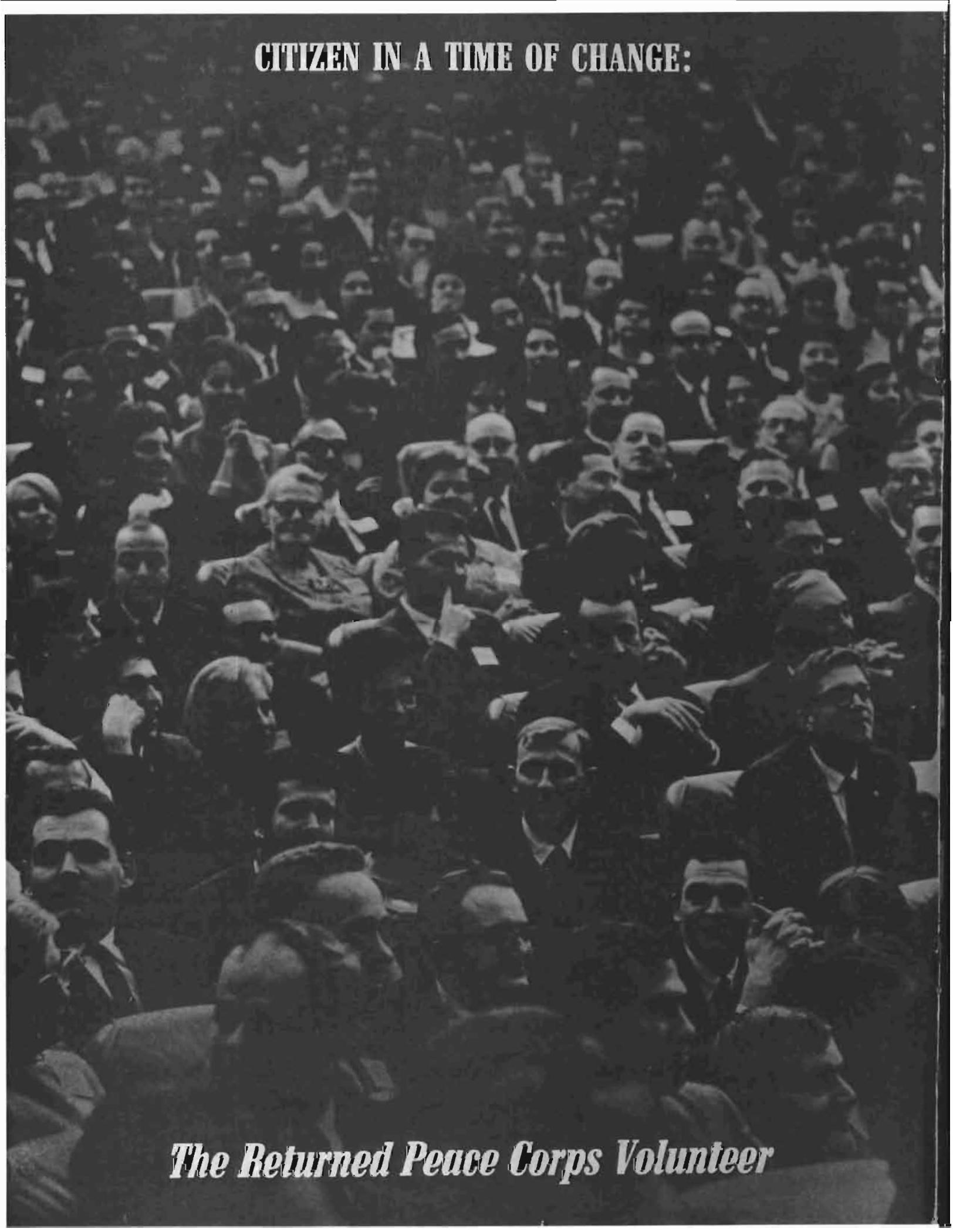


**CITIZEN IN A TIME OF CHANGE:**

A high-angle, black and white photograph of a massive crowd of people, primarily men in suits and ties, filling the frame. The perspective is from above, looking down into the crowd, which extends far into the background. The individuals are packed closely together, and their expressions vary, some looking directly at the camera while others look slightly away. The lighting is somewhat dim, creating a somber and serious atmosphere. The overall composition emphasizes the scale and density of the gathering.

*The Returned Peace Corps Volunteer*



"You went out as ambassadors and came back world citizens." **Dr. Mary Bunting.**

**CITIZEN IN A TIME OF CHANGE:**

***The Returned Peace Corps Volunteer***

**Report of the Conference**

**Washington, D. C.**

**March 5-7, 1965**

**EDITORS**

**Ernest Fox**

**George Nicolau**

**Harris Wofford**



There should be a sustained and public debate on all the issues.

CITIZEN IN A TIME OF CHANGE

*The Returned Peace Corps Volunteer*

# Contents

<b>LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT</b> .....	2	Secretary of State Dean Rusk .....	59
<b>LETTER FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT</b> .....	4	Assistant Secretary of State Jack Hood Vaughn ...	61
<b>THE CONFERENCE AGENDA</b> .....	7	Mary Seeberger .....	61
<b>AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONFERENCE</b> .....	8	Roger Landrum .....	61
<b>WORKSHOP REPORTS</b> .....	19	<b>Committee Reports</b> .....	61
Local Communities .....	19	Elmo Roper (Local Communities) .....	61
Primary and Secondary Education .....	23	Dr. Bennetta Washington (Primary & Secondary	
Foreign Students .....	25	Education) .....	62
Government .....	27	Joseph Adair (Foreign Students) .....	63
Colleges and Universities .....	31	Richard Irish (Government) .....	63
International Service .....	32	Sister Jacqueline Grennan (Colleges &	
Labor .....	35	Universities) .....	64
Business .....	38	Thomas Scanlon (International Service) .....	65
<b>THE PROCEEDINGS</b> .....	40	David Danielson (Labor) .....	66
<b>Opening Plenary Session</b> .....	40	Newton Minow (Business) .....	66
Sargent Shriver, Chairman .....	40	Donald Boucher (Supplementary Report on the	
Gary Bergthold .....	41	South) .....	67
Roger Landrum .....	43	Special Assistant to the President Bill Moyers	
Edith Barksdale .....	44	67	
George Johnson .....	45	<b>AFTERTHOUGHTS</b> .....	69
Craig Thompson .....	47	<b>The Participants</b> .....	69
Chief Justice Earl Warren .....	48	Adam Yarmolinsky, Special Assistant to the	
Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara .....	48	Secretary of Defense .....	69
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey .....	48	Dr. Herbert Gans, Columbia Teachers' College	
<b>Mid-Conference Reporting Session</b> .....	54	70	
Sargent Shriver, Chairman .....	54	Dr. John Seeley, Brandeis University .....	70
Dr. Mary Bunting .....	54	Dr. William Soskin, National Institute of Mental	
Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland ...	54	Health .....	70
Ruth Whitney .....	55	Al Ulmer, Southern Regional Council .....	71
Christopher Weeks .....	56	<b>The Press</b> .....	72
Peter Caws .....	56	Richard Rovere .....	72
Mrs. Albert Greenfield .....	56	Frank G. Jennings .....	73
Myles Weintraub .....	57	Hallowel Bowser .....	74
<b>Volunteers' Special Meeting</b> .....	57	Eric Severeid .....	75
<b>Final Plenary Session</b> .....	59	Ruth Montgomery .....	76
Ernie Fox, Chairman .....	59	<b>APPENDIX</b> .....	77
		Conference Papers .....	77
		Conference Participants .....	78

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 26, 1965

Dear Mr. Vice President:

For three and one half years I have been happy to serve as Chairman of the National Advisory Council of the Peace Corps. Today I am asking you to accept this responsibility which has meant so much to me.

As you take on this new and additional responsibility I would like you to focus your attention on several lines of action which I hope you will follow.

First, I would like you and the National Advisory Council to convene soon a Conference of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers on or about March 1, the fourth anniversary of the establishment of the Peace Corps. Over 3,000 Volunteers have already come back from two years of overseas service. They, and the nearly 10,000 Volunteers now serving in 46 countries are a major new national resource. It is time to assemble a representative group of them to discuss their role in our national life, at home and abroad. I want you to bring them together with leaders of American education, of business and labor, of community action programs, of federal, state and local government. In serious workshop sessions they should consider the opportunities for further service by the returning Volunteer in all parts of our public life -- in the War on Poverty and in the Foreign Service, in our work to promote human rights at home and in our overseas AID programs, in our school classrooms and in our universities, in our unions and in private enterprise.

Second, I will count on you to help carry the message of the Peace Corps' opportunities to the four corners of this country. As the Peace Corps grows from 10,000 to 20,000 Volunteers to meet the requests and needs of other peoples, its performance must continually improve. The quality of the Volunteers -- their ability to do the work and to work with people, whether in the schoolroom or in the community -- must be the best that America can offer. I hope you will carry the Peace Corps story to the graduating students and

faculties of our campuses, to our skilled workmen, to doctors and nurses, to experienced teachers -- to every capable citizen willing to serve his country overseas.

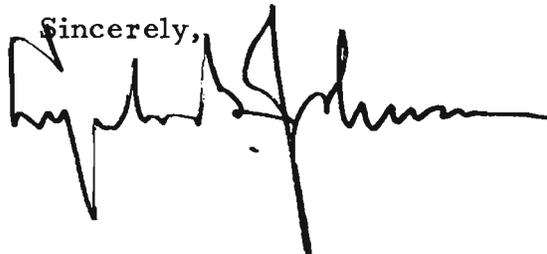
Third, I hope you will accept as a special concern the matter of foreign students in this country, 25,000 of whom come from countries where the Peace Corps is serving. Returning Volunteers will be interested, as I am, in helping to make the experience of these foreign guests successful in all respects, educationally and personally. I hope you, the National Advisory Council and the participants in the proposed Conference will give special attention to this opportunity for further service by returned Volunteers, and report to me your recommendations and action.

Fourth, I hope you and the Advisory Council will propose other ways to ensure that this nation makes full use of former Volunteers. I have already selected men from the Peace Corps organization more frequently than from any other government department or agency in order to staff this Administration. For the Great Society requires first of all Great Citizens, and the Peace Corps is a world-wide training school for Great Citizens.

This new assignment is exceptionally appropriate for you. You were the first member of the Senate to see the vision of the Peace Corps and to propose legislation to embody it. Moreover, this new assignment directly complements your other work with the War on Poverty and the coordination of efforts toward full civil rights for all Americans. These efforts are all concerned with human dignity. They represent the central purpose of this Administration: to open new opportunities for people.

In these last four years under Sargent Shriver's able and effective direction the Peace Corps has made history. Working with him, we can see that it continues to make history.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Lyndon B. Johnson", written in a cursive style.

The Vice President  
Washington, D. C.



THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

October 8, 1965

Dear Mr. President:

When you appointed me Chairman of the Peace Corps' National Advisory Council last January, you asked that I convene a Conference of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers.

On March 5-7 over 1,000 Volunteers met in Washington with 250 leaders of our national life. In two and one-half days of workshop meetings and plenary sessions, they discussed the Peace Corps experience, its relevance and usefulness to America, and the attitudes and hopes of the returned Volunteers themselves.

As a result of the Conference, these civic leaders are now aware of a constructive new force in our nation, a force that is measuring and challenging our society, which is not satisfied with things as they are, which is determined to work for progress, which believes public service to be a duty, not a choice.

From the day the Peace Corps was established, many persons were of the opinion that its impact on America would be as strong as its impact on the developing world, that the Volunteers would be a force for change here as they were overseas. The Conference produced promising evidence that this is so.

The Conference was a dialogue between generations—something urgently needed, but as infrequent as it is important and exciting. Most of the Volunteers were young. Their average age was twenty-five. The civic leaders—Special Participants—were college presidents, corporation and union executives, ambassadors, Congressmen and other high level government officials.

In the dialogue, concepts long held by our society's leaders were openly challenged. Accepted ways of doing things in fields such as education and social service were questioned. Fundamental issues facing our institutions were raised and discussed. There was disagreement. There were periods of disappointment as the generations tried to grasp what each was saying. In the end, there was understanding and respect.

What emerged most impressively was the potential of the Volunteers, and their desire to act, to serve, to take part in the tasks which lie ahead for this nation and the world. They were concerned, not only for the quality of American life and our social institutions, but how they, as individuals, could make a difference. What they articulated was a stronger concept of citizenship which encompasses public service as a more universal responsibility.

Public service, as the Volunteers defined it, was not necessarily service in government. It was service to people: service through

public or private institutions. And what they sought was not larger, more complicated institutions, but better ones, institutions in which individuals could exercise initiative and responsibility. As examples, they cited the Peace Corps, VISTA and many of the new community action organizations now taking form in which citizens can work for the public good.

As you have said, politics in its broadest sense deals with the total complex of relations between men in society. In this sense, the Volunteers were intensely political, What they called for was a broadened concept of politics, a politics of service, which would embrace not merely those who run for public office and those who work for political organizations but every citizen who serves society.

In all of this, the Volunteers made it clear that they were not seeking special privileges or special consideration. They rejected proposals to form a national organization, reiterating time after time that they were citizens first and Volunteers second. They did, however, advocate special programs which would use the potential and the abilities many had developed overseas. To the advice of Special Participants that they obtain professional credentials and learn a great deal more about American society before attempting to improve it, the Volunteers responded with proposals which would permit them to act as agents of constructive change while earning the full academic or professional accreditation deemed so important.

These major theses—service as a duty of citizenship; the encouragement of organizations in which individuals, acting together on the local level, can gain the power to change their lives; the establishment of programs which will serve America by using the Peace Corps Volunteers' ability to communicate across cultures; and the concept of acting for social change while continuing to learn—are reflected in many of the recommendations which the Conference made.

The proposals range from the creation of internships in community action programs to the establishment of new middle-level positions in the Agency for International Development; from new programs in experimental education to the formation of citizens groups to initiate projects under the Economic Opportunity Act.

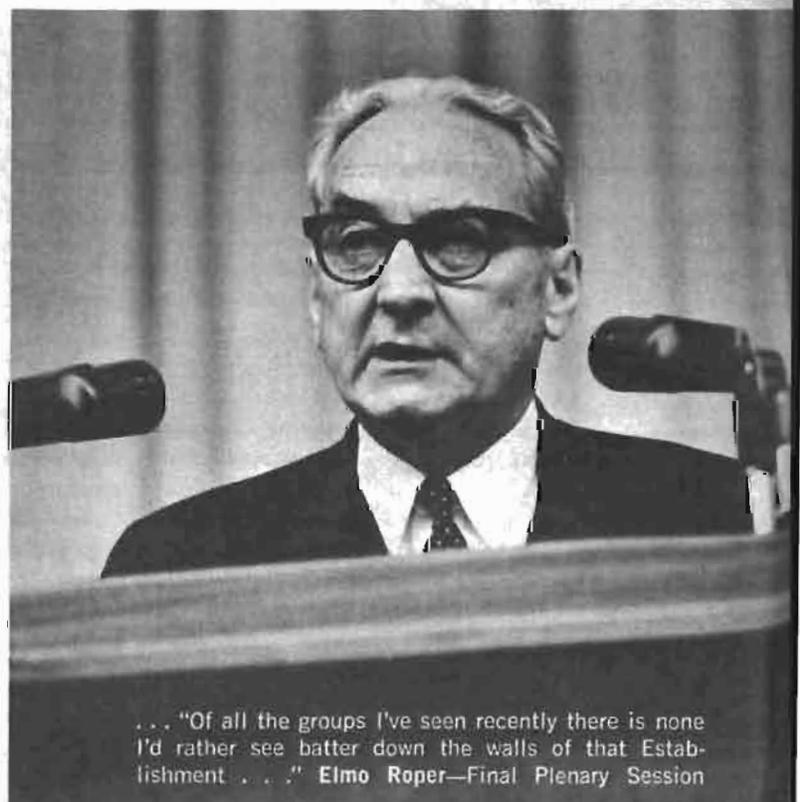
The proposals, including near-unanimous recommendations for similar conferences on the regional level, will, I am sure, receive your serious consideration. As you envisioned, the force represented by the Volunteers can be a spur and a benefit to America as it has been, and is, to the world. It is a force which should and will, I am sure, be encouraged and sustained by your Administration.

I am pleased and honored to transmit the Report of the Conference for such action as you may deem appropriate.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Hubert H. Humphrey". The signature is written in dark ink and includes a stylized flourish at the end.

Hubert H. Humphrey



... "Of all the groups I've seen recently there is none I'd rather see batter down the walls of that Establishment . . ." **Elmo Roper**—Final Plenary Session

CITIZEN IN A TIME OF CHANGE  
*Conference on The Returned Peace Corps Volunteer*  
MARCH 5-7, 1965, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

# *Conference Agenda*

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## Friday, March 5

- 6:00 P.M. . . . . RECEPTION AND BUFFET  
State Department Diplomatic  
Reception Rooms
- 8:00 P.M. . . . . OPENING PLENARY SESSION  
State Department Auditorium
- 

## Saturday, March 6

- 9:00 A.M. . . . . WORKSHOP MEETINGS
- 12:30 P.M. . . . . LUNCHEON
- 1:30 P.M. . . . . MID-CONFERENCE REPORTING SESSION  
State Department Auditorium
- 2:30 P.M. . . . . WORKSHOP MEETINGS
- 7:00 P.M. . . . . BUFFET SUPPERS  
Private Homes
- 

## Sunday, March 7

- 9:00 A.M. . . . . WORKSHOP MEETINGS
- 1:00 P.M. . . . . LUNCHEON
- 2:00 P.M. . . . . FINAL PLENARY SESSION—PRESENTATION  
OF REPORTS  
State Department Auditorium

### **Contributors**

*The Conference was privately financed. The donors, to whom the Peace Corps expresses its gratitude, are the following*

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| The Carnegie Foundation         | Kaiser Industries Corporation                         |
| The New World Foundation        | Mr. Milton Shapp                                      |
| The Kettering Family Fund       | Mr. Milton Kronheim                                   |
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| International Business Machines | The National Broadcasting Company                     |
| Pan American World Airways      |   |
| United Artists Corporation      |   |

# An Account of the Conference

By Harris Wofford, Peace Corps Associate Director for Planning, Evaluation, and Research, who, with Mrs. Elizabeth Forsling Harris, coordinated the work of the Conference Committee.

"Peace is a process," President Kennedy said. From the beginning, the Peace Corps has been a process—a process of practical education in world citizenship, of learning by doing, on the part of both American Volunteers and the people they serve.

In convening the Conference, President Johnson called the Peace Corps "a world-wide training school for Great Citizens." In the meetings of some 1,000 returned Volunteers and 250 leaders of American life on the weekend of the Peace Corps' fourth anniversary, this school had another session.

"Of all the wild experiments designed to prove that a Socratic seminar is the key to learning," said Abram Chayes, the State Department's former Legal Adviser, "this Conference was the wildest, and came closest to proving the point."

A more modest assessment came from a returned Volunteer, Walter Stewart. "There were few tangible results reached," he said, "but neither were there in my two-year teaching experience in Somalia and I wouldn't have passed either opportunity up."

The Conference was "wild." For one thing, three or four times as many Volunteers came as had been expected. One out of three who received notice of the Conference attended, 800 coming at their own expense, in addition to the cross-section of 200 for whom travel grants were secured.

If the experiment worked, it was because the assembly was divided into 24 different discussion groups, or "workshops"—and because enough common points and questions emerged to make it one dialogue. This is an account of that dialogue in the words and arguments of the participants.

\* \* \*

"Calling this Conference was a probe," said Sargent Shriver on opening night in the State Department auditorium. It was a probe of what Vice President Humphrey called "the return on our investment"—the product coming back.

What kind of citizen is the returned Volunteer? Where is his overseas experience most relevant? What new directions does he want for America at home and abroad? How can this "new national resource," which may number 50,000 by 1970, best be used?

These were some of the questions posed by the Conference Committee of 50 Washington-area Volunteers. They were considered "with particular attention to poverty, equal rights and international understanding" in separate workshops on Colleges and Universities, Primary and Secondary Schools, Local Communities, Labor, Business, Government, International Service, and Foreign Students.

What did the "probe" discover?

First, it became clear that there is no typical returned Volunteer. One thousand different and differing returned Volunteers came to Washington.

Yet some general points can be made.

The spirit of returned Volunteers is good. Most of them are at work or back in school. Practically none are unemployed. On the Conference questionnaire returned by 2,300 of them, only seven per cent listed "finding a job" as a significant re-entry problem.

## The Spirit of Public Happiness

Reporting that "self-pity was a distinctly minor theme," Richard Rovere wrote in *The New Yorker* that the Conference was "the most informal as well as the liveliest gathering ever to have taken place in that ungainly pile of concrete in the heart of Foggy Bottom." Hallowell Bowser, another participant, emphasizing the Volunteers' "ebullience and hopefulness" in *The Saturday Review*, reported that "the atmosphere in the auditorium was one of verve, confidence and high good humor."

Near the end of the first evening, Vice President Humphrey observed that Volunteers enjoy "what John Adams once characterized as the 'spirit of public happiness'." He had seen this in the spirited reunions of Volunteers from 46 countries which took place at the buffet in the State Department's Diplomatic Reception Rooms; he had seen it in the way Volunteers had mingled and talked freely with the Secretary of State, other Cabinet Members, university presidents, business and labor leaders; in the way they had approached him, and in the way they received Sargent Shriver at the opening session.

Shriver had started reading a list of Congressmen present, but none stood up to take a bow. When a staff member called out from the audience, "You're reading the list wrong, Sarge—just the ones that are circled," laughter swept the packed auditorium.

Later, the Vice President brought down the house by pointing to himself and saying, "You talk about *your* frustrations!" He told the Volunteers: "If as a young person you are not somewhat frustrated, then you ought to go see a doctor."

### ***The Crisis of Orange and Green***

Not all the hours were happy. Each of the 24 workshop groups went through some period when the probe hit what felt like rock bottom. The time when the participants were most disappointed with each other and with the groping quality of the discussions came Saturday afternoon, at the end of the first full day. At this low point a Special Participant from a private foundation commented:

You had more guts than brains in calling this Conference. You're exposing yourselves completely. We're seeing the Volunteers as they really are, not as the romantic unknown quantity they were before.

Outside leaders or "Special Participants" were exposing themselves, too. In one workshop, when an educator was delivering what seemed like conventional wisdom, another educator, Sister Jacqueline Grennan, the lively head of Webster College, Missouri, said: "Don't do this to them! These clothes I wear hide the scars I bear from men like you."

At a particularly difficult moment in a workshop late Saturday afternoon, one of the Special Participants who had expressed disappointment began to pack his papers. A Volunteer said, with a sense of defeat, "Look, he's closing his briefcase!"

But not many briefcases were closed for good. Sunday morning saw the resumption, in better spirits, of this "battle of the Orange and the Green." (Special Participants wore orange-colored name cards; Volunteers wore green.) Some of the Orange Cards even stopped referring to the Green Cards as "kids."

What happened overnight to improve the dialogue? Orange and Green Card participants talked for hours together in the living rooms of a score of Washington hostesses who gave informal dinners for the workshops. One Volunteer described her delight in discovering that a dean of Harvard would give her clues as to how to harass her deans at a Midwestern university where she was trying to desegregate fraternities and sororities. The Harvard dean even gave her the names of several key trustees of her university and suggested how to approach them.

"If this is the 'Establishment'," said another Volunteer, "I have to change a lot of my feelings about it."

Perhaps what most assisted this meeting of generations was time—time to appreciate what was being said. As one of the Orange Cards commented Saturday night,

They were asking the prior questions. We wanted the Volunteers to come up with plans of action from now to the year 2000, but they

"Of all the wild experiments . . . this was the wildest."



wanted to talk about who they were and where they are. We kept badgering them for 'new ideas' and were disturbed by their silence. But the silences were very eloquent. We just didn't have good ears. The Volunteers were asking us to go back to the fundamentals with them and we weren't ready.

### ***What's So Special about Volunteers?***

A central question that caused much of the torment on Saturday was: Are the Volunteers special?

"We are *not* special," said Ruth Whitney, a Volunteer returned from Ghana, in a sharp attack on the very idea of the Conference.

"The worst thing overseas was the idea we were bringing light to darkness," said another Volunteer. "It would be just as bad if we or anyone else thought we were bringing light to darkness at home."

Many of the Orange Cards urged the Volunteers to consider themselves special.

"You have had experiences that are beyond the imagination of most of your contemporaries," said the Vice President. "You are better because of it—and you know it!"

Presidential Assistant Bill Moyers made a different point: "If you don't think yourself special you will simply disappear into the bog of affluent living—you won't make a difference."

The Secretary of State told them that their Peace Corps experience would be a special "plus" over others applying for positions in the Foreign Service.

The Secretary of Defense assured them that they had made a special contribution—a greater contribution to world peace, he said, than that of all three and three-quarter million Defense Department personnel put together.

Most Volunteers agreed that at least they had enjoyed a special experience.

Some of the educators present said the Volunteers had had an "experiential education." Dr. John Seeley, head of Sociology at Brandeis University, put it this way:

They had learned, without conceptualizing it, how to deal with a foreign society, and hence, in a sense, how to look at their own organization, and the society they are coming now to confront. What they had was a very profound experience.

The primary experience, according to one Volunteer, was "becoming in mind and even more in spirit, those very people we had come to help." When this "educative experience" became complete, said Michael Sellon, "we *felt* like Dominicans, *reacted* like Tanganyikans."

What began as a rather bookish interest in comparative culture, explained David Schickele,

becomes a real involvement in that culture, so that each new insight does not merely add to one's store of knowledge, but carries the power of giving pain or pleasure . . . No real intellectual understanding can exist without a sense of identification at some deeper level.

To convey this experience, the Volunteer Committee had suggested that the Conference see "A School at Rincon Santo," a film about a mountain village in Latin America. The people work together to build a school. A teacher comes.

"Open the Conference with this film," Anabel Leinbach argued.

"What does it have to do with the Peace Corps?" a non-Volunteer asked.

"Everything," said Anabel, "even though no Volunteer is mentioned in it. It's the people, the other people, who become our people."

Perhaps the film should have been shown, for many Conference hours were spent in trying to define what it was the Volunteers had experienced, and how it was relevant.

One of the workshops decided that the Volunteers brought home an "X-factor" that included insights, dedication, empathy, flexibility, optimism, and a readiness to be self-critical.

Others were less effusive. Dr. Benson Snyder, chief of psychiatry at M.I.T., was impressed with how many Volunteers "had been moved and changed" and had "found it a growing experience—not in a Boy Scout way, but in a realistic, discouraged way."

Some were more critical. Eric Severeid wrote that the feeling of the Volunteers was nothing new: "I returned to fat, neutral America after covering the first year of the European war, felt I had left reality for unreality and could scarcely communicate with my own family." Nothing whatsoever was owed to them, he continued. "No one need expect reward for growing toward maturity and sophistication, which is all that is happening to them."

### ***Special Privileges, No—Special Programs, Yes***

Most Volunteers agreed with Severeid, in principle if not entirely in practice. Again and again, they insisted that they wanted no special privileges, that they were citizens first, Volunteers second. "Let's not talk about beautiful Peace Corps Volunteers," said Myles Weintraub, an architect back from Tunisia, "but talk about beautiful societies and how we get there."

"We don't want this to be a job mart," said another Volunteer when several school officials asked to an-

nounce that they were ready to recruit returned Volunteers as teachers, waiving most of the usual certification requirements. The Volunteer Conference Committee hesitated even to give these officials an interview room. But the actual announcement that hundreds of Volunteers were wanted as teachers in Philadelphia, Syracuse, and Washington, D. C., was received with applause.

An Education workshop heard one of the supervisors of 26 returned Volunteers who had taught at Cardozo High School in the slums of Washington, D. C., criticize them for bringing back some of the bad habits of rote teaching and heavy discipline they had complained about in overseas schools. But the former Principal of Cardozo, Dr. Bennetta Washington, said, "I do not believe that they themselves know what a catalyst for change they were. They really made education come alive." Work should be "love made visible," and the Volunteers "made their love visible." To those at the Conference she said: "We are searching for great teachers and we think you are a reservoir of great teachers."

On this and a number of other points, the Volunteers overcame their modesty and recommended—or

agreed to—special programs that might utilize their "X-factor." It was not *jobs* they were seeking, said Edith Barksdale, back from the Philippines, but "a life that comes close to providing the excitement, opportunity for achievement and responsibility that we felt overseas." Would America "assign responsibility to potential?" she asked. She acknowledged that potential was not enough; Volunteers would have to prove themselves. "Our problem," she said, "is to persuade you, our government, our educators, and our business leaders, to gamble on our potential."

To give vent to the Volunteers' potential, the following proposals were made at the Conference, along with over 100 specific recommendations found in the Workshop Reports printed on pages 19 through 39.

### ***Internships for Domestic Service***

From a number of workshops came recommendations for special internships or fellowships that would enable Volunteers to teach or work in community action under expert supervision, while earning full academic or professional accreditation. The participants advocated more programs like the

The Orange and the Green



Cardozo project in experimental education. They proposed the creation of new internships in the labor movement and on the community level.

Already Cleveland has announced Cardozo-type teaching internships for 50 returned Volunteers, and other large cities are working on similar programs.

Along the same lines, a number of civic organizations such as the National Urban League, the Southern Regional Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, CORE, the Foreign Policy Association, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union have expressed interest in, or announced specific plans for, placing returned Volunteers in community action assignments.

### ***A New Form of Overseas Service***

To enable former Volunteers and others with first-hand field experience to continue in international service, a new "communications generalist" category was proposed for AID, USIS, and the State Department. The United Nations has something similar in its "Associate Expert" program, which the workshops thought should be expanded, but in present U.S. Government programs there is so little in between the Peace Corps Volunteer at the bottom and the expert advisers at the top. Americans who are adept at cross-cultural communication could

provide some of the middle-level skills needed, and supplement the present programs.

### ***Volunteering at Home***

The volunteering spirit needs to be applied in new ways at home. One suggestion was the "tithing of time"—giving a number of days each month to voluntary service. Those teaching should go beyond the classroom into community action and education. They should take the initiative in curriculum revision, seeking to include more on the non-Western world. And in whatever field of professional work, former Volunteers should seek to promote a better understanding of that world. Volunteers from the South urged their fellow Southerners to return there with the idea of service, taking the lead in civil rights and community action.

### ***Foreign Students***

Returned Volunteers were especially urged to establish communications with the 25,000 foreign students from the 46 countries where they had served. It was recommended that returned Volunteers participate in existing campus and community programs for foreign students; that they offer their services to the official foreign student adviser on campus; that they consider living with foreign stu-



"If you don't think yourself special, you will simply disappear into the bog of affluent living—you won't make a difference." **Bill Moyers**—Final Session

dents and arranging for their parents to be "host families" to foreign students; and that they devise new programs to involve the foreign student more deeply in American life. They were also urged to continue communication with foreign students after the latter's return to their home countries.

### ***An Exchange Peace Corps***

The Conference did not limit itself to ideas for utilization of Volunteers. One of the general proposals, reflecting Volunteer experience abroad, was for an Exchange Peace Corps that would bring foreign Volunteers to this country. They could teach Spanish, or the culture and history of their part of the world. Or they could work alongside VISTA Volunteers in community action, providing the stimulus of an "outsider."

A Volunteer back from Africa predicted that some day the pride of other nations would reject the Peace Corps unless some such two-way traffic is developed. Foreign students already here were suggested as an immediate resource for this experiment. A period of volunteer work could give them the same direct experience and education that our Volunteers have abroad.

### ***Hawks versus Doves***

These proposals, even taken together with the hundred workshop recommendations, do not amount to the "explosion of ideas" invited by the Vice President at the beginning of the Conference. Shriver had called for the invention of new social institutions—for social inventors. But the discussions did not produce many of them.

Some Special Participants complained that among the Volunteers there were more Doves than Hawks. "Where are the revolutionaries?" asked a corporation executive in some surprise after the first workshop session.

"Every time we raised the question of politics," said Dr. Herbert Gans of Columbia Teachers College, "they reacted, 'No, we want social service and volunteerism.'" Volunteers in his workshop seemed to think the solution to most problems was talking to PTA's.

Discussion leader Abram Chayes had a different view. All day he had prodded Volunteers to come forth with radical ideas; then he decided that they were ahead of him—that they were letting his words run off them like water off ducks, sensing that he, too, knew that the old clichés and ideologies were irrelevant, and waiting for him to get practical.

Were the Volunteers practical, or as David Riesman's paper suggested, just apolitical? Or were they interested in a different kind of politics?

### ***No Politics—or a New Politics?***

One of the Volunteer keynoters said that although many Volunteers did not have an active interest in politics when they joined the Peace Corps, "We all have that interest now." But it appeared that it was a non-partisan and almost non-political politics that interested most of them.

They applauded the Vice President when he said: "If you think politics is a little dirty, why don't you get yourself a bar of Ivory Soap and get in and clean it up?" They listened attentively to Members of Congress who urged them to run for seats on school boards and county councils, or in the state assemblies. And they enjoyed Bill Moyers' advice to "pursue the ideals of a Joan of Arc with the political prowess of an Adam Clayton Powell." But conventional politics had little appeal.

Sargent Shriver has suggested that the Peace Corps represents a new kind of politics, "the politics of service." Certainly it was this politics of work, not words—institution-building, not electioneering—that appealed to the Volunteers assembled in Washington.

### ***Petitions***

Several returned Volunteers organized petitions in favor of strong civil rights legislation and action against the Republic of South Africa, on both of which points there was wide support. A petition in opposition to United States policy in Vietnam evoked little response—until mid-day Sunday. At that time, anxious State Department guards began enforcing a building regulation against the distribution of outside literature. Then the petition became an issue of free speech.

On this issue, Peace Corps and higher State Department officials agreed with the right of participants to circulate any petition. Vice President Humphrey had, after all, started the Conference with an open invitation: "If you think things are not as they ought to be, right in the State Department, tell us."

Not many Volunteers had much to tell, at least on this occasion. Even those who felt strongly about America's Vietnam policy felt strong responsibilities to the Conference or to the Peace Corps. They had considered picketing the White House in the name of former Peace Corps Volunteers. Concerned about the effect this might have on the Peace Corps as a whole, they talked with Shriver. He made one point: Most of the Volunteers at the Conference had opposed the Peace Corps or any organization of ex-Volunteers speaking in their name on policy issues. Did they feel they had a right to use a name earned by such a large group with so many different views?

Weighing all this, they decided not to carry signs

identifying themselves as ex-Volunteers. They even decided not to send the petition from Washington where it might be identified with the Conference, but to send it after their return home.

Some Special Participants saw this compromise as a surrender to the non-political tide running among the Volunteers. Others considered it an example of good political education.

### ***Joining, Learning, and Changing the System***

Few of the Volunteers seemed inclined to be rebels outside "the system." Most were interested in learning the process of change within the system.

The most discussed remark Saturday was the prescription Sister Jacqueline Grennan offered to her workshop: Volunteers should look upon the local communities and institutions they were now entering as their new underdeveloped countries; they should "case them" and go about understanding them just as they had learned to do in their overseas assignments.

Gus Tyler, a leader of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, put it more bluntly:

I'm giving you straight advice—don't try to move it from the outside. Nobody will listen to you, they'll end up hating you, and they'll think you're a nut . . . You don't want to go inside, you don't want to sweat, you don't want to work with bureaucrats, you don't want to learn the internal machinery . . . ? Well, God bless you, but you are not going to be an effective force in directing the American labor movement.

"Don't expect a bed of roses," warned Abram Chayes. "No 'establishment' ever welcomes the agents of change." Volunteers would have to accept some of the "loneliness" they felt abroad. "If you want to live on the commanding heights you must seize them." The "commanding heights," he said, were in mobilization of youth, the political parties, the poverty program, civil rights, the war on the multiversity, the effort to replace schooling with education.

### ***The Need for a Base***

Volunteers need a lot more education themselves, concluded many participants. Their overseas service was an education but they must now take further steps at home.

Since most of them are just beginning their careers, Volunteers have an "entry problem," not a "re-entry problem," one business leader noted. They must qualify themselves for the complex tasks our society requires. This means undergoing graduate school or professional apprenticeship.

Both Government Workshop leaders, Richard Neu-

stadt and Adam Yarmolinsky, stressed the need for attaining professional competence in order to be able to undertake substantive jobs. Professional credentials would also provide them some degree of economic independence.

### ***An Antidote to Bureaucracy***

This need for specialization was grudgingly accepted, and the statistics show that about half of the returned Volunteers are acting accordingly. But many Volunteers resisted the emphasis on finding a place within one of the American "systems" of education, business, labor, or government. The Conference, like some of the bulletins of the Peace Corps' Career Information Service, seemed to give too rosy a view of the receptivity and flexibility of systems which seemed to them forbidding and intractable. It was the idea of a "system"—of a large bureaucracy—a Technological Society—that they most disliked.

What they had liked best about the Peace Corps was the opportunity it provided for individual responsibility and initiative. The Peace Corps had in fact been for some an escape from submission to the Organization Life. Within the Peace Corps they had resisted the bureaucracy and generally maintained some degree of anti-staff and anti-Washington attitude. Now they professed to want pure individualism.

Yet their paradoxes were showing. They shied away from any common national organization of Volunteers but flocked to the Conference. They feared institutions but granted that it took a "Corps" to make possible their individual experiences overseas.

Scientist John Calhoun offered a resolution of this ambivalence. To him the Volunteers seemed to be saying that the antidote to the technological society will be "something on the order of a universal Peace Corps." And this is what Dr. Calhoun himself prescribed. Along with the "standardization, order, predictability, hierarchy, and minimum channels of communication" that go with technology, he said we need a "process of programmed diversity, programmed uncertainty, sufficient unpredictability—just going to the threshold of chaos but not quite reaching it." Some of this, he thought, was going on overseas in the Peace Corps, as it organized and released the initiative of 10,000 Volunteers, and more of it was now required at home.

In their demand for work that has meaning, in their desire for programs through which they could continue to serve people in some security but great freedom, the Volunteers did seem to be calling for "programmed diversity" and a kind of universal Peace Corps. Or, rather, they seemed to be seeking a system of many Peace Corps, by other names, which would



To the threshold of chaos?

be open to them and to others at all stages of their life, not just in their youth before they have families to support.

### ***A New Definition of Citizenship***

In opening the Conference Shriver had asked whether the Peace Corps experience did not point the way to a new understanding of citizenship, one that makes volunteering for public service an essential duty of a citizen. For this, he said, volunteering needs to be seen in its first and fullest meaning, not as something to be done only in faraway lands, or in difficult living conditions, or as a full-time venture. He noted that the dictionary's first definition of a volunteer has nothing to do with no-pay or low-pay. It is "one who enters into or offers himself for any service of his own free will."

The Peace Corps is starting to redefine citizenship, agreed Dr. Leonard Duhl, Chief of Planning of the National Institute of Mental Health. But it touches only a few. "Maybe the Job Corps will start the process for another segment, maybe VISTA will do it for others," he said. "But what we need are many, many more starts." He proposed that we look at "all youth in the United States, all our institutions, and really map out where the big gaps are."

Would such extension of the volunteering idea foster, as some participants feared, a "permanently ado-

lescent Peter Pan in an ever-ever land of volunteerism?" Or would it, as others predicted, help produce a "universal man"? The Peace Corps was "professionalizing and legitimizing amateurism and sophomorphism," complained one Special Participant, to which another replied that amateurism was "God-given if we know what to do with it."

### ***An American Legion of Volunteers?***

One thing *not* to do with it, most returned Volunteers agreed, was to organize a Veterans of Foreign Non-Wars. *Lord, Not Another American Legion* was the title of one of several papers mimeographed and distributed by Volunteers.

In a special session called by those who wanted to organize, the majority seemed to fear that a national association would speak in the name of all Volunteers, embarrass them as well as the Peace Corps, and develop an over-heavy bureaucracy. Others argued that a Volunteers' organization would slow down the integration back into society which the Conference was called to promote.

It was agreed, however, that Volunteers were free to meet and organize locally, for whatever purposes they chose. Even the paper opposing an American Legion proposed that Volunteers in local groups meet from time to time if for nothing more than to discuss a reading chosen by the group.

The strongest voices against the Volunteers' complete dispersion came from the Special Participants. The "something special" Volunteers had acquired or begun to develop abroad might be dissipated—"poured out like water on the desert," said one participant—if they did not nurture it by maintaining contact, communicating and working with each other.

"Together you are a critical mass—large enough to do something in our society," said a Special Participant. "But to be effective as individuals you need a *network*."

Another Special Participant noted the close ties among Volunteers who served in the same country, or are now on the same campus. Listening to the common language they spoke (even as they opposed a national Volunteers' organization), he concluded: "What they already have is a network."

Shriver went further: what they need is a communications network with young people all over the world. There are gaps within each country and between the parts of the world, but there are also remarkable common ties. The restlessness, discontent with bureaucracy, indifference to political dogma, and the desire to serve people which American Volunteers display is reflected in youth everywhere, he said.

"You and the Russian poet, Yevtushenko, are asking the same questions," he told one Conference group. "There is more in common among young Americans, young Indians, young Latin Americans, and young Russians than between the younger generation and older generation anywhere." Volunteer service, he said, was one way of bringing this new generation together and giving it voice. Other ways need to be found.

### ***Communicating to America***

Some Volunteers proposed ambitious programs for film-making, TV shows, publications, and talks designed to convey a better understanding of the world. "People must be made aware and compassionate," wrote David Schickele in a Conference paper on the communications industry. "I like to think that someday, in some town, a local businessman, garage mechanic, or college professor will look at the shacks across the tracks as if for the first time and implicate himself in their presence, and that he will have done so because the Peace Corps exists."

To bring this about he proposed a large-scale "vicarious extension" of the Volunteers' experience through the communications media. "The media hold the power to show the world its image, yet we are still caught in a vast inter-locking network of provincialisms," he wrote, "—the glib approach, the TV camera as tourist, the rest of the world as marketable atmosphere. . . ."

### ***The Education of Volunteers***

Elmo Roper, from a lifetime concerned with opinion-polling and opinion-making, advised Volunteers first to get their bearings in America—in order to be effective opinion-makers at home.

Having "discovered themselves" through their overseas experience, he concluded, they now "need to discover America." One Volunteer conceded that when she left for Nigeria the only thing she knew about her home community was the fire station.

Many participants urged greater efforts to assist returning Volunteers in the transition to further education and action at home.

A number of proposals were made for seminars with Volunteers upon their return to America, for smaller local, regional, professional, or campus conferences along the lines of the Washington Conference, for special counseling, for "debriefing" interviews or meetings. It was stressed that all such post-Peace Corps programs would be voluntary and should perhaps be run by organizations other than the Peace Corps.

Warning was given against the concept of "debriefing" which, according to Dr. Seeley of Brandeis, is "something done to you by somebody, like delousing." Instead of "sitting down and letting somebody pour the muddy water of knowledge over you," he proposed "mutual instruction," in which the returned Volunteers sort out their experience as they try to communicate it.

Beyond such "sorting out" occasions, which it was generally agreed should be arranged, the Conference considered other steps for the education of the Volunteers. Many Volunteers said that general studies of American society or world development would interest them more than the graduate specialties they had chosen. "It really is a liberal education that we are prepared for, not that we have had," said one.

Volunteers back in colleges and universities were conforming to conventional specialized curriculums, a majority in graduate schools. From them the chief cry was for more freedom—more freedom to pursue studies across departmental lines, more freedom to concentrate on the non-Western world.

Several Volunteer "dreams" were discussed: a radically interdisciplinary university center devoted to common questions about the world; a new graduate institute on development composed of former Peace Corps men and women, others who have worked overseas, and foreign participants.

### ***The Peace Corps as a University***

There was another "dream" that came out of the Conference: that the Peace Corps should see itself as a university with a teaching and learning faculty

of 10,000 or 20,000 Volunteers and staff. For a number of participants this emerged as a promising "working hypothesis" for the future of the Peace Corps.

Everything that the Volunteers called for, even their complaints about the Peace Corps, said Dr. Seeley, "had to do with the degree to which the Peace Corps has failed itself to become an educational institution—from top to bottom, beginning to end, a university."

Similarly, said Dr. Seeley, "what the university needs is to become more like the Peace Corps, that is, education related to an experiential base tied to men's hopes and desires for a better world. Latent in the university with all its failings is what the Peace Corps needs, and latent in the Peace Corps is what the university needs." What Dr. Seeley proposed was a marriage.

At the Conference some steps toward "marriage" between American higher education and the Peace Corps were suggested, including the granting of academic credit in both the undergraduate and graduate curriculum for Peace Corps service.

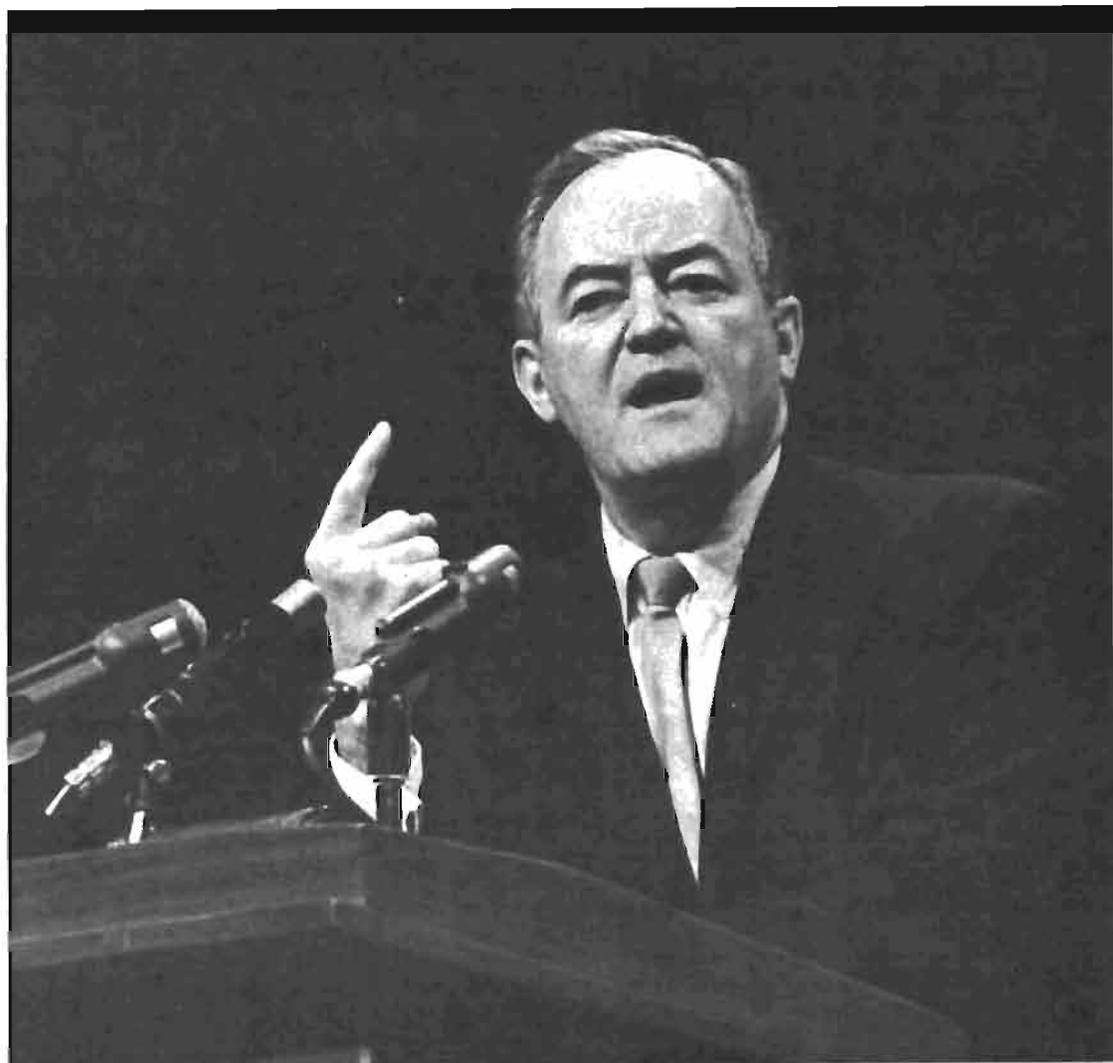
After attending the Conference, President James Miller of Western Michigan University went back to his campus and secured approval of a five-year "Peace Corps B.A." A student would complete two years in college, serve two years in the Peace Corps, then come

back for a final year. Franconia College in New Hampshire adopted a similar plan, and a number of other institutions are considering the idea.

This would turn the "moratorium" from classroom education, which Dr. Erik Erikson and others see as a necessity, into a recognized virtue. There are problems to be solved, among them selecting Volunteers at this age level who are mature enough for their overseas responsibilities, arranging appropriate assignments for them overseas, working out a continuing academic relationship between the Volunteer and his college.

Dr. James Dixon, President of Antioch College, says that the problems can be solved if the Peace Corps will just act more like an institution of higher learning. He urged it to add to its "faculty"—to its overseas staff—the best men it can find for professional supervision and support, to arrange more opportunities for the Volunteers to think about what they are doing, to encourage them to undertake appropriate research while overseas on significant themes relevant to their work. In Peace Corps service, he felt, there is more than just "experiential" education. There is important content to be learned: a foreign language, knowledge of a developing nation in the process of change, practice in a special skill such as teaching. He proposed

"If you think politics is a little dirty, why don't you get yourself a bar of Ivory Soap and get in and clean it up?" **Hubert H. Humphrey**



“continuing the dialogue” begun at the Conference between leaders of the educational establishment and the Volunteers and staff of the Peace Corps.

Many Volunteers wanted to continue. Said Gary Berghold:

This Conference did a lot more to disturb some of us, to shake us up, than two years in the Peace Corps. Perhaps what we are really missing, not only in education but in the Peace Corps, is the chance to experience this shaking up.

Some even thought the Conference had larger dimensions. Anabel Leinbach, addressing a group of Special Participants, said:

The revolutionary thing about the Conference was that it was the first time that people of your generation and people of our generation have been able to sit down and talk as equals. And if we came out as equals, as anything other than ‘you knowledgeable professionals’ and ‘we fumbling amateurs,’ then we really have something.

Volunteer Roger Landrum felt that the Peace Corps experience, including the Conference, “is prophetic of institutions and interactions to come.”

Not all were so moved or shaken. Fortunately, there were some skeptics, like Harold Isaacs of MIT. Ridiculing the “romantic mantle” being draped over the Conference and the Volunteers, he recalled the refrain from *Call Me Mister*: “You went into the Army a jerk and came out still a jerk.” Everyone was overstating “this small modest thing” that Volunteers did, he thought.

“Small modest thing” or not, there was a case for aiming high. It was stated by Bill Moyers:

A Volunteer is a person with a split personality—wondering on the one hand if he really can make a difference and knowing on the other hand that he *must* make a difference . . . The very split nature of the Peace Corps, between what we know we are and what we ought to be, is at its heart the reason for its success.

What we ought to be, said Sister Jacqueline, is “responsibly important” in the evolution of every institution in which we find ourselves. Live within them because we must, she said, but seek to improve them, and to do so, learn the tactics of change.

The “wild experiment” of the Conference did not transform the Peace Corps overnight into a university for world citizenship, and jerks may still be jerks. But the process of education that went on overseas continues.

In planning the Conference, one Volunteer asked: “How do we get visions—not just details?” The Conference got both.



There is no typical returned Volunteer. One thousand different and differing Volunteers came to Washington.

# The Workshop Reports

Each of the 24 workshop sections had its own reporter, assigned to record the proceedings. On Saturday night, the reporters met and prepared a single report for each of the eight subject areas. Thus, all sections of each Workshop began Sunday's discussion with the same document. These documents were considered and refined on Sunday morning in the separate sections. Then

the reporters met again to consolidate them.

As Elmo Roper said on Sunday afternoon, no general statement could possibly describe the views of any one Volunteer or even any one workshop section. The following reports, however, contain the major themes and recommendations of the two-day discourse.

## Report on the Local Community Workshops

*Sixty Special Participants and more than 160 Volunteers met in what grew to five Local Community Workshops.*

*Chairing the sessions were Governor Leroy Collins, Director of the Community Relations Service; Elmo Roper; Berl Bernhard, Executive Director, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; Jerome Ziegler of the Foundation for Continuing Education; and Samuel Hayes, President of the Foreign Policy Association.*

The number of returned Volunteers who expressed an interest in discussing the Local Community is evidence of a widespread enthusiasm for community involvement. The Volunteers were determined to learn more about how they could be most effective.

Despite this shared interest, most general statements and assumptions about the Volunteers collided with the facts of their diverse backgrounds and interests, and wide-ranging Peace Corps experiences.

Many returned Volunteers were already involved in a broad spectrum of activities at the local community level. For some, this involvement was challenging and

satisfying. Others expressed dissatisfaction with the opportunities available for service and impatience with existing social service institutions. They offered examples of mismanagement, resistance to innovation, reluctance to use the enthusiastic and dedicated amateur, and many instances of unwillingness of local agencies to cooperate with one another.

The Special Participants found that the returned Volunteers tended to focus on immediate opportunities for community involvement rather than long-range goals. They also noted that the Volunteers were self-critical and seemed to set unrealistic goals for themselves.

For their part, the Volunteers expressed a readiness to involve themselves directly with people in need at a level at which they could be fully effective and influential. Many of them felt that, having undergone a personal confrontation with a new culture, they had developed certain valuable human relations skills and attitudes which they intended to put to work. Recognizing that there is a universal culture of poverty, the Volunteers were ready to adapt their skills to the particular conditions of America.

The problems of American society are not being solved and, in fact, are becoming worse, said many Volunteers. They felt that an increasingly youthful population is justified in demanding reforms in existing public and private institutions. The Volunteers were not asking for specific changes so much as a new climate more receptive to imagination and innovation. They saw their role as catalysts in focusing public attention on such problems as civil rights, urban slums, rural stagnation and chronic poverty.

To the Volunteers, American society and institutions often appear overwhelmingly large and complex in comparison with the societies and institutions which they encountered overseas. They felt that they had to become better informed about the nature and complexity of these problems, about new means of attacking them and arousing public concern. They were encouraged to take things a step at a time and to apply at home, with determination and patience, those analytical techniques which proved successful overseas.

Discussion of political action as a channel for involvement in the local community revealed that some Volunteers believed political control rests with a small power elite. There was disagreement as to whether it was better to work within the political structure or outside it. Most agreed that it was necessary to become politically active on either a partisan or non-partisan basis, although some felt that they could better express themselves through professional associations, unions and other local organizations. Some Special Participants thought the Volunteers remarkably unsophisticated about the realities of politics.

Commenting on the Volunteers' lack of interest in politics, one Special Participant said:

This indicates to me an appalling lack of understanding of how things get done either in the United States, or elsewhere . . . I

should imagine that much of Volunteer frustration is built on their bad or non-existent political education.

There was a strongly held conviction, apparently shared by the Special Participants, that it would be improper for returned Volunteers, as Volunteers, to organize as a partisan political group. Using the Peace Corps name would make it appear that such a body was speaking for all Peace Corps Volunteers, past and present.

The Workshop sections attempted to define the human relations skills returned Volunteers bring to local community involvement. Mentioned were the ability to establish rapport with the poor and with people of another culture, to identify leaders and to help define community needs, and to enlist the support of public and private agencies in the effort of people to help themselves. While these skills are implicit in the assignment of every Volunteer, they were practiced most intensively by those engaged in community development activities. Not everyone agreed that these skills are readily transferable to the United States.

There was considerable discussion regarding the relative merit of full-time versus part-time effort. Some felt that the part-time worker is simply helping to meet short-term needs, while the full-time worker can create and carry out long-term programs. Others said

"I'm amazed . . . that only a tiny percentage are interested in the political process. This indicates to me an appalling lack of understanding of how things get done . . ." Local Communities Workshop.



that the part-timer may enjoy a sense of identity with his community which the full-time professional lacks.

In an attempt to deal with some specific problems, the Workshops focused on how the returned Volunteers regard themselves. They were the first to say that they are not and should not be regarded as special citizens.

It was felt by some that the Peace Corps tends to encourage Volunteers to expect too much—to indulge in unrealistic anticipation of how they are likely to be regarded, as Peace Corps veterans, in later life. An *esprit de corps*, a sense of being a member of an elite body of American citizens surrounds the Volunteer from the time he enters training and leads, too often, to a sense of disappointment when he returns to private life.

It was pointed out that while the Volunteers themselves must share responsibility for this attitude, some believing that they have a corner on the "concern market", Peace Corps literature does encourage Volunteers to regard themselves as uniquely prepared to make a continuing contribution to American life. This literature implies that Peace Corps service will further Volunteers' future careers in some way—that they will enjoy advantages not bestowed on those who did not serve. All such implications, it was felt, should be promptly removed from Peace Corps promotion and information material as dangerously misleading.

Discussion of the readjustment problems of Volunteers led to suggestions for the establishment of some kind of machinery to help ease re-entry. Some panelists felt that through a loosely-knit, locally-oriented group, returned Volunteers could help each other find appropriate outlets for their energy and eagerness to be of service to America.

One section discussed the advisability of organizing a program which might prepare the returning Volunteer for some of the adjustment difficulties he can expect to encounter.

## ***Supplementary Report of Volunteers from the South***

There was a measure of agreement in the end that it is the job of the individual Peace Corps Volunteer to make his own adjustment, to determine what it is that he has to offer, and to sell himself.

Another section debated a proposal for a new organization which would inform Volunteers about existing community agencies, and guide them in pre-

paring for a career in social service. The proponents felt that the existing Peace Corps Career Information Service was not adequate. Others felt strongly that requests for such special assistance showed a lack of initiative—that those who were really concerned would get out and gather information on their own.

### ***Recommendations***

There was general agreement on the following:

1. That the Peace Corps should make available to returned Volunteers, on request, the names and addresses of all returned Volunteers on a regional basis so that they could be contacted independently by those Volunteers who wished to solicit or offer help, information or advice.

At the same time, it was felt that the Peace Corps should not initiate the establishment of any nationwide clearinghouse of information to assist Volunteers engaged in community service activities. It was felt that Volunteers, functioning as individuals or as a group, or working with other like-minded people outside the Peace Corps, can best mobilize their own resources in pursuit of their own local goals.

2. The Peace Corps Career Information Service should attempt to offer some assessment of the scholarships and job opportunities that it lists.

3. Returned Volunteers should make a special effort to dispel the ignorance and misinformation which continues to surround the nature, scope and purpose of the Peace Corps. They should also seek to educate the public with respect to the countries in which they served. Returned Volunteers should make better use of the public platforms available to them at the local level, not only to accomplish the above, but to speak out on local problems and issues.

4. Consideration should be given to the establishment of internship programs that would enable returned Volunteers to work for a limited time with organizations actively engaged in some form of social action which particularly interests them and about which they would like to learn.

5. Volunteers should consider the opportunities for service at the local level in efforts to combat poverty through such programs as VISTA and by contributing their efforts to the planning, programming and administration of community action programs.

6. Volunteers in urban areas should consider ways they can assist local neighborhoods by representing their interests before public and private agencies.

7. Volunteers in rural areas should consider what special contribution they can make in overcoming the problems of migrant farm labor and the related plight of foreign nationals imported to work in American agriculture.

8. Any further efforts like this Conference to promote an exchange of information and ideas between returned Volunteers and other interested citizens should be undertaken on a regional rather than national basis and should be patterned on the basis of geography and areas of specific interest.

Volunteers interested particularly in the problems of local Southern communities felt that special circumstances surrounding their potential roles called for a report addressed to these regional problems.

While recognizing that each returned Volunteer must individually determine his degree of involvement in public affairs, the Volunteers emphatically encouraged all Southern Volunteers to return to their local communities and take active roles in bringing about change.

They suggested that Volunteers work in the fields of community action and civil rights through the formal and informal power structure of both Negro and white

communities, and that they play a part in developing community leadership through contacts with civil rights organizations, urban leagues, the Community Relations Service, the Southern Regional Council, churches, universities, newspapers, etc. Specifically cited was the possibility of forming groups to secure funds and assistance available under the Economic Opportunity Act when local governments fail or refuse to act.

Southern Volunteers were similarly urged to use every resource at their command to move talented individuals to serve in VISTA and the Peace Corps.

The Peace Corps itself was urged to make greater efforts to recruit Volunteers from the South, using racially integrated teams made up primarily of returned Volunteers from the local area.

In conclusion, the Volunteers requested that the Peace Corps initiate a Southern regional workshop as soon as possible to coordinate the efforts of returned Volunteers in all of the above areas of concern.

**Governor Leroy Collins—Local Communities Workshop**



## ***Report on the Primary and Secondary Education Workshops***

*Two hundred former Volunteers met with forty Special Participants in four Workshops on Primary and Secondary Education. The sessions were chaired by Mrs. Albert M. Greenfield of the Philadelphia Board of Education; Frank Brown, Principal of Melbourne High, Melbourne, Florida; Frank Jennings from the New World Foundation; and Dr. Bennetta Washington of the Women's Job Corps.*

One Special Participant characterized education in the United States today as "a race against apathy—apathy in both slum and suburb." As he said, "The poverty of the slum snuffs out any hope of achievement, and the conformity and satisfaction of the middle class ghetto stymies creativity."

Everyone agreed that the responsibilities of meeting the challenge of apathy were great and that returned Volunteers in the United States could continue the catalytic role they had assumed overseas. However, it was also agreed that returnees did not have the experience to recommend broad new approaches to educational problems. "Let's face it," said one, "the Peace Corps experience is no panacea for the need for good teaching in our schools."

Rather than acting as experts on national education reforms, the Volunteers wanted to make innovations as individual teachers within the framework of existing educational institutions, preferably in experimental programs and projects. They also recognized the valuable opportunity for educational activities outside the classroom and the impact these activities could have on the formal education system.

One Special Participant pointed out that the Job Corps programs constituted a competing system of education, one which might be more open to innovation, and one which certainly would have an important influence on established education. He suggested that Volunteers not overlook challenging possibilities outside the regular system.

At the same time, it was agreed that the Volunteers should spur among school boards, PTAs, and other civic groups a re-examination of fundamental aspects

of the regular educational system. How, for example, public schools can reach students who don't fit into a system designed around values not necessarily theirs.

Although everyone agreed that the returned Volunteer possessed the sensitivity, perception and service orientation which is the foundation of effective teaching, most of the Special Participants and some of the Volunteers felt that teaching experience overseas did not necessarily assure success in teaching at home. As one Volunteer put it:

A lot of us were poor teachers overseas. We taught according to what we remembered as the way *we* were taught. We need guidance and training if we want to be good teachers here. We can't expect to be accepted just on the basis of having been Peace Corps Volunteers.

However, the quality of the guidance and training returned Volunteers were getting in the United States came under fire. Both Volunteers and Special Participants expressed doubts about the structure and relevance of many of the existing teacher training courses in American colleges and universities. They supported speeding up the teacher training period through use of technological learning aids for course content, and recommended that classroom experience accompany all phases of teacher training.

The Workshops agreed that Volunteers should not use the Peace Corps experience as a means to special privilege. Automatic certification for Peace Corps teaching experience is neither necessary nor desirable. Instead, transitional programs and other assistance should be provided to aid the non-certified returnee in acquiring necessary skills without eroding his enthusiasm.

Regarding certification, the following recommendations were made:

- 1) That all states be urged to concern themselves with the flexibility, reform, and reciprocity of certification requirements.
- 2) That the Peace Corps improve its training for teachers and follow up with professional supervision in the field, to serve the dual purpose of improving Volunteer performance and enabling the returned Volunteer to earn accreditation from universities and school systems.
- 3) That the Peace Corps fully validate a Volunteer's total teaching experience by providing a more detailed statement of service, including such specifics as number of days taught, teacher attendance, and extracurricular activities.
- 4) That all state and local school systems grant provisional teaching certificates to the returned Volunteer when basic degree requirements are

met and proof of satisfactory overseas teaching experience is provided.

- 5) That the cross-cultural aspects of Peace Corps teaching be considered in determining placement.
- 6) That more internship programs be established since these projects simultaneously satisfy the Volunteer's needs for supervised teaching, support within a system for experimental ideas, special utilization of his skills, and certification.

Focusing on the Volunteer's potential to help solve problems once he is in the system, the Workshops suggested that:

- 1) The returned Volunteer's unique strength—the "sense of community" developed during his overseas service—be put to use at home by extending his role as teacher through involvement in the problems of the community and by urging parents and students to do the same.
- 2) He should participate in curriculum revisions and additions such as the introduction of units on Asia and Africa in World History courses, and the study of people of other cultures in earlier grades.
- 3) He should make known his knowledge of specific areas and devise methods to use this knowledge in school.

- 4) He should work with other teachers for higher professional standards.

- 5) He should work for more effective personnel practices which will enable school systems to identify and employ teachers of competence; he should also work for more professional support and supervision for new teachers.

It was also suggested that the information regarding new programs in U.S. education, now available from innumerable separate sources, be centralized. To this end, it was recommended that a clearing house be designated to collect and disseminate this information so that there would be an easier exchange and flow of experimental ideas.

Several of the Special Participants felt that the greatest contribution the returned Volunteer could make to education would not be as a teacher *per se*, but as an individual. He can, as one said, "bring to his teaching assignment a spirit of innovation and a passion for action which can infect his fellow teachers." His experience in another culture promises a deeper dimension in his student-teacher relationships, perhaps contributing to new life in the guidance and counseling field.

It was hoped that the Volunteer would not lose the "aura" he now has and that he can contribute to the rejuvenation of all American education.



What they liked best about the Peace Corps was the opportunity provided for individual responsibility and initiative.

## ***Report on the Foreign Students Workshops***

*The two Workshops on Foreign Students brought together 90 Volunteers and 15 Special Participants. The Chairmen were Gordon Boyce, Director of the Experiment in International Living, and Harry McPherson, Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs.*

There are 75,000 foreign students in the United States today. Their number has been increasing at the rate of about 10,000 a year.

President Johnson asked Volunteers to play a special role with these foreign students, especially the 25,000 from countries where the Peace Corps is serving. He asked returning Volunteers to help "make the experience of these foreign guests successful in all respects, educationally and personally."

Both the Special Participants—professionals in the field of foreign student work—and returned Volunteers were concerned about the problems of the foreign student, but there was a significant gap in their attitudes and approach. The returned Volunteers were impatient with the professionals, and the feeling was mutual. As one Special Participant concluded, "You are all brilliant theorists, but I'm impatient with you and your fellow Volunteers. You're living in a dream world, or else I am. And I've been in business for more than 25 years."

Returned Volunteers were generally critical of existing programs. They felt that foreign student advisers, campus teas, and home hospitality were not enough. They believed that more should be done and that they were particularly qualified to do it. They understood the foreign student because they travelled in his country, "spoke his language," and experienced the problems of living and working as a foreigner in another culture.

It appeared to some of the Special Participants that Volunteers were unaware of many of the programs on their own campuses. They felt that returned Volunteers should become more informed before expressing their "easy judgments." And they challenged Volunteers to consider and seek professional jobs in the foreign student field.

Having thus cleared the air, the panelists became more constructive. While recognizing wide variations

in the ethnic and social backgrounds, and in the goals and environments of the foreign students, the Workshops considered some of their common problems. They asked how returned Volunteers could enrich the experience of each foreign student, and at the same time insure that the United States gains from what the foreign student has to offer.

Starting with selection and orientation overseas, the Workshops felt that greater efforts and larger sums could be expended to assure that those selected are properly motivated and capable of American university education. Foreign candidates are often poorly informed about existing programs in specific American universities. In many cases, they are inadequately and inappropriately selected, and poorly oriented before their arrival in America. It was suggested that overseas Volunteers help in selection and orientation.

Once the foreign student reaches the United States, he faces a battery of difficulties. The Workshops isolated a few of these. They should be considered together, for they form an interrelated and inseparable network of problems. Any one of them might be considered a cause or a result of each of the others.

(1) Many foreign students in America suffer from insufficient financial support.

(2) Students are often poorly oriented and guided in the early period of their stay in the United States.

(3) They lack involvement in the university and the community. They experience only limited and superficial contact with American families, usually from one social stratum, the white, middle-class professional group.

(4) They face language difficulties.

(5) They have difficulties in acquiring academic training in the United States that prepares them for specific roles in their own countries.

(6) They encounter housing limitations and prejudices, and often find the American population insensitive toward other peoples.

(7) In the face of all these, the final problem enumerated is ironic: after prolonged exposure to the United States, many foreign students resist returning to their own countries.

There are many organizations and programs offering service to foreign students. It was agreed that returned Volunteers could help in improving foreign student experiences by supporting these national, local and campus organizations.

A few returned Volunteers felt that they could accomplish more while they were students by working outside of the established programs, seeking direct and informal relationships with foreign students through a loosely knit organization of their own. They would thus be free from an identification with the

“official” structure and could better establish rapport. They feared dissipating their energies in organizational problems and were concerned about losing initiative if they worked with “the Establishment.”

The majority, however, felt that they should first try to work with the existing organizations.

Programs to introduce foreign students to Americans are not enough. Foreign students must be involved in our institutions if they are to learn about us and we about them. However, in our efforts to improve the academic and social environment of the foreign student, there is a danger of over-organizing his activities, and monopolizing his time, thus defeating his primary purpose in America. Nevertheless, the panelists emphasized the reciprocal benefits that can be derived from closer contact. Aside from gaining an education and an exposure to American life and values, the foreign student has much to contribute to America in promoting understanding of his country and in expanding our horizons.

The Workshops made a number of recommendations. Some are addressed to returned Volunteers and existing foreign student agencies. Some are aimed at the Peace Corps organization. Others are general.

(1) The Volunteer's overseas experience can be very productively put to use in assisting the foreign student at several levels when he first arrives on a campus: orientation to campus life and practices, help in finding housing, tutoring in English, meeting American students, and so on. Prolonged exposure to Volunteer motivations and spirit of service might modify some of the resistance to returning home.

(2) The “host family” system has been successful and should be expanded. Parents of Volunteers would be excellent hosts, being already in sympathy with the country and its people. Returned married Volunteers are another source. Those families willing to provide hospitality for foreign students should be oriented to the student's background prior to his arrival to minimize uninformed, insensitive questioning, and to help the host family become secure and positive in its approach. “Host student” programs should also be considered.

(3) Returned Volunteers can be helpful to foreign students seeking vacation employment. Ideally, these jobs should provide the student with additional insights into America, and provide an opportunity for him to work alongside Americans.

(4) Returned Volunteers should keep in contact with foreign students after they return to their countries, to help them keep abreast of new developments in their fields and to assist them in obtaining materials.

(5) Returned Volunteers should investigate the variety of jobs that exist in the field of service to

foreign students—in offices of foreign student advisors, in local and national organizations.

(6) A directory of returned Volunteers by location should be available to Volunteers and organizations serving foreign students.

(7) A directory of existing organizations and agencies which serve foreign students should be compiled and made available to interested Volunteers.

(8) A great reservoir of language skills from which the United States could benefit is being wasted. Foreign students should be used in conversation courses, to improve the fluency of American teachers as well as students.

(9) One Workshop suggested that universities consider new and special courses designed for foreign students.

(10) Peace Corps trainees in the Advance Training Program can be a valuable resource. When a trainee returns to campus for his senior year, he should initiate and participate in activities for foreign students—especially those of the country to which he will be going.

(11) Before going abroad Volunteers should be given a directory of schools and organizations which offer aid to students. They should be aware of sources for guidance, so they can help students choose effective programs of study.

(12) Volunteers overseas can help select students with appropriate qualifications, orient them to the realities of America, and tutor them in English and other subjects before they arrive in the United States.

The Workshops asked the Peace Corps to take the leadership in calling a Washington meeting of interested parties, including the State Department, and returned Volunteers. This meeting should examine the above recommendations and encourage local and regional implementation. However, the Peace Corps should not have any continuing responsibility except for the distribution of names and addresses of returned Volunteers to local groups.

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The idea of a Reverse Peace Corps was discussed at great length. Several participants thought the name was unfortunate and misleading, but there was consensus that the implementation of the three purposes of the Peace Corps Act by foreigners in America had some exciting possibilities. The Workshops investigated the structure and design of the Cleveland International Program as a model for a project which:

- a. Provides a needed service to Americans;
- b. Develops learning and understanding (not necessarily love) of America;
- c. Contributes to the professional development of the foreigner; and

d. Teaches Americans about other countries.

Foreign nationals would work with American counterparts in teaching and community action, in social agencies, business, in such cadres as Job Corps, VISTA, Massachusetts Service Corps, and Action for Appalachian Youth.

Dr. Henry Ollendorf, Director of the Cleveland International Program, raised questions regarding recruitment and motivation. Should these "volunteers" be recruited from among persons who are already in the United States? Should they be sent by other countries? Who would finance the operations? Can we reasonably expect people from the developing countries to be attracted by voluntary service? Can developing nations afford to send educated people to the United States when they have so few?

A representative from American Field Service felt that the Reverse Peace Corps was similar to his program and that the interest and support of local communities which made AFS successful would cause the American people to support a Reverse Peace Corps.

While many administrative and substantive questions went unanswered, the group felt that the idea should be pursued.

## *Report on the Government Workshops*

*The two Government Workshops, chaired by Professor Richard Neustadt of Columbia University; John Brademas, Member of Congress; and Adam Yarmolinsky, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, were attended by 31 Special Participants and 120 Volunteers.*

Despite the attempt of the Special Participants to focus attention on long-range goals and career preparation, the returned Volunteers seemed most interested in discussing immediate problems of employment and the need to become involved in the social ferment now taking place in the United States.

Five key questions were discussed. Recommenda-

Campus teas are not enough.



tions were made and in some cases agreed to. There were dissenting opinions on every point, and, in one instance, the majority view of one panel conflicted with the consensus reached in the other.

1. *Question: Does the returned Peace Corps Volunteer have something special to offer?*

Some thought the answer to this question was "No." Most, however, thought the returned Volunteer was "special", but there was disagreement over just what the "special quality" was. Section B made no attempt to analyze it, although it was characterized as a combination of "knowledge, sensitivity and nerve". Section A, on the other hand, tried to formulate its elements. They even gave it a name—"Factor X". Seven elements of "Factor X" emerged, although there was no indication of their universal acceptance or application.

These elements were:

- (1) *Insights* into other societies and American society.
- (2) *Dedication*, motivation for service.
- (3) *Empathy* with one's fellow man and sensitivity to his needs and problems.
- (4) *Flexibility* in attitude and action.
- (5) A deeper *understanding* of democratic government and antipathy to bureaucracy.
- (6) A philosophy of *optimism* about change.
- (7) A willingness and ability to be *self-critical* and *analytic*.

It was noted that despite his good "public image" and unusual background, the fact that a Volunteer has learned to sit down with sheiks does not necessarily make him valuable to a Congressman, for instance, who wants someone who can produce votes.

2. *Question: Does government, particularly the Federal Government, need these special characteristics?*

Most panelists thought the Government definitely needed employees with these characteristics. Others spoke of the generally bureaucratic nature of the Federal Government and contrasted the freedom under which the Peace Corps operates with the stodginess of other agencies.

The Foreign Service was particularly criticized by former Volunteers. Many had harsh words about embassy personnel who refused to learn the local language, mix with the local populace, were ostentatious about their wealth, clannish, insensitive to the culture of the host country, and ignorant of both host country politics and cultural trends in the United States.

The State Department had its defenders. It was pointed out that the Department has a different role to play and that this role requires State's personnel to live at the level of and socialize with the leadership of the country in which they serve.

3. *Question: If there is a need for the special qualities of the Peace Corps Volunteer, does the Government in fact want them?*

If we're as good as we think we are . . .



This question provoked lively debate in both sections. Most Volunteers felt that the Government did not particularly want them. They thought they had been seriously misled on this score by literature sent out by Peace Corps/Washington and reprints from the Career Information Service Bulletin appearing in *The Volunteer*—"that propaganda sheet," as it was called.

Numerous Volunteers spoke of their experience in following up career opportunities listed in *The Volunteer*. Most reported failure because the employers felt they were not qualified for the jobs, or because the jobs were not what they purported to be. The CIS program for jobs on Capitol Hill was criticized for not having been adequately discussed with members of Congress—Volunteers found closed doors.

A Peace Corps staff member pointed out that of 865 former Volunteers who applied for the Foreign Service, and 579 who actually took the exam, 110 passed the written exam, 14 passed the oral exam, and of those, only 3 to date had been appointed.

Some Volunteers expressed the view that, were it not for pressure on government agencies by the President, the Vice President, and Mr. Shriver, the agencies would not hire returned Volunteers at all.

Many felt a more realistic approach to the "re-entry crisis" could be developed by full de-briefing of returned Volunteers, who were described as "out of touch with reality on job and career opportunities." Others wanted a one-week separation program. Such a program would be held in this country on a voluntary attendance basis, any time in the first 12 months after a Volunteer's return.

Some panelists advocated revision of Federal employment examinations (including the Foreign Service exam) to test for the special qualities of returned Volunteers and others who have had similar experience.

4. *Question: Should there be a special effort to get former Volunteers into government, and if so, by whom should the effort be made? What are the obligations of the Peace Corps, other government agencies, and the returned Volunteers themselves?*

Both Volunteers and Special Participants said that no special efforts should be made. They spoke of the dangers of babying former Volunteers and the irony of giving them more help in finding their way here than they were given overseas.

One Volunteer put it this way, "If we are as good as we *think* we are, we will not *need* any assistance, and if we are not, we don't deserve any."

The frustrations the returnees reported were characterized as universal among the young, and many felt that the Peace Corps breeds security, making it tough to face the competitive world. One former

Volunteer said the 51 per cent of the returnees who went back to school have thus indicated they feel unable to compete without further training.

The role of the parties involved were discussed in the following terms:

(1) *The Peace Corps*. The Peace Corps should provide accurate information to future employers, including government agencies, about the training and skills of the Volunteer, and the value of the overseas experience, although the difficulties of doing this were recognized. The Peace Corps should check more carefully the job opportunities offered to Volunteers to see if they are what they purport to be. Otherwise, it was agreed, no special help should be given the Volunteers in finding employment after their return.

(2) *Government Agencies*. Despite the belief that many agencies were prejudiced against former Volunteers, there was widespread agreement that no special favors should be asked and that Volunteers should take their chances with other applicants for Federal jobs. At the same time, however, two-thirds of the returned Volunteers in Section A voted in favor of the special non-competitive entry into Federal service, after passing the Federal Service Entrance Examination which is now available to them. Some even spoke of extending their privilege longer than one year to make it available to those Volunteers who return to school after service.

It also was proposed that the Foreign Service exam and the FSEE be given to Volunteers who wish to take it during Peace Corps training, with the provision that those who passed would have their eligibility delayed until their return from overseas.

(3) *The Volunteers*. It was generally agreed that Volunteers had an obligation to involve themselves in government as well as social affairs on their return. Both sections discussed the merits of political versus bureaucratic involvement. There was widespread recognition in Group A of the need for a base, a profession or other means of support, that would enable one to move in and out of Government, without having to depend on a government job.

There was a widely-held view that the returned liberal arts graduate should have something more to offer than the fact of his overseas service.

Local politics, with its opportunities for service at the city and state level, was discussed. Many of the Special Participants pointed to these opportunities—more jobs, great changes coming, no Hatch Act, no need for great sums of money to finance campaigns, and the need in both parties for fresh blood.

5. *Question: Assuming that the Peace Corps, government agencies, and the Volunteers themselves have obligations to involve former Volunteers in government, how do we go about this?*

In Section B many specific suggestions were discussed. Among these were:

(1) A government staff college to train people in and out of government for present and future staff needs and for special programs.

(2) That returned Volunteers in college do part-time work in local community action programs.

(3) "Tithing" time, perhaps four hours a week, for socially important projects. (Many questions arose on this—should it be done, is structured or free-form best, should the jobs be left to pros, etc.)

(4) Involving former Volunteers and others in Federal programs for pre-school education of disadvantaged children, using the Montessori methods.

(5) Creating more community development positions in AID for which former Volunteers and other persons would qualify.

(5) List swapping between Peace Corps and agencies needing people with Peace Corps Volunteers' talents.

(7) Intra- and inter-agency groups to exchange ideas, especially those of younger employees.

(8) Concentrating not just on what exists, but on such new ideas as a free world youth festival, a United Nations university, and exchanges of middle-level officials with counterparts in other governments.

After much debate, Section A recommended the formation of local organizations by former Volunteers, with membership opened to all like-minded persons, to operate as a lobby for the disadvantaged in state and municipal councils. The dissenters urged that returned Volunteers work on the third purpose of the Peace Corps Act—"to help promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of the American people"—and leave domestic problems to the new Federal and local organizations set up for that purpose.

Spokesmen from Section A unsuccessfully sought Section B's endorsement of their "local organization" recommendation. Section B rejected the proposal on the grounds that any such organization, no matter what its title or format, would be deemed Peace Corps-connected, and this would endanger the Peace Corps' political stock in Congress and the efforts of Volunteers overseas to establish their non-political nature.

We need development diplomacy.



## **Report on the Colleges and Universities Workshops**

*The three Colleges and Universities Workshops were attended by 100 Volunteers and 44 Special Participants. Dr. Mary Bunting of the Atomic Energy Commission chaired one of the Workshops. Dr. Bascom Story, Vice President, Educational Systems Division, Litton Industries, and Dr. William Soskin of the National Institute of Mental Health shared the chairmanship of another, and Dr. Abraham Carp, the Peace Corps' Director of Selection, chaired the third.*

While some workshops focused on pragmatic, short-term issues, the Universities Workshops spent most of their time on longer range and more fundamental questions. The Volunteers wanted to get down to basic premises. They wanted to re-examine old values and accepted ways of doing things. They asked: What is an education for? What is the responsibility of a university, and its students, to society and the world?

Volunteers were pressing these basic questions because of what had happened to them overseas. In the first place, they had gone through a "profoundly educational" experience—one of experiential learning—something they had not really undergone before. Second, they had been personally involved in responsible roles. Third, their penetration into other cultures had changed their view of the world.

According to the Volunteers, these three things—experiential learning; mechanisms for personal involvement in decision-making responsibility; and a world-view—were precisely what the universities lacked.

In support of their indictment, the Volunteers cited the kind of university provincialism which results in a curriculum slanted almost entirely towards the Western world. They cited the institutional rigidity which leads to time-serving, and the irrelevance of much of the material they were required to digest just to get that marketable commodity, the degree. But, above all, they cited the unreality of university life, the fact that it has very little connection with the "real world."

To the theory that the university was a place to learn about the world, not change it, the Volunteers

replied that it was the place to do both and that the universities were not doing either very well.

Many of the Special Participants were quick to acknowledge the accuracy of the criticism and the faults in education's institutional structure. As Dr. Bunting reported on Saturday, the panel which she chaired swiftly agreed that the universities needed to go far beyond the standard courses in Western civilization and Western history if they were to mirror reality and serve their students; that the curriculum would have to become more world-oriented, not on a "survey course" level, but in depth "just as rapidly as it can".

The panel also agreed on a means of eliminating undesirable rigidity in graduate education. The formula—"prescription and not conscription." Graduate candidates, the panel said, should be allowed to design their own programs of graduate study. The candidate's design would necessarily need approval before the "right faculty committee", but the point is that it would be primarily the candidate's design, not one imposed on him.

Other suggestions to "loosen up" the structure and bring it closer to the "real world" came from all panels. Among them:

1. Establishment of more work-study programs, such as those at Antioch and Tuskegee, to use a Volunteer's talent in social welfare programs while he or she is getting a degree.
2. An emphasis on assistantships for Volunteers, rather than fellowships, so Volunteers can reach more students and become more involved with the faculty, and thus precipitate change from within.
3. The inauguration of roving lectureships for Volunteers so that Volunteer's knowledge about other countries and other cultures could be used as a campus resource.
4. That each university and the Peace Corps designate a Returned Volunteer Liaison to assist Volunteers with curricula committees, and help involve them with the surrounding community and its problems.
5. That the Peace Corps' Career Information Service become a clearing house of information about work-study programs, special curricula, and other matters of interest to Volunteers.
6. That more exchange programs, such as the Olympic exchange of coaches and athletes, be initiated.
7. That a major effort be made to increase contact with and assistance to foreign students in the United States.

But every one recognized that change was not just

a matter of designing new techniques. What had to be created was an atmosphere which was conducive to change, one where change was both welcome and possible. "We don't create the new society," said a Special Participant, "simply by adding technique upon technique upon technique, even though each successive technique is better than the last."

Many Volunteers in one panel thought the answer could be found in their Peace Corps experience. What was needed, they said, was a continuing dialogue between students, administrators and faculty just as there had been a continuing dialogue between the Peace Corps administration and Volunteers, not as implacable antagonists trying to negotiate with each other, as sometimes happened, but as individuals involved in a common enterprise. Dr. Benson Snyder of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology put the difference this way:

There is a difference between the kind of trust that it takes between people who are involved in a dialogue and people who are involved in a negotiation; there is a very real difference in what happens as a result. There is an opening up of the range of possibilities when you have a dialogue—a genuine re-examination on both sides. A negotiation is a narrowing down—each side tries to make its point firmer—it is victory or defeat, not a matter of mutual exploration. And the problem of negotiation or dialogue seems to be one of the major problems facing higher education.

The Volunteers' "Berkeley mood"—their desire to engage in a dialogue, to have more to say about what was being done to or for them as individuals—permeated the discussions. Many Volunteers thought that the Peace Corps' continued strength depended completely upon its willingness to continue, and even expand, the dialogue. They thought, too, that the universities had to follow the same course, and, as many other students have done, they called for a sharper definition of freedom and responsibility and a greater voice in the making of policy which affects them.

Dr. John Seeley of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences thought that the role of the Volunteers and all students should be that of "the loyal opposition" whose responsibility it was "to keep up a consistent pressure on the administration all the time—not just for awhile, but for life."

One suggested means of paving the way for what one panelist called "responsible innovation" was to hold conferences such as this one on campuses around the country. At such conferences returned Volunteers and like-minded students would meet with faculty

members and administrative officials to define major goals and explore methods of meeting them.

The Volunteers did not seem to be under any illusion that their role as "agents of change" would be easy. But if they were, Sister Jacqueline reminded them how difficult and frustrating the task of establishing real and honest communication could be when she said:

Every vested interest group in the world wants only to negotiate rather than change. That's what's wrong. . . . If we really want to know what kind of world we want . . . then we ought to learn that we need to have a common search and not mutually exclusive answers.

Some Volunteers thought that basic change was virtually impossible within the present educational framework. They proposed a new graduate institute, one that would bring together returned Volunteers, participants from other overseas programs and foreign nationals and concern itself primarily with the fields of community development, economic and technical aid and international understanding.

For the most part, however, the Volunteers recognized that change had to come from within. They had not thought that American systems would need the slow, careful methods of implanting new ideas they had found necessary overseas. But they said they were ready to try.

## ***Report on the International Service Workshops***

*The Workshops on International Service drew more returned Volunteers than any others. Over 200 Volunteers met with 40 experts in four separate panels. Chairmen were Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland; the United States Ambassador to the U.N.'s Economic and Social Council Franklin Williams; Dean Edmond Gullion of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; and Abram Chayes, former Legal Advisor to the Department of State.*

"Do Volunteers have something special to contribute?" "If so, should American society provide us with special avenues in which our potential can best be used?" "How should we go about changing institu-

tions in the International Service field so that they reflect a greater consciousness of a changed and changing world?" "Do we have an obligation to serve at home because of what the United States gave us through the Peace Corps?"

Such questions as these pervaded all four panels.

As the first order of business, the panels attempted to define the special qualities the assembled "veterans" might have acquired overseas and to determine how these qualities might best be used in the international field. The focus of this discussion was articulated by one returned Volunteer, who said: "The problem with most overseas assistance operations is that their technical knowledge far exceeds their ability to communicate." A preponderance of returned Volunteers said that it was in this area—cross-cultural communication—that they, as well as other men and women with similar experiences, had acquired their special potential for further overseas work.

There was a clear concern, however, that discussions on this topic were subject to misunderstanding. The Volunteers repeatedly emphasized that they were interested in improving assistance programs, not in

attempting to create jobs for themselves. "We don't have a 'here I am, now use me' attitude," said one, "but we have come to recognize that there is a great need for communication ability overseas and that people who have spent some time at the grass roots may have acquired it."

Three of the four panels reached a consensus on the desirability—"more for the agencies' sake than for ours," as one put it—of establishing "communication generalist" positions in the structure of foreign-assistance programs. It would be their role to augment and complement the work of technical experts in carrying out projects in the field. Panel A, which assigned a drafting subcommittee, approved the following statement:

Americans with interests or past participation in voluntary service throughout the developing world have a special skill in human understanding and cross-cultural communication which is difficult to define, measure, or test. Their work and interests are mainly at the grass-roots level, and they have sensed a real lack of middle-level involvement and empathy in foreign-assistance programs.

"In our group the Volunteers didn't have any trouble making themselves heard." **Harlan Cleveland**



We recommend that interested institutions maximize the spirit of voluntarism evident in the Peace Corps, Operation Crossroads, and International Voluntary Services by considering new programs to take advantage of this new American resource in the middle-level area.

We propose to the President and the Congress that they initiate legislation to permit the United States to participate in the "associate expert" program of the United Nations and to establish a similar program within the Agency for International Development.

One expert, while sympathetic to the statement, suggested that it would be wiser for those interested in international service careers to forego temporary service as "communication generalists". Instead, they should acquire what he called "the ideal range of skills for overseas work—professional or technical training, an understanding of development processes, and the ability to communicate within another culture." If they have acquired this last skill in the Peace Corps, he said, then they should go on to graduate school to fulfill the other elements in this "ideal range".

The United States Foreign Service came under heavy attack in some of the panels for what was characterized as an excessive emphasis on American institutions and history in its entrance examinations and the failure to include some measurement of spe-

cial perceptions and qualities often acquired during Peace Corps service. The Foreign Service, it was said, was not keeping pace with the changing world and had to examine the adequacy with which it was adapting to the need for officers with special skill in "development diplomacy". Informed that the designers of the Foreign Service Examination had found it impossible to include a "Peace Corps option" in the test, one Special Participant replied,

I reject that statement out of hand. I reject that in the year 1965 . . . we could not, somehow or other, write into the test kinds of questions which would give preference . . . to those who had actually lived in an underdeveloped world and in a foreign culture.

Some panelists expressed the belief that the Foreign Service considered Peace Corps service a minus, rather than a plus. One Special Participant, a psychologist who has conducted extensive research for the Peace Corps, suggested that this might well be true, that the most effective Volunteers—at the time they leave the Peace Corps—might be unacceptable to the Foreign Service. The functions of the Peace Corps and the Foreign Service, he said, are quite different. Foreign Service Officers go abroad to serve the United States, whereas the Volunteer's assignment is to serve the host country. One panel recommended that high-level officials of the Peace Corps and the Foreign Serv-

"No 'Establishment' ever welcomes the agents of change. If you want to live on the commanding heights you must seize them." **Abram Chayes**



ice meet to discuss these questions and then communicate the results of their discussions to potential Volunteer candidates.

Another common thread concerned the need for closer coordination overseas between the Peace Corps, AID, and the Department of State. An association between the Peace Corps and AID that was too close could result, it was feared, in an unwise weakening of host-country agencies. So the word "coordination" was underscored, with emphasis that it referred to cohesion among Americans working in one country. To the surprise of some, the Peace Corps received the lion's share of blame for lack of cohesion—for building a prejudice against other American agencies during Peace Corps training. One panel recommended that members of each agency overseas be given printed information on other American agencies operating in that country, that detailed information be provided to Peace Corps trainees about the activities of AID in their country of assignment, and that the Peace Corps consider inviting Foreign Service officers and AID personnel to its Completion of Service Conferences.

Another panel suggested that the great strength of American foreign policy was its pluralism—foreign policy practiced on different levels, ranging from the formal, institutional approach of the State Department to the shirtsleeves, people-to-people relationship of the Peace Corps. While this panel agreed that this was a strength, it also agreed that it caused confusion, frustration, and misunderstanding, not only to the host country but also to the Volunteers. It was felt that the Peace Corps Representative in the field was best equipped to bring about an understanding of other American programs among the Volunteers and that he should do so.

On the question of re-entry into American society, some returned Volunteers felt that their experience overseas was not regarded as valuable by prospective employers. Prospective employers in the international field, however, expressed considerable interest in returned Volunteers. Two private organizations—ACCION and the Community Development Foundation—actively recruited at the Conference, and the latter's representative said he was pleased with the showing of former Volunteers on his staff, "not," as he put it, "for what they know but because of what they are willing to do—hard, intellectual study on the one hand and dirty, practical work on the other."

Whether they intended to pursue international service as a career or not, the assembled Volunteers had a strong desire to tell other Americans about the life and aspirations of the peoples among whom they had served. They conceived it their obligation to communicate "what it's like overseas"—to stimulate a

greater awareness of the world and an empathy for emerging nations.

There was no agreement on how best this could be done. Some Volunteers wanted new vehicles of communication, others believed that new programs in existing organizations would suffice. All, however, felt the need for continuing current information on conditions in the countries where they had served, a need which, up to now, is largely unfilled.

## *Report on the Labor Workshop*

*The Labor Workshop, chaired on Saturday by Gus Tyler of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and on Sunday by Jules Pagano, Acting Director of the Division of University Relations and Training for the Peace Corps, comprised a score of former Volunteers and a dozen Special Participants, most of them labor officials.*

The Special Participants, although they generally admired the Peace Corps and Peace Corps Volunteers, had, like most other leaders of American society, only a vague idea of what Volunteers did overseas. The returned Volunteers, who were concerned that the labor movement had lost its steam and had neither the will nor the interest to respond to the challenges which it now faced, were equally long on admiration and short on specific facts.

Thus each group spent the first hours finding out what the other was all about, probing deeply into the question of commitment, asking "What gives *you* the right to speak for man?" The Volunteers leveled a barrage of questions on the attitudes and actions of labor unions—"What are you doing about civil rights? What is your opinion on our policy in Viet Nam?" The unions' comeback was equally direct—"Are you working as hard as *you* can for civil rights? Are you active in your community? How? What do you know about —?"

Out of this exchange came an understanding of the problems and limitations of both the Volunteers

and the labor movement and a recognition of common goals and values.

The discussion then turned to ways in which Volunteers could join forces with organized labor to achieve those common goals. One participant suggested that returned Volunteers would get nowhere unless they worked their way up from the ranks:

. . . you can either move it from the inside or try to move it from the outside. I'm giving you advice straight—don't try to move it from the outside. Nobody will listen to you. . . . You don't move a think like the trade union movement from the outside. You do it from the inside.

While there was general agreement on this principle, other participants suggested alternative means of involvement: organize workers not yet organized and develop your own power structure; work on the community level in projects involving labor organizations; be informed about the labor movement and its actions in the United States and abroad.

Turning to the international scene, the Volunteers put great emphasis on providing developing nations with new Volunteers who had skills which they could demonstrate and teach to others. It was agreed that new programs involving skilled trade unionists could constitute one of the Peace Corps' most important contributions to the developing world. It was also

agreed that such programs had to be well-planned, well-developed and integrated into the economy of the country.

"The Peace Corps," as one Volunteer put it, "has to determine whether the Volunteers will help or hurt the country, and whether they can do a job that is needed, not just as technicians, but as teachers of unskilled workers who must themselves become skilled if the country's economy is to grow."

The ensuing discussions covered four main areas of interest to both labor and returned Volunteers:

1. Recruiting of skilled trade unionists for Peace Corps service.
2. Information to Volunteers, during training, on the American labor movement.
3. Careers for returned Peace Corps Volunteers in the labor movement.
4. Community action and the use of returned Volunteers as community resources.

By the third session the Workshop had produced a series of specific proposals. The proposals follow.

### ***Recruiting and Programming***

An expanded program of industrial recruiting which would establish positive lines of communication be-

"What gives you the right to speak for man?"



tween the Peace Corps and labor. The Workshop recommended:

- A. Increased use of returned Volunteers to bring the Peace Corps message to union halls and factories throughout the country.
- B. A two-year leave of absence for Peace Corps service with protection of fringe benefits and without loss of pension rights.
- C. Protection of seniority and waiver of union dues during a worker's period of Peace Corps service.
- D. Continued AFL-CIO encouragement and cooperation in recruiting drives.
- E. Careful advance planning of skilled worker programs with substantial lead time between invitation and training.
- F. A study of the readjustment allowance to determine its adequacy. (Many in the Workshop thought that a study was not needed, that the readjustment allowance was clearly inadequate, and that it should be raised immediately to \$125 per month of service.)
- G. An amendment of the Peace Corps' rules on dependents to permit skilled workers with children to volunteer for service.

### **Training**

The Workshop made special recommendations for Peace Corps training which would affect the entire Peace Corps structure—from training, through overseas service, to the possibility of a future career in a trade union.

- A. All Peace Corps trainees should be provided with a top-level orientation on the background and history of the American labor movement during the training period.
- B. Special country-by-country labor movement briefings should be provided to prepare trainees for problems which may arise overseas.

### **Career Information and Development**

- A. While overseas, all Volunteers should be provided with up-to-date information on developments in the American labor movement. In addition, a survey should be made of the Volunteers' interest in joining the labor movement. The results would provide labor with a solid indication on possible employment of returning Volunteers.
- B. Labor unions could then establish training institutes and workshops to prepare the returned Volunteer for a professional career in a trade Union.

### **Returned Peace Corps Volunteers in the Labor Movement**

- A. Representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union announced an open-door policy for six returning Volunteers to attend staff training institutes which are held twice a year. Volunteers at the institute could serve as trainees and then become staffers.
- B. It was suggested that a review board of interested labor union representatives be established to refer applications or questionnaires from returning Volunteers to interested unions. Interviews would then be arranged for Volunteers.
- C. The Workshop recommended a program to prepare returned Volunteers for staff positions in the labor field overseas in such organizations as the American Institute for Free Labor Development, the African American Labor Center, the Department of State, AID, and in other international institutions.
- D. A new form of intern program within the labor movement was suggested by other labor representatives. Internships would be granted to returning Volunteers under the sponsorship of the AFL-CIO, or an international union. The intern would study union structure and organizing methods, and then serve as an organizer in specific campaigns. This proposal would give returned Volunteers who are college graduates an opportunity to work with college-oriented white-collar groups; it would also give returned Volunteers coming from the ranks of skilled labor an opportunity to organize persons of similar skills.

Such an intern program could also be used as a training field for project managers of Peace Corps programs prepared for the skilled worker Volunteer.

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It was the general conclusion of all participants that the Workshop was valuable. The Volunteers learned a great deal about the labor movement. As one Volunteer said:

When I applied for the labor panel it was because this was a segment of America with a huge potential for molding opinion; and because I knew so little about what labor was doing. Now my understanding of the problems they face, and how they are finding answers is vastly improved. I am sure that everyone in the group came from the Conference with a new respect for the labor movement.

Labor, in turn, learned much more about Volunteers and Volunteer commitment and capacity.

## ***Report on the Business***

### ***Workshops***

*There were two Business Workshops, chaired by Newton Minow of the Curtis Publishing Company and Hart Perry of International Telephone and Telegraph.*

*The sessions were attended by approximately 90 Volunteers and 23 Special Participants.*

In reporting on the Workshops, Newton Minow remarked that there were more revolutionaries among the businessmen than among the Volunteers.

Thus two myths—that all Volunteers are dangerous radicals and that all businessmen are stodgy protectors of the status quo—were destroyed. The truth was a source of surprise as well as relief to just about everyone concerned.

As in other workshops, the initial sessions were devoted to mutual enlightenment. The business leaders were amazingly unaware of the rigorous selection and training process which Volunteers go through and the unique contribution that the overseas Peace Corps experience makes to the development of the individual.

The Volunteers, on the other hand, had little

knowledge of the outlets for creative effort and fulfillment that exist within the business field. They were not aware of the opportunities available to the Peace Corps “generalist” or of the high initiative needed to compete for these positions.

Because business appears well organized, many Volunteers felt they would be less needed in business than elsewhere. The fact is that every businessman at the Conference saw considerable need for change and improvement in his own organization and in business in general.

There was an apparent consensus that the major causes for the lack of communication and understanding between business and Volunteers were to be found within the Peace Corps itself: in its programming, which was felt to be light on economic development and business-oriented projects, and in its training, which included little, if anything, on the presence, goals and capabilities of American business in the country of assignment. It was felt, too, that the overseas posture of the Peace Corps compounded the problem by maintaining a “don’t touch, don’t mix” attitude.

To establish better communication and cooperation between the Peace Corps and the business community, the Business Workshops made the following recommendations:

#### ***Programming and Training***

1. Peace Corps programming should place heavier emphasis on economic development and on business-oriented projects, in which the Peace Corps and the

John Coyne, Volunteer, Jack Sheehan, United Steelworkers, Labor Workshop.



business community, both here and overseas, could work more closely together.

2. Peace Corps training should develop some business-oriented facets. What U.S. businesses are in the country of assignment? How have they been accepted? How deeply are they involved with the society? If they are sought out, what assistance will they lend to a Volunteer's ideas?

3. Overseas businessmen with a recognized knowledge of the country should be utilized in training programs as resource personnel, and Volunteers should be given more information on how and where to develop small industries.

### ***Information***

1. The Peace Corps should inform its Volunteers as early as training and as late as termination about American business at home and abroad. Volunteers must be made more aware of prevailing business attitudes and opportunities, but they must also take the initiative by informing themselves about business needs, interests, directions and objectives.

2. Peace Corps Termination Conferences must immediately begin to include more specific and realistic information on employment opportunities and the steps a Volunteer can take to secure employment, including how to communicate his qualifications. This should not be left to the discretion of the individual terminator, but should be standardized by use of a kit supplied by the Peace Corps or the clearing house referred to in Recommendation 3.

3. Top business management, which seems quite

interested in employing returned Volunteers, must be encouraged to communicate this attitude throughout their organizations, especially to personnel offices and personnel interviewers. This would include an articulation of the "plus" factors of Peace Corps experience. It should not, however, include the automatic granting of "extra points."

It is recommended that a privately funded information clearing house be established to supply American companies with tailor-made information on the type of Volunteers whose pre-Peace Corps experience, training and overseas situation would most likely match the needs of individual business organizations. The clearing house should also supply information on what the Peace Corps Volunteer has to offer in general and where he can best be utilized.

One panel recommended that the clearing house also inform American companies of small to medium overseas business opportunities identified as the result of Peace Corps Volunteer experience. Such information would be tailored to the specific needs, overseas operations and interests of the individual company.

### ***An Important Side Issue***

The Special Participants in one workshop concluded that the draft was a deterrent to business employment of Volunteers who had not served their military obligation. They unanimously recommended that the study of the Selective Service System presently being conducted by the Department of Defense include a proposal that Peace Corps service be accepted as satisfying the military obligation.

**Newton Minow**, Chairman, Business Workshop.



# The Proceedings

The proceedings held in the State Department Auditorium were recorded in full. Presented here is an abridged transcript of those meetings.

## Opening Plenary Session —Friday Night

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** Looking out over this room in this building, I can't help but think to myself: Who would have thought three years ago that the Peace Corps was going to take over the State Department?

I am informed, although I haven't seen him, that Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky is here. He has been one of the long-time boosters for the Peace Corps. No, he's not standing up. Is Senator Dan Inouye of Hawaii here? No.

**ANDY HAYS (from audience):** You're reading the list wrong, Sarge. Read just the names circled.

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** That's what I was afraid of. Everybody is going to find out how the Peace Corps has been run all these years!

*Reading the list right, Mr. Shriver then proceeded to introduce, among others, the new Secretary of Commerce, John Connor, Senator Frank Carlson, Representatives Carl Albert, Silvio Conte, Richard Ottinger, and Charles Weltner, Ambassadors Ben Stefansky and Franklin Williams, President Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College, Victor Reuther, and the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, Ambassador Sevilla-Sacasa of Nicaragua.*

We all know that when John Glenn came back from outer space, the Congress and the people of the United States listened to him very attentively, because he'd been out there. All of you have been out there, in the rest of the world. And we need to hear from you. We need you to speak up.

This Conference is designed so that you can be heard and not so that you will be preached at or talked to by big speakers up here.

The real question I think is: What kind of citizens do we want to have in the United States between 1965 and the year 2000?

There's no point in worrying about what kind of people we've had before, although it's good to refer to our forefathers and old ideals and ideas. The most important thing is what kind of people are we going to have in the next 25 years. And what specifically are you going to be able to do about it?

Does the Peace Corps experience indicate to you that volunteering as such, not just in a faraway land, but right here at home, is an integral part of the kind of citizenship we want in the United States in the next 25 years? If it does, what are you going to do? What do you want America to be by the year 2000?

When we started the Peace Corps a lot of people laughed and said it wouldn't work. And I must say they laugh a little about the so-called War on Poverty, and say *that* won't work.

I had an extraordinary experience about ten days ago when I went to the mountains of Maryland to a camp near the famous Camp David that Franklin Roosevelt used to go to. I met the first thirty Job Corps Volunteers. These are youngsters 16 to 22 years of age. They are out of school and out of work. They are poor. They are the opposite end, the other extreme of American society from all of you—from most of us in this room who had the blessings of a good education and in most cases the blessings of a good family.

I saw young men up there who had never slept in their own bed in their entire lives. And when they were ushered into a little room and a bed was pointed out to them and we said, "That's your bed," a lot of them said, "You mean that I'm going to be able to sleep in that bed by myself, that's my bed and nobody else's bed?"

There were boys up there 17 years of age who had never seen a medical doctor in their lives.

We've had boys up there who got off the bus, looked around, and said, in a hesitant way, "Where's the fence?"

One of the counselors said, "What do you mean, the fence?"

"Where's the fence to keep us in?"

The counselor said, "Why did you volunteer to join the Job Corps if you thought it was going to be a place with a fence around it to keep you in?"

And this kid said, "I thought this was the last chance to make anything out of my life." At 17 he said that.

There is a wonderful Marine sergeant up there, who has inaugurated a little obstacle course. And there they were from South Carolina, Georgia, and the slums of Baltimore and Pittsburgh, going through their paces. And I said to them afterward: "How many of you would like to join the Army, Navy, Air Force or Marines?" About eighty per cent of the hands went up. I can guarantee you that there isn't one of those boys who today would be qualified for the Marines or any other service. None of them have gotten beyond the eighth grade.

But all of them had something in common with every one of you. They had the gumption, they had the courage, they had the initiative to volunteer.

Experts told us they would all run away, but an extraordinary thing is, not one of them yet has run away. And experts told us that we would be foolish to put white kids from the rural South into a Job Corps camp with Negro Americans from the slums of New York—that we'd have a race riot. Well, they are there and there

hasn't been any race riot. They are happy to have a chance.

These youngsters to me are very much like you. As volunteers from the disadvantaged part of our society they can unite with you from the advantaged part of our society. Together the two of you can become a giant pincers movement in a war, converging in the great center which is smug and self-satisfied and complacent.

I hope that you will join with them, that there isn't anybody in this room who considers himself so superior that he doesn't want to work with and lead and help these hundreds of thousands of young Americans, who are ready to work with you for the building of a greater America.

I hope this Conference will come up with ideas about how such a cohesion can be brought about in our society, because if it does we'll not only have the Great Society that President Johnson talks about, but we'll have the greatest society in the world.

Now to get on with the main business this evening I'd like to call upon a former Peace Corps Volunteer who at age 26 has served overseas in Ethiopia. He has his Master's degree in educational psychology. He has had a chance to look over all of the questionnaires which were sent back by Peace Corps Volunteers in response to our inquiry about this Conference. Gary Berghold.

**GARY BERGHOLD:** With the possible exception of the astronauts, Peace Corps Volunteers are probably the most questionnaired group in the United States. But this didn't

stop the Peace Corps from sending out another one. The surprising thing about this questionnaire was that of the 3,000 that reached Volunteers, 2,300 were returned. Elmo Roper couldn't believe it. The best the professional pollsters usually get is 20 per cent.

This tremendous response, plus the fact that 90 per cent of those who replied said they wanted to attend this Conference, shows the degree of interest with which it begins.

Because the questionnaires were so thoughtful and contained so many stimulating ideas, the Committee that reviewed them was asked to begin this evening with a report.

The first thing that became clear was the remarkable diversity of opinion among returned Volunteers. The greatest agreement on any question was less than 15 per cent. As a matter of fact, Volunteers do not wish to be categorized in any way. One of the questions asked how their resources could be harnessed. The most common reply was that harnessing was the last thing they wanted.

For the guests of the Peace Corps who have not seen the questionnaire, let me describe the major areas it covers.

First, present activities and career goals of former Volunteers; second, special problems of readjustment; and, third, ideas about utilizing the special resources of former Volunteers.

Let's start with what the Volunteers are doing now. More than half are back in school at graduate or undergraduate levels. Does this suggest that the Peace Corps experience helps a Volunteer rediscover his zest for

"Who would have thought three years ago the Peace Corps was going to take over the State Department?" **Sargent Shriver**



education? Does it mean that Volunteers joined the Peace Corps because they did not know what they wanted to do, and leave it still not sure? Are they trying to postpone that decision? Or does it mean that the Volunteer feels he needs more preparation before he's ready to tackle the problems of the world?

Forty-one per cent of the Volunteers have gone to work; 14 per cent in government service and 14 per cent teaching. The remaining Volunteers are in a variety of occupations from ranching in Montana to architecture in Rome. A very few are unemployed.

Now let's go on to what the Volunteers are doing when they are not in school or at work. What are they doing in extra-curricular community activities? This may be the most surprising response at all. The great majority are doing little or no volunteer work in the community. Some are teaching slum children or working for civil rights, but many more are doing very little except showing their slides. Does this mean that the Volunteer spirit was left behind in the Peace Corps? Or does it simply mean that it takes time to get involved after one returns home?

Sixty-five per cent of the Volunteers thought they knew what they wanted to do when they entered the Peace Corps. Eighty-eight per cent indicate they are sure they know what they want to do when they leave—but the interesting thing is that more than half of them changed their minds during the two years in the Peace Corps. The direction in which they changed is even more interesting. It's clear that more and more Volunteers want to go back overseas for a career in international service, or to involve themselves in some other form of attack on our own social problems. About half want to know how they might contribute to the war on poverty. But of the first three that joined the staff of the Job Corps, all three have left. What does this have to say about the ability of Volunteers to tolerate a readjustment back home that may be tougher than the one overseas?

An overwhelming majority of the 424 Volunteers who said they wished to enter government service wanted to do so on the Federal level; only 12 wished to do so in their state or local community. And yet the workshop requested by more Volunteers than any other was the one on local and state community participation. Does this mean that Volunteers wish to work in their own communities but are not sure how? This is another answer we hope to find in this Conference.

Perhaps the most puzzling thing of all is that only six of the total number of Volunteers who responded to this questionnaire said they wanted to enter politics. What does this mean? Why are returned Volunteers so reluctant to enter government service except as bureaucrats or social workers? Why are they so afraid of the political fray?

Let's move on to the problems Volunteers describe as they re-enter the United States. The one mentioned more frequently than any other was the unbelievable difficulty in communicating the subtle meanings of the Peace Corps experience. To try to tell the folks back home what it was really like abroad can be terribly difficult. And to experience the great ignorance that exists back home about so many parts of the world presents a challenge, but also a major source of frustration.

Most perplexing to the returned Volunteers is their inability to communicate the real quality of their feelings

for the overseas country and its people; the sense of frustration when they realize that their friends and family look out upon the world with so little genuine concern and understanding for the millions who live there. And this is particularly troublesome when they themselves have discovered that it is our own society that is underdeveloped in many ways.

When one Volunteer told an acquaintance that he'd been in Ethiopia for two years, the friend replied: "Well, thank goodness you weren't in Africa!"

It was also discouraging to learn that although a great deal of progress had been made in the field of civil rights during the two years they served abroad, there was much more still to be done. Those who returned to the universities described a kind of impatience with the fact that in the university *talk* seems so much more important than *action*. And after all they had just left a world where *action* so often meant everything. And *they* were the ones that had to *act*.

The questionnaire results also show that a significant number of Volunteers complain about a lack of challenge in their present job. Does this mean that the Volunteer is having difficulty in finding jobs as challenging as the Peace Corps, or does it mean that he's losing his ability to tolerate the initial frustration of any new job?

When one moves on through the questionnaire results to the Volunteers' using their resources, one finds a wealth of ideas. There are some who are interested in seeing the returned Volunteers form an organization. There are almost as many who feel this is the last thing in the world Volunteers should do. No item in the questionnaire provoked more difference of opinion.

Some say the Peace Corps Volunteers should become more active in helping foreign students. Others say that civil rights and Vietnam are the critical issues upon which they should be heard. But almost all feel that while they have much to say, they are still looking for a platform from which to say it, an audience willing to listen.

What seems to have hurt more than anything else is the fact that people seem disinterested. People are not waiting with bated breath to hear what the returned Volunteer has to say. Employers are not necessarily waiting with great anticipation for what the returned Volunteer has to offer.

And all of this seems to hurt the most. This provokes me to ask some questions of my own. They weren't on the questionnaire—but after reading 2,300 of them, it seemed to me that some of the most important questions remain to be asked.

Has the Volunteer lost the spunk and the fight that got him through the frustrations of the Volunteer experience? Has he come to this Conference looking for a wailing wall against which to cry out his troubles? Did he somehow expect to find it easier to bring about the kind of change at home that was such an agonizing struggle abroad? Does it shock him to learn that he had to go abroad and try to help with the problems in someone else's backyard to discover how difficult and frustrating the ones right here at home can be? Did he leave the Volunteer spirit behind in the Peace Corps to come home as a "mature" citizen, who carps but can't cope?

These are a few of the unanswered questions. The success of this Conference depends on our willingness to tackle them!

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** Planning this Conference was not easy. We only had about 30 days to issue all the invitations and make all the arrangements. This could not have been done without 40 or 50 Peace Corps Volunteers who still retain the spunk that Gary Bergthold mentioned. They came down and went to work. Among them was the next speaker, who is going to tell us a little about the reactions of those Volunteers who worked night and day to get this Conference organized.

Roger Landrum is 28 years old, an English literature graduate from Albion, a three-letter man. He was a specialist in physical education before he took a Master's in English literature at Bowling Green. He interrupted a Ph.D. program at Michigan State to join the Peace Corps, and for two years he taught English literature and African literature at the University of Nigeria in Nsukka.

**ROGER LANDRUM:** One correction: I am not going to try to represent the 50 Volunteers who worked on the Conference. That's impossible. I'm going to represent myself.

In March 1865, Grant and Lincoln met over a bottle of whisky with some of their troops to plot the next campaign. Not since then has such a distinguished set of American leaders as we have here tonight met with a band of enthusiastic rebels to conspire for the Good of the Union.

Within our general theme for the Conference—citizenship in a time of change—you will have noticed that three areas have been selected for emphasis: civil rights, the war on poverty, and international understanding. Mr. Shriver is up to his neck with two of them. Mr. Humphrey is one up on Mr. Shriver. The President has him juggling all three.

The Volunteers here tonight have come to their rescue. They helped dispatch us overseas. We have come home to join the causes they lead.

The day I left Africa, my Nigerian friends and colleagues had a party for some fellow Volunteers and myself. During the farewell address their spokesman charged us with a duty when we returned to America: to remember their opinions and to work for the rights of man at home. They would be pleased that I—and 1,000 fellow Volunteers—have that opportunity at this Conference. We are sons and daughters of America but we are in a sense also sons and daughters of 1,000 towns and villages scattered around the world.

Many of the Volunteers here tonight did not join the Peace Corps with an active interest in politics. We all have that interest now. We were jarred into it overseas. In America it is possible to take politics for granted and live off the fat of the land. That is not true in Chile or Ghana.

A Peace Corps Volunteer overseas works for the interests of the local people. He becomes inevitably interested in local politics.

The local people overseas hold a Peace Corps Volunteer responsible for American affairs. That is a powerful teacher. Our convictions have been strengthened by seeing America from afar. Every domestic injustice was manifestly clear to us overseas. My neighbors were black Africans and I couldn't defend Mississippi to them. They made me personally responsible. That was a powerful teacher.



"Has the Volunteer come to this Conference looking for a wailing wall?" **Gary Bergthold**

"We are sons and daughters of America but we are also sons and daughters of 1000 towns and villages around the world." **Roger Landrum**



And so after two years we come home with our political instincts aroused. In the area of equal rights each Volunteer was served up an agenda for action by the opinions of mankind. With due respect for those opinions we come home eager to act. If we joined the Peace Corps out of a conviction for human rights we rejoin American society with an even greater conviction.

What kind of politics interest us? First and foremost, the politics of equal rights. We see ourselves as more than voters. We will personally participate, even intervene, in the effort to secure equal rights for all people.

The war on poverty interests us. All of us have seen how poor the world is. Or to put it the other way around, how rich America is. The impoverished at home—the underprivileged regions of our own country—stick out like sore thumbs to us. If we worked to share American know-how and compassion abroad we certainly are not going to assume that it cannot be shared with all at home.

Few of us would suggest that because we are home again our concern for human rights abroad can end. The revolution of rising expectations—whether it is a logical sequel to the American Revolution or a new wave of human aspirations which this country only dimly comprehends—makes it perfectly clear that there must be throughout the world a more reasonable distribution of wealth, of opportunity, of power, and of respect for all people. No returned Volunteer can be fooled into thinking that America's interest in the Family of Man ends

"Our problem is to persuade you . . . to gamble on our potential." **Edith Barksdale**



with American national defense or American economic interest. I know Nigeria better than I know Kansas, better than my father knows California. The Volunteers in this room are personally concerned with the vital interests of the people of 46 nations with which our country has had little contact—except for a few economic interests or where Communism scared us in. It is time for all American institutions to liberalize their interests in world affairs.

The service we voluntarily opted for changed us. To utilize us, to fully recognize the new interests we represent, our institutions must change. They must trade some old values for some new ones. Thomas Jefferson said that "laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. . . . As new discoveries are made . . . institutions must advance to keep pace with the times." To join the Peace Corps in the first place required trading some conventional career advantages for other interests. The return home faces one with the question of whether these other interests, so enlarged by our service overseas, have any real meaning in America, and for a new career at home.

The world is changing faster than at any other time in the history of civilization. This is the source of our discontent. Only if America keeps a Jeffersonian spirit of adaptation, and keeps a vital link with the continuing social revolutions of man, will we meet our responsibilities. Every American institution should be a leader—not an antagonist—in building a peaceful community of man.

This is the agenda which we seek for our nation. And all returned Volunteers seek roles in which they can help cover this agenda.

In a sense the President and Vice President have assembled two generations to confer together: the accomplished of the enduring American institutions to meet with the accomplished of a new and daring institution, to confer about the vital interests of our Republic. The prospects are exciting.

I would like to say for my fellow Volunteers that, after two years overseas, we are still less interested in what America can do for us than we are interested in what we can do for America and the Family of Man.

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** Roger, you've just given a good illustration of why it's impossible to lead the Peace Corps. It's hard just to keep up.

Our next speaker is a young lady who graduated from Hunter College in New York in International Affairs, who was a member of our third group to go to the Philippines, where she taught science and math. She was one of the first interns chosen by the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation to work in the area of inter-group relations. She has organized and directed teams of Volunteers working in New York City in the Urban League's program of voter registration. **Edith Barksdale.**

**EDITH BARKSDALE:** I am still trying to decide who was correct: Margaret Sangster, who in "The Joy of Coming Home" suggested that "There's nothing half so pleasant as coming home again"; or Thomas Wolfe who wrote, "You Can't Go Home Again." I still don't know.

All of us anticipated our homecoming with joy, even if we didn't intend to stay *too* long. It was a numbing experience: all of those strange pale-faced people rushing about; the huge crowd of vaguely familiar folk trying to strangle me with bearhugs and kisses. There were the

preliminary introductions and questions, such as, "Do you have any communicable diseases?", and then, "Now that your adventure is over, dear, when will you settle down? What will you do to earn a living?" Does it sound familiar?

After the initial jolt back into "the real world," I continued to investigate things to do. I had optimistically started investigating possibilities six months prior to my return. I learned a lot. You can return to school to earn credits in education, pass the city examination and become a substitute teacher. Or if you are a technician, or an engineer, a physicist or a doctor, you could probably get a job with the Navy—in Alaska or Samoa. Otherwise, you can wait on tables, run an elevator, shine shoes. There are many interesting things for Volunteers to do which would utilize our unique experience. Possibly, the best thing to do is to re-enlist. But I think it's the coward's way out.

Seriously, why are so many of us so disappointed and frustrated in our search for a job or a life that comes close to providing the excitement, opportunity for achievement and responsibility that we felt overseas? It is that *this* is reality and *that* was phony? Have we not asserted ourselves? Are we shortsighted idealists without a program?

Do we presume too much in asking to be used—or do leaders across the country, as Commissioner Keppel recently asked a group of educators, "lack the ingenuity to seek and employ promising talents whenever and wherever they become available?"

The Peace Corps experience is unique. Our service abroad gave us a new perspective on America and on the world. Something is there which was not there before.

We have confidence in our ability and our potential. We are anxious to help strengthen America, to initiate change and to help America attain the true democracy of which she dares to boast. But, we've yet to find the channels, the avenues of opportunity.

We are the Robinson Crusoes who lived in bamboo huts and slept on straw mats. We are the beatniks in shirt-tails and sandals. And so we are tolerated and offered positions below the scale and the salary range of our contemporaries. It seems that even some government agencies are reluctant to gamble on a Peace Corps Volunteer in a responsible position.

We had hoped that the returned Volunteers would be a source of information on events in their countries and on the thinking of the people there. But no one yet has asked for my opinion on the anti-American demonstrations at Clark Air Force Base in Manila, and probably not yours on events elsewhere.

As one Volunteer put it: "The Peace Corps gives vent to potential. Somehow, our society doesn't assign responsibility to potential." I know that potential is not enough—it wasn't overseas, and it isn't enough here. It must be accompanied by a sense of responsibility and a willingness to extend oneself. This, I believe we have. And this is why this Conference is so important—for us, the Volunteers, to communicate our ambitions—and for you, the special guests, to help convert this potential and responsibility into a vital force in American life.

I see this Conference as a great dialogue from which both will learn and both will profit.

Our problem is to persuade you, our government, our educators, and our business leaders to gamble on our potential.

Your problem was posed by Herbert Gans in his paper: "The question is not what can the Peace Corps Volunteer do when he returns, but what will you let him do."

The challenge to America today is so great. Only together shall we overcome!

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, this wouldn't be a Peace Corps meeting if we just went along on a routine schedule, and I would run a risk of having an explosion if we don't have a period when anybody who wants to can stand up and say what he wants to say.

Before that happens, however, I am told that a Congressman who was most influential in the last session of the Congress in getting the War on Poverty enacted by the United States Congress is here this evening, Congressman Phil Landrum.

Some of you have seen those films on TV, "Profiles in Courage." I like to remember last summer when there was a concerted effort by some to defeat the poverty legislation. The charge they were making at one point was that it was legislation that would only help Negro Americans, and that anybody who voted for it was just a lover of Negroes. The co-sponsor of this legislation in the House of Representatives was Phil Landrum from Georgia, and an effort was being made by a lot of people to beat Phil Landrum in his district. He took a lot of malarkey from some of his colleagues who charged—because they knew it would hurt him when he ran for election in Georgia—that the reason he was for this bill was because it would help Negroes.

One day Phil Landrum asked for the floor. I can't quote him directly, but fairly close. He said, "I'm interested in helping poor people in the United States. There are a lot of Negro Americans who are poor. And there are a lot of white Americans who are poor. And no amount of politicking will deter me from my support for this bill. This bill is good for all Americans and I'm for it, regardless of race."

That was from a man from Georgia, sitting right up there. I often think how much easier it is for somebody like me, from Chicago or Maryland or New York where I've lived, to be an exponent of civil rights than it is for Phil Landrum to step up and say what he thinks when it may cost him his political life. It was a great inspiration to me. It makes me feel that Georgia may solve its problems of race relations before some of the rest of us do in some of the other states in the Union.

At this moment I would like to throw the floor open and if there is anyone here who feels the spirit moving him to the extent that he would like to get up here at this podium, I will be glad to turn it over to him or her. Is there anybody? Yes.

**GEORGE JOHNSON:** I'm George Johnson.

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** George is one of the first Peace Corps Volunteers to go into training. He was training for Tanganyika (now Tanzania) and at the time the Congress had not yet passed legislation establishing the Peace Corps. We were living on a prayer. President Kennedy had started it by Executive Order and I went to El Paso to deliver the graduation address. After the graduation speech was over one of the Volunteers said, "I just have one question. How do we know when we get out there

to Tanganyika—about 14,000 miles from here—that back home you won't do something and blow the whole business?" George was one of that really fine group of first Peace Corps Volunteers. A surveyor, civil engineer, he is now up at the Yale Law School. I am sure he could speak movingly of those first days in the Peace Corps and of days today.

**GEORGE JOHNSON:** I knew he was going to ask for volunteers from the audience and I do have a few things to say. I worked on them for two days. I worked on them in the Peace Corps building. I am not sure they knew I was doing it but I was there.

I am bothered, I really am. Why are we here? What are we doing here? I think the question is part of a really basic one. But it is a question that is so trite that I wouldn't ask it unless I felt it was also a very profound question. Why did we join the Peace Corps?

I claim we joined the Peace Corps because it represented a new form of action, because serving in the Peace Corps was a personal affirmation of faith in the democratic ideal—a belief in the dignity and worth of individual human beings against all that would oppress them; a faith that the right decisions, the only right decisions, are those that people make for themselves; that only the people can identify the problems that are basic for them; and that the only lasting solutions are those that people work out for themselves. I think the Peace Corps is an expression of belief that America's interest is nothing more than a person's own self interest in his own self development. We were not there to determine that interest but to develop it and help give it expression.

Tonight we are here and I think we still have that conviction. Certainly a faith that the democratic process can be transplanted abroad implies that we must insure that it works here at home. We want for America only that for which we worked in Tanganyika and in India and in Peru.

I claim the democratic ideal is not merely the optimum form of social organization. I claim it is the only valid form. It is not a proposal but an imperative for our society if we want to deal with the social dislocation that we see in America.

So we who sought to infuse others with the democratic ideal have an obligation. We must measure and challenge our own society.

We cannot tolerate the widespread denial by an anti-democratic oligarchy of the basic right to vote. In the South, in Mississippi, in Alabama, in Louisiana, half the population is struggling for the right to take part in the political process. How can we in the Peace Corps support the right of others to throw off oppressive social systems and permit the Jim Clarks, the George Wallaces, and the Ross Barnetts to frustrate the same attempt by our own citizens here at home?

What is it that clogged the democratic process? The laws are clear. What is lacking is prompt and effective enforcement of the laws. Support for freedom elsewhere must necessarily include active support for those here in America who are struggling for their own freedom.

And what about the other Americans? What about the poor? In a time of record corporate profits, when our GNP is soaring out of sight, we must deal with poverty here at home. We can't accept high unemployment, inadequate housing, bad education, for great numbers of our own citizens.

The government has moved to alleviate these conditions. But will the poverty program only alleviate rather than solve? Will it be an opiate, rather than a cure? Our Peace Corps experience suggests that unless the program successfully involves large numbers of the people in dealing with their own problems, it can easily degenerate into another example of the welfare colonialism which engenders apathy, alienation, and social dislocation.

Another consideration as participants in the Peace Corps: we are most deeply troubled as we see the fact of war—and our engagement in it is a fact tonight. It is clear that not all the obstacles to a peaceful world lie in the Communist bloc. Some of those obstacles are ideas and attitudes that are held by Americans. There is a gap between the most constructive foreign policy ideas of our government and the beliefs we encounter in many American citizens and in many American communities. There is another gap between government thinking and the policies that can move to contain the threat of war. I think it is our duty to work to close these gaps.

We know the nature of the demand for change that sweeps the underdeveloped world. When we read the headlines on Vietnam we think of other situations in which an attempted military solution is part of the problem and not the solution. We must engage most Americans in demanding that we continue to fight—that we rightly resist totalitarianism—but that we do it with methods that build, rather than destroy, the values that we seek to defend.

There are, we are old, no simple answers, but the official cry for more bombs is not more complex than the call for withdrawal. Neither states our proper goal. We demand an alternative to mass violence. We want a disarmed world in which free societies can grow. We must help build support for that kind of a world here in America.

To indicate these areas of concern is not to solve the problems. We hope to discuss these problems and others in the workshops. No one knows better than a Volunteer that discussion alone solves no problems. Clearly action is called for and it is our action. The question is what kind of action? Here is the greatest challenge to us and the greatest challenge to this Conference. Can we translate action abroad to action at home? Can we?

We joined the Peace Corps because we had faith in the democratic process. We learned by experience that political action was the essential instrument to attempt to translate that faith in the democratic process into practical reality. The Peace Corps is essentially political action—an attempt to build democratic structures, to organize institutions whereby people can identify and deal with their problems, to give individuals power to change their lives.

We have returned to find that faith challenged by a complex America—a society in which there is often no community, in which the individual is powerless to affect his own life. It is this lack of community, this powerlessness, that results in alienation and withdrawal and social dislocation in all its forms.

One way to state this problem is to say that we have a government, we have political forms, but no politics. It is a lack of meaningful politics that results in the loss of community, the powerlessness and hopelessness. To translate our Peace Corps experience to America we must speak out and create new forms of political action. We must restore a sense of power to the people and in the

process create with them a sense of dignity and self respect.

The pressures of the sixties have created exciting new forms of political action. Out of the civil rights movement have come the techniques of direct action, of creative nonviolence, of mass organization block by block and plantation by plantation of the disenfranchised, seeking the right to vote. The desperate situation in the urban ghettos has spawned the tenants' councils, the rent strikes, and the school boycott. Each form of action is both a protest and a collective, meaningful attempt to change. These and other forms of action are the beginnings of a new politics. They are stirrings of life in America. They are portents of change.

Just as we hoped that Volunteers were the agents for change abroad, so we can be agents for change here at home by involving ourselves in the new forms of political action. For us, as Volunteers, a little baffled by America, hesitant to give up on our own ideals and unwilling to join the Establishment as we find it, this kind of political action affords an opportunity to engage creatively in the same kind of action here at home that we found abroad. I suspect that such creative, active involvement with others is what we miss most. But it is here, it is here—we must find it. If we do not, we will ourselves become aliens.

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** Thank you, George Johnson. I think that the principal objective that we have in this war on poverty is to devise new ways of capitalizing on the kind of spirit, energy and idealism which George has expressed.

It is like inventing an electric bulb. Until Edison invented the bulb, there wasn't any bulb. People could say: Why didn't somebody invent the bulb before he invented the bulb? I don't know why nobody did. The problem is to find people who can think up new ways of doing things—social inventions, instead of physical inventions. I hope that over the next day or so we will get some inventors here.

Is there one there? I don't know your name, but stand up. Craig Thompson—he was on the beautiful island of Ceylon where they made "The Bridge on the River Kwai."

**CRAIG THOMPSON:** I was in Ceylon as a teacher in theater arts and dramatics and during my spare time I had a radio program. I was known to the children of Ceylon as Craig Mama which means Uncle Craig. I think through that program a bit of understanding came out from both ends.

We have just heard a prepared speech from our friend from Tanganyika on what we might call idealism. Idealism for some people is a bad word, but it is something we all had when we went into the Peace Corps and it is something we still need to continue our job.

When we get out of the Peace Corps, we are still Peace Corps Volunteers and we are still a member of a project, a project of understanding, a project of learning, a project of working together, not only ourselves but among the peoples of the world.

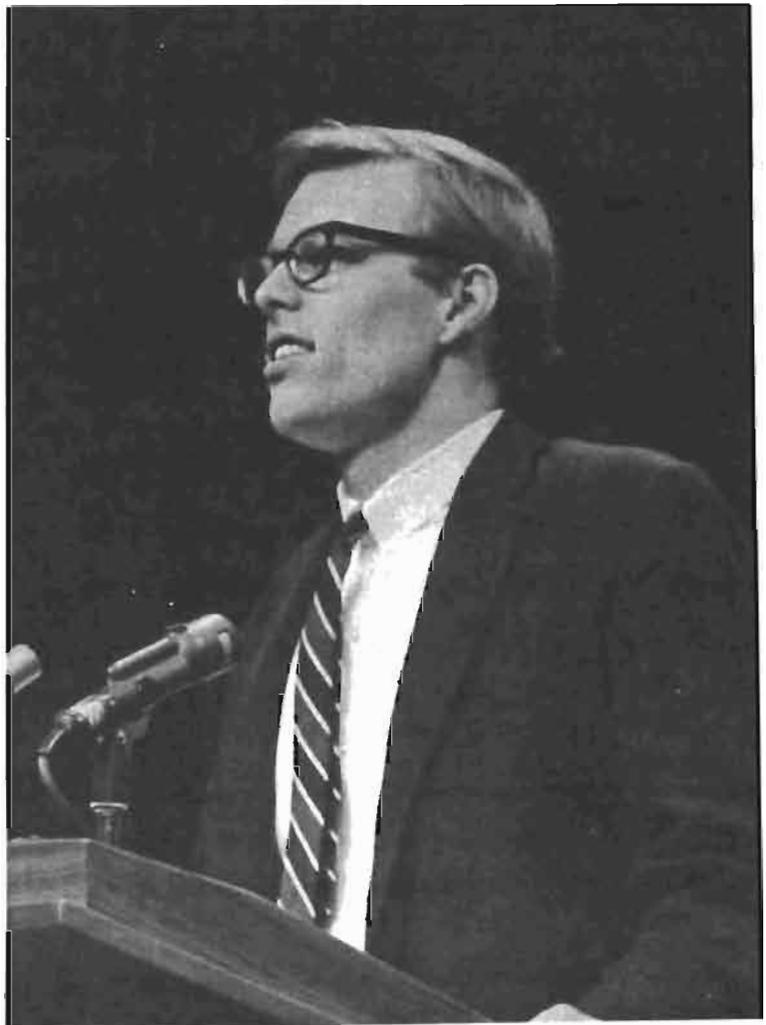
Turning from idealism, I think we are now going into the world of reality. That is what this Conference deals with. This world of reality is finding jobs, finding ways of meeting the right people. This is what we need, this is what we want. We have to prove ourselves. For in reality, you need action.

We need to show our abilities as ex-Volunteers, we need to show employers that they need us and that we can do the job they expect us to do. If we receive these positions, we hope that we will eventually create some of this understanding between ourselves and the peoples of the world.

We hope that if we are qualified, we can go into business and labor and government service and from that point on it again becomes Peace Corps. It again becomes a project of idealism to show that we can all get along together, to show that we can all fight our international problems and our local civil rights problems. I don't think anybody should give up his idealism. It is something you should hold on to, and put to use when you really need it. And we really need it.

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** We are running behind schedule, but I know that none of us, especially those who have mentioned so frequently the subject of civil rights, would want to leave here without the opportunity to hear from one of the great living Americans, a man who as Chief Justice presided over the court in the famous *Brown v. The Board of Education* case which by unanimous opinion first enunciated the doctrine of racial equality in the schools of our nation. I suppose that next to Abraham Lincoln himself, there will be few Americans who, when they write the history books, will rank higher in the fight for civil rights and civil liberties than the distinguished

"There are, we are told, no simple answers, but the official cry for more bombs is not more complex than the call for withdrawal. Neither states our proper goal." **George Johnson**



Chief Justice of the United States, the former Governor of California, Earl Warren.

**THE CHIEF JUSTICE:** This is a wonderful occasion for those of us who have been privileged to be invited here to share the enthusiasm and the altruism of this great group of Peace Corps workers. I feel guilty in even taking a few moments of this meeting away from those who might give us the benefit of their experiences in the countries around the world. But I want to say to you that I hope you won't feel any frustration because of some lack of opportunities that you might have coming back here.

This country is looking for people like you. We need the activities of the Peace Corps just as much as any place in this world. We need every bit of leadership that you have. I believe that you will give this country the leadership that it needs. There is no group who can do it better than you who have had this experience overseas.

Now in regard to justice. Justice is something that the world has pursued intermittently ever since Hammurabi wrote his code almost 2,000 years before the birth of Christ. He stated then that the purpose of the code was to protect the weak against the strong. A thousand years later in Athens, the ancient lawgiver Solon was asked by the people of that city, "Master, what can we do to bring justice to Athens?" He said, "The people of Athens can have justice any time they want it provided that those who have not suffered injustice will be as outraged as those who have."

That answer would be just as good today. We can have justice throughout America any time the people of America who are not injured by injustice are as outraged as those who have been. It is to you whom we look for the leadership to bring about that consensus on the part of the American people.

I wish all of you every happiness. I am sure that you will provide for this country—you and those of your age—the leadership that it needs to keep from making the mistakes that we of our generation and those before us have made in the past.

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** The Secretary of Defense has just arrived. The Peace Corps has got everything now, hasn't it?

Bob McNamara is not an ordinary man in any sense and he is certainly not an ordinary Secretary of Defense. When I first had the privilege of going out to Detroit to speak to him on behalf of President Kennedy, to see whether we could get him to come down to Washington, we did a lot of case work on him. After all, he was a Republican!

Here was a man who headed the Ford Motor Company but lived in Ann Arbor, an intellectual community around the University of Michigan—who drove his own car every morning from Ann Arbor to Detroit—who participated in a Great Books Seminar—and who was a reader of Teilhard de Chardin's *The Phenomenon of Man*. You don't find many automobile manufacturers who read Teilhard de Chardin!

No American gives more of his time, thought and energy to the struggle for peace than the man who happens to be at the head of the mightiest armed forces in the history of the world.

**SECRETARY McNAMARA:** I only want to say that I have been indebted to Sarge since that day in mid-

December 1960 that I first met him.

Furthermore, I am indebted to each of you. We have three and three-quarter million people in the Defense Department today but I doubt very much that we have influenced the peace of the world as much as the small handful of you in this room and your colleagues have. So my hat is off to you.

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** And now, ladies and gentlemen, a person who all of us admire and love—the Vice President of the United States.

**THE VICE PRESIDENT:** If I had good sense I wouldn't even make a speech after getting a reception like you just gave me. Your warmth touches me a great deal.

We enjoyed the reception upstairs so much and had a chance to talk to a number of friends, some that I met in Colombia, some in Chile, some in the Dominican Republic, some in Honduras.

Sarge Shriver has told you that you have more or less taken over the State Department. May I say that if this country has to be occupied and if this city has to be occupied, I hope it is by you.

I have gathered a few other thoughts here tonight as I have listened to you. I rather enjoy this rebellious mood that I see in some of you—since I participated in the same sort of exercise myself for many years. I had a special advantage over you. I came from an underdeveloped area—at least during the Depression out in South Dakota—and many of you just went to an underdeveloped area.

I sense here the depth of conviction and feeling of principle and idealism which is the sort of thing that has made America what it is.

By the way, I may be making a couple of speeches—so lean back. Ray Scherer said to me, "Are you going to make that speech you have in your folder?" and I said, "Yes, I think I will." Then as I sat up here, I got to thinking I won't. But as I get to moving along, I most likely will.

You talk about *your* frustrations! (*Laughter.*) We are going to have a good time tonight!

You've already had some short speeches, very good ones. The Chief Justice—why, aren't we honored by the fact that he is here tonight! He has surely written a great page in the history of this Republic.

And then Bob McNamara came in here and just as he always does, he gets right to it; he just says it and that's it. It's always good and it's right on target every time.

You know Vice Presidents don't have much to do—historically. There aren't, however, many Vice Presidents who worked for President Johnson.

Of course Vice Presidents are not supposed to make any significant speeches. I have been able to live up to that high standard. I had a very significant speech I was going to make a couple of weeks ago and I sent it over to the State Department. It is still here. I don't want you to think they didn't give me something to say; but that speech will come out some day.

As I think about your return and your presence here, I can't help but reflect on how it all got started. A very sensitive, thoughtful, constructive Senator, who is no longer with us, Dick Neuberger of Oregon, was one of the first to think of the Peace Corps. And Henry Reuss over in the House—Henry Reuss of Wisconsin is with us to-

night—was one of the first to think of the Peace Corps. I had a young chap working for me, sort of a volunteer, an advance Peace Corps man, by the name of Peter Grothe who is here tonight, too. He kept talking to me about putting our young people to work overseas, and I talked about this on public platforms—about tapping our reservoir of enthusiasm and talent.

And there was a young man from Massachusetts, who started talking about the idea of the Peace Corps. That young man became President of the United States. When he became President, he not only talked about the Peace Corps, he asked some of his compatriots in the Congress to start it. Of course, that young man was the late and beloved John Kennedy.

The Peace Corps is a living memorial to him.

There were many others who were interested in the Peace Corps and there were many that weren't. You ought to have seen some of the things that were said and written: "Just a crazy idea." "One of these wild harebrained schemes." "A way to get kids out of the draft." You were going to wreck everything if you ever got turned loose. We heard all this right in Congress. So if you think you have some frustrations, you get elected to Congress sometime. Because in the Congress you see not only the hope of America, not only its future, you see the established pattern of America—good or bad, it's all right there.

The Congress is like a mirror that's extended and placed over the whole body politic of America. When you look up in that mirror you see yourself—you see your prejudices, your hopes, your frustrations and your ambitions. You see your bigotry and you see your tolerance. It's all there. Thank goodness, the mirror is a little cleaner than it used to be. But there are a few spots on it yet and we better start to do something about it.

What I am saying is that this is representative government. Remember what Churchill said: Democracy is the worst possible form of government—except all the others. It's hard, it's difficult, and it requires a great deal of faith as well as intelligence and understanding. So I am going to give you a lesson on frustration. I am an expert in that. America wasn't created on frustration, but on ambition; not on despair, but on hope; not on apathy, but on action; not on negativism, but on optimism.

When I tell you that I am overjoyed with your presence here, it's no exaggeration. I expect a lot of you. I like young people. When I am talking to some people that are still fighting their way through the 18th century I occasionally get up and just walk out of my office and go out in the lobby of the Capitol and talk to youngsters. They are refreshing. They make me feel that this is a pretty good world after all.

But I think there has been too much of this self sympathy, too much of this saying what a critical time we live in. It's always been that way. People talk about the "good old days." They were never any good when you lived in them. They get a little better as you get further away and forget the details. I hear people say, "Young people today face greater challenges than ever before." Well, those fellows who had covered wagons and tried to get across the desert had to face a few problems too.

Sure we have difficult problems to deal with, but we live in the most exciting age of all times. We have more tools to work with than any generation ever before, we have more know-how, more technology, more engineering,



"We can have justice any time the people . . . not injured by injustice are as outraged as those who have been."  
**Earl Warren**

"We have 3-3/4 million people in the Defense Department, but I doubt very much that we have influenced the peace of the world as much as the small handful of you . . ."  
**Robert McNamara**



more science, more knowledge of the humanities, a greater accumulation of the arts than ever before. In short, we have the means to make this a much better world to live in. The only question is: Do we want to? Sometimes when we talk about how difficult it is, we are really saying: "I am just not ready to do it."

Why, this is the most fascinating period of human existence. If you don't like it on earth, you can even volunteer to go to the moon. We are exploring the universe. We will learn things that we never dreamed of.

You have heard of miracles. We perform more miracles today than has ever been written before in any book. We have healed the sick, we have made the blind to see. We do it every day. We do, in fact, save those who are dead. We are going to make breakthroughs in disease, in terms of better health, that nobody ever believed before. We are living in a time, the first time in human history, when it is possible that we can banish hunger from the face of the earth. We have the means, the skill, the know-how, the science, if only we have the will.

The returning Peace Corps Volunteer ought to be gearing up his will, for if you want to win the popularity contest or get the local badge for being the nicest fellow you are not going to have enough will to do it. If you are unwilling to stand up and take the darts and stones because of your convictions, then don't expect all of these wonders that can be ours to be achieved. Because the more society becomes organized the more it becomes institutionalized—and the more inflexible it becomes and the more difficult it is to break through.

I am concerned that so few of you appear to be interested in what we call politics. The people who show no interest in politics are just the ones to say: "Look at that crook, look what he is doing." "They don't know what they are doing in Washington or in the State Capitol." They are our Monday morning quarterbacks. As I used to say to my students, if you think politics is a little dirty, why don't you get yourself a bar of Ivory Soap and get in and clean it up instead of sitting out there in the bleachers? This is simply a way of saying *participate*—don't just sit and cogitate or vegetate. You have a choice.

We expect a lot of good ideas at this Conference—an explosion of ideas. I hope they are put down on paper in usable form. If you think things are not as they ought to be, for example, right in this State Department, tell us. Almost everyone knows how to run the State Department—I ran it for years; didn't get paid for it, but I was doing it. If you think there are things wrong with our foreign policy, and I am sure there are many gaps, many limitations, tell us. Don't just tell yourself. Tell us and then speak to the people, speak up and try to test your ideas in that refiner's fire of dialogue and debate. Discussion, yes; dissent, yes; debate, yes; but then decision—you finally have to come around to a decision.

I could spend my time here tonight just praising you because you have done great things for human dignity, for freedom and, as the Secretary of Defense has said, for world peace. You have really been the Voice of America. You have really been the best that we have had to offer, and you have proven that when you send the best you get a good reception.

People all over the world are pretty much the same. When you seek to help them with no ulterior motives but just that of service, of compassion, of helping them to help themselves, of respecting their dignity, you get a response.

Remember that the central struggle in this world is over human dignity.

When you took your skills and your knowledge and know-how overseas, you took something else that was more important. You took the living expression of freedom in your soul, in your life, in your hands and your mind and your eyes. You took that to other people and it is contagious. Most people want to be free. We've got something going for us, if we will just work for it.

You have had experiences that are beyond the imagination of most of your contemporaries, and in the main you are better because of it and you know it! You are more mature. You are better educated than if you had stayed in a university for a comparable period. You are going back to the university, many of you, better students, more appreciative of scholarship, more disciplined to work habits. You are in the fullest sense of the word better citizens.

You have lived a richer life and have tasted many cultures. You know what John Adams once characterized as "the spirit of public happiness." It's the spirit that prevailed in the period when we gained our freedom and had our first free government. Adams described it as one in which the citizen delights in participation in public discussion and public action—the spirit of joy in citizenship, in self government, self discipline and dedication. Your presence here tonight indicates that you have experienced some public happiness as well as private happiness.

You have demonstrated that there exists a moral dimension of service beyond that of self service. You have given of yourselves and in so doing you have demonstrated to the world that this is the real America.

This is what we need to do. We ought not to be doing things in this world just because the Communists are frightening us into it. We ought to be doing things because we know it is right to do them. We don't need a red devil to make *free* people act like *just* people.

Now I have been given the privilege of serving as chairman of the Advisory Council of the Peace Corps. This was the position held by President Johnson for three-and-a-half years before he became President. When he appointed me to this position on January 26th he said, and I quote him: "The Great Society requires first of all Great Citizens, and the Peace Corps is a world-wide training school for Great Citizens."

So people expect a lot from you and I know that you expect a lot from yourselves. It is a good idea to expect a lot from people. If you expect a great deal from people the worst that you can get is a little disappointment. But you generally get more.

What we are searching for is how we can use this new talent. Now there are about 3,000 returnees. By 1970 we hope that there will be about 50,000 back here in the United States—because we intend to continue the Peace Corps. And that is part of your job. Let's not allow it to become a routine part of the American pattern. Let's make it extraordinary every year, exciting. If it becomes just routine, it will lose its drive, its effect, its punch.

I don't think it is flattery but a fact when I say that you are the kind of people who can make the difference in building a better America and a better world. When Lincoln said that America is the last best hope on earth he meant not the geographical dimensions of America, but

what America is—its spirit, its vitality, its optimism, its youthfulness, its zest for living, its sense of justice and compassion. When we are wrong we are willing to admit it. We don't always correct it but we admit it. The sign of health—political, economic, and social health—is when you can admit that you are wrong.

You Volunteers have taught us something and you have taught yourselves something. You have shown that combined collective efforts can make a difference in the lives of people. You learned and you helped others to learn that individual burdens can be lifted if national burdens can be shared. And that needs to be learned in this rich America.

Have you asked yourself, can a rich society be just? Can a country that remains prosperous for a long and extended period of time, really be concerned about social justice? We've got to demonstrate that we can be concerned.

The most significant thing in these recent months is the fact that President Johnson, at a time when our gross national product was at an all time high, at a time when profits and wages were at an all time high, reminded America that, in the midst of this wealth and plenty and affluence, there was poverty, misery, injustice, and he called upon the American people to do something about it. He said you cannot live happily, you cannot live nobly, you cannot live justly in this wealth and ignore injustice and poverty and hopelessness among your brothers.

You know this is true. So I am quite sure when we get 50,000 Volunteers back here, if they are really filled with the idealism they had when they volunteered, they can change a lot of things in America—and there are some

things that need to be changed.

I have been hearing that you have some readjustment problems. Well, I think you will readjust. It may not be easy, but it was not so easy overseas either. You applied yourself and your talents in very difficult situations and problems abroad. Now you have come home and there are some domestic problems—you find that America is not all milk and honey.

You may feel hemmed in and frustrated by some of our rigid institutional procedures. Some of you are concerned about the seeming irrelevancies of academic course work. You have seen America from a variety of new perspectives; and are impatient with those who lack your experience and your enthusiasm and your insight.

So go forth and tell the folks about what you have seen. You don't have to make a speech up at the Council of Foreign Relations in New York. Just get home and talk to the PTA's. We haven't had a good speech in the PTA for years.

There is so much to be done in this country. If as a young person you are not somewhat frustrated, then you ought to go see a doctor. Because that is the feeling experienced by persons who know the meaning of dedication and commitment.

This proves that you are alive. It proves that the two years abroad really meant something. Just never doubt the fact that you are needed here even more than you were needed there. We need your vision, your experience, your courage and your sense of commitment on the urgent path which confronts this land and this people.

Your obvious question is: "If that is true, Mr. Vice President, why don't people just reach out and get it?"

"We are going to have a good time tonight."



The obvious answer is that very few people of vision and of commitment are readily taken to the bosom of any nation. It isn't a matter of waiting your time, it's a matter of *making* your time by getting busy.

Now let me point to just a few specific areas. There was a great lady in this nation of ours—one of the true citizens of the world, Eleanor Roosevelt, who I think in a way could be considered the first and most successful Peace Corps Volunteer. Here is what she wrote just before her death: "Anyone who believes that in every human being there is a spark of the divine must believe that to enable him to develop his potentialities to the maximum is the highest purpose his government can fulfill." Those words—"to enable him to develop his potentialities to the maximum"—that is the purpose of government: not to guarantee success or happiness, but to give you a fair chance, an opportunity through an expanding economy, opportunity through fair laws, opportunity through impartial justice.

In 1964 this nation took two historic steps towards enabling man to develop his potentialities to the maximum and towards eliminating and tearing down barriers to self-fulfillment.

The first is the Civil Rights Act. It was a major step forward, and it is the first step that is the longest journey. The difference between a vital people and a people that is sick is a people that will take that first step. We are beginning to eliminate second class citizenship in this country.

I heard tonight that we have the law and what we need now is the will to enforce it. We need even more law, and may I say, as one of the members of this Administration, we are going to have more law. We are going to make sure before the end of this year that this indignity, that this humiliation, that this unconscionable business of the denial of the right to vote of a fellow American is eliminated from this land for once and for all.

Now if you want to do something, you get on that one. We need good lawyers, we need advocates, we need good workers. No one can justify denying a fellow citizen the exercise of his franchise.

If this generation will be half as clever figuring out how we can extend full opportunity to everyone regardless of race, color, or creed, as other generations were in denying it, we will win our fight.

Now the second great forward step is the Economic Opportunity Act. This is, of course, the opening gun in the war against poverty. And these two steps go together because many of the victims of poverty have also been the victims of the denial of civil rights. As we fight this war against poverty, we also fight and win the struggle for human rights. We can get people to sit down today and talk about jobs and homes and education and opening up their schools and opening up their factories without regard to race because we are talking about people under the Economic Opportunity Act.

The Congress passed these bills, Presidents recommended them, now it's up to you. I invite you to participate in the hundreds of private and governmental human rights and anti-poverty institutions—in the human relations commissions, in the equal employment and housing commissions. When you go home from this Conference, go ask your mayor if he has an equal employment opportunity commission in his city. Anybody who can face what you had to face in some areas ought not to be afraid of a

mayor. You don't really have to save the world. Just start saving the home town. It will add up.

I invite your participation in trade unions. We have free unions in this country. We need leaders, participants, good new people in trade unions. I am a little weary hearing young men and women say, "Well, you know, I have to belong to the union, but I never go." That means that you have transferred power to someone else without any concern as to how it will be used. We need a good free labor movement and we need people who understand its place in this society.

We need you in local community action programs, in the Job Corps centers, and in the VISTA programs.

I invite your participation in the work of mental retardation.

Then, too, this nation for a long time lived in unbelievable shame and guilt over its mental institutions. One of the great crying needs of our mental hospitals is adequate help.

And I invite your participation in the field of juvenile delinquency, as well as in the special education and health centers being established.

It isn't just the other areas of the world that need volunteers. We need volunteers here. I believe that anyone who ever received a college education has a debt to pay to the rest of the community for the rest of his life. Those of us privileged to have a college education ought to start repaying it by community service.

You returned Volunteers like to be where there is action. Just in case you haven't noticed it these days, there is action taking place in the classrooms of America. One-fourth of all Americans now attend school. In 1970, fifty percent of the population in this country will be under 25 years of age, and the percentage of youth is rising. We have to insist now not upon just more classrooms—but upon excellence in education, and you are going to have to take up the cudgels back in your community against some powerful forces to expound the value of education and to remind your fellow Americans that the nation with a future is an educated nation.

We need to devise new ways to educate. I have never been convinced myself that this school drop-out problem was due to the fact that youngsters really wanted to drop out of school. I think the teachers and administrators and those who plan the school curriculum should start examining themselves. There isn't any law against a teacher being interesting. We need to experiment with new teaching methods. That is why we need you.

Many of you would now be teachers but you've run into a stone wall in the form of state and local accreditation requirements. What do you do about that? Complain about it. Go to see your legislator and walk right on up to him and talk to him.

For many returning Volunteers the Peace Corps can be a training ground for future careers in the foreign service, in the foreign aid program and in international organizations. But the truth is that we need you to be ambassadors at home as well as abroad.

I have served in the Senate 16 years. The most difficult assignment we ever had in the Senate was the foreign aid bill. By the time we passed the bill, we had insulted so many nations that there wasn't enough money to bind up the wounds. This is one of the prices of free speech. But there is a difference between free speech and license,

and I want you to go back to your homes and talk constructively about our role in world leadership and the difficulties of world leadership. Talk to our people about it. Tell them that a great people and a world leader cannot expect always to be loved; that they can't always expect to have everybody like everything that they do; that we are bound to make some mistakes.

Every public official that is elected will tell you that he is only as strong as his constituents. If you sense in the Congress a prejudice in matters of foreign policy, go home and talk to the Kiwanis Club or the League of Women Voters or to one of your church groups or your neighbors. You know something now about this world in which you live. Share it.

Alexis de Tocqueville said more than a century ago that the uniqueness of America was its volunteerism. You have proven that again. You have come back with a degree of self-reliance and sensitivity and self-discipline, the ability to debate and the willingness to work hard—all mighty rich resources. I ask you not to lose your sense of idealism, but to transfer it to the home scene. I ask you to continue to help America achieve its old dreams. Let us dedicate ourselves to keep America vigorous and creative. Let America continue to be what it was meant to be: a place for the renewal of the human spirit. And you, my dear fellow Americans, have come back with the zeal and the faith to renew that human spirit.

Yesterday, I watched a staging of Lincoln's Second Inaugural—on its hundredth anniversary. Time after time, speakers said those immortal words, "with malice towards none." Do you really believe it? This is our strength—the strength of an open heart, the strength of charity for all. But Lincoln didn't just stop at that. He said, "With firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right," which is another way of saying compassion, yes, kindness, yes, charity; yes, but then, also principle, decision, program—firmness in the right.

I call upon you to be men and women of action, with firmness in the right as you see the right; to be willing to stand up and to be counted; to join our political parties; to aid us in this war on poverty; to help us fight bigotry

and intolerance, the disease that has crippled us far too long; to be in the vanguard and not in the rearguard. And, above all, to think, to think creatively, to think daringly and to share those thoughts—to share them with the community, because it is only in so doing that we enrich this America.

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** Let me close this opening session with a special word of thanks to a number of organizations and individuals who made it possible to have this meeting. The entire expenses of this operation have been funded in advance by the Carnegie Corporation, the New World Foundation, the Kettering Family Foundation, Pan American World Airways, International Business Machines Corporation, the Kaiser Industries Corporation, the Compton Family Trust, Mr. Milton Shapp, Mr. Milton Kronheim, United Artists Corporation, the Ridgely Foundation, Samuel Decker, and the Volkswagen Dealers of the Washington, D.C. area.

Tomorrow night every Peace Corps Volunteer who has come here and all of our distinguished guests have been invited by twenty-four different Washington hostesses to share the hospitality of twenty-four different Washington homes. I want to thank them for that.

We also owe a special thanks to the National Broadcasting Company which at no expense to us has arranged for a closed circuit television broadcast of these entire proceedings tonight so what we have been doing here has been visible to the overflow audience in the International Conference Room here. We are very grateful to NBC for that.

As expressions earlier this evening have indicated, we are grateful to the leaders of the civil rights movement, and we are grateful to stars of stage, screen, radio and television who have helped us with this work—but to none are we more grateful than to a man who has been on the National Advisory Council of the Peace Corps since we started, Mr. Harry Belafonte. Before we go, we have the great privilege of being led by Harry Belafonte in that famous song, *We Shall Overcome*.

"You don't really have to save the world, just start saving the home town."



## *Mid-Conference Session*

### *— Saturday Afternoon*

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** I've just spent an hour and a half with spokesmen for the twenty-four discussion groups, Green Cards as well as Orange Cards, and if there's one thing that's come out of that lunch, it is proof that we're not ready for a plenary session. I've rarely in my life found so much general disagreement on everything.

I'm going to ask a few of the spokesmen I met with to give you a quick impression of the discussion of their particular group. It's my judgment that the most beneficial thing would be a quick adjournment with everyone going back to work in their discussion groups, and that in those discussions, the Green Cards talk more and the Orange Cards talk less.

Actually that suggestion was made by the Orange Cards. It emphasizes their desire and our desire that this Conference represent and be a podium more for the expression of Volunteer opinion than of expert opinion.

There are a couple of points which I might pass on to you. One is that each of the groups focus on that aspect of organized American life that they're talking about, for example, that of secondary education, and ask: What is the matter with it? What can the people in charge do to modify it? And, what can the Volunteers themselves do about it?

Another thought was that Volunteers do change during the course of their service overseas. From our research it appears that after three or four months abroad the Volunteers have a different attitude about what they're doing, and about the Peace Corps, than they did when they first went abroad. And after they've been there for ten months they again have a different attitude. And then after maybe 14 or 15 months they have a different attitude again. These might be described, to plagiarize Walt Rostow, as stages in Volunteer growth. It is possible that a similar thing occurs upon return to the United States, that some Volunteers who have been back for three or six months have a different attitude about things than those who have been back for a year or two.

The objective of the presentations by the people I am going to call upon is to bring all of the workshops up to an even level. First I'd like to call on a lady in the front row who was on our National Advisory Council at the very beginning, the President of Radcliffe College, now on leave of absence in order to serve as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Mary Bunting.

**DR. BUNTING:** In our University Workshop this morning there were two questions that we agreed on, and put behind us. One of them was our belief that a great deal more outside of our classic Western civilization concepts needs to be taught in our colleges and universities. And we agreed that our educational system better get on with this just as rapidly as it can.

A second point we agreed on was that graduate studies should be designed by the candidate himself, defended before the right faculty committee, and worked on that way. It should be done by prescription and not conscription.

There are two problems that we are still struggling with, among many, and they're quite different. We're

going back to tackle the degree to which students should be involved in designing the curriculum as a whole, not their own particular course.

And the other thing which a great many people are deeply involved in is deciding where they want to go to work, and how they want to go to work, in this country, or wherever, for real, for their future.

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** Next, the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of International Organizations, Harlan Cleveland. Prior to coming to the Department he was Dean of the Maxwell School at Syracuse University.

**SECRETARY CLEVELAND:** I'm a neutralist. I don't have a card of either color. But I must say that in our International Service group the Volunteers didn't have any trouble making themselves heard. Our problem was to get a word in edgewise.

Sarge, I see that this, like other aspects of the Peace Corps' remarkable organization, is strictly spontaneous and unrehearsed. In our group we spent a certain amount of time trying to figure out what's so special about a Peace Corps Volunteer anyway. I would summarize the mood, if not the word that everybody used, as restlessness. A restlessness for change—a sense that it's not enough just to go into some organization, that the problem is to go into it as an agent of change.

We talked about foreign policy and the management of international affairs. The Volunteers, by and large, thought that the best part of American foreign policy was, curiously enough, the Peace Corps. And indeed they criticized almost every other element of American foreign policy and its agents abroad, and particularly the embassies, as being aloof. Then after the first shock had worn off, some of the other people in the room asked whether the Peace Corps Volunteers weren't pretty aloof themselves, and on that I think it was about a draw.

I think we all realized that there was something special about this experience, that it was deep inside the culture and work-ways of the society but also that it was narrow. In a village, or even in the suburb of a major town, you don't necessarily get a full sense of all the interactions between the United States and the country involved, let alone all the multi-lateral complexities reflected in the fact that you and I as Americans belong to 53 international organizations, and went in the last 24 months to more conferences than the United States Government attended in the entire history of the Republic from 1789 until the beginning of the UN system.

The synthesis was that perhaps the most important single advantage of American foreign policy, as it represents us, a diverse society, is that we are pluralistic, and that we can go into every other society in our confused and pluralistic way, at every level. For example, the Peace Corps Volunteer can be taken, although he is a government agent, not quite as a government agent. And voluntary organizations, even if three-quarters of the tab is one way or another being picked up by the United States Government, can go in as private organizations.

Khrushchev once turned up at a Leipzig trade fair and said that he wasn't there to represent the government of the USSR, he was there to represent business circles in the Soviet Union. Isn't that pathetic? Didn't he wish that it were possible for the Soviet Union, for any totalitarian state, to go abroad pluralistically? We have that advantage, and I think that if we came up with anything

this morning, it was a determination on the part of the returned Volunteers to express, explain, and use that advantage.

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** There is another thing, Secretary Cleveland, about the Peace Corps which is unusual, in addition to its spontaneity. Everybody in the Peace Corps feels at liberty to attack the Director of the Peace Corps at any moment of the night or the day. Luncheon was no exception. There was a young lady there, very articulate, very attractive, who twice accused me of doing something very heinous by having this Conference at all. She said that this Conference was a crutch, that Volunteers should come back to the United States and receive nothing in the way of assistance. She attacked me twice, and the last time she said, "I've got to say this, because it will be my last chance to get at you." Well, I want to give her another chance. Ruth Whitney was a Volunteer in Ghana. Come on up here, Ruth, and get at all of us.

**RUTH WHITNEY:** I didn't think you were going to give me the floor. I'm here to protest. When I heard of the Conference, I thought it was a bad idea. I haven't thoroughly changed my mind yet.

I'd like to contradict Mr. Shriver right now again. He stood up here in his first remarks and summarized what went on at luncheon, and he gave the ideas of Mr. Shriver and Dr. English. First, he gave examples in education, which was my group. Only what he gave were his ideas. Then he said that the second thing we dis-

cussed was that all Peace Corps Volunteers change. This was Dr. English's idea.

Now I'll give you a few of my ideas. What I thought was wrong with this Conference, and what I think is wrong with the Peace Corps, is that we are getting the idea—and Mr. Shriver is promoting it—that Peace Corps Volunteers are something special, and that therefore when we come back we deserve special privileges. There is the idea that some of the requirements necessary to get a job should be lowered. If you're in education maybe your two years teaching overseas should cancel the requirement of practice teaching experience in America. This question of special privileges was discussed in all the groups.

My idea is that we're not special. We had, let's say, a unique experience. But if there's one thing I learned overseas, it is that people are the same all over the world. We have returned—now we must do our job here. If you're a teacher you must go into the educational system and do what you can, in whatever way you can. "Help People to Help Themselves" is a motto of the Peace Corps. Well, we should be helping ourselves, and we shouldn't ask for any help from the Peace Corps.

**SARGENT SHRIVER:** I'll bet you Secretary Rusk has never been told off that way about his Department.

At this luncheon, Chris Weeks said that he divided his group into the Hawks and the Doves. Much to his surprise there weren't as many Hawks as he had expected. Most of the Volunteers were Doves. Well, after Ruth's talk, you can see that we had at least one Hawk in Dove's

"I've rarely found so much general disagreement on everything." **Sargent Shriver**



clothing. Chris Weeks is the Deputy Director of the Job Corps.

*CHRIS WEEKS:* I've seen Peace Corps Volunteers overseas in about six countries, and the thing that surprised me most today, was the lack of more rebels among the returnees.

In our discussion group the primary concern seemed to be, how do I fit back into the system as it is here in the United States. Maybe this is good. But I had expected that we would find more people who might come back here and ask more questions.

Perhaps Hawks and Doves is the wrong way to characterize it, but it's interesting to note that some of the other groups are composed almost exclusively of Hawks. So perhaps this is a commentary on teachers. But it may be a commentary on Peace Corps Volunteers. I have no way of knowing right now.

*SARGENT SHRIVER:* One of the organizations which made a substantial contribution to this Conference is the Carnegie Corporation. Mr. Peter Caws is here from that Corporation.

*PETER CAWS:* It's a little disturbing to be told that one is wasting one's money. Our discussions today have been characterized by a certain tenseness. The tension really stacks up as the Peace Corps versus the rest of the world. It also appears historically as youth versus age, and revolution versus conservatism, and various other forms.

The main problem, it seems to me, is communication. First, perhaps, it is a problem of identification, gathering a certain kind of knowledge, and then a problem of communication. There is a problem of identification of the returned Volunteer as an American citizen having had a special kind of experience—and I don't care what anybody says—from what I observe of returned Volunteers, they have had a special kind of experience. Part of the problem is that they don't quite know what this special kind of experience is.

Secretary Cleveland characterizes it as a kind of generalized restlessness. In our society this is one of the very valuable commodities indeed. But somehow it has to be articulated. Perhaps the groups could put together some statement, not an emotional statement, but a brief and succinct and direct statement as to what the Volunteer thinks has happened to him, what's different about him since he came back, and how this can be made of use to American society.

The Volunteer standing by himself, just shouting at American society doesn't get anywhere. He finds himself confronted—and this happened in our meeting this morning—by a kind of tolerant wisdom on the part of the Establishment. I have to hand it to the Volunteers, for the discussion did not remain calm, even on the part of the people on the side of the Establishment.

The Volunteer finds himself in need, however, not only of information about himself, but also of information about this Establishment which he has only just come to recognize is in his way—in a fashion which the government of the country where he's been perhaps wasn't. They were making special efforts to collaborate with him.

So perhaps what's needed is some kind of mechanism of communication between these two groups which might be some sort of organization of Volunteers. This seems popular in some places, unpopular in others. Such an

organization might not be national, not a Veterans of Foreign Non-Wars, but perhaps some localized set of loosely organized groups of people who get together and exert a collective pressure that individuals can't exert.

Certainly the suggestion that Mr. Shriver made should be taken seriously. The Volunteers should indicate to various segments of the Establishment what it is that they want to say, what they wish to see changed. The problem is one of conflict—which is a very good thing—and when 50,000 Volunteers are back it's going to be more of a conflict than it is now. It is a conflict not to be resolved simply by jumping up and down and shouting about the situation, but by trying to devise some intelligently constructed mechanism whereby the individual initiative of the Volunteer, which under the umbrella of the Peace Corps found an outlet, can also find an outlet in our society.

*SARGENT SHRIVER:* I'm a little bit distressed to make the next announcement because Ruth Whitney will attack me. I'm told that three public school systems—here in Washington, D.C., up in Syracuse, and in Philadelphia—have, as of today, made an extraordinary offer, which is to hire as many as one hundred returned Volunteers in the case of Washington, perhaps as many in the case of others, to teach in the public school systems of those cities, especially in those areas where the children are more disadvantaged than elsewhere. This is one of those special things that Ruth thinks shouldn't be done on behalf of Peace Corps Volunteers; so if it's really objectionable, I guess we could call it back. Mrs. Albert Greenfield will tell us a bit about this. She is on the Board of Education of Philadelphia and is on our National Advisory Council.

*MRS. GREENFIELD:* I don't want to sound corny, but we don't think we're doing you any favors. We desperately need teachers in all the large urban school systems. If we could work it, we could take as many as five or six hundred of you, and would love nothing better. We think that you have a special kind of motivation, which too many people do not have. It enables you to do the kind of job that so far we are failing to do properly in the slum areas of our major cities.

I want to make a passionate request that you sign up for these jobs and not look upon them as favors to you but as a continuation of the idealistic motives that drove you into the Peace Corps. We have come from Philadelphia, with people from the two major universities in the city, with people from our school system, and our State Department of Public Instruction, all of whom are ready to meet with you, in Room 1 in this building at noon tomorrow.

*SARGENT SHRIVER:* I'd like to make it clear at this moment that this Conference was not in any sense organized merely for the purpose of discussing jobs for Volunteers. The vast majority of Volunteers did not come here to discuss job opportunities. But this new opportunity in teaching here at home was such an unusual thing, and also, I think, beneficial to our country, that I wanted to announce it to all of you.

I'd like to close our plenary session with a word from another Green Card, a Volunteer who served in Tunisia as an architect. He tells me that architects are not known, except for Frank Lloyd Wright, for being very articulate. Myles Weintraub from Tunisia.

**MYLES WEINTRAUB:** I came here hoping that we might get around to talking about beautiful cities. It seems to me that the only way all of us can ever get to see cities which are more beautiful—and I don't mean just cities—is to get about the business of making a more beautiful society. A city, you know, is only a physical expression of a society.

So, let's go back to our committees and not talk about beautiful Peace Corps Volunteers, but talk about beautiful societies and how we get there.

## ***Volunteers' Special Meeting*** **—Sunday Noon**

*By the last day of the Conference, a half dozen or more different proposals for local or national associations of Volunteers had been mimeographed and distributed by interested Volunteers. The question had not been put on the agenda, but a number of Volunteers called a rump meeting Sunday noon. Several hundred attended. Some excerpts follow, with names given where identification was possible.*

**NEWELL FLATHER** (from Ghana and New York): I represent an organization that has already been formed called "The Organization for Returned Volunteers in New York City". As we see it, this association will not dominate an individual, but give him a much broader base from which to act. It is emphatically voluntary. This is implicit in the name which eliminates the name *Peace Corps*.

This association has been formed. Twenty-two of us did meet in New York. Two meetings have taken place. Here at the Washington Conference, just from personal acquaintances and incidental meetings, its size has doubled from 22 to about 45.

We do not plan for it to be exclusive. If there are people from Crossroads Africa who would like to join, they're welcome. Persons who have not been abroad at all, but feel that they would enjoy sharing ideas with Volunteers are welcome.

**MARIAN ZEITLIN** (from Ghana and New York): Such local organizations could inform returned Volunteers about the structure of their community.

Volunteers, who were junior experts abroad, come back and really don't know anything about the power structure of their community.

A returned Volunteers' association could invite people from the Department of Welfare to explain what's going on in that field. It could invite people from various parts

of the city government, or from a nearby university—a sociologist who knows the community's problems. This would help to orient Volunteers coming into the community.

A second important function is to greet foreign visitors, particularly visitors who come from the areas where we served. We're uniquely equipped to welcome people from these countries. However, we often don't know where these people are; we're not in contact. An association could help us do that.

It could also have Volunteers recently returned from a country talk to Volunteers who left that country two or three years before, and update them on what's going on. Most of us would be interested five years from now, if not immediately.

**DICK SHARPE** (from Ethiopia and Boston): We're having a meeting next Saturday to decide what we want to do in Boston. We've been thinking of an organization which we will call Contact. It's not a Peace Corps alumni association. We don't think that type of organization is desirable or needed. We do think that there is a desire and a need to bring together many of the resources which we have in our communities, on college campuses, and among Volunteers to produce an impact on the American community—to discuss the general theme, "A Time of Change," this terrific process of transition of developing countries, in which two-thirds of the world's population is being jolted into modernity.

"I would summarize the mood . . . as restlessness, a restlessness for change." **Harlan Cleveland**



Some of our activities would be giving speeches, not just Peace Corps Volunteers, but perhaps a Volunteer and a foreign student or someone else who's been overseas; organizing forums, seminars, even large assemblies with a major speaker; getting together with AFL-CIO organizations, with American Foreign Policy Associations in the local community; producing a meaningful program in the community. What's needed is a very loosely formed but powerful consolidation of all these resources. And we think that Contact is the answer.

**VOLUNTEER:** We have forgotten the purpose of this Conference—that we reintegrate and not become another sore thumb in society, which we are already.

On my campus we have a program called *CAMP—Campus Action for Mountain Progress*. It includes everybody—me as well as the next Volunteer and any student that would like to work in it. It's for everyone. Nor does it have any connotations of Peace Corps.

I recommend that instead of forming another exclusive organization, we go back to our colleges or whatever we are in and join our cosmopolitan clubs, join our foreign student organizations, make them stronger, be one of them, and not stick out like sore thumbs.

**JIM PHILLIPS (from Ethiopia and New York):** If this is merely a social organization, I have no objection. But if it's going to be a pressure group or is going to make statements in specific areas, I don't want to have to stand up and say, "Why yes, I'm a Volunteer from New York, but I'm not a member of this group and I don't really understand what they're talking about."

There are so many organizations we can join, doing just the work you will be doing.

**DICK SHARPE:** In the Boston area most of the existing organizations aim at a very special clientele—the upper-middle class professionals. What is necessary for a better understanding of the problems of the world is to get the little guy interested. The little guy isn't going to start thinking about Foreign Policy Associations, but if you can hit him in meaningful ways like a speech to the PTA, you're going to make a difference.

**A VOLUNTEER:** When we joined the Peace Corps we thought we were going out to do something by ourselves. We weren't going to become a part of a pressure group with a national headquarters. We would come back and join maybe the PTA, but we would work alone.

**ANOTHER VOLUNTEER:** It says on this paper about the New York group: "To provide a forum for the discussion and dissemination of Volunteers' views on issues of national importance."

Now if you allege that you're speaking for the Volunteers, you will not suggest that you're speaking for just 22 or 45 Volunteers. "Peace Corps" is like a brand name. You've appropriated something that we've all accomplished. I didn't join the Peace Corps to have 45 or 22 or any number of people express my views. If I want to express them, I'd just as soon express them myself.

What's happened here is that those who want to start this organization are somewhat more organized, as always, than those who don't want to start an organization. The rest of us come to Washington ostensibly to hear Hubert Humphrey and we find that there's a *fait accompli*. A small group has come and started this kind

of organization and then says they're going to disseminate our views.

**MARIAN ZEITLIN:** It sounds as if you would want to deny our freedom to form organizations. If you had been listening, it's already been said twice that the words Peace Corps were not in the name of the association—it's "Organization of Returned Volunteers." [*Shouted objections from floor to "Volunteer" in title.*] Well, "Volunteers" doesn't necessarily mean Peace Corps Volunteers. This is a new group that's forming. This has nothing to do with you if you don't want to have anything to do with it.

**ANOTHER VOLUNTEER:** I ask that we all be cautious. The very fact that we are discussing local organizations here in Washington while we are all together from different localities is an indication that these are not going to remain local organizations. They could be discussed in New York City if you want to discuss organizing there on a local level.

It is very naive to assume that we can organize and not have some political repercussions. If we want to form new organizations then let us do so, outside of this Conference, and let us do so without even indicating that this is something being done by the Peace Corps.

**VOLUNTEER:** I am not an organization man, but I do feel that this anti-organization sentiment is a minor point when I remember that Volunteers generally are concerned with social justice. Organizations such as these proposed will be concerned primarily with social justice.

I attended a Government Workshop which recommended strongly that Volunteers associate themselves with local groups which actively represent the interests of the disadvantaged, who often do not have a voice in local government. If those organizations, whether in New York or Boston or wherever, reflect the concerns of our society, as well as the international society, I will support them all the way. What we are interested in is not whether the name "Volunteer" is in the organization or not, but whether it is reflecting our desires for social welfare and social justice.

**VOLUNTEER:** We're concentrating too much on the political aspects. I'd like to ask those who are so vociferous in speaking against any sort of organization because of fear that it would speak for them: How would they meet these problems which have not been met in come communities—of meeting foreign visitors and so on? How do you do this if there's no organization? It is a wonderful idea for Volunteers to form the nucleus of such an organization.

**VOLUNTEER:** There is a lot of unfinished business in this country. Nobody can object to organizing a local organization to meet these needs. What we object to is trying to place ineffably the Peace Corps stamp of approval on all these activities. There is a big difference between Peace Corps Volunteers forming an organization *qua* Volunteers and just forming the nucleus. As far as local action is concerned, the proper place to begin organizing is not here in Washington in the State Department Auditorium where a meeting of Peace Corps Volunteers is going on, but in your local communities. And if any of you have the desire to do it, I wish you all the good luck in the world.

**ROD MILLER** (from Thailand and Washington, D.C.): It strikes me that this is a most curious conclave. I understood that this was a group of people who were getting together to talk about whether they wanted to organize or not. It seems that the prime order of business is to disband.

I don't understand the vociferous applause about not organizing. I disagree completely that the elimination of the words "Peace Corps" is crucial. Inevitably, my friend, somebody is going to form an organization and is going to use the words "Peace Corps." Rest assured. But I don't think that you're to be called upon at every moment to explain that this group doesn't speak for you. I am a young American. I am also for freedom. But I do not feel called upon at every hand to explain that the Young Americans for Freedom don't speak for me.

The idea of joining together here to form an organization strikes me as infinitely sensible, since this is the one opportunity that we will probably have to get all of this group of joiners and non-joiners together.

Those who want to join are the people who belong here. Those who don't want to join should go get unjoined somewhere. It's fine for you to share admonitions, not to misuse, not to misrepresent, not to run dope—I think that guy charged with running dope did a great deal of damage—but I don't feel called upon to explain that I don't run dope.

"Those who are committed to peace must be prepared to protect it." **Dean Rusk**



**BOB GODINO** (from the Dominican Republic and Boston): I'd like to join a group socially. I haven't many contacts with other Peace Corps Volunteers in Boston. I'd like an occasional party with them.

**VOLUNTEER**: As Volunteers, none of us feel that we would want to take on any social action or public information project by ourselves. We worked overseas with people. We never thought we were Jesus Christ, and I don't think we should now—not collectively with the apostles or otherwise.

We are a society of joiners and I would not go against some type of informal organization which wanted to exchange information, which wanted to see whether existing problems were being met, and if not, then to endeavor to work through existing groups, or to start a new group which would not just be Peace Corps Volunteers but would incorporate a lot of other people.

We should challenge the existing groups. We should be yeast within the body politic.

**DICK SHARPE**: By God, it's about time you learn that we live in a political system in this country. All we want to do is make people aware, and then they are the pressure group for whatever they believe after they know the facts. All we're trying to do is to expose these people to a new world which we see.

**MAURA SMITH** (Ethiopia and Pennsylvania): Does anyone want a national organization? No! So, if you want a local organization, get together yourselves. You don't have to sit here and argue. If you want sixteen organizations in the city doing sixteen different things, fine and dandy. What are you doing here? If it's local, it's local.

## ***Final Plenary Session***

### ***—Sunday Afternoon***

**ERNIE FOX**: As an ex-Volunteer who was diverted from picking oranges in California to work for the past five weeks on this Conference, I've been asked to chair this last session at which we present the reports.

First, Mr. Shriver, an old friend, would like to introduce a very good friend of the Peace Corps.

**SARGENT SHRIVER**: Secretary of State Rusk was President of the Rockefeller Foundation where he had worldwide responsibilities for education. Then he was Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East. He was Phi Beta Kappa from Georgia, and a Rhodes Scholar.

His work in the private area made him particularly sensitive to the potentialities of the Peace Corps. He was one of two or three people who talked to President Kennedy on a number of occasions, both before the inauguration and afterward, encouraging him to create a Peace Corps as one of the first steps in his new administration.

So, Dean Rusk is one of the principal architects of the Peace Corps. It was he who coined the perceptive phrase which we have repeated many, many times: "To make the Peace Corps an instrument of foreign policy would be to rob it of its contribution to foreign policy." This

profound comment became one of the principal columns in the structure of the Peace Corps. It has served us on many occasions in talking to foreign peoples about the nature of the Peace Corps and also in explaining the Peace Corps to the American people.

For his help in bringing the Peace Corps into existence, for his steadfast and continuing interest in our operation, and for his great contributions to our success, I am pleased and honored to present Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State.

**SECRETARY RUSK:** There are many reasons why I want to express my appreciation and respect for the Peace Corps. The brilliant and inspiring leadership of Sarge Shriver is, of course, at the forefront of my mind. But the dedicated service of the Peace Corps throughout the world echoes back to me through discussions with every Foreign Minister of every country in which you have been serving.

One important element in our relations with the rest of the world is the reflection of the interest in and the attitudes of the American people towards the ordinary people in other countries. We deliberately did not catch you up in the day-by-day and week-by-week problems of foreign policy. The relations between the American people and peoples of other countries are not channeled just through the problems which governments have with each other. But I hope very much that we can enlist a considerable number of you in our own work in the future.

I can assure you, if you apply for the Foreign Service, that your experience in the Peace Corps will be a plus

"The Peace Corps in Panama means more than the tens of millions of dollars the U.S. Government has invested in Panama." **Jack Hood Vaughn**



with respect to others who may be applying for that Service. It is one of the greatest professions, the second oldest profession. It carries in its hands the issues of war and peace and the future of mankind—never so much as today. We need the best talents, the deepest understanding, the deepest dedication, and the greatest abilities which we can possibly recruit. So we hope that a great many of you will express an interest in the many opportunities for official service with us in the years to come.

I would like to leave with you just one thought. I graduated from college in the year that Manchuria was seized. It was only ten years from the seizure of Manchuria until the outbreak of World War II for us at Pearl Harbor. I was a college teacher when Czechoslovakia was occupied and it was less than two years between that event and the outbreak of World War II in Western Europe. During those years between the wars there were very strong sentiments for peace, but not always a recognition of what peace requires. I remember at the beginning of World War II a bulletin from the British Ministry of Information in which Lord Russell, Maud Royden, C. E. M. Joad, and others who had led the movement for disarmament and peace in between the wars announced to members of my generation, "Of course this man Hitler is different. Therefore chaps, you fellows get out there and have a go at him."

The organization of peace requires effort. Those who are committed to peace must be prepared to protect it. Aggression allowed to continue feeds upon itself. Appetites grow and nothing is at the end of that trail except catastrophe.

One thing that sustains me and sustains people in many parts of the world is a dramatic development of a historical fact. After World War II, the United States, with almost literally unimaginable power, power on such a scale that its application could not be literally conceived by mind of man—this unimaginable power of the United States was committed to the decent purposes of the American people. Perhaps we have to revisit Lord Acton, who said that power tends to corrupt, because I am deeply convinced that power has not corrupted the American people. Their purposes have remained simple and decent: to organize a tolerable world community, with its members living at peace with their neighbors, settling their disputes by peaceful means; getting on with the great humane purposes of the human race—human rights, and economic and social development, all those things to which we have made massive contributions in this post-war period.

These simple purposes of the American people are at the heart of our policy with respect to the rest of the world today. We don't believe men ought to be pushed around too much. We are committed to the notion of freedom. We find that this notion of freedom is the most powerful, explosive, and dynamic force in the world today. We don't believe that disease and misery and poverty are ordained by providence, but are problems which men can do something about.

The appetite of the aggressor remains a problem. It changes from time to time. We saw it with Hitler. We saw it with a certain militant group in Japan. We have seen it in the post-war period. We see it now in the militancy and harshness of the program of world revolution sponsored by Peking that has created enormous problems even in the Communist world quite apart from problems it creates with the free world.

But don't lose your confidence in the basic purposes of the American people—or your confidence in the fact that these are the purposes that mold and guide and animate the Government of the United States. For, in these purposes of our people, you have represented us abroad brilliantly, modestly, sympathetically and with understanding. The responses that we have had from all over the world are a great tribute to what you have done.

I hope all of you will find ways to build upon that experience in the Foreign Service, in government, in universities, in private life, and not forget the fact that you have been privileged to be in contact with the most important thing there is—the great humane tradition of the human race, trying to find answers to human problems with reason and sympathy and understanding.

Those are the things which will carry us through days of peril. Those are the things that represent the grandeur of the American spirit and those are the things that tie us to people in all parts of the world even though week to week we may have our difficulties.

Thank you very much for coming.

**ERNIE FOX:** We have among the Green Cards two Ambassadors, one you've already met, another we shall hear from.

We've already introduced Frank Williams who was Director of the African Region with the Peace Corps and is now United States Ambassador to the United Nations for Economic and Social Affairs.

Another Green Card was the Director for Latin America for the Peace Corps. He has been, for the past ten months, Ambassador to Panama and just returned yesterday to become the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and Coordinator for the Alliance for Progress—Ambassador Jack Vaughn.

**AMBASSADOR VAUGHN:** I have been looking forward to this chance to say hello and shake your hand and to congratulate you. I tend now to congratulate people who have been Peace Corps Volunteers in a slightly different way than when I was a Peace Corps bureaucrat. I feel, in all sincerity, that the Peace Corps operation in Panama means more to us, to you as taxpayers and to our foreign policy, than all the tens of millions of dollars that the United States Government has invested in Panama through construction, technical grants and related projects under the Alliance for Progress and predecessor agencies.

Perhaps there is a different situation in Panama where we tended to take each other for granted for too long. In married life and in political life, it is dangerous to take each other for granted. So the situation was ideal for Peace Corps intervention.

The Peace Corps has profound political merit as a force for integration. When DeGaulle returned from his South American trip, he said he was surprised how little South Americans knew each other. They knew the United States better than they did their next door neighbor. I have been surprised with how little the Foreign Service Officer and the AID and USIA technicians know of the countries in which they serve. The Peace Corps Volunteer works very effectively as an integrationist, putting in contact, for the first time, people who haven't known each other: the middle class with the upper class and the Salvadorian with the Costa Rican and the city dweller with the rural dweller. This is a major contribution and

I have seen this happen hundreds of times.

We have a lot to accomplish in Latin America in the coming months and years. I don't think we can accomplish any of it unless there is improved communication between Latins themselves and between classes. I see this as the stellar role of the Peace Corps, the superb role that the Volunteers played in the country where I have been accredited for the past ten months.

Being now somewhat on the other side—but I want you to know that I will never be on the other side—I have found it easier to communicate with Peace Corps Volunteers and staff than with any other group. Recently, I have had people refuse to call me by my first name: I have never had that problem with a Peace Corps Volunteer.

**ERNIE FOX:** Thank you—Jack. Note that is two Green Cards out of 102 Ambassadors. We have only 100 to go. Now we have a brief announcement.

**MARY SEBERGER:** Almost all of us were overseas when our beloved President was killed. Many of us have not yet made the pilgrimage to his grave. At the end of this meeting some of us are going and we would like you to go with us.

**ERNIE FOX:** Now I would like Roger Landrum to say a word on the meeting of the Green Cards at noon today.

**ROGER LANDRUM:** Someone construed my Friday night speech-making as an ability to moderate a den of lions and asked me to chair a meeting which was held voluntarily in this room for Volunteers interested in an association—either a national association or associations at the local level. We had something of a meeting.

There was an honest give and take. If it led to any conclusion, it was that people are quite free to organize themselves into associations, but that they should not use the Peace Corps name.

The main purpose for these associations would be to serve their communities in the same way that Volunteers try to serve overseas—that is, to participate in local social service or community action programs or to identify new programs or new lines of action and move in those areas.

The matter of a national organization or federation was not dealt with at any length. The sentiment seemed to be that the time was not right and that if such a federation of local or regional associations should take place it should evolve from the local associations and not be imposed in any way.

**ERNIE FOX:** Now we will hear short reports by representatives from each of the workshop topics. Fortunately, we have both Green and Orange as the Spokesmen. Let me say, on behalf of the Green Cards, that the Orange have been very welcome here—they have been very helpful. (*Strong Applause.*)

To report on the Workshops on Local Communities, Mr. Elmo Roper.

*Presented here are excerpts from the oral presentations. For the written Workshop Reports, see page 19.*

**ELMO ROPER:** One thing was apparent in all four Local Community sections there is a real desire to serve on the part of the returned Volunteers. For the most part, they returned to a society they are determined to make a

better society by active cooperation with other like-minded people whether they were in or out of the Peace Corps.

Another finding was that the Volunteers didn't seem to be particularly eager to focus their attention on long-range goals—what America might be like ten, twenty or thirty years from now. They indicated a preference for concentrating on their immediate re-entry problems and on the problems facing American society today.

The Conference is regarded to be in part inspirational and in part helpful in focusing attention on opportunities for service—and less helpful in outlining any blueprints on how those opportunities for service might be seized. I have the feeling that most of this inspiration and helpfulness came about as the result of the interaction between the returned Peace Corps people themselves.

There certainly is an awareness on the part of the groups that met in the Local Community Workshops that America's problems are large and complex. In fact they are as broad as America is broad. The Volunteers gave every indication that they want to bring their own expertise to bear in any way they can. They recognize the need for guidance but they make it perfectly clear that they prefer to seek this guidance themselves rather than have it thrust on them. They also want to make it perfectly clear that they are citizens first and returned Peace Corps Volunteers only incidentally.

The discussions reflected the returned Volunteers' need to discover America as they had discovered themselves. And besides this very difficult and personal discovery,

"... if you bake bread with indifference, you bake a bitter bread that feeds but half a man's hunger." **Dr. Bennetta Washington**



there was a sense of the need to learn more about community problems and particularly how to get themselves into a position to help solve those problems.

How to get started was discussed a great deal. There is a great diversity of talents and interests among the returned Volunteers and there was a general agreement that each Volunteer had to work out for himself how best he can serve. Full-time social service work or part-time? This was an individual decision. While each of the Volunteers accepts the fact that he needs to learn more and particularly learn more about his community and the centers of established influence and authority within that community, there was always recurring the theme, "I want to do it myself. I want to find my own sources for this."

The discussions reflected a need for political awareness and a recognition of the very vital role that politics plays in change and in making the society better than it is now. There was a strong sense, however, that it would be a mistake for the Volunteers as Volunteers to attempt to form a partisan political group.

There was a feeling that the returned Volunteers have been led to expect that they would enjoy a unique and privileged position in the competition for jobs and other opportunities. There was a feeling that this should be discouraged, because the Volunteers are not and should not be and are not asking to be special citizens in any sense of the word.

There were more suggestions made in the sessions I chaired than I could have on all these three pieces of paper.

*For the recommendations of the Local Communities Workshops, see page 19.*

Now if I may have a personal word. We heard a lot in all these conferences about the Establishment and the problems that the Establishment posed to idealistic young people who wanted to change the social order for the better. I suppose I should admit that I am at least a second class citizen of the Establishment. I'd like to say that of all the groups I've met recently, there is none I would rather see batter down the walls of that Establishment than the group I had the pleasure of working with for the last three days.

**ERNIE FOX:** To report on the Workshops on Primary and Secondary Schools, Dr. Bennetta Washington, the Director of the Women's Training Centers for the Job Corps.

**DR. BENNETTA WASHINGTON:** I don't know whether I'm Orange or Green. I somehow dislike labels. I think we overcame labels in the primary and secondary education groups because we realized that we have a massive job ahead of us. It is not a time to divide ourselves but rather a time for us to all come together and get to work.

Many in the groups felt a very strong dissatisfaction with certain aspects, should I say, of the Establishment or of the educational profession. All agreed that returned Volunteers should continue to play the catalytic role at home that they have assumed overseas.

I heard one story that was particularly important. One

of the returned Volunteers said that when she left for Nigeria the only thing she knew about her home community was the location of the fire station. When she came back she was well aware of all the community problems. This sense of community is something that we should nurture, cherish, and put to work in the school room.

*For the recommendations of the Primary and Secondary Schools Workshops, see page 23.*

May I make my own point here, for fear we leave this Conference equating certification with great teachers. I go one hundred percent with you in working for certification, but please let us not think these are one and the same. We are searching for great teachers, and we think you are a reservoir of great teachers.

There are 26 returned Peace Corps Volunteers that have worked for me. I do not believe that they themselves know what a catalyst for change they were in the Cardozo community. They really made education come alive for students who might not otherwise have had this opportunity. And whenever I think of them and the frustrations of their work, I think about what Gibran said and how they typify this, because they made their love visible to those students at Cardozo High School.

Work is love made visible. If you cannot work with joy but only with distaste, perhaps you should sit at the gate of the temple and take alms of those who work with joy. For if you bake bread with indifference, you bake a bitter bread that feeds but half a man's hunger. I think that you are the reservoir that's going to make us not have to have so many bitter children in our country.

**ERNIE FOX:** To report on the Foreign Students Workshops, Joe Adair, of Kansas and Ethiopia.

**JOE ADAIR:** This is an attempt, based on my best count this morning, to represent approximately 63 different viewpoints.

Chong Pak was an international student. Apparently, he encountered some frustrations, some disappointments, some disillusionment in the face of American ignorance about the world at large, because he contributed an article to *The Saturday Review* built around the premise that America would be much better off with uneducated friends than with educated foes. There is inherent in the presence of international students in our country some implied responsibility on our part to minimize those frustrations and those disappointments. There are institutions in this country committed to a continuing international student program. There are places where we can assist, places where we can supplement their activities. Possibly we can even create.

The foreign student program has two objectives: first, simply to provide specific training for the individual; second, to promote international understanding.

But there are obstacles: language; the insensitivity of our population towards other peoples; occasionally inept selection; the foreign student's prior conceptions which indeed may be misconceptions; his lack of orientation before he comes here; the inadequacy of the background of some foreign students; and the non-relatedness and the

non-applicability of his academic pursuits to realities at his home. Someone even mentioned different sexual expectations, and then we haggled whether or not that simply shouldn't be lumped in with language.

Returned Volunteers, because of their interest, because of their motivations and because of their comfort with people of other countries and their understanding of the difficulties that are involved in living within another culture, are in a unique position to help overcome these obstacles.

*For the recommendations of the Foreign Students Workshops, see page 25.*

We spent as much time as we could on the idea of a Reverse Peace Corps. May I remind you that our own Peace Corps has three goals: to provide manpower where it is needed and requested; to give Americans an opportunity to immerse themselves in a foreign society, to work there and learn to know that culture; and finally, the reverse of that, to give other people an opportunity to know us. Turn this around and simply bring foreigners here and pursue the same goals, and we believe we would have a program of value.

We couldn't agree on implementation; we couldn't even agree to call it the Reverse Peace Corps. This is something we want to continue to discuss.

Understanding is our goal, but understanding implies involvement.

Our involvement is vital to the success of the program of 80,000 international students currently studying in the United States of America.

**ERNIE FOX:** To report on the two Government Workshops, a Volunteer from California and the Philippines, Dick Irish.

**DICK IRISH:** Before I went in the Peace Corps, I used to sell stocks and bonds, believe it or not. We had something we called the disclaimer. Before you ever sold anybody anything, you said, "Now you realize this piece of stock might appreciate in value or it might depreciate in value." A disclaimer now isn't necessary. In the government group, with all those political scientists, it is impossible to represent all the ideas and all the passions and all the unexpressed ideas and unexpressed passions. You don't need a reporter, you need a seer or a saint or a prophet, and I will just try to do my very best.

First of all, both groups admitted that Volunteers could contribute something to government. We tried to identify what, and we finally figured it out. We called it the X-Factor. After we identified this X-Factor, we wondered how could we get this ex-Volunteer with an X-Factor a policy-level job.

The very fashionable word was "base"—you needed a "base" to do this or that. If you've come into the government as a civil servant at my echelon, for example, you are not likely to make policy. But if you have this base, you can come into the government through the back door. Nobody came out and said this, but what they really meant was you needed an economic base. You needed an income while you were formulating and applying these great ideas. If you couldn't create this base, then you

would have to accept the bureaucratic jungle and try to work in it from underground and change it—like we did as agents of change overseas.

*For the recommendations of the Government Workshops, see page 27.*

There was a strong feeling in one group that this Conference is too much oriented toward America, toward domestic purposes, and it should be involved more as all of you have been in international ways, such as helping foreign students and in world affairs. We should not change our character overnight to become VISTA Volunteers when we are ex-Peace Corps *International* Volunteers.

Implicit in everything that we said is this last point. In addition to being ex-Volunteers, we are all citizens. Those of you who are working with the poor, working in the slum districts, in trying to help this country get on the move, those of you who are active in world affairs councils, and in politics, those of you who are actually doing these things have solved the problems that we raised. Action, participation, involvement, commitment was the reason that we went into the Peace Corps. To come here and confer on whether we should involve ourselves at home was a little beside the point. For those of you who are doing this and are not in Washington like me

"We wondered how could we get this ex-Volunteer with an X-Factor a policy-level job." **Dick Irish**



talking about it; who are actually within your own orbit trying to make a better world, I say to you that all the country lanes and all the million streets of America bear your name.

**ERNIE FOX:** Now to report on the three Colleges and Universities Workshops, Sister Jacqueline Grennan of Webster College, St. Louis:

**SISTER JACQUELINE:** I may have been chosen because I am the only one who carries the vestige of a foreign costume.

The three groups focusing on higher education, somewhat similarly organized and given the same theme, show some general outcomes but also very specific directions as groups and as individuals. No individual perception and no written report can or should encompass these directions. What I can see is, at best, a pattern of individual insights.

There was a great discussion in all three meetings about whether the focus of inquiry should center on what the individual Peace Corps Volunteer could do inside the college or university, or whether the focus should be on what the total Peace Corps learning experience had to say to the learning about learning in the United States of America—in our complicated and sometimes very, very rigid college and university structure. I think that the great weight of the Conference probably went on the latter with some input from the former.

The Volunteers, for the most part, saw their personal experiences as magnificent opportunities to discover their own identity and autonomy in their specific tasks abroad. As one girl put it, "To impose upon myself my own constraints, to decide how much I would demand and claim"—and in the claiming she often demanded less. It was, for many Volunteers, the first intense opportunity to structure their own experience, to integrate their developing knowledge and developing inquiries as naive researchers in an alien laboratory.

What a terrible kind of corrective to the whole formal process of education, as we look it square in the face, that those of you who have been through 12 and 14 and 16 and 18 years of formal education could still say that this was your first opportunity to structure your own inquiry and learning!

At the basic level of their own projects they were permitted, even constrained, by their environmental conditions to learn to learn—to ask questions, to make decisions, to evaluate developments and to modify their own decisions. They were often frustrated by communication blocks on local or on regional and national levels, but their basic personal involvement was an intense learning experience for which they were personally responsible.

They returned to our now somewhat alien complex of higher education in the United States, asking of themselves and of the universities: "What is knowledge for? What is it for to me? What is my obligation once I have acquired knowledge or as I am seeking it?"

The Orange Cards are convinced that, as a group of individuals, the Green Cards show an intense conviction that the personal acquisition of knowledge is for the service of mankind—mankind in the international community.

The communication problem between the Volunteers and the Peace Corps in Washington indicates there is a

need for definition of freedom and responsibility, and real and effective systems for communication and feedback.

Perhaps the feedback issue is most critical of all. In this sense the Peace Corps, admittedly the most democratic of government agencies, and in most of our opinions more democratic than highly stratified institutions of higher education, has much to share with higher education as it, the Peace Corps, hopefully continues to learn the art of this kind of communication and feedback in the necessarily growing complexity of any developing institution.

Recent events at Berkeley and elsewhere point up the imperative of this kind of dialogue, triologue, multilogue—the communication, the sharing in a common task—sought by Peace Corps Volunteers and by all concerned students and faculty. Students and faculty and even some who are administrators want to work together to define causes, living conditions, an environment that is relevant to the world at large—to define major goals and ways to work toward these—to create, within the university and outside the university, laboratories for volunteer involvement.

One group specifically outlined areas of work and training which must be included for this time in all learning experience. We must be concerned with the world community point of view, with the causes of war and peace, with the uses of leisure, with employment in all of its implications from elementary education to job acquirement, with legal justice, discrimination against the poor, urbanization, child rearing and education, with academic freedom.

There was a generally shared conviction that the Peace Corps learning experience shouts out that knowledge is not an accumulation of facts or a demonstration of Ph.D. expertise, but a deepening of insight and power to synthesize in new situations, whether they be abroad or next door.

In this sense the good learning experience, Peace Corps or otherwise, liberates a man or woman to unify knowledge by intense involvement in a deep experience rather than by surface extension of superficial facts. Experiential learning has no real substitute.

The college and university campus has room and urgent need for vitality of students and faculty, whether you be 25-year-old learners or 55-year-old learners, probers in this investigation, who go about changing, modifying the environment in their way.

We are aware of the threat involved to the institutions, and to the persons within the institutions, by intensifying this kind of responsible innovation. The rigidity of closure to innovation is often in proportion to the threat to the individual person or the vested interest of the institution. However, the degree of effectiveness of the sometimes chaotic interchange of this Conference may be caught up in the statement of a mid-west Orange Card university president who stated this morning his realization of the imperative of increasing his "risk involvement"—of venturing forth his institution to do some new things strangely.

In this sense, the Conference discussion groups may be models for college and university seminars where learners, some of them called students, some of them called professors, some of them called administrators, but learners, go on probing together the potential of the university, of the local and world community, of the future of man.

And as long as people have indulged in some personal adaptations, I would like to say that I come to you as a person who, at I hope young middle age, lives within the complexes of rigid institutions, one called a religious order, one called the Roman Catholic Church, one called the establishment of higher education—that I live within them lyrically at age 38 with my eyes wide open, saying that I want only to be a worldly nun because it's the only place in which I can operate, knowing that I have to learn the tactics of the Roman Catholic Church, knowing that I have to learn the tactics of the world community, precisely because I love all three. And in loving them I am committed to be responsibly important in the evolution of these three institutions and every other institution that concerns the human condition.

In this sense, the Peace Corps is, for some of us within our peculiar kind of institution, a ray of new hope. Because we are saying within our institutions, not only by word but by deed, that any institution is only as great as the initiative and highly personal involvement, the creative responsibility of each of the individuals within it—not only within its own vested interest kind of contribution but by the personal investment of the people in this group to the great, great society in all its needs.

*For the recommendations of the Colleges and Universities Workshops, see page 31.*

**ERNIE FOX:** To report on the International Services Workshops, Tom Scanlon, a Volunteer from Pennsylvania and Chile.

**TOM SCANLON:** We had four groups and there was a wealth of ideas. The report went through a process of three distillations: first, by the reporter for each group; second, by a session with all the groups represented; finally, they left me in a room alone for half an hour. At about five of two, someone knocked on the door with three great big file folders and said, "I have more for you."

*For the recommendations of the International Service Workshops, see page 32.*

Near the end of our discussions, we gave some consideration to journalism as a way to do international service and inform the American people at the same time. We leave it to you to explore further the possibilities of journalism—of international journalism—as a career for Volunteers.

Half the Peace Corps Volunteers in our discussion didn't decide to go into international service as a career until they were overseas. Why didn't they think of it before? We concluded that there's not enough interest, not enough enthusiasm in American society to inspire and interest young people with these talents to go into international service. So every Peace Corps Volunteer, because he's had the experience, really has a duty to perform this most vital of all functions. It is international service, but along educational lines, back in his own community.

We invite all of you to join us in this basic of all tasks—educating the American people.



"I have a long list of recommendations. If they are not accepted, the whole economy might be paralyzed." **Dave Danielson**—Labor Workshop Report

"There were more revolutionaries with Orange Cards."  
—**Newton Minow**



I was asked by someone who came out of the audience to make one further comment. I'm sure he represents a majority view. I don't know anyone who has had the opportunity we've had to sit down with so many different professionals from so many parts of the United States. We are very, very appreciative and happy to have had this opportunity. It is one we will never forget.

**ERNIE FOX:** To report on Labor, Dave Danielson, Volunteer from Massachusetts and Nigeria.

**DAVE DANIELSON:** I was one of a group of Volunteers who were privileged to meet with the Labor Workshop. I think the representatives of organized labor with whom we met were happy that everyone in the United States was not as difficult to organize as we are. Otherwise there might not be a labor movement. We met with men who are accustomed to sitting down at a table and not getting up until something has been accomplished. So I have come to you bearing a long list of recommendations. If they are not accepted, the whole economy might be paralyzed.

*For the recommendations of the Labor Workshop, see page 35.*

I would like to stress one point which is perhaps the real point of this whole Conference: that the problems of the labor unions are the problems of society as a whole. Whenever we said the unions aren't doing this, the comeback was, "Is Congress doing this?" Whenever we said the unions aren't working strong enough for civil rights, the comeback was, "Are you working strong enough for civil rights?" Just as our Vice President said Friday night, the unions, like the Congress, can only be a mirror of society as a whole.

So, we discussed how the Volunteer can work in community action to get rid of the spots in the mirror. One thing you can do is speak to the PTA. You can join a volunteer association. But the one thing you must not do is to lose faith in America, to lose faith in its institutions.

When the Secretary of State was speaking earlier today, he said, "we must not lose our confidence in the purposes of the American people." That is a vital statement. We have come back from overseas, the scales are off our eyes, we feel that we are special because we have had a special experience. I contend that we are not special citizens, but we must resolve to be active, informed and good citizens.

**ERNIE FOX:** Finally, to report on the Business Workshops, the former Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Mr. Newton Minow.

**NEWTON MINOW:** Years ago, Sarge used to invite me to South Bend for a Notre Dame football game. Now I find that I am the first Jewish trustee of Notre Dame. Sister Jacqueline, that will show you how worldly that institution is becoming.

Each reporter, I think, feels a little like Colonel Lindberg when he arrived in Paris after his great flight. He was met at the airport and people said to him, "Colonel Lindberg, what a magnificent achievement that you flew across the Atlantic all alone." He is reported to have said, "It would have been greater if I had done it with a

committee." After the last few days, you know what he meant.

In our groups talking about business, we did, however, reach one central and fundamental theme, and that is that American business has available, through the experience of the Peace Corps, an important resource of information about conditions and attitudes overseas. The Peace Corps Volunteer should be utilized by business to a far greater extent than he is, as part of the American process of self-education to the needs of a changing and increasingly dangerous world.

Incidentally, we found very few, if any, revolutionaries in our group among the Green Cards. There were more revolutionaries with Orange Cards. You may be interested in the observation of one Volunteer, Sarge, who said that when he started in college he was a Socialist; when he emerged, a Democrat; and after his Peace Corps service, a Republican.

I might add, one of our Orange Card businessmen conducted a market survey among the Volunteers to find out if it was really true that the Volunteers preferred beer to whiskey. Our conclusion is that this is a misguided myth.

*For the recommendations of the Business Workshops, see page 38.*

One group felt—and this is very important and very controversial—that the draft was presently a deterrent for a Peace Corps Volunteer finding a job. On this, the businessmen on one panel (the other panel did not discuss it) felt unanimously that we should recommend that the present Selective Service study include a proposal to allow Peace Corps service to satisfy the military obligation. I emphasize that was not necessarily the view of the Peace Corps Volunteers but of the business participants.

Finally, and we found this most stimulating, the Green Cards challenged the Orange Cards to tell them about the goals of American business. One businessman here has worked with Volunteers abroad on a business project. We asked him about it. He said that he found that most of the Peace Corps Volunteers abroad took on the characteristics of the local people and that the local people took on the characteristics of the Peace Corps. As a result, he said that he found the Volunteers becoming a little sloppy and the local people becoming a little impatient.

To be serious, he was asked why he was doing this, and he said that he had started from scratch in this country and had succeeded in building a most prosperous and successful business for himself and his family, and he wanted to keep it for his family. He felt that the best way to keep it was to expand his business in developing countries and to demonstrate the success of the American enterprise and initiative system. He said that's why he was doing what he was doing.

Another answer was given by another Orange Card, who is a father of a son in the Peace Corps. Asked to express his goals for American business, he said that business has first to earn a profit, to meet a payroll, and to create an ever higher living standard. At the same time—and here I would add to what Mrs. Washington spoke about so beautifully in baking bread—in baking that bread, business has to create ever more useful products

and services to meet human values and create a higher standard of living for all of us.

*ERNIE FOX:* All our meetings have reflected diversity among Peace Corps Volunteers. You walk out of a meeting and you see slogans taped on pillars announcing new and unplanned meetings. You walk into a meeting and you hear unplanned speakers. This meeting is no exception. I have been asked by Volunteers interested in community programs in the South for two minutes to make a special report.

*DON BOUCHER:* I am Don Boucher from Dallas, Texas a Peace Corps Volunteer from Chile. We had a group from the South that did not like what was going on so we went off to the back and talked about something that we wanted to talk about. We came up with a list of suggestions both for Peace Corps Volunteers and for Peace Corps Washington.

We would like to see the Peace Corps Volunteers from the South encouraged to return to the South to work—especially in the field of civil rights and the War on Poverty.

I was one of those white Southerners who had to go out of the country to really become enlightened on the problems of race in the South. So I feel it is my obligation to go back to the South and do something about it. We would like to recommend to all of these people that they go back to the South and do something about it.

Our second suggestion is that the Peace Corps make a greater effort to recruit Volunteers from the South, and when recruiting in the South to make sure you use Volunteers from the South. In our group there were cases where Peace Corps recruiting teams came to the schools we are now in, but we weren't even used. We also recommend that these be racially integrated recruiting teams. And we would like to see a regional workshop with returned Peace Corps Volunteers to discuss some of the very problems that we are now talking about.

*ERNIE FOX:* Now I'm pleased to introduce one of the founders of the Peace Corps, our former Deputy Director, another Green Card who has made good, Bill Moyers, Special Assistant to the President. He's here to accept the reports on behalf of President Johnson.

*BILL MOYERS:* I'm glad to see that in the four years since I joined the Peace Corps things haven't really changed. These reports convince me that the apparent contradictions of the Peace Corps continue to manifest themselves.

Never has an agency in Washington so consistently undergone psychoanalysis—on a public couch. And never have so many individuals so consistently exposed their neurotic tendencies in public view as Peace Corps Volunteers have done. Frankly, I think that is indeed one of the fundamental reasons for the success of the Peace Corps. And if it continues to flourish, self-criticism—enlightened, unbiased, but sympathetic criticism—will be a part of its unique nature.

In these reports I hear tensions that continue to exist—and I hope will always exist—among us. There is the feeling, for example, that the Peace Corps Volunteer is *not* a special person. And there is the feeling on the part

of others that the Peace Corps Volunteer is a special person.

None of us wants special privileges as a member of the Peace Corps. But the moment a Peace Corps Volunteer begins to feel that he really is *not* special, that is the moment he begins to lose his effectiveness. And the moment the Peace Corps loses the mystique of a special calling is the moment we might as well turn it over to any of the other government agencies in Washington that have tried for four years to absorb us. We might as well step aside.

You *are* special citizens. You are special citizens because you are *volunteers*, and a volunteer is a person who in a free, democratic society, decides to serve that society—who by a conscious act of his or her free will, has left the ranks of the bystanders and spectators to become a participant. A volunteer is a person with a large ego—and he should be. He is a person with a split personality—wondering on the one hand if he really can make a difference, and knowing on the other hand that he *must* make a difference.

When you begin to think you are average, my only advice to you is simply: go back to your split-level homes, turn on your television sets, drink your beer—somebody else with a special sense of his individual worth will step up to serve in the Peace Corps.

You *are* special. And when you come back from abroad, if you don't think yourself special you will simply disappear into the bog of affluent living—you won't make a difference—and your contributions, as well as your

"Ideas are great arrows but there has to be a bow. And politics is the bow of idealism." **Bill Moyers**



opportunities as a former and continuing Peace Corps Volunteer, will be lost.

I also heard another contradiction revealed in these reports. Some people seem to feel this Conference is too domestically oriented. There are others who believe returning Peace Corps Volunteers should not continue to think primarily in international contexts, but should orient themselves toward the great and significant and staggering domestic ills that confront us as a burgeoning nation. It's here that I think the President would want me particularly to say how he feels the Peace Corps relates to the Great Society.

The most persistent American dream since the Founding Fathers has been one that occurs in almost every generation, that of creating on this continent a Great Society, resting on a people made politically free, economically secure, universally literate, culturally sophisticated, and politically wise. Each generation has had to come along and renew that dream. In the midst of wars and rumors of wars the dream has often been submerged. It has often been lost. Now this generation must renew it. We have an opportunity unparalleled in history, because of our economic strength, to realize what heretofore has been only an aspiration.

The President has set forth for the country not a set of promises but a set of challenges. For the fulfillment of those promises depends not alone on what the man in the White House does, but upon the response of individual citizens like you who work at home to realize them.

What are we working for? We want a society which will serve as a source of inspiration for the highest endeavors of which men are capable. It will honor those who create. It will honor those who think. It will honor those who are different. It will inspire creative thought in the arts and the sciences and the humanities. It will afford opportunity for the young and compassion for the old. It will become an arena of intense intellectual activity in which old ideas are understood and respected, and rejected only if they no longer fit, and new ideas are welcomed without prejudice.

For a society to become really great it must have the flexibility to adapt itself to changing times, and this is what you bring to the beginning of the Great Society. For if you succeeded overseas for any single reason, I think it must have been your ability to adapt to changing stimuli, and this indeed is a virtue of which our society is in dire need.

The problem of building the Great Society is like the problem that the Peace Corps faced four years ago. Norman Cousins outlined it: The problem of an individual who takes himself lightly historically no matter how bloatedly he takes himself personally. The problem of an individual who has no real awareness of the millions of bricks that had to be put into place, one at a time, over a period of centuries in order for him to live in the house of freedom. The problem of the individual who has no comprehension of the multiplying influence of single but sovereign units in a free society. The beginning of the Peace Corps, the beginning of the Great Society, is the individual who takes himself seriously historically.

So this contradiction between whether we should be domestically oriented or internationally oriented is not really a problem. Every thinking man in government will tell you that the time has ceased to exist when we can

separate what we are abroad from what we are at home. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 probably had more impact on this nation's work abroad than any other action taken during the year. What kind of people we are at home, and what we believe and what we're working for, reflects what success we're likely to have abroad in convincing people of the sincerity and simplicity of our objectives.

Finally, another contradiction I've heard in these reports is the tension between idealism and pragmatism. But I think again this is close to the secret of the Peace Corps. Unabashedly altruistic in motive, but unashamedly skilled in the techniques of political change—this is the Peace Corps.

The Peace Corps wasn't just hatched in a vacuum. I read many of the letters you wrote four years ago asking why we were so conscious of what Congress was thinking. Well, it wasn't so much what Congress was thinking as it was the fact that idealistic motives can't exist in thin air. They have to be born into a political context. And they had to emerge intact through the agitation of politics. This is why the Peace Corps won the affection and the respect of many Congressmen: because it met them on their own ground, because it beat them at their own game—politics.

And this is true for you as you come home to make a difference. You have to pursue the ideals of a Joan of Arc with the political prowess of an Adam Clayton Powell. Whatever you say about Joan, her purpose was noble. And whatever you say about Adam, his politics is effective; it gets things done he wants done.

I'm not saying the ends justify the means, but I am saying that there is no substitute for the effective use of political skills to advance the cause of a great idea. Those of you who return to this society thinking that ideas alone will transform the arena in which you serve will be frustrated. Ideas are great arrows but there has to be a bow. And politics is the bow of idealism.

Whether you enter the bureaucracy of government, whether you come into the bureaucracy of the Peace Corps, whether you come into the bureaucracy of education—whatever the bureaucracy you enter—determine to be an effective, efficient, courageous politician. And don't forget the cause to which you're dedicated.

There is a great discussion going on in this country today about the future of America in the world beyond our shores. It is whether or not a nation that is a great power can pursue in the world objectives that go beyond its own self-interest. I believe it can. None of us really feels that we can make the world over in our image—and we don't want to. But we do believe that America still has a sense of duty to a higher calling. It is not so much that we gave birth to special ideas and let them loose in the world, but that special ideas already loose in the world gave birth to us. We feel that our objectives are still fundamental and universal. We want independent nations to emerge on the world scene. We want each nation to be formed in its own image, out of its own milieu, out of its own traditions, out of its own culture. And we want each nation to stand on its own. These are our objectives. On the one hand intensely idealistic, unselfish—on the other hand involved in the politics of being. And the politics of being is the politics which I urge you to consider as you come back.

The President is fond of saying that while the lightning

is flashing and the thunder is rolling and the rain is falling, the grass is growing. That is, in the midst of international tensions, amidst the clamor of dangers, the work that you're doing is going on. Catalytic, yes; quiet, subtle, yes—nonetheless growing—growing, changing, serving, fulfilling. And that's true. While great decisions are made about the future of Southeast Asia, while the Middle East threatens to erupt, while all the headlines scream, the work that you're doing goes on. And indeed it must.

Thanks for your service. Thanks for making those of us in Washington look so good. And thanks for what you're going to do in the years to come as together we serve the Republic to which we owe our allegiance.

*ERNIE FOX:* If there has been one recurrent line all through these reports I think that it is we are citizens first—both of America and the world—and Peace Corps Volunteers second. We are still asking not what the country can do for us but what we can do for the country and for the whole family of mankind. Those are the words of a former President. I would like to close with the words of the present President: "Let us continue."

## *Afterthoughts*

### *The Participants*

#### *Adam Yarmolinsky*

*From a letter to Sargent Shriver*

I can briefly describe my emotions during successive sessions of the Conference as horror, relief, disappointment and reassurance: I was horrified at first at the prospect of leading a discussion that might range over every critical problem now before the Administration; I was relieved to discover that the Volunteers had no desire to turn our workshop into a free-for-all; but I was a bit disappointed that they were not more articulate about their needs and hopes; and finally, I was reassured by the gradually emerging conviction that what they had learned from their Peace Corps experience, or what the Peace Corps brought out by selecting them, was a set of values that combines internal stability with constructive dissatisfaction about the state of the world.

What did the Volunteers take away from the Conference? A little clearer idea of the specific opportunities for returned Volunteers in a wide variety of careers and activities in the United States, and a renewed sense of what it means to be a Volunteer, or rather of how to internalize the fact of having been a Volunteer.

What did the Volunteers leave behind? A considerable agenda of jobs to be done or possible jobs to be explored by the Peace Corps staff, and by other parts of the government and other groups in the private sector, in order to help remove some of the obstacles to returned Volunteers finding their most effective roles in our society.

What did the Special Participants take away with them? A more realistic idea of what returned Volunteers are like, less idealized, but in some ways more encouraging

than the preconceptions that the Special Participants brought with them.

What did the Special Participants leave behind? A number of specific proposals that need to be examined more carefully.

What did the Volunteers fail to take away with them? I believe the same thing that the Special Participants, by and large, failed to leave behind—a better understanding of the difficulties of being a volunteer in American society and of the sacrifices one has to make, over a long period of time, in order to be an effective volunteer in the Peace Corps sense of the word.

### **Dr. Herbert Gans**

*Excerpt from a later roundtable discussion on the Conference*

They resisted organizing themselves; they wanted to work with existing organizations. Since the organizations they mentioned most often were the PTA and the Rotarians, I had the feeling that if the PCV's had any theory of social change, it might be described as left-wing Eisenhowerism, a doctrine that argues that if the individual PCV has good intentions, and the organizations he is invited to address have good intentions, and everyone can sit down and talk about what ought to be done, then social change will be created. And by everyone they mean largely middle class people like themselves.

I guess I was hoping that their overseas experience would have made them more cosmopolitan and less local, to use Robert Merton's terms, and that they would have learned how a community works, how things get done, and how things get changed. Actually, they did not say much about what happened overseas, and I suspect that for some it was not as romantic or exciting as for others, but they did not want to admit it because they were expected to have been through a great experience.

I suspect, however, that what they did in the communities in which they were located enabled them to continue to practice what they learned in America before they left, that is, what I called left-wing Eisenhowerism, and I think they have come back to America to continue to apply this method.

I am not sure what will happen to the PCV's over time, whether they will continue to be satisfied in the long run by talking to the PTA and the Junior Chamber of Commerce about what they did overseas, and how better understanding of other cultures abroad and here will solve all problems. Since they are thoughtful and socially conscious, they may eventually become frustrated with this approach, and may then want to think more realistically about how to achieve social change. But as for now all I know is that every time we raised the question of politics, they reacted negatively and said, "No, we want social service and volunteerism," and when we talked about the power structure, they asked, "Is there such a thing?"

### **Dr. John Seeley**

*Excerpts from a later roundtable discussion on the Conference.*

I got an extraordinarily favorable impression. There were three or four separate themes. One was a great pref-

erence for action and action now—change, almost as though for its own sake. There was a great desire to embody more virtue, both for the person and the society in the change, so that they were asking questions about better persons in a better society, with one very marked overtone—not, they said, over and over again, by the creation of new and vast super-organizations, but by ways of finding new alliances on an *ad hoc* basis, very much, as I heard it, as they had done overseas themselves. They thought of themselves as entrepreneurs in a set of shifting alliances.

They had begun the process in the Conference with great surprise. Many of them were astounded and deeply moved by discovering that they had in fact allies, that the strange new world they had discovered, their posture towards it, their desire for it, were reflected in older people whom up to this point they had been prepared to write off.

I have an enormous amount to learn from these returned Volunteers. If it is possible I'd like to go away with some of us and some of them on a basis where we could be alone for at least a week, where we could talk much more gently and in a less debating and analytic chopping-up fashion, and get to know each other. We could initiate the process which might serve later as a general model for what to do with these people who have returned.

One of the things I want is a quiet setting with a small number of people so we can enter into each other's minds and experience. You have to stay with people. This thing takes time. For a long, long time I think you have to listen in depth and openness and be prepared to meet them as people, to have your own defenses damaged and knocked down at the same time you expect them to expose themselves. The heart of the process consists of engaging in a dialogue in which you know what to do next by a very sensitive attention to what you have just done.

### **Dr. William Soskin**

*Excerpts from a later roundtable discussion on the Conference.*

Why were we so badly fooled? Why was it so hard for us to change gears in the course of the Conference to see really what was happening? We had signs by noon time on Saturday loud and clear that the Conference was going to bring out some very important stuff that most of us were unprepared to recognize, and we weren't going to believe—that what the kids were going to produce for us was more important than what we thought we wanted from them.

It began to be clear fairly early in the day on Saturday that my group would not take the bait of talking about radical revision of the university, for a variety of reasons. One seemed to be their inexperience with radical ideas about how a university might be changed. Secondly, however esteemed and prominent many of our Orange Card people were, I was shocked at the ease with which they were put into a conservative position. When a Volunteer would propose something, the president of a university would sit back, change the pitch of his voice, and say, just as he might be expected to with a student on his own campus who he had to deal with as a disciplinary problem, "You haven't really read the catalog. There are adequate provisions."

Psychiatrists in our midst characterized the group to

the group as uncertain, confused, angry, depressed, and disillusioned. And they were all of these. But they were more than that. When either young or old people put aside enough of their trivial preoccupations to become deadly earnest and serious, how can you avoid being a little depressed? How can you avoid confessing some of your disillusion? How can you avoid acknowledging your uncertainty—when you search for honesty? This is what these people were doing with an eloquence that was so moving that I have not seen it anywhere else except maybe with a bunch of Negroes planning a rent strike on the lower East Side of New York. I think they came back profoundly changed, but they had no language for describing it, and none of us could help them. Even our mastery of the literature didn't prepare us for suddenly shifting gears and hearing what they were saying. These are young adults and, at a very minimum, 25 per cent of their adult life has been spent in a foreign culture. And it is the most recent quarter of their adult life.

What they wanted to talk about was how American culture predisposes you to accept certain values rather than other ones. They'd come back questioning these values. They had developed a sense of international concern which was completely alien to anything they had learned in the schools or the colleges because political science courses and anthropology courses and social science courses were different somehow from learning how to get along with the village leader in some alien village. They

were exploring in a way that I think many adolescents do, with an intense idealism—some of them, not all—what is a life for? What is knowledge for? By contrast with their own stereotype of the striving, self-involved, self-aggrandizing American, many of these people were saying that a life ought to be lived in some kind of joint human service, that knowledge ought to be acquired toward this end, a more social rather than a more personal one. And sometimes it was clearly embarrassing to some of the adults to be exposed to this.

It was both exciting and frustrating to see how far we had driven ourselves and each other in a first-time meeting. I would like to ask if, with this ferment that was cooked up last weekend, you could ask Carnegie to underwrite a dozen or half-dozen regional conferences in which some of this thinking could continue.

### *Al Ulmer*

*From a letter to Sargent Shriver.*

Sunday evening I left the Returned Volunteer Conference. If there was any theme evident during the weekend's workshops and speeches it was "get involved" in this time of change.

Monday evening my work with the Council took me to Selma, Alabama. I drove a car from Montgomery Airport taking great care not to exceed the speed limit

"How can you avoid acknowledging your uncertainty—when you search for honesty?" **Dr. William Soskin**



because a Negro minister was one of our passengers and if we were stopped the chance of being charged with some fictitious violation was more than good. Another man, also a minister, rode with us. His name was James Reeb.

You and many others at the Conference mentioned the necessity of our working within the establishment, the government, politics, etc. I am not sure I want to or even if I could if I wanted to, for the establishment here in the South is what we are fighting, not joining. But you are part of a larger establishment, one which has the power to change some of the things so very badly needing change here in my homeland. I guess in a way as a Volunteer in Nigeria I helped make you a part of the establishment.

You asked at the Conference what we were doing now that we were home. Well, last Monday night I took Reverend Reeb to Selma so that he could march in protest to voting discrimination and repeated police brutality. They say he is going to die tonight and I'm kind of wondering what, if he dies, we can say he died for.

What I guess I really want to know is what you, and the rest of whatever the establishment is, are going to do about voting and police brutality here in the South, because we're outnumbered here and we need your help.

## The Press

**Richard H. Rovere**

(Letter from Washington)

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The State Department last weekend [March 5-7] gave over its conference rooms, its auditorium, and its formal reception halls to what must have been the most informal as well as the liveliest gathering ever to have taken place in that ungainly pile of concrete in the heart of Foggy Bottom.

This was a conference called by the Peace Corps to celebrate four years of survival. As all proper conferences must, this one had a theme—"The Returned Peace Corps Volunteer: Citizen in a Time of Change." All the 3300 "returned Volunteers" (the term "veteran" is both pre-empted and unwanted) had been invited, and 872, or better than 25 per cent, showed up, along with approximately 200 non-Volunteers who had been asked because it was thought they might contribute something to the deliberations, or at any rate learn something from them.

The Volunteers who had completed their two-year terms overseas were, with very few exceptions, well under 30. Nearly all of them were well-scrubbed, well-spoken sons and daughters of the middle class, and there were few who did not sport at least one academic degree. Articulateness of a high order was the general—indeed, the almost universal—rule. So was enthusiasm for the kind of work they had lately been doing abroad. Such an attitude, perhaps, was only to be expected at this particular assembly; it is the boosters, not the knockers, who show up at class reunions, and this was as much a reunion as a conference. However, in preparation for this event the Peace Corps had sent out an elaborate questionnaire to all those honorably discharged from its service, and in the 2300 questionnaires returned there was, according

to staff members, no significant evidence of disenchantment.

Almost without exception, the Volunteers had a sense of accomplishment as well as of adventure, and it was this that underlay a good deal of the personal restlessness and dissatisfaction with the society they had re-entered. In a few cases, the discontent took the form of a familiar kind of self-pity—a vexation with the stay-at-homes who failed to appreciate not only the sacrifices made by the Volunteers but the utilitarian value of the disciplines they displayed or acquired in the course of their service.

But self-pity was a distinctly minor theme. In the main, the impressive thing was that, whether or not their work had had much value to others, the experience had been immensely valuable and in many ways transforming. The tabulation of the questionnaires showed that 34 per cent of the Volunteers had entered the Peace Corps with no idea, or with quite unclear ideas, of what they wanted to do when they got out. Among the returned Volunteers, only 12 per cent are afflicted with any uncertainty. Of the 66 per cent who joined with fixed goals, more than half abandoned them for new ones in the course of duty. And in most of these cases the changes were in the direction of work resembling their Peace Corps assignments. Upon their return, three times as many wished to go into social work as had wished to do so upon joining the Corps. Twice as many wished to enter government. Four times as many wished to have "international careers."

The Peace Corps is the only effort that this government—perhaps any government—has ever made to discover and institutionalize what William James called "a moral equivalent of war." It was bound to attract uneasy and dissenting spirits—and it was for this reason, among others, that many people doubted that it could survive very long as part of the federal bureaucracy. But it has justified itself before two Congresses now, and it seems certain to be approved by a third.

Some of the outsiders who attended last weekend's discussions were eager to find out whether the agency was of any use either in increasing the effectiveness of American foreign policy or in contributing to the well-being of the countries in which its units served. No one could provide very much in the way of answers. But most of the observers went away persuaded that the Peace Corp's impact on American life may in time be an immense one. For the gathering that the State Department sheltered here was a gathering of sharp, independent, and confident critics of American society. Though most would undoubtedly have been critics under any circumstances, their Peace Corps experience had provided them with new angles of vision and with some training in the mobilization of their own inner resources for the purpose of bringing social change to pass. The suggestion was made that they organize to promote in this country the values that had brought them into the Peace Corps in the first place. The suggestion was rejected on the ground that there is too much organization in this country as it is. One had the feeling, though, that they were already organized. Except for those who had returned to their studies, there was scarcely one who was not engaged in some kind of social or political missionary work. And even the graduate students were bound together by a deep dissatisfaction with the learning procedures to which they were being subjected.

There are only 3300 of these exhilarated and highly intelligent young people at large in this country at the

present time, but by 1970 there are expected to be about 50,000 of them. If large numbers of them infiltrate federal, state, and local governments and the educational system, the impact of the Peace Corps will be great—great enough, perhaps to threaten its existence.

**Frank G. Jennings**

### Are They Asking Too Much?

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The returning Peace Corps veteran is uncommon in a way that the ideal American is uncommon. He has a lust for life and an almost infinite capacity for taking pains. He is honestly self-critical and fair in his judgment of his fellows. But this is all abstraction and image. The reality is still uncommonly attractive, but nearer to the ordinary. There are grippers and whimperers among these young men and women who yearn to go back where they were treated with awed respect, where their competition was romantically inefficient, and where they could live a life designed by Kipling and furnished by E. M. Forster. But most of them possess a difference which can make them potentially the most wonderful generation this country has seen since Lexington and Concord.

More than half of the returning Peace Corps veterans are back in the universities in both graduate and undergraduate work. Forty-one per cent of them have jobs. Of these, 14 per cent are in government service, and another 14 per cent in teaching; the rest are engaged in a variety of occupations ranging from ranching in Montana to architecture in Rome. These statistics are interesting, but inadequate. One has to see these young people *en masse*, as Hal Bowser did when they met representatively in Washington, D.C. [SR, Apr 3], to sense their quality, their open earnestness, the urgency with which they want to use themselves to the profit of their society.

There is an aura of naïve idealism surrounding the Peace Corps volunteers that is often mistakenly interpreted as evidence that they are not really able to accept formal responsibility. Quite the reverse is true. On the record, they are practical idealists. They have got things done. Given meaningful opportunities, they will do even better in their future careers.

The 3,000 Peace Corps volunteers who are back home will be joined by some 50,000 by 1970, and the earlier returnees will have begun to move into positions of formal leadership in their communities and their professions. Our country will be different because of this, and nowhere will this difference be better demonstrated than in education.

For all of them have become teachers in the larger sense, and most of them have in fact been teachers in host countries. Enough of them have made a commitment to teaching as a career to stir the attention of school administrators and cause some concern among educators. For these are people who become teachers for more powerful reasons and generally with greater emotional and intellectual resources than are usually found in the profession.

Some educators have begun to tap these resources. They are ready and even eager to welcome the Peace Corps veteran to the faculties of slum schools or to places

in the Job Corps or in the front ranks of the War on Poverty, and are even willing to waive certain certification requirements in order to facilitate the matter. But, in state after state, they have been refused certification because they lack the required "education" courses, just as in city after city where the needs are desperate enough they have been invited to participate as teachers' aides, as volunteers, as tutors, and even as teachers with "emergency licenses."

Now, it is perfectly true that the teaching profession has a right and an explicit duty to see to it that its practitioners are properly prepared, and those Peace Corps veterans who have become certified teachers, as well as most who are undergoing various kinds of apprenticeship in the schools, are very clear-headed about the need to fulfil requirements, both legitimate and silly. But all of them are understandably impatient with frustration and red tape and overcautious administrators. For it is generally true that the young man or woman who has successfully completed a two-year tour of duty has learned to accept and act under heavy responsibility, has acquired mature judgment in human relations, and has gained considerable resources in coping with the day-to-day problems of helping children and adults to achieve better control over the world in which they live. As one young woman remarked, "We are the Robinson Crusoes who lived in bamboo huts and slept on straw mats. We are the beatniks in shirttails and sandals, and so we are tolerated and offered positions below the scale and salary range of our contemporaries. It seems that even some government agencies are reluctant to gamble on a Peace Corps veteran in a responsible position." And she asks, "Do we presume too much in asking to be used, or do the leaders across the country, as Commissioner Keppel asked a group of educators, lack the ingenuity to seek and employ promising talents whenever and wherever they become available?" She has already been answered in part by school superintendents who have got this message clearly and who were present at that conference in March to offer literally hundreds of teaching positions to qualified men and women, and with the word "qualified" most generously interpreted.

With all of its limitations, education as a profession has proved and is proving to be hospitable to the returned Peace Corps volunteer—more so, certainly, than labor or business or government agencies. Perhaps that is what one must expect. Education has experience to draw upon. The returning World War II veteran was welcomed, not without anguish and misgivings, back to the campuses and the classrooms of the nation. For a brief and brilliant moment the quality of college education was raised sharply where the more mature student forced the groves of academe to blossom more generously.

There is a new kind of veteran on the campus today who is demanding that attention be paid to the kind of education appropriate to a world that is losing distinctions between East and West. There is a new society belatedly but nonetheless marvelously grown sensitive to the plight of the disenfranchised and the disadvantaged.

We have the wit and the talent, the insight and the information to conquer most of the disabling barriers to a Great Society. President Johnson was responding to this challenge, and his response was more than rhetoric, when he said, at the University of Kentucky on February 22, "We are the children of revolution . . . , of continuing revolution. That revolution has conquered a continent and it has extended democracy. It has given us unmatched

mastery over nature, and it has given us the tools to conquer material wants. It has set the stage for a new order of society—devoted to enriching the life of every human being on a scale never before thought possible.”

The Peace Corps is the achievement of our youngest President, whose memory is evoked in the attitudes of these men and women. Some of his style and grace is present in their posture. Some of his pressing earnestness is evident in their responsive urgency when they say, “Do we presume too much in asking to be used?”

### **Hallowell Bowser**

#### **Rattling Good History**

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Last month's three-day conference of Peace Corps returnees was a high-hearted, productive, even historic gathering. From all over the country more than 1,000 Peace Corps alumni, “returned veterans” of two years' service abroad came streaming into Washington to exchange rem-

iniscences, to talk about their job futures, and in general to consider the prospect now before them.

By the time the conference ended, it was beginning to dawn on even the most grudging onlooker that the Peace Corps veterans—who should number at least 50,000 by 1970—are going to be an inspiring force in our national life.

Unfortunately, the newspapers tended to play up the conferees' fears and doubts, instead of their ebullience and hopefulness. The returnees were, the press intimated, a frustrated, discontented lot, who found themselves all unnerved at being confronted by (as one paper put it) zip codes, digit-dialing, pop-top beer cans, and supercilious job interviewers.

Many readers thus got the impression that the State Department's vast auditorium, where the plenary sessions were held, had been transformed by the Peace Corps veterans into a sort of biblical Cave of Adullam, into which entered “everyone that was in distress . . . and everyone that was discontented.”

Actually, the atmosphere in the auditorium was one of verve, confidence, and high good humor. In fact, the witty opening speeches by Corps director Sargent Shriver and Vice President Humphrey evoked such volleys of laughter

“Verve, confidence and high good humor.” **Hallowell Bowser**



that one middle-aged journalist expressed fear for the building's safety, on the grounds that State Department auditoriums are engineered to withstand everything but laughter.

It soon became evident however, that this was to be a serious conference, if not a somber one. For, as the speakers pointed out, the Peace Corps returnee is quite a special person in our history. We have never before had among us many thousands of Americans, most of them in their twenties, who have undergone the "cultural shock" of living with the people of unindustrialized countries in terms of intimacy, equality, and spine-cracking, side-by-side labor.

Granted the tonic effect of this overseas service, what did the returnees now intend to do with themselves? How would they find their way back into a culture that is bafflingly complex even for those who have not been away from it for two years?

Such questions enlivened the panel sessions, which were held over the next two days. At these meetings the returnees talked frankly with guest observers about their feelings on labor, government, the local community, the schools, business, and other aspects of American life.

Most of the observers felt the returnees did indeed have something special to offer, *e.g.*, personal flexibility, empathy with people of different backgrounds, a renewed appreciation of democratic institutions, and optimism about the possibility of change for the better. As one volunteer put it, "I feel a new ease with immigrant or bi-cultural communities which I could not have felt had I not served overseas."

The panels also turned up a fine collection of individualists, dissenters, and cross-grain types who not only had black thoughts about the conference itself, but also had black second thoughts about our needing a Peace Corps at all. Inevitably, there were a few corridor orators, one of whom kept complaining "But it all seems so *strange* after Africa. All these buildings and people—I just can't seem to *connect*." (Which prompted one guest observer to mutter, "Hard cheese, old chap.")

The rebellious note continued on into the last plenary session, during which a determined young woman advanced on the podium at Sargent Shriver's invitation and readministered to Shriver the dressing-down she had already given him and the Corps in private. And in a final display of collective individuality, the "alumni" voted down a proposal that they set up a national returnees' organization; the feeling being that such a group might get hardening of the veins, and end up as a log-rolling, job-exchanging fraternity of conformists.

What emerged from the conference, overall, was the sense that the Peace Corps is causing a remarkable group of people to surface in our midst. Listening to them talk, one could understand President Johnson's comment, "Thomas Hardy said war makes rattling good history, but that peace is poor reading . . . [but] the Peace Corps [has] made the pursuit of peace rattling good history."

In one sense, of course, the returnees are simply healthy young Americans who look, as John Mason Brown once said of Helen Hayes, "radiantly average." In another sense, they are quite exceptional, for their very special sort of life among other peoples has given most of them a stereoscopic, in-the-round view of their country's institutions that many a politician or sociologist will envy.

At the very least, therefore, the Peace Corps returnees constitute a fine labor pool for any school, business, or government agency in need of people who are at ease in the intercultural dimension. And at their best the returnees are a benevolent army, equipped to challenge our most basic ideas and institutions and force them to ever higher levels of excellence.

Anyone who doubts their determination should consider these words, written by Peace Corpsman David Crozier in a letter mailed to his parents just before he died in a plane crash, "Should it come to it, I had rather give my life trying to help someone than to give my life looking down a gun barrel at them."

### *Eric Sevareid*

#### "Cultural Shock" or Growing Up?

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The eternal law that problems will appear in direct ratio to the number of people available to look for them seems nicely borne out in the current fuss about the spiritual maladjustment ("cultural shock") of the returning Peace Corps boys and girls who see their own country through different eyes, are bored with the trifling concerns of affluent life, depressed that their inner revelations are not shared and angry that private employers do not leap to hire them.

Apparently the time is ripe for a reverse version of an old song, which might be called "How You Gonna Keep 'Em On Broadway After They've Seen Upper Volta."

The feelings of the young are intense feelings. I would not belittle them, because I suffered precisely the same pangs at that age when I returned to fat, neutral America after covering the first year of the European war, felt I had left reality for unreality and could scarcely communicate with my own family.

Sensitivity, after all, merely increases the measures of one's sorrows as well as his joys. But this is not an important problem for the reason that it is transient. It is not a general problem that "society" or the government need concern itself with because the numbers involved are small. Nothing whatsoever is owed to the returning corpsmen. No one need expect reward for growing toward maturity and sophistication, which is all that is happening to them. Their virtue will have to be its own reward.

If they expect acclaim upon their return, many of them, it is because they received so much acclaim on their departure. Too much, more perhaps than any peacetime American envoys setting out for alien dangers and hardships in the name of humaneness; more than any group of doctors, engineers or missionaries who go to spend, not two years, but many years, often their lifetime, in the remote sore spots of the earth.

In the sour shock felt by these returned corpsmen we see the inevitable backlash of the jazzed up publicity that surrounded the birth and recruitment of the original Peace Corps, the romanticizing of their missions, the lionizing of individuals in the glossy magazines. No financial rewards could be offered. The selfless humility that characterizes the best of the religious missionaries could not be expected of eager youth, so psychic rewards suited to the self-conscious had to be substituted.

Surely, many of the returned youths are not so intensely self-conscious as those picked out as examples of "cultural shock" by the feature writers. But it might be useful (though a small voice tells me that experience cannot be transmitted to the young) if they were all reminded that history did not begin with them, not even the history of the uprooted and maladjusted.

They might consider their fathers, millions of them, who went to alien lands against their will, lived terrible and exalting years in the awful works of war, not those of peace, and returned to what seemed to many of them, for a time, the insupportable staleness and triviality of normal life at home.

They might consider those other millions who suffer the lifelong sickness of true alienation, the Balts, the Poles, the Spanish Republicans, the Cubans—the exiles of this tortured world, those who will never find home again, anywhere. Their spirits have been crushed; the spirits of the Peace Corpsmen have been enlarged, in spite of their "re-entry" strains. They should be grateful, not resentful; many are already, all will be in time.

Since "alienation" is now at its height of fashion, it might be worth pointing out that alienation cuts many ways. I know of young Africans who have spent a couple of years in this "trivial, materialistic and selfish" American bourgeois life, found it enriching and exciting and returned to their home villages—the kind of places many Peace Corpsmen found so fascinatingly "real"—and suffered profound "cultural shock" as they saw through new eyes the boredom, triviality, prejudice and crushing conformity of tribal life.

Those Peace Corpsmen now feeling sorry for themselves, and a good many sloppy and tiresome students parading around campuses "protesting" one aspect or another of American life might read Joyce Cary, an old Africa hand, on the subject of where, on this globe, true conformity exists, where the true deserts of the human spirit lie. They do not lie in the modern, middle-class societies.

All this the very young have to learn for themselves. When they do, alas, they are no longer young. The young know the creative fire, the old know how the creative fire should be used. A pity the urge and the wisdom can never be combined. A new world might be built. On the other hand, the world might be incinerated.

## **Ruth Montgomery**

### **Peace Corps Veterans Shun**

#### **"Pressure Group" Organization**

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Washington, March 29—Americans are a nation of "joiners." We have organizations for everything, and since we are also a nation of volunteers, many groups like the Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions clubs, the Junior League and the Federated Women's Clubs are devoted to civic improvement.

It was natural, therefore, that returning Peace Corps volunteers should give thought to the possibility of organizing themselves into a national alumni group to perpetuate

their idealistic hopes for a better society.

This idea was vigorously debated here during a rump session held at the conclusion of their recent National Conference, and the nation should be proud of the decisions reached.

To the everlasting credit of these young people, they decided with near unanimity that they wanted no part of a pressure group which sought special benefits for themselves.

They also rejected the kind of obstructionist tactics employed by misguided students who lie in the streets of Washington in the name of a "cause."

Their arguments were lucid and compelling. "We don't want to become known as the 'Veterans of Foreign Non-Wars,'" one said, to ringing applause.

"We don't want to create another national bureaucracy with officers and elections and lobbyists," another said. "We don't want special privilege for ourselves. We are citizens first."

Another cautioned that they should avoid embarrassing the Peace Corps with decisions that a national alumni organization might make, and therefore should not use the name "Peace Corps" in the proposed organization's name.

For the same reason some questioned whether the National Conference called by Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver was the proper place even to discuss the formation of an alumni organization.

It soon became apparent, however, that almost none of the returnees wanted simply to "disperse and lose contact with one another." So they agreed to hold a rump session after final adjournment of the workshops.

Dynamic, handsome Shriver had set the tone for the conference on opening day when he said of the Peace Corps: "We have struck oil. Now what do we do with it? How do we draw the oil up, how contain it, and how put it into service? How do we use it at home as well as abroad?"

Sister Jacqueline, executive vice president of Webster College in St. Louis, also gave the returnees food for thought. The wise nun told them in so many words: "These systems in which you will now be working at home—public schools, government agencies, business, or labor organizations—are your new underdeveloped countries. These jobs can be just as difficult and rewarding as learning to work and live in a foreign country while a Peace Corps volunteer. This is your new challenge."

There is virtually no unemployment among Peace Corps alumni; their problem lies rather in finding the kind of jobs where their idealism can continue to flourish and bear fruit.

At the rump session, after discussing all the pros and cons of a national organization, the young people decided that they could better serve by forming local clubs wherever a few returned Corpsmen would like to get together. Some of the groups will take responsibility for foreign students in their cities; some may interest themselves in Civil Rights; others plan to hold monthly seminars to talk about the state of the world and their role in it.

There will be no mass meetings, no lobbyists, no bureaucracy. The returnees can communicate with each other through correspondence if they like, but they will assume individual responsibility in their communities. That is the American way.

# Appendix

## Conference Papers

The following papers were prepared before and during the Conference. A limited number are available on request. Also available are excerpts from a post-Conference "Discussion on Returned Peace Corps Volunteers" held at the National Institute of Mental Health.

### General Papers

- Neil A. Boyer, *The Returned Volunteer: Who Is He?*  
John B. Calhoun, *Peace Corps Veterans*  
Robert Calvert, Jr., *Career Activities of Former PCV's*  
Abram Chayes, *Statement*  
George DeWan, *A Question of Alienation*  
Leonard J. Duhl, *A Society that Plans*  
Herbert J. Gans, *The Role of the Returned PCV*  
Harold Howe, II, *Some General Thoughts on Peace Corps Returnees*  
Esther Peterson, *The Returned PCV*  
Robert Pickus, *After All, It Was Called the Peace Corps*  
*Report on the Volunteer Responses on the Questionnaire*  
David Riesman, *Letter*  
David Schickele, *A Plea to Peace Corps Washington and the Communications Industry*  
David R. Sherwood, *The Returning Volunteer: Shall We Waste a Human Resource?*  
Harvey Wheeler, *Politics as a Profession*  
Harris Wofford, *Notes on a Meeting with David Riesman*  
Clement J. Zablocki, *A Message to the Returned Peace Corps Volunteer*

### Papers On Workshop Subjects

#### LOCAL COMMUNITY

- Sara Gay Beacham and Jean Sidley, *The Local Community*  
Richard Meyer, et al, *Six Proposals*  
Theodore A. Braun, *The Returned Peace Corps Volunteer in the Local Community*  
Milton Kotler, *Community Organization in a Clientele Society*

- Louise Sagalyn, *There's Gold in Them There Jills*  
C. B. Gilliland, *Opportunities in Rural Areas Development*

#### SCHOOLS

- George DeWan, *Primary and Secondary Schools*  
Joan Wofford, *The Cardozo Project*  
Carolyn Holm, *An Evaluation of the Cardozo Project*  
Charlotte Crawford, *The Cardozo Project: 1964-65*  
Linda Bergthold, *Certification: What Place Is There for the "Competent Deviate"?*  
Francis Keppel, *Are We Turning Away from Talent?*  
S. H. Brownell, *Statement*  
Bruce Campbell, *From an Indian Reservation*  
Joseph Turner, *Notes on Model and Experimental Schools*

#### UNIVERSITIES

- Anabel Leinbach, *The University and the Returned Volunteer*  
William Coblenz, *The University and the Returned Peace Corps Volunteers*  
Scott Buchanan, *The Peace Corps and the American College*  
Leonard Duhl, *Are Students the New "Have-Nots"?*  
James W. Miller, *A Statement of Views on the Returned Peace Corps Volunteers*

#### BUSINESS

- Jack Prebis and William Schmick, *Business*  
Peter Grace, *Excerpts from a Letter to Sargent Shriver Excerpts from a Company's Reply, "The Role of the Returning Peace Corps Volunteer in Business"*  
John Dixon, *Poverty and Profit*

#### LABOR

- John Coyne, *Labor*  
Gus Tyler, *The Peace Corps Returnee and Labor*

#### GOVERNMENT

- Blair Butterworth, *Government: Local, State and Federal*  
Frank DeFrank, *The Returned Volunteer in Politics*  
Gary Bergthold, *Working in Government: The Congress, and State and Local Administration*  
William Outen, et al, *Working Papers on International Service*  
Richard Meyer, *Hunger*  
Charles Coates, *UN Activities in Utilization of Volunteers*

#### FOREIGN STUDENTS

Warren Kinsman, *Foreign Students and a Reverse Peace Corps*

Coates Redmon, et al, *Some Additional Ideas*

Chong Pak, *Do Not Bring Foreign Students, Unless . . . (Reprint)*

#### **Papers On Volunteer Organizations**

Brian Boyle, et al, *A Proposal for Local Organizations of Returned PCV's*

Louis J. van Dyke, *Proposed By-Laws*

Ametai Etzioni and Peter Brooks, *A National Association of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers*

Ernie Fox, *Lord, Not Another American Legion*

*Notes on a Proposed Ex-PCV Association*

*Proposal for the Organization of Local Groups*

#### **Conference Participants**

*The following Special Participants and Volunteers formally registered their attendance.*

#### **Special Participants**

Mr. Perley Ayer, *Director Council of Southern Mountains*

Mr. Stephen Bailey, *Dean Maxwell School, Syracuse University*

Mr. Carl Barns, *Director of Personnel U. S. Department of Agriculture*

Mr. Franklyn S. Barry, *Superintendent of Schools Syracuse*

Mr. Edwin Bayley, *National Educational Television*

Mr. Louis Beck

Mr. Stephen Benedict, *Rockefeller Brothers Fund*

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Mr. William Bradly, *National Republican Congressional Committee*

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Mr. Frank Brown, *Melbourne High School, Melbourne, Florida*

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Miss Helen Browne, *Associate Director Frontier Nursing Service, Wendover, Kentucky*

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*The Returned Peace Corps Volunteer*