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MEMORANDUM

MAJORITY --(202) 225-4527  
(TTY) --(202) 226-3372  
MINORITY --(202) 225-3725  
(TTY) --(202) 226-3117

TO: Chairman Ford  
FROM: Gene Sofer  
DATE: January 26, 1993  
SUBJECT: Meeting with Eli Segal on National Service

BACKGROUND

The National and Community Service Act expires this year and must be reauthorized. That Act, funded at \$115 million this fiscal year, supports 4 major categories of service: (a) school-based K-12 programs; (b) innovative higher education projects; (c) youth and conservation corps; and (d) national demonstration projects. Largely at your insistence, this Act did not link national service and student financial aid. It focuses largely on the non-college bound.

The authorizing legislation created a Commission on National and Community Service to administer grant funds. This independent agency within the Executive Branch is funded by HUD-VA appropriations (\$75 million). Funding for these programs competes with housing and NASA and veterans, not with other education and labor programs.

(The Defense Appropriations Act of FY 1993 included another \$40 million for service programs, \$20 million to fund a CCC-demo authored by Senator Boren and \$20 million for programs funded by the Commission.)

## ISSUES

It would be helpful if Segal could give you some idea of how the Administration wants to proceed with this legislation. Some questions are:

- (1) should reauthorization of the National and Community Service Act be linked to the proposed National Service/Education Trust or be handled separately?
- (2) is the Administration contemplating an overhaul of existing service programs and the creation of a new agency that would include these programs, ACTION, Peace Corps, health service corps, senior volunteer programs, literacy corps, and other service programs within it?
- (3) does the Administration contemplate that the National Service/Education Trust be part of the Department of Education or part of another administrative entity?
- (4) does the Administration have a position on the continued existence of the Commission on National and Community Service?
- (5) does it have a position on reauthorizing President Bush's Points of Light Foundation that was created by the Act?
- (6) does the Administration have an authorization level in mind for existing service programs? Does it assume that these programs will also be funded from savings achieved through expanding the direct loan program or by general appropriations?

# United States Senate

DAVE DURENBERGER

January 22, 1993

Dear Friend:

Because of your strong interest in service learning and national and community service, I thought you would appreciate receiving the enclosed information:

First, a copy of a statement I made at a January 14 press conference in Washington at which the Commission on National and Community Service unveiled its first report to the President and Congress.

Second, a copy of a similar statement I made at the hearing the Commission conducted in Minneapolis in mid-December.

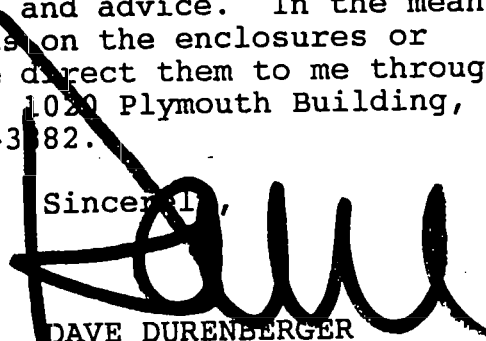
And, third, a copy of a letter I sent to then President-elect Clinton in December which addresses a number of important issues raised by his national service proposal.

As a member of the Senate Labor and Human Resource Committee and the chief Republican co-sponsor of the Commission's authorizing legislation, I intend to be deeply involved in this year's debate on national service and service learning.

Of course, the President's national service proposal will dominate that debate -- particularly as it involves full- or part-time stipended service opportunities. But, I believe this year's reauthorization of both the National and Community Service Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act also provide important forums for expanding the links between all types of youth and community service and education.

As the new President's proposal is formalized and the issues begin to develop, I will be getting back to you with additional information and soliciting your opinions and advice. In the meantime, if you have questions or comments on the enclosures or other issues of mutual concern, please direct them to me through Jon Schroeder in my Minnesota office: 1020 Plymouth Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402; 612-370-3382.

Sincerely,



DAVE DURENBERGER  
U.S. Senator

# Senator Dave Durenberger

U.S. Senator for Minnesota

## **STATEMENT BY U.S. SENATOR DAVE DURENBERGER AT A PRESS CONFERENCE HOSTED BY THE COMMISSION ON NATIONAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICE JANUARY 14, 1993**

I appreciate this opportunity to help demonstrate the Commission's bi-partisan support and to add my commitment to building on the Commission's first two years during its upcoming reauthorization.

My own strong support for the Commission comes out of a deep personal commitment to its goals and from the leadership my home state of Minnesota has given linking community service by young people to the need from what I like to call "real education reform."

I'm especially pleased that President Bush selected four current or former Minnesotans to serve on the Commission -- Reatha Clark King, Wayne Miesel, Karen Young, and Glen White.

I'm also pleased that the Commission's report cites Minnesota's leadership in making the link between youth service and education, as well as the special contributions made over many years by Minnesotans like Jim Kielsmeier and Minnesota organizations like the National Youth Leadership Council.

It's already been noted that President-elect Clinton has made national service one of the top priorities for his new Administration. And, I look forward to working closely with my colleagues here and on the Labor Committee as we turn that proposal into legislation.

I have some preliminary ideas -- especially on the loan repayment part of the Clinton proposal -- that I've previously communicated to the new President in a letter that I think is available here today.

A lot of what the President is proposing as one option for repaying student loans sounds like the direct loan proposal that Senator Kennedy and Paul Simon, Bill Bradley and I got included as a new pilot loan program in last year's bill reauthorizing the Higher Education Act.

I look forward expanding on what we called "IDEA" as part of the new President's proposal to allow students to repay their loans through the IRS... and based on their post-college incomes.

As I mentioned earlier, I'm extremely pleased with the emphasis the Commission places in its report on what's called "service learning."

Because of Minnesota's leadership in this area, I've become convinced that integrating community service opportunities right into the school curriculum has to be a very important part of education reform.

Giving kids the opportunity for a "hands on experience" out in the community can be a whole lot better way to teach and learn than the traditional "textbook and lecture model" we too often see in the classroom.

I'm sure there are a number of important issues that need to be addressed as we begin the debate on reauthorizing the Commission and the debate on the Clinton national service proposal.

And, as that debate begins, I'd like to suggest that we focus on two parallel questions...

"Is community service a different and better way to teach and learn?" Or, "is community service a different and better way to pay for college?"

Nothing could really be that simple, of course. And, it's also probably not an "either/or" question. But, much of what we hear in the coming debate will revolve around those two questions -- "what" we're doing and "why" we're doing it.

My own bias is that service learning can be a powerful force to tap the enormous energies and contributions of young people and to improve the outcomes of teaching and learning all across America.

In offering stipended service opportunities to help young people pay for college, I also believe we should build on existing initiatives in states like Minnesota, rather than create a huge new federal program run from Washington.

Finally, I believe both service learning and national service will contribute more and be more widely accepted and used if they're kept as an option -- and not made either a requirement for high school graduation or a condition of getting college student aid.

Fortunately, the Commission's report seems headed in the right direction on all three of those issues. So, I'm looking forward to working closely with the Commission, the new Administration, and my colleagues in the Congress as we turn all these good ideas into legislative reality.

Thanks to all of you for this opportunity to participate in today's release of the Commission's first report to Congress.

And, let me offer a special word of thanks to the Commission and its staff for all your good work today, and for all the promise and opportunity you offer for the future.

# **Senator Dave Durenberger**

U.S. Senator for Minnesota

## **STATEMENT BY U.S. SENATOR DAVE DURENBERGER AT A HEARING CONDUCTED BY THE COMMISSION ON NATIONAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICE DECEMBER 14, 1992 MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA**

Let me begin by joining Senator Wellstone in welcoming the Commission -- and the rest of our out-of-town guests and witnesses -- to Minnesota.

We're all proud that you chose North High School for one of only two national hearings you're conducting outside of Washington. You've made a wise choice. And, I know you'll be impressed with what you hear from the witnesses... and from the "open mike" period later on.

I've stated many times before that most of what I've learned about this subject has come from a lot of the people in this room.

That's why I asked that Paul and I be on this side of the table this morning... doing more listening than talking... and having a chance to engage in at least some of the dialogue the Commission will be having with the students and other witnesses who are here to testify.

I've said many times before that, I came to this issue several years ago with a much narrower vision of what we've traditionally called "volunteerism".

My vision was limited by my own experience as a community volunteer... as president of the South St. Paul Jaycees... as president of the Burroughs Elementary School PTA... as an active participant in the Citizens League and a lot of other community projects and community organizations.

It was also defined as "volunteerism" by my years as a director of VOLUNTEER, the National Center for Voluntary Action, and by my work in the 1970's on the National Study Commission on Volunteering in America.

I did my "volunteering" out of a strong sense of "civic duty." And, I still believe that promoting what President Bush calls a "Thousand Points of Light" is an important part of what the Commission on National and Community Service is all about.

But, from people like Jim Kielsmeier and a lot of teachers and students in Minnesota, I've also learned that integrating community service into the school curriculum can be an essential element in "education reform."

And, I've learned service corps and other forms of stipended service can be an effective "education alternative" for students who aren't well-suited for more traditional schooling that's totally based on textbooks used in the classroom.

This growing awareness of these broader values of community service is one reason I became the lead Republican co-sponsor of the Commission's authorizing legislation when it first passed the Congress two years ago this fall.

Because both Paul and I serve on the committee that will draft the bill, I'm also looking forward to playing an active and positive role in the Commission's reauthorization this coming year.

And, I'm especially pleased that President-elect Clinton has placed a high priority on both changing the way we pay for college -- and on creating new opportunities for youth and community service -- in his campaign, and in the priorities he's now setting for the next session of Congress.

Some of what Governor Clinton is proposing sounds a lot like legislation that Senator Paul Simon and I introduced last year to create a new student loan program.

Our proposal -- called IDEA -- creates a new type of student loan that's available to everyone regardless of income. And, the payments on IDEA loans go up or down every year because they're based on the borrower's post-college income.

We got a pilot project to test IDEA loans included in the Higher Education Amendments that Congress passed earlier this year.

And, both Senator Simon and I would like to see an expansion of this "better way of paying for college" become part of what the Clinton Administration proposes to the Congress.

Perhaps like a lot of you, I have mixed feelings about the other half of the Clinton proposal -- to make completing some period of community service a way to help pay the cost of going to college.

In fact, I've written a letter to the President-elect that identifies at least some of the issues raised by both parts of his proposal that I would ask be made a part of the record of this hearing (letter attached).

I'm looking forward to our discussion of these issues this morning and at future hearings in Washington...

...discussion about the wisdom of further complicating our already complex student aid system...

...about the value of a centralized national service system or a decentralized national service program that builds on new or existing programs at the state or local level...

...about whether participation in some type of service should be a requirement for high school graduation or be a condition of getting college student aid...

...about the fairness of a service option or mandate to low income and non-traditional students -- students who have jobs and families and less time or financial flexibility to do some period of service in exchange for helping to pay the rising cost of going to college.

These are complex issues that deserve the kind of debate we're starting here this morning.

In beginning that debate, it helps me to ask two parallel questions...

"Is community service a different and better way to teach and learn?"

"Or, is community service a different and better way to pay for college?"

Nothing could really be that simple, of course. And, it's also probably not an "either/or" question.

But, much of what we hear today -- and much of what we hear in the debate to come in Washington -- will revolve around those two questions about "what" we're doing and "why."

I think I've already stated my personal bias that service

learning can be a powerful force to both tap the enormous energies and contributions of young people and to improve the outcomes of teaching and learning in this country.

I also believe we'd be better off building on existing initiatives in states like Minnesota, rather than creating a huge new national program that's run entirely from Washington.

Today's hearing -- and future hearings -- will help explore these issues further. So, I'm looking forward to listening and learning everything I can.

Thank you all for coming.

\* \* \* \* \*

**FOR MORE INFORMATION: Contact Senator Dave Durenberger, 1020 Plymouth Building, Minneapolis, Mn. 55402; 612-370-3382 or 800-752-4226.**

# United States Senate

DAVE DURENBERGER

December 14, 1992

Hon. Bill Clinton  
Office of the Governor  
State Capitol  
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. President-elect:

During the course of this year's campaign, I was pleased to hear your repeated calls for fundamental changes in the way we pay for college. And, you have made it clear in your initial statements since the election that you intend to place a high priority on bringing specific proposals to the Congress to implement those changes early in your new administration.

As a member of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee -- and one who shares your interest in fundamental change -- I want to commend you for your leadership and make this offer to play a constructive role in turning good ideas into sound legislative policy.

As you know, the concepts of direct lending, income-contingent loan repayment, and stipended national service were all given extensive debate in Congress over the past three years.

In 1990, we authorized the National and Community Services Act, which sets up the framework for a more coordinated federal role in promoting a variety of youth and community service initiatives around the country. I was pleased to be the principal Republican co-sponsor of that legislation which comes up for reauthorization in the coming session of Congress.

And, earlier this year, the Congress included a new direct loan demonstration in legislation reauthorizing the Higher Education Act. That demonstration was based in part on a proposal that Senator Paul Simon and I introduced creating a new program called "IDEA" (for Income Dependent Education Assistance). IDEA is a direct loan program, available to all borrowers regardless of income, with income-contingent repayment made through the IRS.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, the Simon-Durenberger IDEA proposal could have saved \$2.7 billion dollars a year



through increased efficiencies, better targeted subsidies, and substantially fewer defaults.

Senator Simon and I proposed transferring most of that savings to the Pell program. Again using CBO estimates, the savings from IDEA would have paid for a \$600 increase in every eligible student's Pell Grant.

The Simon-Durenberger proposal would also have financed a new program offering \$1000 bonus scholarships to up to 500,000 Pell-eligible students based on academic merit. And, it would have paid for new \$100 million grant program to states to finance early intervention programs -- to better prepare at-risk high school students for college.

### Principles for changes in higher education financing

It's my understanding that your advisors are now working on details for a higher education financing proposal to be transmitted to the Congress early next year. As that process goes forward, I'd like to suggest three principles for change that I believe merit your consideration, and the consideration of my colleagues in the Congress.

#### Principle I -- Fundamental change

The first of those principles is that we must accept your premise that fundamental change is needed if we're to guarantee access to college for present and future generations.

We do have to make our current programs work better and more efficiently. Savings from fewer defaults and less overhead should be shifted into grants. And, we must work toward funding the larger Pell grants that Congress authorized this year.

But, there is also a clear message in this year's election that we must bring down the deficit. And, there's a clear message that the American people want fundamental change.

So, even if we are able to increase grants, we still won't assure access to higher education for every American.

And, without new and better ways of paying for college, a larger and larger share of the population will simply be priced out of an opportunity they can't afford to go without.

#### Principle II -- Fairness and individual responsibility

A second principle for reform must be to support your emphasis on fairness and individual responsibility.

Both those goals were what attracted me to the IDEA proposal in

the first place.

IDEA recognizes the direct correlation between education and income. Generally speaking, the more education you get, the more income you will earn over a lifetime of work.

But, IDEA also acknowledges that many of today's college graduates earn less, relative to the cost of their education, than did their predecessors. That's especially true for graduates who take jobs in fields like teaching, social work, and nursing.

And, IDEA recognizes that college graduates stepping into today's uncertain economy often face periods of unemployment or underemployment -- either prior to settling into a permanent job in their field -- or even between jobs in what might be an up and down career.

But, even with these ups and down, a college education is still a lifetime investment that pays off.

That's why IDEA supports the notion that individuals need to take responsibility for paying for something that contributes so much to their future.

At the same time, that responsibility needs to be assigned and accepted within the realities of today's economy... drawing on the fairness and flexibility that an income-contingent loan program like IDEA can allow.

This notion of individual responsibility is also at the root of your proposal to give college graduates the opportunity to work off tuition or student loans through some period of national or community service.

There are a lot of policy and operational issues that will need to be addressed in creating that kind of program. Some of those issues are identified below.

But, there's also a lot of appeal to offering students the opportunity to earn some part of the cost of going to college by tapping their own time and talents in ways that benefit the larger community.

### Principle III -- Do reform carefully and do it right

Finally, a third principle I would offer is that, while we're doing big change, we must do it carefully, and we must do it right.

I've learned over the past several years that there are about as many ways to do income-contingent loan repayment as there are smart people and computers. And, I've also learned that how we

design who pays back how much can have a big impact on whether a loan program like IDEA will actually work.

There are thousands of differences in the fine print, but, the proposals I looked at prior to introducing IDEA had at least three big differences.

First, the proposals differ on where they get their initial source of capital.

Some of the proposals draw on surpluses in the Social Security Trust Fund. But, I personally concluded it wasn't wise to take on all the special interests who oppose direct lending and all those who are counting on Social Security.

I also couldn't buy into Bill Bradley's proposal to use a 10 percent surcharge on millionaires to launch a new student loan program. Last year at least, such a suggestion always triggered partisan gridlock.

So, Senator Simon and I relied on the upfront sale of government bonds to help launch IDEA. The bonds would be put in a revolving fund and paid back by loan payments... then loaned out again and again over time.

\* \* \* \* \*

A second big difference in the various income-contingent loan plans is who does the collection.

I concluded it makes sense to do loan collection through the IRS because of its efficiency and because it is well equipped to make annual calculations of loan payments that are based on income.

But, I also learned that the IRS will need to become a whole lot more comfortable about taking on that new responsibility. And, beyond administrative concerns, some of my colleagues on the Finance and Ways and Means Committees also argued that getting the IRS involved in student loan collection would increase the current rate of tax fraud and tax avoidance -- driving up the deficit.

My initial reaction to that concern was pretty simple. It's against the law to cheat on your taxes. And, if more people do it -- in this case to avoid repaying their student loans -- we need to make sure they get caught!

The reality, of course, is that without real experience with IRS collection of student loans, it's hard to know what impact something like IDEA might actually have on the ability of the IRS to perform its traditional job and on the level of tax fraud and tax avoidance. That's one big reason we agreed to test the IDEA

concept with a demonstration program run at a limited number of schools.

\* \* \* \* \*

Finally, a third big difference in these proposals -- and probably the most important -- is exactly how the size of loan payments gets tied to income.

There's a lot of fine print in these different proposals, but the issue really comes down to two inter-related questions:

First, should the student loan program also become an income transfer program, with higher income college graduates subsidizing student borrowers who end up earning less?

And, second, if some students think they might have higher than average incomes, will they then decide not to participate, and -- in the process -- deny revenues to the program that are needed to help subsidize others?

In the health insurance business, of course, that's known as "the problem of adverse selection." Too many sick people -- or too few healthy people -- make a health insurance plan actuarially unsound.

The best advice I got was to design a plan under which nobody pays back more than they borrow, plus interest. IDEA does anticipate some losses from people who die or never generate enough income -- even over 25 years -- to pay back their loan.

But, the plan is set up to cover those losses out of the difference between what the government pays in interest on the bonds it sells and the interest the government charges to the student borrowers who end up taking out loans.

And, borrowers who end up with high incomes -- and who don't need the full term of the loan -- can pay off their loan early without having to pay a pre-payment penalty.

Same complexities need addressing on national service proposal

There are a lot of the same kinds of complexities on the other side of your higher education agenda -- using national service as a way of paying tuition or working off student loans.

And, I personally believe there's a lot to be learned from people in Minnesota and other states about how to deal with those complexities. Some of the issues include:

\*\* How to make sure that non-profit agencies and state and local governments decide what community problems could benefit the most

from an infusion of young volunteers.

\*\* How to make sure than a volunteer experience is also a learning experience -- by linking community service to schools or colleges or some other source of more formal education.

\*\* How to make sure that volunteers don't displace people who are already employed.

In designing a new program for national service, you and your advisors will also have to decide how to build off a number of existing initiatives like:

\*\* Programs all around the country that are just getting started with grants from the new Commission on National Service.

\*\* All the existing programs that use loan forgiveness to encourage young people to take jobs in fields like teaching and medicine.

\*\* The service corps programs now being run by dozens of states and local governments all over the country.

\*\* The incentives now in place that encourage young people to serve in programs like the Peace Corps or the military.

As you stated in your first post-election news conference, integrating a national service option with our already complex system of student financial aid is also no simple task.

Deciding how large a stipend to offer, for example, and, deciding whether family income or the cost of instruction should make any difference in the size of the award will have a major impact on cost and on the level of interest the program will generate among students who qualify for other types of grants or scholarships.

There will also be the need to respond to some very serious questions about equity in using national service to finance higher education.

As you know, some supporters of stipended service would make a period of service a requirement for getting student aid.

But, that kind of mandate would immediately divide students into two classes -- those who had to do service and those who could afford not to.

A service mandate -- or even making national service a more attractive way of financing college -- could also be less feasible for non-traditional students who are older, or who are working full or part-time... students who have family and other responsibilities and who can't take time off to do one or two years of

service to their country or their community.

Finally, I, and others who strongly support non-stipended service learning initiatives at the K-12 and post-secondary levels, will need to be assured that a major new stipended national service program won't draw needed attention and resources away from those (largely local) initiatives.

#### Four quick suggestions for getting started

By raising all these issues and concerns, I'm certainly not intending to throw sand in the gears of your proposal to change the way we pay for college.

I support the general ideas for change that you have put forward. And, I welcome the leadership you seem prepared to offer those ideas as you and your advisors give them more depth.

Within that constructive spirit, I have four quick suggestions on initial steps to implement your ideas that could be taken early in the next session of Congress.

First, I would ask the Congress to accelerate and expand the direct loan demonstration we passed this year.

I would move up the starting date by twelve months -- to the 1993-94 school year. And, I would increase the number of schools involved -- especially the number of schools that offer income-contingent loan repayment.

Second, for all the reasons I've stated previously, I believe it would be wise to use the major features in the Simon-Durenberger IDEA proposal in those schools in the demonstration that offer income-contingent loan repayment.

All that would take is a directive to the Secretary of Education, who has the authority to decide how the size of the payments gets determined and who does the collection.

Third, I believe the best place to expand the role of community service in paying for college is to expand on the National and Community Service Act as it comes up for reauthorization next year.

There are sound models for testing a variety of stipended service options already being funded. We just need to evaluate those models carefully, and, where they work, make sure they get expanded and replicated elsewhere around the country.

And, finally, I believe you would be wise to keep national service as an option, not a mandate, and to use existing federal

legislation to expand the links between community service and education that are being established in states like Minnesota.

The National and Community Service Act envisions a highly decentralized system of promoting and supporting service opportunities ranging from service learning projects in the K-12 and post-secondary education systems to full and part-time stipended service. I believe that current policy direction should not be replaced by a single national program run from Washington.

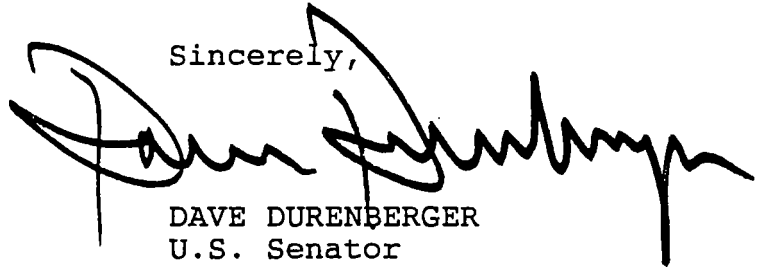
It's also important to note that both the Higher Education Act and Elementary and Secondary Education Act include opportunities to expand the link between community service and education. Several such provisions were expanded this year in the Higher Education Amendments of 1992. And, it may be that next year's reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act represents another forum for firming up this link.

\* \* \* \* \*

To summarize, I strongly agree with you that we need a new and better way of paying for college. And, I agree with your emphasis on individual responsibility and fiscal reality. But, I also believe we must do big change carefully, so we get the job done right.

I look forward to working closely with you, your advisors, and my colleagues in the Congress to implement the good ideas you have put forward in ways that work to the benefit of all Americans.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Dave Durenberger", written over the typed name and title.

DAVE DURENBERGER  
U.S. Senator

DD/js



# CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 9, 1993

## ***NATIONAL SERVICE -- TRULY REPUBLICAN***

Dear Republican Colleague:

As Republican cosponsors of H.R. 2010, the National Service Trust Act, we encourage you to take a close look at the legislation proposed by President Clinton and reported out of the Education and Labor Committee, with slight changes.

We believe national service is a basic Republican idea and that the President's proposal is structured as a Republican would have structured it and that it deserves broad Republican support.

Establishing a program of National Service promotes sound public values while providing a measure of college tuition assistance and a significant benefit to our communities, states, and nation. Young Americans across the country will participate in programs addressing the many challenges of our communities including illiteracy, child immunization, environmental enhancement, crime prevention, and drug education.

This program will produce young Americans with a sense of individual and civic responsibility and a keen understanding of the value of service.

National service participants will disperse throughout the country, carrying with them a belief that personal betterment results from contributing to the betterment of society and enriching the lives of others.

Some have said the President's national service proposal will compete with existing non-profit organizations -- not so. In fact, the program's very structure builds upon these institutions and harnesses their energy to magnify the impact of service in local communities.

While we currently provide grants and loans to students on a needs basis, this program embodies the truly Republican principle of having individuals earn the right to educational assistance.

The decentralized nature of the organizational structure ensures decisions will be made at the state and local level by people who know what a community's needs are and the best ways to address these needs.

Congressman Christopher Shays, Fourth District Connecticut  
1034 Longworth Building, Washington, DC 20515-0704  
Bridgeport 579-5870 • Stamford 357-8277 • Norwalk 866-6469 • Washington, DC 202/225-5541



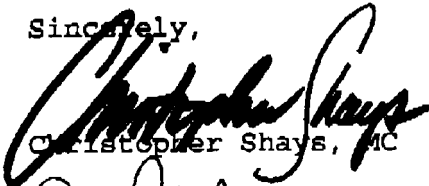
Lastly, we want to clear up any misunderstanding regarding the relationship of this legislation to the proposed restructuring of the guaranteed student loan program. **H.R. 2010, the National Service Trust Act, contains NO provisions providing for direct lending.** These two proposals are contained in entirely separate pieces of legislation.

Finally, it should be noted this legislation contains a specific authorization only for fiscal year 1994 and authorizes "such sums" in the out years. Congress will need to appropriate funds each year based on the program's ability to support continued or increased funding.

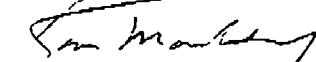
When the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee reported this legislation, it did so with the support of four of the Committee's seven Republicans. In the House, 19 Republicans signed on as original cosponsors of this legislation, which was reported by voice vote out of the Education and Labor Committee.

We hope you will carefully consider the impact this legislation will have and that it will have your support on the floor.

Sincerely,

  
Christopher Shays, MC

  
Ben Gilman, MC

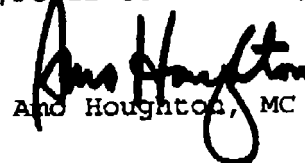
  
Ron Machtley, MC

  
Steve Horn, MC

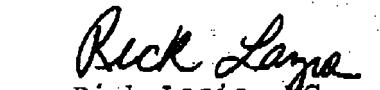
  
Connie Morella, MC

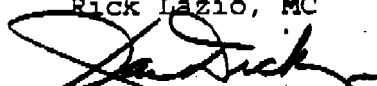
  
Pete Hoekstra, MC

  
Peter Torkildsen, MC

  
Ann Houghton, MC

  
Steve Gunderson, MC

  
Rick Lazio, MC

  
Jay Dickey, MC

  
Doug Bereuter, MC

  
Olympia Snowe, MC

  
Tom Lewis, MC

  
Peter Blute, MC

  
Fred Upton, MC

## SERVICE: THE NEW CARNEGIE UNIT

It is the end of lunch hour on a warm fall day at Ridgefield High. Students lounge on the front steps of the building, chatting easily in groups. Here and there are individual students alone, reading or merely skygazing. One or two couples stroll about the grounds deep in conversation.

Near the steps, a young girl, a junior, talks about her reactions to school.

The classes are okay, I guess. Most of the time I find them pretty boring, but then I suppose that's the way school classes are supposed to be. What I like most about the place is the chance to be with my friends. It's nice to be a part of a group. I don't mean one of the clubs or groups the school runs. They're for the grinds. But an informal group of your own friends is great.

Usually, we don't do too much. I mean, we just hang around together, sit together when we can in class and at lunch, and sometimes meet after school, though most of us work. . . . This year I've been working at McDonald's so I can buy some new clothes and a stereo set. The work isn't all that hard or exciting, but still it makes me feel on my own and that I'm an adult person, that I'm doing something useful. In school, you never feel that way. Not ever.<sup>1</sup>

The current folklore has it that teenagers are selfish, lazy, and undisciplined. But that image does not square with the number of hours students work or the reasons they give for working: not only

to have money to buy things, but also to feel useful and responsible. It does not fit with the growing popularity of religious sects, which demand discipline and provide purpose. It does not mesh with the conclusion George Gallup drew from a national youth survey well along in the "me decade": "The youth population has been misnamed the self-centered generation," Gallup said. "There's a strong desire to serve others. The problem we face in America today is not a lack of willingness to serve or to help others but to find the appropriate outlet for this."<sup>2</sup>

And the image of a lazy, self-indulgent generation does not jibe with Washington Post reporter Dan Morgan's interviews with young people all around the country. Morgan concludes:

Society has not served this generation of Americans as generously as it seems. What's missing? Skeptical adults would be surprised by the answer from scores of young people: the lack of challenging responsibilities against which they can shape their character, their values and their commitment to society. A sense of purpose, of inspiration, of fruitful connections, not only to parents but also to other elements of the larger society. . . . [Young people] are deprived of responsibilities and cut off from real-life activities that are important to the adult community. They are waiting—waiting to be grown-up. And they are bored.<sup>3</sup>

"We have created what might be called 'compulsory youth,' " a Carnegie Council study declared, "a substantial time between dependence and independence, a twilight zone of uncertainty and ambiguity of status," during which youth "are often left largely to the guidance, companionship, and mercy of their peers and the electronic media."<sup>4</sup> A United States Office of Education report described our schools "as the social 'aging vats' that have isolated adolescents and delayed their learning adult roles, work habits, and skills."<sup>5</sup>

Former United States Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II spoke powerfully about the problem when he called American youth

an island in our society. The message it receives from the adult world is, "We have no use in our economic system for you young people between the ages of 12 and 18, and precious little use in our community affairs. So we suggest you sit quietly, behave yourselves, and study hard in the schools we provide as a holding pen until we are ready to accept you into the adult world. The answer of American youth to this message, as well as that of the young people in other industrialized countries, is not printable in a polite speech to a polite audience. And youth has gone ahead to create its own culture with its own customs, its own music, and even its own language."<sup>6</sup>

Educators have, for decades, talked about building a sense of community in school, of helping to teach social and civic responsibility to all students. Here is what catalogues at schools we visited have to say:

Social activities "help prepare young people for the physical and social problems faced by the rapidly growing and rapidly maturing student."<sup>7</sup>

Student activities generally provide "ample opportunity for the development of understanding and cooperation among social and ethnic groups within the student body."<sup>8</sup>

The student council "provides a laboratory for students to learn how to make wise, moral, and informed choices, and to carry them into action. Every school needs a program for developing and training both leaders and participants in student activities, so that democratic citizenship is learned through practice."<sup>9</sup>

And not least, "In all activities, the development of democratic leadership and cooperative attitudes is a major objective."<sup>10</sup>

While this is what schools say they are trying to accomplish, in real life a quite different message often is conveyed both on and off the campus. Youth are considered feckless and irresponsible—forever adolescent. One teacher bluntly confessed his bias: "There's

something almost primitive about adolescents. The more freedom you give them, the wilder their behavior gets." And one principal we interviewed talked sadly of the attitude of adults toward teenagers.

Adults drive past our high school quickly. Sometimes they avoid it entirely, particularly if they see groups of teenagers hanging around outside. I think they're illustrating something I've lately come to believe—that there's a fear of adolescents in this country. Few adults understand them, and most find them hard to like. What we do feel is that they must be controlled."<sup>11</sup>

Visit any high school, walk the corridors, check the bulletin board, look at the graffiti, have lunch in the cafeteria, listen to the public address system, and you will hear and see how students are controlled. Some have called this "the hidden curriculum." There is, in fact, nothing hidden about it. It is perfectly visible—and audible—to all.

It is homeroom time in a tenth-grade class. The booming voice of the assistant principal is suddenly heard on the P.A. system:

May I have your attention. Anyone who was not on time this morning must report to the principal's office with a late slip within the next half hour. If late slips are not turned in by then, you will be marked absent for the day. Also, anyone who was not here yesterday must turn in an absence slip. If you were late yesterday and do not have an excused absence, please see me immediately.

Next, I have to report more incidents of smoking in the third-floor men's room. That room, as a result, will be closed, and students will use the men's room on either the first or second floor. In case some of you have forgotten, let me repeat: students caught smoking anywhere in the building will face dismissal from school according to school regulations.

My next announcement is a disgrace to this school and to its student body. The north side of the building has, for the fifth time this year, been smeared with graffiti. Until the student who defaced the build-

ing comes forth and owns up, I'm taking the precaution of confining all students to the interior of the building during the school day until further notice.

Finally, I have to remind you again that you are not to linger in the halls between classes. At the sound of the bell, go promptly to your next class. Anyone caught in the halls after the last bell without a pass will report to me.<sup>12</sup>

Schools are places of strict boundaries, both physical and social. One student, sitting with us in the school cafeteria, explained the social geography of the room. "Of course there are cliques. There are cliques everywhere. Behind you are the jocks; over on the side of the room are the greasers, and in front of you are the preppies—white preppies, black preppies, Chinese preppies, preppies of all kinds. The preppies are the in group this year. Jocks, of course, are always in and greasers are always out."<sup>13</sup>

At another school a student told us, "The athletes are *the* group in the school. If you're not a jock, you've got very little status." And at another: "The really popular kids in this school are rich. For example, the ski club is the big club to belong to, but you have to be rich to be in it. Last year they went to Sun Valley, and you've really got to have pots of money to afford that."<sup>14</sup> At still another school, we heard that "Religious groups are very important here. If you don't join a Christian club, you're pretty much excluded socially."<sup>15</sup>

At most schools, students generally agreed that only rarely did a student belong to more than one group. In fact, belonging to one clique usually makes it impossible to join another.

Some students remain outsiders, staying on the periphery of school life, either because they choose not to join in or because circumstances prevent it. "I have to work after school," one student told us, "and so I'm not really part of any group, which may be why I've never felt very comfortable here."<sup>16</sup> Another student, clearly pained by his experience as an outsider, remarked, "I've never really been a part of any group. I suppose I don't have anything to offer.

It gets awfully lonely at times, but after a while you get to like being alone."<sup>17</sup>

Students are roughly divided into winners and losers. Such division may be in the classroom, where students compete with each other for the teacher's attention or praise, or through the grading system, or on the athletic field, or through acceptance or rejection by peers. Wherever it is, students quickly learn that they are in competition with each other. As a result, collaboration, cooperation, and giving assistance are often discouraged by the life of the school. One student described the dilemma this way: "I like to work, to study, but in this school you don't learn for the sake of learning, but so you can do better than the next person. It gets to be an unpleasant rat race after a while."<sup>18</sup>

As for extracurricular activities, these, too, seem to be part of the problem rather than part of the solution. At Sands High School, for example, we were told: "At 2:15 life quickly changes here. Depending on the student, three different things happen. One quarter of them remain at school, either for sports or clubs or performance groups; almost half of the students go to part-time jobs; the remainder go home or take off with friends." One student said the clubs were "for the plastic people" and added, "Personally, I get out of the school each day as quickly as I can."<sup>19</sup>

Nationwide, 53 percent of all students do *not* participate in any nonvarsity sport or athletic activity; 85 percent do *not* belong to pep clubs or take part in cheerleading, debating, or drama; more than 80 percent do *not* participate in either student government or the school newspaper; and over 78 percent are *not* members of chorus or dance, or band or orchestra activities.<sup>20</sup>

The location and size of school has something to do with how active students are in clubs and sports. Suburban schools, for example, have higher rates of participation than do either urban or rural schools. And students attending small schools (under 1500 students) are more active than pupils in larger ones.<sup>21</sup>

What is most revealing, however, is which students join out-of-

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activities

class activities. Participation is highest among white, male, college-bound students. Minority groups have a lower participation rate than whites. Students with high grades are more apt to be involved than those with low grades. And students from middle-income families are more active in school programs than students from lower- and higher-income families.<sup>22</sup> One student summed it up: "Activities, they're for important people; there's nothing here for the ordinary student."<sup>23</sup>

Athletics may be the exception. In a recent Illinois survey, athletics was the most popular student activity, with 41 percent of students in the state participating in some form of physical program. Music came next, with 19 percent of students involved. Class-related activities were the third most popular, attracting 17 percent. Drama was fourth, with a 5 percent participation rate.<sup>24</sup>

The fact remains that too few students participate in school activities, and frequently they join not to serve but to promote their own special interests. One student candidly confessed: "You hear a lot about colleges looking for good students who are well-rounded. . . . You get the idea that it's important to join activities in order to show colleges that you're interested in something besides grades."<sup>25</sup>

And a Korean student, advising his younger cousin, was even more succinct. "If you want to get into Harvard, sign up for some extracurricular activities." A junior-year student offered this explanation: "Students don't join the French club to experience French culture but because Yale will be impressed."

At an academic high school we visited there are sixty-four separate clubs, squads, and teams.<sup>26</sup> Some students at the school belong to as many as five groups, a level of participation that is, itself, unusual. There is an astronomy club, an Asian society, a Latin cultural society, a West Indian club, and an Irish society. There are debating, math, swimming, gymnastics, handball, and track teams. Students can join a frisbee team, a photo squad, and an honors society. They edit twelve publications, including the newspaper, a

biology journal, a feminist publication, a social studies journal, and a math journal. And yet students complain of feeling unfulfilled.

Today it is possible for American teenagers to finish high school yet never be asked to participate responsibly in life in or out of the school, never be encouraged to spend time with older people who may be lonely, to help a child who has not learned to read, to clean up the litter on the street, or even to do something meaningful at the school itself.

As for acting as small-scale democracies, student clubs and organizations seem more marked by exclusivity and class distinctions than by the democratic spirit. "We've failed to make them responsible for what they do or fail to do," says a former director of the California Conservation Corps. "We've made promises to them without exacting responsibility from them."<sup>27</sup>

A counselor at one school we visited declared, "Schools must help these kids find direction in life. We have an obligation to make students politically and socially aware, to show them how politics relates to them and to their community."<sup>28</sup>

And at a school in the Midwest we heard a parent speak passionately about enlarging the purposes of education. "In our topsy-turvy world," she said, "service is increasingly an essential goal. High school is the appropriate place to get students more involved."<sup>29</sup>

We conclude that during high school young people should be given opportunities to reach beyond themselves and feel more responsively engaged. They should be encouraged to participate in the communities of which they are a part. Therefore, we recommend that every high school student complete a service requirement—a new "Carnegie unit"—involving volunteer work in the community or at school.

The Carnegie unit, as historically defined, measures time spent in class—academic contact time. This new unit would put emphasis on time in service. The goal of the new Carnegie unit would be to help students see that they are not only autonomous individuals but

also members of a larger community to which they are accountable. The program would tap an enormous source of unused talent and suggest to young people that they are needed. It would help break the isolation of the adolescent, bring young people into contact with the elderly, the sick, the poor, and the homeless, as well as acquaint them with neighborhood and governmental issues.

The service program we propose would work like this: During each of their four high school years, students would do volunteer work in or out of the school. They could tutor younger students; volunteer in the school cafeteria, office, audio-visual center; or maintain sports equipment and playing areas. They might also move beyond the school to libraries, parks, hospitals, museums, local government, nursing homes, day-care centers, synagogues, or churches.

The new Carnegie unit would not be bound rigidly by calendar or clock. The amount of time could vary. We suggest, however, that a student invest not less than 30 hours a year, a total of 120 hours over four years, in order to qualify for one Carnegie service unit. Students could fulfill this service requirement evenings, weekends, and during the summer.

The proposed service program will require careful supervision. Jerome Kagan, professor at Harvard University, writes:

Acts of honesty, cooperation, and nurturance are public events that the staff of a school can tally and use to assign individual evaluations that are understood to be essential complements to subject mastery. We do not keep such records as faithfully as course grades, because we do not believe the schools should judge motives and behavioral attitude toward others; that is a task for the home and police department. But judging youth on standards for action and talent would make it possible for many more students to participate in, and identify with, the school community.<sup>30</sup>

In the spirit of this proposal, we recommend that students themselves be given responsibility to organize and monitor student service activities and to work with school officials in seeing that credit is appropriately assigned.

The idea of combining school and service is more than novel speculation. We present three examples of service programs that have some of the elements we have in mind.

Detroit city schools require students to complete two hundred hours of out-of-school experience between the ninth and twelfth grades, in order to graduate. Students may either work for pay or do volunteer work. The principal purpose of the program, according to Emeral Crosby, principal of Northern High School in Detroit, is to give students a greater understanding of "the world of work."<sup>31</sup>

Each student receives a card that must be signed by his or her supervisor, recording the number of hours worked or volunteered. Students in the inner city tend to complete their two hundred hours mainly at their places of employment. But many, especially students in upper grades, devote the time to service. Also, students in more affluent schools tend to engage in volunteer activities.

The places of service include hospitals, museums, convalescent homes, churches (teaching Sunday school or singing in the choir). The range of activities is broad, from tutoring children to helping elderly or disabled people (reading to them, raking leaves, helping to prepare a meal, running errands, and the like). Students accept the requirement of their service assignment with little complaint.

South Brunswick High School in New Jersey, a suburban school serving a middle-class community, has had, for the past ten years, a service program for all of its ten thousand students.<sup>32</sup> The program offers two types of experiences to the students: service and career. Service experiences are available in day-care centers, nursing homes, hospitals, nutrition sites, and other social service institutions. Career placements take interested students to such workplaces as an auto mechanic's shop or a gas station or a computer center, or to colleges where they may take courses or work as research aides.

Once a week, students meet in groups to review their individual experiences and to voice any questions or problems they have encountered.

The service requirement at South Brunswick was initially a practical response to overcrowding. To prevent the school from going on split sessions, students were in school four days a week. On a fifth day, they participated in the service or work program. Twenty percent of the students were off campus any given day. Over the ten-year period, the program has accumulated four hundred sponsors to which students can be assigned. They range from American Cyanamid and IBM to Tennyson's Florist.

School enrollments are now dropping, and overcrowding is no longer a problem. The administrator of the South Brunswick school is under pressure to drop the program. Some teachers feel that it is difficult to plan with 20 percent in service every day. Some parents want their children to spend more time in traditional classes. Further, the scheduling of student calendars and transportation is complicated, and many elect the career exploration option. Nevertheless, administrators at South Brunswick defend the program as a valuable learning experience.

Metro High School, a public high school in St. Louis, has 250 selected students; 65 percent are black, 35 percent are white.<sup>33</sup> Since Metro opened its doors in 1972, students have been required to work as volunteers in the community. Today the service requirement is sixty hours each year at a nonprofit agency within the city limits. Students can choose to volunteer after school, on weekends, or during the summer. If students have not completed the required service hours by the end of their senior year, they will not graduate.

This unusual schoolwide commitment to service originated with Metro's principal, Betty Wheeler, who feels that everyone has a debt to repay to the community. She tells the students, "As citizens you owe the community from which you come. You have special talent that you should share with others. The more talent you have the more responsibility you have to share."<sup>34</sup>

While most educators would not disagree with Wheeler's altruistic vision, few have gone to such lengths to implement a required program of service. She explains her initial motivation this way: "I

had seen kids, especially here in the city, who felt 'The world owes me something, the city owes me something. I should get welfare, I should get this, I should get that,' simply because they live in St. Louis. And, you know, there should never be expectations like this. People need to learn that . . . we are here to help if we possibly can."<sup>35</sup>

Today at Metro everyone—including those students who are on welfare—gives, and all of them appear to receive far more than they give. A young student spoke enthusiastically about her job at the Division of Family Services and about what she learned in her first face-to-face encounter with hunger and poverty: "On the first day I had this lady, this young girl, she was about nineteen or twenty, and she had a little baby with her. . . . Her husband had run out on her. She didn't have any heat, any electricity, any gas, nothing. They were living on biscuits and gravy. She started crying. We've got people in there—I mean you wouldn't believe the conditions. They have been sleeping in the bus station, living out on the streets. You just don't believe that unless you see it. It was really an incredible experience."<sup>36</sup>

Some Metro volunteers work on special exhibits at St. Louis Art Museum and backstage on sets at the Theater Project Company, do displays and research at the Botanical Gardens, and act as guides at the McDonnell planetarium. Students do volunteer work in local hospitals, assisting in the office of admissions, in radiology, physical therapy, patient transportation, the intensive care unit, and the pharmacy.

One young man with longish hair, tight and faded blue jeans, and a street-wise expression on his face spoke movingly of what he learned while working on the "graveyard shift" (12 midnight to 7 A.M.) in the emergency room of a medical center: "I learned a lot this past summer. I learned how to deal with my own feelings. I learned how to cry. That was a big step. When a little three-year-old girl goes into seizures and they found out she had meningitis and died that morning, you learn to feel for people."<sup>37</sup>

For others, the joy of simply feeling needed is a significant experience. A tall broad-shouldered young man volunteered at a convalescent home and became a welcome friend to the patients. Still other Metro students teach at the YMCA, in their churches, or at elementary schools during summer sessions. Quite a few students find jobs within Metro High itself—tutoring and library, office, and maintenance jobs.

Although some Metro students felt juniors and seniors should be permitted to take paying jobs, every student we interviewed endorsed wholeheartedly the idea of service. One student summed up the commonly held belief that community service makes them better persons: "I learned a lot from it. Knowing that there are people out there who need help and helping them out gave me a lot of self-satisfaction."<sup>38</sup>

Students also report that community service provides opportunities for career exploration and work experience. The payoff is not the same for all students. Some get job experience, others explore careers.

At least one student felt the experience enhanced his college application: "If you're interested in getting a job while in college or whatever, then the fact that you worked as a volunteer is good. They'll say, 'You have some kind of experience. You're the type of person who will go out and do things to help improve yourself even though you don't get paid for it.' I think that it helps you out a lot."<sup>39</sup>

In the Metro service program each student is responsible to get his or her own volunteer assignment. The fact that students actually have to present and sell themselves to the agencies is, according to the principal, a major strength of the experience. In addition, one student earns her community service hours by assuming the overall responsibility for record keeping. According to this young woman, "Most of our students have been recorded [by employers] as doing excellent work because we put a lot in and we get a lot of training out of it—some people have left here with four hundred hours of service credit."

How might one account for such dedication? It may have something to do with the students who choose to attend Metro. It may also have something to do with the desire of many young people to be useful. We suspect, however, it has a great deal to do with a principal with a clear vision and serious expectations.

Mrs. Wheeler talked about her goals: "In our orientation every year we let [the students] know that they're going out and representing Metro. What they do could have lasting effects on what happens to all of us back at school. . . . Everybody does a good job. . . . These are standards that we expect you to keep up as a Metro student. People have done this for ten years and this is part of our curriculum."<sup>40</sup>

John Dewey wrote on one occasion: "A society is a number of people held together because they are working along common lines, in a common spirit, and with reference to common aims. . . . The radical reason that the present school cannot organize itself as a natural social unit is because just this element of common and productive activity is absent."<sup>41</sup>

A service term for all students will do much to help build a sense of community and common purpose within a school. In the end, the goal of service in the schools is to teach values—to help all students understand that to be fully human one must serve.



ments, in the private clubs, and in the way commuters and part-time students are treated that some of the most fundamental values of the college are confronted—or avoided. Separateness in the name of individuality and personal preference may be another name for ignorance and prejudice.

In the context of student living, the challenge of creating an enthusiastic community of learning must be carefully considered. Are living arrangements simply a convenience or do they contribute to collegiate goals? Are commuters simply tolerated because they help pay the bills or are they full partners on the campus? Can a college with dormitory students, commuter students, and fraternity and sorority students find ways to make connections more vital than the separate parts?

## 13

### SERVICE: GETTING INVOLVED

A professor in his early forties, when asked about the difference between his college generation and the present one, told our interviewer: "I'm blue jeans and they're suits and ties. We joke that many of the students dress better than the professors. I ask them why they're in college, and they say, 'To get a job.' All they think about is money, money, money. They don't have any social responsibility. That bothers me. There's all this emphasis on having careers."<sup>1</sup>

Today's students have been labeled the "me generation," concerned only about themselves and their future. But we found signs that undergraduates have hopes and aspirations that reach beyond personal ambition. Students are torn by ambiguous feelings—idealism on the one hand, and, on the other, the temptation to pursue narrow career interests that would leave them politically and socially disengaged. They are struggling to establish themselves, searching for identity and meaning.

Undergraduates may be uncertain about where to apply their good intentions, but many want—and have begun—to escape a preoccupation with self. The social analyst Daniel Yankelovich suggests that idealism among the young lies "just below the surface. . . . It will break out. In what form, I don't know."<sup>2</sup> A similar observation comes from George Gallup, Jr.: "I think the youth population has been misnamed the self-centered generation. . . . We found among

18–29 year olds in a study in Dayton, Ohio . . . that fully one-third of persons there said they would like to go into the social services as a life's career. I think that's an incredible finding.”<sup>3</sup>

We, too, found that a growing minority of today's students believe they can make a difference and they are reaching out to help others. In our national survey 52 percent of the students reported that their high schools provided an opportunity for community service. And about one half participated in some kind of service activity during their college years (Table 40).<sup>4</sup>

**Table 40 Participation of College Students in Volunteer Activities**

| Activity                     | Percent Participating |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Fund raising                 | 47                    |
| Service activity             | 45                    |
| Church service project       | 41                    |
| Charity organization project | 31                    |
| Election campaign            | 20                    |
| Elderly and retirees         | 19                    |
| Environmental project        | 17                    |
| Hospital service             | 12                    |

*Source:* The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, National Survey of Undergraduates, 1984.

We also discovered that the spirit of service is far from dead on our nation's campuses. Several major national coalitions recently have been formed to give the movement a more coherent form. Two of the newest are the Campus Outreach Opportunity League and the Overseas Development Network. These programs provide student volunteers the opportunity for service in self-help projects.<sup>5</sup> In another, more formal arrangement, seventy-five college and university presidents have established a national coalition—the Project for Public and Community Service. The group agreed that colleges emphasize careers too much and volunteerism too little.<sup>6</sup>

We believe that service constitutes a vital part of an undergraduate education. It offers opportunities that cannot be obtained in any other way. And such an experience may be one of the first truly

meaningful acts in a young person's life. Catherine H. Milton, who promotes volunteer programs at Stanford University, said recently: “When you're worried about whether you're going to get an A or a B on an exam, it does something to you to be working with a disabled child who's struggling to learn just to eat.”<sup>7</sup>

Service introduces students to new people and new ideas. It establishes connections between academic life and the larger society. A Harvard senior has for three years been a Big Sister to a nine-year-old in a Cambridge housing development. “At least once a week I go down to visit her,” she says. “Without doubt this has become the most important relationship I've developed while at college.”<sup>8</sup>

Yale's Dwight Hall, the university's center for community service, places more than 1,100 student volunteers in the New Haven community each year. Most students work in hospitals or public schools, but they are also involved with recent immigrants and juvenile offenders. About thirty Yale students form most of the staff of Columbus House, a shelter for homeless people.<sup>9</sup> Student-initiated projects have included an alcohol hotline, a community soup kitchen, the New Haven Halfway House, Marrakech (a residence for mildly retarded women), and the Connecticut Fund for the Environment.<sup>10</sup>

At Princeton University, members of the Student Volunteers Council tutor inner city youth; visit correctional institutions, psychiatric hospitals, and nursing homes; and act as Big Brothers and Big Sisters. The Princeton Education Center at Blairstown, New Jersey, offers outdoor experience to “discover the world of nature” for several hundred disadvantaged children from the surrounding region.<sup>11</sup>

Vanderbilt University's Center for Health Services involves students in a program that gives medical examinations in rural and poor communities in Kentucky, Tennessee, and West Virginia; conducts health fairs and classes; works with local leaders to solve environmental and health problems; and provides maternity and infant health care. The project serves as a proving ground for programs

later adopted nationally—like the practice of reimbursing nurse practitioners in rural clinics under Medicare.<sup>12</sup>

Kent State University's Office of Service-Learning annually involves about 1,500 undergraduates in volunteer programs. Students operate the campus ambulance service, spending many hours in training for crisis intervention, cardiopulmonary resuscitation, first aid, and vehicle operation. Others volunteer to be peer instructors or to work during freshman orientation. The campus has an office for disabled students, which coordinates volunteers to help such students by taking notes and transcribing them. Director Roger Henry says students are involved in crisis intervention, health care, and child abuse; a recent development has been involvement with Child Find. Volunteers serve in the arts, public radio and television, and justice.<sup>13</sup>

Henry reports that "about 90 percent of student volunteers say service-learning experience was as valuable or more valuable to them than classroom work."<sup>14</sup> Tutoring, for example, was found to increase significantly the empathy, altruism, and self-esteem of the tutor in addition to increasing his or her academic averages.<sup>15</sup> Service also often has a positive impact on motivation, ability to choose a career, and smoothing the assumption of increasing responsibility.<sup>16</sup>

Above all, service is a way for students to become responsible, engaged adults. Richard Fabrico, when a senior at Iona College, headed a weekly Special Olympics Program for seventy-five retarded children. When interviewed he said: "I need this kind of extracurricular activity to balance my life. It's a way for me to give back a little of what I've been blessed with. I think there's a new trend in my generation—it's a loving generation."<sup>17</sup>

Service must be something more than "do-goodism." College-sponsored programs must be as carefully thought out and as rigorously evaluated as are the academic programs. If students are not given the opportunity for serious reflection on their experience, they may miss the paradoxes of "doing good." Andrew Carnegie

once remarked that he had found it more difficult to give money away wisely than to make it in the first place. Students must ask themselves: How do you help someone without making them dependent on you? How do you give support to the homeless or the addicted if they don't want your help? How do you avoid the imperialism of service, the Empire's "white man's burden," with its smug superiority?

We recommend that college service projects be designed, where possible, to help the needy help themselves. Student participation in community activities is necessarily a short-term commitment and students must sometimes learn to be followers. At Yale's center for community service, for example, student volunteers provide staff support to the New Haven residents who, in turn, direct the programs.<sup>18</sup>

We also realize the truth of that old saying: Charity begins at home. There are many tasks right on campus that need volunteers as well. At Warren Wilson College in North Carolina and Berea College in Kentucky, everyone does campus chores. At Warren Wilson, even the college president takes his turn.

This call for service returns us once again to the central theme of this report. The tradition of community, of placing one's life in larger context, is surely advanced as time is given to others. "In a lot of ways, college is an isolating experience," said a volunteer organizer. "These programs give students a sense that they live in the world, in a community."<sup>19</sup>

A report of the Potomac Institute notes: "To make a healthy transition to adulthood, to work out an identity that includes a sense of citizenship, and to affirm positive social values, young people need to become actively involved in the lives of others and in the needs of society." The report concludes that formal education does not meet this need, and work, while helpful, does not necessarily add up to service and is not, at any rate, completely available to young people.<sup>20</sup> Service is the remedy we propose.

But it is not students alone who have a service obligation. For

the faculty, there exists the triad of responsibilities: teaching, research, and service. Almost every college we visited recited these functions almost as a ritual. And yet, we found that service is often shortchanged in favor of the other two. Even when the obligation is acknowledged, service is often defined in narrow, uninspired ways. A university faculty member may, for example, provide "service" as department chair or by serving on a professional committee, duties that are assumed to be a part of one's institutional obligations.

We believe the quality of campus life would be enriched if faculty service became more than a catchword. We commend faculty who participate, for example, in the public life of the neighborhood or city where they live—who serve on school boards, who serve as consultants to health agencies, or who work with youth groups in the inner city. In this way, a commitment to service is evidence that teaching is not just a job but a vocation.

Further, if service is to become a vital part of the educational experience of every student, faculty must help lead the program. At Princeton, Steve Slaby, a professor of engineering, led a group of his students in an energy conservation project in a poor neighborhood. His team taught residents how to save on their fuel bills by weatherproofing and using solar energy. Students learned not only the practical application of the theory they had learned in the classroom but its environmental and human impact, too.<sup>21</sup>

We conclude that today's undergraduates urgently need to see the relationship between what they learn and how they live. Specifically, we recommend that every student complete a service project—involving volunteer work in the community or at the college—as an integral part of his or her undergraduate experience. The goal is to help students see that they are not only autonomous individuals but also members of a larger community to which they are accountable. We further urge colleges to offer deferred admission to students who devote a year to voluntary service before coming to the campus.

Colleges that are deeply committed to the ideal of service might consider a formal contract drawn up during the freshman year, a formal agreement in which the student pledges to complete a service-learning unit, working closely with a mentor. Further, if a seminar were established that linked the service contract to the student's major, it would provide a forum for reflection and evaluation. If students make written and oral presentations about their service experience, then the college would, we believe, be fully justified in granting academic credit for the project.

In the end, the goal of the undergraduate experience is not *only* to prepare the undergraduates for careers, but to enable them to live lives of dignity and purpose; not *only* to give knowledge to the student, but to channel knowledge to humane ends. "It is not learning," said Woodrow Wilson, "but the spirit of service that will give a college place in the public annals of the nation."<sup>22</sup>



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Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 30 seconds, in the interest of getting an opportunity for all the people who wish to speak, an opportunity to speak, on the bill during general debate.

Mr. Chairman, throughout Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign, one issue touched Americans of all backgrounds and political persuasions unlike any other. It was an issue that bound together several of our highest ideals. The urge to help solve crushing social problems. The call to serve our fellow citizens. The desire for a better education.

That proposal is now before us. H.R. 2010, the National Service Trust Act of 1993, rewards individual responsibility, and builds community by encouraging Americans of all ages to work together to tackle our common problems. It will also expand educational opportunity for those who participate.

This legislation, in its broad aim, has precedents. After the Second World War, the GI bill gave a generation of returning servicemen the opportunity to educate themselves and help launch America's unprecedented era of prosperity. The GI bill rewarded military service, irrespective of the status of the participant. Its benefits were equally available to all returning servicemen.

As the GI bill's social and economic benefits continued to unfold, President Kennedy appealed to our sense of service in launching the Peace Corps, a mission that secured America's reputation as the most generous nation on Earth. It remains the most admired program of the 1960's.

H.R. 2010 builds on the legacies of these two historic programs, and on the Peace Corps' domestic counterpart, VISTA, the Volunteers in Service to America. From its modest start in this legislation, national service will, we hope, nurture a more compassionate, public-spirited consciousness among our citizens and help to rebuild the sense of community we seem to be sorely lacking.

The diversity of support for the bill is impressive. We have received corporate en-

dorsements ranging from Archer Daniels Midland Co. to Zenith, from Ben & Jerry's to Dow Chemical. The dozens of nonprofit supporters include the American Association of Retired Persons, the Child Welfare League of America, the Close Up Foundation, the National Governors Association, United Way of America, and the Fraternal Order of Police.

On July 9, I received a letter from Elizabeth Dole, president of the American Red Cross, in support of H.R. 2010. I quote:

We understand that community service is neither a panacea for the nation's problems nor a substitute for traditional volunteerism. However, your bill will enlarge the means by which individuals can make a difference in their community.

I am particularly pleased that the Red Cross has joined so many others in support of this bill.

H.R. 2010 would allow any individual at least 17 years of age to apply to the national service program to serve—not volunteer—on pressing educational, environmental, human and public safety problems. Participants would tutor school children, run recycling programs, aid homebound individuals, and serve in projects dedicated to solving hundreds of other problems that simply are not being addressed.

In return for a year of full-time service, participants would receive a \$5,000 educational award, the current VISTA subsistence allowance of \$7,400, and health and child care benefits as necessary. Awards could be used to repay loans for higher education or to pay for tuition or approved job training. Individuals could receive up to two \$5,000 awards for each 2 years of service.

Qualifying service programs would be operated by Federal agencies, States, local governments, school districts, colleges, or community-based not-for-profit organizations. The National Service Trust, a Government corporation, would help local organizations qualify for the initiative and ensure that their public mission is up to standards of usefulness of participants and communities.

Thus, the bill would establish no new Federal bureaucracy to run programs but rely on existing, local networks. The initiative relies on locally driven programs, allowing participants flexibility and stimulating competition among sponsoring organizations.

H.R. 2010 would authorize \$394 million in 1994 appropriations, creating 25,000 to 30,000 slots, and such sums as may be necessary in 1995 and 1996. We would expect that if this program succeeds, if it strikes in reality the nerve it has as a proposal, then national service will grow in the years ahead. If it fails to fulfill needs both for participants and the communities we expect them to serve, we will be prepared to pull the plug on it.

The bill also would reauthorize the school-based service-learning programs for grades K-12 and college youth, for \$45 million; the VISTA and Older American Volunteer Programs under the Domestic Volunteer Service Act, for \$319 million; and the civilian community corps and the Points of Light Foundation. All out-year authorizations are for such sums as may be necessary.

Mr. Chairman, in recent days, I have seen an issues brief circulated by the House Republican Conference about national service. I want to correct some misstatements in that paper for my colleagues.

First of all, H.R. 2010 has nothing to do with the direct lending proposal that is part of the budget reconciliation bill.

As I have noted, the bill before us does not provide a multi-billion-dollar authorization. This was originally proposed by the administration, but was modified after consultation with Members on both sides of the aisle.

As Congress is to provide appropriations, the National Service Act would establish no entitlement. No one is entitled to participate in the program, and no program is entitled to receive funds. All programs will be selected competitively. Grants will be evaluated frequently and bad programs will be weeded out. Finally, the administration never proposed to create an entitlement.

Because funds are to be appropriated through the HUD/VA subcommittees, national service will not compete with funding for Pell grants and other education programs that are provided through the Labor/HHS bill. We are not taking away money from poor students to fund national service.

Further, the Labor-HHS bill that passed the House restored the major part of campus-based aid funds and we have been assured by the administration that it will continue to work with the appropriators to fully fund campus-based aid programs.

In its formulation in the White House, Members may recall, some were concerned that the benefits of national service would exceed those of military service. Military service people receive more than participants in national service. And military pay is considerably higher than that proposed for national service participants. I want to acknowledge the role played by Chairman MONTGOMERY in this regard and to note that he is an original cosponsor of the bill.

There are concerns that this bill would create another bureaucracy on top of existing programs that support community service. In fact, we would streamline these dispersed programs and merge the old ACTION and the Commission on National and Community Service. The Corporation for National Service is modeled on the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, an entity that spreads authority to local agencies. We are not creating a new bureaucratic monster.

Some of my colleagues may be wary that national service would displace paid jobs or be a threat to unions and their members. Unions endorsing the bill include the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the American Federation of Teachers, Service Employees Union, as well as the FOP. The bill would require consultation with employee representatives to ensure it does not displace wage-earning workers.

Finally, some suggest that a lottery should be held to allocate national service slots. That is impractical, since programs have different requirements and participants different interests. Under the bill, the programs—the people on the ground, working on these tasks—would select participants on a nondiscriminatory basis.

National Service is not a make-work program. It is not welfare. It is not an entitlement. It does not replace volunteerism. It is a trade—education aid in return for service of important and lasting community value.

I urge my colleagues to vote for the bill.



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□ 1430

Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 2½ minutes.

(Mr. GUNDERSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Chairman and Members, I rise in support of the National Service Trust Act. I do that as a Republican because I think, first of all, this is a test of whether this Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, can work with this President in a bipartisan manner to get something done when the President is willing to meet us halfway.

I also rise in support of this legislation because, very frankly, it is a real test of this Congress as to whether or not we are going to have the courage and the ability to redesign some of our Federal delivery systems, to find ways in which we can solve local and national problems and, quite frankly, a more cost-effective way than the present delivery system.

Let us understand what National Service is and what it is not. National

Service is not student financial aid; National Service is not paid voluntarism. National Service is a public partnership from the Federal, State, and local level to meet a unique and urgent local or national need with particular opportunities for professional and personal growth for those young people involved.

Mr. Chairman, we have worked with the Administration through this legislation. This is not the original Nunn/McCurdy proposal that required all students who receive financial aid to give national service. This is not the entitlement program the President talked about in the campaign.

This is a dramatically redesigned program that is going to be subject to the legislative and budget priorities of this Congress every year.

This bill, as we deal with it today, is a program which combines the best of, frankly, the Democratic Party's ideals for public service, with the Republican Party's ideals for efficiency, for local control, in that delivery system. We have a bill today that is a small beginning, not a big new entitlement.

It is a bill that says, "You ought to work; you are not just going to get free grant money." It is such sums, not entitlements; it is controlled at the State and local level, not the Federal level; it requires local cost shares. It even requires sub-minimum wages if they design it and the program is taken on a competitive review process.

Participants are not a part of the Federal civil service system; they are unique applicants and participants for a short period of time.

So, what we have done in this legislation is bring together what we believe can be the beginning of a way in which we can better meet those local needs when we are cutting Medicare and Medicaid, when we are cutting CDBG's and our other programs.

I urge all of my colleagues, take a look at this, it might meet your test.



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Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MCCURDY], the longest continuous and most ardent proponent of national service among all of us here on the floor today.

(Mr. MCCURDY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MCCURDY. Mr. Chairman, this is a proud day for those who have labored for years, through the Democratic Leadership Council and other forums, to keep the idea of national service alive.

Bill Clinton was elected last year in large part because he promised that he would be a new Democrat. The President's national service plan is the most powerful symbol of the philosophy of mutual obligation that he promoted during the campaign.

National service represents a new approach to social programs, an approach emphasizing individual responsibility. National service views Government as

a partner in, rather than manager of, efforts to address our social problems.

To a great extent, American Government has become detached from the individual. From State houses and from Washington, our governmental institutions assess taxes, create programs, and enforce rights, often in ways that are bewildering to the average American. But with detachment comes disenfranchisement, and an abdication of responsibility. Without a stake in their community or a voice in their politics, many Americans have abandoned both.

According to a recent Atlantic magazine article, less than half of all Americans now believe that sacrifice for others is a moral virtue. And yet millions of us look to Government—that is, to our fellow citizens—for security against unemployment, ill health, and retirement.

It was against this background that Bill Clinton introduced his notion of a New Covenant. In his vision, citizens and Government would be bound by a new commitment to shared principles, to the building of local and national communities, to the reinvigoration of the national economy, and to the rebirth of the idea of service to others.

National service lies at the very core of this agenda. This legislation will challenge Americans to repay their debt of opportunity with service to their country. It will allow our young people to recall their sense of obligation and to choose commitment over apathy, involvement over disenfranchisement, community over individualism.

The administration's national service plan is too often described as a student loan program. It is not. The educational benefit offered to those who volunteer is important, but the basic purpose of national service is to allow young Americans to exercise their responsibilities as freely as they exercise their rights.

A broad-based national service plan can make many contributions to our society. It can help rebuild our infrastructure, protect our environment, tutor our young, and care for our old. It can enrich the lives of its participants by demonstrating the satisfaction to be gained from giving to others, instilling young people with valuable life-management skills, and bring people together from diverse backgrounds.

National service will accomplish these goals while promoting a new, participatory model of Government activism. By using an independent corporation for management, tapping the American spirit of voluntarism, and focusing on grassroots organizations, national service will address social needs without an expanded Government bureaucracy and at relatively low cost.

This message transcends traditional Republican and Democratic philosophies. It goes to the core of what is wrong with American politics and, at a deeper level, American society. If national service helps to create a new sense of community in America, it will

make a profound contribution to our political system and our society.

Those who believe that the American ethos need a new infusion of responsibility, of duty, of concern for others, should support this bill.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to commend my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, the gentleman from Michigan, [Mr. FORD] for his stewardship of this legislation through his committee; the gentleman from California [Mr. MARTINEZ] for his long-standing support of National Service; and I want to commend my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, the gentleman from Connecticut, [Mr. SHAYS] and the gentleman from Wisconsin, [Mr. GUNDERSON] for their dedicated leadership and strong support for this initiative.

It is a program that has bipartisan support because it does capture the true spirit of America, and that is, giving something back for your country, to your country, and abandoning this philosophy of having something for nothing.



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Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. MONTGOMERY].

(Mr. MONTGOMERY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 2010, the National Service Trust Act of 1993. The establishment of a program of national service is one of President Clinton's highest legislative priorities, and I congratulate him for sending us this excellent initiative.

The program created under H.R. 2010 will provide the opportunity for thousands of young men and women, and citizens of all ages, races, and income levels, to come together and take an active part in the improvement of their neighborhoods, towns, and cities. This program will foster a new level of public spirit, and all participants will be even better citizens as a result of their national service experience.

Under the program, Mr. Chairman, young people will have the opportunity to earn education benefits in exchange for working to improve their communities. The benefit level established under H.R. 2010 is reasonable, and I really do not expect the national service program to interfere with the ability of the armed services to recruit the high quality men and women that we do need.

That is a very important point to make here today, Mr. Chairman, that I

do not believe this will interfere with the recruiting of persons that come into our military service as they do it on a voluntary basis, so this is a good bill, and I support it, and I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARMEY].

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Chairman, for some time now I have been listening to this debate more with amusement than dismay, but I think dismay is winning out.

It was merely amusing to learn that all these pressing, unmet needs supposedly blighting our Nation can only be solved by a new Federal spending program devised by 25-year-old Harvard graduates and run by Washington bureaucrats. My experience is that a bad idea can only be born in a bad environment isolated from reality. Which explains this bad idea. It came from the universities directly to Washington, and remains isolated in the only two communities that will benefit from it: The academics and the politicians.

But heck, this is the big-government solution to everything. I would almost be disappointed if I did not hear it in this Chamber.

My amusement began giving way to dismay when I was told, "This bill is going to make college education affordable again—if you're one of the 1 percent lucky enough to be included, but for the rest it doesn't reduce the costs of college one penny." In fact, Mr. Chairman, by pumping more money into universities, it will probably drive the cost of college up for everyone.

But the argument that brings me to the floor today is the assertion that this bill is necessary to revive the American spirit of service alleged to have been smothered during the so-called Reagan era of greed, and how are we going to revive this spirit of service? By dangling \$20,000 in cash and benefits before the noses of America's young idealists.

Mr. Chairman, this is not a noble attack upon greed. It is more akin to a welfare program for the aspiring yuppies of America.

Mr. Chairman, I oppose this bill because it displaces private charity with government-managed, well-paid social activism, based on the elitist assumption that community service is not taking place right now. To my mind, community service is working hard, earning a paycheck, feeding and schooling your children, paying your taxes, and taking part in your church and your community—not some government-paid service job.

The truth is, 80 percent of Americans already perform some form of voluntary service—free of charge. Unfortunately, some in Washington cannot see something happening unless a government program is making it happen. And, of course, they miss the best of what is happening in America. Like the fact that in 1991 individual Americans

gave \$103 billion in charitable contributions—a 58-percent increase over what they gave in 1980—and \$176 billion in volunteer time. Corporations gave \$21 billion—a 52-percent increase over what they gave in 1980. So the American people gave a total of \$300 billion in charitable effort in that one year alone, and yet we are supposed to believe that another \$7 billion in government spending over 4 years is going to reawaken the dormant spirit of service in our land? What an affront to the American people.

This bill also has an identity crisis. Is it a service program or a loan program? To the professional service crowd, it claims to meet pressing, unmet needs through meaningful service, but to the labor unions, it promises not to displace any real workers who are busy meeting real needs. And this bill cannot even bring itself to decide who deserves the larger monetary reward—college students raking leaves, or veterans who have served this Nation's flag.

From first line to last, this bill seems calculated to increase the American people's dependence upon, and gratitude to, big government. I wonder whether that might not be the only real unspoken motive behind this legislation.

Remember, Mr. Chairman, the politics of greed. If I might borrow a word the Democrats believe they own, the politics of greed is always best served up when wrapped in the language of love. Mr. Chairman, from my point of view, the worst thing about this bill is it is so darned undignified. I say to my colleagues, do yourself a favor and vote against it.





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(Mr. OWENS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of H.R. 2010, the National Service Trust Act. Finally the gridlock has been broken, the gridlock between theory and implementation has been ended. I congratulate President Clinton for his speedy action. This legislation unites, streamlines, and reinvigorates what was a fragmented and moribund policy on national service. It has been developed with bipartisan support and in close consultation with a wide array of constituencies. This process of dialog and collaboration has yielded a bold initiative to renew and strengthen the commitment of Americans to serving their communities and each other. The legislation includes provisions to ensure that individuals will be able to participate in full-time national service, regardless of their socioeconomic circumstances. Those who live in the communities where help is needed will be able to work alongside those who come from the outside.

There are some among us who would lead you to believe that we are instituting a system to pay for volunteers.

However, the truth is that this bill establishes a national core of people willing to give of their time, energy, talent, and most importantly, of themselves, in service to others. This legislation has reignited the spirit embodied by John F. Kennedy's VISTA initiative in which the philosophy of giving and sharing of oneself within the greater context of the community has one ultimate goal, helping others to help themselves.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Select Education and Civil Rights, the subcommittee of jurisdiction over the ACTION Agency and the VISTA Program, I am particularly pleased that the intent and integrity of VISTA has been so well preserved. President Clinton is one of the many supporters of VISTA who recognizes the importance and power of the VISTA ideal, which relies on the essential dignity and hard work of people within their own communities to encourage growth and development, of both the individual and the community. It is this ideal upon which the National Service Trust Act is founded.

The ACTION Agency has administered the VISTA Program and the Older American Volunteer Programs for over 20 years. The employees of this agency will continue to contribute their many years of experience with community service programs as part of the new Corporation for National Service. The Corporation will also include a decentralized field structure, similar to the one already in existence at ACTION. This structure provides vital assistance and coordination at the State and local levels. This type of contact is essential to the success of national service, for while this initiative is national in scope, it will be nourished and sustained by local roots.

I want to thank Chairman FORD, Mr. MARTINEZ, and the members of the Committee on Education and Labor and their staffs for their diligent work and dedication in making this legislation more reflective of our concerns. I urge my colleagues to vote favorably for the National Service Trust Act.



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Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the President's National Service Trust Act of 1993. There are good Government initiatives and there are bad Government initiatives. This happens to be an extraordinarily good initiative that is deserving of the bipartisan support it has received.

I want to thank both the chairman and ranking member of the Committee on Education and Labor for yielding 30 minutes to the Republican Members who support this legislation, and thank the President and the White House staff, particularly Eli Segal, for reaching out to both sides of the aisle in helping to draft this landmark legislation.

The chairman, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD], the gentleman from Oklahoma, DAVE MCCURDY, the gentleman from California, MARTY MARTINEZ, deserve great credit. So does the gentleman from Wisconsin, STEVE GUNDERSON, and the 18 other Republican cosponsors of this bill.

As a former Peace Corps volunteer, I get down on my knees, figuratively, to President Kennedy and the 87th Con-

gress, for establishing the Peace Corps. The Peace Corps has made a tremendous difference in the lives of the volunteers who served, and it has made a tremendous difference in the lives of the individuals who received the benefits of their service.

I see the President's National Service Trust Act as having far greater impact than the Peace Corps ever had. It is a bill every Republican should be happy to support, because it is a bill that was drafted by Republicans and Democrats. It was a bill intended to deal with the concerns of Republicans and Democrats.

□ 1700

So I am not surprised that Republicans should want to support this bill. The educational grant was lowered because Republicans and veterans were concerned that the education benefit was too competitive with educational benefits under the GI bill. It is not now.

This bill is not an entitlement, and I am absolutely amazed that colleagues who have been here so long would tell this Chamber that it is an entitlement. We are voting today on an authorization bill. There will be a specific appropriation bill that follows, and that bill will state exactly how many positions will be funded and how much money will be allocated for these positions. An entitlement? No way. It is an authorization bill with an appropriation to follow.

And the bill is decentralized. My God, this is something Republicans have asked for in every piece of legislation that comes before us. It is not a mammoth government program emanating out of Washington. This is a decentralized program. It is designed much the way the Corporation for Public Broadcasting is designed with significant local and State control. Two-thirds of the funds will go to State organizations.

So I look at this bill and see the educational grant has been lowered to deal with legitimate concerns. The program is not an entitlement but an authorization with a subsequent appropriation bill. And further more the program is decentralized. Isn't this what Republicans want in a bill and Democrats as well?

Then I think of the kind of programs we are talking about, the Service-Learning Program where a national service participant, will work in our school systems helping to organize young people for true volunteer service. They will not get minimum wage, they will not get an educational grant. They will be volunteers, hundreds and thousands of them because of one individual National service participants who are there helping to organize them.

I think of the Conservation Corps and what can happen to make those programs more beneficial with this bill. I think of our Urban Youth Corps and how this will expand and improve its

efforts. I think of the Literacy Corps Volunteers that many, including myself, envision being established under the act. Because the National Service Program is decentralized I have the ability to go to the State of Connecticut's commission and petition for the establishment of such a program. Imagine a Literacy Corps high school graduate in every first grade urban classroom teaching our young people how to read. I can compete for that program. I can help design it, and our commission can decide whether to find it.

I think with all my heart and soul that this program is going to lift up our Nation in a way that many of us here may not fully understand.

National service participants' lives will change for the better. The lives of the hundreds of thousands of people they serve will change for the better as well.

There is something magical and inspirational about serving others. Provide today's young people with more opportunity to serve and they will invigorate our Nation and lift it up.

This initiative is not Republican, it is not Democrat, liberal or conservative. It is simply a sound concept based on fundamental American values.

I would like to just conclude with a letter that was sent to Chairman FORD by Elizabeth Dole, who is now the president of the American Red Cross. In past years she served as the Secretary of the Department of Transportation, and also as Secretary of the Department of Labor. In her letter Libby Dole says:

We particularly appreciate the proposed act's strong emphasis on: Renewing the ethic of civil responsibility; engaging locally based and diverse organizations in a system of service delivery that is both decentralized and nationwide; facilitating the replication of existing successful service programs; and providing service opportunities for both stipended and nonstipended participants and for persons of all ages.

She continues by saying:

We understand that community service is neither a panacea for the Nation's problems nor a substitute for traditional volunteerism. However, your bill will enlarge the means by which individuals can make a difference in their community.

Then she concludes by saying "We look forward to the bill's passage into law." And so do I.

I say to the chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, Mr. FORD, you have an excellent bill. I congratulate the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. GUNDERSON] and others who have worked so hard, and the White House for reaching out to Republicans for our input and support. I believe we have all come together for a noble cause that if implemented with as much care as it has been drafted will help change the course of America's future.



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Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Chairman, I thank my friend from Pennsylvania for yielding the time. I rise, I guess, in a real quandary about this bill.

In many ways I like the bill very much. I like its spirit of trying to reach out for service. I like its effort to be decentralized and to have local involvement. I like the degree to which it emphasizes for younger people a sense of idealism. And I think you can make a very good case that the Clinton administration and the Democratic leadership in the House has worked to try to fashion a bipartisan bill, and many Republicans I think will end up voting for the bill.

□ 1710

And yet, as I walk through it, I cannot help but—at a lighter level than just this bill—almost seeing this entire procedure this week as the perfect classic example of why people are furious about Government and enraged at politicians and why every member of the industrial world who went to Tokyo last week went from a weak Government, in a position of weakness, in a sense of rage because it comes down to these questions: First of all, do we really think Government is too small? Is

the only way to achieve these goals more Federal Government?

Second, given the same number of dollars, whether it is in Marietta, GA, or it is in Detroit, MI, or it is in Camp Hill, PA, are we better off to have a \$300 billion tax increase sitting in a conference committee now, to take the money away from local people and local institutions and true voluntarism to give it to the Federal bureaucracy to send it back home?

And if the fact Government-run has become a major pejorative—and one recent study, when asked, "Do you believe in Government-run health care," it went through the floor because the baby-boomers have figured out that Government-run is a synonym for waste, inefficiency, bureaucracy, red-tape.

So what we are being told is that in the age of Ross Perot and in the age of trying to balance the budget, in the age of trying to cut deficit spending, what we have is the perfect new idea which has to be enacted this year.

Now, I have a real problem with that. I have a problem because I think we ought to find a program, at least one program, of greater cost that we kill if we are going to pass this program. And I would be very open by the time we get to the motion to recommit, if we can find a more expensive program to kill, that we could tie into this program so that before we create this program we kill another program. Then maybe there is an argument that meets the Perot voters and meets the deficit-cutters and meets the balanced-budget folks and says, "Yes, this is a step toward a smaller Government."

But let me tell you what happens in this building: Programs start tiny, they start decentralized, and there is not going to be much bureaucracy and there is not going to be much paperwork and the politicians are not going to decide where the money goes. Then, year by year, they get bigger, and then one morning they are an entitlement. And then suddenly they are gigantic, and then they are 70 percent of the budget, and we are told, "Gee, that is uncontrollable."

After all, 10 years from now when there are several hundred thousand people who must have the money, when we have had a series of fights over quotas and who gets the money and how does it get there, when the Committee on Appropriations is selecting their favorite projects and writing it into the bill, it will be very hard 10 years from now to come back and remember the promise of this program.

So, I could be talked into voting for this under very certain circumstances, which I do not think we will get to. I do not rise and say automatically it is a terrible program. I cannot say there have not been serious efforts to try to meet some very real objectives. But I do have to come down to the final conclusion: You cannot, with a straight face, pass this program unless you include in the bill killing a more expen-

sive program; you cannot, with a straight face, go back home and tell folks you are really trying to balance the Federal budget; you cannot really explain unless you believe the Federal Government inherently spends money smarter than the private citizens of this country, that Government-run is better than private-run voluntary, back-home, local. You cannot really say what we need is one more Federal bureaucracy with one more Federal program.

So, I have to say sadly that at this date, unless I see some amendments passed and a really good motion to recommit, at this date I would vote "no". But I do commend the effort, which I think is sincere, and I do look forward to seeing exactly how the amendments work out over the next several days.

**SUMMARY OF S. 3**  
**THE CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONAL SERVICE ACT**  
**INTRODUCED BY SENATOR SAM NUNN AND CONGRESSMAN DAVE McCURDY**

**THE CITIZENS CORPS**

The Citizenship and National Service Act of 1989 is essentially a new G.I. bill expanded to include civilian as well as military service to the nation. It would be voluntary but gives strong incentives -- the receipt of education, job training and housing benefits -- to serve.

Many young people are finding it difficult to pursue their educational goals and to purchase that first home because of escalating costs. The purpose of this bill is to:

- 1) encourage young Americans to serve their country and each other in order to
  - foster greater civic responsibility;
  - marshal our nation's human resources to meet national needs -- especially the needs of the poor;
  - open new paths to opportunity and upward mobility for young people who serve their country; and,
- 2) ensure that these Americans receive a base of financial support to aid them in their future lives.

The Citizens Corps will be established by the Citizenship and National Service Act with national service options including Civilian Service, service in the Armed Forces or Senior Service.

**ENLISTMENT**

Individuals may serve in the Citizens Corps upon receipt of a high school diploma or its equivalent. Those members of the Citizens Corps serving in the Armed Forces will be subject to the existing enlistment requirements of the Armed Forces. Those 65 and older will be eligible as Senior Service members of the Citizens Corps.

To enroll in the Citizens Corps, a volunteer will register with the local National Service Council. Volunteers for service in the Armed Forces will register with the local Armed Forces recruitment office.

**TERMS AND TYPES OF SERVICE**

A volunteer for Civilian Service in the Citizens Corps may serve one or two years. Civilian Service volunteers will receive a subsistence wage of \$100/week in addition to federal health insurance. Types of service include:

- educational service (literacy, tutorial, library, and adult education assistance);
- human service (hospitals, clinics, hospices, child care centers, Head Start, elderly, housing, poor, and homeless assistance);
- conservation service (programs to help maintain and improve rural and urban environments);
- public safety service (to support the criminal justice system);
- existing national service-type programs (includes the Peace Corps and VISTA as well as existing state and local service programs).

A Citizens Corps member enlisting in the Armed Forces has one of two options: 1) two years of active duty in the Armed Forces and six years in a Reserve Component of the Armed Forces (two years in the Selected Reserve and four years in the Individual Ready Reserve); or 2) eight years in the Selected Reserve of a Reserve Component. A Citizens Corps member enlisting in the Armed Forces will be compensated at two-thirds of basic military compensation while serving on active duty.

Finally, those serving in the Senior Service of the Citizens Corps may work either part- or full-time for a period of time and payment rate determined by the Corporation for National Service.

**ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITIZENS CORPS**

**Civilian and Senior Service**

The administration of the Citizens Corps will be handled mainly on the local and state levels. The local National Service Councils (made up of representatives among nonprofit community service organizations, educational agencies and institutions, business, labor organizations, and local government) are responsible for the recruitment and placement of Civilian and Senior Service volunteers. In hiring staff, a Council will give priority to members of the Senior Service.

A Corporation for National Service will be created on the federal level along the lines of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The Corporation will make grants to states to assist them in paying stipends and wages and in providing community service opportunities for Civilian and Senior Service volunteers.

In addition, the Corporation will serve as a clearinghouse for information on community service opportunities and will issue guidelines to states for the proper auditing and monitoring of the volunteer programs. This non-profit corporation will be eligible to receive private donations.

A 75%/25% federal/state match will be required by states for administrative and subsistence wage costs. A state may offset against the matching funds requirement 50% of its incurred costs for administering its own community youth service programs which are already in place on the effective date of this Act.

**Service in the Armed Forces**

The Secretary of Defense will be responsible for administering Citizens Corps service in the Armed Forces. The Secretary will issue rules to carry out this Act no later than 60 days after enactment.

**VOUCHERS**

In addition to subsistence wages, for each year in service, a volunteer in Civilian Service will receive a \$10,000 voucher that may be used 1) to finance an education, 2) for vocational or job training, or 3) as a downpayment on a home.

Citizens Corps members serving in the Armed Forces will receive a \$24,000 voucher upon completion of two years of active service. Those selecting the second, Selected Reserve, option will receive a \$12,000 voucher.

Vouchers for those selecting service in the Armed Forces will be paid by the federal government through the Veterans Administration program, and vouchers for those selecting Civilian Service will be paid by the federal government through the Corporation.

**STUDENT FINANCIAL AID**

After a five year phase-in period, the receipt of federal student loans will be tied to participation in the Citizens Corps. This means that for most students service in the Citizens Corps will be a prerequisite for receipt of federal student aid. Following are exemptions:

## Continuing Eligibility for Loans

Because they may have families and other responsibilities, those 26 and older will remain eligible to receive federal education loans under the existing loan programs. In addition, current eligibility for the existing loan programs will continue for the following groups:

- those students enrolled in an educational institution at the end of the five year phase-in period;
- those students who have a physical or mental handicap and are determined by the Corporation to be unable to perform such service;
- those with compelling personal circumstances who show just cause for continuing grant eligibility (the Corporation will determine by rule what constitutes a compelling personal circumstance);
- those students seeking a national service position where one is unavailable;
- those who served in the Armed Forces;
- those individuals receiving assistance provided by Department of Defense to members of the Armed Forces if further military service is a condition of the assistance (i.e. ROTC);
- those individuals who served as a member of the Peace Corps, ACTION, or in other federal or state programs of community service as deemed comparable to service in the Citizens Corps by the Corporation;
- those individuals receiving assistance provided by the Director of the Peace Corps, the Director of ACTION Agency, or the head of a federal or state agency if service as a member of any of these groups is a condition of the assistance.

## Continuing Eligibility for Grants

After the five year phase-in period, most students will be ineligible to receive Pell Grants, SEOGs or SSIGs. However, eligibility for grants will continue for:

- individuals currently enrolled in an educational institution before the end of the five year period;
- individuals deemed ineligible for the Citizens Corps by the Corporation because of a physical or mental handicap;
- individuals ineligible for the Citizens Corps because of compelling personal circumstances for just cause shown (the Corporation will determine by rule what constitutes a compelling personal circumstance); or,
- individuals unable to serve because a Citizens Corps position was unavailable after a reasonable period determined by the Corporation.

The SSIGs will not be available to states after the five year phase-in period. Students who receive SSIGs and are enrolled in educational institutions at the end of the five year period will continue to receive this assistance as long as that student continues in a program of education.

## Re-directed Federal Resources

After the five year transition period, funding for existing federal grant programs will be re-directed to help pay for the National Service program. Traditional grants will continue for those mentioned above as unable to serve in the Citizens Corps. During and after the five year transition period, any savings in existing student aid programs will help to defray the cost of the National Service program as it is implemented. Additional costs will be offset by spending reductions or revenue increases.

## SPONSORS

Public agencies and public or private nonprofit organizations are eligible to receive Citizens Corps volunteers. The Corporation may require a private nonprofit organization to pay up to \$1,000 per year for each Civilian or Senior Service volunteer placed in a national service position in that organization. Contributions will be distributed to the state and the Corporation in a percentage equal to the federal/state match (75%/25% in most cases).

## MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

### Prevention of Worker Displacement

In placing members of the Civilian or Senior Service, a National Service Council shall assure that placement does not result in:

- 1) the displacement of any currently employed worker or position or result in the impairment of existing contracts for services or collective bargaining agreements; or,
- 2) a national service volunteer filling a position in an organization when
  - an individual is on layoff from that organization; or,
  - the employer has terminated the employment of a regular employee or reduced its workforce with the intention of filling the vacancy with a national service volunteer.

Additionally, states must establish a grievance procedure for resolving worker displacement complaints.

### Peace Corps and VISTA

Individuals who have successfully completed terms of service in the Peace Corps or VISTA would be entitled to the same benefits as those completing service in the Citizens Corps. The amount of the vouchers for Peace Corps and VISTA volunteers, however, shall be adjusted to reflect the amount of compensation received over and above the stipend provided to members of the Citizens Corps.

## COST

At this point, the Congressional Budget Office has not completed its cost analysis of this legislation. Obviously, some of the cost will be offset by reduced demand in existing student financial assistance programs. Any additional cost will be offset by spending reductions or revenue increases.

### Five year phase-in period

During the phase-in period, the Corporation will project the number of Citizens Corps volunteer slots and the estimated cost of the program for the next fiscal year. Naturally, the number of volunteers and the cost of the program will gradually increase as individuals become eligible for service in the Citizens Corps. Thus, in annual appropriations, Congress will be able to project the cost of the program and provide for additional revenue sources if necessary.

## EFFECTIVE DATE

The effective date of this bill is October 1, 1990.