help the Peace Corps."

The director added that "we have had hostels since the Middle Ages. They are an apartheid device. I can't accept a judgment based on convenience." Further, the director said "there is no limit to what we would do in spending money and making changes if this would help the Peace Corps."

During the trip, Vaughan discovered that after the hostel at Benin City was closed, Volunteers in that area were able to find four reasonably priced Nigerian hostelries that were both adequate and suitable for Volunteer use. He cited this as an example of ability to find substitute arrangements.

Motorcycles. Many early-day Volunteers in Nigeria, and elsewhere in the world, drove jeeps supplied by the Peace Corps. The use of jeeps has been discouraged. In Nigeria, jeeps gave way to motorcycles (Hondas). Then, in March of 1965, the country director ruled that motorized vehicles would be permitted only if the immediate job demanded them, for transportation to distant telephone, food supply, or a safe haven. In most areas of Nigeria, this rule has been poorly enforced. The Peace Corps has supplied bicycles, but motorcycles remain much in evidence.

Meanwhile, the accident count mounted. During 1964 and 1965 in Nigeria there were 81 motorcycle accidents involving Volunteers, and in 1965 two Volunteers, Stanley Kowalczyn and Johannes Von Foerster, were killed in motorcycle accidents.

Though policies vary from country to country, an increasing number of Peace Corps officials have contended that motorized vehicles are more of a hindrance than a help. The danger of accidents involving Volunteers with host nationals, and the safety of Volunteers, are factors. But the major reason for the trend away from motorized vehicles is the belief that they have tended to draw Volunteers away from their work site and community, thus detracting from the Volunteer's involvement and identification with his community.

In areas where Peace Corps vehicles have never been common, Volunteers have expressed little concern about no-driving and no-vehicle policies. In areas where vehicles have been withdrawn, Volunteers argue that they can use vehicles to do a more effective job and, even if the vehicles were not required, restraints on them smack of paternalism and "image making."

A similar complaint pattern has applied to the issues of living allowances and hostels. Where allowances have traditionally been low, there has been little criticism. In Latin America, for example, where allowances have for the most part been lower and where hostels were never authorized, these issues are less significant to Volunteers.

In the Nigeria meetings, Vaughan recognized the Nigeria vehicle policy as a "continuing dilemma" but he indicated his support for enforcement of the limited driving policy. "The only successful vehicle policy countries are those nine countries without any vehicles at all," he said.

Early Termination. Another issue that absorbed Volunteers, particularly in the Mid-West Region, was the early termination last summer of a Volunteer who in the eyes of the Peace Corps staff had jeopardized the Peace Corps program by his behavior. Volunteers contended that the terminees did not deserve to be sent home because (1) he had a good record of performance as a Volunteer and his work was an asset to the Peace Corps, and (2) his private relationships were of no concern to the Peace Corps. Furthermore, said the Volunteers, the Peace Corps had no business regulating the moral standards of any Volunteer. In at least one instance, Director Vaughan was accused of being a "prude."

The director posed the issue in terms of the question: "When does behavior become indiscreet?" Failing to act in this particular case, he said, would have been tantamount to condoning indiscreet behavior. The director went on to suggest that the determination for indiscreet behavior, so far as the Peace Corps is concerned, lies at the point where one individual's actions jeopardize the position of other Volunteers or the Peace Corps program. It was on that basis that the Volunteer in question was terminated. The judgment of the local staff in this case was upheld by those who reviewed the case in Washington, including the director.

Shriver gives pins to former PCVs, staff

Sargent Shriver is sending a personal remembrance to those who served in the Peace Corps during his five-year tenure as director.

The remembrance is a small, circular pin (shown below) designed by Raymond Loewy. Executed in green on a white background, "the design symbolizes the hands of friendship which characterize the Peace Corps Volunteer," says Shriver.

Green was chosen because it is widely used in Africa to represent hope; white because it is the universal color for peace.

About 6,500 Volunteers and 2,000 staff members will receive the pins. These include those Volunteers who completed service satisfactorily during Shriver's tenure as director, and also those who were serving overseas at the time Shriver left the Peace Corps on March 1, 1966.

Former Volunteers who have not yet received their pins may send inquiries, along with current addresses, to Fred Zamn, Division of Volunteer Support, Peace Corps, Washington, D.C. 20525.
Draft effects felt in Peace Corps

Many past, present and future male Peace Corps Volunteers are facing increased pressure from their local Selective Service Boards. The draft, which previously was largely a concern only of returned Volunteers, has become an immediate matter for trainees and a handful of Volunteers who have gone overseas with an unresolved draft status.

Sixty per cent of the 28,000 trainees, Volunteers and returned Volunteers are male with an average age of 24.1 years, and the majority of these are single. As pools of available draft-eligible men across the country are depleted, increasing pressure is being placed upon these men.

The Career Information Service estimates that, at the present time, from 10 to 20 per cent of all former male Volunteers are serving in the various branches of the military.

CIS points out that the figure is misleading in two respects: it does not take into consideration the fact that many of the returned male Volunteers are, for one reason or another, ineligible for military service, and it does not indicate how many of those in uniform enlisted, either freely or in the face of the draft.

Volunteers in the field are not immune either. One Volunteer has already been drafted from overseas. There has been an increase in the number of induction notices received by Volunteers, but in every case but the one they have been either cancelled or postponed. In all of these cases the draft status of the Volunteers was unresolved when they went overseas; no Volunteers who have had a 2-A classification when they went overseas have been inducted (2-A is a national interest deferment).

In a number of cases, Volunteers overseas have been ordered to report for pre-induction physical examinations. In many instances, it has been extremely difficult for a Volunteer to get to a U.S. military base where the examination may be given.

A number of local boards are now construing Peace Corps service as an "interruption of studies," the same as a job or any other non-academic, non-military employment. The fact that a returned Volunteer enters school at the first available opportunity is no guarantee of deferment, whether the returned Volunteer continues his undergraduate education or enters graduate school.

However, the General Counsel's office reports that such an interpretation of Peace Corps service is inconsistent with the intent of Congress when the Peace Corps Act was passed, and also with the position of National Selective Service Headquarters. In both cases the intent is that Volunteers should be treated the same as other registrants in similar circumstances and not be disadvantaged as a result of Peace Corps service.

Therefore, the General Counsel's office has recommended that former Volunteers who wish to resume their education but whose Selective Service boards take this position should follow all applicable appeal procedures.

As for future Volunteers, staff members returning from visits to training sites have reported a rapidly growing concern about the draft among trainees. Only one trainee has been drafted, but an increasing number of local boards are refusing to grant deferments for those entering Peace Corps training.

Liaison officers report that many of the questions asked at training sites now relate to the draft. The most common questions are: "What will I do if I am deselected? Will I be drafted while I'm overseas? What happens after my term of service?"

Liaison officers have also expressed a concern about the effect of the draft situation on self-selection. How can a male trainee, realistically facing the draft, make a fair and equitable decision when he knows that the result of his selecting himself out will very probably be his prompt induction? If draft calls continue to increase, the result may well be the complete invalidation of self-selection for male trainees.

The current draft law, which expires in 1967, is being studied by a special commission set up by President Johnson. Peace Corps Director Jack Vaughn, Deputy Director Warren Wiggins and Associate Director Harris Wofford testified before this National Advisory Commission on Selective Service. No report is expected from the Commission before early next year.

Advice on dealing with boards

Marthanne Parker, in charge of the Special Problems Unit of the Peace Corps, recommends that Volunteers overseas follow these procedures in dealing with their draft boards:

- Always use your embassy address when writing your Selective Service Board. Be certain that your board has your correct embassy address in its records.
- Send a copy of all correspondence with your board to the Special Problems Unit, Peace Corps, Washington, D.C. 20525.
- Always add the date your current deferment will expire.
- When you arrive overseas, write your board and give them a full description of your job and your expected length of service (copy to Washington).
- If you are reclassified 1-A, appeal immediately. Do not wait to write Peace Corps headquarters for advice. You have only 60 days in which to appeal, and just ten days if your board is using your U.S. address (copy to Washington).
- If you are reclassified 1-A or ordered to report for induction or a pre-induction physical while overseas, appeal immediately and notify your country director and Peace Corps headquarters.
- You must request extension of your original one-year deferment yourself. The Peace Corps has no authority to do this for you. Make your request at least one month before your deferment expires (copy to Washington).
- If you are extending for any length of time, advise your board and request that your deferment be continued (copy to Washington).
Guinea expels Peace Corps

The Peace Corps has been expelled from Guinea by President Sekou Touré. Sixty-two Volunteers and six staff members and their dependents were evacuated to Dakar, Senegal on November 15.

President Touré ordered Peace Corps operations closed during a dispute with the United States over responsibility for the detention in Ghana of the Guinea delegation to the Organization of African Unity.

The Secretary-General of the Guinean Foreign Ministry, Alpha Diallo, told the Volunteers and staff members that "the order to the Peace Corps to leave is not to be interpreted as an expression of dissatisfaction with any of the Peace Corps Volunteers as individuals." Touré himself said, "We understand their efforts and the privations they have borne working with us."

In a farewell meeting with the Peace Corps members at the Conakry airport, Diallo gave each Volunteer a copy of a book written by Touré, and he thanked them "from the bottom of our hearts" for their work. Present at the airport was Karim Bangoura, Guinean Ambassador to the U.S., who also expressed his personal regrets to the Volunteers.

'Acting Politically'

In Dakar, Henry Norman, country director in Guinea since the Peace Corps program began there three years ago, said that President Touré "was acting politically against the U.S. government and not the Peace Corps."

Norman said, "We were sad to leave. We had deep affection and respect for the people of Guinea." He said that before the incidents that resulted in the expulsion there was nothing but "finest rapport" between Volunteers and host nationals.

"The first week after the incidents the Volunteers and other Americans in Guinea were restricted to their homes," Norman reported, "and not being able to go out, you tended to go stir crazy." However, there was no case of Volunteers being molested or in danger.

Peace Corps public information writer Jack Keyser, who covered the group's arrival in Dakar, said that Volunteers told him that even after the expulsion order some Guineans demonstrated their feelings of friendship with the Peace Corps. One regional governor presented an ivory tusk to a Volunteer stationed in his area, and another gave Volunteers in his region 5,000 francs ($20) as pocket money for their trip to Conakry.

The Volunteers included 28 agricultural workers, 19 mechanics, 14 teachers and one secretary. The agriculturalists would have completed service in February; they were given the option of extending in another country or returning home. Most of the remaining Volunteers were subsequently reassigned to other programs in Africa.

The incident marked the first time that a Peace Corps operation had been formally expelled by a chief of state. However, Guinea is the fourth country in which agency operations have been suspended. The others are Ceylon, Cyprus and Indonesia, where suspension followed mutual agreement between the Peace Corps and the host countries.

Country director Norman affirmed the traditional Peace Corps position when he said: "We only go to countries where they invite us, and when our services are no longer desired, we will go home."

President Touré blamed the U.S. for the detention in Ghana October 29 of 19 Guineans, including four diplomats, who were on a Pan American flight en route to an African summit conference at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Ghanaian police took the Guineans into custody when the plane touched down in Accra to refuel. Touré accused the U.S. of complicity in the seizure of his envoys, and banned Pan American from Guinea along with the Peace Corps. Also, U.S. Ambassador Robinson McIlvaine was briefly put under house arrest in Conakry. Ghana later released the Guineans after intervention from the Organization of African Unity.

In a cable to Norman in Guinea, Director Jack Vaughn commended the Guinea Volunteers and staff on their conduct "in a long series of difficult situations."

"My regards and admiration for you all," he added. "Exit smiling."

Wofford quits to set up New York college

Harris Wofford, a leading figure in the Peace Corps from its beginning, has resigned to become a college president.

The 40-year-old associate director leaves the agency Jan. 1, 1967, to take over the College of Arts and Sciences currently being developed in Nassau County, New York, as a part of the New York State university system.

Wofford was on the 1961 task force that recommended the original Peace Corps legislation. At that time he was special assistant to President John F. Kennedy, responsible for coordinating the civil rights work of all federal agencies and acting as White House liaison for the Peace Corps. His full-time association with the Peace Corps dates from 1962, when he resigned from the President's staff to become Peace Corps representative for Africa and county director for Ethiopia, in Addis Ababa. Two years later he was back in Washington as associate director in charge of the Office of Planning, Evaluation and Research. For the past year he has also been chairman of the Education Task Force.

Wofford, a prolific writer and speaker, has often described the Peace Corps in an educational context as "a university in dispersion," and as "a kind of Socratic seminar writ large in the context of action." In addition to his roles as administrator and "idea man" for the agency, he has identified himself with the interests and concerns of trainees, Volunteers and former Volunteers, many of whom considered him their representative in the high councils of the Peace Corps.

In the new college, Wofford said, high priority will be given to master's programs designed for former Volunteers and others with similar experi-
ences. He describes the institution as a "school of the world," preparing people to "understand the world, to deal with its problems, and to live and work in it effectively." The first class will enter in 1970.

Death in Nepal

Volunteer Robert F. Weland, 23, a rural development worker for the past year, was found dead at his house at Bhimpedi, Nepal, on October 23. A medical examination revealed that death resulted from excessive consumption of toxic substances.

Weland, of Evergreen Park, Ill., was a graduate of the Illinois Institute of Technology. He joined the Peace Corps in the summer of 1965 and trained at the University of Missouri. He is survived by his parents and one sister.

Services and burial were in Evergreen Park.

Scholarship fund

The Thomas Hassett Scholarship Fund has been organized at the Utica College of Syracuse University in memory of a Volunteer who died last summer while serving in Nepal. The late Volunteer's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas C. Hassett, started the fund with a donation of $5,000, which will be matched by the General Electric Company, where Mr. Hassett is employed. Contributions to the fund are being accepted by John Ford, Comptroller, Utica College of Syracuse University, Burrstone Campus, Utica, N.Y.

Round numbers

Two female Volunteers entered the Peace Corps coming-and-going record books in 1966. Margo Jeanne BeVier (see cover) became the 20,000th Volunteer to go overseas. She is teaching at the Anglican Women's Teacher Training College in Benin City, Nigeria. And Sally Poland, who worked two years in Turkey, recently became the 10,000th Volunteer to compete service.

SCIENCE VS. SUPERSTITION: "The Gabonese, and many other Africans, believe that having their pictures taken can rob them of their souls," says Larry O'Brien, Peace Corps director in Gabon. "But if you leave the photo with them, there is no spiritual loss." Here O'Brien (upper left), a one-time Navy photographer, shows Gabonese their Polaroid likeness. He often carries his camera when visiting villages.

Dawson tells about Russia

Thomas R. Dawson, whose Peace Corps service was interrupted by a 22-day internment in the Soviet Union, has resumed his Volunteer work, half way around the world from where he began it.

Dawson had not assumed his regular school teaching job in northern Iran when he was arrested by Soviet border guards. Peace Corps regional officers determined that the publicity surrounding his arrest, detention and release was so widespread that it would have made his work in Iran more difficult. Dawson agreed, and, after looking at several program opportunities, he opted for the new project in Micronesia. He is now teaching there.

Dawson was arrested September 11 when he strayed across the Iran-Soviet Union border while collecting sea shells on a beach near the Caspian Sea, near Astara, Iran.

"I walked down the beach, past what was the Russian border, but I didn't know it at the time," Dawson recalled. "There was nothing to indicate it was the Russian border. No signs, no people, and nobody told me it was the border."

Dawson, 24, was held in the Soviet Union until October 4, when he was turned over to Iranian officials at the border town where he was arrested. His release followed considerable diplomatic representations on his behalf by the Department of State. Soviet authorities reported that they had to investigate the case to satisfy themselves that the Volunteer had crossed the border innocently.

"They were reasonably nice to me," Dawson said on his return to the United States for home leave, "and in no way tried to threaten me. . . . it wasn't hostile, it wasn't friendly."

Dawson reported that his Soviet interviewer was curious about the Peace Corps. Dawson recalled: "The interviewer asked, 'Who is the Peace Corps responsible to?' Well, I said, 'Jack Vaughn. If you've got a problem, Jack will take care of it.'"

"It was the only name I knew about in Washington," Dawson said. "I knew about the Division of Volunteer Support, but I didn't want to get into that. So I just told them, 'Jack Vaughn.'"

"There wasn't much I could tell them about Peace Corps operations," said Dawson. "I knew very little." So little, he said, that his interviewer told him: "I know more about the Peace Corps than you do."

At the time of his arrest, Dawson had stopped off in Astara with several other Volunteers, and was planning to go with them to a conference in the capital, Tehran. The border town is some eight hours by road from his former site in the central part of Azerbajan Province, which borders the Soviet Union. Dawson had been in Iran almost four months, and was preparing to teach English in a secondary school. He had taught in local clubs during the summer.
Where the boys in Venezuela are

By JUDY THELEN
Caracas, Venezuela

A la iba iba—IBA
A la iba iba—IBA
Arriba YMCA—ARRIBA

Thousands of Venezuelan youngsters have shouted this club cheer at the direction of their Peace Corps "profys" since 1962.

Through its programs of directed recreation, the YMCA (pronounced im-kah) has been an important instructor to many underprivileged young people who have no other teachers.

A YMCA "profy" teaches 15-year-olds who can't read or write, teenagers who finished second grade and somewhere got the idea that was sufficient. Other YMCA members are high school students who can anticipate a decent living. But the majority are the unfortunate heirs of barrio living.

They come to the barrio park for weeks on end in the same filthy pants, shirts with the buttonholes torn out, and cloth and Goodyear-tire slippers. Then the straps wear out on the slippers and it may be a month before they have another pair or can buy the flimsy plastic shoes from the sale tables in the market. If you can't see the face in the outfield, at least you know who it is by the shirt he's wearing—Joseito in his red shirt, Maximo in green plaid, Lorenzo in black, Wilmer in blue and white stripes.

They come—swearing, fighting, walking off with equipment, big guys knocking little guys out of the game with the byword "juego yo" (I play). What that means is "I'm first in everything."

VOLUNTEER correspondent Judy Thelen and her husband, Ken, were YMCA park directors in Maracaibo for one year. They now work in Caracas; Thelen as recreation coordinator at the Centro de Estudios and Mrs. Thelen for the YMCA in the capital city.
How are you going to reach a 13-year-old boy who expresses his role with foul language, with exaggerated selfishness, with an air of grand superiority, who has quit school and has no idea how to spend the next day?

It may not occur to you for months, but possibly this kid has a strong point. He likes to hunt but he would make a parade out of dragging a dead cat through the dirt. As it turns out, he can help you start a small camp-out area, showing other kids how to set traps, how to identify birds and small animals. Look for his strengths, give him some subtle instruction, watch for improvements and put him in charge—in charge of painting a shed or lining the baseball field or building an evening campfire. Look for leaders, impart to them the spirit of the work you are attempting and have them work alongside you. Kids respond quickly to responsibility.

Put them in charge

When his mother was taken to the hospital to deliver prematurely her ninth child, Maximo, 12, stayed in charge of the seven younger children in the board shack. When he hadn't shown up in the park for a week, the profys went to his house to find him completely in charge, cooking over a fire on the ground, keeping all the babies inside the fenced yard. When you give a boy like Maximo responsibility within his club, in his own YMCA park, he can handle it and it makes him rightfully proud.

Jesús lives with his mother, seven younger brothers and sisters by her second marriage, and the stepfather. Jesus is 19 and in his first year of high school. He doesn't have the quarter it costs daily to go to and from school, so he walks a lot. Out of 600 members in one YMCA park, he is easily the most suited for positions of leadership (manager of the junior baseball team, editor of the park newspaper, watchman at the profys' house in their absence). At a party in the football coach's home one evening, Jesús got up to talk about the YMCA. He said before he joined a year ago he thought all its benefits were for rich kids. He had since been sent to a youth conference, served as a counselor in a mountain camp and been named Member of the Year in his park.

"Sometimes when I walk around my barrio, I'm mistaken for a professor of the YMCA," Jesús said. Then his eyes and cheeks were covered with tears.

A Peace Corps Volunteer who soon will complete two years on the same site has said, "I think it's useless, working day and night with the same kids. They don't change. The ones who pushed and cheated and stole the day they came into the park are still doing it."

That's a hasty analysis. Along the way the Volunteer thought she saw improvements, character change. "Many Volunteers are given new assignments, many leave a site when their program is at its peak after 10 or 15 months," she explained. "But the change in the kids is an illusion."

She may be right. Maybe in two years or four years or even more the YMCA can't change an unstable boy into one most likely to succeed. But it should be able to make the hopeless kid hopeful and the neglected kid cared for.

It's not easy. A barrio kid is old before he's tall, and tough before he's had time to be a loved child, carried on someone's shoulders, sung to.

It's not easy, but it is fun.

In Punto Cardón, in a shack on the sandy beaches of the Gulf of Venezuela, Volunteer Fred Cass has made books so interesting to slum kids that every day at 4 p.m. there's a line of boys and girls at his door screaming "biblioteca, biblioteca!" (library).

In his carpentry shop, Mickey Eldridge of Morón makes a boy's work beneficial for the family. After first constructing an item for the YMCA (a towel rack, tool board or flower box) the youngster can make something for his home. On moving-day the boy is photographed in the back of the pick-up truck with his chair or desk or table and shuttled off to the ranchito where his anxious mother and neighbors await the results of all those hours he spends in the "im-kah."

Airport baseball

The members of the Anaco park show off their spirit by meeting visiting dignitaries at the airport with a YMCA banner and an iba, iba cheer.

In Barquisimeto, where Pete Adolph and Roger Kirkpatrick struggled a year without land, it was still a YMCA activity when the kids jumped the fence and started a ball game in the far corner of the airport property. Here, if you see the shortstop changing positions with the center fielder, it only means he has felt the call of nature and is following one of the field rules. When they tire of baseball, naked Nesso drags over an old mattress from his ranchito, spits in his hands and rubs his thighs, anticipating the first "ras-slin" of the afternoon. Since Kirkpatrick and Adolph arrived, these boys have been on military planes, have taken all-day trips to the beach, and have presented their brand of baseball for the president of Venezuela, Raul Leoni.

Boys and girls in the Los Haticos park of Maracaibo have performed for the American ambassador to Venezuela, Maurice Bernbaum, North American names being difficult for them, the 8-to-12-year-olds' chorus practiced repeatedly the welcoming song with the ambassador's name. But when the time came they couldn't hold it: "Buenas tardes, Sr. Bernbaum. Como esta? Buenas tardes, Sr. Bern-Bim. Como esta?" And the third and fourth times—"Baum-Bam!" and "Boom-Boom." The ambassador graciously held a straight face.

When Volunteers Jim Oliver and Will Prior were directing the first anniversary celebration of the Valencia park, Oliver was next to the ambassador. Prior was leading the national anthem and a boy stood ready to raise the Venezuelan flag.

Oliver whispered, "Well, Mr. Ambassador, what do you think of the ceremony?"

"Looks great," he answered, "but the flag is going up upside down."

As Oliver and Prior terminated, they talked the board of directors into having a joint dinner with boys from the park. The directors were reluctant. Not having much barrio contact, they thought the boys should eat first or in another room or at least at separate tables. But finally they were all seated together. When they passed the basket of bread, Gato ate it—every piece—thinking that was all to be served. But there was more. There was meat, and Gato didn't know how to use a knife and fork. As a hefty businessman hesitated, then leaned across the table to cut up Gato's meat, the ice broke for all of them and the dialogue began.
The YMCA philosophy:

Parks help solve problems

When 16 young Venezuelans were graduated from a two-year professional school in Caracas last summer, trained to teach in and direct recreational centers, the phase-out of the Peace Corps in the Venezuelan YMCA movement began.

The school, the Centro de Estudios, opened in 1962. The best qualified young people from Caracas and interior YMCA parks are sent there to study, most of them on scholarships from their local boards of directors.

Volunteer Barry Stern was assigned the driver’s seat. He directed the Centro de Estudios for two years, and when no Venezuelan replacement was immediately available, he was hired for a third year by the governing body of the school.

The Centro de Estudios is the only professional school for recreational leaders in Venezuela, and is the only way Volunteers can work themselves out of the 20 parks in the country. Before Stern left, he drew up plans to make the Centro a four-year directed recreation training school for the Caribbean area and to serve agencies other than the YMCA.

The YMCA idea came to Venezuela in 1946. A man named Clair Johnson initiated the first public recreation in the country with the philosophy of neighborhood centers—putting parks where the problems are. Johnson found leaders of the Venezuelan and North American communities to support him. But the YMCA never moved out of Caracas and Puerto La Cruz until the Peace Corps came in 1962.

The Volunteers accompanied the YMCA to the interior. Today the YMCA programs of 13 cities include team sports, agricultural clubs, park newspapers, manual arts, music and dance, women’s courses, leaders’ clubs and adult education. In some cases the YMCAs have developed community action programs and often constitute the only effective community development agencies in the poorer barrios. The Volunteers serve as center directors, teachers and as advisors to their boards of directors on YMCA administrative procedures.

The first YMCA Volunteers had more basic problems, like clearing acres of land with machetes, educating communities about the YMCA and forming their own boards of directors. They opened parks in Valencia, Maracaibo and Puerto Cabello.

Volunteers Will Prior and Jim Oliver took on a piece of undeveloped land in Valencia. The Americans and the barrio boys worked for months to prepare the area for playing fields, talking all the time about good sportsmanship and baseball and character and building soap box racers and caring for animals. Boys who swore and started fights weren’t allowed to work and thus couldn’t celebrate the result of work. Prior and Oliver set the pace in YMCA development, then moved into staff positions.

Later YMCA Volunteers searched out talented boys and girls to send to the Centro de Estudios, and the funds to send them. These Volunteers began to work with programming, membership policies and office systems. When the YMCA was made co-educational, programs for girls were initiated in a number of parks.

Volunteers are now trying to encourage more community involvement in the direction of the parks. Regional leagues have been formed to interchange ideas and encourage sports competitions. And working with the current Volunteers is the first group of Centro graduates.

YMCA Volunteers must work to solve serious problems common to many of the projects; they must develop leadership where none exists; they must help standardize systems for financial campaigns and must encourage the development of boards of directors with a sense of responsibility.

Good Peace Corps training and the structured nature of the YMCA have allowed Volunteers to see considerable progress. And the project operates in the vital area of Peace Corps concern for Latin America—social change. Hopefully, gone are the days when more Volunteers would show up at a meeting than directors.

With the phase-out beginning, the Peace Corps has dropped the YMCA tag and spread out into a field recognized as directed recreation. It’s all supervised by Ed Baca and Jim Johnson through the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (AAHPER), the Peace Corps’ overseas contractor.

The Baca-Johnson team is responsible for Volunteer physical education teachers, for Volunteers in the Boy Scouts, in Fe y Alegría (slum schools privately supported), in Boys’ Towns, in the Consejo Venezolano del Niño parks and homes for abandoned children, in rural recreation which works in towns too small for the National Sports Institute to serve, in physical rehabilitation and in the YMCAs.
Volunteer Elaine Joyce (top photo) teaches arts and crafts to YMCA park members. Author Judy Thelen (above, left) helps member Jesus Martinez affix wood map of Africa to library wall. Cutting world map was a project of students in Mrs. Thelen's geography class. Volunteer Bob Joyce (above, right) helps boys earn $40 for their YMCA park by cleaning streets of a nearby housing development.
Mogadishu, Somalia

Its construction began in 1910 under the orders of the “Mad Mullah.” In 1920 it was destroyed by order of Winston Churchill. Last summer, 46 years later, more than 50 Peace Corps Volunteers helped a field force of about 100 Somali police start rebuilding the great fortress of Taleh.

The fort is a tribute to Somali nationalism and a monument to the man who inspired its building—Sayyid Mohammed Abdille Hassan—known to the British as the “Mad Mullah.” Thousands of Somali men worked for ten years constructing the stronghold. When it was bombed by the British in one of history’s first examples of tactical air bombardment, the still uncompleted fort consisted of 13 separate 3-story dwellings connected by a towering wall 14 feet wide at the base and about 6 feet thick at the top.

The fort is surrounded by barren valleys where sheep, goats and camels still roam. Nearby gypsum hills supplied rock and mortar for the building and were also used as lookout posts.

The fort was bombed by the British in one of history’s first examples of tactical air bombardment, the still uncompleted fort consisted of 13 separate 3-story dwellings connected by a towering wall 14 feet wide at the base and about 6 feet thick at the top.

On the south side of the fort is the main road, once defended by men on horseback. These white-turbaned warriors, the Sayyid’s followers, were called dervishes.

Legends of the fort’s builder are told throughout Somalia. It is said that one of the gypsum hills contains gold buried by the Sayyid’s servants during the British attack. The Sayyid killed the servants himself and no one knows where the gold is.

To the west of the fort is the village tree where the Sayyid tested his followers. He would point to the large green tree and challenge: “Look at that dead and dried-up tree.” To the one man who did not agree with him, the Sayyid pointed and said: “This man is the only true Muslim among you.”

To the north of the main fort, on a large hill with a sentry fort, the Sayyid punished 19 Mullahs (religious leaders). He wanted to see how long they could survive without food. They all died in three weeks.

The national hero who led the religious, anti-colonial campaign against the British protectorates was also one of the greatest poets of Somalia. Throughout his struggle with the British and their allies, the Sayyid exchanged letters and verbal messages with all his enemies. He often trans-
ferred his letters into poetry—celebrating victories, answering the charges of his adversaries—in verse.

The work at Taleh is the Peace Corps' attempt to underwrite the nationalistic unity of Somalia, a concept symbolized by the fortress.

Fort clearing was a new undertaking for the Somalia Volunteers, most of whom were fresh from training in New York City. The 400-mile, two-day truck trip from Hargeisa into the bush was an overseas initiation. It had been planned that way by Peace Corps officials in Somalia who thought clearing the fort would be an extension of training and an effective orientation to Somalia.

A Peace Corps scouting party preceded the main group to set up a camp site. The only water available was very bitter and located in a small well far from the camp. Washing was done by hand from small pans. There was no wood for fires; a foraging party had to travel several miles to gather it. Lack of vegetation made privacy impossible. Rice and spaghetti were standard food fare.

Every morning the local nomads rose early, brought in the camels for milking and chanted prayers. Soon the work began. The rubble which had filled in the fort was attacked with picks and shovels; fallen rocks and mortar were hauled out by hand and in wheelbarrows. During breaks, Volunteers taught English to the Somali police. The work on the fort was completed two weeks later, on July 1, Somali Independence Day.

In celebration, there was a Somali parade and a roundup of horses in the fort. For their part, the Volunteers presented scenes from Shakespeare's "Henry the IV," assisted by tifly lamps.

The 50 Volunteer teachers were the first, but not the only, Peace Corps members to participate in the reconstruction of Taleh. A group of school construction workers arrived in October to undergo a similar orientation to Somalia.

Kay Dooner, a correspondent for THE VOLUNTEER, and Richard Crowell have been Volunteers in Somalia for more than a year. Crowell works in school construction; Miss Dooner teaches English in Mogadishu.
Seeking new priorities from old goals

By TOM NEWMAN

As everyone knows, crises are not new to the Peace Corps. However, the crisis it now faces could well be its last one, not because the Peace Corps has "arrived," but because the present challenge strikes directly at its fundamental being. The Peace Corps faces an identity crisis of late adolescence. It has passed the stages of infancy and childhood where sweet and simple ideas alone are sufficient nourishment, and where childish idealism, if not terribly well-directed, is tolerated for its potential. It soon must establish itself in the adult world of real life. If it has a special point to make it must, as Andrew Kopkind pointed out, "in the next year or two... prove that point or die."

The difference between an adolescent response to challenge and a truly creative one lies in a better understanding, first of the emerging, troubled world, and second, of the distinctive character of the Peace Corps itself. The danger the Peace Corps faces is that it will lose its distinctiveness, fail to recognize its special potential for a meaningful role in the twentieth century, respond to its challenges in a stereotyped way, and eventually go down the drain as a pale image of the Agency for International Development.

The vital question for the Peace Corps today is that of our "role" overseas. There has been no lack of discussion on this topic. It has been a favorite subject for parlor conversation since the beginning. What is needed is that it be taken out of the parlor, that the door be thrown open to the widest possible perspective, and that all our creativity and imagination be used in shaping a mode of engagement with the world which is consistent, not only with the realities of twentieth-century life, but with a broad philosophy which guides us in our mission.

Before we can freely explore the Peace Corps' "Darling New Look," however, we must unfetter our minds from a false image which has plagued us since 1961. It is that the Peace Corps provides "middle-level manpower" in programs of technical assistance. Underdeveloped countries are seen as lacking persons with needed technical skills. The Peace Corps provides the opportunity for young Americans to serve others by filling these gaps in the local occupational structure. A brief, intensive training program equips the Peace Corps Volunteer with a "hard skill," after which he is plugged into a program attacking a specific problem.

The most obvious difficulty with this notion is its expense. If we limit our view of the Volunteer's "input" to the technical skills he brings (mostly learned in a 12-week training program), we must face the question why Americans, and not host-nationals, are doing these jobs. The money spent training, transporting, and supporting one Peace Corps Volunteer could be used to train twenty host-nationals for not just two...
years, but a lifetime of service.

A deeper difficulty is that the entire idea rests on an oversimplified view of the problems of development. Underdeveloped countries do not simply lack our American technology. The inadequacy of the middle-level manpower image is that it sees only the economic and technical side, ignoring what we may broadly term the "cultural" dimensions of development problems.

A simple example may illustrate this point. A Volunteer working in agriculture sees an opportunity to increase crop yields if an irrigation system can be worked out. A gasoline pump delivering water through a network of ditches would be economically feasible provided a large enough area of land were included in the plan. The project fails, in spite of the obvious economic advantage, because local systems of social organization cannot manage the problem of political control over the pump and ditches.

A society's rippling pond

The principle which underlies this crude example is that societies are organic in nature. Economic and political systems, kinship and religious practices, are interwoven and interdependent patterns of behavior and belief which make up the fabric of a society. The combination of these interlocking patterns may be viewed as the mechanism by which a society adapts itself to its particular environment.

Returning to our irrigation example, a hasty analysis of the problem would see the community as simply lacking the water pump and system of ditches, as well as a trained technician to operate them. A closer look, however, reveals an important sociocultural dimension which cannot be ignored. Is it appropriate to call this a situation of manpower shortage, or are there no pump operators because in the larger context there is no market for them?

"Culture," then, is the other side of the development coin. The technostuctural world of a society is reflected in its world of ideas, and vice versa. Changes made in one world will have implications for the other.

Also, the resistance to change in one may impede progress elsewhere. In our example, development in the economic sphere was blocked by the intractability of local people's ideas of political organization—ideas about how and with whom they were to have certain kinds of relations. In any case, the importance of this interaction cannot be overestimated. AID has dotted the countryside with unused warehouses, airports, irrigation canals, and privies—all bearing testimony to its significance.

The middle-level manpower view, therefore, is not only a poor investment, but misses the half of the development story which, more often than not, is the crucial half. A more sophisticated view would emphasize the importance of the Volunteer's "foreignness," and the special perspective this gives him in any attempt to define his role. The fact that he is an outsider from a substantially different culture should be his single most important asset. AID, confined to ministerial level operations, is largely cut off from the minds of the people it is working with. The Peace Corps must capitalize on its special advantage in this regard.

With an understanding of societies as organic wholes, a sensitivity to the double-edged nature of development problems, and a recognition of the inadequacy of the middle-level manpower concept, the Peace Corps may approach the threshold of its daring new look. After three months on the job nearly every Volunteer has a creeping awareness that the skill, technique, or hardware he is trying to "sell" meets a resistance located in people's "attitudes." Because of this, we hear the opinion that the "intangibles" are the Peace Corps Volunteer's most important contribution—the new attitudes, values, or points of view that he "teaches." This is but another way of saying that his job is defined more in terms of cross-cultural interaction than in "hard," technostuctural innovations.

Yet, this "new view" of the Peace Corps raises issues of such magnitude that their importance cannot be overemphasized. As an AID official in a foreign capital pulling the macro-level strings to manipulate the gross variables, one may feel some justification in attacking basic economic problems—fighting poverty, ignorance, and disease. But the Volunteer in the barrio hopefully will have some pause, some moment of reflection, before he "attacks" the local culture.

This is not to say categorically that economic problems ought not to be attacked, or that cultures ought not to be changed. It is only to say that when one meddles with another man's culture it is a delicate matter, not one to be taken lightly. The American Indian is living testimony to the fact that men may prefer to maintain their cultural identity and self-respect than to adjust to our clean, well-fed, enlightened world.

Simple questions become compounded

Cultural imperialism, then, is a live issue for the Peace Corps. It should lead us to redoubled effort to implement Peace Corps goals two and three. It is of fundamental importance that Peace Corps Volunteers not act blindly, unaware of the deeper issues and implications of their actions. Our irrigation Volunteer will have to face the question of whether to work through local, existing systems of social organization or attempt to form a new social unit (for example, a "co-op"). This is not a simple question. The issue of an elitist vs. an egalitarian political order may arise. What rhetoric will he use to persuade them? Should he persuade them?

Alexander Hamilton stated the fundamental proposition upon which our system of government is based: "It has been frequently remarked, that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, to decide by their conduct and example, the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend, for their political constitutions on accident and force."

The Peace Corps, if its mission has anything to do with America's purpose in the world today, should dedicate itself to the proposition that development need not be a blind process beyond man's comprehension and control. It need not toss men and the things they

Tom Newman served as a Volunteer in the Philippines from 1962 to 1965. He has been a training project director and more recently a special assistant to Harris Wofford, associate director of the Peace Corps.
cherish in an unconscious, unknowing storm of change.

AID has built roads which have reached out and touched previously isolated communities. The advantages to villagers have been fairly obvious. However, to the farmer whose son, lured by city lights, leaves home and family for what appears an incomprehensible and probably wicked life, the road presents a problem of major dislocation. The first thing to come down that road out of the city should be a Peace Corps Volunteer on his bicycle. The Volunteer may bring a school, public health, rationalized agriculture, or even democracy—all the trappings of modern life which may eventually convince the farmer's son to come home.

But most importantly, he should bring a spirit of learning, an understanding and appreciation of the traditional culture he is approaching as well as an insight into the dilemmas and frustrations of the modern society he has left, and a willingness to explore alternative modes of adjustment to the changing world.

But we should not stop with the particular adjustment problems of a particular farmer. The issues involved are much larger than that. The Volunteer's confrontation, his "culture shock," is, in microcosm, the confrontation the world faces today. Wars, cold or hot, are fought when these confrontations become conflicts which elude our rational resolution. At its best, the Volunteer's dialogue with host counterparts should be carried out with an awareness of these larger issues, and in a spirit which honors their importance.

Goals two and three, therefore, are not separate and unrelated to goal one. Nor are they mere tools in the service of a technically defined job. The danger of this view, which sees the educational aims as an extension of technical studies, is that cultural sensitivity may be subverted to cultural manipulation. Cross-cultural studies should not aim simply at making a Volunteer able to "operate," but should be truly educational. This implies an open-endedness, a true spirit of inquiry, a willingness to re-examine one's fundamental assumptions and cultural habits. The educational goals, therefore, are even more fundamental to the Volunteer's role definition than his technical skill. Technical innovation creates the occasion for the real job of understanding and controlling technology.

How might this broad view of the Peace Corps be implemented? Obviously, more time and better programs are necessary to encourage and facilitate this continued learning process. Overseas programming should place Volunteers in situations where technical problems are minimal and sociocultural ones maximal. Means should be sought for a better integration in training of Volunteer experiences with these wider issues and concerns. The Contractor's Overseas Representative concept should be expanded to include more than technical backstopping—perhaps an anthropologist COR. Overseas staff should be more selectively recruited. They should be given a training program. In-country conferences should be held periodically where more than gripes and technical matters are discussed. The possibilities are unlimited. What we need is the vision, purpose, and will to succeed.

A precarious purity

ZINZIN ROAD. By Fletcher Knebel. Doubleday. 443 pages. $5.95.

By KEVIN LOWTHER

Going out smiling and ignoring political upheavals is routine business for the Peace Corps, recently honored by Guinea with both summary expulsion and warm official thanks for three years of service. It was the Peace Corps, too, that stayed on in two Latin American countries in 1963, although all other U.S. agencies had withdrawn amid severance of diplomatic relations with the revolutionary regimes in power.

The bizarre ending to a troubled Peace Corps program in Guinea, while not a major setback to the agency's standing and effectiveness in other parts of the world, serves as a warning on how easily the Peace Corps can become a political issue, especially where it drops its line into muddy waters.

Many people view as nothing less than incredible the fact that the Peace Corps has survived its first five years with relatively few "incidents," despite having sent more than 25,000 Americans overseas, some into political hotbeds. With mercurial leaders and unpredictable domestic volcanoes spotted throughout the developing world, it is a wonder, some say, that the Peace Corps has maintained an almost pristine image of apolitical endeavor.

But it has.
Ironically, against the backdrop of the Guinea exodus, comes the well-timed publication of a fast-paced Uggy American-type novel about a handful of Peace Corps Volunteers who become involved with an underground opposition to the family dictatorship of a West African country called Kalya.

The Zinzin Road is a book that might make nightmarish reading for some Peace Corps directors. Author Fletcher Knebel has a disturbing knack for translating impossible events into dangerously plausible situations.

In Seven Days in May it was the generals taking over Washington; in *The Zinzin Road*, two Volunteers and a staff member are drawn into an amateurish, but popularly-based, organization pledged to the overthrow of The Family, Kalya’s rulers for two decades.

The plot has everything—government corruption, CIA machinations, diplomatic storms threatening relations with America’s best friend in Africa, alleged Communist influences, sinister security police and oppressed masses—all sufficient to sell the book but likely to lead casual readers astray from a significant point: how easily a Volunteer could be trapped into involvement in a host country’s domestic affairs, thereby endangering not only the entire Peace Corps program, but American relations with the host government.

One almost wonders after reading *Zinzin* why it’s never happened before. Knebel’s Volunteers have the virtue of being on the “right” side in a contest that, in Volunteer eyes, pits the mass of “little people” against the nation’s autocratic ruling elite. Such a view, however, threatens the stability of the United States’ economic and political stake in Kalya.

The Volunteers, whom Knebel sees as recognizing the actual needs and aspirations of the Kalyan people, thus represent a revolutionary potential in a country where they are more apt than anyone else to develop close rapport with disaffected elements in rural towns far removed from the reach and understanding of a corrupt, city-bound administration.

“We (the U.S.) play along with a corrupt government,” says Volunteer leader Lew Corleigh, the book’s hero of sorts, “and we don’t pay attention to the poverty and real grievances of the people until it’s too late. . . . All our foreign aid money goes through government hands. It’s a subsidy for oppression (that) can only lead to revolution. And when that happens, the Peace Corps and the U.S. will wind up in the cold.”

Corleigh becomes such a nuisance to the Kalya authorities that the security police plant a mamba in his jeep. He is equally embarrassing to the American ambassador and to a Peace Corps director preoccupied with placating Kalyan ministries while undermining Volunteers in the process.

Knebel is not peddling fantasy in *Zinzin*. He is decidedly “African” in his approach to his subject: anything goes.

His respect for the bounds of credibility and not unknowledgeable observations of the African scene lend impact to his thesis that the Peace Corps, a maverick agency within the American federal establishment, must continue to rely on its Volunteers and its own independence to keep it on the path it was intended to follow.

Kevin Lowther is a public information writer for the Peace Corps. He was a Volunteer in Sierra Leone from 1963 to 1965, and editor of the newsletter, *The Kriopolitan*.

Life begins, and begins

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**Twenty-One Twice: A Journal By Mark Harris. Little, Brown. 288 pages. $5.95**

“What I’m trying to get at,” said Sargent Shriver to Mark Harris, “is a work of art. I call it that truly reveals the heart of what the hell’s going on in the Peace Corps. It’s so extraordinarily difficult to find anyone with sensitivity, it ends up by being schmaltzed, and that’s not what I want.”

What Shriver didn’t know won’t hurt him. His invitation to the novelist resulted in an evaluation of a Peace Corps program in Africa, authorized eyes only, destined for archives. The literary fallout is this journal, which is another installment in the “What Makes Mark Harris Tick” series. Harris has the sensitivity, all right, but here he applied it all to his favorite subject, Mark Harris, and left the Peace Corps all schmaltzed up.

Shriver tried. He brought Harris to Washington for orientation and once introduced him as “the author who’s going to psychoanalyze the Peace Corps.” But Harris had other ideas. At one point he confided: “I wouldn’t mind being the Ernie Pyle of the Peace Corps.” But, alas, he minded very much, for the Peace Corps was too remote from his chief character. One result is that it takes him 190 pages to reach Africa to see the Peace Corps in action. Most of the journal is devoted to his difficulties, real and imagined, in gaining a security clearance for the trip. It takes most of the remaining pages to get him back. Going and coming, he delights himself and, presumably, those who seek further revelations about the man and writer Harris. The book has everything to do with him, and virtually nothing to do with the Peace Corps.

For the legions who have trod the geography of Peace Corps headquarters, he writes: “The Hot Shoppes is so tiresome: I ate all three meals there today, never going off the block. I’m the odd fellow that lives in the hotel and never goes off the block—my home and office are on the block, and several restaurants and camera shop and a typewriter shop and a drugstore and a bank. What more can a man ask?”

Not much, if the man is endowed with Harris’ imagination, and his talent for translating a $65-a-day job into what the book jacket calls a private experience. Harris is hardly to blame for having missed out on the Peace Corps; he was, after all, only using it to catalogue his discoveries of middle age (42 years old). Others should be so fortunate; maybe with the next “name” writer, the Peace Corps will be.

—S.A.
PCVs air Saturday show on Ecuador station

Cuenca, Ecuador

Bienvenidos al programa del Cuerpo de Paz por su emisora Radio Visión, mil kilocycles, Cuenca, Ecuador...

It is Saturday night in Cuenca, and the Peace Corps is on the air.

For the next hour, listeners of Radio Visión are tuned in on the Peace Corps show, a two-year-old part-time venture of Volunteers here.

Volunteers Bill Goldstein and Danny Noble, assisted by Volunteer Carmen Rivera ("language proficiency: not bad!" says Goldstein; Rivera is from Puerto Rico), are the producers, directors, disc jockeys, newscasters and occasional news subjects for the show.

Goldstein likens the format to the Voice of America "Breakfast Club" with one important difference: everything here is done in Spanish.

The format includes popular American music sandwiched between interviews with Volunteers, their counterparts and other officials of Cuenca. Rivera appears regularly with the "Peace Corps News" and presents items of information about nutrition, sanitation and other "felt-need" topics.

Two New York City radio stations recently boosted the program's music library, reports Goldstein. WOR sent a tape of music from Broadway shows, and WMCA passed on two tapes of top rock 'n roll tunes.

The Peace Corps program was launched two years ago by Volunteers Charles Jennings, Hill Padilla, Virginia and Russell Simmons, Jack Swegel and Ignacio Perry, with the help of others. Then came Ed Delsi, whose airwave English lessons were aided by pre-distribution of mimeographed dialogues, and Don Gustafero, a Volunteer disc jockey who expanded the music section by using his own jazz combo featuring Ecuadorian musicians. They were succeeded by Goldstein, a Hunter College political science major, and Noble, an American University graduate who had experience with the campus radio station.

Moonlighting

The Cuenca Volunteers rank the Saturday night show as a strictly secondary activity. Goldstein spends most of his time with an organization seeking to increase artisan exports, and Noble is with credit cooperatives.

Goldstein picked up a promotional role with a sweater-making group launched two years ago by a Volunteer in Cuenca, and has sought to export its products directly through a mail-order scheme. He reports that the first advertisement placed in The New Republic last summer was so successful that he is ready to apply the same technique to help other artisan groups.

In Goldstein's view, both the radio program and the sweater group "are the result of an evolution which was only made possible through the smooth operation of Volunteer replacing Volunteer." He has this thought on being a second-generation Volunteer:

"The fact that a former Volunteer has been the Volunteer to have launched a project hardly means that the new Volunteer coming into the area cannot take the same project, inject his own ideas into it, and help it on its evolutionary way."
LETTERS TO THE VOLUNTEER

Thoughts on the city Volunteer

Realistic portrayal

To The Volunteer:

With one issue you have redeemed yourself from your willful or unwillful emphasis on the isolated and deprived rural Volunteer. "The Peace Corps in the City" was the most realistic and heartening issue we have read. Since October, 1965 we have been working in a pioneer urban community development program in the capital city of San Salvador and have been experiencing many of all the situations described in the September issue.

We are grateful to you for highlighting this somewhat forgotten area in the Peace Corps and for perhaps helping our campo co-workers and the folks back home to understand and appreciate the seemingly easy and yet equally difficult job of the urban Peace Corps Volunteer. The articles were remarkable in their frankness and honesty in describing failures and frustrations of the Volunteer as well as his qualified successes. This meaningful and forthright type of journalism will make The Volunteer a definite support for the Peace Corps Volunteer and not just a continued series of success stories.

Helenmarie Gaucht
Linda Gray
Patricia Yander
San Salvador, El Salvador

Such sadness exists

To The Volunteer:

I was truly shocked to hear that in Maracaibo the soccer association field was abandoned because it was overgrown with weeds and tends to flood. But when I heard that the new swimming pool was unused because the filter system had broken down, I cried for five minutes straight; such sadness exists in this world. Only highly skilled American (without or with tennis sneakers) Peace Corps Volunteers could help these depressed city folk in these crushing circumstances.

I for all times shall admit that I'm wasting my time here in my little south Indian village, having not in the entire nine months I've been here given one lousy skill-demanding, intellectually-trying, competition-producing university lecture. Instead, realizing my own evidently very limited capabilities, I have stuck to teaching campfire songs to the half naked children in my neighborhood. The poor things don't even have enough money to buy a full outfit to wear to the filtered swimming pool. Gad! To think of the time I've wasted in school health with half naked youngsters when I could have taught those unfortunate city kids how to jerk, swim, twist, run, jump, monkey, watusi... .

Richard Smith
Ernakulam District, India

Points to consider

To The Volunteer:

A very common experience in the Peace Corps is meeting other Volunteers and later wondering "What are they doing in the Peace Corps?" I had the same reaction after reading your issue on the city Volunteer. Much, I am sure, is a reaction to the overly idealistic approach of so many of the earlier Volunteers, and their underemphasis on job qualification.

I am a city Volunteer in a "soft" teacher training program (English) which requires extensive preparation and capability. I do not live in a mud hut, but neither do I lead the middle-class existence—it would bore me. I "graciously avoid" the Volunteers, Americans and Europeans in the city, while my Spanish improves rapidly.

I would like to submit the following comments and hope that the writers involved will read and consider them:

- The Peace Corps is more than a government agency for procuring jobs abroad for nice, young college kids.
- One does not associate with host country people because of something "in common," but because of the lack of it. This might be called the Peace Corps attitude, to distinguish it from other attitudes; for example, that of the employees of the Shell Oil Company.
- It is a harmful approach to think that a winning smile is all that is necessary for a successful Volunteer. But it is just as harmful to think that the job is all that counts. That is, we are neither Boy Scouts nor Agency for International Development technicians.
- Americans used to be thought of as arrogant, rich people who moved into foreign countries, took jobs the natives might have had, and lived and talked among themselves, scorning the native population. Peace Corps was hoping to change that impression.
- In nine out of ten host countries, the presence or absence of the Peace Corps can make no immediate "real" difference in the social or economic structure. We are supposed to be operating on a more subtle level. Hence the necessity to mingle, to communicate.
- If one lives in, say, Colombia, in the same manner as one has lived in, say, New Jersey, after two years one will have gained not much more than a suntan and exposure to a lot of pretty scenery.
- The level of one's counterparts (or their attitudes and prejudices) need not dictate the level of the Volunteer who, after all, has obligations outside his job. This especially pertains if one's counterparts (my case) are often quite well off.

John Stephen Lo Pinto
Pereira, Colombia

Matter of preference

To The Volunteer:

As a third-year Volunteer who has been stationed both out in the bush and in a major city, my impression so far is that the major rewards are to be sown and reaped out in the bush. What with the ubiquitousness of international communications, although each big city retains a certain amount of its own unique flavor, most big cities throughout the world are more or less the same. This universal uniformity, however, is not true of the world's bush area. Out in the boon-docks is where the Peace Corps can teach and learn more.
Complains of draft

To THE VOLUNTEER:

So far, out of Philippines 19, three of us are being drafted. Actually, there are four of us being recalled because my wife will leave with me. There is something incomprehensible about this turn of events, for male Volunteers in the past were protected from intrusion by local draft boards, at least until termination. Why the judges of our fate thought that we should be of more use as soldiers at this time, after extensive and expensive training, I cannot understand.

Had we known that I would be turned down even in my Presidential appeal, we would never have joined the Peace Corps. This has been an exercise in futility; we had just gotten settled in our assignment. I should have stayed at home, safe with my 2-S in graduate school, and my wife should have accepted the $6,300-a-year teaching job offered her.

I can hardly blame the Peace Corps staff. I know they stay up nights in Washington hassling for our deferments. The responsibility for this inexcusable waste rests squarely on the shoulders of those who created the Peace Corps, obtain its supply of funds, etc. They have neglected their obligation to protect at least their sworn-in and serving Volunteers.

FRED LONIDIER
Iligan City
Lanao Del Norte, Philippines

Wrong training

To THE VOLUNTEER:

In the past few issues I have read several comments on the unstructured program instituted in Puerto Rico. Seven months ago I participated in the program, which was ostensibly designed to prepare me for work with credit cooperatives in Ecuador. Now, with the perspective that hindsight gives, I am prompted to write that the unstructured program was almost non-applicable to our group of co-op Volunteers. Although it did help us to adapt more easily to the living and cultural conditions in the host country, the program was too nebulous to be of any direct assistance in preparing us for our specific job with the credit union movement.

If the Peace Corps hopes to accomplish the purposes it espouses, the training programs must be adapted more specifically to the particular work the trainee will confront in his future host country. The unstructured program’s basic tenet of encouraging the trainee to look within themselves for resources is good. But it must consider the fact that if Volunteers do not have a relevant technical base to offer the host country nationals, the majority of Volunteers usually lapse into lethargy and despair, or at best, their job becomes only a cultural exchange. I strongly emphasize that in future programs, potential Volunteers be offered

THE VOLUNTEER welcomes readers’ opinions on subjects of general interest to the Peace Corps. The shorter the better. Letters are subject to condensation.

required reading

To THE VOLUNTEER:

The September issue has some of the most mature and well written analyses of a foreigner’s role in cities overseas that I have ever seen. It should be required reading for all Americans going abroad.

MRS. LEON B. POULLADA
Princeton, N.J.
A mother suggests

To THE VOLUNTEER:

I am a Peace Corps Volunteer mother and very much interested in this program. It is a fine thing for other countries and their people to know we Americans can extend a helping hand without a gun in it. But why do our Peace Corps Volunteers have to make out on such meek rations and living conditions when better are available where they are located? They are not exiles from our country to be punished for some wrong-doing. They are people who are willing to sacrifice to help where they can do something constructive. These people are young folks, a lot of them are eager to please and be appreciated; but when the leaders they have placed over them will not cooperate and show interest in the program to be carried out, it is rather discouraging, to say the least. Let's all get in this project and help support it so these Volunteers can have the materials they need to work with made available to them.

Also, the living standards should not have to be the lowest in the country they are sent to. They could be respected enough to have available the best that their host country has to offer. I hope to read this letter in THE VOLUNTEER, and would be glad to have others' opinions on this subject.

MRS. GALE ZIEGLER
South Whitley, Ind.

Correction

Three photographs that appeared in the Peace Corps Portfolio (THE VOLUNTEER, October) were incorrectly identified by author and country. The photographs titled “Citizen of Nigeria,” “Hillside dwellings in Nigeria” and “Enjoying the dance in Nigeria” were taken by John Hand, formerly a Volunteer in Senegal, and not Roger Landrum, as the captions stated. Hand took the hillside photograph in Morocco; the other two in Senegal. The photograph titled “Nigerian market mother with brood” was correctly identified as Landrum's.

Memorandum

TO: The field
FROM: The editors
SUBJECT: Rushing and running

A University of Missouri student went through registration for a Peace Corps training project for West Bengal, India, before he discovered he was in the wrong line in the wrong hall for the wrong reason. He thought he was signing up for rush week.

Attention Peace Corps poets: fabled Polymagnum is being replaced. The medical division reports that “Poly’s” niche in the medical kits will be taken over by a triumvirate: Bismuth, Pectin, and Paregoric. Their effect on iambic pentameter has yet to be measured.

Former Under Secretary of State George Ball likened the Department of State to a fudge factory. His successor, Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, came up with this gem: “I have discovered that the foreign policy process is more like a taffy pull. One bureau pulls against another bureau. I am the referee, and already I can understand the turnover rate among under secretaries.”

Fastest men in the Peace Corps: Reginald Pearman and Charles Jenkins. They’ve been on the same track for several years, too. Pearman ran the 800 meter race in the Olympics of 1952, the year he set new U.S. records in the indoor half mile and the outdoor 500 meter run. Jenkins won a gold medal in the 400 meter and 1600 meter relay in the 1956 Olympics. In 1960, Jenkins beat out Pearman for a slot on the U.S. Olympic team, and went on to win the 400 meter run in Rome. Pearman later became an associate Peace Corps director in Venezuela; Jenkins became an associate director in Thailand. Lately they have both served in the Division of Volunteer Support—Pearman as a counselor in the Career Information Service; Jenkins as a Special Services officer.

Ten years ago: Jenkins (right) vs. Pearman (second from right), at the finish line of the National AAU track championships in New York City.
Task forces seek Volunteer opinions

Task forces are reviewing six areas of importance to Volunteers, reports Robert Calvert Jr., director of the Division of Volunteer Support.

Groups are studying the role of Volunteers in country programming, administration, the role of returned Volunteers employed by the Peace Corps, responsibility for payment of return travel by early terminators, social behavior, and Volunteer finances.

In some cases, task forces will be contributing immediately to decision making. One example is in early terminations, where a revision of the current policy is planned for the near future.

Calvert said the task forces were designed to allow Volunteers a channel through which they can contribute to the decisions that affect them. "Obviously the experience of Volunteers and their knowledge of conditions in the field make their opinions very relevant to everything the Peace Corps does," Calvert said. "The problem has been how to tap Volunteer opinions. With more than 12,000 Volunteers in more than 40 countries, with vast differences in their experiences and difficult communication systems, the task is formidable."

Here is a list of the task forces, some of the questions they seek answers to, and the names of their chairmen, all of whom may be reached through the Division of Volunteer Support, Peace Corps, Washington, D. C. 20525.

Role of Volunteers in Programming. A search for ways in which Volunteers can participate in programming. Can experienced Volunteers make site surveys, orient new Volunteers and study local needs? Chairman: Halsey Beemer.

Volunteer Finance. The original readjustment allowance was established in 1961 at $75 a month. Living costs and college expenses have risen; $75 may not be sufficient to cover the purpose for which it was established. Should the Peace Corps ask Congress for permission to raise the allowance? If so, to what amount? Also, should the worldwide $7.50 per diem vacation allowance be changed? Adjusted to country or area requirements? Chairman: Steve Guild.

Special Problems of Large Countries. The Peace Corps density has grown. The average number of Volunteers in each country four years ago was 71; now it is more than 200. What special problems occur when there are hundreds of Volunteers in a country? How can countries with large numbers of Volunteers maintain effective staff-Volunteer contacts? Do regional offices help? How effective have they been? How have advisory councils been organized and what issues have they considered? What actions have been taken as a result of their efforts? Chairman: Michael Haviland.

Utilization of Returned Volunteers. Several hundred former Volunteers now work for the Peace Corps in Washington and abroad. Some feel their impact on the agency has not been as great as they anticipated. Is this the fault of the Peace Corps, or the individual, or is it simply that the expectations were unrealistic? Are talented former Volunteers being used by the Peace Corps in routine positions? Does the five-year staff limitation make unattainable Jack Vaughn’s stated hope that the director of the Peace Corps in 1975 will be a former Volunteer? Should there be a management training program for former Volunteers? Chairman: Karen Maehl.

Payment of Return Transportation. Under current regulations, Volunteers who terminate early for reasons under their control are required to pay the cost of their return transport. The reasoning is that they have failed to live up to their commitment to serve for a certain length of time overseas, and the Peace Corps should feel no obligation to pay their way home. Is the system equitable? Is it fair to ask the early returnee from Thailand to pay $600 while the early returnee from Jamaica pays less than $100? Should the Volunteer who leaves after 18 months of service have to pay as much as the Volunteer who leaves after two weeks? Should the Volunteer placed in a bad job have to pay as much? If the Peace Corps sends someone overseas who probably should not have been sent (a selection error) should that Volunteer pay his way home? Should the Peace Corps automatically pay everyone’s way home? Chairman: Nathan Miller.

Volunteer Behavior. The Peace Corps tells Volunteers it expects their behavior to be exemplary. Is this enough to say? What should Volunteers be told in training about their personal behavior overseas? What happens when there is a conflict of values between the host country and the United States? Between the host country and the Volunteer? Between the Volunteer and the staff? How much should the Peace Corps have to say about Volunteer behavior? What’s the best way to say it? Chairman: Barbara Boyle.

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