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NOMINATION OF JACK HOOD VAUGHN TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE PEACE CORPS

GOVERNMENT

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-NINTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON THE

NOMINATION OF JACK HOOD VAUGHN, OF VIRGINIA,
TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE PEACE CORPS

FEBRUARY 9, 1966

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NOMINATION OF JACK HOOD VAUGHN, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE DIRECTOR OF THE PEACE CORPS

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1966

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m., in room 4221, New Senate Office Building, Senator J. W. Fulbright (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Fulbright, Sparkman, Morse, Lausche, Clark, Pell, Hickenlooper, Aiken, Carlson, and Williams of Delaware.

The CHAIRMAN. The Committee on Foreign Relations is meeting this morning to consider the nomination of Mr. Jack Hood Vaughn to be Director of the Peace Corps.

Mr. Vaughn is presently the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. Prior to that he was the American Ambassador to Panama. He has also had experience with the Peace Corps.

Mr. Vaughn, will you come forward, please, sir?

I am sorry there has been a delay, but you were here yesterday and know the deep interest that the committee took in Mr. Gordon's nomination. We just couldn't help the delay. We are very pleased to have you.

Do you have a statement you would like to make first, Mr. Vaughn?

STATEMENT OF JACK HOOD VAUGHN, NOMINEE, TO BE DIRECTOR, PEACE CORPS

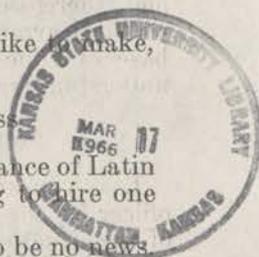
Mr. VAUGHN. I do have two or three points I would like to make, Mr. Chairman.

DEVELOPMENT UNDER ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

In the past year I have been struck by the great abundance of Latin American experts that I have met, at least until trying to hire one comes around.

I have been struck by the fact that good news seems to be no news. I was surprised really in coming to the Alliance for Progress to find and see at first hand the really revolutionary and enormous progress which is being made. Much of this is apparently not either noteworthy or newsworthy. But I was personally very gratified to work with such a distinguished group of men, both in Latin America and here, and to see the progress that they were making.

We suffered, I know, from being at the operative, you might say, phase of the Alliance for Progress. In the early part, when we were in the "whereas" phase, it was full of great hope and spirit and



charisma—whereas we would join together to try to carry out a revolutionary program of accelerated progress in many fields.

But when I joined the Alliance we were at the “therefore” phase—now therefore, we will work harder and we will make reforms and we will make the tough decisions. This is, has been, very gritty business with less spirit but, in my opinion, a great deal more progress.

I would like to comment on what I consider to be, Mr. Chairman, the new dimension of our dealings with Latin America, a new dimension that stems directly from the Alliance for Progress. When we undertook this commitment, I think, we lost some of our own sovereignty and some of our own flexibility and even maneuverability in terms of our decisions. When we signed the charter of Punta del Este with our Latin American friends, we agreed to do certain things together. We agreed to do certain things as peoples—to create new institutions, multilateral institutions and multilateral arrangements and multilateral organizations. The objective of all this was to help the people of Latin America.

If you review the scene today, you see that almost half of the Latin American nations are not what we would consider to be constitutional democracies. There are varying degrees of authoritarian regimes in this spectrum, and yet we are working with all these people.

I think we have to work with them. We made a commitment to work with them, to build the institutions, to train the people, to develop the leaders, so that real democracy can take place.

I was really very unhappy at Senator Morse’s comment that when the chips of democracy are down in Latin America we walk away. Unhappy because I don’t think it is true, and I don’t think the facts will bear that out.

I am not suggesting that we pin badges on military leaders, as we have done in the past. But at the same time, I don’t think that if, by some accident, one ambitious colonel comes on the scene that we should throw our badge in the dust and walk away.

I think our commitment in the Punta del Este Charter is with and for the people. I think we must realize our objectives are long range, and, therefore, we are going to suffer through a lot of unsatisfactory political arrangements until such time as we can achieve the broad base of education and the broad base of sophistication and the understanding which permit a constitutional democracy to work.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC NOT READY FOR DEMOCRACY

I, as you know, have been in a sense the Dominican Republic desk officer for the past 10 months, and I perhaps have a different reading of the situation than some of my friends and critics in this sense: I don’t think that the Dominican Republic and its people were ready for democracy. I am not sure they are today. But they did have a chance, and when they finally got rid of Trujillo, we made, on a relative basis perhaps, the most significant contribution that we have made to any Latin American country in terms of trying to help them build a society. Our input was really enormous, for there was nothing to work with. It was in a sense a nonsociety. It didn’t have the institutions or the training or the traditions or the trained people to run a modern society. We tried to help them develop the institutions, to create the minimum industries, to build the schools, to train

the leaders. We were going to develop a TVA kind of authority with them, we wanted to give the peasants land.

Being such a major effort and starting at such a low level, this took time to the point where we had finished the plans, done the blueprints, obligated the money, signed the contracts, and then just about this time, as I recall, when we had obligated some \$65 million, Bosch was deposed. At that point, as you remember, we discontinued all our aid.

I think the chips were down for democracy at that time. I think the chips were down for the people, yet we pulled the rug out totally, except for the Peace Corps; the Peace Corps volunteers stayed.

I think that at this point the die was cast for what happened in April of last year. That is my own belief. I don't think the Dominican people had a chance after this. They were wallowing in a non-society, a leaderless society, and they never were able to get up any momentum, never were able to have any real hope. As I have worried about what has happened in the Dominican Republic, as you gentlemen have, and as I have tried to assess what brought this about, I have reached the firm conviction that the downfall came when Bosch left. I think it was probably a mistake to penalize the long-suffering Dominican people because of the accident of an inept President.

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS—IN GOOD HANDS

Upon a more positive note, I would like to reassure you that the Alliance for Progress is in good hands. I think with Lincoln Gordon at the helm it will continue to flourish.

I don't feel, Mr. Chairman, obligated to rest my case on what has happened in the last year in Latin America. But if I did rest it, I would like to rest it at least partly with my Latin American colleagues.

I think the best critics are those people who are working with us and for whom we are working, and I would be pleased to have any of you or any of my fellow citizens or your colleagues query the Latin American foreign ministers, the Latin American ambassadors to Washington, the President of the Inter-American Development Bank, the President of CIAP or any of the people to whom we have such a profound commitment to make the Alliance for Progress successful. I think they would tell you that they think that I and my colleagues are democratic and cooperative and tolerant and helpful to them in their effort to build a better society throughout Latin America.

PEACE CORPS PROMOTES UNDERSTANDING

One final word, Mr. Chairman. I have been in a sense away from the Peace Corps for a couple of years. I am really delighted at the prospect of coming back. The Peace Corps, in my opinion, is one of those rare items which is better than most people thought, and in a sense better than most people think today.

I think its impact is more significant. We are in a situation of crisis in the world, of crisis of conscience or moral crisis, groping for peace, wondering if we can ever achieve it and if we can, how.

What are the instruments that can be effective? I think we have in the Peace Corps one of the few and one of the effective instruments

for bringing about real understanding and real communication and real empathy and tolerance. These are so lacking in the world today—even in Latin America.

I felt when I was Ambassador to Panama that the Peace Corps there was more significant and more helpful in terms of understanding between the United States and Panama than all of the rest of the U.S. effort combined. I would guess this is the case of many other countries around the world.

I am very proud to have been associated with the Peace Corps and very excited about the prospect of being associated with it again.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand Congressman Ottinger wishes to say a word about Mr. Vaughn. I didn't see you there when we started, Congressman Ottinger. If you were there, I apologize.

Would you care to make a statement now?

Representative OTTINGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK, 25TH DISTRICT

Representative OTTINGER. Mr. Chairman, I am very grateful for this opportunity to come over and warmly endorse the nomination of my good friend and colleague and former boss, Jack Vaughn, for this position. I would like your permission to submit my statement and speak to you informally.

The CHAIRMAN. Your statement will be included in the record.

Representative OTTINGER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I come here as a great admirer of yours, Mr. Chairman, both for your initiative in starting a real discussion of the vital issues that are involved in Vietnam and as well for your raising the questions that ought to have been raised with respect to our Dominican Republic adventure.

I came over and particularly wanted to be heard because I think I can shed some light for the committee on the nature of the man you will be questioning. I sat through a good part of the questioning of Ambassador Gordon and I think that this kind of questioning is good, it is healthy and it is very important that the Senate, the Congress as a whole, and the public should know the positions of the men who bear our most important responsibilities for foreign policy.

I have known Jack Vaughn from the beginning of his participation in the Peace Corps in 1961. I have worked with him. He was my Chief when I was Director of Programs for the West Coast of South America, and I think that in view of the questioning that is about to ensue and the hot seat that he is about to undertake perhaps I could shed a little light on his method of operation.

VAUGHN OPERATES QUIETLY, PERSUASIVELY

In am one who shares very strongly with Senator Clark and Senator Morse and, perhaps, some of the others like Senator McCarthy on the committee, deep reservations about our past Latin American policy, deep reservations about the ideas put forward and the practices instituted by Secretary Mann, the feeling that somehow or other the only thing Latin Americans respect is brute strength. Strength is

important, but the manner of exercise of that strength is also very important. The way to gain respect in Latin America is not to act like the bully in the schoolyard, and go around clipping everybody on the head because you are stronger than he is. I don't think that is ever going to gain us any respect with the Latin American people and is going to get us into untold trouble.

Jack Vaughn entered the State Department after the Dominican crisis was already well underway.

He was in a position of being a part of the State Department organization, and if he were going to be effective he couldn't very well act like a bull in the china shop and that isn't his way. It wasn't his way in the Peace Corps.

A bull in the china shop tends to break a lot of china. A lot of pieces go flying around with a lot of blood being let. The blood you let may be your own, without any compensating constructive result.

Jack Vaughn's way in the Peace Corps was one of quiet effectiveness. He and I at times had our disagreements with Mr. Shriver whom, we both highly respected. In the course of carrying out the policy in any agency there are times when the way you think things ought to be conducted are different from the ideas of the director. It was not Jack Vaughn's way to make loud noises or to oppose violently the policies with which he disagreed. He had a different and very much more effective method of operation. In his own very quiet way, working within the organization, with an uncanny ability to gain the respect of everybody, including those with whom he disagreed, he would work things out in such a way that all of a sudden Mr. Shriver would find himself floating down the river in Mr. Vaughn's boat, doing exactly what Jack Vaughn had intended that he should do and thought was sound policy, and Mr. Shriver was liking it. This is his method of operation.

He is a very quiet man but a very persuasive man. He is not the man to start disruption within the organization, to try and rally the public in direct opposition to the leadership of the agency. His method of operation is one of very effective, quiet persuasion. I think this has worked in the short tenure that he had as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America. Without any noise or fanfare all of a sudden we found that the aid tap was turned on in a country like Peru, whereas it previously had been turned off, very improperly I think, because of the feud between the International Petroleum Co. and the Peruvian Government.

There was no great public conflict that surrounded this but in the last few weeks we have seen that substantial aid commitments have been made again, and everybody seems to be happy about it. This is Jack Vaughn's way of operation.

I think it quite unrealistic to expect that a man who joins the administration as an assistant secretary should publicly oppose the policies of his department and the administration with which he may disagree. To do so would destroy the effectiveness of his influence. I think Jack Vaughn did an effective job of steering our policy constructively. He can be expected to continue to do so as Director of the Peace Corps.

I would like to say a word to elaborate on my testimony with respect to the importance of this position. I think there are still too many people involved with the foreign affairs of our country and with

the administration and perhaps in Congress itself, who look at the Peace Corps as a kind of frivolous operation, as a minor operation within our overall foreign assistance commitment, who feel this is somehow or another an idealistic outlet for some of the do-gooders in our society.

I think it is far more important than that. A good index of its true value, I think, is the fact that one of the highest officials, a principal adviser to the President, Bill Moyers, who was Deputy of the Peace Corps, looks upon this job to which Jack Vaughn is aspiring as "the Everest of his ambitions."

PEACE CORPS IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY

The Peace Corps is really the only arm of the U.S. Government today that is making meaningful contact with the peoples of the underdeveloped world. It is the only organization that is really identifying itself with the aspirations of the people rather than with the aspirations of the Government, and I think it is exceedingly important in this respect. It is the one arm of our foreign policy that is really apolitical, was able to stay in the Dominican Republic through its crisis, that was able to stay in Panama through its upheaval.

In my view, the future of these Latin American countries, African countries, Asian countries, is not tied up with what the governments at any one time, and very frequently they are unpopular governments, may have to say about us, whether they vote with us in the United Nations, whether they happen to make anti-Communist noises or pro-American noises.

The future of these countries is tied up with the ability of the hundreds of millions of people that live in the horrible slums which surround the capital cities and in the countryside to achieve recognizable progress under a free society. We measure our poverty here in terms of thousands of dollars of family income per year. They measure it in tens or hundreds of dollars. If they don't feel progress which affects their lives directly, the chances are great that they will turn to communism, regardless of the positions of their governments.

The only force within our Government that is really reaching these people and helping these people to feel that kind of progress is the Peace Corps, that is actually out in the peasant communities and living with the peoples in the slums in the capital cities. Indeed, I think the success of the Peace Corps teaches a lot of lessons on how to work effectively on an antipoverty program and much could be learned with respect to our own antipoverty endeavors from the community development efforts of the Peace Corps, its volunteers actually getting into the communities with which they are working and identifying with the people. Progress has always come in building blocks from the ground up, as I think it has happened historically throughout the world. It does not come from the top down as is the emphasis on our AID programs. Too much of our poverty endeavors emanate from outside of the communities affected and operate principally to build local government bureaucracies.

I think the Peace Corps is a tremendously important part of our foreign programs, that our emphasis in future foreign aid ought to be not only, as you have emphasized, Mr. Chairman, through international organizations, but as well should be much more on the building block approach, working with the communities of the slums and

with the peasants in the countryside; trying to build from the bottom up; apolitical, rather than concentrating on the short-term political gains of trying to get these people to identify with us to vote with us in the United Nations; emphasizing frugality, as the Peace Corps has; having the people who represent us abroad get out with the people, be identified with the popular movements in the country, be identified even with some movements with which American business interests abroad may not be particularly sympathetic. I think this is the direction in which an increased effort on the part of the U.S. foreign policy ought to be directed.

I think there is really no more important area of our endeavor, and I think that Jack Vaughn will prove to be an enormously effective man as Director of the Peace Corps. He will not be the flamboyant leader. He will not be somebody who is in the news all the time. He will be the man who gets the things done that ought to be done, and I think you will find great satisfaction with him. I strongly urge that you consent to his nomination.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Ottinger follows:)

TESTIMONY OF HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER, OF NEW YORK, RELATIVE TO THE
NOMINATION OF JACK H. VAUGHN AS DIRECTOR OF THE PEACE CORPS

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful and delighted at the opportunity you have afforded me to testify in behalf of the nomination of Jack Hood Vaughn for Director of the Peace Corps. I warmly endorse his nomination.

While I know it is usual to speak primarily of a nominee's qualifications at these hearings, I should like to concentrate first on the importance of the position, for I think it has been underrated both in Congress and by the public.

The Peace Corps too often still today is viewed as a mere idealistic outlet to absorb the energies of the starry-eyed do-gooders of our society. While under the brilliant leadership of Sargent Shriver it has earned universal praise from the complete spectrum of our society—from its most conservative to its most liberal elements—its weight and importance is still not generally recognized. One has but to ponder that one of the President's highest aids, Bill Moyers, aspired to this post as the "Everest" of his ambitions, to come to second thoughts about its significance.

In my view, the Peace Corps demonstrates an approach to success in our endeavors with the developing countries, where all other approaches have to a greater or lesser degree failed. I think I will meet little argument that the future of the world and of our role in the world lies largely with these developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The Peace Corps has proved the validity of working from the bottom up rather than from the top down in these countries. It has demonstrated the success potential of community development techniques of having our people live with the people they are assisting in the slums that surround all of the major cities of these countries and in the countryside in the rural peasant villages. It has demonstrated the importance and practicality of stimulated self-help—and the economy of such programs. It has shown that work in primitive societies does not necessarily require top technical background—that the average citizen of this country can play a meaningful role in the development of a country where infant mortality is over 50 percent and the people don't know the significance of feces disposal, water impurities, or sound diet. It has proved the feasibility and efficacy of intensive language and cultural preparation of our foreign cadres, of having them live within the communities they serve rather than in isolated American ghettos, of having them receive compensation comparable to their host counterparts and play roles not as superior advisers but as coequals.

The future expansion of our foreign assistance endeavors should be along lines demonstrated successful by the Peace Corps, and no more appropriate person could be found than Jack Hood Vaughn to preside over this extension.

Indeed, by standards of experience, knowledge, ability, personality, character, and temperament, no equal could be conjured.

Jack Vaughn is a close personal friend and became so when he was my boss at the Peace Corps. He was regional director for Latin America and I, Director of Programs for the west coast of South America under him, virtually from the start of the Peace Corps.

I therefore am able to speak of him from a vantage point of an associate as well as a friend, and as a person intimately familiar with the Peace Corps operation he is to head, for I was the second staff member brought on board by Mr. Shriver to formulate the concept of a Peace Corps early in 1961. I can also speak of him from a personal familiarity with his knowledge of Latin America and the respect Latins hold for him.

What an unusual combination of experience. Jack Vaughn has served in virtually all of our oversea agencies—the State Department as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America and before that as Ambassador to Panama; our foreign aid agency as mission director in Senegal; he started his Government career in the early days of USIA in Bolivia and Costa Rica; and, of course, he served as a regional director of the Peace Corps itself.

The geographic diversity of his foreign experience has been broad, bringing him in direct contact with two of the three continents of the world with which the Peace Corps deals—Africa and Latin America—and with incomparable breadth and depth where the greatest Peace Corps concentration of activity lies, in Latin America.

Jack Vaughn's rise to responsibility has been meteoric and hard won. He came up the hard way, by his bootstraps. It's a real American success story worthy of Horatio Alger—how a Golden Gloves fighter from Columbus, Mont., going under the inauspicious pseudonym of "Johnny Hood" made good. He graduated from the University of Michigan in 1943 and volunteered for the Marine Corps where his talents earned him promotion from private to captain in just 3 years. He got a master's degree from Michigan when he got out and taught there and at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1949 he offered his services to USIA and from there had the spectacular span of Government service and rise of personal success previously recounted.

In the Peace Corps, Jack Vaughn built the Latin American program from insignificance to the dominant program. He was a man who was universally respected in a highly competitive organization and whose advice and counsel were sought by all. As a boss, he encouraged his associates to innovate and inspired from them an indescribable devotion which led to uncanny productivity. This human quality no doubt played an important part in his continuing series of successes and his warm following among his associates and the foreign peoples with whom he worked. He was immensely popular and respected both as Ambassador to Panama and previously as ICA mission chief in Senegal as well as at his other posts. The universal acclaim he received from all Latin capitals during his recent trip as Assistant Secretary of State is well known and recognized as a major contribution to our Latin American relations.

It gives me great pleasure to give this nomination my unqualified praise and to urge upon you and the committee the confirmation of a most unusually well qualified man for this job of great national and international importance.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Congressman Ottinger.

Mr. Vaughn, how long were you in the Peace Corps before?

Mr. VAUGHN. I joined the Peace Corps, Mr. Chairman, in October of 1961 and left in April of 1964.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your particular responsibility?

Mr. VAUGHN. I was regional director for Latin America, sir.

VOLUNTEERS RETURN TO PEACE CORPS HEADQUARTERS

The CHAIRMAN. In response to an inquiry recently, I am told that there are 254 former Peace Corps volunteers in the headquarters of the Peace Corps here in Washington; is that correct?

Mr. VAUGHN. I am not sure of the figure.

The CHAIRMAN. I received a letter from Sargent Shriver which says:

Another 156 volunteers are working in local or State government offices; 600 volunteers are working for the Federal Government, including 254 here at the Peace Corps.

Mr. VAUGHN. I see.

The CHAIRMAN. How many are here in the Peace Corps headquarters altogether?

Mr. VAUGHN. About 680 today, sir, in headquarters—as of December 31, about 1,100 here and overseas.

The CHAIRMAN. It approaches 50 percent, at least 40 percent of the total. What do you think of that?

Mr. VAUGHN. I like that very much. I have recruited, Mr. Chairman, both for overseas staff and Washington staff. I think that their presence and their realism and energy and knowledge of what the Peace Corps is and should be is very, very helpful to some of the older tired bureaucrats like myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Originally, if my memory serves me right, it was contemplated that a Peace Corps volunteer would serve 2 years. Is that correct?

Mr. VAUGHN. That includes training.

The CHAIRMAN. I had assumed that after that they would return to what we call private or normal occupations in the civilian life of our Government, and of our country. Is that correct?

Mr. VAUGHN. I don't think that assumption was ever made, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It was not?

Mr. VAUGHN. No, not to my knowledge.

OBJECTIVES OF THE PEACE CORPS

The CHAIRMAN. I wonder if you could try to state as succinctly as possible what you believe the objective of the Peace Corps is.

Mr. VAUGHN. I don't believe that the objectives of the Peace Corps have changed in the minds of those who have gone abroad as volunteers and those who have been on the staff or have changed since the beginning. Our legislation and the purposes for which the Congress gives the Peace Corps money are three:

The first is to provide trained manpower on request around the world.

The second objective is to permit foreign nations, the people of foreign nations, to know us, our people, our best people.

Third, and the reverse of that, is to permit good Americans to know foreign nations and foreigners better.

I feel that in many cases there is another, not an objective, but another happening which has to do with social change and even economic development. Volunteers who just happen to be in the right situation at the right time can really influence the building of an institution or increase the standard of living. But that is not a stated objective, Mr. Chairman, of the Peace Corps.

The CHAIRMAN. I wasn't so much interested in the legislative statement of its objective. I thought perhaps in view of your experience in it you had a fairly well-developed concept as to what the Peace Corps' objective is.

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes; I do have.

The CHAIRMAN. Your personal objective?

Mr. VAUGHN. My personal belief is that the Peace Corps has lived up to its name.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't think it has brought peace, do you?

Mr. VAUGHN. Well—

The CHAIRMAN. Just what do you mean by this?

Mr. VAUGHN. I mean this: First of all, I think you must agree or we must agree as to what the impediments to peace are today. At least part of the impediments is a lack of understanding between peoples and governments, and a lack of communication among peoples, governments, and cultures. This impediment can be removed by volunteers as well as by any other group or institutions of people of which I know. I think they do bring understanding. I think they do bring real communication, and in many cases, Mr. Chairman, to areas that have never even been touched before, where people have never seen a North American, much less lived and worked with a North American. I think that there are obviously other pieces, other ingredients, to peace, but certainly understanding and better communication are two of the badly needed elements.

SLIGHT EXPANSION PLANNED

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Peace Corps plan expansion this year? Is there any increase of any substantial nature of the budget planned for this year's operation, or in the coming year?

Mr. VAUGHN. No, there is not, Mr. Chairman. There is a—

The CHAIRMAN. What is the level?

Mr. VAUGHN. The fiscal year 1966 level is about \$109.5 million. The proposed budget for fiscal year 1967 is \$110.5 million. I think I am correct. But there is a slight planned expansion of total number of volunteers as well as the number of countries in which volunteers will be serving at this time next year.

DISTRIBUTION OF VOLUNTEERS

The CHAIRMAN. How many Peace Corps people are in the field now?

Mr. VAUGHN. Approximately 11,000.

The CHAIRMAN. In how many countries?

Mr. VAUGHN. In 46. I am hoping to add four or five countries to this total in the coming year.

The CHAIRMAN. Which countries have the largest number of Peace Corps representatives? The three largest, say.

Mr. VAUGHN. The first three are India, Brazil, and Nigeria.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the Philippines?

Mr. VAUGHN. The Philippines is next.

The CHAIRMAN. It used to be the largest, didn't it, the last time we inquired into it?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes; in 1962.

The CHAIRMAN. How many do you have in India?

Mr. VAUGHN. 716.

The CHAIRMAN. How many in Colombia?

Mr. VAUGHN. Approximately 500.

The CHAIRMAN. What I was trying to find out is if there is a high concentration, or if they are distributed rather evenly among these 46 countries?

Mr. VAUGHN. No; definitely not evenly.

The big Peace Corps countries are those that I have mentioned, plus—we have to define what “large” is here. Over 300 volunteers per country are the ones I have mentioned, plus Peru, plus Turkey, and others.

Peace Corps programs with over 300 volunteers as of Jan. 31, 1966

India.....	716	Colombia.....	509
Brazil.....	646	Peru.....	415
Nigeria.....	638	Tanzania.....	395
Philippines.....	624	Chile.....	377
Malaysia.....	603	Liberia.....	377
Turkey.....	597	Thailand.....	312
Ethiopia.....	585		

The CHAIRMAN. Is it true, I believe it used to be, that approximately 50 percent of them are teaching schools?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes. And in Africa, of course, the percentage is considerably higher, where the large preponderance of volunteers in Africa are teachers and have been from the beginning. This is not the case in Latin America, for example. It has been the case in the Philippines.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Morse?

ALLEGED SUPPORT OF TYRANNY IN LATIN AMERICA

Senator MORSE. Mr. Vaughn, I have taken note of your views on my views on Latin America, and I want you to understand that I know nothing that could possibly concern me less than your views on any of my views or on any other subject. I want you to know that as far as I am concerned I shall vote against your nomination because, in my opinion, your work as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs disqualifies you for any appointment and I shall vote against this appointment.

When you talk about my views in regard to walking out on freedom when the chips are down, I want to say to those of you in the State Department who advised our President on December 10, 1963, to recognize that shocking, tyrannical, military junta in the Dominican Republic that you were advising him to walk out on freedom; and when on December 14 he recognized that Dominican tyranny, he walked out on freedom; and the policy of our Government in recognizing a military junta in Honduras was a walkout on freedom; and when we recently threw our support behind the new military dictatorship in Brazil, I think we walked out on freedom again in Latin America; and when some years ago we pinned a medal on a tyrant in Venezuela, we walked out on freedom, and Latin America recognized it; and when we recognized and worked with that tyrant in the Dominican Republic by the name of Trujillo, we were walking out on freedom; and when we proceeded also to give support to the tyrant in Cuba by the name of Batista we walked out on freedom; and I shall always be proud to point out that from the very beginning I opposed any cooperation with Castro because he was another tyrant. Thus we can go on and outline the sorry record of our Government time and time again in supporting tyranny in Latin America. The reason why we have a lot of troubles in Latin America is because too often we do support tyranny in Latin America.

So we are so far apart that I am delighted to agree to disagree with you. I think that there is no question about the fact that you

and Mann and Rusk have given bad advice to our President and, therefore, I couldn't possibly vote for you for this nomination, and I shall not.

Senator Hickenlooper?

COMMENDATION OF WITNESS

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Ambassador Vaughn, in the fairly recent past and before that, I have followed to some extent your activities, especially in Latin America, and contrary to my friend, the Senator from Oregon, I think you have rendered great service in Latin America in the areas that you have served.

Mr. VAUGHN. Thank you, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The expression of the people there during your period of service is quite a demonstration of your acceptance and appreciation of their problems and of your work in their behalf.

I don't know—I don't intend to comment on what the Senator from Oregon has said, because it probably would be out of place here. He is more than able to express his own views. I don't know just how much advice you have given or how much of it has been received, but I do have a feeling that your record has been excellent, especially in Latin America.

VOLUNTEERS CHANGE OLD IMAGE UNITED STATES HAS IN PANAMA

You are going into a new program here in the Peace Corps, and I would like to ask you how much association you have had with the Peace Corps in your Latin American experience as ambassador and in other capacities there?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

When I was ambassador in Panama, I was especially eager to increase the numbers of Peace Corps volunteers there, feeling that the principal problem in Panama in terms of our relations was this lack of communication and lack of understanding. We had a very special kind of arrangement there which didn't lend itself to exchange of ideas and what you might call modern communications. Communication between the people living in the Canal Zone and the people of the Republic of Panama was rather old-fashioned. I think that it was obvious that this needed correction, not only a change in our policy toward Panama, but the opportunity to communicate more fully between modern people on both sides. I think this proved to be correct. The presence of a couple of hundred Peace Corps volunteers in Panama was most beneficial.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. In what way was it beneficial, from the standpoint of any lasting impact which they may have made there. When I say "lasting impact" may I suggest that we have had thousands of missionaries all over the world who have attempted to carry technical and spiritual advice to people, but when a revolution breaks out the people seem to forget all they have ever learned. In many countries they have had a banquet on the missionaries, and I don't say that facetiously either. When such emotions arise, it doesn't seem that the missionaries have done a great deal of good.

What kind of a permanent impact do you think the Peace Corps may have made in some of these countries?

Mr. VAUGHN. I should make one short remark beforehand.

I think in some cases where our foreign policy is bad, is wrong, is unjust, then other peoples may be justified in acting as if there had never been any communication before. But in terms of lasting impact, in the first place, Peace Corps volunteers are meeting Panamanians who have never had contact with North Americans.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. How are they meeting them?

Are they meeting them as teachers, or are they meeting them out in the bush, or in the jungle, or places where they are trying to grow crops?

Mr. VAUGHN. They are meeting them in all forms. They are meeting them in the worst slum of Panama, called Hollywood. They are meeting them at the university. They are meeting them in normal and secondary schools. They are meeting them mostly in slums and in villages throughout the country.

Unfortunately, Senator, the Panamanians over the years have been in many cases given an impression of North America and North Americans which is linked to the old and the worst of the Panama Canal Company. They are led to believe that all North Americans and today's North Americans are like the people who lived in the zone 50 years ago. That is the image we have to change.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Do you think that our image has changed very much? Are the people more friendly to us now, do you think?

Mr. VAUGHN. I do.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. What is their attitude?

Mr. VAUGHN. I do think they are more friendly toward us.

I think that when we changed the gold and silver dollar system and the discriminatory wage pattern and made the many other changes that we made, I think these were significant changes. But to erase the old image held by the people who are not literate, who live in the interior of the country, I think it is most important that we have modern Americans, democratic Americans, in communication with these people.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Yet we had quite a riot down there about a year and a half ago, didn't we?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It was one of the first real riots of that kind of bloodshed we have had over the years, wasn't it?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. That didn't seem to be on the better side. It was worse.

Mr. VAUGHN. I think it was a very clear danger signal to us as to what was wrong and what had been wrong for many years.

EMPHASIS ON TEACHERS HAS INCREASED

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It is my understanding that the original concept of the Peace Corps was that a lot of young people from this country would go out into the hinterlands of various backward countries which needed some kind of a stimulus, and work right with the people at the lowest echelon where they could maybe help them produce food and other products a little bit better.

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. We seem to have changed that attitude now; and we are sending a lot of teachers. Didn't I understand that

about 50 percent of the volunteers are teachers and not actual workers in the boondocks.

Mr. VAUGHN. Actually, if you include those who teach part time, you know, who in the evening teach literacy classes or English or teach on weekends, it is much higher than 50 percent.

But the fact is, Senator HICKENLOOPER, that they go to do what the host country and the host institutions want them to do, feel their most acute needs to be, and we have some 300 specialties that are being performed by volunteers.

We have many volunteers in Latin America teaching at the university level. In a sense this is fully as important as working in a slum, building latrines, or whatever may be necessary. So that I don't think that that initial image of going only to the boondocks to do rural community development, as we call it, is the image today, and I am sure that it shouldn't be.

The Peace Corps is much more diverse, and we try to be responsive to what host countries want, whether it is nursing or something rather more sophisticated than working in a peasant village.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Well, I think probably that is what you are doing. I don't say that it doesn't have benefits, but it seems to me that it has diverged a great deal from the original concept upon which the Peace Corps was set up. Sanitation at the local levels, agricultural methods that would fit in with what might be considered crude agricultural methods that were not very productive, help along those lines; but it seems that at least half of our effort has been diverted and diluted from the original standpoint and we have devoted much time to countries that in many ways have much sophistication themselves.

Let's take India, for instance.

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES DON'T MAKE EFFICIENT USE OF THEIR PH. D.'S

Senator HICKENLOOPER. It is a vast country and it is very true that there is a tremendous amount of work that has to be done at the local level. Yet one of the complaints that one often hears about India is that they have too many Ph. D.'s, who don't have jobs in India. There are many educated people in India who don't seem to be working at what they are proficient at, and yet we send people over as teachers when they have an awful lot of teachers in India, but, perhaps not enough.

Colombia is in many ways not an unsophisticated country, except in certain segments. There are certain areas and certain ethnic groups who may not be as sophisticated as others, but Colombia is a fairly well-developed country.

Mr. VAUGHN. One of the symptoms of being underdeveloped is having too many Ph. D.'s and too many lawyers. We find that throughout the developing countries, and we, by and large, don't send Ph. D.'s and lawyers there.

We send people always to the local level to do the things—

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I don't think you send Ph. D.'s and lawyers, but a Ph. D. ought to be able to teach—

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. He ought to be able to teach the people of his country. I don't know that the Ph. D.'s do not necessarily teach,

but you hear frequent complaints that there are many educated people in these countries, and that the country really doesn't use them in the capacity for which they are educated.

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. We see in many of these countries people who are educated to be doctors and lawyers and go into higher education, and then go into politics or into something else. They don't go into the line for which they prepared themselves for professional service, except insofar as politics might be considered professional service.

Mr. VAUGHN. Another thing, Senator, when you look at these poor people in the developing countries, they are struggling for status so hard that they haven't reached the point that we have. Many of our fine young people are struggling more for service, and opportunity and contribution instead of mere status, which the people of the backward countries feel they need so badly.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. You mentioned Nigeria in the group of those countries that get the most volunteers. We were told, and there seemed to be some supporting evidence in the last few years, that Nigeria was one of the showcases of nations emerging from colonialism which had some ability to take care of itself. Yet they had quite a rumpus over there a few weeks ago.

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. And they seemed to disrupt their supposedly ordinary government, and confusion ensued. I don't blame it on the Peace Corps, nor do I credit the Peace Corps with it—that isn't the point.

IS DEVELOPMENT LASTING OR TEMPORARY?

Do you think the Peace Corps is worth \$112 million a year in practical, permanent, affirmative progressive development?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes; indeed I do.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I anticipated that you would say that but I thought I would ask the question.

Mr. VAUGHN. I think it is the biggest bargain that the U.S. taxpayer has in our foreign activities, by far.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I have some doubts about that myself; but I have voted for the Peace Corps each time, and probably will vote for it again. But I have yet to be convinced of the monumental advances that the Peace Corps is going to bring to these backward countries.

Mr. VAUGHN. We don't claim monumental advances at all.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I think the connotation was obvious that if we would send the Peace Corps to these countries, they would spring almost full-blown from a very primitive situation into the modern world. I am not so sure they have done that, and I am not convinced that the progress has been very great.

Mr. VAUGHN. I am convinced that it has on a relative basis, Senator. In one of your favorite countries, Bolivia, I have noted really enormous progress in a large number of villages where the volunteers have been working. That can be traced almost directly to them, as far as innovation and really great and broad progress goes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Can't you trace some of that progress

to the technical cooperation program and other programs of that nature?

Mr. VAUGHN. Surely.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. The situation is rather troublesome. I could be more enthusiastic if I didn't get so many reports of sort of a neutral development in these countries. I frankly haven't been able to recognize any substantial or material evidence of affirmative results as a direct result of the Peace Corps. I don't think it has been negative—I don't mean to say that—but I think other agencies have done a great deal toward whatever progress has been made. And I keep returning to the proposition that we have had over the years literally hundreds of thousands of missionaries in these countries who brought medical information, agricultural information, and technical information to these people—and usually the missionary gets right down into the worst part of the country involved—and yet, for some reason, when the pressure gets on and the emergency occurs, it seems that they revert back and forget all of the things that they have learned.

Mr. VAUGHN. I think that you have to recognize the basic difference. The Peace Corps volunteer is proselytising for progress and not for some special religious belief. He is there to help build institutions and develop self-reliance and democratic action. These are quite apart from the objectives of the average missionary, as worthy as they may be.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Well, time won't permit a long argument on this score—and I might lose the argument anyway if I got into too detailed a one with you—but I don't quite agree with you on that point. I think the missionaries of various faiths and groups have not only tried to carry their own spiritual concepts, but they have also tried to carry the practical human and physical development that has to go along with the spiritual development; and I think they have done great work in a lot of places. But the unfortunate thing is, as I say, when emotion strikes, and when an emergency strikes, that progress doesn't stick very long. The progress is kind of veneer on the outside, and I am concerned as to whether the results of Peace Corps are not in the same category.

I think that is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Lausche?

Senator LAUSCHE. Mr. Chairman, I was attending the Commerce Committee meeting and, therefore, did not come here at 10 o'clock. Not having heard Mr. Vaughn's testimony, I will yield to Senator Clark at this time.

Senator CLARK. Thank you, Senator Lausche.

Mr. Vaughn, I would like to endorse the comments made about you by Congressman Ottinger. I think you were a first-class Ambassador to Panama, and the work you did with the Peace Corps was outstanding. We can't hit every ball over the fence.

Nevertheless, I think in your present position you have been substantially more sinned against than sinning. As I commented the other day, one of the obligations of a subordinate is to carry out the orders of his boss. I will leave it with that comment, and turn to a question which you may not be able to answer in open session.

Feel free to say you can't if that is the case.

POLICY IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

When are we going to get those generals out of the Dominican Republic?

Mr. VAUGHN. I feel, Senator Clark, that there is a belief and agreement among all of the members of the foreign ministers meeting of the OAS, of the members of the special ad hoc committee of which Ambassador Bunker is our representative, of the rest of the staff there that these generals are going to have to leave.

Senator CLARK. You are familiar with the old Spanish phrase, *hasta mañana*. It is taking a long time.

Mr. VAUGHN. I am also familiar with the phrase *adios muchachos*.

Senator CLARK. Very good.

Mr. VAUGHN. This is the one I hope we are going to be shouting the next few days and I fully believe this, Senator Clark.

Senator CLARK. You believe the commitment will be kept to get them out?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes, sir.

Senator CLARK. What has happened to Tony Everett?

Mr. VAUGHN. He is still on the island, and I understand still active behind the scenes as you would expect.

Senator CLARK. Isn't he pretty much on the side of the military?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes; he is.

Senator CLARK. He is not playing any part whatever in the present Godoy government, is he?

Mr. VAUGHN. No; he is not.

Senator CLARK. In fact he is acting pretty much as a private citizen.

Mr. VAUGHN. He is.

Senator CLARK. You know why there is vast disillusionment with our policy in the Dominican Republic—I don't think it is fruitful to go into that any further. You and I have discussed it both on and off the record.

I am interested in your comment that you think that the Alliance is in good hands. I hope it is, too—I have great hopes for Ambassador Gordon.

At the risk of being redundant, I would like to say again—and perhaps Ambassador Gordon will read this record—that I do hope we pay more attention to our friends down there. I do hope we will do something more effective about this unfortunate Peruvian situation with respect to suspending aid there in order to put some pressure on the Government of Peru to come to an understanding with the Standard Oil Co. subsidiary down there. I think that does a vast amount of harm.

You know my views so I don't need to reiterate them here.

There are a couple of questions about your new job I would like to ask you.

TRAINING OF LOCAL OPPOSITES TO VOLUNTEERS

First, are you doing, in your judgment, as much as needs to be done in terms of training what I would call local opposite numbers to Peace Corps volunteers—in other words, attempting not only in Latin America but more particularly in a place like India to find qualified local individuals who will be able to pick up the torch and carry it on, rather than leaving it almost entirely to our boys and girls.

Mr. VAUGHN. My feeling, Senator Clark, is that we are not doing nearly enough. At the outset we had, as a general yardstick, to try to have a counterpart, as we call them, or counterparts, with each volunteer, in some cases assigned by the Government, in other cases assigned by the agency and sometimes picked out by the volunteer himself.

This really has not worked to our satisfaction, and I am sure that in many, many instances we can do more in trying to make sure that each one trains one or two or three so that there is something more substantial, more specific left behind him when the volunteer departs. I think we could do a good deal more in this field.

Senator CLARK. Senator Hickenlooper raised a point which interested me, too, in connection with India where, of course, the need is enormous. There does seem to be an awful lot of educated people there who are a little reluctant to go to work in the villages in various programs which the Peace Corps and our other aid missions are supporting.

Do you have any views about how we could make the program more effective with Indian assistance?

Mr. VAUGHN. No, I don't.

I have worried about this attitude on the part of the people who have arrived, so to speak, in newly developed countries. The magnet, the pull to work, to live in the capital city is so strong. This is where the power is. This is where the 20th century is. This is where the good jobs are, and the status. This is where their wives want them to live. After they have come in from the back country, and have tasted this, and feel that they are modern people, it is awfully hard to get them back on the farm. As an interim measure, I think, Peace Corps volunteers are going to have to be doing what the local people should be doing, if they were just aware of what the problems are and could go back.

Senator CLARK. This is just one of the very difficult problems that confront us all over the world and to which there are no easy answers.

But you do agree that our policy should be to get the maximum amount of local participation and to train local people wherever we can to pick up the program.

Mr. VAUGHN. I think we are kidding ourselves if we don't do that.

Senator CLARK. I guess you know Frank Mankiewicz?

Mr. VAUGHN. He is one of my good friends.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT REQUIRES CHANGES

Senator CLARK. Would you concur with this statement he made with respect to the Latin American program? I quote:

The ultimate aim of community development is nothing less than a complete change, reversal—or a revolution if you wish—in the social and economic patterns of the countries to which we are accredited.

Do you agree with that as an objective?

Mr. VAUGHN. This is what the Charter of Punta del Este says and to the extent that is consonant I certainly do.

Senator CLARK. Would that objective be part of your endeavor in your new job?

Mr. VAUGHN. To promote fast revolution, yes.

Senator CLARK. Fast, peaceful democratic—

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator CLARK (continuing). And social as well as economic—and political, democratic revolution?

Mr. VAUGHN. I think we have to do much better than we have done before.

Senator LAUSCHE. Will you yield?

Senator CLARK. I will yield.

Senator LAUSCHE. Do you believe your function is to stimulate political revolution?

Mr. VAUGHN. No; we are talking about one central theme, Senator, which is a theme that was agreed to in the Charter of Punta del Este. That theme is reform, land reform, tax reform, administrative reform, education reform, social reform, and better distribution of the wealth. All of this spells, certainly in a relative sense, spells revolution. It is radically different from what has existed in Latin America and other undeveloped countries in the world for so many years.

Senator LAUSCHE. Doesn't the totality of which you have just described mean that you consider your function to be the stimulation of a political revolution?

Mr. VAUGHN. No, sir.

Senator LAUSCHE. Doesn't it all come within the definition of politics?

Mr. VAUGHN. I don't think so. I am not talking about politics at all.

Senator CLARK. Would the Senator yield back?

I read the quote and I got Mr. Vaughn's response with my thought that the word "revolution" is like our American Revolution, like the revolution represented by the New Deal, by the policies of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman and John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson—the kind of a revolution which will make a Communist coup impossible because we arranged to have the people of these countries participate in their own government and have an opportunity to advance their own social and economic affairs.

Is that more or less what you think?

Mr. VAUGHN. Exactly, and in that sense I am a real revolutionary.

Senator CLARK. Good for you, Mr. Vaughn.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

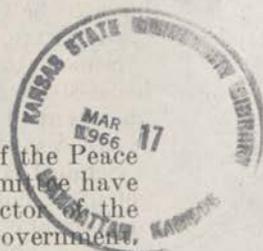
Senator MORSE (presiding). Senator Aiken?

PEACE CORPS PUBLIC RELATIONS

Senator AIKEN. Mr. Vaughn, as an original supporter of the Peace Corps, I would like to say that the members of this committee have received more unsolicited correspondence from the Director of the Peace Corps than from the head of any other agency in Government. This correspondence from the Peace Corps public relations department seems to fall into two categories: One classification calls attention to the significant statements which have been made praising the Peace Corps, and the second group purports to give the facts concerning certain criticisms which have been made of the Peace Corps.

I am just wondering how many persons in the Peace Corps are engaged in this kind of activity—either setting forth the virtues or denying unjust allegations—how many do you have in your public relations department?

Mr. VAUGHN. I don't know, sir. I can find that out for you. It is a very small staff.



*Peace Corps congressional liaison and public information employees
as of Jan. 31, 1966*

Office of Public Affairs	Professional	Clerical
Congressional liaison.....	1	2
Division of Public Information.....	14	5

Senator AIKEN. You don't have any estimate of how much unsolicited correspondence with Members of Congress costs the agency, do you?

Mr. VAUGHN. No, I don't.

Senator AIKEN. Is it possible that this activity exceeds the normal function of keeping Congress informed and borders on propagandizing the Members of the Congress? This is the question which has been raised.

Mr. VAUGHN. I would hope not, Senator Aiken. I realize that you get many different opinions as to what fully keeping someone informed might be. The best way to keep Congress informed, I think, on the Peace Corps and on foreign aid is for them to visit personally the activity, the volunteers in this case.

Senator AIKEN. Yes.

Mr. VAUGHN. But that isn't always possible and I would hope to be able to keep you informed, perhaps not in the same way you have cited, but to your satisfaction, and fully as to what some of our successes and some of our problems are.

Senator AIKEN. Yes.

I will say over the years I have had almost no complaint on the operations of the Peace Corps members in the field, and I wouldn't have known that there had been a complaint except from the denials put forth once in a while by the Peace Corps agency itself.

It seems to me that if you tell us when you make some mistakes, or when you suggest that you can do things better—and I know it is very hard for people in Government, particularly some people in Government, to admit when they are off the right track—you have to be of pretty good stature to admit mistakes.

Mr. VAUGHN. I have had that feeling myself.

Senator AIKEN. I wanted to ask you, are you familiar with the release of biographical information which the Public Information Department of the Peace Corps gave out on you on January 17, 1966?

Mr. VAUGHN. No; I haven't seen it.

Senator AIKEN. I think it is just as well you didn't. You might get quite conceited. I am interested in reading it. This was issued on January 17 and describes you as the new Director of the Peace Corps. This is February 9, so we can't say that they were backward in coming forward with your virtues.

Mr. VAUGHN. I am sorry for that. I was not aware of it.

Senator AIKEN. If you haven't read it I just want to tell you how they described you, at least by inference, as a person possessing superior intellect, notable compassion, immense virtues, indomitable courage, international understanding, and exceptional administrative ability. If you don't look out you are going to lose this writer to some other part of the Government. [Laughter.]

Mr. VAUGHN. Sort of international Boy Scout?

Senator AIKEN. I know you don't believe anyone is that good.
[Laughter.]

You might find it worth reading.

Mr. VAUGHN. All right.

SCOPE OF PEACE CORPS IN LATIN AMERICA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

Senator AIKEN. Well, what is the Peace Corps doing in the Dominican Republic now?

Mr. VAUGHN. They haven't changed their thrust which was in the rural area.

Senator AIKEN. Yes.

Mr. VAUGHN. The scope there is as broad as any Latin American country. They have been working in everything from well drilling to co-ops to secondary education, but the main emphasis is today and has been on rural community development, working with small villages. There have been some really exciting small accomplishments there, and they have had a very tough time, really emotionally, and in many ways, and they have stuck it out and done well.

Senator AIKEN. Is the Peace Corps doing any work in southeast Asia outside the Philippines?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator AIKEN. In Korea?

Mr. VAUGHN. No.

We plan to go in Korea this summer or fall. There are two other programs in this area, one in Malaysia and the other in Thailand. Both, from recent reports, are doing quite well.

Senator AIKEN. As I understand it the Peace Corps was quite successful in Indonesia until it was invited to leave.

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes, sir.

Senator AIKEN. It worked with the people there without interference or danger?

Mr. VAUGHN. This became about as difficult as any Peace Corps country for a while just before the volunteers left.

Senator AIKEN. This has been, as I understand it—and I do understand something of your work in Latin America—on the whole quite successful, in spite of the mistakes which were made in individual circumstances.

Mr. VAUGHN. I think so. And speaking of mistakes, Senator. Looking back over the last 5 years, I don't recall any real volunteer mistakes. I know a lot of staff mistakes, unrealistic planning and unrealistic programing, insufficient staff, unqualified staff at times, but I would never fault the volunteers that I have seen for making mistakes. We have had some on the staff side.

Senator AIKEN. Well, in spite of my feeling that no such person exists as is described in this biographical release on you under date of January 17, I expect to approve your appointment.

Senator MORSE. The Senator from Ohio.

DRESS AND APPEARANCE OF PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS

Senator LAUSCHE. Mr. Vaughn, several weeks ago I read an article about the head of one country threatening to drive the Peace Corps workers out unless they observed greater care in the type of dress that they had. What country was that?

Mr. VAUGHN. I believe this was in Malawi.

Senator LAUSCHE. How many Peace Corps workers did you have there?

Mr. VAUGHN. There are, I think, about 240 there at the present time.

Senator LAUSCHE. Who was the head of the Government that made that statement?

Mr. VAUGHN. His name is Dr. Hastings Banda.

Senator LAUSCHE. Will you please tell the committee what was the basis of his threat to drive the Peace Corps workers out unless they reformed their dress and their conduct?

Mr. VAUGHN. My understanding of the situation, Senator, is that he felt that some Peace Corps volunteers dressed in too casual form. They being low level workers in communities, tended to wear levis, and khaki pants and T-shirts, and he felt that this, especially for teachers, was unbecoming attire. Given his background and his standards of dress, I can understand why he would feel this way, and certainly it is his privilege to set, to try to set, the standard for dress in his country.

The volunteers in Malawi who are teachers are now wearing ties.

Senator LAUSCHE. Have you had any complaints about the oddity of dress of some of the Peace Corps workers?

Mr. VAUGHN. I have made my own complaints. I have seen volunteers on occasion who I thought were not as neat in their dress and appearance as they should be.

Senator LAUSCHE. Doesn't it go beyond neatness, doesn't it go really to the charge that there has been oddness of the greatest character. Don't you have many of what you call the mustached people around? [Laughter.]

Senator MORSE. Don't you like mustaches? [Laughter.]

Senator LAUSCHE. Yes.

Senator MORSE. It would be attractive on you. [Laughter.]

Mr. VAUGHN. Senator Morse, I can hit him from the left if you will hit him from the right.

Senator MORSE. That is one thing Vaughn and I agree on. [Laughter.]

Senator HICKENLOOPER. I think it would be good to have a definition of what are mustached people.

Senator LAUSCHE. I saw some of them in Afghanistan.

Mr. VAUGHN. I think, Senator Lausche, this is the meanest thing you have ever said to me. [Laughter.]

I have, as I mentioned, seen individual cases of untrimmed beards. This kind of look hasn't pleased me at all, and where I have been in charge I have corrected this very fast.

Senator LAUSCHE. Then, you did give concern to this problem.

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes; since so many of these volunteers live in the back woods and don't have hot water and a lot of the facilities that would make neater grooming easy, occasionally there is a tendency to let down a bit on standards of dress.

Senator LAUSCHE. What was done about the Malawi situation by you or by the Department?

Mr. VAUGHN. I haven't done anything. I haven't been confirmed as Peace Corps Director as yet, and there are certain limitations to what I can do. But I have informed myself as to what the situation is and I think corrective action has been taken.

Senator LAUSCHE. Corrective action has been taken?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes, sir.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Would the Senator yield?

Senator LAUSCHE. Yes.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. What kind of corrective action? Corrective action can take a wide spectrum.

Mr. VAUGHN. Senator Hickenlooper, this has to do with dress and appearance, and the volunteers who were offending some or who were out of line have been told what the standards for dress appearances are to be.

Senator HICKENLOOPER. Thank you.

Senator LAUSCHE. All right.

Getting back to the subject of promoting social revolution——

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

VOLUNTEER'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION LIMITED

Senator LAUSCHE (continuing). Do you allow your Peace Corps workers actually to participate in the discussion and promotion of social revolution in the countries in which they serve?

Mr. VAUGHN. We don't allow them to participate in politics, political movements, political demonstrations, rallies. This is absolutely forbidden. In a sense, Senator, everything they are doing at the community level in trying to get the people to do something for themselves, to organize, is revolutionary in a social sense, but the volunteers don't participate more than that.

Senator LAUSCHE. That is by deed if they are encouraging the expansion of school systems?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE. And constructive agricultural work?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE. And sanitary services?

Mr. VAUGHN. And the creation of PTA's.

Senator LAUSCHE. That is one thing.

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE. But what I am trying to find out is, do you tolerate their going into a country and participating in the discussions of what is called social revolution?

Mr. VAUGHN. I am not sure that I quite understand your question yet as to participation in discussion of social revolutions.

Senator LAUSCHE. Expressions of discontent with the incumbent government?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE. About the economic situation?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE. You find some who are content with what is in existence, and others who are discontented.

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE. Do you allow your Peace Corps workers to participate openly in the discussions urging the achievement of certain conditions politically in the government?

Mr. VAUGHN. No, we do not.

Senator LAUSCHE. How far do you allow them to go in openly participating in the promotion of what you call revolution?

Mr. VAUGHN. We help train the people. We allow the volunteers to participate in the establishment of local institutions, of local civic, social, and even governmental institutions. This is the extent of it. We do not allow the volunteers to participate in politics, in the formal sense or the informal sense. We don't allow them to promote, to join, or have anything to do with local political, as political, movements or institutions. We have made this clear on a number of occasions.

Just a few days ago Secretary Rusk sent out an instruction to all Peace Corps staff and ultimately to volunteers making very clear what the limits of their behavior and participation could be. Obviously then can discuss with friends political concepts, describe our political institutions, compare and contrast on an individual basis, but not in terms of getting mixed up or getting themselves involved in a local political situation. This is not in our ball park.

Senator LAUSCHE. I do want to caution you that the semantics which you use are most dangerous, and cause dangerous inferences to be drawn about what is tolerated—

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE (continuing). By the supervisors of the activities of these workers in foreign countries. I do know that the word "revolution" in itself does not imply violence or overthrow of governments, but there has been language used that is most dangerous.

I would like to read to you from the New Republic. This is the February 5, 1966, issue:

Promotion of social revolution abroad—assuming that it is possible, which is yet unproved—raises enormous questions for American policy, and makes the Peace Corps too politically vulnerable.

Now, this is the New Republic speaking.

How do you interpret the basis of this statement by the New Republic—that the Peace Corps becomes politically vulnerable because of its promotion of social revolution?

Mr. VAUGHN. I don't know what interpretation to give to that.

Senator LAUSCHE. Let me read it again.

Promotion of social revolution abroad—

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE (continuing):

assuming that it is possible, which is yet unproved—raises enormous questions for American policy and makes the Peace Corps too politically vulnerable.

Mr. VAUGHN. I don't think it does.

Senator LAUSCHE. You don't. Now then—

NOMINEE FAVORS SOCIAL REFORM, NOT VIOLENT CHANGE

Mr. VAUGHN. I think especially—I realize this is just one part of the world—that if you consider what is stated in the Charter of Punta del Este which contains the precepts of the Alliance for Progress, you will find that what it talks about is social reform and social revolution, economic reform and economic revolution. To be affiliated with this set of objectives, precepts, I think is most appropriate for the Peace Corps.

Senator LAUSCHE. Now then, how do you believe that you will be able to set the limits of what is supposed to be social reform—how

will you have the power to keep the revolution from reaching proportions far beyond what is in the best interests of our country?

Mr. VAUGHN. I think in 5 years this has been very effectively handled.

Senator LAUSCHE. All right.

Let me read to you further on this particular thought that I have just raised.

In many cases, the results of community development may run directly counter to the objectives of State Department policy. Jack Vaughn has often said that if the Peace Corps had sent 450 volunteers to the Dominican Republic in 1962, as it was asked to do when Trujillo was overthrown, the military adventure of April 1965 might not have been necessary.

Did you make that type of statement?

Mr. VAUGHN. Not in those words.

Senator LAUSCHE. In substance?

Mr. VAUGHN. I was quoting a Dominican citizen who said this.

Senator LAUSCHE. All right.

Now then, the New Republic goes on further to say:

That might be true. If Vaughn is right, the Peace Corps approach to development will always result in nonviolent change.

Now, you do not contemplate violent change?

Mr. VAUGHN. No, sir.

Senator LAUSCHE. This is the significant part.

It seems logical, however, that when revolutionary forces are put in motion, the forms they will take are largely unpredictable, and uncontrollable.

Give your answer to that, please.

Mr. VAUGHN. I have never suggested that the Peace Corps was going to set revolutionary forces in motion. What we are talking about, Senator, is getting people involved in local government, getting people involved and trained to participate effectively in local institutions, getting people to the point of being effective citizens. Really, this in most underdeveloped countries of the world is revolutionary because the people have never participated before. They never had the institutions to participate in. So I don't think we are really talking about unleashing revolutionary movements. We are talking about building across the board in the villages, in the slums, and in the towns democratic action, forces of democratic action, so that the people can participate in their society and in their government.

I don't think that the kind of language used in that article is especially appropriate to what the Peace Corps is doing.

COMPOSITION OF PEACE CORPS

Senator LAUSCHE. May I ask this: How many Peace Corps workers are there now?

Mr. VAUGHN. Approximately 11,000.

Senator LAUSCHE. And the annual cost is how much?

Mr. VAUGHN. About \$110 million.

Senator LAUSCHE. And that is how much per Peace Corps worker? It was about \$9,500 originally.

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes; it is down below that now but—

Senator LAUSCHE. Approximately how much does it cost now for each worker?

Mr. VAUGHN. In fiscal 1966 the average annual cost per volunteer is estimated at slightly under \$8,000.

Senator LAUSCHE. I am glad to hear that.

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE. Originally—when this program was presented—it was argued that the Peace Corps workers would go into the undeveloped countries—

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE (continuing). Into the schools and teach and—

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE (continuing). Advise how to develop projects that would improve the sanitation, help the farming, and help generally in direct teaching. Is that principle still adhered to?

Mr. VAUGHN. That is just part of the principle, Senator.

Senator LAUSCHE. How many Peace Corps workers do you have in the Philippines?

Mr. VAUGHN. I think something over 600. I am not sure.

Senator LAUSCHE. What do they do there mainly; are they school teachers?

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE. How many are school teachers?

Mr. VAUGHN. I think most of them.

Senator LAUSCHE. How much are the local school teachers paid in the Philippines?

Mr. VAUGHN. I do not know.

Senator LAUSCHE. All of them are teaching. Do they teach English or what?

Mr. VAUGHN. They teach a variety of subjects.

Senator LAUSCHE. All right.

Now, I believe on the whole, that the Peace Corps has demonstrated that it is doing good work. But I caution that you are running into dangerous ground when you feel that you are the missionaries to induce revolution.

Mr. VAUGHN. Yes.

Senator LAUSCHE. Because you don't know what the ultimate will be in that revolution, if it comes. You are there to teach and to help and not to participate in political revolutions.

RUSK DEFINES POLITICAL ROLE OF VOLUNTEERS

Mr. VAUGHN. Senator Lausche, and Mr. Chariman, I think on this point that it might be helpful to include in your record a very recent statement by Secretary Rusk to all volunteers and overseas staff as to what their role is to be in staying out of politics. This is a restatement in effect.

Senator LAUSCHE. All right, put it in.

When was that statement issued?

Mr. VAUGHN. February 3.

Senator LAUSCHE. And wasn't it because Rusk was getting alarmed about what was happening?

Mr. VAUGHN. No; I don't think so.

Senator LAUSCHE. Why did he issue it?

Mr. VAUGHN. He says this—

Senator LAUSCHE. Why did he issue it?

Mr. VAUGHN. I have no idea.

Senator LAUSCHE. You don't know?

Mr. VAUGHN. No.

Senator LAUSCHE. Well, isn't it odd that it was issued after 4 years, and he puts a limitation upon what might be done?

Mr. VAUGHN. No, he didn't put a limitation on it and really it had been issued before. It is just a reaffirmation.

Senator LAUSCHE. All right, that is all.

Thanks very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection it will be put in the record.

To: All diplomatic and consular posts.

From: Secretary of State.

Subject: Peace Corps and political activities.

Re CA-11154 of April 9, 1963, or CA-10410 of March 25, 1963.

More than 2 years have passed since I last issued general policy instructions on this subject. Our experience since then makes it desirable to reaffirm that policy and to compliment the Peace Corps on its handling of a potentially difficult problem.

The purpose of the Peace Corps, as defined by Congress, is to "promote world peace and friendship" by helping host countries "in meeting their needs for trained manpower" and by promoting "a better understanding of the American people on the part of the peoples served and a better understanding of other peoples on the part of the American people."

President Kennedy and President Johnson have both determined that the twin goals of service and mutual understanding can best be served if the Peace Corps is strictly nonpolitical. Thus, neither Peace Corps volunteers nor Peace Corps staff members are to be associated in any way with any U.S. or foreign intelligence activities or with any other U.S. Government activities designed to obtain information about or to influence the actions of host countries.

The nonpolitical nature of the Peace Corps also requires that volunteers and staff alike exercise restraint with respect to political matters. Thus, volunteers and staff must at all times avoid any public or private involvement or association by word or act with political meetings, movements, or ideologies.

In the area of individual expression by Peace Corps personnel on political matters of any kind, such as the foreign policies of the United States or of any other nation, the nonpolitical role of the Peace Corps is more difficult to define. Canons of tact, good judgment, and commonsense apply. The general guideline is that, if the Peace Corps is to carry out its mission with respect to its own twin goals of service and mutual understanding, it must not become embroiled in or identified with contentious political issues. There is, of course, no objection to personal conversation which provides information about or examines the issues in a particular problem.

This reaffirmation of basic policy does not arise from concern; quite the contrary, I have been deeply impressed by the personal conduct of the members of the Peace Corps throughout the world. I close with a salute to volunteers and staff for their superb record of service. I hope that all of you find the quiet satisfaction which comes from an inspiring job well done.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Sparkman?

Senator SPARKMAN. Mr. Vaughn, I am not going to take time to ask you any questions. I do want to say that I think that the Peace Corps has done a tremendous job throughout the world. I think you have a most challenging job, and I wish you well in it.

Mr. VAUGHN. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions?

Senator MORSE?

Senator LAUSCHE. I don't know whether I should say this—

The CHAIRMAN. When in doubt, don't. [Laughter.]

Senator LAUSCHE. Senator Morse and I agree for once.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a great progress.

Senator MORSE. That was the basis of the friendly note to my friendly enemy.

The CHAIRMAN. That is great progress.

Any further questions?

Thank you very much, Mr. Vaughn.

The committee is recessed to the back room for an executive session. There will be a hearing tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock with Mr. George Kennan. In response to the press, arrangements are being made to hold it in the caucus room—isn't that right—if it is available.

Then tomorrow morning the 10 o'clock meeting will be in the caucus room because of, and as the result of, the request of the press. I want to make it very clear that it wasn't my idea.

(Thereupon, at 11:30 a.m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, February 10, 1966.)





