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By Joseph A. Kelly

A community development Volunteer in Jamaica has had it. A talk with his country director, some forms to fill out, and he's on a plane bound for home—Miami. Peace Corps gives him a ticket and deducts the cost—$61—from his readjustment allowance.

Good thing he wasn't working in India and headed home to Seattle. That ticket could set him back more than $700.

Over the years a debate has sputtered on over whether Peace Corps—in making all Volunteers who terminate early "for reasons within their control" pay their plane fare home—has been discriminating against those who serve farther from home. Also, there's something to the idea that in volunteering to work for someone, you should be free to stop volunteering without financial penalty.

The Peace Corps, of course, has always paid the return ticket for those who finish their expected tour. And if a Volunteer resigns or staff sends him home early for reasons that are outside his control (medical problems, family emergencies, the draft), the agency has paid.

Now the Peace Corps enters a new decade with a small but optimistic step, one which strengthens the root concept of voluntary service and which ends monetary distinctions in early termination. Effective since Jan. 1, 1970, all Volunteers not fulfilling their two years can have their way paid home—regardless of why they are quitting.

From the beginning, Peace Corps recognized that attrition did not serve the interest of our hosts. An early termination represents a failure by either an individual or an institution to fulfill a commitment.

The Peace Corps has committed itself to recruit, select and train Americans for overseas service. For their part, the Volunteers commit themselves to service for a given period of time (usually two years) within the framework established by the Peace Corps. The host country commits itself to effectively use Volunteers in areas where local resources are either insufficient or unavailable.

Taking those commitments into consideration, the official policy governing early termination was established in 1963.

Volunteers those first years were considered pioneers, and their high expectations allowed them to endure most anything. Very few returned early; but many who did had to pay their own way. As time passed, a notion gained credibility that payment of transportation costs by the Volunteer was an effective deterrent to early termination.

But as returned Volunteers and former overseas staff began to infiltrate Washington positions and the agency matured, expectations changed. Inequities in many Volunteer policies, especially the one governing early termination, became apparent.

In addition to the cost differential based on sheer distance, a Volunteer who had served only one month was financially responsible to a lesser extent than a Volunteer who served 20 months. The Peace Corps deducted funds only to the limit they were available in a Volunteer's readjustment allowance, so for the guy whose fare cost $500, but had only $300 accrued allowance, Peace Corps absorbed the difference.

Late in 1965, former director Jack Vaughn established a committee to look into such problems. Composed of returned Volunteers, returned overseas staff and other Washington employees, this group recommended that all early terminating Volunteers should have their transportation paid. Reaction to this from other elements of staff was mixed, and sentiment on either side was strong.

Evaluating the climate at that time, Vaughn did not approve it.

No substantial changes came until September, 1968. At that time Vaughn said the agency would pay the way home for Volunteers whose jobs were "not viable" and for whom suitable jobs could not be found. In this change Peace Corps recognized that a Volunteer could reasonably expect the job overseas to measure up to his background and training, and when it didn't—after every alternative had been explored both by Volunteer and staff—there was little merit in his idly waiting for his completion of service date to roll around.

In a more recent policy change that came on the heels of Joe Blitchford's arrival as director, a new "separation at
the convenience of Peace Corps" provision specified that Volunteers who violate policy, who perform marginally, or who otherwise endanger the effectiveness of a program could be separated and Peace Corps would absorb the transportation costs.

That change, as did each liberalization of the policy, underlined and exaggerated existing inequities. In practical terms, the "convenience" category meant that an uncommitted or destructive Volunteer's transportation was paid while an earnest Volunteer who had made every attempt to fulfill his commitment but couldn't might be penalized by footing the bill himself. Several months after "convenience" became effective, it was obvious that the policy needed major surgery, not more band-aids.

Early in November, 1969, staff from the Office of Special Services met with Deputy Tom Houser, and later with Blatchford. Both agreed to the new policy and it was in the hands of country directors by the first of the year.

While the policy allows payment in all cases, it is not an invitation for a disenchanted Volunteer to travel leisurely through Machu Picchu, Angkor Wat or Mallorca. He must return immediately and directly to the U.S.; maximum travel time is three days. Upon entering the U.S., the Volunteer must have his date of entry stamped in his passport by the Naturalization and Immigration Service. Then he mails his passport to the Office of Special Services which sees to it that his readjustment allowance is released. If a Volunteer chooses instead to become a world traveler, full travel costs—be they $61 or $700 plus—will be deducted from his banked allowance.

The policy today means reliance on Volunteers' commitment to service and stands to benefit both Peace Corps and our hosts.

Joe Kelly has been an officer in Special Services since May, 1967. In this capacity, he has interviewed hundreds of early terminating Volunteers and worked with the policies affecting them. From 1964 to 1966, Kelly was a Volunteer in Thailand where he taught English in a rural secondary school.

To The Volunteer:

I am writing to express my gratitude for the beautiful gift the Peace Corps has given me through The Volunteer and through your Mr. Moritz Thomsen. I have urged many friends to get his book, Living Poor, or to get the October, November and December issues of The Volunteer and read the excerpts.

If you have read Steinbeck's Travels With Charley, you may have finished it with the feeling that you had just had just had a conversation with a dear old friend, a very articulate one. You could still actually hear a quiet, peaceful voice, speaking with great insight of the experiences he had had while the two of you were apart. And you could even hear the sounds and see the sights he described.

As I read Living Poor, I could see the sunlight in Rio Verde, see the people and hear them arguing among themselves over who was receiving the most benefit from the work they were doing. There was a gentleness about it, and a perspective that made one long to be present, to see and know people like this, and to see if one couldn't somehow help turn the tide in their struggle.

And when I finished, I felt grateful that I had discovered people like this, and wondered how it is that Thomsen seems more real to me than the people I talk to daily.

I felt like Mark Twain, or a kindred soul, who once remarked: "I wish I had never read this book; I would so like to read it again for the first time." Thomsen makes me think that the United States has not only produced some marvelous hardware during the last decade—it has produced some pretty marvelous people.

Marian O. Norby
Arlington, Va.

To The Volunteer:

Shouldn't Moritz Thomsen be appointed director of the Peace Corps? Or would bureaucracy ruin his keen freshness?

Eugene Gauger
Temperance, Mich.

To The Volunteer:

I enjoyed the excerpts from Moritz
Thomsen’s Living Poor. He has avoided concentrating on the subject most Volunteers focus on when writing—namely themselves—and produced a book that “tells it like it is.”

Although my site and situation are very different from Mr. Thomsen’s, I feel he has expressed what is difficult for me to explain to anyone not close to the circumstances he describes. My hope is that the book will reach enough people in the U.S. to make a difference in the thinking and understanding of poverty, both here and abroad.

One question: What is Mr. Thomsen doing now?
Judy MacGregor
Sergipe, Brazil

Editor’s note—Where is Moritz? He’s not in local TV stations and bookstores promoting his book. He’s back in Ecuador, just a few miles from Rio Verde, buying farmland and working with some of the main characters from Living Poor. Ramon and Ester among them. He wrote us that his new co-op “has a slightly better than 50 per cent chance to succeed, that it is exciting to be back on the Ecuadorian coast, and comforting to still be doing Peace Corps kind of things.” Displaying the flexibility most Volunteers find essential to their work, Moritz, a private farmer now, will shift from corn and chickens to coconuts which promise a higher profit margin.

To The Volunteer:
The trouble with beating a dead horse is that it draws flies. Ron Hert’s September article describing the Peace Corps’ withdrawal from Tanzania attracts the criticism of the Peace Corps staff while it obscures several other real problems that need determined flogging.

Hert is right in saying that Tanzanian nationalism, Tanzanian fears of the CIA, and Tanzanian revulsion for the war in Vietnam combined to undermine Peace Corps Tanzania. He is quite wrong, however, in granting the Peace Corps staff equal responsibility for its own final termination.

The two lessons to be learned from the experience in Tanzania really have nothing to do with reforming the staff. The first of these lessons is that Lyndon Johnson was not John Kennedy, was not John Kennedy. The tremendous goodwill Kennedy created in Africa for America was dissipated in at least one important country by his successor.

The second is the stingy realization that the Peace Corps, no matter how hard it tries, does not operate alone and unafraid, but is inevitably tarred by the broader brush of Presidential foreign policy. The illusion of independence is healthy and perhaps even essential. But it is only an illusion, and a fragile one at that. At the moment, Tanzania is a unique example of the illusion shattered, a country where suspicion of the United States—generated by our war in Asia and our secret service abroad—made sharper by Tanzania’s ties with Egypt in the Six Day War and her frequent contact with America’s most scornful critic, mainland China, was finally tempered and hardened by a vigorous new nationalism.

The haunting question that remains with us, then, is not how to reform the Peace Corps staff or Volunteer, although that might be desirable for other reasons. The question is quite simply: “Where else in the world are these same restless forces at work today?” The answer seems to be a chilling one: for whatever the specifics may be, if Tanzania is any model, we are assured that the situation is substantially beyond our control. And to any Volunteer worth sending overseas, that is no answer at all.

Charles Fels
Former Volunteer
Nashville, Tenn.

To The Volunteer:
“Saving somebody else when we do not seem capable of saving ourselves” is becoming a commonly voiced criticism of the Peace Corps, as in Mr. Meacham’s intelligent but off-base letter (December Volunteer). It only shows that Peace Corps, and what it can mean, are badly misunderstood.

The whole “agent of change” concept, so generously used in training, as well as the desire to “save somebody” are greatly exaggerated as goals of a Volunteer’s existence. The educational experience and the person-to-person, grass roots relationship is definitely more important to me, not to mention the excuse to live in another culture (which is quite aggravating much of the time)

I agree with Mr. Meacham that we have enough work to do at home and I sometimes feel guilty coping out. But I would not miss this opportunity for anything. To see the U.S. from the outside gives one a completely new (and usually ugly) perspective, and the learning opportunity far outclasses “college” and that mess.

Only Peace Corps can give this type of combined “experience.” Helping and saving is beside the point. Peace will not come by “saving” but by understanding.

Russell Vogel
Selama, Perak, Malaysia
Dissent

by John Osborn

Ten Peace Corps Volunteers gather in front of an American Embassy. Some wear black armbands. A spokesman reads a short statement to the deputy chief of mission expressing concern over continuing United States involvement in Vietnam and hands him signed letters to be delivered to the Vice President of the United States.

Then they leave.

But their act—symbolic and discreet—is reported, and the words of the report become themselves an event that echoes around the world for weeks.

Wire services cable the world.

Newspapers edit the words and print them.

Columnists add their own.

Americans—and Dominicans and Thais and Indians—read the words and hear them countless times again on the street.

Some write their Congressmen.

And, in this most political of times, the Congressmen write the Peace Corps.

Suddenly, an organization of nearly 10,000 Volunteers working in 58 countries in 420 different projects awakes one morning to find that its image—in parts of America and the underdeveloped world—has subtly changed: that superVol, darling of the American media for eight years, has become superFreak.

With a gentle rhythm, like waves from pebbles cast in a pond, major American newspapers have been nudging the national consciousness with roughly one story a month of Peace Corps political activity overseas. The details of each incident have been different, and most have been planned with great sensitivity to the feelings of the countries in which they have been staged.

But in the United States and elsewhere, they have generally been perceived as public political demonstrations, and judged to reflect the character and intent of the entire Peace Corps Volunteer force.

Many would say that is a good thing.

But others fear such an image will be the undoing of the nine-year-old agency.

"I can think of only one or two issues which have the potential to kill the Peace Corps," says Deputy Director Tom Houser. "Political protest overseas is one.

"It would please me immensely if Volunteers . . . would realize that there is a 'home office' of the Peace Corps, which must answer to a wide variety of constituencies, and which gets varying and different kinds of pressures from each of these constituencies."

Says Houser: "Each Volunteer must think not only of what he is doing and how he is doing it, but also of the consequences of what he is doing."

The potential "consequences" of continued Volunteer protests abroad—symbolic or public—could be quite damaging to the Peace Corps.

Says Congressional Liaison Director Hugh Key: "I think the major issue in both the House and Senate this year when we present our budget request will be the question of free speech in the Peace Corps."

"Unfortunately," he adds, "The Peace Corps is an experiment in foreign aid which must be refunded each year. People sometimes act as if money descended out of the sky. . . ."

Robert White, Regional Director for Latin America, is more concerned about the impact of Volunteer demonstrations on Peace Corps relations with host countries.

"It is my judgment," he says, "that certain countries have decided against having Peace Corps programs which they wanted and needed for their development . . . because other responsible officials felt that due to the politically activist roles Volunteers had taken . . . the risks of an increased Volunteer presence in their countries were greater than the benefits which their countries might receive."

As for the American public and the Nixon Administration, which Volunteers have hoped to influence by their actions, neither have responded favorably.

The gradual Vietnam pullout announced by President Richard Nixon on November 3, 1969 continues, with reportedly broad support throughout the country. The State Department and the White House are perplexed and bothered by Volunteer activities. And the political climate of the country, in the wake of the "Chicago 7" trial and Black Panther raids is chilly and cold.

In the March 7 edition of the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, columnist Richard Wilson wrote:

"The President, the Vice President and the Secretary of State have now had enough experience with the high spirits of the politically turbulent Peace Corps to wonder if this experiment in spreading youthful idealism over the world has not gotten badly off the tracks."

"The result," he added, "is that there would be no great sense of disappointment or deprivation in the executive branch if Congress were to lop off $20 million, $30 million or $40 million from requested funds of $98 million for the Peace Corps in 1970-1971, and reduce its political activism accordingly."

Part of the problem is simply the extent to which it has been exaggerated.

Since the spate of overseas demonstrations associated with the October and November moratoriums in the United States, only two incidents have been reported by the press.

On January 6, hours before Vice President Spiro Agnew landed in Kabul on a state visit to Afghanistan, seven Volunteers and two staff members presented a statement and letters to the American Embassy protesting American involvement in Vietnam (see: "Protest in Afghanistan," pg. 13).

And, in February, eight Volunteers turned their backs on Secretary of State William Rogers, while he was addressing members of the American mission in Tunisia.

There is no doubt that Volunteers are deeply concerned about the war. In several other Peace Corps countries, Volunteers have discussed with staff their desire to express their concern in an appropriate way. But the problems of misinterpretation and distortion have proven so considerable that most have concluded there is no way dissent can be staged without hurting the Peace Corps.

The question of free speech in the Peace Corps has always posed both legal and pragmatic problems for the agency.

If a Volunteer is a free American citizen and not an employee of the United States Government, then, the argument goes, he has a right to disagree with his government and to express his dissent in any way he judges to be morally correct.

But the Peace Corps must also stay out of politics in its work abroad to perform its tasks effectively and to maintain the support of the American people and Congress. And that requirement raises pragmatic questions for the agency: how can a Volunteer express disagreement with the foreign policy of his government without violating his role as an apolitical worker in another country?

The legal question has never been in doubt. If the right of
free speech were taken away from Volunteers today, the Peace Corps as a Volunteer organization would die tomorrow. No one is about to do that.

But the pragmatic question is another matter. That question can only be answered by asking still more questions, not in Washington, but in each country where Volunteers are currently at work.

What is the objective of dissent?
How can the objective best be achieved?
Would the form of dissent chosen involve the Peace Corps in the party politics of the country in which it is staged?
What will be the impact of that dissent on Peace Corps work in other countries? the United States Congress? the American people? the host country government? the Administration?

Perhaps most important, who will witness the act of dissent? other Peace Corps Volunteers? the Peace Corps staff? the country Ambassador? members of the American press? the host country press? host country government officials?

How will these immediate witnesses respond? How will their response affect the objective of the dissent?
What leads Volunteers to finally decide on public protest? Morris Chalick, a Peace Corps doctor who has studied Volunteer activism for several months, thinks the following factors are involved: the current social and political scene in the States as seen by Volunteers through such media as Time, Newsweek and the New York Times' News of the Week in Review; the background of each participating Volunteer, the extent of his involvement in similar activity in the States, and, in some cases, the "post-adolescent emotional problems" he brings with him to the Peace Corps; the preparation and maturity of the staff; the cultural setting in which the Volunteers are working; and the nature of the job Volunteers are doing, and the extent to which they are able to make personally satisfying contributions to their host country.

Adds Chalick: "I get the feeling sometimes that there is some sort of child-parent game being played by Volunteers and staff in some of these instances."

Mel Najarian, a consultant in the Office of the Director, puts it more bluntly: "I make a very clear distinction between Volunteers and staff. . . . A staff member must be trained to ask the question, 'What could go wrong?' But some staff members seem to think that being a good staff member means being as much like the Volunteers as possible."

It is from the response to incidents overseas that one learns exactly how many sides there are to the issue of dissent.

A sample of reactions:

From Americans:
"Their [the demonstrating Volunteers'] is a politics of humanity and liberation. The Peace Corps by claiming to be apolitical, accepts the politics of oppression and death."—letter from the Committee of Returned Volunteers to Washington staff members.

"Those people [the Volunteers] were not hired to demonstrate either for or against our government. They should either shape up and do the job expected of them, or ship out."—Congressman William Scherer (R-Iowa).

"For the first time, I think many people here have stopped looking on us as CIA agents."—a Dominican Republic Volunteer.

"For those who did [participate in the October Moratorium] it seemed to be more an exercise in the expressing of individuality."—Volunteer correspondent, Peru.

"I don't think we are too excited about presenting American problems to the Tongan people. . . ."—Volunteer, Tonga.

"Demonstrations in Kenya are very suspiciously thought of by the [Kenyan] authorities, be it the Salvation Army or the Boy Scouts."—Volunteer, Kenya.

"The students here have been very impressed with the way Peace Corps has handled demonstrations and the free speech issue."—a Berkeley, California recruiter.

From newspapers:
"Why should they [demonstrating Volunteers] want to go abroad to represent a government with whose policies they are at such odds? And why should the government want to send them?"—Jacksonville (Fla.) Journal.

"With the Peace Corps new effort to shift direct supervision of Volunteers to host country officials, it is all the more important that Volunteers be careful to respect the religious, cultural and political traditions of the country they are serving."—Washington Post.

From a host country national:
"The Peace Corps has always been for Afghanistan. It has never messed in politics, and to protest [the visit of Vice President Spiro Agnew] would be the beginning of playing with politics."—Abdul Matin, Afghan National, Associate Director, Peace Corps Afghanistan.

What is current Peace Corps policy?

Four days after Joseph Blatchford was sworn in as Director, in May, 1969, Secretary of State William Rogers sent the following message to all United States diplomatic and consular posts overseas:

"President Nixon and I have determined that the twin goals of service and mutual understanding can best be served if the Peace Corps continues to remain strictly apolitical. Thus, Volunteers are not to be regarded as official members of the mission. . . . Also, Volunteers will be expected to refrain from all political activities in the countries in which they are stationed."

Peace Corps policy today is a careful elaboration of that telegram, less a policy than a series of questions which each Volunteer and staff member is expected to ask with steely honesty before taking any action.

It was best stated in Director Blatchford's letter to country directors at the end of October, 1969.

"In that letter Blatchford said the Peace Corps would continue to recognize "the basic freedoms" of each Volunteer, while insisting on "the need for the Peace Corps to remain apolitical" in its work overseas.

The letter also said that it is largely the responsibility of Volunteers and their staff in each country to determine themselves what does and does not constitute political involvement.

But he also discussed the factors which must be considered in reaching their decisions.

"Our long-range acceptability to our hosts," he said, "our independence within the U.S. Government (to the extent we possess and wish to expand it), and our credibility and effectiveness, can all be threatened by our political entanglement in political issues. We simply cannot have it both ways; we cannot both claim to be apolitical and insert American foreign policy issues into the host country scene."

"In some cases," Blatchford added, "immediate and apparent popularity may be achieved by Volunteer statements or demonstrations in public forums and media overseas."

"But this effect must be weighed (Continued on page 22)
Almost three years ago, a Peace Corps Volunteer in Chile flew from Santiago to Washington. He had to change planes in Miami and when he arrived at Dulles airport, his baggage was somewhere else. These things happen.

The Volunteer, Stephen Bruce Murray, was asked to fill out a claim for the missing baggage.

"Where it says 'Address', I started to put my address in Chile," he recalls, "Chuck [Charles Lewis, Chile desk officer] said to put my address in Rhode Island.

"I said, 'No, I'm going back.' He said, 'No, you've been terminated.'"

In an airport lobby, hundreds of miles from his post, Bruce Murray for the first time got a straight answer: for publicly challenging the then-current Peace Corps strictures on freedom of expression overseas, he was out.

The events leading to Murray's termination began in May, 1967.

A group of Volunteers in Santiago circulated a petition calling for the cessation of American bombing of North Vietnam and immediate negotiations to end the war. Names of signers were to appear in local newspapers.

Murray received a copy of the petition by mail at his post in Concepcion, where he taught music, and signed it.

Then-Ambassador Ralph Dugan learned of the petition and told Chile Volunteers that publication of their names in any Chilean paper would result in their expulsion.

Jack Vaughn, then-Peace Corps Director, also wrote the Volunteers to say that publication of their petition with their names would be a breach of the Peace Corps' apolitical role in Chile, and he warned them they were in danger of "administrative discipline", including expulsion.

Murray did not agree.

He was angered by Vaughn's letter and subsequently wrote a reply in which he agreed that Volunteers "should not meddle in the politics of the host country," but insisted that this restriction should not include "international policies of the United States which may be of interest to the host country."

Murray sent copies of his letter to Vaughn, Chile regional director Kirk Breed, country director Paul Bell, and the New York Times.

The Times did not publish his letter.

But a few days later, United Press International wrote a story describing the Peace Corps clamp-down on Volunteer signing of anti-war petitions which was carried by El Sur, a Concepcion paper, on June 16.

Murray read that story and, thinking it incomplete, translated his Times letter into Spanish and sent it to El Sur.

El Sur published the letter on June 17, and this led to Murray's expulsion.

On June 20, country director Bell recommended Murray be sent home. He called Bruce to Santiago and, after a short discussion, put him on a plane to Washington. Bell told him he was being returned for "consultations", but not for termination.

Murray arrived at 806 Connecticut Avenue on June 21, where he learned otherwise.

He called home as soon as he checked in and learned also that he had been reclassified 1-A by his draft board two weeks earlier, and that his notice was on its way to him in Chile.

Murray remained in Washington for a week of "exit interviews," including a short session with Vaughn. He was officially terminated on June 28.

But his problems had only begun.

Murray asked his board for an occupational deferment so that he could return to Concepcion to continue his music teaching.

The board said no and ordered him to report for induction.

Murray then filed for conscientious objector status. But the board refused to consider his request and, in early 1968, indicted him for refusal to submit to induction.

At that point, with the help of Civil Liberties Union lawyers, Murray filed suit against his local draft board, the Rhode Island Selective Service, the Peace Corps and the U.S. Attorney General. His contention: that Peace Corps had violated both due process and his constitutional rights in terminating him; that a conspiracy existed between Peace Corps and the Selective Service to expedite his reclassification, and that the Selective Service had violated its own required procedures in refusing to grant him a new deferment.

This was the "Bruce Murray case", the first legal test of Peace Corps policy governing Volunteer freedom of expression overseas.

Trial was held in the U.S. District Court in Rhode Island, and on Christmas Eve, 1969, Judge Raymond Pettine found in favor of Murray, though rejecting the allegation that a conspiracy existed between Peace Corps and the Selective Service.

Pettine ordered Peace Corps to "expunge" documents in Murray's file concerning his termination, and to reimburse him for his plane trip home. He told the draft board to return to Murray the 2-A classification he held as a Volunteer, making it valid through his originally scheduled completion of service date, when he would have been 26 years old. And, most important for Murray, the judge quashed the criminal indictment standing against him.

Most of the decision deals with Pettine's ruling that the Selective Service acted improperly in its handling of Murray's appeals.

Two aspects of the decision, however, are of great importance to the Peace Corps today: Pettine's comments on the manner in which Murray was terminated, and his comments on the constitutionality of Volunteer freedom of expression abroad.

Pettine criticized in detail the handling of Murray's termination: Peace Corps due process, as spelled out in its policy directives, was clearly violated, he said. Peace Corps officials "actively concealed" from Murray their reasons for sending him to Washington; they did not at any time show Murray the statement written by Bell in support of termination; he was not allowed to write his own "brief"; he was not given the option of "field terminating" in Chile, and the standard termination checklist was initiated by a Peace Corps secretary in Santiago rather than by Murray himself.

"It might be supposed that the violations of regulatory procedure in Murray's case were mere peccadillos," said the judge, but "the court does not agree with any such supposition."

"The fundamental wrong which weaves itself throughout the whole fabric of Murray's termination is that there was no opportunity for vigorous and fully informed adversarial confrontation on the issues raised by Murray."

"Had such confrontation emerged within the Peace Corps as it has in the courts," said the judge, "this entire litigation might have been avoided."

Washington officials do not contest that conclusion.

Even before the Murray case came to trial, General Coun-
Marc Leland points out, the Peace Corps had already revised and clarified its termination procedures. “It is now clear,” says Leland, “that if anyone is terminated in the future he must be granted the full procedural rights provided for him in the Peace Corps Manual, in Section 292.”

Leland and other attorneys are less certain, however, about the other aspect of Pettine’s decision, his remarks concerning the constitutionality of Murray’s actions in Chile.

Pettine said the Peace Corps violated Murray’s First Amendment constitutional rights in terminating him.

Said the judge: “Murray spoke about matters of vital interest to him as a human being, a United States citizen, and a Peace Corps Volunteer. Any inhibition on speech so far removed from the government interest alleged to support it must fall.”

But in an earlier ruling, Pettine also said: “There can be no question that the interest which the government seeks to protect is a valid one . . . it can be conceded that in some circumstances the Corps’ interest in remaining apolitical with respect to host country politics can reasonably be protected by termination or transfer policies narrowly applied so as to forbid the feared intrusion.”

Those two statements, in effect, throw the whole issue back to the Peace Corps for the present. And, in a very important sense, current Washington policy regarding overseas dissent activities is an attempt to reconcile their content (see “Dissent: Peace Corps on the Line,” pg. 7).

How does Bruce Murray feel?
Mindful that the decision may yet be appealed by U.S. Government attorneys—particularly the Selective Service—he is savoring the taste of courtroom vindication.

Beyond this, though, the past two and one-half years have changed this music teacher. “Before I joined the Peace Corps,” says Murray, “I was a very apathetic-type student, interested mainly in music.

“Being in the Peace Corps opened my eyes to how other people see the United States; and then, through my own experience, I found out how the government can really react to any kind of criticism it considers out of line.”

Embraced as a cause celebre by the Committee of Returned Volunteers, Murray subscribes to CRV’s view that the Peace Corps as an organization should be scrapped.

This is not the view he came off the plane with, however.

In 1968, he worked for a short period as a Peace Corps recruiter, urging students to join up.

But, he says, “I came to feel there was such a difference between the Peace Corps Volunteer and his ideals and . . . the agency—the bureaucracy of the Peace Corps—and how it was tied to the State Department.”

Murray has worked for awhile as an organ builder and a jewelry salesman.

Now he is spending his time composing music: “a symphony for small orchestra, a Mozart-type work.”
Protest In Afghanistan

(A Case Study)

The wire service dispatch clacked off the machine:

Kabul, Afghanistan (AP)—American Peace Corps Volunteers in Afghanistan plan to protest American involvement in Vietnam and wear black armbands during the two-day visit of Vice President Spiro T. Agnew starting Tuesday, Peace Corps officials said today.

The Vice President, it continued, was flying into Afghanistan fresh from a visit to Nepal, and midway through his tour of Asian states. The Royal Government anticipated demonstrations by leftist university students. But would shouts of "Agnew Go Home!" have a New York accent?

Americans reading the Associated Press dispatch on January 5 had cause to wonder.

But Volunteers had already considered the idea of a public protest—and dropped it—days before.

Hours before the Vice President's arrival on January 6, seven Volunteers and two staff members gathered in front of the U.S. Embassy. Some wore black armbands. One of the Volunteers, Richard Mead, read a short statement:

"The Vice President of the United States is arriving in Afghanistan today. We, as American citizens, have written letters to be delivered to him expressing with various emphases our individual disagreements with Administration actions and priorities concerning the war in Vietnam. We have come here, now, to the Embassy of our country, to bear witness by deed, as well as voice, to our concern and anxiety over the present tragedy in Vietnam. However, recognizing our commitments and responsibilities to Afghanistan as Peace Corps Volunteers and our desire to avoid any confrontation which would lead to violence or the embarrassment of the Afghan government, we gather briefly in a symbolic gesture of demonstration and dissent. And realizing the possible detrimental effects of a more prolonged vigil, we hereby, willingly, and in good faith, leave the premises of this Embassy."

So saying, the Volunteers climbed into a truck and left.

The event—so simple in its truth, so complex in its ramifications—grew out of weeks of careful discussion between Volunteers, Peace Corps staff, and officials of the U.S. Embassy in Kabul.

That dialogue began three days before Christmas in 1969. On December 22, three Volunteers met with country director, Lou Mitchell, and told him they wished to use the occasion of Vice President Agnew's visit to Afghanistan to express in some way their concern over America's Vietnam policy.

Mitchell counseled against public demonstration, pointing out its possible negative effect on Peace Corps work in Afghanistan and on the image of the Peace Corps worldwide.

The Volunteers then suggested a silent vigil in front of the American Embassy, but Mitchell counseled against that as well, proposing instead a private talk with Agnew. The Volunteers agreed.

The next day Mitchell approached U.S. Ambassador Robert Neumann and asked if he could arrange such a meeting. Neumann did not say no, but said Agnew's itinerary was packed and that the Vice President had specifically asked to see only Afghan officials during his visit—not Americans.

Mitchell reported his meeting to the three Volunteers who had first approached him. They answered that if Agnew could not see them, they would hold a silent vigil before the U.S. Embassy as originally proposed.

At this point, Mitchell called in Abdul Matin, an official in the Afghan Institute of Education, and then Peace Corps Associate Director for educational programs. Matin, now a Peace Corps recruiter, told the Volunteer what happened next:

"Lou Mitchell told me, 'The Volunteers are planning a protest. What do you think?' I said I thought it would have a bad reaction.

"First, Agnew was to be our guest. Afghanistan treats its guests very specially. And regardless of one's opinion of the Vietnam war or of the Vice President, nothing should detract from our reception of him.

"Secondly, a demonstration by Volunteers might attract our own students who have gone through a six-month period of disturbances only recently. You know, with our new democratic constitution, adopted during the 1960's, there is more freedom of expression—and demonstrations are allowed. But it takes time to understand that responsibility must go hand in hand with freedom, and that is what we are learning about in Afghanistan.

"The third reason I gave was that Peace Corps has always been for Afghanistan. It has never messed in politics, and to protest during this reception would be the beginning of playing with politics."

Those observations could well have come from any of the 58 countries in which Volunteers are now working.

After talking with Matin, Mitchell held four separate meetings, attended at various times by Volunteers, Peace Corps officials, Afghan officials and teachers from the university at which many Volunteers were working.

At all times, recalled Ambassador Neumann in a later cable, these meetings "were calm and reasoned... useful to all."

Here is Matin's account:

"[After his initial meeting with me], Lou called a second meeting—with all the staff, myself, another Afghan English supervisor, and the three Volunteers who had initiated contact with Lou. Basically we stated the objections I... listed. But the Volunteers were not convinced.

"A third meeting was called for the same people, but Lou invited a third Afghan, Dr. Mohamed Ehsan Entezar, professor at Kabul University and Director of in-country training, for another view through Afghan eyes. He, too, stated similar objections, but the three Volunteers left with their original idea.

"Lou called another meeting, the fourth in two weeks. This was on Saturday before Agnew's arrival on Tuesday. This time there was an open invitation to all Volunteers to attend if their jobs permitted it. I think about 40 showed up. Same Peace Corps staff, same Afghans, plus two education deans, four professors, the head of the English program and some Farsi teachers." (Continued on page 22)
The statement from the Somali Ministry of Foreign Affairs which spelled the end of Peace Corps involvement there said only:

"While we were grateful to the U.S. government for having provided us with Peace Corps Volunteers to help us develop [fields in our educational system], the Supreme Revolutionary Council and the government's cabinet decided to do without the services of the Peace Corps. All the Somalis with whom the departing Volunteers may come in contact are requested to give the Volunteers maximum courtesy and cooperation in making their journey back home safe and pleasant.

No other official explanations beyond that enigmatic statement were available. Somalia continues to receive economic aid from the U.S. and the Soviet Union as well.

Some 250 Volunteers have served since the first Peace Corps program in Somalia in 1962. In addition to teaching at the intermediate level, Volunteers have assisted in an English program for adults and in school construction projects which have resulted in 255 new classrooms and a number of dormitories and administrative facilities. Agriculture Volunteers have worked to help Somalis increase their grain production. While acknowledging the assistance, it took the new government less than two months to put a stop to it.

Sam Warrington, Peace Corps desk officer for Somalia, described the events which preceded the departure statement:

Somali President Abdirashid Ali Shermarke was assassinated October 15, while the Prime Minister, Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, was visiting the United States. On October 21, young Somali army officers took over the government in the name of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) and placed Egal under house arrest when he returned from his trip.

"When Egal and Shermarke were in power, they asked Peace Corps to double its teaching program. Even under the SRC, the new minister of education continued this practice. Early December he planned to fire Volunteer teachers. However, on December 18, the SRC "decided to do without the Peace Corps."

Forty-five of the Volunteers were teachers in the sixth, seventh and eighth grades; eight worked in agriculture, and another eight were scattered in other projects. All 61 left at the end of December for the neighboring capital of Nairobi, Kenya, for reassignment or termination.

Director Leo Gallerano and part of his staff remained in Somalia a few weeks to complete the administrative departure.

Earlier in 1969, Volunteers published a book of photographs and lines from Somali poetry. A message in the back of the book from then Prime Minister Egal congratulated Volunteers on its production and said he hoped it would serve "as a momento to those who have already come to love Somalia and will, God willing, make it better known abroad."

Some of the photographs by Tom Smoyer from the book appear on this and following pages.
Somalia was a very special experience in my life, and so these photographs are meant as a compliment to the people there. They are for all those Volunteers . . . who learned something of another people and hopefully something more of themselves. And they are for those of us who know deeply and honestly that we contributed very little, if anything at all. For perhaps in the final analysis, we could not hope to. I believe that if the hopes and aspirations of the Somali people are to be realized, they must be realized by themselves.

Volunteer Tom Smoyer

Photos by Tom Smoyer
Blatchford
Director Joseph Blatchford traveled abroad last month on a two-week, round-the-world tour which took him to Rome, India and Hawaii.

The main purpose of his trip was to visit projects in India, where the Peace Corps has its largest Volunteer program (516 Volunteers, at last count).

But Blatchford also used the trip to meet with officials of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) in Rome to discuss future cooperative projects. And on the return leg of his flight, Blatchford dropped in on the Peace Corps training site at Hilo, Hawaii.

On his return, February 9, Blatchford said his visit to India had been “exhilarating and encouraging.”

“The real story of the Peace Corps is out in the field,” he said, “and I’m always excited when I’m out there.”

The trip was Blatchford’s second.

Shortly after his appointment as Director last May, Blatchford traveled to Kenya, Iran and Libya with several of his key aides to assess Peace Corps’ role as a development agency in the coming decade.

His deputy and some members of the senior staff in Washington have also made quick trips abroad, including Special Assistant Betty Williams who visited Volunteers in the Punjab state of India while Blatchford journeyed south.

In India, the director saw Peace Corps staff and Indian officials in Bombay, Bangalore, Madras and Delhi. In Delhi, he held a “working meeting” with representatives of all Indian central ministries which have Volunteers working in programs under their administration. He also met with the Vice President of India, V.V. Giri.

Though in India only eight days, Blatchford was able to visit Volunteers working in agriculture, education, well-drilling and cooperatives. He also met Volunteers working in hydrology, small industries programs, and animal husbandry.

“My only complaint,” said Blatchford at a later Washington briefing, “is that I did not get to spend enough time in villages with Volunteers working away from the larger Indian towns and cities.”

But this was off-set, he added, by the tremendous enthusiasm he encountered everywhere for the Peace Corps in India, and the course it is charting for the seventies.

Budget
President Richard Nixon’s proposed budget sent to the Congress in January includes $98.8 million to operate the Peace Corps during the 1971 fiscal year (i.e. July 1, 1970 through June 30, 1971).

The figure is slightly higher than the $98.5 million allotted by Congress for the current—1970—fiscal year.

The additional $300,000 includes funds to train 7,000 new Volunteers—up to the 6,500 provided for in this year’s budget—plus a request to raise the readjustment allowance from the current $75 per month of service to $100 per month.

The budget is now under review in committee hearings which will last through the summer.

On March 2, Director Blatchford and several other Peace Corps officials appeared before the Foreign Operations Sub-Committee of the House Appropriations Committee, Chaired by Representative Otto Passman.

A week later, on March 10, the same officials appeared before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee Chaired by Representative John G. Tower.

As anticipated, questioning in both the House and Senate committees focused on Volunteer involvement in protest activities overseas.

Volunteer Deaths
Five Volunteers and one staff member have died as a result of accidents in the first three months of 1970.

Three Liberian Volunteers died Jan. 13, in the worst single tragedy ever to hit Peace Corps. The victims, all 23-year-old college students, were vacationing in Kenya during the Liberian school vacation period when the car in which they were riding struck a boulder, so they died. The accident occurred in the village of Bongie near Monrovia.

One of the girls, Susan Davey, of Chicago, was buried in Barziwen, the village where she taught elementary school. Her brother, Michael, who flew there for the services, explained why the family chose Liberia for the interment: “She was happier there than she had ever been in her life.”

Teaching with Susan and also a victim of the accident was Marilyn Anne McKay of Forest Hills, N.Y. Miss McKay’s family has set up a fund in her memory to be used in some way in Liberia.

The third victim was Martha Merrill of Tucson, Ariz. She taught in a secondary school in Sanniquelle. A Martha Merrill Scholarship Fund has been established at the University of Arizona in Tucson.

All three Volunteers began their service in December, 1968.

The first fatality in 1970 was Frederick Schwartz, a Volunteer in Swaziland who died in a single car accident there on Jan. 11. Schwartz, 23, of Salina, Kan., had been in Swaziland since December, 1968, working with wood carvers in handcraft development.

Jack Wills, Peace Corps Volunteer in Jamaica since September, 1969, died February 7 from injuries he received from a fall near Lucea. Prior to becoming a Volunteer, Wills had worked for 44 years for the New York Telephone Co. in West Seneca, New York where he was a supervisor of installation and maintenance. He symbolized the “New Directions” of the Peace Corps as a retired skilled worker who was devoting two years of his life to the people of the developing world.

Associate Peace Corps Director, Bruce Robinson died February 9 from injuries sustained in an automobile accident in the Ivory Coast. Robinson, who had been on staff in the Ivory Coast since November, was evacuated to Germany for medical treatment, but returned to Ivory Coast after his death for burial.

Since the Peace Corps was founded in 1961, 62 Volunteers have died in service.

The Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT) was laid to rest last month, after eight years and thousands of Peace Corps applicants.

Until its demise, the Test was used to assess the language abilities of potential Volunteers by presenting them with an obscure language and then leading the through a series of vocabulary and grammar exercises.

But its effectiveness had been debated for some time.
In January, the Peace Corps Division of Research in Washington finally recommended the Test be discontinued. The four Regional Directors concurred, and Deputy Director Tom Houser announced its suspension shortly thereafter.

Houser directed that the Office of Training Support conduct experiments with alternative tests—such as the so-called Pimsleur Language Aptitude Test used by many universities—to find a better means of predicting language speaking ability.

But for the moment, new applicants will be spared what was perhaps the zaniest and most intriguing aspect of the whole Peace Corps application procedure.

Families
One of the "New Directions" suggested by Director Joseph Blatchford last May was that the Agency make it possible for Volunteers with families to serve overseas.

How does it stand now?
The first six Peace Corps families entered training at Escondido, California on February 4, bound for the Vocational Education School in Alto, Bolivia. Total children: 13.

According to Bolivia Training Coordinator Mike Doyle, the Escondido staff had to supply baby beds, potties, baby food and diapers to prepare for the new trainees.

A report on the Volunteer Family Pilot Project will appear in the May issue of the Volunteer.

March First
March First—On this date in history, the American colonies adopted the Articles of Confederation (1781); Ohio was admitted to the Union (1803); Nebraska became the 37th state (1867); Congress authorized the creation of Yellowstone National Park (1872); the infant son of Charles Lindbergh was kidnapped from his New Jersey Home (1932); point rationing of canned goods went into effect throughout the United States (1943); Robert Lowell, Dinah Shore and Berry Belfonte all celebrate their birthdays on March 1st.

So did the Peace Corps. Its ninth!
Afghanistan (from page 13)

"As a group we counseled 'no demonstration, no arm-bands.' We said we didn't see much advantage to doing it and we foresaw problems potentially damaging to Peace Corps-Afghan relations. But nobody said 'You can't do it' and there were no threats. Except Lou had to say that if the demonstration seriously damaged the effectiveness of the Peace Corps in Afghanistan, then he would have to take action against the Volunteers who took part."

"By this fourth meeting," Matin explained, "we saw that the sentiments of these 30 to 40 Volunteers were somewhat different than the three who attended previous meetings. The larger group was not agreeing with the three."

The outcome?

"At the end of four or five hours of talking on Saturday, the Volunteers decided they would write letters to Agnew and that some would make a brief, symbolic gesture of dissent on Tuesday. And that is what happened."

But the story, as it unrolled from wire service dispatches, proved more provocative than the fact. And by the time it was picked up by some papers in the States, the gathering in front of the American Embassy had been twisted almost beyond recognition.

First off the wire, and most accurate, was a Reuters dispatch, printed by the New York Times the following morning. Though substantively correct, the story linked Volunteer protest with other militant demonstrations in Kabul by burying it in two paragraphs which broadly sketched the activities of leftist student groups demonstrating against the Vice President.

Said Reuters, in the fifth and sixth paragraphs of its dispatch:

"A few hours before the Vice President arrived, about 400 students paraded through the streets carrying banners reading "Agnew Go Home," "Stop Killing Vietnamese People" and "Hands Off the Middle East."

"Rival pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese groups roamed the streets and a delegation of United States Peace Corps workers presented the United States Embassy with letters for Mr. Agnew protesting American policies in Vietnam."

The Associated Press story, written by Arnold Zeitlin (RPCV Ghana I) and carried by most American newspapers the following morning, told it this way, in the seventh and eighth paragraphs:

"Before Agnew's plane touched down, demonstrators massed in Kabul's central square as hundreds of spectators looked on. Nearby police kept vigil over Afghanistan's Ministry of Information and Culture.

"The demonstration was staged after 10 American Peace Corps volunteers had gathered at the U.S. Embassy to protest American involvement in Vietnam. The Americans had been threatened with dismissal by Peace Corps officials if they made a public protest."

From both stories, many Americans gathered that:

... Volunteers had staged a public protest in Kabul.
... that their protest was linked to the pro-communist demonstrations which followed.
... that Peace Corps had told them not to demonstrate, and Volunteers had broken the rules by doing so.

For example, the Jacksonville (Fla.) Journal wrote:

"The United States should waste no time in recalling those ten Peace Corpsmen who greeted Spiro Agnew's visit to Afghanistan by leading a public protest in Kabul against U.S. policies."

Said the Lubbock (Texas) Avalanche:

"... 10 Peace Corps members joined with pro-Communist Afghan students in a 'demonstration,' complete with red flags, calling on the U.S. to 'stop killing people in Vietnam.'"

Said both papers:

"Bring them home—fast!"

One of the few papers to understand the complexity of the event was the Washington (D.C.) Post.

Ten days later, the Post printed an editorial calling the manner of dissent chosen by Volunteers "appropriate." Anything else, the Post said, would have been "as rude to his Afghan hosts as to Mr. Agnew himself."

With the Peace Corps' new effort to "shift direct supervision of Volunteers to host country officials," the paper continued, it is "all the more important that Volunteers respect the religious, cultural and political traditions of the country he is serving."

"That is a reasonable rule," commented the Post, "which met the test in Afghanistan."

Matin agreed.

"Many of the 173 Volunteers in Afghanistan are opposed to their government's policy in Vietnam," he said. "But they have affirmed their highest priority as service to the government of Afghanistan."

"I am thankful for this," Matin added, "because the Peace Corps is well regarded in this country and I want their work to continue."

So do the Volunteers.

So does the Peace Corps.

But a sensitive, thoughtful, symbolic expression of concern by nine individuals has jeopardized the entire Peace Corps.

Director Joseph Blatchford, in a recent memo to country directors, said:

"The possibilities of press distortion are great and the opportunities for rebuttal rare."

Afghanistan is now a case in point.

Dissent (from page 9)

against other possible effects," he cautioned.

"Doubt about our basic purposes may arise in the minds of our hosts, however sympathetic they may be to the present issue. A host of other considerations, such as the use which political factions within the host country might make of the Volunteer expression, must be considered."

Finally, said Blatchford, "we must keep in mind our own Government's possible reactions to embarrassment abroad by us on foreign policy."

"Ultimately of course, the Volunteers must be responsible for their action," he concluded.

Adds Deputy Director Houser: "The Volunteer's job is a sensitive one which requires subtlety... and self restraint, and the ability to achieve an objective without excessive flamboyance. The Volunteer overseas lives in a glass house."

"The record on which we shall stand or fall," he says, "will be our perceived effectiveness... by those countries which have asked us in to do a job."

One is tempted to consult the most subtle text of all, the ancient Chinese I Ching. In times of conflict, it counsels:

You are sincere
And are being obstructed.
A cautious halt halfway brings good fortune.
Going through to the end brings misfortune.
Function: To serve as an access device—like a mini Whole Earth Catalogue, like an underground classified—for members of the world-wide Peace Corps community.

An item or query will be listed if it:
- helps further the objectives of the Peace Corps;
- is useful to a large segment of the Peace Corps community;
- helps a Volunteer solve a problem more directly and quickly than might otherwise be possible.

Purpose: To encourage Peace Corps workers to share problems and solutions, develop their own answers, and find their own inspiration.


The Greensheet, monthly job listing for returned Volunteers wondering how they’re going to pay the rent, has competition.

Mel Horwitch, ex-Thailand TEFL teacher, has gone into business for himself to found Sociocom, a sort of dating service for people seeking jobs in the social and economic development area. Address: P.O. Box 317, Harvard Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

The International Secretariat for Volunteer Service announces it will hold its Second International Conference of Former Volunteers in Lausanne, Switzerland this summer.

The dates: July 25 to August 1.

The Conference will be open to all returned and recently terminated Peace Corps Volunteers.

For a program and further information, write: Mrs. Margrit Gnagi, 3613 Hilfikon, Switzerland before May 1.

Robert Eckert, a Volunteer in Ghana, has developed what he thinks is an economical and feasible maize grain dryer and storage bin. The unit was designed to enable traditional farmers living in the rain forest areas of Ghana to store grain for longer periods of time without incurring the 30 to 40 per cent loss they now suffer between harvest and marketing.

The unit is still being evaluated by Peace Corps Agriculture Specialists. But the Division of Information Resources is interested in finding out what other Volunteers have done or are doing to dry and store grain in other parts of the world.

Send your plans to: Ellen Perna, Division of Information Resources, Office of Program Development, Evaluation and Research, Room 1018, Peace Corps, Washington, D.C. 20525, USA.

Brian Whisman, a former Chilean Volunteer, has formed a small importing agency—Quality International—through which he hopes to market handicrafted products from underdeveloped countries throughout the world.

He would like to hear from Volunteers working in "home industry" or producers coop projects.

If you are interested, write: Brian Whisman, Quality International, P.O. Box 16012, Philadelphia, Pa. 19154.

What is the best way to design a new low-cost housing scheme in an African mining township?

Can this be done without creating the high-low density segregation that often crops up in such projects?

How?

Cosmic question.

But three Botswana Volunteers at work in a town planning project want to know. And the information is not available in Washington.

If you:
- are working in a city planning project and have experience in low-cost housing development, or,
- have access to relevant information, and
- want to share your knowledge, or simply
- correspond with Volunteers who face problems similar to your own,

Write directly to: Keith Bravinder, Peace Corps, P.O. Box 93, Gaberones, Botswana, Africa.
Change of Address

Name

Street or P.O. Box

City, State, Zip Code

Effective date

Mailing label at right must be sent with all requests for changes of address.