

Waging Peace: The Peace Corps as a Weapon of the Cold War

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9 March 2015

“Ask not what your country can do for you-ask what you can do for your country”
(Kennedy First Inaugural). These seventeen words, uttered on a frigid January afternoon on the east front of the Capitol by the youngest man ever elected to the Presidency of the United States, captured a nation and characterized a critical period in the American story. The largely ideological battle of the Cold War was crucial in the defense of democracy around the world. The United States defended her ideals with everything she had but this war was not centered around greater military capacity, rather it was fought through unconventional means around the world. The Peace Corps, a United States governmental agency that sends young Americans overseas to interact with and aid foreign peoples, and organizations like it were used to directly combat Soviet influence overseas. In a conflict based on opinions and interaction, metrics of effectiveness are very difficult to quantify but an effective Cold War weapon would both boost America’s, western society’s, and democracy’s reputation while hurting the Soviet Union’s and thus containing their influence while spreading the United States’. The Peace Corps was an effective weapon of the Cold War through containment of Soviet influence in the Third World and thus allowing American ideals to spread and improve the often tainted reputation of the United States.

After six years of intense fighting across European countrysides, North African deserts, and South Pacific island beaches, the Second World War had finally come to an end. The Allies, composed of the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union, claimed a decisive victory in 1945 against the Axis, composed of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and the Empire of Japan, but tensions soon arose in deciding the post-war fate of Europe and the rest of the world. Multiple peace conferences were held between the Big Three, Winston Churchill of the United

Kingdom, Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States, and Joseph Stalin of the U.S.S.R, none amounted to any success. The peace conferences only intensified disagreements between the nations. In February of 1945, the Big Three held the Yalta Conference in the Soviet city of Yalta on the coast of the Black Sea. The most famous of the peace conferences turned out to be both a success and failure. During the conference, the negotiators finalized a plan for an international organization that promoted cooperation between sovereign nations, later known as the United Nations, and gained support from Stalin for the war being fought in the Pacific but they also aggravated the issue over control in both Poland and Germany that drove the United States and the Soviet Union further apart.

The Soviet Union had differing policies than the United States on many issues, but the very first divisive factor during post-war Europe was Poland. At the conclusion of the war and the liberation of Poland from Hitler, Soviet troops, at the direct orders of Joseph Stalin, occupied Poland and instituted a pro-communist Polish government. Roosevelt wanted a democratic government based on free elections but his lack of harshness with Stalin allowed the Soviet Union to easily gain control (Brinkley 759). Meddling in sovereign nations' affairs and influencing international politics became common practice for the Soviet Union especially in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union was determined to achieve its dream of a strong sphere of influence in Central and Eastern Europe in order to spread their communist ideology. The entire concept of influencing the politics of a separate nation was rooted in Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engel's *The Communist Manifesto*, which guided the entire philosophy of the Soviet Union. The text supports an international revolt of the working class to overthrow the ruling class in order to fix society. It famously ends stating that the working class has nothing to lose but has, "a world

to win” (Marx). The Communist philosophy focuses on globalism rather than nationalism and especially spreading “the revolution” to working people around the world. This philosophy and mindset led the U.S.S.R. to prioritize foreign issues over domestic issues. At the end of the war, the Soviet Union already had troops in several Eastern European countries including parts of Germany and were quickly realizing their dream of post-war Europe that maintained a traditional balance of power with spheres of influence that mimicked pre-war Europe (Paterson 56) (Brinkley 758). Churchill claimed that, “an iron curtain [had] descended across the Continent,” that separated the powerful Communist enclave from the West (Churchill). An ideological battle was brewing between the United States, with the support of the West, and the Soviet Union.

The Cold War had officially begun in Europe and would last until the collapse of the U.S.S.R. in 1991. Historians often associate the unconventional war with competition, espionage, and nuclear weapons. The war itself was relatively non-violent but both countries were always on the brink of breaking out into a large and costly war against each other. The most fighting during the Cold War happened as a result of proxy wars. The proxy war, indirect fighting of a larger war, was one of the preeminent methods of waging the Cold War. The Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Afghan-Soviet War, and the Angolan Civil War are all examples of proxy wars of the Cold War. All of these conflicts were fought between communist-backed groups and western-backed groups and occasionally either American or Soviet troops fought but both countries were never involved at the same time. The small wars were never able to settle the dispute of the Cold War and only increased the tension between the United States and the U.S.S.R. During the 1960s, the Cold War had reached its climax as tensions between the two world superpowers reached its highest point. In the fall of 1962, American reconnaissance planes

photographed Soviet nuclear missile sites under construction in Cuba. Kennedy blockaded the island nation in order to force Nikita Khrushchev, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to “halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless and provocative threat to world peace” (Paterson 162). The United States interpreted the Soviet Union’s actions as an imminent threat to the safety and security of America. As tensions in the Western hemisphere remained at a high point, the Eastern hemisphere had similar issues. In August of 1961, East Germany, backed by the U.S.S.R., built a barbed wire barricade and then a concrete wall that divided the city of Berlin and came to be known as the Berlin Wall (Paterson 154). The Berlin Wall was the literal manifestation of the “iron curtain” that divided the European Continent and the rest of the world. Though the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Berlin Wall were important flashpoints in the larger conflict of the Cold War, the ongoing “missile gap” between the United States and the Soviet Union was the largest concern for American politicians. It was believed that by 1962, the Soviet Union “would have a 3 to 1 edge in intercontinental ballistic missiles” (Paterson 153). Partly political propaganda, the “missile gap” and the focus on nuclear weapons remained a large part of the Cold War. The complex origins and issues of the conflict made it difficult for the United States or the Soviet Union to definitively win the war.

The United States response to the war was always evolving to the threats presented to them. In the early stages of the conflict, the United States had an overly militaristic approach. The United States military grew so much that by 1963, “the United States had 275 major bases in 31 nations, 65 countries hosted U.S. forces, and the American military trained soldiers in 72 countries” (Paterson 153). Even though the U.S. responded to the beginning of the Cold War with a militaristic approach, the important and fundamental idea of globalism was never lost.

Foreign affairs always took precedence over domestic affairs during this time period. The United States' different outlook on the world started at the end of the Second World War with President Harry Truman. Truman was known as a tough negotiator with the Soviets. He wanted the United States to get "85 percent" of what it wanted at the expense of the Soviet Union (Brinkley 760). His policies never supported a direct attack of the Soviet Union or their ideals. His philosophy known as the Truman Doctrine, emphasized the necessity, "to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures" (Brinkley 762). His policy stood as the basis for the famous American foreign policy known as containment, where the U.S. attempted to stop the spread of communism around the world. The United States increased counterinsurgency forces to train local police forces and help nations in need as a direct result of the policy shift (Paterson 156). The military component of the Cold War response never receded but it began to work in conjunction with the diplomatic component of the United States. The U.S. had both capabilities; they held the "prime weapon of destruction- the atomic bomb- and the prime weapon of reconstruction- such wealth as no [other] nation had possessed" (Paterson 57). By being both a military and economic giant, the United States was able to adequately respond to most Soviet threats. With almost two decades of no progress in the conflict, the U.S. needed a drastic change in direction and it came in the form of a young, new leader that brought a new feeling of hope to the country.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a young and attractive Senator from Massachusetts who won the office of the President of the United States in the 1960 election. He came from a long-standing political tradition as the son of the wealthy and powerful Joseph P. Kennedy, former American ambassador to Britain (Brinkley 808). Even though he grew up in a world of

privilege, John F. Kennedy became “a spokesman for personal sacrifice” (Brinkley 808). With a few years of service in the U.S. Navy during World War II and a diplomat father, Kennedy was raised around the idea of service to his country. He adapted that life philosophy to his ultimately successful Presidential campaign. Throughout his entire 1960 campaign, Kennedy centered his political platform around national service. With half of the country’s entire population under the age of 25 years old (Rice 30), the youthful presidential hopeful knew that he could empower and inspire the young American generation to serve their country and help in the effort of fighting the Cold War. He often travelled to college campuses during his campaign in order to challenge students to contribute part of their lives in service to America (Kennedy, Michigan). He campaigned for a service program that would promote the American way of life while simultaneously providing countries with assistance (Coleman). That simple campaign promise of a special organization carried hope across the nation and propelled Kennedy straight into the White House.

The Peace Corps was born out of Kennedy’s campaigning across the country. In 1961, a Presidential Executive Order officially created the Peace Corps as an agency of the Department of State. The Washington D.C. offices of the young organization reported directly to the Secretary of State while the overseas volunteers reported to their respective ambassadors (Shriver Foreign Affairs). The early Peace Corps was a young and energetic organization that lacked direction and purpose. The Peace Corps Act that established the organization outlined three general and very broad goals:

1. To provide volunteers, “under conditions of hardship if necessary,” to help other countries “in meeting their needs for trained manpower, particularly in meeting the basic needs of those living in the poorest areas.”
2. “To help promote a better understanding of the American people on the part of the peoples served.”

3. To help promote “a better understanding of other peoples on the part of the American people.” (Meisler 34)

The goals were good aspirations for the future of the organization but they weren't really relevant at the present moment. The organization benefited from an enthusiastic nation following the exciting campaign of Kennedy but was, in actuality, fueled by the competitive atmosphere with the Soviet Union that the Cold War created. The new organization was ready to do good in the world but they were more prepared to help the United States fight the Soviets in the ensuing Cold War.

The Peace Corps was created in direct response to the Soviet Union's attempt to influence the Third World. During the Cold War, the developing world became the battleground of the conflict. Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Premier, emphasized that a Communist world victory could only be achieved through wars of national liberation in the Third World (Rice 256). Both the United States and the Soviet Union fully understood the importance of the developing world but the Soviet Union was first to take action in influencing volatile regions with their political philosophy of Communism. The Soviet Union had already sent its teachers, doctors, technicians, and experts to almost every continent in order to “advance the cause of world communism” (Kennedy Cow Palace). The United States was simply behind when it came to providing aid to the Third World. It was clear to every American and President Kennedy that America had fallen behind in influencing the developing world:

Already Asia has more Soviet than American technicians- and Africa may by this time. Russian diplomats are the first to arrive, the first to offer aid, the only ones represented by key officials at diplomatic receptions. They know the country, they speak the language- and in Guinea, Ghana, Laos, and all over the globe, they are working fast and effectively. Missiles and arms cannot stop them- neither can American dollars. They can only be countered by Americans equally skilled and equally dedicated- and if I am elected, I ask you to help me find those Americans (Kennedy, Cow).

Kennedy clarified that traditional military power methods, such as weapons and training, cannot stop the advance of the Soviet Union. The traditional policy of containment was needed but not in the orthodox sense of physical containment with ground troops slowly fighting back a creeping frontline. In the Third World, the United States needed to intellectually contain the Soviet threat and the Peace Corps was the organization tasked with that difficult job. In a conflict between two ideologies, the United States had to not only match every single Soviet action but also, in addition, surpass them in every aspect while still attaining similar goals. In the instance of the Peace Corps, the United States had to exceed the Soviet Union in quantity and quality of the volunteers. When the USSR sent 280 teachers, doctors, and technicians to Colombia in the 1960s, Sargent Shriver, the director, responded by sending over 500 Peace Corps volunteers to Colombia (Rice 264). The almost two to one ratio of American volunteers to Soviet volunteers significantly diminished the influence of Communism but increased the competitive mindset of the two nations. Soviet and American volunteers sometimes even shared working areas while overseas, competing for the approval of the locals. The competitive mindset was at the heart of the fierce rivalry between the United States and the USSR. The Cold War often manifested itself in races for similar goals, whether it was the Space Race or the Nuclear Arms race. The United States needed to respond adequately to the threat of the Soviet Union in the Third World and the Peace Corps was specifically created as the weapon to intellectually contain and combat that unique threat.

Combatting the Soviet threat in the developing world was increasingly difficult with the negative reputation that America had acquired overseas. Americans and foreigners alike had previously criticized the United States, more specifically the foreign policy of the United States,

since the end of the Second World War. Between the Korean War and the start of the Vietnam War, the United States had focused heavily on the military component of her foreign policy. At the beginning of the 1960s, the United States had just approved the largest-ever armaments budget in her history with a 15 percent increase in the defense budget (Paterson 153). In short, the country was very military-minded and the diplomatic component of foreign policy became secondary. The nation's government had adopted a war mindset that valued machismo over compassion and negatively affected the United States' policies and image. Criticism over American foreign policy increased as a result and became most notable in 1958 when a fictional book entitled *The Ugly American*, written by American authors Eugene Burdick and William Lederer about U.S. foreign policy in a fictional nation in Southeast Asia, became a bestseller. The novel describes the Americans' losing struggle against Communism because of sheer ignorance, a common theme in American foreign policy at the time. In the novel, a fictional interview is conducted of a Burmese journalist who is dissatisfied of America's foreign policy:

For some reason, however, the Americans I meet in my country are not the same as the ones I knew in the United States. A mysterious change seems to come over Americans when they go to a foreign land. They isolate themselves socially. They live pretentiously. They're loud and ostentatious. Perhaps they're frightened and defensive; or maybe they're not properly trained and make mistakes out of ignorance. I've been to Russia too. On the whole, I have small regard for the Russians as a people. But individual Russians I meet in Burma make an excellent impression. one does not notice them on the street too often. They have been taught our local sensitivities, and usually manage to avoid abusing them. And they all speak and read our language and have no need for Burmese interpreters, translators, and servants; so no Burman sees their feet of clay (Lederer 145). Even though the bestselling book and even more successful movie are both fiction, the ideas

expressed in both formats were rooted in some fact. American diplomats were simply not prepared to deal with foreign countries. In 1958, it was reported that, "the American Ambassador to Moscow was the only U.S. Ambassador to a communist country who spoke the language of

the country to which they were assigned,” (Kennedy Cow Palace). Simple communication with the locals was therefore non-existent and vital connections with the host government were obviously lacking as well. The fact that the United States’ top diplomat in a country did not even speak the host nation’s language sends a strong message of ignorance that reflects on the image of the United States.

The Peace Corps was created to counter that negative stereotype of ignorance that was attached to the United States’ reputation. The organization grew out of the increased funding of peaceful diplomacy and was seen as the “virtuous” side of American foreign policy. The media helped to portray the organization as the very best that America had to offer, describing the youthful volunteers as, “a battalion of cheery, crew-cut kids who hopped off their drugstore stools and hurried out around the world to wage peace” (Rice 244). The first volunteers’ names were even published in the *New York Times*, shared to the entire country like they were American heroes (Meisler 27). Even before a single American had stepped foot in a foreign country, the American public was already swept up in the mystique surrounding President John F. Kennedy’s flagship program. The youthfulness of the program, president, and people involved won over the support of the American public and even the rest of the world. In a 2010 study conducted by the Peace Corps’ own Office of Strategic Information, Research, and Planning, it was found that positive foreign opinion of Americans increased after interaction with Peace Corps Volunteers in foreign countries. Prior to any interaction with Peace Corps Volunteers, only 17% of respondents held a very positive opinion of Americans while 46% held an ambivalent or negative view. After differing levels of interaction with Peace Corps Volunteers that ranged from daily to less than monthly interactions, 73% of respondents held a more positive

view of Americans than they previously had (Kerley). One of the few concrete Peace Corps goals was to help other peoples understand American ideals and culture. Kennedy emphasized that American foreign policy must “understand what is in the minds of other peoples, or help them understand ours” (Kennedy Cow). It was critical for American foreign policy to be seen in a positive light in order to sufficiently promote the interests of the United States abroad. The positive view of the Peace Corps by the American media and foreign nationals is credited to the positive and specific goals of the organization but also to the incredible team appointed to lead the organization to success.

Sargent Shriver, the first director of the Peace Corps, was partly responsible for the extremely positive image and subsequent success of the new program. A young and hard-charging man, Shriver was the perfect fit for the young and hard-charging organization. He was loved by press who created a legend of a, “superbly cool but enterprising executive” (Rice 250). His reputation was not only admired by the American but also the Peace Corps volunteers who were motivated by Shriver’s outstanding leadership. Ty Vignone, a Peace Corps Volunteer who taught English in Ethiopia in 1962 and long-time Newton North High School history teacher, recalls Shriver visiting his mission. “[Shriver] was a real peoples-person,” he said, “He knew every single one of our names.” Shriver put a face to the program and helped it gain popularity and prestige around the world. His image and actions to improve the image of the Peace Corps reflected well of the overall reputation of the United States. It was absolutely critical for foreign people’s to look favorably upon the United States and her ideals in order to openly allow her ideals to spread within foreign countries.

The Peace Corps was a method for the United States to actively spread the ideals of America and democracy around the world. The organization was meant to be a representation of America in both its composition and actions. The volunteers were intended to “represent the best of American life, thought, dedication, and skill” (Shriver Notre Dame). The makeup of the organization should mimic the diversity that is unique to the United States. With a lack of minorities, the program recruited African-Americans to eventually fill 24 percent of the positions within the organization (Shriver Foreign Affairs). The volunteers were the face of America. They needed to truthfully represent the nation and spread the “melting pot” ideal to the rest of the world. More than simply ethnic diversity, the volunteers of the Peace Corps need the ability to clearly articulate the values of the United States. Along with intensive language and cultural training of specific nations, volunteers were required to be “able to discuss the Declaration of Independence and the problems of modern democracy” (Shriver Notre Dame). Volunteers were expected to engage in conversations with the locals about democracy and the United States and they genuinely believed in “America’s historic mission to spread the value of freedom of choice” (Rice 270). Vignone, a former Peace Corps Volunteer, confirmed that while teaching students English in Ethiopia, him and his fellow volunteers interweaved lessons of the ideals of the United States (Vignone). He recalls discussing elections and President Kennedy, especially after his assassination in 1963 (Vignone). The spreading of American ideals can be classified as a sort of cultural imperialism but traditional imperialist methods were never used.

The Peace Corps was able to influence foreign nations through the primary method of education in unstable countries. At the conclusion of the Second World War to the climax of the Cold War in 1960, thirty-seven new nations gained independence from colonial rule in Asia,

Africa, and the Middle East. Eighteen nations gained independence in 1960 alone (Peterson 123). The new nations, often very poor, were susceptible to huge amounts of foreign influence. The Peace Corps intentionally entered countries like Ghana or Ethiopia in order to influence them politically. Shriver recognized the “opportunity to move a country from an apparent clear Bloc orientation to the West” (Rice 264). These countries that were at-risk for Communist influence were flooded with Peace Corps teachers. The education program of the Peace Corps was the largest and by far most successful. “Peace Corps teachers took up posts in 40-50 percent of all secondary schools in Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Somalia... By 1963, the term ‘Peace Corps teacher’ was well known in nineteen African countries” (Rice 181). Countries requested the Peace Corps to send more teachers in order to instruct in the American style (Rice 181). With a large teaching program, most foreigners interacted with Americans in some sort of educational capacity. This allowed the Peace Corps to easily convince the population, especially the children, to look favorably upon the United States. The children are the future of those countries and some will eventually influence the politics of their respective nations but with a fond remembrance of the United States. Alejandro Toledo, the former president of Peru, rose out of poverty and eventually educated in the United States due to the work of Peace Corps volunteers he interacted with and who helped him achieve his dream of attending college in the United States (Krauss). The Peace Corps’ impact is largely unquantifiable but the impact is definitely seen in countries like Ghana or Ethiopia who speak English instead of Russian. The Peace Corps’ impact and influence on foreign nations is vast and far-reaching and still has implications to this day.

The Peace Corps was an effective weapon of the Cold War that was used to counter the imposing influence of the Soviet Union in the Third World. Some may claim the Peace Corps is

only a tool of cultural imperialism and it shows the “blatant contradiction between America’s professed principles and actual practice” (Peterson 126) and there is no doubt that the Peace Corps was intended to impose democracy on countries; however, the Peace Corps’ beauty is that it achieved the often violent and immoral end goal of imperialism through non-violent means. The United States did not send entire armies to colonize and civilize foreign people, instead simple acts of compassion were able to influence foreign peoples to look positively upon the United States and ultimately follow her ideals. “One Volunteer in Chile was said to have ‘revolutionized’ her community by giving local women the recipe for apple pie” (Rice 245). The Peace Corps brought America to the world and allowed it to become the World Superpower that it is today.

Word Count: 4448

Annotated Bibliography

Brinkley, Alan. "The Cold War." *American History: Connecting with the past*. Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2012. N. pag. Print.

The Brinkley AP U.S. History textbook was vital to my background as it supplied me with my questions about the origins of the Cold War. During my research, the book gave me an overview for the context of the Cold War from the end of World War II with all of the postwar negotiations to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and all of the smaller conflicts and proxy wars that took place in between. It is surprisingly well-written for a history textbook and was also organized very well so that I could find exactly the information I was looking for.

Churchill, Winston. "Sinews of Peace." Westminster College. Missouri, Fulton. 5 Mar. 1946. *National Churchill Museum*. Web. 28 Jan. 2015.

Churchill's famous Iron Curtain speech opened me up to the rhetoric and the ideas utilized by Western politicians. The speech, largely considered one of the greats, gave insight into what people predicted the world would become in future years. Churchill's rhetoric supplied me with some good quotations but the speech did not have any Peace Corps content that could help me.

Coleman, David G. "Peace Corps." *Dictionary of American History*. 3rd ed. Vol. 6. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2003. *U.S. History in Context*. Web. 6 Nov. 2014.

This small article from a database was useful for understanding the Peace Corps while I was first researching. It was the first source I looked at and set the whole period in context while providing many past and modern day statistics of the Peace Corps

Hall, Michael R. "The Impact of the U.S. Peace Corps at Home and Abroad." *Journal of Third World Studies* 24.1 (2007): n. pag. *Questia School*. Web. 6 Nov. 2014.

This small article from a database helped me more with the background of the organization than the impact of it. It did not look at the long term effect of the Peace Corps that I was hoping for.

Kennedy, John F. "First Inaugural Address." Presidential Inauguration 1961. U.S. Capitol, Washington D.C. 20 Jan. 1961. *The American Presidency Project*. Web. 8 Mar. 2015.

This famous speech gave me a famous quote to open my paper. The famous quote characterized Kennedy's entire presidency and the Peace Corps reflects that.

Kennedy, John F. "Remarks of Senator John F. Kennedy." University of Michigan. Michigan, Ann Arbor. 14 Oct. 1960. *Peace Corps*. Web. 6 Nov. 2014.

Kennedy's campaign remarks at the University of Michigan was critical in understanding the conception of the idea of the Peace Corps. The impromptu speech at 2 AM in the cold sort of rounded up nicely the platform that Kennedy ran for President on. It revealed his charisma that charmed the voters and it showed the importance he placed on education but especially young people. The speech also supplied some passionate quotes that sum up Kennedy's ideas and lead to the idea behind the Peace Corps.

Kennedy, John F. "Speech of Senator John F. Kennedy, Cow Palace." California, San Francisco. 2 Nov. 1960. *The American Presidency Project*. Web. 30 Dec. 2014.

Kennedy's speech at the Cow Palace in San Francisco was incredibly helpful. The speech is widely regarded as "The Peace Corps Speech" since Kennedy strictly speaks about his plan to empower the young Americans graduating from college. He sort of outlines his plan for the Peace Corps and everything that he envisioned for the program. The speech was critical in understanding how the organization was to be structured and helped me understand what the ideal organization would look like compared to the realistic organization.

Kerley, Janet, and Susan Jenkins. "The Impact of Peace Corps Service on Host Communities and Host Country Perceptions of Americans." *Office of Strategic Information, Research and Planning* (2010): n. pag. *Peace Corps*. Web. 8 Mar. 2015.

The Peace Corps report gave me some good statistics on the opinion of people who interacted with Peace Corps Volunteers. It showed me some quantifiable metrics of the impact of the Peace Corps.

Krauss, Clifford. "Man in the News: Alejandro Toledo." *The New York Times*. N.p., 5 June 2001. Web. 8 Mar. 2015.

This interesting news story on the background of the former Peruvian President, Alejandro Toledo, gave me a small and interesting narrative on the impact of the Peace Corps. It shows that the Peace Corps interaction can actually produce the next President of a country. He actually visited the Peace Corps in Washington while he was in office.

Lederer, William J., and Eugene Burdick. *The Ugly American*. New York: Norton, 1958. Print. This fictional book criticizing the American foreign policy of the 1950s wasn't all too helpful. It gave me some insight into the culture of America at that time and revealed how popular discussing politics was back then but since it was only a fictional story, the novel provided no historical content regarding the Peace Corps.

Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. "Manifesto of the Communist Party." *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. N.p., n.d. Web. 6 Jan. 2015.

The famous text of the Communist Manifesto was not entirely useful for my argument about the Peace Corps but it gave me some good quotes about the communist view about globalism that does connect to my argument. It showed that the Soviets were much more focused on foreign affairs than domestic affairs.

Meisler, Stanley. *When the World Calls: The Inside Story of the Peace Corps and Its First Fifty Years*. Boston: Beacon, 2011. Print.

This book was not very useful with my research about the organization of the Peace Corps. It was more of a narrative of individual volunteers' stories while on missions with the Peace Corps. There was a small section in the beginning detailing Shriver and the early organization but it was not very useful for my very specific research.

Paterson, Thomas G., and J. Garry Clifford. *America Ascendant: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1939*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1995. Print.

This book was very useful in my background research. It provided facts on the policies of Kennedy and the United States during that time period. It also provided me with facts on the policies of the Soviet Union and the origins of the entire Cold War conflict.

Redmon, Coates. *Come as You Are: The Peace Corps Story*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986. Print.

This book was not very helpful in my research as it talked a lot about individual people's experiences and some on the organization. It seemed like more of a biography on Shriver and Kennedy than anything else.

Rice, Gerard T. *The Bold Experiment: JFK's Peace Corps*. Notre Dame, IN: U of Notre Dame, 1985. Print.

This book was by far the most useful book I found. The book is all about the creation of the Peace Corps since the early 1960s and documents well both Shriver and Kennedy. The book also does a good job explaining the political process behind the creation of the organization and the goals that were intended to come from it. I quoted the most from this source because it fits well with my paper.

Roosevelt, Eleanor. "The Cold War Logic of the Peace Corps." *Atlantic* Apr. 1961: n. pag. *The Atlantic*. 5 Nov. 2013. Web. 26 Dec. 2014.

This article written by former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt showed some insight into the reasons for the Peace Corps. Roosevelt was trying to appeal to people to help the Peace Corps. The piece showed the importance of the organization since Roosevelt was willing to become involved with it.

Shriver, Sargent. "Two Years of the Peace Corps." *Foreign Affairs* July 1963: n. pag. *Foreign Affairs*. Council on Foreign Relations. Web. 6 Nov. 2014.

This was another article that showed the appeals the organization used to recruit new volunteers. It showed the image they had created and the inspiring rhetoric of the Peace Corps' fearless leader, giving insight into his background as well.

Shriver, Sargent. "University of Notre Dame Commencement Address." University of Notre Dame Commencement Exercises 1961. Indiana, South Bend. 4 June 1961. Address. This was a speech given by Sargent Shriver, the first director, appealing to prospective volunteers during a college commencement. It provided some insight for Shriver's and the organization's motivation to try and influence foreign countries.

Vignone, Ty. "The Peace Corps." Personal interview. 9 Jan. 2015.

Mr. Ty Vignone is a long-time teacher at Newton North High School and was one of the first Peace Corps Volunteers in the country. He was deployed to Ethiopia in 1962 on the first mission to that country. He told me about everyday experiences as a representative of America in a foreign country, teaching English to schoolchildren. He was helpful in providing a primary source about the work they were tasked with doing and the change that they affected in their region.