On measuring change  p. 2
The draft question  (continued)  p. 8
Agents of development  p. 11
Where have you been?"
"Out."
"What have you been doing?"
"Nothing—well, nothing that I can tell for sure."

After six years "out there" the Peace Corps is still not very sure of what it has accomplished and, perhaps, what it wants to do. For too long, the Peace Corps has been content to describe its goals in such imprecise terms as "community development," or "bringing the Twentieth Century to African studies." A high-level Peace Corps official has stated the goal as "a galvanizing of the hidden potential of people to better themselves."

These statements can be very moving but the trouble is that they don't help us decide in which direction to move. How is a "galvanizer" (change agent, catalyst, expeditor, revolutionary, and so on) trained or placed, and, more importantly, what does he do when he begins to "galvanize?"

The need for defining goals clearly cannot be separated from the problems of measuring the attainment of the goals. More precise data on which to base programming decisions would be enough reason to establish systematic measurements of Peace Corps activities, but I feel that an even more fundamental reason is that only through committing ourselves to measuring our results will we be forced to define our goals clearly. It is axiomatic that it is only possible to measure that which can be explicitly and precisely defined.

Goals stated in general terms certainly have their place, especially in the founding of an organization such as the Peace Corps. Nice ringing phrases help to mobilize people, because almost anyone who wants to do anything can feel that he shares the organization's goals. This is fine when the organization also does not know what it wants to do, but after six years I would hope the Peace Corps now has a more precise sense of direction.

Let me also hasten to add that defining our goals more clearly neither limits in any way the number of goals we may have nor forces everyone to follow a master formula. We should have precise goals that relate to economic development and education, as David Elliott has sought to outline, and we should encourage as many means for attaining these goals as we have Volunteers to discover the means.

As James Pines said in his article "Measuring Peace Corps performance," The Volunteer, March, some Volunteers and staff members feel that "the results of Peace Corps efforts won't be visible for 20 years," and, besides, we "are changing attitudes and nobody can measure that."

In debates about impact measurement in the Peace Corps I also have often heard this distinction between that which is measurable and that which isn't, or, as it is often put, between the "tangible" and "intangible" results of the Peace Corps. Tangible results are thought to be countable physical objects: miles of road, depths of latrines, or numbers of students. Since these items are easy to qualify, it is feared that they alone will be used to evaluate what the Peace Corps is doing. No one who knows the Peace Corps well, however, would say that these physical objects are its most important product; we hope that we have some impact on people's ability to work with one another, their sense of their own dignity and efficacy and so on.

If we could measure "tangible" effects only, the evaluation of Peace Corps work would be terribly distorted but on closer examination it becomes apparent that the dichotomy between tangible and intangible effects is misleading. From the measurement point of view, the only thing intangible about attitudes, values and motives is our fuzzy thinking about them. Behavioral scientists have developed numerous techniques for measuring, with varying degrees of precision, all types of "intangibles."

There is, then, no logical reason for separating measurements of various objects or concepts into a dichotomy of "tangible" and "intangible." Our tendency to do this probably stems from our difficulty in remembering that a symbol such as a numerical measurement never actually represents the entirety of an object or concept. Obtaining a measurement of the length of a table, for instance, does not tell us a great deal about the total "reality" of the table. Measurements should be thought of as objective indices or partial clues that never fully describe the total object. A measurement is never "true" or "false" but provides more or less information about an object or concept. To use a rough analogy, when we measure anything we are like a partially blind man who is looking at a very large painting. He looks at various portions of the painting with his magnifying glass and then, based on these partial views, he makes his best estimate of what the total picture must be like.

I believe that the main obstacle to stating and measuring our goals

By GARY BERGTHOLD
clearly lies not in the technical problems of measurement but in our own uncertainties about whether we actually want to set precise and measurable goals for ourselves. I think our difficulty in setting goals stems from a number of ambivalences in American values. The first is our desire to achieve a broad consensus regarding the goals of our public programs. So long as we state our public goals in the most general terms, almost all Americans can agree on the objectives. For example, most of us would agree that an important aim of education is to impart techniques of democratic living to students, but our consensus breaks down when those students decide to march in protest against city hall.

Precisely defined objectives not only open us to the possibility of having to debate their values but also to the necessity of demonstrating their attainment. This openness to public evaluation of effectiveness is very daring and rare among public agencies, but it is certainly needed. The Peace Corps, with its vast backlog of popular support, should take the lead in demonstrating to other federal agencies that public evaluation of its effectiveness can reduce what Daniel P. Moynihan calls the "crisis of confidence" in our government programs.

Changing values

Perhaps the most important underlying ambivalence about defining and measuring objectives stems from our inability to decide whether we really want to be "agents of change." It seems that in their reaction to the history of the unfortunate European attempts to "civilize the natives"—by making them facsimiles of Frenchmen or Englishmen—many young Americans have become nearly immobilized in their cultural relativism. The best statement of the dilemma produced by this relativism that I have heard occurred during a conversation I recently had with a group of Peace Corps trainees preparing to teach in Africa. When I asked them if there were any specific changes in attitudes and values they would like to see their students adopt, I was met with protests of, "But we can't foist our American values on our students." We then discussed whether it was possible to stand before a class for a year without having some effect on students' values, whether this effect was intentional or not. Most of the trainees agreed that, yes, it probably was impossible to completely hide their values from their students. Then, a very insightful female trainee made a statement that seemed to sum up what many of us felt:

"I don't really care so much whether I change some of my students' values, I just don't want to know that I'm doing it."

But, what if we actually do produce unintentional changes in our students and clients? And what if some of these changes are undesirable? The question now is whether it is ethical to turn our backs and sigh, "Whatever will be, will be."

Do we really have anything to worry about? Are we producing any changes? I think it is symptomatic of our ambivalence about producing individual changes that we still have no direct research evidence that Peace Corps Volunteers actually produce any changes in the individuals with whom they work. A recently reported research study, although not intended as research on Peace Corps impact, provided indirect evidence that a planned program which included Peace Corps Volunteers resulted in significant psychological changes in its participants. The researchers conducted detailed interviews with 51 farmers who participated in a rural development program in the Comilla district of East Pakistan and with 158 farmers from similar "control" villages that had no special development program.

The questions were designed to measure the farmers' belief in their own efficacy: attitudes toward birth control; openness to new social experience and other "psychological characteristics that are important from the standpoint of modernization—ability, aspiration and knowledge."

The Comilla development program had not set its goals in terms of these psychological changes, so any measured changes were incidental to the stated goals of the program.
The results showed that farmers who had been involved in the development program differed from farmers in control villages on a large number of the psychological dimensions that were measured. Such factors as "belief in efficacious change and control of the environment, attitudes toward birth control and even measures of verbal aptitude" changed significantly. Not all hypothesized changes were borne out by the study, however. Notably, no difference between the groups was found in their aspirations for the future. Unfortunately, this study failed to search for negative effects of the development program but one might wonder whether the farmers paid any of the psychological prices of modernization such as increased anxiety or alienation from their traditional society.

Goals clear to all

Although I advocate that we squarely face the issue of change, I by no means suggest that we ram our values down anyone's throat. The guiding principle for any change program should be that goals be made as clear to our hosts as they are to the Peace Corps. If goals were clearly and openly stated, host countries would be able to know what they were getting from the Peace Corps, something that is not now entirely possible. All of this assumes, of course, that we find out what effects we are having, and this means that a great deal of research on Peace Corps impact is needed.

For those who are still uneasy about the prospect of being effective change agents, let me hasten to destroy any fantasies we may have about potency. A few Peace Corps Volunteers are unlikely to produce major changes in an entire culture. In fact, it would take the most advantageous circumstances to enable Volunteers to be truly effective change agents. As Raymond Bauer has pointed out, any change program is faced with an "obstinate audience," that is, people have a great capacity to resist persuasion and usually accept only those changes they want. The fact of the matter is that in the confrontation between an established culture and a few Volunteers, one would certainly expect more change to occur in the visitors than in the infinitely more powerful host culture.

I have been talking about the importance of establishing specific and measurable change goals in the Peace Corps, and it is time to produce some examples of the kinds of goals I mean. Let's say that one of the goals of a particular Peace Corps project is to "increase student interest in and knowledge of world affairs." The agreed upon measure of attainment of this goal might be an increase in the number of students who read a newspaper or listen to a news broadcast at least once a week, and improvement on a test of current events given at the beginning and end of the school year. Goals stated with this specificity have almost self-evident means of attainment. The Volunteer might start a school newspaper or distribute copies of a local paper to his students. He might bring his portable radio to school so the students could listen to news broadcasts during the lunch break, or he might form a current events club.

A more basic change goal for the Peace Corps is suggested by research on the "need for achievement" which has been carried out over the past 20 years by Professor David McClelland and his associates. This research, summarized in his book, The Achieving Society, shows that there are identifiable and measurable patterns of human thought and action which are associated with, and probably lead to, economic development in all societies.

The traits of people with high achievement motivation have been thoroughly documented through years of careful research. They tend to set challenging, yet realistic goals for themselves, avoiding extremely high-risk and extremely low-risk goals in which their efforts are either doomed to failure or guaranteed of success. They prefer situations in which they can obtain immediate and concrete evaluations of how well they are doing, they take personal responsibility for the outcomes of their own efforts, and they attempt to control their own destinies.

Although many Americans are generally quite high in achievement motivation, it is by no means a strictly American trait. In fact, a number of societies in the non-Western world have been found to contain a comparatively high percentage of people with these traits, and these same societies are the very ones that have been able to make the best use of their resources for economic development.

I have described achievement motivation in some detail in order to show how clearly specifying the goal can suggest the means of attaining the goal. Within the past few years, techniques have been developed for increasing achievement motivation in individuals through special educational courses. These courses have now been given to students and businessmen in many countries, and evaluation studies of their effects have shown that they can produce significant changes in the behavior of the trainees. In Kakinada, India, for example, the subsequent activities of businessmen who took achievement motivation courses were compared with a control sample of businessmen who did not take the courses. Evaluations showed that those who took the course continued long afterwards to be much more active and entrepreneurial than those who did not.

Looking at motivation

More recently, a number of achievement motivation courses have been designed and given to groups of American adolescents. These courses use a series of games, group discussions and special readings to teach the thought and action elements of achievement motivation: moderate risk-taking, seeking and using information about progress toward goals, preference for personal responsibility, and taking individual initiative. The re-
The research and development of these courses has been carried out by the Achievement Motivation Development Project of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Evaluations of the courses have shown that participants increase in the amount of self-directed activities they engage in following the course and often begin to obtain better school grades as well.

During the past year, specially designed four-day courses in achievement motivation have also been given to several groups of Peace Corps trainees. These courses present the research and theoretical background of motivation theory and emphasize the application of the ideas to classroom teaching or community development.

One Volunteer who had taken the course during training realized that the way he was teaching English represented a "high-risk situation" for his students because, try as they might, every paragraph they wrote contained numerous errors of grammar or spelling. A single paragraph contained hundreds of possibilities to make errors and the students were terribly discouraged when they were handed back papers literally covered with red marks. The Volunteer decided to change his marking technique to provide moderate risks for the students, so that an improvement in skill could be more easily noticed. Each week the Volunteer would teach a different concept of grammar, and he would mark only that concept and the concepts taught in preceding lessons in red. All other mistakes were marked in blue, and were not counted as errors. Now, the students had a better chance to obtain mastery of the subject, and the Volunteer reported that his students approached English with new enthusiasm and confidence.

Another Volunteer adapted a game-theory approach used in the achievement motivation course to teach his business school students how to set realistic goals for themselves and how to evaluate the attainment of those goals. The students played a game in which they were given a five-minute period to make folded paper airplanes under rigid control specifications. Before the production period, the students estimated their output and "bought" enough material to complete the number of planes they estimated. After the production period, correctly completed planes were then "sold" for a profit but unused material represented a loss. In discussions following the game the teacher was able to illustrate vividly successful achievement strategies by using the analogies drawn from the production game.

It is not difficult to measure objectively an "intangible" goal such as increasing the achievement motivation of students. Measures have been developed to determine the degree to which students incorporate the action characteristics of achievement motivation into their own behavior, and "achievement thoughts" can be evaluated by noting the imagery used in students' writing. But, most importantly, having specified a goal precisely enough to be able to measure its attainment, we have been able to make progress in the means of its attainment as well.

Gary Bergthold earned A.B. and M.A. degrees at the University of California at Los Angeles before serving as a Peace Corps teacher in Ethiopia from 1962 to 1964. He is working toward a doctorate at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, and is executive secretary of the Human Development Foundation, an organization formed to promote research on the Peace Corps.

For Americans with no experience in the problems of cross-cultural relations, there are many good ideas and experiences to be found in Larry Fuchs' new book. The author does a good job of discussing both American and Filipino cultural values and Volunteer life in the Republic of the Philippines, where he was the first Peace Corps director from 1961 to 1963. He emphasizes the truly unique factors which have shaped American character, and he views the Peace Corps as a manifestation of one aspect of that character: our historical sense of mission to the world. However, former Volunteers or anyone else looking for any new or unusual contributions to these questions is doomed to disappointment. For these readers, David Riesman's introduction is the most worthwhile part of the book.

Though none of my time as a Volunteer was under Fuchs, I read the book with great personal interest, constantly comparing my own thoughts and experiences in the Philippines with those presented. With this admittedly subjective approach, I was for the most part very unsatisfied by the book. Only later did I realize that Fuchs has written a book which can and will be appreciated by those who have not shared a Peace Corps or a similar experience.

Those Peculiar Americans opens with a discussion of the sense of an American "mission" to the world—a belief to be found throughout the growth of the United States, from its founding to the present. Religious freedom, personal and national independence, democracy, achievement and equality of opportunity are some of the main themes which are shown to have dominated American thought and values at different times and in varying degrees. Quotations from prominent historical figures serve to illustrate the fervor of this belief. (Ironically, it was during the peak period of such national sentiment at the turn of the last century that the United States decided to annex the very country about which Fuchs writes.) Our mission in World War I was to "make the world safe for democracy," but the post-war period was one of isolationism and uncertainty. Under the heading "The Collapse of Purpose," Fuchs discusses the even greater uncertainty which followed World War II.

The subject of the Peace Corps is introduced almost climactically, as if it represented a new national purpose. Would that this were so. Fuchs' choice to view the Peace Corps as an expression of American cultural values is a point that seems to me well taken, but I obtained the impression that the author's perspective on the relative importance of the Peace Corps was out of focus. Many Volunteers, myself included, have at one time considered themselves as something new, different and vitally important on the world scene. We may be a different kind of missionary, and consider our mission, as Fuchs says, "more personal, less global," but there are strong elements of missionary thinking and motivation, nonetheless. It comes as something of a shock to discover that many religious missionaries, teachers, doctors and others have come long before us.

Incidentally, the creation of the Peace Corps is first introduced by a discussion of The Ugly American (which is perhaps to the Peace Corps Volunteer what Thoughts of Chairman Mao is to a young Chinese). No doubt the impact of The Ugly American has been great, but Fuchs leaves the reader thinking that Eugene Burdick and William Lederer are the true Founding Fathers of the Peace Corps. If this is in fact the case, it has escaped me until now.

Strange new creatures

The remainder of Chapter One presents the purposes of the Peace Corps—some of the oratorical pronouncements made at the beginning are amusingly grandiose, viewed six years later—and outlines some of the characteristics of these strange new creatures, the Volunteers.

Chapters Two through Five are a tangled but comprehensive discussion of Philippine culture and Volunteer reactions and problems in it. For anyone unfamiliar with Filipino life and the Peace Corps "experience" in general, these chapters will make satisfactory reading. Many fundamental Filipino cultural values are dis-
Fuchs does raise many of the questions which Volunteers ask themselves at various stages of their tours, but I was disappointed by his disinclination to state his own answers. Too often, a basic and important question is asked (a Volunteer writes: "I see many things that could be changed from my Stateside way of looking at things . . . but I can't quite overlook the question: Should I?"). Fuchs' only comment is that Volunteers came up with different answers, and he often does not state what some of these answers were. In short, the depth I would have expected from a book such as this is frequently not to be found. Quotations from "outstanding" and "exceptional" Volunteers are successive and tiresome.

By JONATHAN EDDY

The final chapter, "To Experience Each Other," is an interesting but very confusing attempt to interpret the "meaning" of the Peace Corps experience for the individuals involved and for America as a whole. There seems to be little room in American life for the kinds of meaningful personal relationships and other experiences which Volunteers and others often found in developing countries: "Surely, Americans are far behind others in their capacity to appreciate and understand mystery, or in expressing their bodies freely and rhythmically, or in absorbing and merging confidently and harmoniously with nature, or in feeling the joys of mutuality in relationships." Volunteers have an opportunity to experience some of these aspects of life. They are enriched by it, and perhaps it is this facet of the Peace Corps experience that will have an important ultimate impact on life in these United States.

Fuchs' last chapter is thus more venturesome and speculative than any other, but it is also disorganized and unbalanced. Again, it doesn't say much that hasn't been said already. The author also fell victim to the urge to 'end a book with a final grand remark which in Fuchs' case is unfortunate. The personal afterword has some interesting details about the Peace Corps in the Philippines in the early days, but not enough.

Those Peculiar Americans could have been much better if more time had been spent on organization, emphasis and depth.

Jonathan Eddy was a teacher in the Philippines from 1963 to 1966, and edited Ang Boluntaryo, the Volunteer newsletter. He is preparing to go to Vietnam with the Agency for International Development.

Author Lawrence H. Fuchs with Filipino children at Ayala primary school: "They now cared for people more than they ever had and were sharply aware of how little caring existed back home."
The draft has been extended for four years. The new law contains few basic changes in the draft process, though there are several modifications that will affect past and present members of the Peace Corps, as well as those who seek Volunteer service in the future.

The major immediate impact the new law will have on the Peace Corps is in the area of medical support. Physicians on detail from the Public Health Service to the Peace Corps will not thereby satisfy their military service obligation.

Under the previous legislation, P.H.S. physicians detailed to the Peace Corps fulfilled their military obligation by two years of Peace Corps service. The 125 doctors who were already on duty or on orders to report for duty with the Peace Corps at the time the new law was enacted will not be affected. But P.H.S. physicians who are detailed to the Peace Corps after June 30, 1967 are not exempt from military service.

Draft immunity was also eliminated for Public Health Service officers in several other government agencies. Attempts by the agencies concerned to persuade Congress to retain the exemptions proved unsuccessful. Rep. Durward G. Hall (R-Mo.), who introduced the amendment and led the move to remove the exemptions, said:

"I do not believe that the Congress ever intended services with the Peace Corps, the World Health Organization or the Food and Drug Administration to constitute equivalent service which would permit discharge of a physician's military obligation." He called this a "rapidly growing abuse of the exemptions now provided these personnel."

The Peace Corps must now find its doctors elsewhere, and the alternatives could prove expensive. One is to hire female doctors, or doctors who have satisfied their military obligation or are otherwise no longer draft eligible. Another alternative is the use of local host national physicians.

The change does not affect Volunteer doctors, who have never been draft-exempt.

The law also reiterates the requirement that members of the Ready Reserve satisfactorily participate in a unit or face a call to active duty. This requirement, as specifically implemented by a recent Department of Defense directive, threatens the continued service of an undetermined number of Volunteers. Negotiations between the Peace Corps and the Department of Defense on this issue are continuing and special instructions are expected to be sent to the field soon.

None of the other changes in the law, known as the Military Selective Service Act of 1967, affect present Volunteers. However, Marthanne Parker, chief of the Special Problems Branch of the Peace Corps in Washington, has advised all Volunteers to keep her informed of any changes in their draft classifications, or if they are called for active duty as a result of a Ready Reserve obligation.

The new legislation will, of course, affect future and past Volunteers, primarily in the areas of student deferments. One key change will be elimination of deferments for men in graduate school (except for students in medical and allied subjects and those in such other subjects as General Hershey, on the advice of the National Security Council, may designate as necessary to the national interest). The Executive Order implementing the law placed a one-year moratorium on this change, stating that any registrant who is enrolled for his first year of graduate study by Oct. 1, 1967 may be granted a one-year deferment. Graduate students entering their second or subsequent years of graduate study on October 1, 1967 are also eligible for deferment for one or more years.

The new law grants a virtually automatic deferment to any draft registrant who is "satisfactorily pursuing a full-time course of instruction at a college, university or similar institution of learning" until he gains a baccalaureate degree, fails to pursue his studies satisfactorily or becomes 24 years old. This eliminates the old class ranking system.
On compulsory service

To THE VOLUNTEER:

Mr. Frankel (May) has proposed a moral monstrosity. What sort of a society is it that, on the basis of physical, mental, vocational and psychological examinations, programs its members into suitable roles which they are then demanded to assume on pain of imprisonment (which seems to me the logical implication of equating social service with military service)? I think the Orwells, the Huxleys, et al., have given us enough food for thought on that score.

“What’s wrong with every young person doing something for his country?” Two things. First, who is the country? Is it an administrative bureaucracy like the Peace Corps or the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Congress, the voters, the southern Negro or city slum dweller who doesn’t vote for lack of education or initiative, or perhaps the cynical intellectual who doesn’t vote because his vote will be cancelled by the votes of idiots anyway?

The second objection lies at the roots of social service. The Peace Corps once made a film called “The Choice I Made.” That’s a significant title. Social service is to many of us a deeply lying moral commitment based upon the act of choice. Moral choice pervades both the initial decisions about the active manifestations of any kind of social service. The Peace Corps takes this seriously: when our group of trainees had finally been selected and sworn in as Volunteers we were told that we still had two weeks until the door closed on our flight out of Honolulu in which to resign without penalty if we decided we really didn’t want to go through with it. And staff members in Nepal and India, at least, will admit rendily that any Volunteer who so wishes can have a fine time sightseeing without doing anything useful because freedom and flexibility from central control are essentials for fruitful job performance.

There is a myth abroad in our country that citizens have an obligation to military service, which Mr. Frankel wants to see extended to social service. We should remember the nature of this obligation. Its basis is its manifestation in law which may ultimately be implemented by the use of force. It is an obligation by force, not a moral imperative which may come only from the resolution of an individual human soul. A moral obligation does certainly not stem from the institutionalized directives of contemporary mass society, nor from the use of force to demand compliance.

In short, if Mr. Frankel is serious he simply doesn’t understand the implications of his suggestions for the nature of the work many of us are doing at home and abroad. He hasn’t made it clear what “somethings” young persons are to be obligated to do for whom. And worst of all, he has opened the door to the hopeless confusion and contradiction of moral obligation and obligation by force which, for instance, ran rampant in Nazi Germany and which promise to be the greatest dilemma for ethical philosophy in our age. Though the progress of the Vietnamese war has set us back a long way, we simply cannot allow the demands of social engineering to supplant the painfully sacred individuality of moral choice.

ROBERT H. THOMSON
Mahendranagar, Kanchanpur
Nepal

Viable alternatives

To THE VOLUNTEER:

Although I’m not so sure that a compulsory, universal service is the answer, I do feel that Stanley Frankel’s opinion that service in the Peace Corps (and other voluntary organizations) should be credited against armed service demands more consideration than it has been given.

It bothers me to know that a good portion of the American population has come to feel that the only way for a young man to demonstrate his loyalty or patriotism to his country is with a rifle in his hand.

If America is to remain great, it must find reasonable alternatives to compulsory military service through which one may express his loyalty or fulfill his duty to his country. It seems clear that organizations such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, AID, the Red Cross, or a Teacher Corps provide youth with viable alternatives from which to choose. After all, could not a book, a suture, or a plow be just as helpful to America’s long-term interests as a rifle, a tank, or a plane?

During my training I was constantly being warned about and prepared for “culture shock” once I reached India. But there is not and cannot be any preparation for the kind of “shock” one must endure if he is transformed from a position of building understanding through peace to a task of destroying that understanding through war.

Scooter Merritt
Sarsa (via Anand), Gujarat
India

The national needs

To THE VOLUNTEER:

The argument may begin with the National Advisory Commission’s statement that no fair way exists to equate military service with non-military service. Mr. Frankel, in an effort to point out the sacrifices of Peace Corps, was forced to use an argument which means more to the military than to Peace Corps. His arguments on food, clothing, work load and pay differences, while meaningful in the
military, are not so meaningful to Peace Corps Volunteers because they joined voluntarily, knowing the sacrifices entailed.

It is impossible if not absurd to try to equalize sacrifices between military and non-military service. The assumptions, purposes and methods are too different to allow comparison.

We should be more concerned with the national needs argument. And in seeking to satisfy not only national but international needs, seeking to equalize sacrifices may hinder progress.

That national needs require sacrifices is one point. That these sacrifices be made equal and just is another point that may have no meaning unless serious decisions are taken now to consider the validity of non-military national service.

Ralph B. Edfelt
Fort Gordon, Ga.

Mr. Frankel replies

The reactions to my article surprised me, both by the volume and the source. Publications like Newsweek, Saturday Review, The New York Times and others reprinted the article in whole or in part. Favorable comment came rolling in from among others, several congressmen and three U.S. senators. Practically the only dissenters were Peace Corps Volunteers who, like Mr. Thomson, in his most perceptive and eloquent letter, were offended by the "compulsory" aspect of the non-military services.

My motive in writing up this national service concept was not to please or displease anyone. However, I had guessed, wrongly, that such a plan which would permit Volunteers to substitute their Peace Corps time for the military would please male Volunteers. I have always had the highest respect for those Volunteers; now I know that as impressed as I was with the Volunteers, I still underestimated their idealism, their motivation, and their intelligence!

Regarding this compulsory facet of the non-military services, perhaps we could make everyone happy (or less angry) by suggesting that the non-military services such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, etc., remain purely voluntary, with the agency continuing its right to choose among those who volunteer.

The military would remain compulsory until such time when national needs permit the military draft to be eliminated. Until that time, those volunteers accepted by the non-military services would be exempt from the military draft. True, this would encourage many young men to volunteer for the Peace Corps, VISTA, etc. who prefer such service to the Army or Navy. However, the Peace Corps and VISTA have the right to accept or reject the applicant, and hopefully a high degree of competence in Peace Corps or VISTA work might compensate for a lower (but not necessarily low) degree of motivation.

I would be interested in Volunteer reaction to this amendment.

In my original article and in this amendment I have spoken only for myself, and not for any of my fellow members of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council.

Stanley Frankel
New York City

Poll taken on RPCV exemptions

More than two-thirds of the men who responded to a poll of male Volunteers in India said they favored a draft exemption for Peace Corps service.

These results were reported by Larry Dendy, who conducted the poll first in the state of Andhra Pradesh and later distributed it throughout India.

The question posed to the men was: "Do you favor a revision of the Selective Service law that would exempt Peace Corps Volunteers from being drafted into the armed services?"

Dendy reported that out of the 177 Volunteers who responded to the questionnaire, 122 (69 per cent) answered in the affirmative. Fifty-five men (31 per cent) expressed opposition to the exemption.

About 18 of the respondents indicated support for a national service program (see preceding letters). A dozen of them thought it should be compulsory; six preferred it to be voluntary.

At the time the questionnaire was distributed, there were 900 male Volunteers in India. The 177 who answered it represented 20 per cent of the total.
For the Peace Corps to identify itself requires a definition of parts, an analysis and description of the Peace Corps as seen from the several views that make it a total concept. The Volunteer understands his role from a rather different point of view than does the staff. The host country national and the American public each has a view of the Peace Corps which contributes to a total understanding. Each separate view accentuates very important aspects of this complex gathering of ideals and motives, love and humanism, development and manpower.

The most important image of the Peace Corps is the one that exists in the mind of the Volunteer. This is the image upon which the Peace Corps has grown to its present age. It is the basis of the motivation that drives the whole program. It is basically a restlessness with opulence, a dissatisfaction with academics, a desire to do something, and to help. The most basic drive is a combination of (1) concern to help a country improve itself in a manner that demonstrates a sincere and thoughtful interest, and (2) a need to answer some internal desire to give in order to satisfy a feeling of debt for the economic inequality that exists in the world.

The Volunteer, therefore, wishes to produce something and feel accomplishment for having contributed to the country's development. In other words, the Volunteer sees himself primarily as a developer. As a developer, he is involved at a low level on a person-to-person basis and ideally should work closely with host country nationals to pass on his skills and attitudes. He should see himself as a selfless laborer for progress, one who exemplifies through his acceptance of the people and customs of the country a concept of social equality.

However, the Volunteer's basic orientation is toward the job he is to do. As an American, his attitudes are achievement oriented. He learns the language in order to work more effectively; he studies the culture in order to better his understanding and thereby increase the efficacy of his approach. He eats the food and lives with the people in order to be better accepted by them. These actions cannot be seen by the Volunteer as an academic exercise. We strive to get the Volunteer programmed into a position of total involvement with the country. The greater the involvement, the more likely the Volunteer will desire the achievement of progress for the country as the prime end of all American endeavor in that country.

The primary objective of the Peace Corps for the Volunteer, therefore, is development. The Volunteer is a helper with a skill. He is a student also, but where most students observe and question to know, the Volunteer observes and questions to change. A recognition of the psychology of the Volunteer is of primary importance if the Peace Corps program is to retain the force of its infancy. The Peace Corps is primarily developmental because the Volunteer is primarily developmental.

The staff must have two approaches to the Peace Corps. To better understand them, let us divide the two roles. Let us call one the Volunteer role and the other the program role. In the first case we are defining the staff's role in relation to individual Volunteers; in the second, to each program area of Volunteer operation.

To the staffer looking at the individual Volunteer, the Peace Corps is an educational institution: seminars, ideas, and "dispersivity." The staff visit is a seminar; the Volunteer is the pupil needing perspective, guidance, and counseling. He is bombarded by experiences and tensions. He is seeing a new world and a new self. He is searching and learning, expanding and mellowing.

The staffer sees the Peace Corps as education. He is probably in the finest position possible for an educator. He needs merely to guide the learner through the experiences, help him question, help him discover. This position, if really understood, is one of the most interesting and demanding jobs ever offered to an educator. It wraps the student, the educator, and the material to be taught into one living labyrinth of experience. It is

By GRANT DOE
Yap, Caroline Islands
life under pressure for study purposes. In this role, the staffer should know well the philosophy of Harris Wofford. He should be well versed in the culture of the country. He should be receptive to Volunteers; a person who can talk and listen, guide and understand. This is the Peace Corps as education.

There is another side, however, for the staff member sees the Peace Corps as developmental, too. He sees also the need to involve the Volunteer in the country—"live like the people." There must be a program into which the Volunteer can fit and the staff must create and oversee that program.

**A planning sense**

A program must be designed to answer a real need of the country and to contribute to the country's development. This requires a sound approach to a country's economics and planning as well as a sense for what a Volunteer can do. Timothy Adams, Peace Corps director for Thailand, has presented ideas on limiting the skill area of Volunteers so that they can be better trained and approach more closely the overseas expectation of experts. It is easier, for example, to be a corn expert than to be an agricultural expert. I believe this is sound. One should also consider Acting Deputy Director Brent Ashabranner's wise counsel on job definition: if a job is defined by the programmer, clearly and exhaustively, the Peace Corps can train more precisely and the Volunteer will better understand his overseas role. A well-programmed job can inspire more exacting recruiting, better training and a clearer understanding on the part of the trainee before he gets to the training site.

The Peace Corps is more than a job description, however, and the staff knows this well. People respond to conditions in which they find themselves. A Volunteer must be programmed into conditions in which he can behave like a Volunteer. This includes opportunities for personal interaction with host country nationals and observance of conditions that are detrimental to such interaction. It includes living and working conditions. I fault our present Planning, Programming, Budgeting System (PPBS) as it does not take into account this aspect of the Peace Corps. A program is designed for the mass of Volunteers, not for the absolutely brilliant few. The Peace Corps is a programmed set of conditions that will force a Volunteer to be a part of the country and interact closely with the culture. A co-worker, a position within the government framework, living conditions that are closely allied to those of the people with whom the Volunteer works, and conditions which allow for optimum interaction with people are all part of the Peace Corps for the staff member.

The host country has been an underdeveloped country. It is seeking help: technical assistance in the form of teachers, extension workers, engineers, and others. The Peace Corps has from the beginning presented itself as an agency involved in development, supplying middle-level manpower. The host country national has understood that the Volunteer has come to offer technical assistance. The host country, in fact, often expects an expert whose special knowledge can be of assistance to the people of that country. Indeed, I think the host country national expects significant results from the Volunteer, although he seldom anticipates the kind of help he gets. The Volunteer usually does things differently, has a new approach. This is acceptable to the host country. Few hosts expect an American Volunteer to go about the job as they do and, consequently, this new approach, this difference of attitude, can be an accepted item of benefit.

Insofar as they demonstrate something new, or apply a modern approach, or work carefully with co-workers, the Volunteers answer the definition of the Peace Corps held by the host country populace. We might change attitudes, but that change can't be measured or anticipated on the co-worker or government official level. Here the Volunteer can work with and demonstrate whatever he brings to this service which is new. To educate and change the attitudes of the mass of uneducated is the task of every technical teacher. This is the prime factor in development. But if the teacher is American, or for that matter foreign, he can be expected to change the attitudes of all with whom he comes in contact, all who are receptive to change.

To the American public, the Peace Corps is a glamorous self-sacrificing romantic experience: Volunteers living in grass huts surrounded by native girls and insects and exotic food, helping the developing nations do what money alone cannot do. This is what Volunteers scream out against: the hero image. It is, in fact, rather true. The Peace Corps is a heroic group of young people who, because they are overly eager and overly idealistic, will do a dirty, boring job and do it well while living under difficult conditions. It is romantic; it is exotic. The reaction by Volunteers is merely another expression of a Volunteer's narrow perspective. He does not know yet that being heroic is not really fun or exciting or romantic in any respect except in retrospect.

The defining of the Peace Corps as primarily an agency of development and the recognition by the agency that the Volunteer is primarily an agent of development will attain the objective of the agency with that of the Volunteer. It will help the staff more clearly support the Volunteer and deepen the involvement in the host country of both staff and Volunteers. It will enable Peace Corps to offer the host country a service that it understands and desires and thereby foster a mutual respect and understanding.

Grant Doe is Peace Corps deputy director for the Yap District in Micronesia. He is a graduate of Fordham University and was a Volunteer in India from 1964 to 1966.

**Peace Corps leaves Mauritania**

The new Peace Corps program in Mauritania came to an abrupt end when the Mauritanian government broke diplomatic relations with the United States as a result of the Arab-Israeli war. On June 7, the 12 Volunteers and two staff members there were asked to leave Mauritania.

The Volunteers, most of whom were construction workers, will be re-assigned in Senegal, Togo and Morocco. They had been in Mauritania since December.

**FOR THE RECORD**

Former Volunteers will outnumber Volunteers for the first time later this year. Statistics chief Kay Williams figures this will happen when the number of returned Volunteers approaches the 14,000 mark, probably in early fall.
LETTERS TO THE VOLUNTEER

IN RESPONSE TO

'A program dies in the city'

Failures minimized

To THE VOLUNTEER:

Paul Cowan's article (May) is one of the few attempts I have seen during my 20 months in the Peace Corps to really examine what the Peace Corps is and is not.

To his question in the last paragraph of the article I can answer that certainly the same failures he speaks of are happening here in India. In India we are being told that these failures are after all unimportant because the Peace Corps is an educational endeavor. This has the effect of inviting the Volunteer to forget that he has a job to do, to not try to come to grips with the reasons for his failure if the job is not being done, and to treat his time in India as if it were part of the junior-year-abroad program of some American university.

Particularly, Cowan's wondering if host governments really request Volunteers or if we come as part of a larger agreement interests me. From my own experience I know that few government officials were interested in our particular program. And those few were not at the levels with which we were to work. Generally, our co-workers and superiors in the department in which we were supposed to work had no idea who we were, what we were to do, and if they found out they didn't want us to do it.

LYLE B. STEWART
Nelamangala
Mysore State, India

'Cheap labor'

To THE VOLUNTEER:

In answer to Paul Cowan's question, "Is the same thing happening in other parts of the Peace Corps world?" Yes! He sounded like he could be quoting us.

As registered nurses we came to Afghanistan to teach our nursing skills only to find that there were not enough teaching positions available for us. Often feeling very unwanted, many of us have been placed in hospitals to work as cheap labor unable to make any changes or improvement on nursing care.

No one, staff or other Volunteers, seems to understand that as professional people we cannot be happy doing nothing here. At the same time, we are giving up two years of working in our chosen field, a field which at home is very satisfying and rewarding to us. With medicine and nursing trends changing so rapidly we could be left behind with nothing to replace the loss we feel.

MARY CAMERON
ELAINE HASHWAY
MARBLYN ROOS
Kabul, Afghanistan

Professional kudos

To THE VOLUNTEER:

Add my name for "three cheers" to Mr. Paul Cowan. I am another professional (now returned) Volunteer for whom his article "rings true."

NANCY CLAPSADLE
Ossining, N. Y.

A job for generalists

To THE VOLUNTEER:

Paul Cowan makes, among others, two important and accurate points. One, local-level government agencies in Latin America are, for various reasons, unable to find meaningful and satisfying work for Peace Corps Volunteers. Two, helping organizations of slum dwellers to demand remedial action from their governments is useless because the governments' abilities to respond are limited by factors beyond the control of, not only the slum dwellers and the Volunteers, but also the local government officials and even the U.S. and host country governments.

Thus, the foreboding question arises: What can the AB generalist Volunteer do in an urban slum? I think Mr. Cowan provides a clue to a possible answer when he mentions the large numbers of local organizations operating in the urban barrios of Latin America. I seize upon this point because I found it to be true also in Peru. Unfortunately, as Mr. Cowan notes, they waste a lot of time trying to accomplish the impossible—getting the government to come in and solve their major problems such as unemployment and housing. In fact, those organizations would be much more effective if they were able to utilize the resources within the slum for the solution of lesser problems—inadequate recreational facilities, unsanitary conditions around markets, inadequate first aid facilities, inadequate cultural facilities, etc. This would be harder work than demanding action from government agencies. It would also require that the organizations utilize local resources (especially their own memberships) better than they have in the past.

I believe well trained AB generalists can be very useful in helping such organizations do that job. If they can, it would be a very worthwhile contribution to the urban barrios of Latin America. Mr. Cowan passed off such activities as appearing to be either foolish or imperialistic. To many people, the entire Peace Corps and the concept behind it fits that description. But that doesn't mean it can't make a worthwhile contribution to development.

ALBERT CALVES
Former Volunteer
Valley Cottage, N.Y.

Choosing power

To THE VOLUNTEER:

Peace Corps has consistently taken a very simplistic attitude towards community development. To take AB generalists fresh out of college and call them community developers after three months of training is so pretentious that one cannot help but think that Peace Corps can afford this attitude only because Volunteers are relatively inexpensive. A more
realistic view tells one that community development is one of the most frustrating, sensitive and tenuous jobs conceivable. To expect youthful enthusiasm and idealism to produce people capable of meeting a job that requires, and often stymies, men of the quality and experience of Saul Alinsky or Martin Luther King is unreasonable and irresponsible.

Community development, in the final analysis, involves power. Power can be political, economic, or spiritual. This is what is meant by Black Power, a term that evokes so much emotionalism, irrationality, and mass neurosis. Black Power is community development in the political sphere, and to visualize a gringo involved in a movement of this nature in Guayaquil makes one realize that this sort of power is not a Peace Corps concern. Obviously, spiritual power is not a Peace Corps concern, though when we see the effectiveness that a progressive priest can have we realize the strength that can lie in this area. This leaves the economic area to work in, and while not as dramatic, it is here that Peace Corps can be most effective.

The most fruitful areas for Peace Corps have been and will be the structured areas: agricultural extension, cooperative development, artisan development, education, etc. And community development should then appear as an extension of these areas. In this way Peace Corps has been, and will be most effective and meaningful.

David G. Bracig
Quito, Ecuador

A lesser role

To the Volunteer:

If all Volunteers were to go to their countries well informed, well trained in the language, and then spread discontent and create disturbances (which is essentially what was done in Mississippi) and form pressure groups, start strikes, sit-ins, etc., there would never have been any Peace Corps. But that is what many of these countries need most; someone to put spine and a spirit of outrage in the poor classes. But instead we have English programs, home economics, university programs, physical education, nursing programs, etc. And "errand boy" community development workers. These are nice, and do help, but only in a kind of public relations exchange program way. The social change is to come either spontaneously out of the desires of the poor, or of the rulers (like the chairman of the board initiating a wage increase, or the Mets suddenly deciding to win the pennant, and then doing it). It's difficult even when they want to. And it's "wiser" that the Peace Corps play a more or less third-string role in this.

John S. Lopinto
Pereira, Colombia

On 'being flexible'

To the Volunteer:

I am just a bit fed up with reading about other Volunteers who have, in their opinion, failed and can do nothing about it but cry. This brings to mind the completely negative article by Paul Cowan. Fortunately, in my training program, we were never told that we were "the most intelligent assemblage of young Americans ever to pass through that particular training site." We were told that our service would be tough, that in most cases we would be required to make our own jobs and, above all, to "be flexible," two words hammered at us constantly throughout our three months of training.

We were and still are a mixed recreation group. I was part of a small sub-group of fellows training to work as Boy Scout organizers in the slum barrios.

In training, emphasis was placed on the practical aspects of scouting and organization in the lower class neighborhoods. That's what we were trained for; that's what we thought our jobs were to be. However, the Venezuela scouting authorities saw things differently. Here in Valencia, I was told in no uncertain terms that the slum barrios were not ready for scouting. The new Scout office was a much worthier project for me. I was to be a liaison between the North American community and the Venezuelans. I was to be a combination fund raiser (which is against Peace Corps policy) and a public relations man with the wealthy gringos. I was not trained and did not care for either of these positions. I suppose I could have sat behind my desk (I had one then, and an office also) and bemoaned the cruel fate that placed me in that position. Indeed, I could have written an article very similar to "A program dies in the city," blaming the Venezuelan people, country and culture for this failure. Fortunately, I was trained with flexibility in mind and I began to make moves. While the Peace Corps was investigating my complaints, AAHPER came to the rescue and gave me a limited physical education job on the outskirts of Valencia in a secondary school. This was a more or less third-string role in this...
school. There, I began to work in October, 1966 and in November, I was officially transferred to a primary school also. Thus, I went from having no work to having two jobs, both of which I have found and am still finding to be very rewarding and enjoyable.

Great changes I have not wrought and probably will not bring, but if I can just get the ball rolling, I will be satisfied. As President John F. Kennedy said in his inaugural speech, "Let us begin."

To all those who joined the Peace Corps to spend an easy two years in a ready-made job—perhaps you are in the wrong line of work. To those of us who joined because of the challenge of doing something new and different, who can put up with a little frustration (sometimes more than a little), who like the feeling of independence and the always present mood of the indefinite (since nothing is quite the same two days running), these two years can be very rewarding. Let us all “get on the ball” and if our primary assignment does not work out, have the flexibility to find other work. We would not be in the Peace Corps if we did not believe ourselves capable of meeting different situations; by the same token, the Peace Corps would not have accepted us if we couldn’t. To sum it all up: let’s stop this trend toward creeping nationalism and think positively—if not positively, at least with flexibility.

Edward M. Goldstein
Valencia, Venezuela

First, an exchange

To The Volunteer:

In recent years Peace Corps has taken upon itself the role of development of poverty-stricken countries. This conception is, in my opinion, for the most part good. Unfortunately, implicit in this idea is the assumption that we have in the U.S.A. the superior way of doing things. Whether we do or not is beside the point, the point being that peace is best promoted through an understanding of the other person’s way of life. To live and work with a person will lead to understanding sooner than trying to “develop” him, which places the Volunteer immediately against the person he is to work with. Unless development is implicit in the job role the Volunteer is asked to fill by the

Memorandum

TO: The field
FROM: The editors
SUBJECT: Oldies but goodies

Harriet Hintz, a staff wife, is collecting songs originating from the Peace Corps. She invites Volunteers and staff members, past and present, to send her the words and music (and credits, if any) of serious and not-so-serious songs that they have heard or originated overseas. Her address: 2195 Canterbury Way, Rockville, Md. 20854. Here’s a sample song, written by Mrs. Hintz herself, to the tune of “Hush Little Baby”:

Hush little terminae, don’t you cry,
You’ll be a staff man, bye and bye,
If a staff man you can’t be,
You can re-enroll as a PCV,
If re-enrollment’s against the rule,
You can go on to graduate school.
When you get your Ph.D.,
You can get a job with AID.
But as you travel from shore to shore,
You’ll wish you were still with the old Peace Corps.

Also on the music front: the first Peace Corps record. It was cut by Dudley Weeks, a former Volunteer and part-time troubadour. His album titled “The World As People” contains 12 songs composed and sung by him. Profits from the album will go to an education fund he set up in Sabah as a Volunteer.

Last winter we reported the replacement of Polymagma in Peace Corps medical kits. But the name stays on, at least in the Dominican Republic. Polymagma is the title for a revived newsletter, edited by Robin Crane.

Two former Volunteers have been appointed country directors for new Pacific programs. One of them is David Ziegenhagen, who is shown here with Fiame Mata’ara Mulini’u II, who is the Prime Minister of Western Samoa and is wearing ceremonial garb. Ziegenhagen was a Volunteer in the Philippines, later worked as an associate director in Thailand and operations officer in Washington. The other new director is Charles Butler, who is headed for Tonga after service in Venezuela and two years in the Office of Public Affairs, most recently as director of campus recruiting.
host country, the Peace Corps ought to shy away from assuming that every group of Volunteers it sends out must save the individual section of world to which it is assigned. Development should be left to AID.

RICHARD SMITH
Ernakulam District, Kerala, India

In commentary...

To The Volunteer:

I feel that the article entitled "Through the looking glass" by Dr. D'Andrea (May) is delightfully insightful, realistic and well written.

GABRIEL L. CATA, M.D.
Tucson, Arizona

Leading women

The first two women country directors have been assigned to their posts by Director Jack Vaughn. They are Betty Crises Dillon in Ceylon and Betty Hutchinson in El Salvador.

Mrs. Dillon joined the Peace Corps in 1965 as deputy director in Tunisia. Miss Hutchinson has served as Associate Representative in Colombia and more recently was the deputy director in El Salvador.

Conference invitation

Returned Volunteers from Latin America have been invited to discuss "Human Resources in Latin American Development" at the October 26-28 meeting of the Mid-West Council, Association of Latin-American Studies, in Bloomington, Ind. Those interested in submitting discussion papers based on their overseas experience should contact Professor Frank T. Bachmura, Department of Economics, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

---

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Name
Street or P.O. Box
City, State, ZIP Code
Effective date

Please send with mailing label at right.