

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the William J. Clinton
Presidential Library Staff.**

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: National Service

Series/Staff Member: Eli Segal

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 1296

FolderID:

Folder Title:

National Service Articles [1]

Stack:

S

Row:

66

Section:

2

Shelf:

7

Position:

3

Index of Eli's Radio Interviews

Market	Date	Station	Length	Live/Taped?
National	5/5	National Talk Show Countdown	5 min.	Tape
	3/?	NPR - "Talk of the Nation"	1 hour	Live
	5/15	Larry King - Bob Beckel hosted	1 hour	Live
Boston	5/4	WBZ	10 min.	Live
	5/18	WHDH	10 min.	Tape
	5/18	WRKO	10 min.	Tape
Columbus	5/4	WTVN	10 min.	Live
Dallas	5/5	KRLD	10 min.	Live
Detroit	4/1	WDET - NPR station	15 min.	Tape
	4/2	WJR - The JP McCarthy Show	5 min.	Live
	5/5	WWJ	10 min.	Tape
L.A.	5/5	KNX	10 min.	Live
	5/6	KABC - Michael Jackson Show	10 min.	Live
Minneapolis	5/5	WCCO	5 min.	Live
New York	5/4	WABC	10 min.	Live
	5/4	WCBS	10 min.	Live
Philadelphia	5/4	WWDB - Paul W. Smith Show	10 min.	Live
Seattle	5/5	KING	10 min.	Live
Washington, DC	5/5	WTOP	5 min.	Tape

NATIONAL SERVICE: ROOTS AND FLOWERS

Dr. Roger Landrum
Executive Director, Youth Service America

Developed from a Presentation to Subtitle C and D Grantees
of the Commission on National and Community Service,
August 1992

**National Service in America:
A Timeline
Dr. Roger Landrum**

- 1910 * William James, American philosopher, envisions nonmilitary National Service in his essay, "The Moral Equivalent of War."
- 1932 * Franklin Delano Roosevelt, at the Democratic National Convention, proposes a national civilian reforestation plan.
- 1933-42 FDR's vision becomes the Civilian Conservation Corps and over 3 million young men serve terms of 6-18 months before the program is ended.
- 1961 President John F. Kennedy establishes the Peace Corps as a new form of National Service.
- 1964 President Lyndon Baines Johnson's "War on Poverty" creates VISTA, a National Teacher Corps, the Job Corps, and University Year of Action. These programs fade as the Vietnam war dominates the national agenda.
- 1969-80 Numerous legislative proposals to create a federal National Service program are unsuccessful.
- 1970 Youth Conservation Corps employs 38,000 young people (ages 14-18) for summer environmental programs.
- 1976 California Conservation Corps established by Governor Jerry Brown as first nonfederal state youth corps.
- 1978 The Young Adult Conservation Corps (ages 16-23) creates small conservation corps in the states with 22,500 employees. Potomac Institute establishes Committee for the Study of National Service with Ford Foundation grant and issues *Youth and the Needs of the Nation*..
- 1982 President Ronald Reagan's Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) eliminates federal funding for conservation corps. In *High School*, Ernie Boyer calls for all high school students to participate in community service.
- 1984 American Conservation Corps Act passed by Congress but pocket vetoed by President Reagan.

- 1984-86 * Grassroots efforts launch nongovernmental National Service strategies and model programs:
- Campus Outreach Opportunity League (1984) and Campus Compact (1985) created to mobilize service programs in higher education.
 - National Association of Service and Conservation Corps (NASCC) established (1985) to network and replicate youth corps in states and cities.
 - K-12 programs ("service learning") begin spreading in schools.
 - Youth Service America established (1985) to bring together the diverse "streams of service" into the Youth Service Movement.
 - Ford and Mott Foundations become major funders of the field.
- 1989-90 President George Bush creates Office of National Service in the White House and Points of Light Foundation to foster volunteerism. W.K. Kellogg and DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Foundations become major funders of youth service movement.
- 1990 The Youth Service Movement gains a federal partner as Congress passes the National and Community Service Act of 1990, grants program for the "streams of service" at state and local levels.
- 1993 President Bill Clinton creates a National Service Trust Fund.

* Three landmarks in National Service history.

The origins of the ideal of National Service are obscure in the mists of history. In Sparta and Athens, military service by citizens was in full flower. National Service is an old tradition in many European democracies, designed for protection against military dictatorships. Volunteer militia were a decisive force of the American Revolution. In retirement at Monticello, Thomas Jefferson wrote in a letter to John Adams, "A debt of service is due from every man to his country proportioned to the bounties which nature and fortune have measured to him."

Evolving from truly ancient roots, the ideal of National Service has progressed in American society with three leaps of the imagination. This brief history identifies these breakthroughs and sketches the path through which a grassroots youth service movement was organized by the independent sector during the 1980s. During this period, the field grew from scattered social entrepreneurs and diverse local program models into a growing national force, redefining the old national service ideal and moving it high on the American agenda.

1. The National Service Ideal

It is not entirely clear whether Jefferson's "debt of service" referred strictly to military service or more broadly suggested other kinds of public service. The ideal of nonmilitary, domestic National Service is usually traced to a 1910 essay by the great American philosopher William James entitled "The Moral Equivalent of War."¹ This brilliant essay was written by James during the last year of his life from notes on an earlier speech delivered at Stanford University. It reviewed the militaristic tradition in western civilization with grudging admiration for the power of war to inspire and unite a people, and proposed an alternative scheme to ignite civic passion. Late in his essay, James wrote:

If now -- and this is my idea -- there were, instead of military conscription, a conscription of the whole youthful population to form for a certain number of years a part of the army enlisted against Nature, the injustice would tend to be evened out and numerous other goods to the Commonwealth would follow. The military ideals of hardihood and discipline would be wrought into the

growing fiber of the people; no one would remain blind, as the luxurious classes now are blind, to man's real relations to the globe he lives on . . .

The social context of this essay, near the turn of the century, was far different from what we know in the country today. The infrastructure of mass education at the high school and collegiate levels was just beginning to be built. Industrialization of the nation was far from completed. The tasks outlined by James for the focus of nonmilitary National Service seem quaint today, but the vision remains vivid:

To coal and iron mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December, to dish washing, clothes-washing and window-washing, to road-building and tunnel-making, foundries and stoke holes, and to the frames of skyscrapers would our gilded youths be drafted off, according to their choice, to get the childishness knocked out of them, to come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas Such a conscription, with the state of public opinion that would have required it, would preserve in the midst of a pacific civilization the manly virtues which the military party is so afraid of seeing disappear in peace. We would get toughness without callousness, authority with as little criminal cruelty as possible, and painful work done cheerily because the duty is temporary Here at least men are not flung out of employment to degenerate because there is no immediate work for them to do. They are fed and drilled and trained for better services. Here at least a man is supposed to win a promotion by self-forgetfulness and not by self-seeking It is only a question of blowing on the spark until the whole population gets incandescent, and on the ruins of the old morals of military honor, a stable system of morals of civic honor builds itself up. What the whole community comes to believe in grasps the individual as in a vice.

We know very little about what kind of debate followed this proposal, if indeed there was much debate. The country soon entered a period of extreme turbulence with the coming of World War I and the Great Depression.

The Jamesian ideal continued to be the subject of much intellectual discussion, with National Service usually envisioned as a new rite of passage for young people -- an intense, arduous, collective journey through conscious acts of citizenship into adulthood.

Among the most eloquent contemporary proponents of National Service is Eddie Williams, President of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. Williams speaks about certain persistent problems of American democracy which can only be solved through the concentrated efforts of generation after generation. He has described National Service as a way of immersing each generation into a hands-on understanding of intractable social problems -- such as poverty and racism -- and a lifelong ethic of service to solving them. Williams points out that universal National Service would be an arrangement through which everyone, rich or poor, serves on equal terms.²

Anthropologist Margaret Mead also endorsed National Service. For Mead, it could be a way of liberating individuals from the restrictions of their class backgrounds, mixing all together for a period of time on common tasks. Mead considered service corps an especially valuable opportunity for young women of working class backgrounds who are otherwise prematurely confined to limited roles, including early childbearing, with little opportunity for wider choices during their passage into adult lives.³

Conservative thinker William F. Buckley, Jr. strongly endorses universal National Service in his 1990 book, *Gratitude: Reflections On What We Owe To Our Country*. Buckley argues that tangible acts of community service would enable young people to acknowledge the debt they owe to earlier generations which built the commonwealth they enjoy. For Buckley, National Service is our debt to our patrimony.⁴

Paul Tsongas, who served in the Peace Corps before entering the U.S. Senate, has observed that Americans are entering an era of supreme challenges to our national eminence in the world. Meeting these challenges in a world economy, Tsongas argues, will require a greater sense of common purpose than Americans have shared in recent decades. Tsongas believes that National Service can be the training grounds for meeting these challenges, *E Pluribus Unum*.⁵

The articulation of an ideal of nonmilitary National Service was the initial breakthrough. And whenever the case for National Service has been argued, from James through the 1980s, there is always a duality of terms: a rite of passage for young people into civic values and the undertaking of great tasks related to national purpose. But the statement of an ideal is a long ways from the creation of policy and program.

II. The First Experiments

The first large-scale national experiment to translate the Jamesian ideal into an operational program incubated with a college undergraduate. It is said that Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a student at Harvard while William James was on the faculty, became interested in the concept of a "moral equivalent of war." As governor of New York, Roosevelt recruited 10,000 men from the state's unemployment lists into reforestation projects with impressive results.

Later, accepting the presidential nomination at the 1932 Democratic Convention, Roosevelt proposed ". . . a wide plan for the converting of many million of acres of marginal and unused land into timberland through reforestation, for the purpose of giving employment to a large number of men."

In March of 1933, as President, Roosevelt submitted his Civilian Conservation Corps plan to Congress with these words: ". . . more important than the material gains will be the moral and spiritual value of such work."

The CCC unfolded in three legislative stages between 1933 and 1942. It began with the *Emergency Conservation Act of 1933*, providing for enrollment of 250,000 young men between the ages of 18 and 25. They could be supplemented by 32,250 local men over the age of 25, 25,000 war veterans, and 3,000 Native Americans. Corpsmembers were selected by state directors of the Department of Labor, trained by the Army in units of 200, placed in residential camps and supervised in crews by the Departments of Interior and Agriculture. Initially, enrollment was restricted to young men from families on relief (from wages of \$30 each month, \$22 were to be sent home to families). Placement was limited to home states. With the rapid growth of the program, both restrictions were soon abandoned.

With the second stage, in 1937 the CCC became an independent government agency, opened to young men outside families on relief and augmented with educational and vocational training. In a third stage, with war on the horizon, military training was added in 1939. Congress terminated the CCC in 1942 in favor of a military draft (James must have rolled over in his grave).⁶

The Civilian Conservation Corps has become a genuine American legend. Four million corpsmembers served between 1933 and 1942, reaching a peak of 500,000 in 1937. Terms were 6, 12, or 18 months. Contrary to popular image, the CCC was not entirely white. In 1937, nine percent of corpsmembers were Afro-Americans, serving in segregated units. The total cost to taxpayers of the CCC was \$2.8 billion. Amazingly, the program was once four percent of the federal budget. It was a hugely popular program. A 1936 poll reported 82% of Americans in support of the CCC -- 92% of Democrats and 67% of Republicans.

Today, we look back on the CCC as an almost effortless success, but its implementation was not without problems. One highly publicized scandal in Lexington, Indiana involved prosecution of a camp director for including liquor and prostitutes among camp provisions for corpsmembers. There were some riots. In Virginia a group of new recruits rebelled when an unexpected snowstorm descended upon their unheated barracks. Investigators looking into a Yellowstone camp riot reported, "the only thing we could get out of those boys was they just could not stand the quiet nights and the coyotes howling." Many reports on camp troubles fingered "the mixing of city and country boys."

But the achievements of the CCC were truly monumental. Corpsmembers reforested two million acres of land. Four million acres of farm land received erosion prevention measures. A total of 3,470 fire towers were constructed; 114,000 roads and truck trails; 37,000 vehicle bridges; 7,000 foot and horse bridges. The eventual value of reforestation alone exceeded the cost of the entire program.

What You Can Do For Your Country

After World War II and the G.I. Bill, deep into the Cold War, national service programming resurfaced with the Presidency of John F. Kennedy, who summoned citizens to "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." Kennedy obtained passage of the 1961 Peace Corps Act, sending young Americans into volunteer service for developing nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The Peace Corps has always remained a relatively small program, peaking with 15,000 volunteers in 1967, more generally with about 6,000 in service overseas annually. The remarkable qualities of the Peace Corps, as a federally-administered National

Service program, are its longevity, the scope of its bipartisan support, and the distinction of its achievements. Over 30 years, some 150,000 Americans have served in the Peace Corps, mostly young people.⁷

Beyond the Peace Corps, Kennedy appointed a cabinet-level group to look into the possibilities for a domestic national service. In 1963, this effort resulted in a *Bill to Strengthen Community Service Programs in the U.S.* Several Kennedy cabinet members, including Defense Secretary Robert MacNamara and Labor Secretary Williard Wirtz, advocated a large-scale domestic National Service, but the legislation opted for a small "domestic Peace Corps" of 5,000. With Kennedy facing strong partisan opposition, the turmoil of the civil rights revolution, and then the President's assassination, the bill never made it out of committee.

As part of President Lyndon Baines Johnson's "War on Poverty," the *Economic Opportunity Act of 1964* created VISTA, a National Teacher Corps, and a Neighborhood Youth Corps. These federal programs were never large scale and gradually decayed with the country's preoccupation with the Civil Rights Revolution and Vietnam. Parallel to the federal service initiatives, as an informal citizen corps, many thousands of young people served outside government as volunteers in the civil rights struggle and other causes.

The Period of Advocacy

The national service idea survived for 20 years through scattered legislative and advocacy efforts. National Service bills were introduced in 1969 (Hatfield), 1970 (Bingham), 1979 (McCloskey, Cavanaugh), 1984 (Moynihan), 1985 (Dodd), 1989 (Bumper, Dodd, Graham, Kennedy, Mikulski, Nunn, Pell). Only the American Conservation Corps Act of 1984 passed Congress. It was pocket vetoed by President Reagan.

Two federal national youth service experiments did flourish briefly during these years. In 1970, Congress legislated a Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) as an eight-week summer employment program. After three pilot years it expanded into a larger program of environmental work by 34,000 young people ages 15-18 at an annual cost of \$60 million. Diverse groups of teenagers served in U.S. Forest, Park, Fish and Wildlife services. YCC was folded into the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1974. By most reports YCC was popular among its participants and did valuable work.

In 1978, a Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) became part of CETA, enrolling 25,000 unemployed 16-23 year olds. YACC created small state-operated conservation corps. One of these programs, the California Conservation Corps, shaped by Governor Jerry Brown and a tough Vietnam Marine veteran named B.T. Collins, was later to become the seminal model for a new group of non-federal corps.

YACC was eliminated in 1982 by the Reagan-era Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), which contained no provision for national conservation corps service. YCC survives today only in remnant form with roughly 2,000 enrolled.⁸

The late 60's and 1970's were essentially advocacy periods for large-scale national service. The 1969, 1970 and 1979 bills were influenced by the dogged advocacy of Donald Eberly, who organized conferences and wrote position papers on the subject.⁹ In 1979, an independent Committee for the Study of National Service was sponsored by the Potomac Institute with funding from the Ford Foundation and led by Senator Harris Wofford, then president of Bryn Mawr College. This group generated national attention with a report entitled *Youth and the Needs of the Nation*, which offered guidelines for a large-scale, government-supported system of voluntary National Service.¹⁰

The federal programming experiments are the second great landmark in the modern history of National Service. Through these programs, the ideal has been given tangible expression. But it is equally true that, with the exception of the Peace Corps, the federal programs have lacked sustainability. They did not become rooted in American society or establish an enduring political mandate.

III. The Youth Service Movement

During all these years from the James essay through the Potomac Institute report, another youth service tradition, outside government and less visible nationally, was taking shape. Out of this largely unreported tradition, and from the remnants of federal programs such as the Young Adult Conservation Corps, a new national service paradigm began to take shape in the 1980s.

Since the formation of the United States, two great institutions of citizen participation have thrived. One is government at the federal, state

and local levels. The other, equally vital to American democracy, has come to be called the voluntary or the independent sector. It is far more extensive, open-ended, and innovative than government.

In 1831-32, a French nobleman wandered across America to witness new forms of democracy in action. Alexis de Tocqueville later reported his observations in a classic book, *Democracy in America*. Tocqueville wrote:

Americans of all ages, all stations of life, and all types of disposition are forever forming associations. There are not only commercial and industrial associations in which all take part, but others of a thousand different types -- religious, moral, serious, futile, very general and very limited, immeasurably large and very minute In every case, at the head of any new undertaking, where in France you would find the government or in England some territorial magnate, in the United States you are sure to find an association.¹¹

Youth service programs have flourished in America's independent sector for decades. Many Quaker and Catholic schools have pioneered youth service programs, legislated by their mission statements and charters. To a lesser extent, youth service programs also emerged in public schools, often through the leadership of a single inspired teacher or a group of active students.

Collegiate youth service programs are another part of national tradition, from Phillips Brooks House and Dwight Hall at Harvard and Yale to Stanford's Center for Public Service. The Center for Social Concerns at the University of Notre Dame, patiently build over many years by President Theodore Hesburgh, has involved a majority of Notre Dame students in community and national service projects.

Hundreds of additional local youth service programs and projects have flourished through the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, YMCA, churches, and community based organizations. There is the Mormon Mission and the Jesuit Volunteer Corps. There have been Teachers for East Africa, The Teachers, Inc., and more recently, Teach for America. Sororities at historically black colleges have a distinguished record of community service.

During the early 1980s, a handful of national service advocates who had given up on the concept of a federally-funded and federally-driven program adopted a new strategy. They set a goal of creating a system of

national youth service from the bottom up by building upon local, mostly nongovernmental programming models. Several national leadership organizations were established to undertake the task, supported by major foundations. This effort, rapidly evolving into a "youth service movement," was to profoundly alter the context of the national service debate.

The Youth Corps Stream

Remnants of YACC programming survived in California, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Washington and several other states, most led by citizen councils and funded by state legislatures unwilling to abandon these programs. The seminal nonfederal youth corps, the California Conservation Corps, created in 1976 by Democratic Governor Jerry Brown, grew into a vigorous state agency in the early 1980's under a Republican governor.¹² The first urban conservation corps models were formed in New York City, San Francisco, and East Bay in 1983-84, later proliferating in other cities. The much publicized City Year program in Boston ("in the spirit of an urban Peace Corps") evolved from these models. Most of these programs were led by highly entrepreneurial independent sector leaders.

Under sponsorship of the Human Environment Center, these state-wide programs banded together as a National Association of Service and Conservation Corps (NASCC), whose initial mission was to devise survival and expansion strategies. A set of national corps replication projects also took shape, fueled with major foundation support, including the Youth Volunteer Corps of America, the Urban Corps Expansion Project, and YouthBuild USA. Today the NASCC national program network numbers more than 75 youth corps. This network inspired Subtitle C of the federal *National and Community Service Act of 1990*.

The Collegiate Stream

At the collegiate level, two national non-profits, Campus Compact and Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL), led a systematic expansion of local youth service programming. The Compact was organized by a group of higher education leaders into an expanding association of college and university presidents committed to twin goals: creating or upgrading student community service operations on their respective campuses and national policy advocacy for youth service. The spirit of the Compact was captured by

Howard Swearer, a founder of the association and president of Brown University, at a 1988 leadership conference:

For many years we talked about a national service program at the federal level, but we forgot to remember that a national program is not the same thing as a federal program. In the last three or four years it has been most gratifying to see what's happening at the grassroots level. We really have a national program, but it's happening where it ought to happen -- at the state level, the city level, the community level -- and not adding just another federal program.¹³

Compact enlisted more than 200 presidents in its mission and has fostered a layer of state Campus Compacts. The involvement of high education leaders brought valuable visibility to youth service and programming weight at many colleges and universities.

During the same period, COOL evolved as a youth-led organization mobilizing student service initiatives. Among other initiatives, COOL lobbied for "green deans", recent graduates funded to coordinate student service activities on specific campuses. Together, Compact and COOL have engaged over 800 campuses and hundreds of thousands of students in a wide variety of community service projects. The two organizations pressed for a closer integration between the curricula of campuses and community service projects. The programming innovations of Compact and COOL and their associated campuses became the policy basis for Subtitle B2 of the *National and Community Service Act of 1990*. The community service program director at Stanford University, Catherine Milton, became executive director of the National Commission established to administer the Act.

The national scope of campus community service programming and its impact upon students and communities has not been thoroughly documented, but this "stream" of youth service has become a pillar of the youth service movement and some of the young people involved are exploring careers in the broader youth service network.

The School Stream

The high school and junior high stream of youth service programming over the last decade is a more muddled picture, in part because the field is so

vast. In their 1985 book, *National Service*, Richard Danzig and Peter Szanton suggest that the country's high schools possess the greatest potential for making national youth service universal.¹⁴ According to surveys, a majority of private religious and independent secondary schools operate organized community service programs, some compulsory, some of high quality. During recent years, more and more public schools have also launched programs. The Atlanta and Detroit school systems, and one state, Maryland, have made community service a graduation requirement.

The national clarion call for service programs as an integral dimension of secondary education came in the form of a chapter in Ernest Boyer's influential 1982 book, *High School*.¹⁵ Boyer proposed a new "Carnegie Unit" for each school, a credit-bearing service experience within the formal curriculum. No national nonprofit such as NASCC or Campus Compact emerged to lead a campaign for school-based service, but several state and regional organizations became influential players. The Los Angeles based Constitutional Rights Foundation, with Ford Foundation support, created programs in that city's Unified School District and disseminated guidebooks nationally. The Thomas Jefferson Forum organized programs first in Boston area secondary schools and then throughout the state. The National Youth Leadership Council seeded programs throughout its home state of Minnesota and began conducting teacher-training workshops nationally. With the leadership of Jim Kielsmeier, NYLC has also brought substantial momentum to efforts to develop a service-learning strategy to penetrate the school curriculum nationwide. PennSERVE and SerVermont works on the schools of their respective states.

Not all youth service programs engaging precollegiate students are school based. A full-time summer service corps for high school students piloted in Kansas City evolved into a national replication project called the Youth Volunteer Corps of America, with programs in a dozen sites. Another set of pilot programs for younger teenagers, called Youth As Resources, is sponsored by the National Crime Prevention Council.

These efforts have been in the spirit admired by Tocqueville, and through the school-linked programs hundreds of thousands of students have made the rite of passage into the ethic of service. This programming stream became the policy basis for Subtitle B1 of the National and Community Service Act.

Unifying the Streams

In 1985-86, Youth Service America was established to work with leaders of the disparate youth service streams to develop strategies and projects designed to create a more unified national program and policy network. YSA began convening the field's leaders through a series of workshops and conferences to generate broader program and policy development goals for the field as a whole.

In 1988, YSA organized a coalition of the field's leading organizations, the Working Group on Youth Service Policy, to define and coordinate national policy goals at monthly meetings. In an effort to establish a common language and vision between the diverse branches of the field, one of the first actions of the Working Group was to hammer out a *Statement of Principles*.¹⁶ The Working Group helped persuade the Bush Administration to establish a White House Office of National Service and provided ONS with the group's first position paper on January 9, 1989, *Recommendations to the President about the Youth Entering Service to America Foundation*. Next, the Working Group helped shape the framework for the *National and Community Service Act of 1990* and published *Recommendations Regarding Federal Involvement in the Field of Youth Service*. The result of these efforts was a federal partnership for the youth service field rooted in the new paradigm.

Private foundations have played a crucial funding role for the national youth service movement. The initial source was the Ford Foundation, whose president, Franklin Thomas, outlined a framework for a decentralized National Service in a 1984 speech.¹⁷ Joined by the Charles Stuart Mott Foundation, Ford funded the initial efforts of Youth Service America, the Constitutional Rights Foundation, the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps, Campus Compact, and the Campus Outreach Opportunity League. The W.K. Kellogg Foundation and the Dewitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund later became major funders for the youth service movement. Other foundations have played spot funding roles. Funding for local programs has been diversified, with some state and federal funds as well as corporate funds flowing to the full-time corps. The "new paradigm" shape of the field -- the third breakthrough -- would not have been possible without

the twin ingredients of entrepreneurial leadership and responsive foundations.

A Federal Partnership

In the late 1980's, federal initiatives brought new force to the national youth service movement. After George Bush's election to the presidency in 1988, a White House Office of National Service was organized during the transition period. This led to substantial "bully pulpit" support for youth service and citizen volunteerism in general during President Bush's first term. The Office of National Service oversaw the formation of an independent Points of Light Foundation in 1990, essentially an advertising effort for National Service.

In 1989, several national service bills were introduced in the Senate. One of these bills, S.3, based on policy concepts developed within the Democratic Leadership Council, was introduced by Senator Sam Nunn.¹⁸ Nunn's *Citizenship and National Service Act of 1989* received massive publicity through the press and major television networks. It boldly linked federal loan and scholarship support for higher education to a quid pro quo of military or nonmilitary National Service. S.3 attracted a firestorm of opposition from civil rights and higher education groups, which viewed the bill as undermining equal education opportunity for needy students, particularly those from minority populations. None of the 1989 bills had any prospect of passage.

At this point in 1989, the grass roots youth service movement and Congressional legislative draftsmanship finally began to interact in a powerful way. The story revolves around the leadership of Senator Edward Kennedy who suddenly stepped into the forefront of Congressional action on national service -- especially noteworthy because of his family's heritage of eloquent language and active leadership for National Service.

Senator Kennedy was stirred by a huge 25th anniversary celebration by Peace Corps alumni in 1986 when he met with several hundred of the first Peace Corps Volunteers to go overseas in 1961 and reminisced about his brother's hopes for the Peace Corps. Kennedy was also deeply impressed by the spirit and achievements of the City Year service corps in Boston. As Chairman of the powerful Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, Kennedy vacuumed all of the Senate National Service bills into

the committee and, in consultation with leaders of the independent youth service movement, hammered them into a single, new, omnibus piece of legislation, the *National and Community Service Act of 1990*.

The Act reflected the "new paradigm" of a decentralized system of diverse programs at local and state levels. It would provide grants on a competitive basis for state plans to leverage programming and policy developments for schools (Subtitle B1), colleges and universities (Subtitle B2), youth service corps (Subtitle C) and a handful of National Service demonstrations (Subtitle D). This part of the legislative draftsmanship was relatively easy. Other parts were more challenging.

The Bush Administration was primarily interested in its own plan for a Points of Light Foundation and was not initially friendly to youth service corps, citing "the absurdity of paid volunteerism." But after prolonged negotiations, President Bush agreed to the Kennedy subtitles in the legislation, including stipended youth corps, in exchange for Kennedy support for a healthy cut of federal funds designated for the newly-formed Points of Light Foundation. A crucial ally in the negotiations with the White House and Republican Senators was Senator Orin Hatch, a Utah Mormon with a feel for the benefits of youth service rooted in the Mormon Mission program.

Another missing piece of draftsmanship was the administrative vehicle for the Act. How could state grants be administered to be responsive to the diverse network of local programs and their entrepreneurial leadership? The youth service movement recoiled from the prospect of dealing with the large federal bureaucracies, such as the Departments of Education or Labor, or the weak ACTION agency which had presided over the decay of VISTA and other youth service programs. The Senate was unwilling to contemplate an administering entity outside the federal government. The compromise agreement was a lean National Commission, nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. With this final piece in place, the legislation passed the Senate by a strong bipartisan majority, 79 to 19.

After much coaxing, the House created a parallel bill and reached agreement in conference with the Senate. President Bush signed the legislation into law and, after a delay of almost a year, nominated the Commission Members, who were quickly confirmed by the Senate. Former Congressman Pete McCloskey was named Chairman. Now the youth service

movement had a federal partnership. \$287 million were authorized for the Commission over three years. The first year of funding was lost in the delay over appointing Commission Members, but in June of 1992, the Commission made a first round of 154 grants totalling \$63 million.

National Service achieved new prominence in the 1992 presidential campaign. President Bush had already established an Office of National Service in the White House with an emphasis on citizen volunteerism. Democratic candidate Bill Clinton spoke frequently about a National Service Trust Fund linking federal higher education loans to one or two years of full-time community service. While the details of how the Clinton plan would be implemented were unclear during the campaign, its enactment could clearly trigger large-scale participation by young people in full-time service corps with funding support which might reach several billion dollars, making it the largest federally-supported programming effort since Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps.

Fault Lines

A "big tent " approach by the youth service movement -- incorporating diverse programming streams and models within a common vision, principles of best practice, and national policy objectives -- has been a substantial success story in its formative stages. Thinly submerged constituency and policy differences complicate the next stages of the field's growth.

The first of these basic policy issues reaches back to James' "conscription of the whole youthful population." Should National Service be compulsory or voluntary? Universal service is usually thought of in terms of federal conscription, although it would be possible for states to impose a service requirement, as the states collectively require formal education. Federal or state national service conscription seems highly unlikely in the foreseeable future. The numbers generated by universal conscription would pose large problems of effective implementation and enforcement, not to mention taxpayer cost. It is also a politically divisive issue.

The issue of compulsion is currently playing itself out in the high school stream of community service programming. A number of secondary schools, mostly private schools but also a few public schools, operate

compulsory service programs of high quality that are popular with students and parents. Compulsion on a much broader scale is another matter. The State of Maryland imposed a statewide service requirement for high school graduation in 1992. In Pennsylvania, a service requirement in the Bethlehem School District is being challenged in court. It remains to be seen how large-scale secondary school service requirements turn out on an experiential level. Will the large numbers of young people involved have experiences and provide community services of sufficient quality to sustain the requirement? Compulsory service at this time remains a hot issue in the field.

Another core policy issue arises in the programming stream of full-time youth service corps. Are corps essentially citizenship service programs or essentially employment programs for out-of-work youth? In practice, some of the roughly 75 local and state corps currently in operation recruit unemployed, "at risk" youth for Job training while others emphasize "melting pot" recruitment and community service goals. Individual youth corps tend to reflect the priorities of its management or its funders. As federal funding flows to the corps, legislative and bureaucratic aims will have a large impact upon the balance in the corps field between employment and citizenship objectives.

Another basic policy issue is the participant composition of youth corps. Should all (or most) youth corps be universal in participation, mixing young people of diverse ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds, as suggested by the National Service ideal described by Eddie Williams and Margaret Mead? Or should youth corps be targeted for "those most in need," usually meaning "at risk" minority youth, as encouraged by some foundations and government agencies? In practice, the existing 75 corps cover the spectrum. The privately operated City Year in Boston deliberately encompasses a rich mix of corpsmembers, from prep school graduates to inner-city dropouts. The New York City Volunteer Corps, publicly funded and privately operated, was originally intended by founder Ed Koch to be a National Service demonstration program of melting pot diversity, but has "tipped" into a program dominantly of poor minorities. CVC still includes wide ethnic diversity among its corpsmembers (Haitians, Hispanics, Afro-Americans, Asians). The state-operated Pennsylvania Conservation Corps has evolved as a program dominantly of rural, poor white youth. Some minority groups, such as Native Americans, are seeking to create service corps within their

own ethnic communities. YouthBuild USA describes itself as a national replication project for "communities of color."

Viewed as a whole, the national patchwork of youth corps is encompassing highly diverse youth sub-populations, even though some individual corps are essentially segregated. This violates the abstract national service ideal, but planned variation may be the pragmatic path towards a gradually evolving universal rite of passage which draws diverse young people into service together. Aside from the policy debate, it is worth remembering that some young people, as individuals, possess the self confidence and motivation to benefit from serving side-by-side with diverse peers. Others at this point in their lives feel more secure in less diverse settings.

Another fundamental policy issue, approaching an ideological divide, is whether national Service should be conceived as a volunteerism model or a programmatic model. One side characterizes ad hoc volunteerism as a noblesse oblige approach of the well-off helping the poor. A New Yorker cartoon shows one socialite saying to another in a swanky club, "I remember when only nice people did community service." Youth corps are intended to empower young people, especially poor young people, through giving them active and positive roles in their communities. On the other side, "paid volunteerism" has been described as an oxymoron and youth corps as too expensive. The Bush Administration, caught on the horns of this dilemma, initially opposed the National and Community Service Act, but after funds were made available for the Points of Light Foundation, went on to nominate a strong National Commission to administer an Act which provides grants to support some stipended youth corps.

As a purely practical matter, young people who are not materially well off are not going to be able to serve in service corps full-time without stipends. The school and collegiate programs generally avoid the paid volunteerism dispute but are subject to criticism for being too ad hoc. Effective youth service programming, including part-time volunteer programs, requires measures of training, supervision, coordination, planning and evaluation to reach reasonable standards of quality. All this requires structure and staffing continuity which in turn require a reasonable budget.

Still another fundamental policy issue, especially as the field grows in visibility and scope, is ownership of the expanding program network. With

increased government funding, will national youth service become in actuality or in public perception another "big government" program, like FDR's Civilian Conservation Corps? Or will the field remain an independent sector network rooted in diverse local programs consistent with its evolution over the last decade? The contemporary program network has been extraordinarily entrepreneurial to this point, in the American tradition admired by Tocqueville. But even the relatively modest National and Community Service Act, which has so far reinforced the nongovernmental program network, has created alternative governmental or shadow government structures in the National Commission, Points of Light Foundation, and state lead agencies. This seems to be less a partisan issue than a habit of thinking about the federal government's role. Despite a history of short-lived federal youth service program, proposals for federally-administered national service programs are under discussion in Congress which would dwarf current independent sector programming. Neither political party has taken the independent sector ownership of the youth service field as seriously as merited. Yet the direction of the field's growth and its image with the American public are likely to determine the field's longer-term viability.

Into the Future

Standing back to look at the history of the youth service field, including the "new paradigm" created by the grass roots movement of the last decade, it is clear that a new threshold has been reached. The intellectual ideal of National Service, government legislative initiatives, and the entrepreneurial efforts of independent sector organizations have come into alignment as points of a triangle. The ideal pulls still modest levels of youth participation towards more inclusive, more ambitious aims. The entrepreneurial ventures are inventing a rich diversity of program models and policy frameworks closer to local communities, the idealism of young people, and hands-on leadership. Federal and state government involvement are bringing new status, visibility, scope and precious funds to the field.

We cannot know what the next chapter of the history of national youth service will bring. We do know some fundamental questions that must be answered. How can a system of national youth service be incorporated into American political culture in such a way that it will endure as a new rite of

passage? How can such a system be funded? And who will manage and own the system?

If these questions can be answered, William James may turn out to have been prophetic in writing, "It is only a question of blowing on the spark till the whole population gets incandescent."

THE NATION

National service — now

Need for program
too great for Clinton
to allow gradualism

By Scott Shuger

If Saddam Hussein had somehow managed to put 100,000 guns in our schools every day, to induce 400,000 high school dropouts a year, to produce nearly 1 million teen-age parents every year, to afflict many of their babies with cocaine aftereffects that annually cost \$500 million to treat, and to murder more than 20,000 Americans every year, the president and the Congress would not appoint a commission to produce a report. They would not announce that the problem deserves further study. They would declare war. Yet while all this havoc is happening here now without Saddam Hussein, in policy circles and in the press there has been much talk about the need to start small and go slow on a powerful response to it, national service.

With Bill Clinton's inaugural call for a "season of service," the issue of national service is now officially on the agenda. And yet — as the country was reminded once again by official Washington's adamant resistance to decisive action on the Pentagon's gay ban — in the nation's capital, being on the agenda and getting things done are two very different matters. Washington splits the difference, whenever possible, with its knee-jerk gradualism, its belief that almost any policy must be studied further, subjected to compromise, and then enacted incrementally, if at all.

I hope with all my heart that Clinton will stand up to gradualism on national service and instead lead the country powerfully on a swift, bold course. My fundamental premise is that national service does have the power to reseed our eroding social landscape. National service needn't be picking up gum wrappers by the side of the highway; it could be a commitment to put the vast, unused talents and energies of its citizens, especially those between 15 and 30, systematically to work in the schools, the day-care centers, the environmental projects, the hospitals, the drug clinics and the nursing homes, against the country's most pressing social needs. And if one accepts this premise about national service, it is folly not to go big and

SERVICE, Page 70

Scott Shuger, a Washington Monthly contributing editor, has served as a consultant to the federal government on national service.

Boston Globe
2/7/93

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Service

Continued from Page 67
go fast.

The proponents of gradualism build their case by focusing on the issues of cost, quality and worker displacement raised by large-scale implementation. While their concerns are right-minded in each of these areas, their case ignores important facts and possibilities.

Cost

The gradualist argument goes like this: The administrative costs required for a well-run service program will be great, as will the stipends and post-service benefits (such as college loan forgiveness). The annual per participant cost of corps programs such as Boston's City Year or the Los Angeles Conservation Corps, is \$20,000. Therefore, a national service program of 500,000 participants would cost around \$10 billion annually, too much for a deficit-ridden federal budget.

This argument oversimplifies on several counts. First, although corps are a form of service that would be important in any national program, there are many other kinds of service that also would be included, all of them cheaper and some much cheaper. For instance, a national service program should include a vigorous school component in which college students and working professionals periodically tutor elementary and middle school children; experience suggests that as little as 1 hour a week of such tutoring can keep kids in school and substantially improve academic performance. This program would be virtually free. And making whole school curricula service-oriented so that millions of schoolchildren would be doing service as a regular part of their academic load (doing tax returns for senior citizens as part of a math class, say, or putting out the newsletter for a community mental health center as part of a writing class) has been done superbly at some schools, such as the Washington Elementary School in Mount Vernon, Wash., for under \$10,000 per year per school. National service is not inherently unaffordable, because so much of making a large national service program work is taking what we are already doing and giving it a service twist.

Second, the real issue isn't how much money ambitious national service would cost; it's how much *new* money. Although youth corps would not be the only sort of service available in a national service plan (because of the full range of tasks national service needs to accomplish, I would say they should be no more than 50 percent), consider that aforementioned estimated corps cost of \$20,000 per participant per year. Many of the at-risk youth that corps are designed to accommodate are now ending up in the criminal justice system where the current annual costs per participant are at least that



Volunteers in City Year, Boston's own service program for young adults, warm up before a serve-a-thon in October 1990.

high. Not to mention the other measurable costs of criminality: the lost income and added welfare costs for the families of victims and incarcerated perpetrators, the extra dollars spent by businesses, schools and other institutions in loss- and violence-prevention. Does anybody seriously think that getting an ambitious large-scale youth service program going in Los Angeles would cost anything like the \$1 billion that went up in flames in the April rioting there? What's more, if corps were given the chance to turn most of these at-risk youngsters into citizens and members of the mainstream economy, they would become revenue-producing taxpayers and consumers. In other words, the incremental cost of even expensive programs such as youth corps is nowhere near \$20,000 per person.

A similar point can be made about many other dimensions of a truly full-scale national service program: money that would be spent under this heading is now being spent but with less effect. Some of the money now spent on basic military training and bases and equipment for a Cold War-strength Army could be spent instead on training, housing and equipping youth service corps members. The \$28 million now spent annually by the Selective Service system to not have a draft could be applied easily to locating 18-year-olds and matching them with national service slots. Money now spent by community colleges teaching remedial reading and math and by industry teaching basic work skills could be spent instead by service programs achieving more focused and longer-lasting results in the same areas, because doing so would be their primary purpose. The federal government is currently spending around \$300 million per year on such programs as VISTA and the Peace Corps without realizing the economies of scale that

would come from any larger-scale national effort.

Which leads to another point: It's not clear that all the incremental money has to come from the federal government. If businesses and local governments enjoy the benefits of effective large-scale national service, they should pay their fair share for it, and for the most part they would be willing to, because administrative and program costs are more projectable and controllable than remedial costs.

Quality

The go-slow-and-small argument contends that more ambitious attempts will give us schlocky service inherently. The specter is quickly raised of programs such as the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, a federal jobs program of the 1970s in which millions were spent with no truly measurable long-lasting effect. The preceding discussion provides part of the answer here: Money that we are spending anyway in remedial efforts can be rechanneled toward boosting national service program quality.

Also, for the most part, CETA placements were placements of individuals in free-standing organizations. Often, those individual placements were not monitored by anyone outside the organization, but even if they were, the fact remained that little of the CETA employee's time was directed toward reflection on what he or she was doing, or was spent among others who were service-oriented. This meant that, at its best, CETA placements did not develop a sense of the importance of service or teamwork. But this is hardly an inherent defect; simply require as a condition of financing that the preponderance of slots in national service have a structured reflection component (such as workshops and reading and writing assign-

ments) and be team-based.

Another part of the answer is to focus on something else that CETA lacked: systematic quality control. It's true that we don't know as much as we need to about what works and what doesn't about national service. It was also true that in 1961 we didn't know much about what worked and what didn't work about going to the moon - yet this was hardly seen as an argument against mounting a big national effort to go there. The answer then and now is to be sure that training, information-sharing and independent evaluation, all combined with a sincere determination to kill off nonperforming programs, are part of the effort.

And if the critics of big-time national service are serious about quality and are not using it just as an excuse to wriggle out of the commitment, there is another quality enhancement they should adopt: Make national service mandatory. Government and business will be seriously engaged in winning the battle for our schools and our streets if and only if the sons and daughters of the elite are fully involved. Senators and CEOs would not stand for having their children doing one- or two-year stints at programs that were shoddily run, exploitative or corrupt. If they didn't have the option of pulling their kids out of service altogether, they would be much more dedicated to weeding out sham service programs and improving deficient ones.

Displacement

Union officials and politicians fronting for them have supported gradualism because they are fearful of their members losing jobs to national service participants. While it's true that some workers will be displaced by the growth of national service, there is no a

priori reason why this should happen to anyone besides nonperformers. The service organization Teach For America has had no trouble putting 1,300 new teachers into public schools without displacing anyone; TFA only makes assignments to chronically unfilled slots. The Los Angeles police chief, Willie B. Williams, says his city could use 1,000 more officers. The electorate turned him down, but a national service program that expanded enough to include a police corps could have produced those new officers without costing anyone a job. And, quite generally, a Ford Foundation study estimates that there are enough unfilled needs in the country - in such sectors as education, law enforcement, health care, child care and environmental work - to busy more than 3 million national service participants without worker displacement.

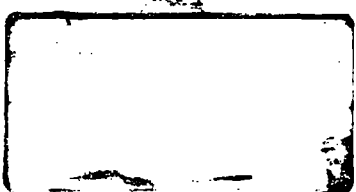
At bottom, there are two reasons why national service gradualism has gotten a hearing in Washington well beyond what it deserves, and they both have to do with the inordinate influence exercised there by committees and policy analysts. For one thing, further study is a growth industry of this crowd in a way that bold action could never be. Yes, there is much we don't know about how best to pull off national service, but the knowledge needed is not at the level of footnotes and regression analyses; it is at the level of finding out how a company can best use its van pool to take volunteers to hospitals and schools, or figuring out which sort of uniform an urban youth corps needs to meet the demands of climate and adolescent taste. It's time to learn by *doing*.

Second, the policy analysts are used to viewing national service as just one among many "problems" that they study. You know, there is the drug problem, education, AIDS ... and national service. This is a fundamental misunderstanding of the power and function of national service, sort of like making a shopping list that says "Bread, meat, eggs and shopping." National service is not just another potential national priority. It is the most promising way of achieving our national priorities. The grave difficulties of drugs, AIDS, education, and business competitiveness will be solved only by thoroughly adopting the service perspective. And this justifies a bold and large-scale national program.

In Washington, extended study and seriousness of intent are inversely proportional. When President Kennedy wanted the country to get back in the space race, he didn't say we would send a rocket somewhere sometime. There was no Desert Storm summit; there was no Somalia summit. Instead, in all these cases, there was large-scale decisive action. President Clinton, if you are serious about national service, you will tell the wonks to step aside. Within your first hundred days, I hope that you will present this nation with an ambitious goal - something like 1 million people in national service by the end of three years - and then strive mightily to meet it.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Globe
2/11/93



Still-Evolving Plan For National Service

By Susan Page

WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington — At the moment, the federal program is so minuscule that it commands just six staffers, but President Bill Clinton already has told his speechwriter to mention it in Wednesday's address to a joint session of Congress and his congressional lobbyists to put it near the top of this year's legislative agenda.

The National Service program — a plan to overhaul the federal guaranteed student loan system and provide a way for young people to work off their college aid obligation through community service — is a proposal Clinton has told friends could be as substantial a part of his presidential legacy as the Peace Corps proved to be for John F. Kennedy.

"It's small, it's entrepreneurial, it's idealistic, and it goes to his roots," said Eli Segal, who served as chief of staff of Clinton's presidential campaign and is now director of the Office of National Service — an office that consists in its entirety of five assistants and him. "This is something that's been close to Bill Clinton for a long, long time."

Under the still-evolving plan, the current student loan system might be largely scrapped in favor of a two-pronged scheme. Students could obtain loans — perhaps directly from the government rather than through banks — and pay them back after they graduate at a pace determined by their income.

Or they could choose to devote a year or more to some form of government-approved community ser-

vice either before or after they attend college.

"The president has a few other small things on his plate — like a \$5 trillion economy, a \$1.5 trillion budget, an \$800 billion health care system, and a bloody mess in Bosnia," said William Galston, a top White House domestic-policy adviser. "But the president has identified this as one of his top legislative priorities, and he's made it clear he wants this to happen sooner rather than later."

But the plan is not without problems or opponents.

Clinton's own budget aides are concerned about its cost. At a time when they are struggling to meet deficit-reduction targets, they are leery of a program that studies have estimated could cost as much as \$20,000 a year per student, though some advocates say the cost could be lower.

Education Secretary Richard Riley, in an interview on NBC-TV's "One on One" program broadcast yesterday, said the program might have a budget of \$8 billion "more or less" by 1997. The current guaranteed student loan program cost \$5.1 billion last year, with nearly \$3 billion of it used to cover student defaults.

Rep. Bill Goodling of Pennsylvania, ranking Republican on the House Education and Labor Committee, questioned whether the national service scheme was realistic. "From a dollar-and-cents standpoint, it'll get real scrutiny," he warned.

In addition, leaders of organized labor are worried

Please see PLAN on Page 3

NEWSDAY, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1993

that the community service volunteers — who Clinton has suggested might work as teachers, police officers and nurses — would displace permanent employees. Pentagon officials fear their brightest prospective recruits who are thinking about entering the military for help in getting a college degree might choose community service instead.

There are other questions.

"What on earth are a quarter of a million young people going to do?" demanded Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank, and a critic of the idea. "What kind of bureaucracy is going to be needed to decide what jobs are public-service jobs? Who's going to decide what to do if people just don't show up for work?"

"The history of government jobs programs . . . is that they don't work very well, and I don't see any reason why this program would work better than any of the others," he said.

The proposal to allow students who have borrowed money to repay it based on their income also has set off alarm bells, with some college officials arguing that longer repayment plans would discourage students who are still carrying debt from going on to graduate school. And banks are sure to oppose any plan for the government to offer student loans directly, although administration and congressional agencies have estimated it would save taxpayers from \$4.8 to \$6 billion over five years in administrative costs.

But Clinton's own support for the idea — developed by the moderate Democratic Leadership Council he once headed — seems unshakable. He often cites national service as a prime example of his theme that citizenship involves responsibilities as well as rights.

"The national service program is going to receive significant investment," White House Communications Director George Stephanopoulos said yesterday. "The president is committed to making good on that program." But he said the program would be "phased in" after starting small.

If all goes well — with students signing up, unions mollified and communities enthusiastic — it could then expand.

Sen. Harris Wofford (D-Pa.), a vocal proponent of national service, foresees a program that eventually could put a million people a year to work. He calls it a natural progression from his days as a Kennedy staffer helping set up the Peace Corps.

"The logic of the Peace Corps and the dream of the Peace Corps was that we would bring the idea home to America on a big scale," he said. "This is a dream deferred."

EDITORIAL BOARD

Peter W. Selkove, Publisher
Ken Rogers, Metro Editor

Kevin Gilles, Editor
Deneen Gilmour, State Editor
John Peterson, Night Metro Editor

OUR VIEW

College plan might cure country's ills

Forgive us, please.

We have stated in this space that President Clinton's economic recovery plan is too fat with tax increases and new programs, and too lean when it comes to spending cuts. We still think so, especially as it becomes apparent that another \$1 trillion will be added to the federal debt in the next four years as things now stand.

And yet, here we are today unabashedly endorsing one of Clinton's new spending programs — national service.

The president has proposed a community service program much like the Peace Corps, which began three decades ago. The difference is that Clinton's program would address domestic needs, and would permit students to trade national service for future higher education expenses.

The program is costly: Clinton estimates \$9.5 billion over four years. The president hopes 100,000 young people can participate each year by 1997. For every year of service, a student would receive two years of college costs. Details are sketchy.

Our enthusiasm for national service rides less on the details than on the concept. There never has been mandatory national service for women, and since the elimination of the draft in 1973 there has been no national service for men, either.

There should be. For everyone. The good news is that we no longer must send our young men involuntarily to fight, and die. The bad news is that young people grow up with no perceived stake in society. And often with no skills, no discipline, no trade and no education.

National service could fix some of that — while also repairing some of the ills of urban areas, rural areas, wherever willing hands are needed.

We would be receptive to mandatory national service. But that's something, unfortunately, we cannot afford today, despite the benefits to the participants and to society as a whole.

The president's voluntary plan, with its educational cost carrot, is a good first step.



Clinton offers up student service plan

By Dennis Kelly
USA TODAY

On the 32nd anniversary of the creation of the Peace Corps, President Clinton today will detail a plan to let 100,000 to 150,000 college students pay off their tuition through national service — working as school tutors, health care assistants or in a “new Police Corps.”

Specifics of Clinton's plan for national service will unfold today in an address at Rutgers University and then tonight at 11 ET/PT in a half-hour appearance on MTV, the rock video channel whose young viewers Clinton strongly courted during the election. The plan will:

- Begin this year with an eight-week “summer of service,” giving community service jobs to about 1,000 “at-risk” youth, says Catherine Milton, the Commission on National and Community Service.

- Grow so that by 1997 at least 100,000 young people can pay off college by engaging in service before or after college. The program reportedly may reach up to 150,000, at a cost of \$18,000 to \$20,000 a student — paying stipends as well as credit toward college. Those numbers are still a fraction of the 5 million students a year who get loans.

- Cost \$98 million in fiscal 1994, \$3 billion by 1997.

“What’s very exciting is that it builds on what (programs) are there and takes it to a whole new level,” Milton says.

Clinton's 'call to service'

\$7.4 billion plan short on details

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

PISCATAWAY, N.J. — With much fanfare but little funding, President Clinton on Monday unveiled his plan to implement his most-applauded campaign promise: providing universal college scholarships repaid by public service.

Clinton cast his idea in historic terms, borrowing liberally on the legacies of John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps and Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Depression-era public works projects, as he issued a distinctly generational "call to service" to students here.

"There are some among us who do not believe that young Americans will answer a call to action, who believe that our people now measure their success merely in the accumulation of material things," Clinton said. "They believe this call to service will go unanswered. But I believe they are dead wrong. . . . The American dream will be kept alive if you will answer the call to service."

In the Rutgers University speech, timed to coincide with the 32nd anniversary of Kennedy's creation of the Peace Corps, Clinton described his national service plan in the same upbeat, broad terms that he did in the campaign. It would, he said, allow anyone to work off loans with public service jobs.

But the White House later described the plan in more limited terms.

It would be at least four years until everyone who wanted to participate in the jobs program would have the chance. This assumes that 100,000 students will want to enroll in the plan.

"We think we'll be able to accommodate over the next four years everyone who chooses the service option," Clinton said. "We think we will. But we have to build it up a little in the first year or two so we learn how to do it."

In addition, students would then be eligible for loans that cover only part of the cost of their education bill.

Eli Segal, director of the national service program, said no figures had been set, but suggested that loans would be close to \$6,300, the average debt incurred by students over four years.

An average four-year public education is now \$22,000, with private education running as much as three times that.

Clinton's national service program would cost \$7.4 billion over the next four years. By the fourth year, that would cover



By Win McNamee, Reuters
PRESIDENTIAL APPLAUSE: President Clinton cheers Danyelle Marshall, a member of the New Jersey Youth Corps who cried while telling her story at a meeting in New Brunswick, N.J.

TRADING LOANS FOR PUBLIC WORKS

Inside President Clinton's national service proposal:

- **WHO:** 1,000 students for this summer's pilot project; growing to 25,000 next year, then 100,000 in 1997. This year, 14 million Americans attend college. Of those, roughly 5 million are using \$5.1 billion in federal loans.
- **COST:** \$15 million this year, totaling \$7.4 billion over the next four years if fully implemented.
- **ELIGIBLE:** Students before, during, after college.
- **HOW:** Students would trade a year of service for two years of loans. Type of service remains unknown.
- **PAYBACK:** Students could skip public service and pay loans based on a percentage of their income. Aim: encourage graduates to enter lower-paying but critical professions such as teaching and public health service.
- **OTHER BENEFITS:** Students in national service would receive small stipends, probably close to minimum wage and based on the hours spent in community service.

tuition and stipends to students working for one or two years in public service jobs.

Under the Clinton plan, students could pay back the loans either with the work or at low interest rates.

Clinton's proposal also would revamp the college loan program so it could be repaid by a percentage of income.

Clinton argued that would encourage people to go into low-paying public service jobs, and reduce the number of people who default on loans, now costing \$4 billion a year.

The program received warm reviews from congressional leaders. "Once again, a president is asking Americans to do something for their country," said Sen. Edward Kenne-

dy, D-Mass., who sat behind Clinton at the speech.

Rep. Bill Ford, D-Mich., chairman of the committee that would review the bill, declared that "We have an opportunity to build a new domestic Peace Corps."

Republicans said they were wary about the risks of creating a new big-ticket federal entitlement program.

But even they offered some praise. Rep. Susan Molinari, R-N.Y., said while there were potential problems, "what I think he's trying to do, and I really agree with this, is to bring back a spirit of hope."

Clinton offered no details on how he would fulfill what has always been one of the most difficult parts of the plan: cre-

ating a corps of public service jobs without displacing municipal workers who strongly supported him.

Similarly, Clinton repeatedly said the program would not create a new bureaucracy because it would delegate a lot of powers to the states. "There will be no fraud or abuse in this program," Segal insisted.

Some educators were skeptical about the effort.

Bruce Johnstone, chancellor of the State University of New York, said the program would not do much to help students afford escalating education costs.

"What I fear is that someone might think, the president might think, he has solved the higher-education program," Johnstone said. "And he will not have."

But Keith Geiger, president of the National Education Association, said that even an addition of 100,000 public service jobs was significant. "Kids today are much less into the money part of it . . . and more into wanting a college degree and doing something for this country," he said.

Said Richard Rosser, president of the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities: "For students all across the country, this is just a net gain — no question about it."

Contributing: Dennis Kelly and William M. Welch

► Clinton's plan, 1A

From Boston Globe Page 6

Democrats, GOP seek compromise on national service

By John Aloysius Farrell
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON - Democratic senators led by Edward M. Kennedy moved toward a compromise with Republican moderates on President Clinton's national service proposal yesterday, reducing the threat of a fatal GOP filibuster.

The Democrats offered to scale back the proposal to a three-year plan that would cost \$1.5 billion and allow 100,000 young Americans to help pay for their college educations by performing community service, according to sources familiar with the negotiations. The Democrats also agreed to tax the stipends received by wealthier participants in the plan.

The Republicans, in turn, proposed a two-year, \$800 million plan.

The White House declared the GOP offer unacceptable. The negotiators were close enough, however, that both sides agreed to postpone a divisive cloture vote yesterday that would cut off debate on the bill.

A final settlement along such lines would be a far

cry from Clinton's original \$7.4 billion proposal. But with a \$4 trillion national debt and a pending \$500 billion deficit reduction package, the progress made on such a new government program was testament to its widespread political support.

Leading Republicans had labeled the legislation as another big government, tax-and-spend initiative and threatened to kill the bill via a filibuster.

Clinton and Sen. George Mitchell, the Democratic leader from Maine, have criticized the Republicans as "obstructionists."

Kennedy has served as a conciliator, wooing GOP moderates such as Sens. John Chafee of Rhode Island and James Jeffords of Vermont and working closely with Sen. Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas, the ranking Republican on Kennedy's Labor and Human Resources Committee.

Under the plan, college students could earn up to \$10,000 in tuition assistance in return for two years of national service. In addition, participants in the plan would receive up to \$7,400 a year and medical and child-care benefits.

From Boston Globe Page 10

Help for the hungry

EDITORIAL

Three years ago, the House of Representatives overwhelmingly approved the Mickey Leland Domestic Hunger Relief Act. It passed a similar measure in 1992. But despite these symbolic gestures, the nation's political leaders have not seen fit to put their money where their mouths are, or, more specifically, to put food in the mouths of hungry Americans.

The newest version of the bill is called the Mickey Leland Hunger Prevention Act in honor of the late Texas congressman and head of the Select Committee on Hunger, who died in a plane crash in Ethiopia four years ago. The bill would bring the US food stamp program in line with reality.

It would ensure that food assistance is increased to keep pace with food prices and that provisions are made for families with high housing costs. It would encourage self-sufficiency by giving higher benefits to families paying or receiving child support. It would authorize demonstration projects that would

allow recipients to save money for education, job training or a home, and it would make allowances for the costs of child care.

The bill would also include better investigative procedures and stiffer penalties for stores engaged in food stamp fraud.

Although the bill has enjoyed bipartisan support, it may be scuttled in the current budget battle. Republican Rep. Bill Emerson of Missouri, one of the cosponsors, has called for a delay until the welfare system has been overhauled.

In the meantime, hunger has reached an all-time high. More than one in 10 Americans receives help from the food stamp program, and estimates are that this figure includes only 60 percent of those who are eligible.

America is quick to show contempt for Third World leaders who allow their people to starve while they engage in political warfare. Political leaders in Washington must ensure that the same does not happen in their own back yard.

Cleveland Plain Dealer

National service gets started in Ohio

By D.J. BURROUGH
PLAIN DEALER BUREAU

WASHINGTON

President Clinton's dream of a national service program, where students get college money in exchange for community service work, will begin with a small program in Ohio and selected other sites, the White House has announced.

Ohio Wesleyan University, a small liberal arts school in Delaware, will host a "Summer of Service" program, which will put 75 students, ages 17 to 25, into full-time jobs tutoring inner-city youngsters in Columbus and Delaware.

Students will be paid minimum wage for the eight-week program and will be provided room and meals. At the end of the summer, participants will each be given a \$1,000 voucher for use toward college tuition.

The program was one of 16 chosen out of more than 430 submitted by non-profit organizations throughout the country. The federal government plans to spend \$10 million on the pilot program this year and employ about 1,500 students. Programs will focus on helping at-risk children.

"Summer of Service" is intended to build support and set the groundwork for a yearlong program that would involve thousands of students.

In June, the 1,500 initial participants will meet for a week of leadership training and then disperse to the separate programs. At summer's end, they will attend a "summit" with Clinton to discuss ideas for a national service program.

"It will make a difference," said Todd Wilson, spokesman for Ohio Wesleyan University. "It is clearly not a panacea. The programs will still need good support from the community, but as a beginning it certainly is a good first step."

Local organizations and the university will match the nearly \$300,000 the federal government is providing to the program, Wilson

said. The university will place students in jobs at about 20 community service organizations.

Students will tutor elementary school children, give sight screenings and renovate low-income housing.

The Ohio Wesleyan program is the only one selected that will house participants. Students will be trained by university experts and community service advisers on helping at-risk children and their families.

The program will begin the week of June 14. Applications can be obtained from the university and will be accepted for the next two weeks.

NATIONAL SERVICE

New VISTAs ahead?

T

*If Clinton
reinvigorates
VISTA as part
of his national
service plan,
volunteers
could help
energize
thousands of
grass-roots
organizations.*

By Robin Epstein

??

hough Bill Clinton champions national service as a way for college graduates to pay back student loans, he also hopes his plan to spend up to \$8 billion creating 250,000 national service positions will spark a stronger commitment to community among Americans young and old, rich and poor.

Invoking the legacy of the G.I. Bill and the Peace Corps in a September speech, Clinton vowed to give people from all walks of life a "summons to service and to citizenship." "Just think of it," Clinton said during a campaign stop at the University of Notre Dame, "millions ... teaching the children, policing the streets, caring for the sick, working with the elderly or people with disabilities, building homes, helping children stay off drugs and out of gangs." All of Clinton's examples describe volunteers providing direct services to people in need.

But people immersed in citizen effort solve local problems hope his national service proposal will also fund community organizations.

In 1988 he wrote a glowing preface book on his state's experience with VISTA, the federally funded domestic peace corps during its first 20 years. "Contemporary Arkansas history owes much to the groundbreaking efforts of VISTA volunteers," Clinton wrote of Volunteers in Service to America, a program inspired by his model John F. Kennedy and created by Lyndon Johnson during the War on Poverty. "VISTA projects relied on the ... hard work of people within poverty communities demonstrated that the effective use of resources and planning would produce positive results, but only if the people themselves maintained the effort."

Clinton's appreciation for VISTA is good news. If he reinvigorates the agency as part of his national service plan, its volunteers

help energize thousands of grass-roots organizations that have hung on by a thread during the Reagan and Bush administrations. "If citizen groups depend on philanthropy to fuel the grass-roots movement, we'll wait until hell freezes over," says Pablo Eisenberg, executive director of the Center for Community Change. "To rebuild inner cities and rural areas we need strong resident involvement. Clinton, pumping money into community groups so they can fight for their own rights is a cheap way to go."

Since VISTA's inception in 1965, VISTA volunteers have functioned more like community organizers than direct service providers—though, depending on the prevailing political winds, they haven't always claimed that label. In its early days, most volunteers were middle class and worked far from home. Then in the '70s, VISTA strived to place college-educated volunteers next to low-income volunteers from the communities the program served, says Margery Tabankin, VISTA director during the Carter administration. During the Reagan years, middle-class volunteerism was dubbed outside agitators by conservatives, so VISTA participation was limited to community residents. Under Clinton, VISTA was allowed to once again recruit from outside communities, but funding shortages hampered its efforts.

VISTA's anti-poverty focus distinguishes it from other national service programs. Volunteers, who work in 764 public agencies and non-profits in 50 states, live in poor communities and subsist on allowances averaging \$610 a month. They receive health insurance, are eligible for deferral or forgiveness of student loans and don't lose welfare benefits.

VISTA already receives many more requests from prospective volunteers and sponsors than it can accept with its \$40 million budget. Clinton could double the number of VISTA volunteers from the current 3,500.

Get Your Subscriptions Here!

Treat yourself to a one year sub, give a pal a well-deserved gift, renew your current sub early, or change your address. Whatever your subscription needs, this simple, little form will take care of them all.

I AM:

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

☐ **MOVING:** (allow 4-6 weeks for us to get our next issue to your new digs.)

NEW ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

☐ **NEW SUBSCRIPTION.** (You'll receive your first issue in 4-6 weeks. Please check price and terms below.) **AST1**

☐ **RENEW ME NOW.** (We'll extend your current subscription for as long as you like. This saves you any worries about expiring and saves us the money in sending renewal notices and bills.) **ART1**

☐ **WHAT A GREAT GIFT IDEA!** (Just try and find a gift with more thought behind it. Fill out your name above and the lucky person's name below.) **XSTH1**

NAME OF RECIPIENT

ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

PRICE & TERMS:

- ☐ One year, 26 issues: \$34.95
- ☐ Six months, 13 issues: \$18.95
- ☐ Institutional, One year: \$59.00

- ☐ Payment enclosed
- ☐ Bill me
- ☐ Charge my Visa/MC

ACCT. NO.

EXP. DATE

Orders being sent to Canada, please add: \$27.50 (one year) or \$13.50 (six months) for postage.

All other foreign orders add: \$41.00 (one year) or \$20.50 (six months).

MAIL TO:

IN THESE TIMES Customer Service,
1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054.
Or simply call: 1-800-827-0270.

out restructuring the agency, says Tabankin, and it could easily grow beyond that with additional management staff.

"Most people, however, believe VISTA is either dead or a credit card," says Mimi Mager, Tabankin's special assistant during the Carter administration. "VISTA needs revitalized leadership. It's had none. Public awareness and recruitment are essential."

Pennsylvania Sen. Harris Wofford, one of the nation's premier national service experts, is likely to be one of Clinton's allies on Capitol Hill. Wofford, who was an adviser to Martin Luther King and an aide to John F. Kennedy, helped create the Peace Corps and organized a service corps in his home state.

Wofford envisions a national service plan that gives volunteers a wide variety of options—including existing federal programs such as VISTA. National service should be decentralized, should fund ideas generated by local people, governing bodies and institutions, and should favor projects that get people from different classes working together. Wofford believes that the unity between the incoming Clinton administration and congressional leadership bodes well for such a plan.

For those who might balk at the price tag for national service, Wofford is ready with both short-term and long-term economic arguments. He points to studies showing that for every dollar spent, \$1.80 in services is produced. And well-designed programs that require difficult work nourish qualities participants need to be productive workers later.

Wofford also says national service can have benefits that are not easily quantified—participants, for example, will emerge more active politically. "A million young people engaged in problems in America are going to want action on those problems," he says.

To bolster chances that Clinton will strengthen VISTA as part of his national service plan, community organizers, citizen advocates and people in the foundation world plan to send

Clinton's transition team proposals for national service and for other community-based efforts.

Some observers, however, believe VISTA's radical reputation could prove a political liability. In the late '60s, local officials accused VISTA volunteers of biting the hand that fed them. Recalls Wofford, "The mayors and others said, 'For God's sake, the VISTA Volunteers come in here and the next thing I know they've organized a march on city hall.'"

Others say times have changed and predict nobody will bat an eyelash over VISTA. Because there are more community groups today than there were in the '60s, local officials are more accustomed to citizens demands, they argue. And, they note, the word "empowerment" is in vogue—even among Republicans.

Judy Wagner, an aide to Illinois Sen. Paul Simon, doesn't deny VISTA volunteers make waves. "As long as VISTA gets community people working on their own behalf, they are inevitably going to bump up against someone in power," she says. "But that would happen with or without VISTA. It's much more mainstream now."

Clinton acknowledged this tension in his preface to the book on VISTA in Arkansas over the past two decades. "Of course VISTA workers were not free of controversy," he wrote. "Change in those days was often accompanied by strife, but the work on balance had a very positive impact."

As Wofford sees it, what some people call "service" others term "advocacy" or "organizing." Faced with volunteers engaged in confrontations, national service supporters may say, "That's not what we mean. That's politics," Wofford says. To some extent, federal legislation will set limitations on volunteers' political participation, but he believes each community will interpret any future law in its own way. "That's part of what's going to make this a great adventure."

SOCIAL POLICY

NATIONAL SERVICE

The President's Call To Serve Is Clear but Undefined

No one is yet sure what Clinton meant when he called young people of the nation to a 'season of service'

When President Clinton stood upon the marble steps of the Capitol and gave his inaugural address, he called out to young Americans to give "a season of service."

But now that the call has sounded, many questions remain: What exactly did Clinton mean? Who would be eligible? And how will he pay for it?

On the campaign trail and in his book, "Putting People First," Clinton said he would scrap the existing student loan program and establish a national service trust fund. People who borrowed money from the fund to cover the cost of college or job training programs could repay their debt either by remanding a percentage of their earnings over the years — or by serving their communities doing work the country needs.

Friends of Clinton say he believes this program could be the highlight of his presidency — the equivalent of President John F. Kennedy's request to "ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

"The concept of service and citizenship can become a defining element of his administration," said Rep. Dave McCurdy, D-Ola. "The chance of success in this area — as opposed to successfully tackling health care — is much greater."

But the broad-brush description Clinton has given still leaves a host of practical choices for him to make to put a national program in place.

By Jill Zuckman



JILL ZUCKMAN



GILL GREENE/THE BOSTON GLOBE

YouthBuild Boston participants, left, alternate weekly between construction site training and classroom instruction. Above, Andre Berry of City Year talks with fourth-grader Daxton Briton during recess at a school in Roxbury.

The Philosophy

Before candidate Clinton began talking about national service, former President George Bush was talking about "points of light." Almost every day during his four years in office, Bush's own national service team issued a news release touting a person or organization doing good deeds. It was the bully pulpit approach.

It also was based on volunteerism, rather than an organized plan for serving the country.

What Clinton has in mind is rooted in the moderate Democratic Leadership Council's (DLC) notion that Americans have to start giving before they can get.

"We think national service has the potential to change the ethos of the nation," said Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute, the think tank arm of the DLC. "We want to reinforce the notion that there really is no free lunch."

Ell Segal, assistant to the president and director of the Office of National Service, says national service and the trust fund make up a perfect model for linking responsibility and opportunity.

Another example would be welfare reform proposals that limit benefits and join them with job training to help recipients move away from government subsidies and enter the marketplace.

"We view this as [Clinton's] promise to the American people that we will build into the fabric of American society that service is important," Segal said.

Not everyone believes that the Clinton philosophy is sound. Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the libertarian Cato Institute, says national service in exchange for student aid will not eliminate the "entitlement" mentality — it will reinforce it.

"He's doing it at both ends, saying people are entitled to college money and to a public job," Bandow said. "The point is, getting a higher education is in your economic interest."

Bandow also questions whether the service performed by young people will be of much value.

That also is a concern of people who support the notion of national service.

"We have to be careful these do not become make-work projects and the program becomes a laughingstock," said Richard F. Rosser, president of the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities.

And James B. Appleberry, president of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, warns against too much too soon: "If you dump them all into jobs all at once, it would probably be a disaster."

The Ground Rules

After considering national service in the abstract, practical questions

arise as to how it would work.

Should the program be mandatory, just as military service is a requirement in Israel? The other option is to make it voluntary, something young people want to do to help their communities and themselves.

How big would the program be? Clinton could expand several existing demonstration programs. He could rely on existing public and private nonprofit groups already performing community service functions. Or he could consider a domestic Peace Corps-like program or a civilian army of national servers.

He also has to consider how many people can perform national service at one time. What jobs should they do? Should everyone be allowed to join? Or should it be limited for slow growth?

And if the program is limited, who gets to participate? Rich kids from the suburbs could edge out poor kids from the inner cities. Or would poor kids be forced to perform community service as their only avenue to higher education while the well-to-do go directly to college? (Story, p. 220)

Finally, Clinton must decide whether students should do community service immediately after high school, or after college and before entering the world of work.

William Galston, deputy assistant to the president for domestic policy, prepared an options paper for Clinton during the transition going over many of these issues. So far, it is unclear whether Clinton has made any decisions on the program's structure.

But his assistant, Segal, has begun the trek to Capitol Hill meeting with lawmakers who will determine the fate of any national service legislative proposals. While Segal says the proposals are on a fast legislative track in the White House, he cautions that he only has a staff of five and he does not want to move too fast.

"We want to get this right," he said.

Local — And Not Large

In an interview, Segal provided a few clues as to how the national ser-

Segal's Mission

Leading the charge for national service is Eli Segal, Clinton's chief of staff during the 1992 campaign.

Segal, 50, is a Boston businessman who publishes Games magazine and sells puzzles and novelties through the mail. He is also a "Friend of Bill," who met the president in 1969 during a meeting of antiwar

activists on Martha's Vineyard. He is a longtime political operative who had never worked on a winning campaign until Clinton's.

He became interested in the concept of national service as a freshman in college. "For me this really goes back to when I remember I was incredibly struck by John Kennedy's call to service," Segal says.

But over the years, Segal says, he became frustrated that the idealism of youth in the 1960s was replaced by cynicism in the 1980s. He said he hopes that his entrepreneurial background will help him achieve the ideals prevalent when he and Clinton were younger.

When Clinton announced Segal's appointment, he said Segal "combines superb business and management skills with the idealism he has brought to Democratic presidential campaigns for two decades. He will make national service happen."

—By Jill Zuckman



A MICHAEL LEWIS

vice questions will be answered. He said the president has no desire to dictate exactly what is considered service. Rather, Clinton wants to encourage programs already operating at local levels. Young people would collect a government stipend or award after completing their service, whether it is pre-college, post-college, or before or after apprenticeship and job training programs.

In terms of size, Segal said, "My guess is we're not going to launch something extraordinarily large; we want to make sure it works."

Over time, he said, the program could be expanded. And because it would not be open-ended, it could not be mandatory.

In 1990, Congress and Bush created an independent federal agency, the Commission on National and

Community Service, to begin funding national service models, such as service programs involving elementary and secondary school children; conservation and youth service corps; and projects to integrate community service into college curricula and to involve college students in community service.

Congress appropriated more than \$150 million for these projects in fiscal years 1992 and 1993, with grants ranging from \$7,000 to more than \$3.5 million.

This month, in the commission's first report to Congress, it recommended that Clinton build on existing state and local programs rather than create another unwieldy bureaucracy. The report also recommended that the service performed not be something already provided.

That is a major concern of the AFL-CIO labor federation, which has 88 affiliate unions with 14 million members.

"There's no sense in supporting a program that hires the son but displaces the father," said Robert McGlotten, director of legislation. McGlotten says the AFL-CIO is not opposed to a national service program but intends to be "very watchful" that legislation does not displace older workers.

But Marshall of the Progressive Policy Institute contends that there is more than enough real and needed work to go around. According to a Ford Foundation study, the potential number of jobs tops 3.5 million.

McCurdy goes even further, saying he believes many service jobs do not compete with labor — such as jobs working on the environment, literacy training, in schools and with senior citizens.

But Rep. Bill Goodling, R-Pa., ranking minority member of the Education and Labor Committee, says he is skeptical that anyone would even want a service job.

"Who's going to complete four years of college and say, 'I want a job at minimum wage?'" he asks. "It sounds kind of naive to me."

The Money Question

Of course, no program can be designed without figuring out how much

Serving Others — A Simple Idea...

BOSTON — Michael Galloway dropped out of school in the 10th grade because he was bored. He spent his time "lying, cheating and stealing," with a generous dose of just plain hanging out.

"Going the wrong way seemed like going the right way," he said, trying to explain the environment where he grew up. In the hard-scrabble black neighborhood called Roxbury. "I didn't have people to teach me which stairs to go up."

Galloway spent 1990 through 1992 in the state prison for robbery. He doesn't remember what happened — he had been drinking so heavily at the time that he blacked out.

It is not a pleasant picture. It also is not the whole picture.

Today, at 21, Galloway has found his staircase. He is enrolled in a year-long program called YouthBuild Boston, where 42 young adults learn how to study and how to rebuild vacant, crumbling buildings.

YouthBuild Boston is but one type of program in the national service spectrum, one of several that President Clinton is likely to consider as he and his advisers develop a broader program for the nation. YouthBuild is geared toward young people from disadvantaged backgrounds who have lost their way. Most participants are African-Americans, as are the people who run it. Some go on to college with the aid of scholarships; most aim for jobs in construction.

Galloway earns \$225 every two weeks from the program plus a \$25 bonus for perfect attendance. One week he works at a construction site, refurbishing a building that will someday house the homeless; the next week he is in the classroom, studying math, English, history and science.

He and others put in additional time mentoring young children, visiting AIDS patients, tutoring and



Michael Galloway of YouthBuild Boston works at a rowhouse his group is refurbishing to become a homeless shelter.

helping out in homeless shelters.

Having earned a General Equivalency Diploma, Galloway now plans on going to college next year and becoming a mechanical engineer.

He is also on the verge of leaving a homeless shelter and moving into a \$75 per week "Sober House," where drinking and drugs are prohibited. Recently, he took his first airplane trip to Washington, where he spoke to congressional aides about the program that has given him a fix on life.

"It took a lot to turn around like that," says Galloway, crediting the program with giving him discipline and a family of friends.

From Brookline to Nairobi

Across the channel in Irish, working-class South Boston, another service program takes a different tack. City Year, which Clinton and his advisers have visited, aims to carry on the legacy of the civil rights move-

ment by bringing together young people of all backgrounds — from liberal, upper crust Brookline to impoverished Roxbury — for a year of service in the city.

"The civil rights movement ended discrimination in the law but not necessarily in people's hearts or heads," says Michael Brown, City Year's co-director and co-founder.

The 800 participants earn \$100 a week from September to June for their work cleaning up playgrounds and parks, planting trees, going into schools as teachers' aides and running after-school programs for children, among other things.

After graduating from City Year, they receive a \$5,000 award in the form of a college or vocational school scholarship or a savings certificate, paid out over two years. The money comes from both private and public sources and is never easy to raise.

Lloyd Dahmen, 18, grew up in Brookline, the home of

it costs and how to pay for it.

The report from the Commission on National and Community Service suggests that in a few years 100,000 young people could participate in a nationwide service program with the cost to the federal government under \$2 billion.

In Boston, two national service models spend about \$20,000 a year for every young person they supervise. Costs include stipends, operating expenses and salaries for the adult supervisors. At that rate, 100,000 participants would cost \$2 billion.

Some on Capitol Hill would pay for national service by scrapping the existing student loan system, which requires huge subsidies to the banks that actually provide the capital to students.

Instead, advocates for change want to see a system of direct loans, in which the federal government makes the loans, leaving the banks out of the equation. Some studies have indicated that that could save \$1 billion to \$2 billion a year.

In addition, many members would like students to be able to repay their

loans through the Internal Revenue Service, according to how much they earn. They say this would lower student loan default costs.

The Higher Education amendments of 1992 (PL 102-325) authorized the secretary of Education to conduct a direct loan demonstration program between July 1, 1994, and June 30, 1996. The Clinton administration is considering whether to speed up this program.

But technically, the savings from direct loans would not be allowed to pay for such discretionary spending as

... That Is Put To Work in Boston

former Democratic presidential candidate Michael S. Dukakis. Hamilton College in New York had accepted him, but he decided to defer school for a year and spend the time at City Year. Although he had traveled widely in Africa and Europe, Dahmen says, he had never ventured into Roxbury or Dorchester.

"It's opening my eyes to a lot of urban issues," he says.

Dahmen spends his days with a team of 10 in City Year's environmental division. Their job in Jamaica Plain, home to Caribbean immigrants and Central American refugees, is landscaping vacant lots. "We've planted more trees than I can count," he says. He also has visited an elementary school in Quincy, a white working-class area, where he taught children about recycling.

Although he is interested in the problems of the city, he still wants to study history and foreign relations in college. His dream is to start a City Year in Nairobi.

Yearning To Be on the Right Track

Both City Year and YouthBuild give young people structure in their lives and a framework for helping others. But the mix of people accepted — strictly disadvantaged vs. a variety of socioeconomic and racial backgrounds — reflects one of the choices Clinton may have to make in designing a national service program. Should his program be open to everyone? If limited, how would he choose who gets in?

City Year and YouthBuild both spend \$20,000 per year for every young person enrolled. The cost of an open-ended program could be astronomical. But a limited program with people from all classes would mean that fewer low-income people could participate.



Lloyd Dahmen, above, works at a computer with fellow City Year participant Chris Brownlee.

Dorothy Stoneman founded the YouthBuild program in East Harlem in 1988. Today, there are 14 YouthBuilds throughout the country, using public and private money. But Stoneman worries that potential federal requirements for diversity would hurt her program.

"Why bring people in who are not going to stay here, not going to make a lifelong commitment to the community?" she asks.

While she does not oppose the City Year program, and she thinks it could be "fun and interesting" to have white participants, she adds: "I don't want them bumping

young people in Roxbury and Dorchester."

Stoneman says that this past year she had applications from close to 400 people for just 42 spots.

"Inside every person who's on the wrong track is a yearning to be on the right track," she says. "People are hungry to take advantage of any opportunity to make a better life."

Brown of City Year says he wants to do more than help people raise themselves up out of a bad situation. He wants to break down a segregated society.

"People want to get together, they want to get past labels," he says. "They want to go to the heart of the matter — how do they get along?"

By putting people from Roxbury and Brookline in a group and sending them out with a shared mission, Brown hopes the young people will set aside their stereotypes — at the same time that they are doing good for the community.

Brown argues, however, that both City Year and YouthBuild should be options. "It's not an either/or," he says.

—Jill Zuckerman

a national service program, according to existing budget rules. Instead, the money either would have to go to reduce the deficit or to pay for another entitlement program. And the banks and guarantee agencies, which earn their living off student loans, already have begun gearing up to fight the change.

Segal says he is considering direct loans, though no decisions have been made. But he also says the costs of a national service program are still uncertain. Budget analysts and outside experts are reviewing costs, he said.

The fever for national service seems to be hotter in the Senate than in the House. Senators such as Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, Barbara A. Mikulski, D-Md., Dave Durenberger, R-Minn., Paul Wellstone, D-Minn., and Sam Nunn, D-Ga., have become intimately involved with the issue even though the White House has not sent up any legislation to date. In the House, with the exception of McCurdy and William D. Ford, D-Mich., chairman of the Education and Labor Committee,

members have not focused on the issue yet.

In Boston, Dorothy Stoneman, the founder of the YouthBuild programs that teach low-income students how to build or refurbish homes in the community, argues that the investment is worth it.

"You can't have this many people not being productive," she says. (Box, p. 220)

Sen. Harris Wofford, D-Pa., who helped President Kennedy start the Peace Corps, says, "The crucial thing is to make those programs good." ■

February 7, 1993
BOSTON GLOBE

THE NATION

National service

— now

Need for program
too great for Clinton
to allow gradualism

By Scott Shuger

If Saddam Hussein had somehow managed to put 100,000 guns in our schools every day, to induce 400,000 high school dropouts a year, to produce nearly 1 million teen-age parents every year, to afflict many of their babies with cocaine aftereffects that annually cost \$500 million to treat, and to murder more than 20,000 Americans every year, the president and the Congress would not appoint a commission to produce a report. They would not announce that the problem deserves further study. They would declare war. Yet while all this havoc is happening here now without Saddam Hussein, in policy circles and in the press there has been much talk about the need to start small and go slow on a powerful response to it, national service.

With Bill Clinton's inaugural call for a "season of service," the issue of national service is now officially on the agenda. And yet — as the country was reminded once again by official Washington's adamant resistance to decisive action on the Pentagon's gay ban — in the nation's capital, being on the agenda and getting things done are two very different matters. Washington splits the difference whenever possible with its knee-jerk gradualism, its belief that almost any policy must be studied further, subjected to compromise and then enacted incrementally, if at all.

I hope with all my heart that Clinton will stand up to gradualism on national service and instead lead the country powerfully on a swift, bold course. My fundamental premise is that national service does have the power to reseed our eroding social landscape. National service needn't be picking up gum wrappers by the side of the highway; it could be a commitment to put the vast unused talents and energies of its citizens, especially those between 15 and 30, systematically to work in the schools, the day-care centers, the environmental projects, the hospitals, the drug clinics and the nursing homes, against the country's most pressing social needs. And if one accepts this premise about national service, it is folly not to go big and

SERVICE, Page 70

Scott Shuger, a Washington Monthly contributing editor, has served as a consultant to the federal government on national service.

Service

Continued from Page 67
go fast.

The proponents of gradualism build their case by focusing on the issues of cost, quality and worker displacement raised by large-scale implementation. While their concerns are right-minded in each of these areas, their case ignores important facts and possibilities.

Cost

The gradualist argument goes like this: The administrative costs required for a well-run service program will be great, as will the stipends and post-service benefits (such as college loan forgiveness). The annual per participant cost of corps programs such as Boston's City Year or the Los Angeles Conservation Corps, is \$20,000. Therefore, a national service program of 500,000 participants would cost around \$10 billion annually, too much for a deficit-ridden federal budget.

This argument oversimplifies on several counts. First, although corps are a form of service that would be important in any national program, there are many other kinds of service that also would be included, all of them cheaper and some much cheaper. For instance, a national service program should include a vigorous school component in which college students and working professionals periodically tutor elementary and middle school children; experience suggests that as little as 1 hour a week of such tutoring can keep kids in school and substantially improve academic performance. This program would be virtually free. And making whole school curricula service-oriented so that millions of schoolchildren would be doing service as a regular part of their academic load (doing tax returns for senior citizens as part of a math class, say, or putting out the newsletter for a community mental health center as part of a writing class) has been done superbly at some schools, such as the Washington Elementary School in Mount Vernon, Wash., for under \$10,000 per year per school. National service is not inherently unaffordable, because so much of making a large national service program work is taking what we are already doing and giving it a service twist.

Second, the real issue isn't how much money ambitious national service would cost; it's how much *new* money. Although youth corps would not be the only sort of service available in a national service plan (because of the full range of tasks national service needs to accomplish, I would say they should be no more than 50 percent), consider that aforementioned estimated corps cost of \$20,000 per participant per year. Many of the at-risk youth that corps are designed to accommodate are now ending up in the criminal justice system where the current annual costs per participant are at least that



Volunteers in City Year, Boston's own service program for young adults, warm up before a serve-a-thon in October 1990.

GLOBE STAFF PHOTO/PAUL BERRY

high. Not to mention the other measurable costs of criminality: the lost income and added welfare costs for the families of victims and incarcerated perpetrators, the extra dollars spent by businesses, schools and other institutions in loss- and violence-prevention. Does anybody seriously think that getting an ambitious large-scale youth service program going in Los Angeles would cost anything like the \$1 billion that went up in flames in the April rioting there? What's more, if corps were given the chance to turn most of these at-risk youngsters into citizens and members of the mainstream economy, they would become revenue-producing taxpayers and consumers. In other words, the incremental cost of even expensive programs such as youth corps is nowhere near \$20,000 per person.

A similar point can be made about many other dimensions of a truly full-scale national service program: money that would be spent under this heading is now being spent but with less effect. Some of the money now spent on basic military training and bases and equipment for a Cold War-strength Army could be spent instead on training, housing and equipping youth service corps members. The \$28 million now spent annually by the Selective Service system to not have a draft could be applied easily to locating 18-year-olds and matching them with national service slots. Money now spent by community colleges teaching remedial reading and math and by industry teaching basic work skills could be spent instead by service programs achieving more focused and longer-lasting results in the same areas, because doing so would be their primary purpose. The federal government is currently spending around \$300 million per year on such programs as VISTA and the Peace Corps without realizing the economies of scale that

would come from any larger-scale national effort.

Which leads to another point: It's not clear that all the incremental money has to come from the federal government. If businesses and local governments enjoy the benefits of effective large-scale national service, they should pay their fair share for it, and for the most part they would be willing to, because administrative and program costs are more projectable and controllable than remedial costs.

Quality

The go-slow-and-small argument contends that more ambitious attempts will give us schlocky service inherently. The specter is quickly raised of programs such as the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, a federal jobs program of the 1970s in which millions were spent with no truly measurable long-lasting effect. The preceding discussion provides part of the answer here: Money that we are spending anyway in remedial efforts can be rechanneled toward boosting national service program quality.

Also, for the most part, CETA programs were placements of individuals in free-standing organizations. Often, those individual placements were not monitored by anyone outside the organization, but even if they were, the fact remained that little of the CETA employee's time was directed toward reflection on what he or she was doing, or was spent among others who were service-oriented. This meant that, at its best, CETA placements did not develop a sense of the importance of service or teamwork. But this is hardly an inherent defect; simply require as a condition of financing that the preponderance of slots in national service have a structured reflection component (such as workshops and reading and writing assign-

ments) and be team-based.

Another part of the answer is to focus on something else that CETA lacked: systematic quality control. It's true that we don't know as much as we need to about what works and what doesn't about national service. It was also true that in 1961 we didn't know much about what worked and what didn't work about going to the moon — yet this was hardly seen as an argument against mounting a big national effort to go there. The answer then and now is to be sure that training, information-sharing and independent evaluation, all combined with a sincere determination to kill off nonperforming programs, are part of the effort.

And if the critics of big-time national service are serious about quality and are not using it just as an excuse to wriggle out of the commitment, there is another quality enhancement they should adopt: Make national service mandatory. Government and business will be seriously engaged in winning the battle for our schools and our streets if and only if the sons and daughters of the elite are fully involved. Senators and CEOs would not stand for having their children doing one- or two-year stints at programs that were shoddily run, exploitative or corrupt. If they didn't have the option of pulling their kids out of service altogether, they would be much more dedicated to weeding out shabby service programs and improving deficient ones.

Displacement

Union officials and politicians fronting for them have supported gradualism because they are fearful of their members losing jobs to national service participants. While it's true that some workers will be displaced by the growth of national service, there is no a

priori reason why this should happen to anyone besides nonperformers. The service organization Teach For America has had no trouble putting 1,300 new teachers into public schools without displacing anyone; TFA only makes assignments to chronically unfilled slots. The Los Angeles police chief, Willie B. Williams, says his city could use 1,000 more officers. The electorate turned him down, but a national service program that expanded enough to include a police corps could have produced those new officers without costing anyone a job. And, quite generally, a Ford Foundation study estimates that there are enough unfilled needs in the country — in such sectors as education, law enforcement, health care, child care and environmental work — to busy more than 3 million national service participants without worker displacement.

At bottom, there are two reasons why national service gradualism has gotten a hearing in Washington well beyond what it deserves, and they both have to do with the inordinate influence exercised there by committees and policy analysts. For one thing, further study is a growth industry of this crowd in a way that bold action could never be. Yes, there is much we don't know about how best to pull off national service, but the knowledge needed is not at the level of footnotes and regression analyses; it is at the level of finding out how a company can beat its van pool to take volunteers to hospitals and schools, or figuring out which sort of uniform an urban youth corps needs to meet the demands of climate and adolescent taste. It's time to learn by *doing*.

Second, the policy analysts are used to viewing national service as just one among many "problems" that they study. You know, there is the drug problem, education, AIDS ... and national service. This is a fundamental misunderstanding of the power and function of national service, sort of like making a shopping list that says "Bread, meat, eggs and shopping." National service is not just another potential national priority. It is the most promising way of achieving our national priorities. The grave difficulties of drugs, AIDS, education, and business competitiveness will be solved only by thoroughly adopting the service perspective. And this justifies a bold and large-scale national program.

In Washington, extended study and seriousness of intent are inversely proportional. When President Kennedy wanted the country to get back in the space race, he didn't say we would send a rocket somewhere sometime. There was no Desert Storm summit; there was no Somalia summit. Instead, in all these cases, there was large-scale decisive action. President Clinton, if you are serious about national service, you will tell the wonks to step aside. Within your first hundred days, I hope that you will present this nation with an ambitious goal — something like 1 million people in national service by the end of three years — and then strive mightily to meet it.

Putting Youth To Work

By Kim Grose

In his inaugural, President Clinton challenged young Americans to "a season of service" to help in "reconnecting our torn communities." A national service program is high among his priorities, enabling young people to provide service to their communities and help themselves pay for college as well.

Because Mr. Clinton has thus far issued few details about what sort of program he intends to propose, and because the main example of domestic national service from our past is the successful but monolithic Civilian Conservation Corps, Americans have an overly narrow understanding of what national service could mean.

If we limit our vision of service only to college-bound youths who are able or willing to serve full time, we overlook the most under-utilized resource in our society our children.

It is at the young school age that we can plant the seeds of a service ethic so that the next generation will want to serve full-time when it grows older. In addition, kids can do things that older people cannot do as effectively, such as tutoring other kids in problem areas, where a teacher or other adult might be intimidating. In the process, those who serve gain greater confidence and social skills themselves.

In the most successful service programs up and running, children are taken seriously as community problem-solvers, and service is integrated into the regular learning process. Schools that provide meaningful opportunities for learning through service are rewarded by students more interested in learning.

For example, in Scottsburg, Ind., seventh and eighth grades at the William H. English Middle School staff and manage the largest wild animal rehabilitation facility in the state. Their entire science curriculum is united by the theme of caring for and treating sick and injured animals. These 12-year-olds have also investigated a toxic spill in their neighborhood and are collaborating with state and national government agencies to develop game management policies. The National Science Teacher Association recently ranked this project among the top 10 science programs in the country and found that science was the favorite subject every single

While college students are recognized as community activists, it was a group of eighth graders who took the lead last fall in Harlem in addressing a local problem. After a summer of violence and neighborhood rioting, Alexandra Alvare and a few classmates at the innovative public Community Service Academy created a "peace team." The goal was promote better relations between the police and the community.

These 12- and 13-year-olds were initially rebuffed by a citywide organization with the same goal because they were thought to be too young to be useful. But in December, they and their parents were hosts to 60 police officers in the school for one week. Their program included skits in which the teenagers enacted realistic community situations involving the police and then asked the officers and the parents to finish acting the scenes.

Service at the school-age level does not cost billions of dollars. Mostly it is just a matter of using school time and resources in new and imaginative ways. Recently, several students from a suburban Tacoma, Wash., high school who are regular volunteers at a homeless shelter realized that a new group of non-English-speaking families had taken shelter there. Frustrated that the shelter's only children's books were in English, these teenagers enlisted the help of teachers in their Spanish and computer classes to translate the stories and print them using the school's desk-top publishing facilities. Finally, they donated the books to the shelter and used them in developing a family literacy project.

National service is not just about young adults taking a year or two out of the normal path of life to serve the community full-time. National service is fundamentally about placing the value of personal responsibility for oneself and one's society in a central place in our country's common values.

The school-age component of a national service program is crucial, and if the Clinton Administration broadens its vision to include all young people in national service, it will be drawing upon one of society's most important and impressionable resources. Those who serve in their childhood years will come into adulthood with experience in addressing community needs. As a result, they will be better equipped to participate actively in society throughout their lives. Isn't this the goal of national service?

Kim Grose, a recent college graduate, co-authored a report of the Commission on National and Community Service after five months of field research in schools and college across the country.

Youth Service Plan Will Start Small

9/27/93

Jobs: Clinton's first step will be a community employment project for 1,800 young people. A larger effort is in the works.

By ELIZABETH SHOGREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The only part of President Clinton's ambitious new national service program that would begin this year is a small community employment project that will put 1,800 young people to work this summer. The Times learned Friday.

The initiative, to be announced by Clinton on Monday, is his first move toward fulfilling a campaign promise to give young people a chance to do important work for society, restore a sense of civic spirit and earn tuition for college at the same time.

The small scale of the maiden project illustrates the real-life challenges the Administration faces in meeting some of Clinton's campaign themes. By rolling out a program this summer, Clinton clearly hopes to demonstrate a commitment to a national service program even though a full-scale effort may not be in place before the fall of 1994.

Youths participating in the project this summer would help needy children in up to 10 urban and rural areas by providing services such as assisting health care providers with immunizations, helping children learn to read, tutoring teenagers who are at risk of dropping out of school and testing buildings for lead paint.

In exchange, the workers would earn minimum wage, plus \$1,000 to be applied to education or training.

Under Clinton's initiative, which requires the approval of Congress, the government would also provide some funds for another 2,600 summer community service jobs for people aged 17 to 23. However, those workers would not receive the education and training stipend.

The budget for the summer programs will be \$15 million, according to an Administration document obtained by The Times, an amount far smaller than those for summer jobs programs that the federal and state governments already offer.

The Clinton team is at work on the broader national service pro-

gram that will cost at least \$5.8 billion over four years and is to be presented to Congress in the next few weeks, according to Diana Aldridge, spokeswoman for the Administration's new national service office.

Funding for the full-scale program would represent an unprecedented commitment to national service programs by the federal government.

"We're not used to getting \$5.8 billion," said Roger Landrum, executive director of Youth Service America, a alliance of community service projects nationwide. "We're all worried it's going to be too much money too fast."

The 1993 summer program provides clues to what a Clinton-style national service program will look like. By targeting a national service effort to meet the needs of "at-risk children," the President clearly indicates that he intends to use the program to achieve results in other parts of his domestic agenda.

Clinton's national service initiative would be "very focused" on major national priorities so that it will have a "measurable impact," said Landrum, who met with Clinton's national service team Friday to discuss the summer program and agreed to comment on it only after learning that the Times was already aware of its details.

Funding for the 1,800 jobs this summer would be limited to programs that can provide slots for at least 50 participants. The money will go to no fewer than four but no more than 10 urban and rural areas. The programs would begin with a weeklong "leadership boot

camp," followed by at least eight weeks of work.

The cost, \$5,890 per participant for a little more than two months of service, indicates that Clinton's national service agenda will carry a heavy price tag. The President plans to meet with all the students at a gathering at the end of the summer. In addition to those funds, Clinton's initiative would contribute up to \$500 per participant for 2,000 existing summer service programs, and \$1.2 million would be granted to create about 600 new summer positions with VISTA, an existing federally funded service program.

Another \$250,000 would be allocated to train elementary and secondary schoolteachers to design and administer programs in their schools.

National service was Clinton's most reliable applause line during the campaign, and it has elicited a strong grass-roots response since the election.

"I've noticed an increasing number of students getting involved in community service already," said David McKnight, 20, a junior sociology major at Rutgers University, where Clinton will unveil the summer project in a domestic policy speech Monday. "I'm sure that with the President's support of community service and civic responsibility, interest will keep spreading."

McKnight works as a volunteer at the Adult Learning Center of New Brunswick, N.J., which the President is scheduled to visit, and has been asked to conduct a class with high school dropouts during Clinton's tour.

BOSTON / Los Angeles Times
ed some lawmakers.

esign

garnered widespread in a cross section of eding industry, the re- nunity, and activist and rganizations, many of ed for him to be re-

unched a \$625-million project to study the lems of older women designing a strategic agency that would lay es to take it into the

sometimes combative enemies, particularly Hill. She clashed on sions with Rep. John D-Mich.), the powerful the House Energy and Committee and head of ttee that oversees the

sued a terse statement 's departure was an- ying only. "I wish her ncertakings."

t in a statement Friday heaves "the NIH is a ure."

uts of NIH's medical

Quiet Windows!

100% FINANCING O.A.C.

TRADE-IN SPECIAL \$50 CALL FOR DETAILS

Reduce Outside Noise, Draft & Pollution by over 50%

- * All Styles of Replacement Windows Available
- * All Vinyl Frame Construction
- * Double Pane Glass
- * Thermal Efficient
- * Warmer in Winter ... Cooler in Summer
- * No Need to Restucco or Drywall
- * Never Needs Painting ... Maintenance Free
- * Lifetime Warranty

Sherman BUILDING & COATING
CALL US TOLL FREE FOR INFORMATION NO OBLIGATION
1-800-448-4646

2 Million A- Youths to Get Summer Aid

U.S. Plans Expansion Of Jobs and Classes

By Mary Jordan
Washington Post Staff Writer

To get idle youths off the street this summer, the Clinton administration plans to give as many as 2 million American youths a new summer job or a seat in summer school beginning as early as June.

Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich and Education Secretary Richard W. Riley, offering the most detailed explanation yet of the major Clinton youth initiative, told senators on Capitol Hill yesterday that the jobs plan would target the nation's "100 poorest areas."

The jobs are to range from painting city halls to supervising recreation centers and will employ 1.3 million youths—double the number hired last year. For the first time, the teenagers hired also would be drilled during the work day in math, reading and writing, Labor officials said.

In addition, hundreds of thousands more disadvantaged children would be kept in school this summer under a separate plan to keep open year-round schools with large numbers of poor children.

"This is great news," said Richard Miller, executive director of the American Association of School Administrators. "It gives them an opportunity to learn and earn at the same time."

There are 18 million youths aged 15 to 19, according to the 1990 census. The job and school initiatives—costing an additional \$1.5 billion—are expected to help those not already employed or at camp or school.

"After the events of last year in Los Angeles," Clinton told Congress last week, "and the countless stories of despair in our cities and in our poor rural communities," the nation needs to create summer jobs for unemployed youths.

In the past, federal summer jobs programs have been fraught with management problems. Last year, \$267 million appropriated for the program was never spent. The logistics of teaching a diverse body of working youths will only add to the complexity of the historically troubled program. For instance, what

See RILEY, A12, Col. 1

Summer Jobs, Classes Planned for 2 Million Disadvantaged Youths

RILEY, From A1

classrooms would be used or who would teach?

According to Labor Department officials, the new jobs are slated for inner cities and poor rural areas, and would involve some existing programs such as mayors' summer job programs and those of private business councils.

The Clinton plan adds \$1 billion in new funding to the nearly \$1 billion already in the budget. Some of that existing money is the unspent money from last year and the rest was approved for summer jobs under then-President George Bush.

In addition to working with Labor to figure out how the "education component" of the jobs program would be administered, the Education Department also is seeking an immediate infusion of \$500 million to keep open the so-called Chapter 1 schools this summer.

These schools have concentrations of low-income, disadvantaged students and are eligible for special federal funding to teach basic skills, particularly math and reading.

Riley also used the two-hour session before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee to offer the first glimpse of the Clinton administration's education package.

In a shift from Bush administration policy, Riley said he would presenting to Congress a request that more federal dollars—perhaps \$400 million in the first year and

steep increases afterwards—be spread out among America's public schools. Localities would decide which innovative programs to fund.

The Bush strategy was to focus federal money on the construction of a small number of "break-the-mold" schools that would be a model of change for others.

Riley also said that the education package dubbed, "Goals 2000: Educate America Act," would continue to push for establishment of a baseline of knowledge that all American students must learn before graduation.

Currently, there are no such standards. Likewise, as the Labor Department develops occupational skill standards for the non-college-bound, Riley said they are "to have a powerful effect" on what is taught in high school.

Riley told reporters afterwards that he plans to "avoid the political side issues," such as private school "choice," that were the focus of debate during the Bush administration.

Rep. William F. Goodling (Pa.), the ranking Republican on the Education and Labor Committee, said he sees little difference between what Riley is advocating and what Bush had been calling for.

"The difference now is that the majority will not be able to say 'no' simply because it is a Republican president's idea," said Goodling, predicting that the Clinton revisions will find little opposition in Congress.

The Washington Post

2/25/93

National Service — Now

By Bill Clinton

WASHINGTON

Apathy is dead. Of everything I've learned in my first few weeks in the White House, that's the thing that's made me the happiest. Whether or not the people I've met outside the capital support the changes I have proposed, they're all saying they're ready to rebuild our country.

But they know, as I do, that no economic plan can do it alone. A plan can make vaccines available to children, but alone it will not administer the shots to all of them. It can put security guards in the schools, but alone it will not take gangs off the streets. And it can provide more aid for college, but alone it will not make the costs of college less daunting for the middle class.

That's why I believe we need national service — now.

If Congress acts quickly enough, just months from now more than 1,000 young people will start serving our country in a special summer effort. In four years, the successors to these pioneers will multiply a hundredfold. Imagine: an army of 100,000 young people restoring urban and rural communities and giving their labor in return for education and training.

National service is an idea as old as America. Time and again, our people have found new ways to honor citizenship and match the needs of changing times.

Lincoln's Homestead Act rewarded those who had the courage to settle the frontier with the land to raise a family. Franklin D. Roosevelt's Social Security Act insured that Americans who work a lifetime can grow old with dignity. Harry S. Truman's G.I. Bill rewarded the service of my father's generation, transforming youthful veterans into an army of educated civilians that led our nation into a new era.

For my generation, the reality of national service was born 32 years ago tomorrow, when President John F. Kennedy created the Peace Corps. At its peak, the Peace Corps enrolled only 16,000 volunteers yet it changed the way a generation of Americans look at themselves and the world.

Today, the spirit of our people once again can meet head-on the troubles of our times.

The task is as complex as our chal-

lenge is great. We must combine the intensity of the post-World War II years with the idealism of the early 1960's — and help young people afford a college education or job training.

In 1993, we'll restore the spirit of service by asking our people to serve here at home. We won't re-fight the wars we won, but we'll tackle the growing domestic dangers that threaten our future.

Our new initiative will embody the same principles as the old G.I. Bill. It will challenge our people to serve our country and do the work that should — and must — be done. It will give those who serve the honor and rewards they deserve. It will invest in the future of the quiet heroes who invest in the future of others.

The national service legislation that I will send to Congress shortly will give our people the chance to serve in two basic ways:

First, it will make it easier for young people to hold low-paying public service jobs and still pay off their student loans.

Under our program, Americans will be able to borrow the money they need for college and pay it back as a small percentage of their income over time. By giving graduates the chance to repay loans on an affordable, reasonable schedule, this "income-contingent" program will allow our people to do the work that our communities really need.

Second, our legislation will create new opportunities for Americans to serve our country for a year or two —

and receive financial support for education or training in return.

We'll offer people of different ages and educational levels different ways to serve. And to focus our energies and get the most for our money, we'll direct special attention to a few areas:

- We'll ask thousands of young people to serve in our schools — some as teachers, others as youth mentors, reading specialists and math tutors. They'll join the effort to insure that our schools offer the best education in the world.

Federal seed money, but local management.

- We'll send people into medical clinics to help immunize the nation's 2-year-olds. Some participants will be qualified to give the shots, but thousands of others can provide essential support, contacting parents and following up to make sure children get the shots they need.

- We'll help police forces across the

country through a new Police Corps trained to walk beats. We'll also organize others in our communities to keep kids out of gangs and off drugs.

- We'll put still others to work controlling pollution and recycling waste, to help insure that we pass on to our children a nation that is clean and safe for years to come.

Our national service program will offer more than benefits to individuals. We'll help pay operating costs for community groups with proved track records, providing the support they'll need to grow. And we'll let entrepreneurs compete for venture capital to develop new service programs.

While the Federal Government will provide the seed money for national service, we are determined that the participants — the individuals who serve and the groups that sponsor their service — will guide the process. Spending tens of millions of tax dollars to build a massive bureaucracy

would be self-defeating; it would squash the spirit of innovation that national service demands.

By design, our national service program will not happen overnight. Instead, it will grow year by year, with funding reaching \$3 billion in 1997. And as I've said many times, I believe it will be the best money we ever spend.

If Congress gives us the chance, this summer we'll create an eight-week leadership training program. We'll recruit more than 1,000 young people for special projects to meet the needs of children at risk — and to train the first class of full-year participants.

In the first full year of our initiative, we'll launch our flexible loan program and aim to put tens of thousands of people to work. By 1997, more than 100,000 citizens could be serving our country, getting education and training benefits in return. And hundreds of thousands more people could be



doing invaluable work because college loans no longer block the way.

But the best planning and the most ambitious design won't make this vision of national service a reality. That responsibility ultimately rests with the American people.

I am convinced that after 12 years of drifting apart instead of working together we are ready to meet the challenge. From a 14-year-old boy in North Dakota who sent us \$1,000 to help pay off the deficit, to a 92-year-old widower in Kansas who followed his example, people are demonstrating that they want to give something back to their nation.

National service will exercise our talents and rebuild our communities. It will harness the energy of our youth and attack the problems of our time. It will bring together men and women of every age and race and lift up our nation's spirit. And for all of us, it will rekindle the excitement of being Americans.

Seymour Chwast

President Clinton will deliver a speech on national service tomorrow at Rutgers University.

A new generation of student activism

By Howard Goodman
INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

Bobby Seale, famous long ago as co-founder of the beret-wearing, gun-toting Black Panther Party; the bound-and-gagged defendant of the circusy Chicago Eight conspiracy trial; the icon lofted in countless cries of "Free Bobby!" after his arrest on never-proven murder conspiracy charges — Bobby Seale visits college campuses these days and sees a brand-new generation ready to roll.

"They're very interested in the Sixties," said Seale, now 56 and working part time as volunteer community liaison for Temple University's African American studies department. That's when he's not on the college lecture circuit, 40 dates a year — four times busier than he was a half-dozen years ago.

"They want to know what they can get involved in, where they should start, how they can help," Seale said, "black and white and Hispanic and Asian."

The issues are the environment, racism, poverty — gusting, once again, across university campuses after a long period of MBA-worship. Coast to coast, social activism is stirring the academic air.

It's not that the Sixties are back. The current mood lacks that era's fever, its sense of desperation and apocalypse, its spirit of invention and self-assertion.

No, this is something new — and Seale is not the only one to notice. The spirit is more practical, more sober, more willing to work within institutions. Today's students are quicker to write grants than manifestoes, more likely to tutor a child than take over the dean's office.

"Every 25 or 30 years you get a generational cycle," said Harry Boyte, politics professor at the University of Minnesota, "a kind of re-engagement with the public world, a kind of exhaustion from an excessively private life."

In the Thirties, young socialists and communists — and Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps — marked the age for collegians passionate about the Spanish Civil War. In the Sixties — the time of John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps — the New Left, the counterculture and black power raised battle cries against a hated war in Vietnam and racial injustices at home.

It's not the Sixties all over again, though. The spirit is more practical.

Today, another newly elected president talks of launching a program of national service. And students are embracing society as their great subject matter after a long period of Looking Out for Number One.

The trend is plain in the most recent poll of U.S. freshmen sponsored by the American Council on Education, a poll taken each year since 1967. A survey of 213,630 freshmen at 404 two- and four-year colleges and universities found:

- Two of every five college freshmen participated in an organized demonstration last year — a record, and more than twice the number recorded during the late 1960s.

- A record 42 percent of freshmen said "helping to promote racial understanding" was an "essential" or "very important" goal — a sharp jump over 1991, when 33 percent gave those answers.

- A record 43 percent of freshmen said that "influencing social values" was "essential" or "very important."

- Nearly one in three freshmen said "becoming a community leader" was "very important" or "essential" — twice the percentage as when the question was last asked, in 1972.

- Only 14 percent of freshmen said they planned business careers — down from nearly 25 percent in 1987.

- The goal of "being very well off financially" dropped for the fifth straight year, while the percentage of students aiming to "develop a meaningful philosophy of life" rose for the fifth straight year.

"There is a developing sense among youth that there are significant problems that need to be solved in American society and that they need to put their idealism into practice," said Ira Harkavy, director of community partnerships at the University of Pennsylvania.

"And there is a growing interest in universities in how their studies may be linked to service — how they can put their minds to

See **ACTIVISM** on E4 E 6

ACTIVISM from E1
helping solve the most pressing problems of their times."

One clear signal is the emergence of a new college staple.

Community service.

Last school year, more than 140,000 students at 305 schools from California to New York took part in weekly community-service work, much of it in inner-city neighborhoods a world apart from the cloistered classroom. That's according to Campus Compact, a national organization doing for community service at colleges and universities what Johnny Appleseed did for apples.

Approximately two-thirds of U.S. campuses now host community-service offices, where students can find out how they can, say, tutor in an elementary school or counsel teen runaways.

All this was unknown on campuses a decade ago, said Todd Waller, director of the University of Pennsylvania's program for student-community involvement.

In 1983, the student-led Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL) held its first national conference on promoting community service, and 30 people showed up. Last year, 2,000 attended the conference. Now the organization works with faculty and students at 650 schools.

"It's a groundswell," said Terry Russell, general counsel for the Commission on National and Community Service.

Examples abound.

Temple University's Center for Public Policy is launching a three-year effort in which students and faculty from various disciplines will work with North Philadelphia residents on an array of development projects for the battered inner city.

In New Haven, Conn., Yale and five other schools are running a summer program for children in city housing projects. At Notre Dame, students use a school van to carry leftover food to a homeless shelter in South Bend, Ind.

At Stanford University, nearly one-third of the freshman class takes part in an English class in which students write brochures, newsletters and grant proposals for local nonprofit organizations.

Next month, about 30 volunteers will begin work as the inaugural class of the brand-new Pennsylvania Service Corps. This localized version of the Peace Corps hopes to recruit 400 people in the next three years and send them into beleaguered communities in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and other parts of the state.

Many corps members — paid \$8,800 for a year's service and given \$5,000 toward higher education — will be based at colleges and universities.

Why so much activity?

"One of the reasons is that the problems of American society are so significant and so obvious," Harkavy said. "I think the election of Bill Clinton has helped develop a new sense of optimism. At the same time students know the problems of the job market."

Universities also are recognizing a deep self-interest in promoting community service. If nearby neighborhoods are crime-ridden, if they turn shabby, it becomes harder to recruit faculty and students. "As the problem gets worse and worse, the pressure grows on an institution to say: 'What are we going to do to solve these problems?'" Harkavy said.

At Drexel, economics professor Andrew G. Verzilli teaches business students by immersing them in real-life problems. They have surveyed South Street residents, merchants and visitors in a search for harmony on the competing problems of economic development and neighborhood vitality. One group did a feasibility study on the use of inmate labor to clear up the New Jersey shore; the cost benefit analysis helped lead the state Legislature to pay for the project.

"We interviewed inmates, and then we got to see our work produce results," said Jack Keifer, who graduated from Drexel in 1991. "That was a real thrill."

Keifer, 24, is about to begin a year as one of the first members of the

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER,
Philadelphia, PA 2-28-93



At the Turner Middle School in West Philadelphia, Sameer Mathur (left) and Mita Sanghavi, both Penn juniors, teach sixth graders about nutrition. Both students hope to get medical degrees.

The Philadelphia Inquirer / MICHAEL MALLY

On the nation's campuses, activism again comes of age

Pennsylvania Service Corps. He will help coordinate community-service projects for Drexel students.

"Community service and the whole idea that I'm my brother's keeper were real big in the Sixties," Keifer said. "The Seventies were kind of an 'I' decade. Then we get the Eighties, with a Hollywood president and a Hollywood attitude toward our problems."

"But now it's just so obvious that we have to do more about taking responsibility to change our communities."

The University of Pennsylvania has gained a reputation as one of the leaders of the campus community-service movement.

About 2,100 Penn students tutor in West Philadelphia schools, Waller said — a practice that goes back to 1985 and to a class in university-community relations that was co-taught by the university president, Sheldon Hackney.

Students who take Anthropology 210 spend much of their time at Turner Middle School, two miles west of the campus in poverty-ridden West Philadelphia. Some teach sixth graders about nutrition. Some study the eating habits of the children and their families. Professor Francis Johnson has written two scholarly papers from the research.

It's more than simple volunteer work. The goal is to make long-standing improvements in a community. And to show students a link between scholarship and service.

"I think this kind of course couldn't have been done at all 10 years ago," Johnson said. "In the early '80s I just lectured facts, and

students wrote things down."

Mita Sanghavi, a Penn junior who teaches at the middle school once a week as part of the course requirement, said the program was a fitting use of a powerful institution such as Penn: "That's one of the measures of a university — the impact it has on improving the community."

She plans to get a medical degree, then help formulate public health policy. Sameer Mathur, a Penn junior who teaches at Turner alongside her, also hopes for a medical degree. He plans to devote five or six years to practicing medicine in his ancestral India.

In November, Sanghavi joined an additional 15 or 20 Penn students who spent a night outdoors — "to make a statement that we are aware of the issues" of homelessness.

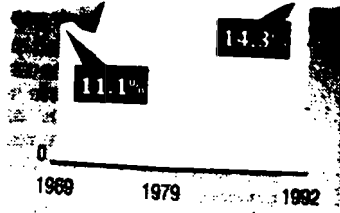
In January, both students traveled to Washington for a national meeting of South Asian students. Eight hundred showed up — many others had to be turned away for lack of space — and speaker after speaker talked about the need to move away from talking about problems to doing something about them.

"It's not just ideas; it's action now," Sanghavi said.

What form that action takes is anyone's guess.

"I wouldn't expect the styles in the Nineties to be like the styles of the Sixties," said Todd Gitlin, a sociologist at the University of California, Berkeley, and author of *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage*.

"It may not be as flamboyant; it may not be as utopian," said Gitlin, a former member of the radical Students for a Democratic Society. "The



Think influencing social values is "essential" or very important



Think it is "essential" or very important to promote racial understanding

spirit today is not political organizing or photogenic demonstrating. Students today are more practical-minded. They want results.

"The sense of possibility is dampened by the widespread perception that America is no longer rich and no longer powerful enough to do whatever it wants."

Said Boyte, of the University of Minnesota's Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs: "In some ways, this generation has grown up hearing everything's wrong, and yet they haven't seen much being done about the challenges they see facing the country — racism, the environment, crime, whatever."

"Kids don't feel themselves to be innocent outsiders looking in, the way kids did in the Sixties. One of my students told me the other day: 'We're the carpenters and builders who are going to have to do something about these problems.'"

The Philadelphia Inquirer/E.F. CAMPBELL

Clinton to Outline Voluntary Service Plan on MTV

On Radio, President Doesn't Mention That Budget Pressure Will Sharply Restrict Effort

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton will unveil his voluntary national service plan Monday and pitch it in an unorthodox forum that served him well during the campaign: an appearance on MTV.

In his weekly radio address yesterday, Clinton described the proposal as "a call to action and to responsibility" that will enable "hundreds of thousands of students" to attend college. The program would allow students to pay off government loans by working as police

officers, nurses or in other community service jobs.

The president said that "everyone with the desire to serve will have the opportunity and we'll meet social needs that for too long have gone unaddressed." He made no mention of his recent acknowledgment that budgetary concerns would reduce the effort to a small pilot program that would be phased in over six years.

National service was a staple of Clinton's 1992 campaign, but it could be years before it is available to more than a fraction of eligible students. More than 5 million college students now receive federal

loans, and placing one student in a service job could cost \$18,000 a year.

MTV said the president will be interviewed by Tabitha Soren during a 30-minute special called "Bill Clinton: Your Future, His Plan." The special will include highlights of the president's Monday speech at Rutgers University in New Jersey, where he will outline the proposal. Clinton broke new political ground last year by courting young voters on MTV, the rock-music network.

In the radio address, Clinton said that "citizens from cities all across the country" have voiced "overwhelming" support for his tax and

spending proposals and that some even sent contributions to reduce the budget deficit. He did not address demands in Congress for further spending cuts.

"We are on the right track," Clinton said. "Already mortgage rates have fallen to their lowest level in 20 years—20 years. With falling interest rates, more people can afford loans to build their businesses, buy cars or purchase houses. . . . That's an essential part of the American dream we're working hard to restore."

Borrowing a device often used by former president Ronald Reagan, Clinton read letters from two cit-

izens. Clinton said George L. Baker, a retired Air Force major from Sherwood, Ark., had sent him his Distinguished Flying Cross as a sign of support for the economic program.

In a GOP response, Rep. Henry Bonilla (R-Tex.) said people in his district "overwhelmingly oppose this plan. I've been stopped in the street in recent days in Laredo and San Antonio by people who tell me they cannot pay more in taxes before they see real spending cuts."

"It seems that members of the president's own party are now balking at this tax-and-spend plan," he said. "They're clearly not comfortable with it. And for good reason. They, too, are beginning to see the reality of the program, the \$275 billion tax increase, the largest in history, that's more than four times the amount the president claims to want in spending cuts."

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New Brunswick, New Jersey)

For Immediate Release

March 1, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN NATIONAL SERVICE ADDRESS

Rutgers University
New Brunswick, New Jersey

1:15 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. (Applause.) Thank you. Thank you, Nakia Tomlinson for that fine introduction. I wish I could take you with me everywhere. We'd make a great duo there. Let's give her another hand. I thought she was great. (Applause.)

I'd like to thank President Frank Lawrence for his - Francis Lawrence -- for his fine speech. Does anybody call him Frank? I should have asked. (Laughter.) I want to compliment Professor Benjamin Barber for his leadership and service here. (Applause.) And I want to thank all of you here in the Rutgers community for coming out for what I hope will be a truly historic moment in our nation's history. (Applause.)

In addition to the people who have been introduced here, there are a host of mayors and members of the Assembly and county officials here from your state. We have two former governors, both of whom I served with -- Brendan Byrne and Tom Kean who are out there. I'm glad to see them. (Applause.) My friends. We have a distinguished array of members of the House from New Jersey -- Herb Klein, Bob Manendez, Frank Pallone, Donald Payne -- (applause).

But you have some members of the Congress from all over America here and I want to introduce them, too, because they have taken a lot of trouble to come to Rutgers and because without them and without the people who represent you, the proposal I make today has no hope of passage.

Many members of the Congress for years have believed we ought to do more in national service and some of them are here today. I'd like to begin by introducing your Senator Bill Bradley, who's behind me. (Applause.) I must say, when I walked into this arena, I turned around and asked Bill Bradley if he'd ever shot any baskets in here. I'd be intimidated to be the opposing team in here. (Applause.) Senator Bradley sponsored legislation to establish neighborhood corps and self-reliance scholarships, things that are forbearers of the proposal I came to make.

I'd like to recognize the presence on the platform of Senator Ted Kennedy from Massachusetts -- (applause) -- who chairs the Senate Committee on Human Resources and Education, which shepherded the pilot national and community service bill through the Congress in the last session, along with his counterpart who is out here in the audience somewhere. I'd like to ask him to stand up. The Chairman of the House Committee, Congressman Bill Ford, who came all the way from Michigan to be with us. Congressman, would you stand up. (Applause.)

I'd like to recognize in the audience the presence of Senator Chris Dodd from Connecticut, who was one of the first Peace Corps volunteers in the United States. (Applause.)

MORE

The member of Congress who introduced many, many years ago, the first piece of national service legislation ever introduced, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Clairborne Pell from Rhode Island is here. (Applause.)

I'd also like to introduce the only person in this audience, at least of our crowd, who doesn't have to look up to Senator Bradley, Senator Jay Rockefeller from West Virginia, an early VISTA volunteer in the United States. (Applause.)

And finally I would like to recognize two other people, one, a member of the United States Senate and one a distinguished American citizen, the first boss of the Peace Corps, Sargent Shriver, who's up here with me. (Applause.) And his deputy, Senator Harris Wofford, from Pennsylvania. (Applause.) And Mrs. Wofford, I'm glad to see you. (Applause.)

Now, I was involved before I became President in a group called the Democratic Leadership Council, and we made one of the central parts of our platform to reclaim a new majority of Americans for our party the establishment of a system of national service to help people to finance education. And one of our founding members and guiding lights is here, Representative Dave McCurdy from Oklahoma. I'd like for him to stand up. (Applause.)

Let me make this last point, if I might, by way of beginning. None of these things happen at the national level. We empower them to happen and then people have to do things here at the grassroots. And I want to say a special word of thanks to your Governor for supporting the New Jersey Youth Corps and several other projects like it around the state, because if nobody's here to believe in this, it can't happen. And I thank Governor Florio for his support for these things. (Applause.)

I came here to ask all of you to join me in a great national adventure, for in the next few weeks I will ask the United States Congress to join me in creating a new system of voluntary national service -- something that I believe in the next few years will change America forever and for the better.

My parents' generation won new dignity working their way out of the great Depression through programs that provided them the opportunity to serve and to survive. Brave men and women in my own generation waged and won peaceful revolutions here at home for civil rights and human rights, and began service around the world in the Peace Corps and here at home in Vista. Now, Americans of every generation face profound challenges in meeting the needs that have been neglected for too long in this country -- from city streets plagued by crime and drugs to classrooms where girls and boys must learn the skills they need for tomorrow, to hospital wards where patients need more care. All across America we have problems that demand our common attention.

For those who answer the call and meet these challenges, I propose that our country honor your service with new opportunities for education. National service will be America at its best -- building community, offering opportunity and rewarding responsibility. National service is a challenge for Americans from every background and walk of life, and it values something far more than money. National service is nothing less than the American way to change America. (Applause.)

It is rooted in the concept of community: the simple idea that none of us on our own will ever have as much to cherish about our own lives if we are out here all alone as we will if we work together. That somehow a society really is an organism in which the whole can be greater than the sum of its parts. And every one of us, no matter how many privileges with which we are born, can still be enriched by the contributions of

the least of us. And that we will never fulfill our individual capacities until, as Americans, we can all be what God meant for us to be. (Applause.)

If that is so -- if that is true, my fellow Americans, and if you believe it, it must therefore follow that each of us has an obligation to serve. For it is perfectly clear that all of us cannot be what we ought to be until those of us who can help others -- and that is nearly all of us -- are doing something to help others live up to their potential. The concept of community and the idea of service are as old as our history. They began the moment America was literally invented.

Thomas Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence, "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortune, and our sacred honor." In the midst of the Civil War, President Lincoln signed into law two visionary programs that helped our people come together again and build America up. The Morrill Act helped states create new land grant colleges. This is a land grant university. The university in my home state was the first land grant college west of the Mississippi River.

In these places, young people learn to make American agriculture and industry the best in the world. The legacy of the Morrill Act is not only our great colleges and universities like Rutgers, but the American tradition that merit and not money should give people a chance for a higher education. (Applause.)

Mr. Lincoln also signed the Homestead Act that offered 100 acres of land for families who had the courage to settle the frontier and farm the wilderness. Its legacy is a nation that stretches from coast to coast. Now we must create a new legacy that gives a new generation of Americans the right and the power to explore the frontiers of science and technology and space. The frontiers of the limitations of our knowledge must be pushed back so that we can do what we need to do. And education is the way to do it, just as surely as it was more than 100 years ago.

Seven decades after the Civil War in the midst of the Great Depression, President Roosevelt created the Civilian Conservation Corps, which gave 2.5 million young people the opportunity to support themselves while working in disaster relief and maintaining forests, beaches, rivers, and parks. Its legacy is not only the restoration of our natural environment, but the restoration of our national spirit. Along with the Works Products Administration -- the WPA -- the Civilian Conservation Corps symbolized government's effort to provide a nation in depression with the opportunity to work, to build the American community through service. And all over America today, you can see projects -- even today in the 1990s -- built by your parents or your grandparents with the WPA plaque on it -- the CCC plaque on it -- the idea that people should be asked to serve and rewarded for doing it.

In the midst of World War II, President Roosevelt proposed the GI Bill of Rights, which offered returning veterans the opportunity for education in respect to their service to our country in the war. Thanks to the GI Bill, which became a living reality in President Truman's time, more than eight million veterans got advanced education. And half a century later, the enduring legacy of the GI Bill is the strongest economy in the world and the broadest, biggest middle class that any nation has ever enjoyed.

For many in my own generation, the summons to citizenship and service came on this day 32 years ago, when President Kennedy created the Peace Corps with Sargent Shriver and Harris Wofford and other dedicated Americans when President Kennedy created the Peace Corps. With Sargent Shriver and Harris Wofford and other dedicated Americans, he enabled thousands of

young men and women to serve on the leading edge of the new frontier, helping people all over the world to become what they ought to be, and bringing them the message by their very lives that America was a great country that stood for good values and human progress.

At its height, the Peace Corps enrolled 16,000 young men and women. Its legacy is not simply goodwill and good works in countries all across the globe, but a profound and lasting change in the way Americans think about their own country and the world.

Shortly after the Peace Corps, Congress, under President Johnson, created the volunteers and service to America. Senator Jay Rockefeller, whom I introduced a moment ago, and many thousands of other Americans went to the hills and hollows of poor places, like West Virginia and Arkansas and Mississippi, to lift up Americans through their service.

The lesson of our whole history is that honoring service and rewarding responsibility is the best investment America can make. And I have seen it today. Across this great land, through the Los Angeles Conservation Corps, which took the children who lived in the neighborhoods where the riots occurred and gave them a chance to get out into nature and to clean up their own neighborhoods and to lift themselves and their friends in the effort; in Boston with the City Year program -- with all these programs represented here in this room today, the spirit of service is sweeping this country and giving us a chance to put the quilt of America together in a way that makes a strength out of diversity; that lifts us up out of our problems; and that keeps our people looking toward a better and brighter future. (Applause.)

National service recognizes a simple but powerful truth -- that we make progress not by governmental action alone, but we do best when the people and their government work at the grassroots in genuine partnership. The idea of national service permeates many other aspects of the programs I have sought to bring to America. The economic plan that I announced to Congress, for example, will offer every child the chance for a healthy start through immunization and basic health care and Head Start. (Applause.) But still it depends on parents doing the best they can as parents and children making the most of their opportunities.

The plan can help to rebuild our cities and our small communities through physical investments that will put people to work. But Americans still must work to restore the social fabric that has been torn in too many communities. Unless people know we can work together in our schools and our offices, in our factories, unless they believe we can walk the streets safely together, and unless we do that together, governmental action alone is doomed to fail. (Applause.)

The national service plan I propose will be built on the same principles as the old GI Bill -- when people give something of invaluable merit to their country, they ought to be rewarded with the opportunity to further their education. National service will challenge our people to do the work that should and indeed must be done and cannot be done unless the American people voluntarily give themselves up to that work. It will invest in the future of every person who serves.

And as we rekindle the spirit of national service, I know it won't disappoint many of the students here to know that we also have to reform the whole system of student loans. (Applause.) We should begin by making it easier for young people to pay back their student loans and enabling them to hold jobs -- (applause) -- enabling them to hold jobs that may accomplish much, but pay little.

Today, when students borrow money for an education, the repayment plan they make is based largely on how much they have to repay, without regard to what the jobs they take themselves pay. It is a powerful incentive, therefore, for young college graduates to do just the reverse of what we might want them to do; to take a job that pays more even it is less rewarding because that is the job that will make the repayment of the loans possible. It is also, unfortunately, a powerful incentive for some not to make the payments at all, which is unforgivable.

So what we seek to do is to enable the American students to borrow the money they need for college and pay it back as a small percentage of their own income over time. This is especially important after a decade in which the cost of a college education has gone up even more rapidly than the cost of health care. (Applause.) Making a major contribution to one of the more disturbing statistics in America today, which is that the college dropout rate in this country is now 2.5 times the high school dropout rate. We can do better than that through national service and adequate financing. (Applause.)

The present system is unacceptable, not only for students, but for the taxpayers as well. It's complicated and it's expensive. It costs the taxpayers of our country about \$4 billion every year to finance the student loan program because of loan defaults and the cost of administering the program. And I believe we can do better.

Beyond reforming this system for financing higher education, the national service program more importantly will create new opportunities for Americans to work off outstanding loans or to build up credits for future education and training opportunities.

We'll ask young people all across this country and some who aren't so young who want to further their college education to serve in our schools as teachers or tutors in reading and mathematics. We'll ask you to help our police forces across the nation, training members for a new police corps that will walk beats and work with neighborhoods and build the kind of communities ties that will prevent crime from happening in the first place so that our police officers won't have to spend all their time chasing criminals. (Applause.)

We'll ask young people to work, to help control pollution and recycle waste, to paint darkened buildings and clean up neighborhoods. (Applause.) To work with senior citizens and combat homelessness and help children in trouble get out of it and build a better life. (Applause.)

And these are just a few of the things that you will be able to, for most of the decisions about what you can do will be made by people like those in this room, people who run the programs represented by all of those wearing these different kinds of tee-shirts. We don't seek a national bureaucracy. I have spoken often about how we need to reinvent the government to make it more efficient and less bureaucratic, to make it more responsive to people at the grassroots level.

And I want national service to do just that. I want it to empower young people and their communities, not to empower yet another government bureaucracy in Washington. This is going to be your program at your level with your people. (Applause.)

And as you well know, that's what's happening all across America today. People are already serving their neighbors in their neighborhoods. Just this morning, I was inspired to see and to speak with students from Rutgers serving their community, from mentoring young people as Big Sisters, to helping older people learn new skills.

I met a lady today who has 13 grandchildren and five great-grandchildren who dropped out of school the year before I was born -- is about to become a high school graduate shortly because of the efforts of this program. (Applause.) Is she back there? Stand up. (Applause.)

I'm impressed by the spirit behind the Rutgers civic education and community service program: the understanding that community service enriches education, that students should not only take the lessons they learn in class out into the community, but bring the lessons they learn in the community back into the classroom. (Applause.)

And that spirit, during this academic year alone, more than 800 students from Rutgers are contributing more than 60,000 hours of community service -- in New Brunswick, in Camden, in Newark, throughout this state. (Applause.)

This morning I also met with members of the New Jersey Youth Corps. Here they are. (Applause.) Stand up. (Applause.) Young people who are looking for a second chance at school, and who when coming back to finish their high school degrees, also serve in their communities. Through this program, more than 6,500 young adults have contributed over 900,000 hours of service to the state of New Jersey. (Applause.)

They've done everything from paint senior citizens' homes, to tutor and mentor children in after-school programs. For the future of our state and nation, we need more young people like those in the New Jersey Youth Corps who exemplify the spirit of service.

That spirit also moves people all across the nation. In my state, there's a young woman named Antoinette Jackson, who's a senior in a small community called Gauld, Arkansas. She's a member of the Delta Service Corps. The rural Mississippi Delta is still the poorest place in America. And in that area, she works with a "Lend a Hand" program which runs a thrift shop to provide hungry and homeless people with food and clothing. And in return, the Delta Four is going to help her attend college so that she can make an even greater contribution. (Applause.)

The spirit of service also moves a young man I met about a year ago named Stephen Spalos, who works with a City Year program in Boston. At age 23, he's had some hard times in his life. But as he puts it, City Year gave him a place and the tools to be able to start over. He works as a team leader, a mentor, a tutor, a project manager for a bunch of young people who restore senior citizens' homes.

Last year when I visited his project, he literally took his sweatshirt off his back and gave it to me so that I would never forget the kids at City Year. And I still wear it when I go jogging, always remembering what they're doing in Boston to help those kids. (Applause.)

The spirit of service moves Orah Fireman, a graduate of Wesleyan College. As a sophomore in high school, she worked with disadvantaged children in upstate New York. That experience changed her life. And during her high school and college years, she continued to work with children. And now that she is out of college, she has begun what will probably be a lifetime of service by working at a school for emotionally disturbed children in Boston. She wants other people to have the opportunity to serve, and she wrote this: Service work teaches responsibility and compassion. It fights alienation by proving to young people that they can make a difference. There is no lesson more important than that.

Well, there are stories like this in this room and all across America. And we're going to create thousands of more of them through national service. We'll work with groups with

proven track records to serve their community, giving them the support they need. And if you have more good ideas, if you're entrepreneurs of national service, we'll let you compete for our form of venture capital -- develop new programs to serve your neighbors. That's how we want the national service program to grow every year -- rewarding results, building on success, and bubbling up from the grassroots energy and compassion and intellect of America.

I don't want service to wait while this potential is wasted. That's why I want to make this summer a summer of service, when young people can not only serve their communities, but build a foundation for a new national effort. I've asked Congress to invest in and I'm asking young people to participate in a special effort in national service and leadership training just this summer. We are going to recruit about 1,000 young people from every background -- from high school dropouts to college graduates, to send to an intensive leadership training program for national service at the beginning of the summer.

Then we'll ask them to work on one of our country's most urgent problems, helping our children who are in danger of losing their God-given potential. Some of them will tutor. Some will work on programs to immunize young children from preventable childhood diseases. Some will help to develop and run recreational centers or reclaim urban parks from dealers and debris. Some will counsel people a few years younger than themselves to keep them out of gangs and into good activities. And everyone will learn about serving our country and helping our communities.

At the end of this summer, we'll bring all these people together for several days of debriefing and training, and then they'll all join in a youth service summit. I will attend the meeting and I expect to listen a lot more than I talk. I'll ask leaders from Congress, from business, labor, religious, and community groups to attend the youth service summit, too. We'll give those who serve the honor they deserve, and we'll learn a lot more about how to build this national service program. And from the thousand pioneers of this summer, I want the national service to grow 100-fold in the next four years. (Applause.)

But even when hundreds of thousands are serving, I want to maintain the pioneer spirit of this first few months, because national service can make America new again. It can help solve our problems, educate our people, and build our communities back together. So if anybody here would like to be one of those 1,000 -- or if anybody who is listening to this speech by radio or television or reads about it and would like to be one of those 1,000, drop me a card at the White House and just mark it national service. We're going to pick them. And I can't promise you'll be selected, but I promise you'll be considered. I want to engage the energies of America in this effort. (Applause.)

I also want to say that you shouldn't wait for the summer or for a new program. We need to begin now. We are going to be looking for the kinds of ideas that we ought to be funding. This is Monday. I ask you by Friday -- every one of you -- to think about what you think you can do and what we should do to be agents of renewal; to talk with your parents, your clergy, your friends, your teachers, to join the effort to renew our community and to rebuild our country; and to write to me about what you are doing. It's time for millions of us to change our country block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood -- time to return to our roots an excitement, an idealism, and an energy. (Applause.)

I have to tell you that there are some among us who do not believe that young Americans will answer a call to action, who believe that our people now measure their success merely in the accumulation of material things. They believe this call to service will go unanswered. But I believe they are dead wrong. (Applause.)

And so, especially to the young Americans here, I ask you to prove that those who doubt you are wrong about your generation. And today I ask all of you who are young in spirit -- whether you are a 10-year-old in a service program in our schools who reads to still younger children, or a 72-year-old who has become a foster grandparent -- I ask you all to believe that you can contribute to your community and your country. And in so doing, you will find the best in yourself.

You will learn the lessons about your life that you might not ever learn any other way. You will learn again that each of us has the spark of potential to accomplish something truly and enduringly unique. You will experience the satisfaction of making a connection in a way with another person that you could do in no other way. You will learn that the joy of mastering a new skill or discovering a new insight is exceeded only by the joy of helping someone else do the same thing. You will know the satisfaction of being valued not for what you own or what you earn or what position you hold, but just because of what you have given to someone else. (Applause.) You will understand in personal ways the wisdom of the words spoken years ago by Martin Luther King who said "Everybody can be great because everybody can serve." (Applause.)

I ask you all, my fellow Americans, to support our proposal for national service and to live a proposal for national service; to learn the meaning of America at its best, and to recreate for others America at its best. We are not just another country. We have always been a special kind of community, linked by a web of rights and responsibilities, and bound together, not by bloodlines, but by beliefs. At an age in time when people all across the world are being literally torn apart by racial hatreds, by ethnic hatreds, by religious divisions, we are a nation, with all of our problems, where people can come together across racial and religious lines and hold hands and work together, not just to endure our differences, but to celebrate them. I ask you to make America celebrate that again. (Applause.)

I ask you, in closing, to commit yourselves to this season of service because America needs it. We need every one of you to live up to the fullest of your potential, and we need you to reach those who are not here and who will never hear this talk, and who will never have the future they could otherwise have if not for something that you could do. The great challenge of your generation is to prove that every person here in this great land can live up to the fullest of their God-given capacity. If we do it, the 21st century will be the American century. The American Dream will be kept alive if you will today answer the call to service.

Thank you, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

1:50 P.M. EST

HOTLINE 3/2/93

NATIONAL SERVICE: SCALED-BACK, SYMBOLIC, BUT TOO COSTLY?

In a 35-minute speech to students at Rutgers Univ., Pres. Clinton "outlined" a five-year, \$9.5 billion national service program. Clinton: "It is time for millions of us to change our country block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood -- time to return to our roots, an excitement, and idealism, and an energy." Clinton was "enthusiastically greeted" by students but "offered few specifics" to the plan, except that if approved by Congress, "the program could begin this summer with 1,000 people and grow to include 100,000 by 1997" (Kiely, Bergen RECORD, 3/2). Clinton outlined the plan on the 32nd anniversary of the founding of the Peace Corps, and was joined on the dais by the first Peace Corp. dir., Sargent Shriver. Also joining Clinton were Sens. Bradley (D-NJ), Kennedy (D-MA), Dodd (D-CT), Pell (D-RI), Rockefeller (D-WV), NJ Gov. Florio (D) and ex-NJ Govs. Byrne (D) and Kean (R) (Bowers, Bridgewater COURIER-NEWS, 3/2). While Clinton "invoked" the Peace Corps, he said the program would be closer to the GI Bill (Weissman, ASBURY PARK-PRESS, 3/2). Newark STAR-LEDGER's Wald notes it was Clinton's first visit to NJ since the election, and Clinton received "a tumultuous reception from a capacity crowd" (3/2). RECORD's Hendrie writes, "the youthful audience welcomed" Clinton to Rutgers "with a reception worthy of a rock star. The wooden bleachers shook and the gymnasium echoed to rhythmic foot-stomping. Teenagers squealed and schoolchildren snapped flash pictures. Clinton conducted the audience like a maestro -- he waved first to one side of the hall, then to the other, with the crowd exploding in applause on cue" (3/2).

NATIONAL VIEW: Balto. SUN's West: "Clinton's sales effort was long on sweeping rhetoric and historic symbolism but devoid of specifics, including how the plan would work" (3/2). W. POST's Devroy: "Instead of outlining the program in detail, Clinton rallied an enthusiastic audience of young people behind the concept of community service as an essential part of the American character" (3/2). USA TODAY's Nagourney notes the program was unveiled "with much fanfare but little funding" (3/2). N.Y. TIMES' Friedman notes Clinton "marshaled some very new and some very old political messengers" by doing an interview with MTV while Sargent Shriver worked the press room (3/2). W.S. JOURNAL's Birnbaum & Trost write, "some of the bugs haven't yet been worked out of the plan. For example, the spending is premised on a certain number of young people seeking aide; Mr. Clinton said ... for the first time that if too many people sign up, a limit would have to be imposed" (3/2). BOSTON GLOBE's Flint notes, "the private system of banks, secondary markets, guarantee agencies and collectors that currently provide \$15 billion in student loans annually are mounting a formidable challenge, saying Clinton's proposal will add billions to the deficit" (3/1). W. TIMES' Taylor reports, "about 60 bankers, who were successful last year in killing proposed changes in the student loan program," announced plans to lobby Congress against the program (3/2). "Lead or Leave" weighs in its own community service idea: To further "pressure" Congress, the group proposes that, if Congress halves the deficit by '96, in turn, "citizens will donate a half-day of community service to a cause of their choice" (Lead or Leave release, 3/1).

TV: NBC's Brokaw: "It was one of his favorite campaign themes, a way for young people to repay their college loans. That was the ideal -- today, the scaled-down reality." NBC's Mitchell: "Once again, Clinton has proved that there is a big

difference between what he promised as a candidate and what he can deliver as President" (3/1). ABC's Jennings: "A program which is clearly, very close to his heart and in many way inspired by the man who so attracted him to government" (3/1). CNN's Shaw: "Though [Clinton] denies it, it falls short of his campaign promises" (3/1). CBS's Rather: "Today's announcement was for a scaled-back, pilot program" (3/1). MTV's Tabitha Soren: "His youth package invokes the same spirit of commitment and idealism that President John F. Kennedy called upon when he created the Peace Corps" (3/1). NBC's "Today" aired part of Clinton's MTV interview with Tabitha Soren (3/2). GOP strategist Bill Kristol: "You got a program here that's unnecessary. ... Kennedy did the Peace Corps, so Clinton has to do an equivalent to the Peace Corps. ... This isn't reform, this is just more middle class subsidy." Dem pollster Celinda Lake: "This is a real one thousand points of light." U.S. NEWS' Steve Roberts: "This is one of the few areas where people can agree government has a role" ("FOX Morning News," 3/2).

IS NOW THE RIGHT TIME? W. POST editorial: "There is an undeniable appeal to the president's call. It's good to hear a renewed emphasis on the people's partnership with their government. But can such a civic compact meet a budget compact? The discussion has got to deepen" (3/2). Columnist Doug Bandow: "Alas, Mr. Clinton's scheme would likely end up no bargain. It would expand federal power, politicize the independent sector, increase the already nightmarish deficit and siphon tens of thousands of young people out of productive private labor and into make-work projects" (W.S. JOURNAL, 3/2). USA TODAY editorial: "Before the nation buys national service for all, it must face the bill. Otherwise, students would pay twice -- once with service and later in higher taxes" (3/2).

(c) The American Political Network, Inc.

The 'National Service' Boondoggle ✓

By DOUG BADOW

Pacifist William James hated war but liked its fruit. In 1910, he penned words that have become well-nigh immortal, calling for a "moral equivalent of war" in which "the martial virtues" would be inculcated in young men in peacetime. "Our gilded youths would be drafted off," he wrote, "to get the childishness knocked out of them, and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas."

James's vision became the fount of a host of contradictory proposals involving military conscription, universal civilian service and voluntary programs. The latest is President Clinton's plan, unveiled at Rutgers yesterday, to provide as many as 150,000 students with two years of college tuition for every year of service in a government-approved job.

Mr. Clinton's program is nothing new. In 1988, the Democratic Leadership Council, to which he belonged, proposed a massive "Citizens Corps" of young people. The program was premised on alleged American decadence, self-absorption and selfishness, inflamed during the "decade of greed," as the 1980s were dubbed.

Candidate Clinton was too interested in being elected president to criticize potential voters in these terms, however. He used more positive rhetoric to propose offering 250,000 or more people to work off their student loans through government service. Deficit concerns have caused the administration to propose starting with a pilot program, to be expanded over time. Still, Mr. Clinton said in his radio address last Saturday that he ultimately wants to reach "hundreds of thousands of students."

Service seems so obviously a good thing that many people automatically embrace politicians who use the phrase "national service." The basic question, however, is service to whom? Proposals for national service assume that citizens are responsible not to each other but to the state. Even voluntary programs like Mr. Clinton's imply a unity of society and

state, with work for the latter equated to service to the former.

Opportunities for genuine service abound. Roughly 80 million people now participate in some volunteer activities. Much more could be done, of course. But the remedy is not yet another federal program.

Another bias held by national-service advocates is that "public" service is inherently better than private service. What makes shelving books in a library more laudable or valuable than stocking shelves in a bookstore? Private-sector workers—health-care professionals, medical and scientific researchers, business entrepreneurs and inventors, artists—provide enormous public benefits.

Moreover, the implementation problems are dizzying. Mr. Clinton said that he would not allow any job displacement, which would prevent participants from performing the most valuable work. Any job that could possibly be handled by a union member would have to be excluded to avoid unremitting labor opposition.

More important, what work would participants do? Today the Peace Corps and Vista, along with the more than 60 state and local programs, involve only some 18,000 people. How would we employ 150,000, 250,000, 500,000 or more people?

They would meet "unmet social needs," national-service advocates respond. But as long as human wants are unlimited, the real number of "unmet" social (as well as business) "needs" is infinite. It is meaningless to talk about millions of "unmet" needs; and since labor is not a free resource, it would be even more foolish to try to satisfy all of them.

The key to the national service debate is opportunity costs. Paying young people to shelve library books requires forgoing both whatever else could be done with the money they are paid and whatever else the participants would do. Indeed, the Clinton program would delay the entry of hundreds of thousands of people into higher educational studies and the work force. There is no reason to assume that a

dollar going to national service will yield more benefits than an additional dollar spent on medical research, technological innovation or any number of other purposes, private and public.

Another problem involves the military. The end of the Cold War has slowed recruiting. Providing educational benefits, long an important military vehicle for attracting college-capable youth, for civilian work may hinder recruiting for what remains the most fundamental form of national service—defending the country.

Still, what of the serious problems confronting us? In many instances the government bars effective private responses. Minimum wage laws forbid the hiring of dedicated but unskilled people and inhibit rehabilitation programs, like that run by the Salvation Army; restrictions on paratransit operations limit private transportation for the disabled.

In any case, only narrowly targeted responses—attracting a few thousand extra caregivers for the terminally ill, for instance—are likely to work. The pervasive fraud and waste endemic to "public service" programs like CETA hardly augur well for yet another large-scale federal effort at social engineering.

Further, imagine the bureaucracy necessary to decide what jobs constitute "service." Who would sort through union objections to "unfair competition," match hundreds of thousands of participants to individual posts and monitor the quality of people's work? Consider the disastrous mess made of the student loan program by the Education Department; not surprisingly, the Congressional Research Service has warned that the government cannot administer the program as efficiently as the private sector. An unwieldy bureaucracy enforcing the controls that inevitably follow federal money is not likely to promote inexpensive and innovative solutions to human needs.

Even worse, federal involvement is likely to politicize private humanitarian activities. Congressmen oppose efforts to close local government offices; interest groups twist social programs to their benefit; labor unions block proposals to contract out work. Imagine the likely infighting over a program involving the services of hundreds of thousands of young people. What, for instance, will Mr. Clinton say when the Democratic Party's favorite political, sexual and social lobbies, like Act Up and Planned Parenthood, come calling to demand "their" quotas of service workers?

Finally, money has to be an issue when the president is calling for massive tax hikes. The administration is initially proposing to spend \$9.5 billion over five years, but the costs could escalate quickly. Providing participants with two years of school for every year of work means that they will earn more than

\$60,000—say, \$40,000 in tuition breaks and \$20,000-plus in salary and health benefits—for "serving" two years. That's over \$9 billion for 150,000 participants, not counting the costs of the federal bureaucracy necessary to manage the program.

Alas, Mr. Clinton's scheme would likely end up no bargain. It would expand federal power, politicize the independent sector, increase an already nightmarish deficit and siphon tens of thousands of young people out of productive private labor and into make-work projects.

What we need instead is a renewed commitment to individual service—some part-time, some full-time; some through the family, some through churches and some through civic groups. America's strength is its combination of humanitarian impulses, private association and diversity. Which is why we should keep the "national" out of service.

Mr. Badow is a fellow at the Cato Institute. He is the author of "Human Resources and Defense Manpower," published by National Defense University.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Peter R. Kann
Chairman & Publisher

Kenneth L. Burenga
President

Paul E. Steiger
Managing Editor

Robert L. Bartley
Editor

Byron E. Calame
Deputy Managing Editor

Daniel Henninger
Deputy Editor,
Editorial Page

Danforth W. Austin
Vice President,
Circulation

Paul C. Atkinson
Vice President,
Advertising

F. Thomas Kull Jr.
Vice President,
Operations

Charles F. Russell
Vice President,
Technology

Published since 1889 by

DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC.

Editorial and Corporate Headquarters:
200 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y. 10281.
Telephone (212) 416-2000

Peter R. Kann, Chairman & Chief Executive Officer;

Kenneth L. Burenga, President & Chief Operating Officer;

James H. Ottaway Jr., Peter G. Skinner,
Carl M. Valenti, Senior Vice Presidents

Vice Presidents: Charles I. Brady Jr., William R. Clabby, Richard J. Levine, Dorothea Coccoli Palaho, Information Services; Bernard T. Flanagan, Marketing; Karen Elliott House, International; Donald L. Miller, Employee Relations; David E. Moran, Law; Kevin J. Roche, Finance; Richard Myers, President, Ottaway Newspapers; Julian B. Childs, Executive Vice President, TeleRate.

Washington News and Sales Office:
1025 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone (202) 862-9300

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND ADDRESS CHANGES:
call 1-800-JOURNAL or write to The Wall Street Journal,
200 Burnett Road, Chicopee, Mass. 01020 giving old and new address. For subscription rates see Page A2.

Notable & Quotable

A terrorist explaining how he selects a target in Joseph Conrad's 1907 novel "The Secret Agent":

This is what you should try for. An attempt upon a crowned head or on a president is sensational enough in a way, but not so much as it used to be. It has entered into the general conception of the existence of all chiefs of state. It's almost conventional—especially since so many presidents have been assassinated. Now let us take an outrage upon—say a church. Horrible enough at first sight, no doubt, and yet not so effective as a person of an ordinary mind might think. No matter how

revolutionary and anarchist in inception, there would be fools enough to give such an outrage the character of a religious manifestation. And that would detract from the especial alarming significance we wish to give to the act. A murderous attempt on a restaurant or a theatre would suffer in the same way from the suggestion of non-political passion; the exasperation of a hungry man, an act of social revenge. . . . A bomb outrage to have any influence on public opinion now must go beyond the intention of vengeance or terrorism. It must be purely destructive. It must be that, and only that.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
3/2/93

Continued From Page B1

heart procedures, much the way many companies already do for mental health and prescription-drug benefits. Delta Air Lines announced in January that it has selected six hospitals around the U.S. to provide heart services to its employees.

One of the hospitals is St. Joseph's of Atlanta, where Dr. Knopf and his colleagues at Atlanta Cardiology Group do their inpatient procedures. The same hospital was one of the four original participants in a federal demonstration project to provide bypass surgery to Medicare beneficiaries for a price that bundled both hospital and physician fees.

The network is an outgrowth of the demonstration project, in which doctors, administrators and nurses worked to streamline procedures, reduce hospital stays and cut out tests that didn't improve care. Dr. Knopf figured doctors around the U.S. could use strategies from the project to attract private sector customers. "Corporations were looking for a global fee package that was low cost and still maintained quality," Dr. Knopf says.

In November, he met with colleagues at about a half-dozen other practices, including the Minneapolis Heart Institute; the Mid-America Heart Institute, Kansas City; and the Indiana Heart Institute, Indianapolis. These organizers then invited representatives from 65 groups around the U.S. to a meeting in January. So far, 45 have been invited to join the network, based on death rates, length of hospital stays, volume of procedures and other factors. How many doctors and hospitals will ultimately participate isn't clear.

In addition to corporations, organizers hope the network will attract health maintenance organizations looking for high-quality, low-cost services, and even Medicare, which now has seven hospitals in its bundled-fee program. "We hope [the government] will look at the network as a vehicle to expand the demonstration project," says Larry Byrne of LBA Consulting Inc., Denver, who is helping to organize the network.

Meantime, the network will collect data on doctors' results and evaluate strategies to control costs in an effort to develop standard approaches to treatment. In the Medicare project, for instance, doctors at St. Joseph's remove chest-drainage tubes within 24 hours instead of the usual 48, improving healing and helping to shorten hospital stays.

While the immediate focus is on com-

mon, high-cost procedures, Kevin Graham, a cardiologist at Minneapolis Heart Institute, says he expects the network to develop preventive services and ways to link up with primary care doctors, who first treat patients with heart disease.

"We have to do cardiovascular care, not just take off the high-ticket items," he says. Corporate purchasers increasingly are interested in directing their employees to health plans that demonstrate the ability to not only provide major procedures at low cost but also to prevent the need for the procedures in the first place.

212

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

3/2/93

Clinton's 'call to service'

\$7.4 billion plan short on details

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

PISCATAWAY, N.J. — With much fanfare but little funding, President Clinton on Monday unveiled his plan to implement his most-applauded campaign promise: providing universal college scholarships repaid by public service.

Clinton cast his idea in historic terms, borrowing liberally on the legacies of John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps and Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Depression-era public works projects, as he issued a distinctly generational "call to service" to students here.

"There are some among us who do not believe that young Americans will answer a call to action, who believe that our people now measure their success merely in the accumulation of material things," Clinton said. "They believe this call to service will go unanswered. But I believe they are dead wrong. . . . The American dream will be kept alive if you will answer the call to service."

In the Rutgers University speech, timed to coincide with the 32nd anniversary of Kennedy's creation of the Peace Corps, Clinton described his national service plan in the same upbeat, broad terms that he did in the campaign. It would, he said, allow anyone to work off loans with public service jobs.

But the White House later described the plan in more limited terms.

It would be at least four years until everyone who wanted to participate in the jobs program would have the chance. This assumes that 100,000 students will want to enroll in the plan.

"We think we'll be able to accommodate over the next four years everyone who chooses the service option," Clinton said. "We think we will. But we have to build it up a little in the first year or two so we learn how to do it."

In addition, students would then be eligible for loans that cover only part of the cost of their education bill.

Eli Segal, director of the national service program, said no figures had been set, but suggested that loans would be close to \$6,300, the average debt incurred by students over four years.

An average four-year public education is now \$22,000, with private education running as much as three times that.

Clinton's national service program would cost \$7.4 billion over the next four years. By the fourth year, that would cover



PRESIDENTIAL APPLAUSE: President Clinton cheers Danyelle Marshall, a member of the New Jersey Youth Corps who cried while telling her story at a meeting in New Brunswick, N.J.

By Win McNamee, Reuters

TRADING LOANS FOR PUBLIC WORKS

Inside President Clinton's national service proposal:

- **WHO:** 1,000 students for this summer's pilot project; growing to 25,000 next year, then 100,000 in 1997. This year, 14 million Americans attend college. Of those, roughly 5 million are using \$5.1 billion in federal loans.
- **COST:** \$15 million this year, totaling \$7.4 billion over the next four years if fully implemented.
- **ELIGIBLE:** Students before, during, after college.
- **NOW:** Students would trade a year of service for two years of loans. Type of service remains unknown.
- **PAYBACK:** Students could skip public service and pay loans based on a percentage of their income. Aim: encourage graduates to enter lower-paying but critical professions such as teaching and public health service.
- **OTHER BENEFITS:** Students in national service would receive small stipends, probably close to minimum wage and based on the hours spent in community service.

tuition and stipends to students working for one or two years in public service jobs.

Under the Clinton plan, students could pay back the loans either with the work or at low interest rates.

Clinton's proposal also would revamp the college loan program so it could be repaid by a percentage of income.

Clinton argued that would encourage people to go into low-paying public service jobs, and reduce the number of people who default on loans, now costing \$4 billion a year.

The program received warm reviews from congressional leaders. "Once again, a president is asking Americans to do something for their country," said Sen. Edward Kenne-

dy, D-Mass., who sat behind Clinton at the speech.

Rep. Bill Ford, D-Mich., chairman of the committee that would review the bill, declared that "We have an opportunity to build a new domestic Peace Corps."

Republicans said they were wary about the risks of creating a new big-ticket federal entitlement program.

But even they offered some praise. Rep. Susan Molinari, R-N.Y., said while there were potential problems, "what I think he's trying to do, and I really agree with this, is to bring back a spirit of hope."

Clinton offered no details on how he would fulfill what has always been one of the most difficult parts of the plan: cre-

ating a corps of public service jobs without displacing municipal workers who strongly supported him.

Similarly, Clinton repeatedly said the program would not create a new bureaucracy because it would delegate a lot of powers to the states. "There will be no fraud or abuse in this program," Segal insisted.

Some educators were skeptical about the effort.

Bruce Johnstone, chancellor of the State University of New York, said the program would not do much to help students afford escalating education costs.

"What I fear is that someone might think, the president might think, he has solved the higher-education program," Johnstone said. "And he will not have."

But Keith Geiger, president of the National Education Association, said that even an addition of 100,000 public service jobs was significant. "Kids today are much less into the money part of it . . . and more into wanting a college degree and doing something for this country," he said.

Said Richard Rosser, president of the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities: "For students all across the country, this is just a net gain — no question about it."

Contributing: Dennis Kelly and William M. Welch

► Clinton's plan, 1A

President A-1 says NRA is in 'error'

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

PISCATAWAY, N.J. — President Clinton, waiting along with the nation for the standoff in Texas to end, Monday challenged the National Rifle Association for being "fixated" in its opposition to gun control.

"It is an error for (the NRA) to oppose every attempt to bring some safety and some rationality" to the issue, he said.

"It's not going to kill anybody to wait a couple of days to get a handgun," he said.

Clinton has long supported passage of the Brady Bill, which imposes a waiting period for handgun buyers.

Clinton also praised New Jersey Gov. Jim Florio and Virginia Gov. Douglas Wilder for pushing tough gun-control legislation in their states.

His remarks follow Sunday's shootout near Waco, Texas, between federal agents and members of a religious sect.

Four Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents, and two sect members died.

The ATF had warrants to search for weapons and arrest sect leader David Koresh.

As the second day of the standoff was ending, more than 300 federal, state and local officers surrounded the heavily fortified compound. Negotiations were continuing.



3-2-93

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

A Call to Service

THAT WAS a rousing speech President Clinton gave yesterday on national service. It was less an introduction to a new government program than a reintroduction to an older ethic. The American community has splintered apart, Mr. Clinton says. Service to one's country, in one's country, can repair it. He spoke of a dedicated civilian corps that would tutor students, paint buildings, immunize children, pick up trash, befriend the aged. These mostly young "agents of renewal" would change the country "block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood." This is a vision Mr. Clinton can't let go of. Who can fault his idealism and optimism for attempting to do in the 1990s what the GI Bill and the Peace Corps did in earlier eras?

The speech also served as a reorientation to the government's student aid programs. The administration would like to make it easier for students to pay for college by replacing a financing system that is both complicated and expensive. Subsidized, guaranteed loans administered by banks have come to replace grants as the primary form of assistance. Parents and their children are now forced to bear more of the cost of post-secondary education because grants can no longer match ever-rising tuitions. Defaults drain the Treasury of billions every year.

Mr. Clinton would simplify the system while changing its philosophical underpinnings. Everyone would have the chance to borrow money, directly

from the government, to further his education. Repayment would be contingent on postgraduate income, or graduates could opt to perform national service to defray their debt. In this way, the administration hopes to expand opportunity and cut down on defaults.

The national service project would begin small, with a summer pilot, but end big. The president has requested \$7.4 billion over the next four years, by which time he hopes 100,000 people will be participating.

While the big picture is clear, the details are not. Eligibility has not been determined for students or programs. What if there are more applicants for a specific program than slots? Would acceptance be based on need or lottery? Nor has anyone determined the precise value of the national service to be performed. Would two years of service in, say, a classroom be worth \$5,000 or \$10,000? Clearly not all student debts would be forgiven. And cost is a wild card, particularly when no one knows how many will choose service over repayment. Won't such a plan add to the already substantial subsidy of higher education, when stipends, health care and child care become part of the deal?

There is an undeniable appeal to the president's call. It's good to hear a renewed emphasis on the people's partnership with their government. But can such a civic compact meet a budget compact? The discussion has got to deepen.

Clinton Offers Tuition Aid Linked to National Service

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J., March 1 — President Clinton today outlined a plan for a national service program for college students that combined broad ambitions, high ideals and a modest beginning.

The program, which would begin with a 1,000-student pilot project this summer and expand to 100,000 by 1997, would allow students to help pay off their tuition debts by working as teachers or police officers, or with the homeless.

Speaking to a wildly enthusiastic Rutgers University audience on the 32d anniversary of President John F. Kennedy's founding of the Peace Corps, Mr. Clinton called on young Americans

Some of the Peace Corps spirit without the largess.

to "answer the call to service" at home with the same spirit that an earlier generation answered Kennedy's call for service abroad.

But reflecting some of the economic constraints that Kennedy did not have to worry about, Mr. Clinton insisted that he was not proposing the creation of another "entitlement" program. He vowed that his initiative could be built around state and local institutions and would not require establishment of a costly Federal bureaucracy.

A Role for Congress

But he did not explain how, as the details are being worked out by his advisers. Congressional approval would be required, at least for financing.

The President declared that in return for tuition loans "we'll ask you to help our police forces across the nation, training members for a new police corps, that will walk beats, and work with neighborhoods and build the kind of community ties that will prevent crime from happening in the first place; we'll ask young people to work to help control pollution and recycle waste, to paint darkened buildings and

clean up neighborhoods, to work with senior citizens and combat homelessness and help children in trouble."

Mr. Clinton said national service "is nothing less than the American way to change America."

To buttress his call to service, Mr. Clinton marshaled some very new and some very old political messengers. After his speech, he ducked into the men's locker room and taped an interview on national service with Tabitha Soren of MTV for broadcast late to night.

Shriver Approves

While Mr. Clinton was performing for MTV behind the scenes, a voice from the past, R. Sargent Shriver, Kennedy's brother-in-law and the first director of the Peace Corps, was brought to the press room by White House aides to put the stamp of approval on Mr. Clinton's initiative.

Mr. Shriver provided not only the expected endorsement but some sobering contrasts between the Kennedy era, when the problem of getting people to serve seemed to be just a shortage of will, to the Clinton era, when the problem is also a shortage of money.

"This program is appropriate for today, as opposed to when we started the Peace Corps," Mr. Shriver said. "The reality today is that most people getting out of college have incurred large, large debts. The climate is different, but I think this is true: Young people are still idealistic. They have not been given a chance. With the budgetary restrictions that now exist, it means it is going to be very difficult to get it to a huge size. That doesn't mean it shouldn't be started, but with the shortage of money now one has to be satisfied with achieving modest goals."

Mr. Clinton emphasized that because of budget and bureaucratic constraints his program would begin with a \$15 million, eight-week "Summer of Service" program for roughly 1,000 teenagers from poor neighborhoods or broken homes in up to 10 communities.

What They Might Do

Participants will would help health-care providers administer immunization programs for young children, tutor illiterates, teach recreational pro-

gram officials want it based around existing community service projects, which would be certified as authentic by the Federal Government, and then be allowed to enlist a set number of graduates for jobs and be partly reimbursed for their salaries by the Government.

Many listeners echoed the idea of service — and saving money. "I thought his speech really energized everybody," said Jackie Frank, a 20-year-old junior. Pointing to a friend, she added, "We were just saying a lot of people are going to become a lot more involved, and with being able to earn tuition for it is a great way to do it."

In his campaign manifesto, "Putting People First," Mr. Clinton proposed to "scrap the existing student loan program and establish a National Service Trust Fund to guarantee every American who wants a college education the means to obtain one."

In his speech in Madison Square Garden accepting the Democratic nomination, Mr. Clinton declared: "We'll say: everybody can borrow the money to go to college. But you must do your part. You must pay it back — from your paychecks, or better yet, by going back home and serving your communities." To prevent the establishment of a huge bureaucracy, Clinton Administration

100,000 students, according to the White House. Mr. Clinton has already asked for the financing as part of the economic recovery package he presented to Congress.

As outlined by Mr. Clinton, the program would work like this: students would do community service jobs for a set number of years for part or all of their tuition, for either college or certified technical training. They could do the community service before college, and earn part or all of their tuition in advance, or borrow directly from the Federal Government and pay it back slowly as a percentage of their income, through payroll deductions or as part of their income tax filings.

grams to children at risk of dropping out of school and test neighborhoods for risk of lead paint.

Summer of Service participants would receive a minimum-wage stipend and a post-service benefit of \$1,000 to be applied to education or training. Mr. Clinton has asked Congress to finance the program as part of the \$31 billion in spending on roads, bridges and communication links he is proposing to spur the economy.

The tuition-for-service program would also begin small, with \$389 million in scholarships for about 25,000 students in the first year, growing to \$3.4 billion by 1997, when the program is expected to include more than

FOOD STAMP USERS UP SHARPLY IN SIGN OF WEAK RECOVERY

10.4% IN U.S. GET BENEFITS

Figures Top Those of Recession in 1982-83 and Underscore Hardship of the Poorest

By JASON DEPARLE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 1 — The number of food stamp recipients surged in 1992, with more than one person in 10 now receiving the assistance, making it the largest percentage of Americans to use the program since it began in 1964.

The percentage is higher even than at the end of the 1982 recession and analysts said the number reported today by the Agriculture Department underscored the weakness of the current economic recovery for those at the financial bottom.

Food stamps helped feed 26.6 million Americans in December, or 10.4 percent of the population.

The discouraging numbers on food stamp recipients was the latest in a string of so-so economic reports. And the burst of post-election optimism about the economy, reflected in rising stock prices and a sharp upturn in consumer confidence, has given way to fresh anxiety and new questions about the staying power of the economic expansion. [Page D1.]

Sharp Increases

After remaining stable for most of the 1980's, the number of Americans using food stamps has grown drastically, rising 36 percent in the last three years. The cost of the program has risen even more sharply, by 53 percent, to more than \$23 billion.

Noting that food stamp figures typically run parallel to unemployment rates, analysts said the numbers support President Clinton's contention that the economic recovery, which began April 1991, is a weak one.

"It further indicates that, at least as of December, the economic recovery had not reached very far into the low-income population," said Robert Greenstein, a director of the food stamp program in Carter Administration. He now runs the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a Washington research group.

Other Factors Involved

Andy Hornsby, the acting administrator of the Food and Nutrition Service, the arm of the Agriculture Department that runs the food stamp program, said he agreed that the reason for the increase is the economy.

But he also noted that the food stamp rolls always increase during the winter when seasonal workers are unemployed. And Mr. Hornsby said that expanded eligibility rules in other programs, especially Medicaid, were attracting more people to social services offices. "As people come in for one program, they tend to apply for other benefits for which they're eligible," he said.

Eligibility rules for the food stamp

Continued on Page A18, Column 1

Food Stamp Users Are Up Sharply, to 10.4% of the U.S., in Sign of Weak Recovery

Continued From Page A1

program have not changed in recent years.

The percentage of Americans receiving food stamps at the end of the last recession peaked in March 1983, when 9.6 percent of the country was enrolled in the program. By contrast, 10.4 percent of Americans are now enrolled.

Previously, the peak was set four months after the official recession's end, and the number of people on food stamps then fell off sharply, as economic growth took hold.

Now, however, it has been 21 months after the recession's official end, and the food stamp rolls are still expanding.

In the first 21 months of the last economic recovery, the number of unemployed Americans fell by 3.4 million, Mr. Greenstein said. By contrast, in the

past 21 months of recovery, the number of unemployed has actually risen by 818,000.

A Note of Pessimism

The discouraging gauge of economic health stands in contrast to some optimistic recent reports on economic growth. Last week the Commerce Department reported that the gross domestic product grew by 4.8 percent in the last quarter of 1992.

But analysts have emphasized that while the overall economy is growing, unemployment rates have come down more slowly than they have during previous recessions. The unemployment rate was 7.3 percent in December 1992, higher than at any time during 1990 or 1991, and down only modestly from its 1992 high of 7.7 percent in June.

Mr. Greenstein said that the number of long-term unemployed had not de-

clined at all, remaining at slightly more than two million in both June and December of 1992. He defined the long-term unemployed as those who have been unemployed for 27 weeks or longer.

"This recovery differs significantly in the small number of jobs being created and the limited progress to date in reducing unemployment rates," said Mr. Greenstein.

The record number of food stamp recipients comes after recession's official end in part because many people have exhausted their savings and therefore qualify for Government help, he said. To qualify for the program, a family's income cannot exceed 130 percent of the Federal poverty line, which is \$13,924 for a family of four. In addition, a family cannot have savings of more than \$2,000.

Studies have found that only about 60 percent of those who qualify for food stamps sign up to get them. The re-

mainder either do not know they qualify, or shun the program for fear of being stigmatized.

Program officials said that 20 percent of the heads of families on food stamps are employed and 7 percent work full time. Another 7 percent are elderly.

It is much easier to qualify for food stamps than for many other social programs, including Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the main Federal cash assistance program.

There are about 13.5 million Americans receiving A.F.D.C., approximately half the number on food stamps. There are about 36 million Americans living below the poverty line.

The number of people receiving food stamps has risen in every region of the country, with the West showing the sharpest gain. In that region, the number of people on the food stamp rolls has jumped by nearly 10 percent in the

last year. The Midwest had the slowest rise, of 3 percent.

In New York and Connecticut, food stamp rolls grew 8 percent over the past year, and in New Jersey the program grew 7 percent. The Federal Government pays for all food stamp benefits; in contrast, it shares the cost of the A.F.D.C. program with the states.

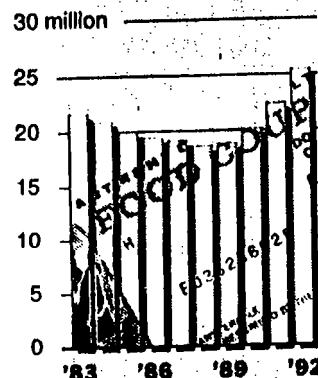
The cost of the program is rising even faster than its enrollment. In part that is because of inflation in the price of food. But it also reflects sagging incomes among some of those previously enrolled, since the less a family earns, the more food stamps it receives.

The maximum benefit for a family of four is \$370 a month. The average family benefit in 1992 was \$173.

What's Sunday without The Times?

Growing Demand For Food Stamps

Average monthly enrollment
in the Federal food stamp
program for fiscal years.



Source: Department of Agriculture

The New York Times

National Service: Ideal vs. Reality

Clinton Must Deal With Big Political and Practical Problems

By SUSAN CHIRA

As President Clinton moves to translate his popular campaign promise of a national service program from proposal to reality, he has encountered a number of obstacles that may make it difficult to achieve the goals he originally outlined.

News Analysis Unresolved issues include how national service workers would be trained and supervised, how much of their educational loans students would be able to work off, how to run the program without creating a new Federal bureaucracy and how to prevent fraud and abuse. And the President will not have the money to do all that he had originally hoped, even if Congress is enthusiastic.

During his Presidential campaign, Mr. Clinton sought to link national service with the politically potent legacy of the G.I. Bill, promising that his program would sweep away barriers to higher education by providing tuition in return for national service and allowing students to repay loans as a small percentage of their income.

Not Volunteerism

His advisers talked about 250,000 to 500,000 students in national service, rather than the 100,000 goal announced Monday — a tiny fraction of the 14 million students enrolled in college. And the program seems more expensive than he initially assumed; campaign aides estimated about \$8 billion was needed to create at least 250,000 national service slots, while the Office of Management and

Budget estimates that \$7.4 billion would pay for just 100,000 students.

The idea of national service has been embraced by politicians on the left and the right. But President Clinton, unlike former President George Bush, is not talking about volunteerism, not at a price tag of \$7.4 billion.

The biggest expense would be allowing 100,000 participants to work off part of their college loans or giving them scholarships for tuition for college or certified technical training. The national service workers would also get a living stipend.

Mr. Clinton envisions a small army of workers immunizing children, tutoring and counseling students, cleaning up the environment, walking a police beat, enticing teen-agers from drugs or gangs.

A second part of the program would overhaul the Federal college loan system, allowing students to repay their loans as a percentage of their income, rather than by the set loan payments now required. This change, he argues, could swell the ranks of public-service workers even more, because it would free students who seek high-salary jobs to pay off loans to take lower-paying public interest jobs instead.

The proposed national service program, with its 100,000 students, would dwarf the Peace Corps, which has had as many as 16,000 volunteers, and the far smaller Volunteers in Service to America (Vista), said Senator Harris Wofford, Democrat of Pennsylvania, the Peace Corps's first deputy director and a supporter of Mr. Clinton's plan.

But where once he and the Kennedys dreamed of a program that would involve one in every three Americans, Senator Wofford said he now believed along with Mr. Clinton that national service should be decentralized, drawing on the expertise of local communities and agencies, not a Federal bureaucracy.

Indeed, dozens of these organizations offer Mr. Clinton some important lessons. A national service movement is blossoming across the country, with at least 75 state and local agencies now running service programs or youth corps, said Samuel Halperin, director of the American Youth Policy Forum, a Washington-based service group.

Right now, Senator Wofford said, 20,000 students work full time performing some sort of service, with another 10,000 working in the summer. Last year, a Congressionally appointed Commission on National and Community Service awarded \$63 million in grants for programs.

Heads of several of these groups said that training — an issue so far largely unaddressed in Mr. Clinton's national service proposal — had proved critical in their programs' success. Two of the jobs Mr. Clinton has talked about most, teachers and an auxiliary police corps, require considerable and potentially expensive training. Lack of preparation was the most common complaint among young teachers in the Teach for America program, itself modeled on the Peace Corps.

"You can't just show up at some place and be given a bunch of tools and a paint brush and then say, 'Do some good,'" Mr. Halperin said.

The New York Times

5/3/93

Training Is Crucial

2/2 Catherine Milton, executive director of the Commission on National and Community Service, which would administer the summer program that Mr. Clinton hopes will begin his national service effort, said training was crucial in the programs the commission had examined across the country. The 1,000 participants in the summer program would get a few days of training together, then would get more training from community agencies the commission will pick to conduct the actual service programs.

Students need to be trained not only for jobs, but also about communities and cultures they will work with, said David Hornbeck, who helped win passage of a community service requirement for high school graduation in Maryland last year.

While many local community service agencies say they applaud Mr. Clinton's emphasis on using local expertise and avoiding another Federal bureaucracy, they also say that supervision and accountability will make the difference between success and failure. Many mentioned the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, abolished by former President Ronald Reagan amid charges of fraud and inefficiency.

"They keep saying any time we get more than 100 Federal employees, we want to get out of this," Mr. Halperin said. "This is not said in oppositions, but how do we prevent fraud and abuse, no-shows?"

Who Would Administer?

The White House's Office of National Service is still working out how the program would be administered. Some as-yet undesignated entity would screen programs, certifying that they met standards, and award grants. The Government would also provide capital to people who wanted to found new service corps.

Although White House advisers say national service will not displace anyone from existing jobs, some competition is possible. It might cost a school less, for example, to hire national service workers than to pay for school aides or paraprofessionals.

Finally, those with experience in service programs say that they must be more than feel-good exercises in noblesse oblige. Participants must perform tangible, measurable services so that taxpayers believe they are getting something.

For example, said Jim Kielsmeier, president of the Minnesota-based National Youth Leadership Council, "You must be able to say national service volunteers played a role in 25 percent of new immunizations, or halved the student-teacher ratio in 35,000 classrooms."

The New York Times

5/3/93

3/3/93

EDUCATION

Clinton's Student Aid Plan Is Graded Down by Lenders

By ELIZABETH SHOGREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—At first blush, the idea sounds reasonable enough. Who would object to a plan to save the country money and help more students through college by revamping the national student loan program?

The Administration proposes that the loans be made directly by the government through the Education Department. At present they are offered by private financial institutions and guaranteed by the government.

But opposition to the proposal is mounting, both from lawmakers and the private lenders.

Word on Capitol Hill is that President Clinton will have to fight if he wants to adopt his system of direct student loans. Eighty representatives of banks and other special interest groups participated in a lobbying day Tuesday and knocked on doors of senators and congressmen to call attention to what they see as the potential problems of direct lending.

THE PLAN: The Administration would radically overhaul the loan system that millions of students at colleges, universities and trade schools use to pay for their education. The proposal is part of a larger goal of providing college educations for more students.

By 1997, if the plan is approved, students who qualify for loans would get them directly from the government, rather than through one of almost 8,000 private lenders that now provide government-guaranteed loans.

Under one option, the Internal Revenue Service would play a role in collecting payments on loans, theoretically making it more difficult for loan recipients to escape repayment.

THE DEBATE: A General Accounting Office study touted by the Administration contends that by switching to a direct government loan program, the government could save \$4.8 billion over the first five years.

"The big benefit of this is that we can reduce the deficit by simplifying this system," said Maureen McLaughlin, acting assistant secretary for post-secondary education.

The Administration argues that report after report has found the current system poorly managed, inefficient and derelict in collecting back loans.

In addition, concerns are rising about hefty profit margins for private lenders. Among them is the Student Loan Marketing Assn., known as Sallie Mae. This private corporation chartered by Congress had a profit of nearly \$400 million last year, and a recent GAO study disclosed its president's annual compensation package was \$2.1 million.

Sen. Paul Simon (D-Ill.) said Tuesday that the current system amounts to "a welfare system for Sallie Mae and a welfare system for the banks."

But Susan Hattan, minority staff director on the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, said many Republicans and even some Democrats have "very, very serious concerns" about whether a direct government loan program will work.

The banks that handle guaranteed student loans argue that the Administration's claims that a direct loan program would save money are unsubstantiated and do not take into consideration the costs of dismantling existing programs, additional costs to schools or potential costs for management problems and waste and fraud.

Opponents' arguments were bolstered by a recent report by the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service. It said that while the existing system is "inefficient" it "cannot be fixed by simple conversion to a direct loan program, however inviting such a proposal might appear."

OUTLOOK: Banks and other businesses that have a stake in preserving the existing system—which generated 4.8 million new loans totaling more than \$13 billion in 1991 alone—will wage a fierce fight to block the move. They will try to persuade colleges that the Administration's plan would mean more paperwork for schools.

"It's no coincidence that they're not in favor of change," said Peter Magrath, president of the National Assn. of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, who favors the Administration's program. "The current system gives them steady income."

The Call to National Service

President Clinton struck a chord of idealism and commitment when he called for a new generation of Americans to renew and repair the country block by block in a national service program. His proposal could also provide welcome help to public service groups that have labored in anonymity for years.

But spirited as it was, Mr. Clinton's speech at Rutgers University this week was distressingly short on crucial details. The plan requires careful fleshing out if it is to succeed.

Mr. Clinton announced two elements of the plan this week. The first is a "Summer of Service" in which 1,000 teen-agers will work on education, health, public safety and environmental projects. The summer workers will be given minimum-wage stipends and a post-service benefit of \$1,000, to be applied to education or training. This could be a useful start toward productive lives for the participants.

The second provision allows students, mostly in college, to pay off tuition debts by working to help police, control pollution, clean up neighborhoods and perform other public service jobs. Students would fill community service jobs for a set number of years, working off part or all of their tuition, for either college or certified technical training. This

program would begin at 25,000 students and grow to 100,000 in four years.

Wisely, Mr. Clinton says he will not create a mammoth Federal bureaucracy but will instead build around state and local projects that have already proved successful. That's a good idea, provided Federal intervention doesn't disrupt valuable local programs.

A key long-term question is cost. The program will start small, costing \$7.4 billion over four years. But a full-scale program open to virtually all college students would require careful analysis to assure that the educational benefits and the jobs performed were worth the taxpayer investment.

Another key question is who will participate. Mr. Clinton mentioned City Year, a racially integrated program in Boston, and is considering YouthBuild, one that deals mainly with black drop-outs from inner cities. He was wise to consider both. Many fear that his initiative will turn into an entitlement program for middle-class college students, omitting the poor. That would be unfortunate. To the inner-city poor, service and contact with the cultural mainstream often make the difference between survival and oblivion.

Mr. Clinton made a promising start with his speech on Monday. The country awaits the details.

Economy Grows, Food Stamps Rise

What's with the United States economy?

It grew at a 5 percent clip at the end of last year. But an unusually large number of the unemployed have been permanently laid off and have no job to reclaim as the economy recovers. Consumer confidence is high. But the number of people collecting food stamps — 26.6 million, more than 10 percent of the population — has reached record numbers.

A safe conclusion is that the economy continues to recover, but too slowly to bring down unemployment much. That's why President Clinton's call for a short-term stimulus package still makes sense.

Growth during the last three months of 1992 was fast-paced. But judging from data released during the last week, the economy slacked off after December. Adjusted for inflation, consumer spending — the usual engine of recovery — fell in January; so did construction and home sales. And the Government's chief forecasting index rose just one-tenth of 1 percent in January.

Persistent unemployment explains why food stamp use has risen to an all-time high. The two million workers who have been unemployed for

more than half a year are exhausting their life savings, thereby becoming eligible for food stamps.

Critics of the President's plan, not all of them Republicans, say Mr. Clinton should junk his stimulus program because it's unnecessary and delays cutting the deficit. Their case is unpersuasive. The President's \$30 billion package is too small to harm the economy even if it picks up steam on its own.

Indeed, Mr. Clinton could easily justify a package at least twice as large as the one he actually proposed. But at least he's heading in the right direction. The stimulus will offset some of the recessionary impact of the tax hikes and spending cuts he proposes to cut the long-term deficit.

There's another reason to support Mr. Clinton's stimulus package. For the most part, the components are designed to spur long-term growth. The money would be spent on mass transit, education of poor children, childhood immunizations, youth training, environmental research and other worthy projects. Mr. Clinton decided to accelerate spending on the projects just in case the economy needed an extra nudge this year and next. Based on confusing data, that's a wise insurance policy.

The New York Times

3/3/93

The Boston Globe

Founded 1872

WILLIAM O. TAYLOR, *Chairman of the Board and Publisher*

RICHARD C. OCKERBLOOM, *President*

MATTHEW V. STORIN, *Editor*

BENJAMIN B. TAYLOR, *Executive Vice President*

LORETTA MCLAUGHLIN, *Editor, Editorial Page*

STEPHEN E. TAYLOR, *Vice President*

WILLIAM B. HUFF, *Treasurer*

GODFREY W. KAUFFMANN JR., *VP Circulation*

OLIVER H.P. RODMAN JR., *VP Advertising*

FRANK E. GRUNDSTROM JR., *VP Human Resources*

GREGORY L. THORNTON, *VP Employee Relations*

HELEN W. DONOVAN, *Executive Editor*

THOMAS F. MULVOY JR., *Managing Editor / News Operations*

ALFRED S. LARKIN JR., *Managing Editor / Administration*

GREGORY L. MOORE, *Deputy Managing Editor / Daily*

THOMAS E. ASHBROOK, *Deputy Managing Editor / Sunday*

H.D.S. GREENWAY, *Senior Associate Editor*

JOHN S. DRISCOLL, *Vice President*

Separating debt from service

The first thing that needs to be done about President Clinton's national service proposal is to separate it from the college loan restructuring that Clinton has also proposed. Both are good ideas, but the connection between them is weak — and could hinder the implementation of either.

It is tempting to link the two concepts. Young people, when offered the opportunity, have proved enthusiastic about public service work. But rising college costs have made the undertaking of such work more utopian than practical.

And Clinton has never sounded more idealistic — more Kennedyesque — than in his speech at Rutgers University when he said, "It's time for millions of us to change our country, block by block, neighborhood by neighborhood — time to return to our roots, an excitement, an idealism, and an energy."

The problem is that there are millions of students receiving government-backed college loans — 5 million each year — but budget realities mean that only a statistically insignificant 100,000 of

them will be able to apply national service work toward their debts.

There is some question about what kinds of public service jobs can be found for 100,000 young people — many times the number that now participate in the Peace Corps and a variety of federal, state and local public service programs — but it is well worth the effort to find those jobs.

The more pressing problem for college students is that they are graduating with large debts, and the typical \$10,000 government loan obligation would have covered only a small fraction of their college costs. Paying back those loans through the annual income tax filing has always seemed a sensible policy, and it is good that Clinton has apparently accepted that approach. But that, in turn, has raised the question of whether the loan money should continue to come from commercial banks or from the government.

What should not happen is for the national service proposal to become bogged down in the high-stakes debate over the college loan program.

Town and gown in Cambridge

The agreement between Cambridge and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on the siting of a "wet" shelter for homeless drug and alcohol abusers stilled an unpleasant town-gown controversy. But the controversy itself raised a number of issues — related and semirelated — that will need to be addressed.

Under the agreement the City Council ratified on Monday, MIT will construct a shelter building at its present site on institute property and provide a long-term lease to CASPAR — the Cambridge and Somerville Program for Alcoholism and Rehabilitation. In return, Cambridge

known. Meanwhile, Central Square merchants, especially the proprietors of its dozens of ethnic restaurants, began to mobilize while neighboring residents wondered why the area had become a "dumping ground" for the city's social problems.

As it played out — in public hearings and open negotiating sessions — the CASPAR controversy provided an opportunity to question MIT's development plans and their impact on the adjacent Cambridgeport neighborhood. As Councillor Jonathan Myers, who headed the council's CASPAR subcommittee, put it, "this has encouraged us to

DRUG COMPANIES
AS EXCESSIVE

supported health care
ing more through
health benefits, hav
dom to choose a ph
forced to join a lar
HMO are not what
envisioned as soluti

Managed comp
tion. As articles in
shown, it only begi
ries of complex, int
ditions are met, an
guarantee that cos
universal access pr
come as no surprise
Hole group, origin
aged competition
close ties to the he
industries. One wo
be the 1990s equiv
S & L bailout.

There is, howev
tion to the crisis:
option. Consumer

Silber is a u

Having watche
Silber from its n
nings, I find that
22 op-ed column
than add to an alr
Silber's accompli
tors of the Globe
consideration fo
readers.

No, Silber, as
suggested, may be
jail. Beam knows
not the point, an
that, too. The p
cannot be judged
behavior that Be
mate.

Beam confuse

3/5/93

Service with a smile .

MIKE ROYKO

President Clinton has a grand vision. But doesn't he always?

Looking ahead a few years, he sees a vast army of idealistic, fresh-faced young people performing acts of goodness all over America.

They will be in the big cities, helping the police patrol the streets and persuading gang members and dope heads to mend their ways.

They will be in medical clinics immunizing children or knocking on doors to remind forgetful parents that their kids could really use vaccinations.

They will be in the schools, helping teach the three R's or acting as big brothers and sisters, mentors and role models.

They will be at the bins, recycling waste, fighting pollution and saving our environment.

Of course, they won't be doing this out of the goodness of their young hearts. It's one of those "what's in it for me" deals, which is a legitimate part of the American way.

As Mr. Clinton said: "Imagine an army of 100,000 young people restoring urban and rural communities in return for education and training."

Mike Royko is a nationally syndicated columnist.

... and remembering it Study now, repay later

That's the payoff: national service in exchange for higher education, job training, student loans and whatever other goodies Mr. Clinton and Congress decide to toss in.

It sounds like a good idea. Young people should do something useful, even if it's only taking out the garbage.

At least about half of it sounds like a good idea. That's the half that has the young people earning what they get. And earning it up front, just as people do in regular jobs.

In describing his plan, Mr. Clinton compared it to the old GI Bill, which provided military veterans with educational opportunities.

The GI Bill was a remarkably successful program. But it had a catch. First you had to be a GI. Only after you had been a GI did you qualify for the benefits.

Actually, that's the way things work in most of the real world. If you take a job, first you do the work, then you receive a paycheck. The GI Bill worked on that principle: duty first, the payoff comes later.

In contrast, we've had many years of a student-loan program that worked the other way.

With student loans, first you borrowed the money from a bank. Then you went to college or a trade school. When you finished school and went to work, you repaid the loan.

At least, that's the way it was supposed to work, and it did for the majority of the borrowers.

But there were also thousands of young people who failed to repay billions of dollars in loans.

That didn't bother the schools, because they got their tuition whether the student learned, slept through class or dropped out.

It didn't bother the banks, because the loans were guaranteed by the federal government, everybody's generous pal.

One outfit it did bother was the government's General Accounting Office, which said the program was such a far-flung, hopeless mess that it was impossible to monitor.

In hindsight, it might have been more prudent and cost-effective to have the loan program administered

by the crime syndicate. Guys like Big Joe from Cicero have always had about a 99 percent success rate in dealing with deadbeats.

Mr. Clinton hasn't been specific about how his national-service program will work. Will these young people perform national service first and get the reward of education or job training later? Or will it be the other way around, with the reward up front? Or maybe both at the same time? We don't know. Maybe he doesn't know either and is waiting for Hillary to decide.

I suppose lawyers could draw up contracts that would require the young people to put in their year or two of national service after they've finished their schooling.

But what if some of them renege on the deal? It would be impractical to drag them out on the street and say: "Here, patrol this tough neighborhood with that policeman" or "Get in there and recycle that trash dump." Genuine enthusiasm is needed for such work.

In that case, they could be sued. But that would just provide more job opportunities for lawyers, and Mr. Clinton is already keeping many of them busy.

Then there is the question of who will administer the program. Obviously, the federal government is going to provide the money, which makes sense. Who else can legally print the stuff?

But Clinton says he doesn't want a lot of bureaucrats running it. Instead, he will turn to, among others, community organizations.

That brings back faint memories of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. One of LBJ's programs gave large sums of money to do-gooder community organizations, which were supposed to help street gangs redirect their youthful energies into positive activities.

But the street gangs had their own ideas of positive activities. So they graciously thanked their benefactors, grabbed the money, and used it to redirect larger drug profits into their pockets. The gangs didn't have any MBAs, but they knew an economic opportunity when they saw it.

Well, I'm sure that in time Mr. Clinton will have answers to all of these questions.

Just stay tuned to MTV.

1/2 93

Plenty of Vision, Paucity of Detail

To sell, promising national service plan needs spelling out

The National Service Initiative announced by President Clinton Monday was deservedly greeted with great enthusiasm and hope. Besides signaling a refreshing break with the self-indulgence of the last decade, the program could provide opportunities for thousands of young people to make a personal contribution to their communities.

Before the President submits the plan as legislation, he must spell out important details regarding cost and implementation. Without these specifics, it is doubtful that Congress will express the same excitement that greeted Monday's announcement at Rutgers University.

The initiative would begin this June with "the Summer of Service"—a \$15-million pilot program employing more than 1,000 low-income teen-agers for eight weeks in a variety of jobs focusing on education and leadership training. In addition to having earned a minimum-wage stipend, those who completed the summer service would receive a \$1,000 credit toward college or vocational training.

TAPPING A RESOURCE: The larger—and far more costly—component of the service program would begin shortly afterward, when the government would put 25,000 college-age people to work year-round in health care, education, public safety and environmental jobs. Participants would receive payments that could be used for tuition debt or would earn financial credit toward additional education. By 1997, more than 100,000 youths would be participating, the Administration estimates.

The proposal's greatest virtue lies in its promise to the youth of America, a largely untapped source of creative energy. Like President John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps and President Lyndon B. Johnson's Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), the initiative would encourage—and reward—young people for serving their country and communities. And, as with the GI Bill of Rights, it would

hold out the opportunity for higher education.

But with a price tag put at \$7.4 billion over four years, Clinton's initiative probably will spark stiff opposition from Congress members concerned that it would create more federal bureaucracy when many Americans want less.

In its details, the program should balance direction and leadership from Washington with responsive, decentralized administration, balance the kind of hands-on management best done at the local level with necessary federal oversight and direction.

Among the questions that remain unanswered: What criteria would guide the selection of participants? Would decisions be based on need or achievement?

PICKING AND CHOOSING: Selection based solely or largely on achievement might exclude those whose financial need is greatest; but selection based on need alone could rule out many eager and committed candidates. Choosing participants through a carefully structured lottery might avoid these extremes.

With attention to crucial details, the Administration could build a program that might be a model for government/private partnerships to come later. But it must demonstrate flexibility. The government must be able to quickly eliminate any parts that do not work.

President Clinton speaks often of "investing" in the nation's future—America's infrastructure, its technology and its people. He deserves support for his proposed National Service Program on the ground that this is an investment that can reap great benefits.

He should hold to the meaning of his words by detailing the costs as well as the benefits, implementation as well as concept. Above all, Clinton must remember the investors who matter most—the taxpayers.

National service is a very promising idea. It deserves a confident, and detailed, rollout.

NATIONAL SERVICE'S POTENTIAL PAYOFF

That was quite a send-off that President Clinton staged at Rutgers University for the unveiling of his "domestic peace corps plan" to help young Americans get through college and then work in community service as "agents of renewal."

The President seized the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of the authorization of the original Peace Corps (aren't all 32nd anniversaries celebrated?) to cast his own national service concept as a first cousin of President Kennedy's popular initiative, which is still in operation.

On hand were the Peace Corps's first director, Sargent Shriver; his chief deputy, Harris Wofford, who's now a Democratic Senator from Pennsylvania; former Peace Corps member Christopher J. Dodd, now a Democratic Senator from Connecticut; former Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) recruit John D. (Jay) Rockefeller IV, who now serves as a Democratic Senator from West Virginia; and Sens. Bill Bradley, D-N.J., and Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass.

The show of influential support was an obvious effort to suggest that Clinton means business about a scheme that was the centerpiece of his campaign oratory last year. The presence of all the political heavyweights was a way to counter early criticism of Clinton's decision, for budgetary reasons, to start the program as a small pilot effort this summer.

The kickoff plan is to employ 1,000 college students for eight weeks, paying each of them at the minimum wage plus a \$1,000 payment for college or other tuition, at a total cost for the summer of \$15 million, the money to come from Clinton's economic stimulus package. The plan would grow in four years to 100,000 students at an annual cost of \$3.4 billion.

On the campaign trail throughout 1992, Clinton made it sound as though every American youngster who wanted to go to college would be able to do so under his plan, and he didn't say anything about a slow start-up. But it isn't in the nature of candidates to talk of small, gradual dreams, and certainly not this candidate.

Nevertheless, the domestic peace corps idea is such an embodiment of Clinton's whole formula for American economic recovery and rejuvenation that it is reasonable to expect that he intends to follow through after the showy send-off at Rutgers. "Opportunity and responsibility" have been the cornerstones of his domestic policy, and his plan weds the two in a latter-day marriage of the concepts of the Peace Corps and the World War II GI Bill's education provisions. The government would provide the opportunity through college loans; the student, in return, would meet a community responsibility after graduation.

The plan adheres to the basic GI Bill idea by including military service as an option to pay off the loan, as well as actually paying it off as a percentage (based on income) of the graduate's paycheck if neither military nor community service is chosen. This option would be designed to sharply reduce loan defaults, now a major plague of the college loan program.

Nothing inspired Clinton to wax more eloquent on the stump

last year than the national service plan, especially when he was addressing college audiences. He visualized the scheme as a way to educate whole generations of Americans and at the same time restore a sense of community obligation to the nation's youth, who are so often criticized these days as self-centered and lacking any sense of purpose. And he always ended by observing that "it would be the best money we ever spent."

That, however, is the problem now. If every young American of college age sought enrollment in the plan, even the 100,000 slots allocated for four years from now would not be nearly enough. Under the existing college loan program, five million are now enrolled. But Administration sources say that 100,000 is an estimate of how many will actually want to sign up.

Although Clinton preached the idea of national service throughout his successful bid for the White House, the idea is not the President's alone. His recommendations include features proposed earlier by others, including Gary Hart, a former Democratic presidential candidate, and Michael S. Dukakis, the party's 1988 nominee. Dukakis suggested a plan of universal college education with a similar payroll deduction payback, but Dukakis's proposal omitted

the military or community service aspect that was the core of Hart's approach.

For some years now, Adam Walinsky, a speechwriter for the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, D-N.Y., has advanced a plan for a police corps to supplement the work of regular police officers in large urban centers. This is one of the options in the Clinton plan. The President told his Rutgers audience that students in national service could also work with the elderly and homeless and perform community fix-up tasks, all "to help make America new again."

During his 1992 campaign, the agreed strategy was to stick single-mindedly to the issue of the economy and to charges that President Bush had no plans for its recovery. Nevertheless, Clinton almost always managed to find time to talk about his national service plan.

One reason may have been that the Democratic presidential candidate understood that the matter of their children's college education weighed heavily on the middle-aged, middle-class voters whom he targeted for special attention during the campaign.

The recession of 1991-92 was different from most others of the recent past in that it hit white-collar workers hard. With much of American industry facing downsizing and restructuring after the Cold War, many of these workers experienced not just temporary layoffs but the permanent loss of their jobs. Heavily mortgaged and carrying large college loans for their children, these workers, whether they had lost or only feared the loss of their jobs, were potential voters for Clinton or for independent candidate Ross Perot.

Today, these workers represent a potential source of support as the President presses Congress to enact his plan. ■

Clinton's plan for a national service corps not only appeals to young people's self-interest but can also pay off politically.

National service vs. real service

Bruce Chapman
Special to The Times

THERE she is, a sweet, but emotionally overcome young woman from the New Jersey Youth Corps, being consoled with a hug from the president of the United States. Onlookers in a flag-decked classroom beam at this latest exciting moment in the new political production, "The Selling of National Service."



It is the kind of scene repeated in photo-opportunities nationally as the White House hustles its plan to have college loan recipients pay off Uncle Sam with government-approved service.

How can anyone argue against something like this? Why, just look at the cheering student crowds at Rutgers University in New Jersey where the president is announcing his plan!

If, as psychologist William James described it in 1907, National Service is "the moral equivalent of war," shouldn't we just rush right off and "enlist"?

The answer is decidedly "no." The current National Service scheme is another attempt at appearance over substance — poorly conceived, poorly thought out, and, if experience is any kind of guide anymore, a potential major new waste of public money.

It is precisely because real service is such a vital part of American life that nationalizing it and distorting its moral content through government must be most strongly resisted. Service, as the Hebrews and Christians of the Bible taught, is something given freely.

That also was the view of the early Americans, as the French commentator, Alexis de Tocqueville, noted 160 years ago in his famous work, "Democracy in America." "Where in France you would find

National Service came from Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara in 1966. McNamara's perverse idea was to solve the obvious inequities of the draft by drafting everybody — some for the military, as usual, and the rest to empty bedpans in hospitals, remove trash from roadsides and tutor young children.

Fortunately, that coercive and utopian scheme died, the victim of its high projected economic and social costs. The better solution to the ills of the draft was found in an all-volunteer force, which works superbly.

But the National Service dream was revived in the 1980s by the Democratic Leadership Council. As President Clinton, a former chair of the DLC, said at Rutgers, "We made one of the central parts of our platform to reclaim a new majority of Americans for our party the establishment of a system of national service to help people to finance education."

The new version of the idea was to make service voluntary and to link it to a new aim of making funds available, as Mr. Clinton said in the 1992

campaign, "to every American who wants to go to college."

The post-election proposal is so much less that the term Sen. Slade Gorton used to describe it — "oversold" — seems an understatement. Only 1,000 summer positions will be available nationwide this year, 25,000 full-time National Service positions in 1994 and 100,000 in 1997.

Such a limited program can hardly do much damage or good (depending on your viewpoint) in terms of service or education. What it does accomplish is an increase in the deficit — \$3.4 billion annually by 1997.

But the eventual aim, also, is to make the program very large and possibly universal, though the head of the program, Eli Segal, says that universality is not the goal "at this time." As a leading National Service advocate, Michael Brown of City Year in Boston, declares, "Like Social Security, national service will be woven into the fabric of American Life." Soon, he says, it will

involve millions of youth and absorb only the money as well as public. Programs should seek not just tax dollars, but charitable contribution dollars directly from citizens at large, like the money people lovingly give to their church or college alma mater.

In short, the government would go into competition with the independent voluntary sector not only for people's time but also their money.

Praised by the president at Rutgers was Professor Benjamin Barber, one of the sponsors of a program at that state university which, at least initially, made administration-approved service mandatory for graduation. He is the advocate of what he (and Brown) call "strong democracy," a coercive brand opposed to the mere representational democracy with which the American founders apparently burdened us.

At the moment, however, no one — including, evidently, the White House — can even explain the financial details of the National Service plan that was so dramatically unveiled by the president. The public numbers change almost daily. David Evans of the Chicago Tribune calls it "data free analysis and analysis-free policy making."

But if we can trust the projections of the Democratic Leadership Council several years ago and the January 1993 report of the Congressionally mandated, bi-partisan Commission on National and Community Service, the National Service scheme will be wasteful.

The payout per volunteer during a year of service — government's idea of a minimum salary, medical care and benefits — works out to \$20,000 per year for each of two years. That, fellow taxpayers, is \$40,000 for two years, on top of the cost of the forgiven college loan of \$20,000, or \$60,000 per student "helped."

Plenty of taxpaying workers, many raising families, make \$20,000 a year or less. Some do exactly the same kind of work the National Service volunteers will perform — for example, as hospital orderlies and teachers' aides. The differences are

The \$60,000 bill per student in National Service does not even include the indirect costs of government supervision, training and oversight. . . .

The current National Service scheme is another attempt at appearance over substance — poorly conceived, poorly thought out, and . . . a potential major new waste of public money.

the government or in England some territorial magnate (building hospitals, churches or libraries), in the United States you are sure to find an association."

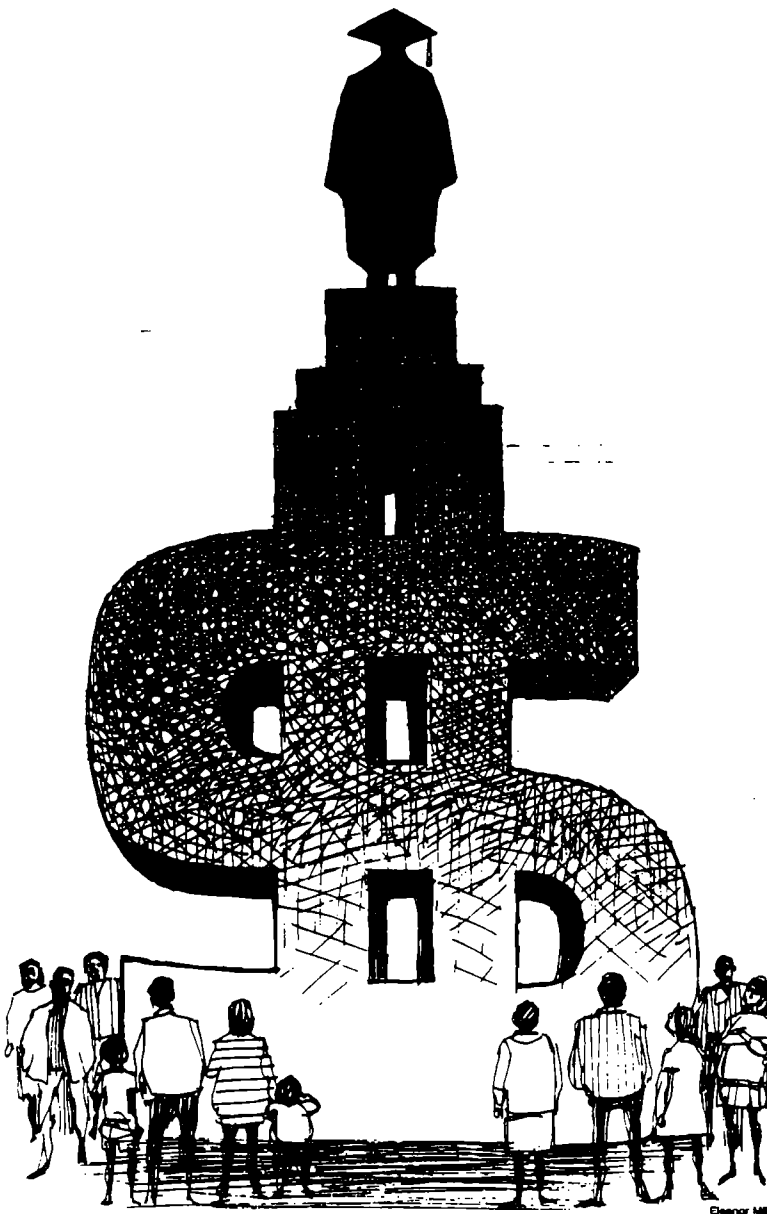
The consequence is a distinctly American tradition of committed, creative and effective community service. As figures from the Gallup Poll and the respected group Independent Sector show, in recent years Americans actually are giving more money and time to charities. And because they give it as they wish — not as they are directed by government — the voluntary service sector is more popular than either the profit sector of society or the government sector.

That, I believe, is what students and ordinary citizens cheer when they hear the word "service." But National Service would be something else again. In practice, government changes the meaning of service when it orders it (remember "Selective Service," the draft?) or when it makes it a paid job (think of "Civil Service," the government bureaucracy).

There are exceptions, such as the 6,000-member Peace Corps, but such programs are invariably small and specialized and usually require sacrifice of comfort, money or safety.

De Tocqueville expressly warned against the government trying to take over the role of the voluntary sector. "Once it leaves the sphere of politics to launch out on this new track, it will, even without intending this, exercise an intolerable tyranny. For a government can only dictate precise rules. It imposes the sentiments and ideas which it favors, and it is never easy to tell the difference between its advice and its commands."

The history of the present plan shows that such concern is still timely. The first modern proposal for



that they pay taxes instead of using tax revenues, don't get glorified as "volunteers," don't get \$20,000 of free college aid, and do have to worry that the wages of low-skill jobs in the economy will be bid down by the new supply of National Service workers.

Moreover, the \$60,000 bill per student in National Service does not even include the indirect costs of government supervision, training and oversight, which, despite promises now, are sure to be high. Nor does it include what economists call the "opportunity costs" of thousands or millions of students holding off career paths for two more years.

Seen in this light, we do not have an education loan program, but an expensive jobs program, very like the CETA (Comprehensive Employment Training Act) program of the 1970s, which was discontinued after it became, with some exceptions, a source of waste, disillusionment and corruption.

This is hardly the time for dubious new spending programs, in any event. But if we are intent on further stimulating scholarship programs and voluntary service, the answer is not a new government job program but an increase in the tax deduction for charitable giving from 100 to 110 percent. This small, but psychologically potent incentive would open a gusher of new giving, allowing the existing voluntary sector — which, being decentralized and closely managed — can stretch dollars farther and create far more true service jobs than Washington, D.C., could ever imagine.

■ Bruce Chapman, a former director of the U.S. Census Bureau, is president of Discovery Institute in Seattle.

Los Angeles Times

SUNDAY, MARCH 7, 1993
COPYRIGHT 1993 / THE TIMES MIRROR COMPANY / ★ / 452 PAGES

CHRISTOPHER MATTHEWS

An Experience That Can Change a Life

■ National service will offer Americans an escape from a stay-at-home, career-driven rut.

In 1951, U.S. Rep. John F. Kennedy complained on national television about all the nerds he found serving in the State Department. Just back from a round-the-world trip, he asked why the country couldn't find "well-rounded" young people to serve abroad. Why, the young Massachusetts lawmaker wondered on "Meet the Press," weren't there any "American types" representing us in foreign lands?

Kennedy had another complaint: How come those pin-striped Foreign Service boys infesting the diplomatic corps knew so little of the people of their assigned countries, so little of the local language and customs?

A decade later, the newly inaugurated President Kennedy offered a solution. His new Peace Corps would have three goals: First, it would help countries develop economically. More than that, it would show people overseas the best of what America can offer, the can-do zeal of its idealistic youth. Finally, it would expose America to foreign cultures by getting its youth fully immersed in them, "doing the same work, eating the same food, speaking the same language."

Last week, a U.S. President inaugurated an enterprise with similar goals. Under Bill Clinton's national-service program, Americans will work throughout the country in a variety of tasks—teaching, health care, community action. In exchange, they will receive government grants for their educations.

In launching his own new program, President Clinton paid tribute to the older one that had inspired it. The legacy of the Peace Corps, he said, is "not simply goodwill and good works in countries all across the globe, but a profound and lasting change in the way Americans think about their country and the world."

A returned volunteer could not have said it better.

Viewed from the outside, the Peace Corps is usually seen for what it achieves overseas, the furthered economic development, the enhanced U.S. goodwill. The secret every volunteer shares is what this service did for him or her.

Personally, I will never forget an experience of a quarter-century ago: that of standing in a schoolroom in Swaziland, a small, wonderful country in southern Africa, with 17 other people. All of them were local traders with whom I had been working. I knew them all personally, as you would any fellow worker. Yet in that

'It forces you, against all your timidity, to deal one-on-one with people who were placed on this Earth in very different circumstances than you.'

rich range of personalities, it settled on me that warm afternoon that I was the only one in the room who was not a Swazi, the only one who was of a different color.

This is the heart of it: The great thing about joining the Peace Corps is that it gets you out there, out in the world. It forces you, against all your timidity, to deal one-on-one with people who were placed on this Earth in very different circumstances than you. It requires that, raised one way, you learn another. Ready or not, it makes a Peace Corps volunteer see the world he or she left behind with the same succinct clarity as astronauts once got to gaze on the globe.

The great prospect for Bill Clinton's national-service program is that it will do much the same here in our own diverse land. Tens of thousands of Americans will get to see their country the way they would never have known it otherwise. The fortunate ones will be assigned to jobs and living environments far removed from where they came. They will meet people of totally different circumstances and religions and colors. They will develop a self-confidence about their country and its people they could never have gained staying at home, continuing along the same career-driven, TV-lit rut. By entering other ghettos, they will escape their own.

I speak from experience. Immediately after returning from the Peace Corps, I went to Washington, and, by knocking on some strange Capitol Hill doors, began a career that had me, while still quite young, working at the White House, writing speeches for a President.

My aging grandmother was impressed, not so much by the achievement as the differentness of my course, how extraordinary my road had been from those of my four brothers, all of whom had stayed fairly close to home.

"It was Africa, wasn't it?" she asked, already knowing the answer.

Yes, grandmom, it was Africa. And, thanks to President Clinton's national-service program, many other Americans someday will answer a similar question with "Harlem" or "Alabama" or "Detroit" or "Alaska." This will be the shorthand for an experience that changed a life.

Christopher Matthews is a syndicated columnist in Washington.

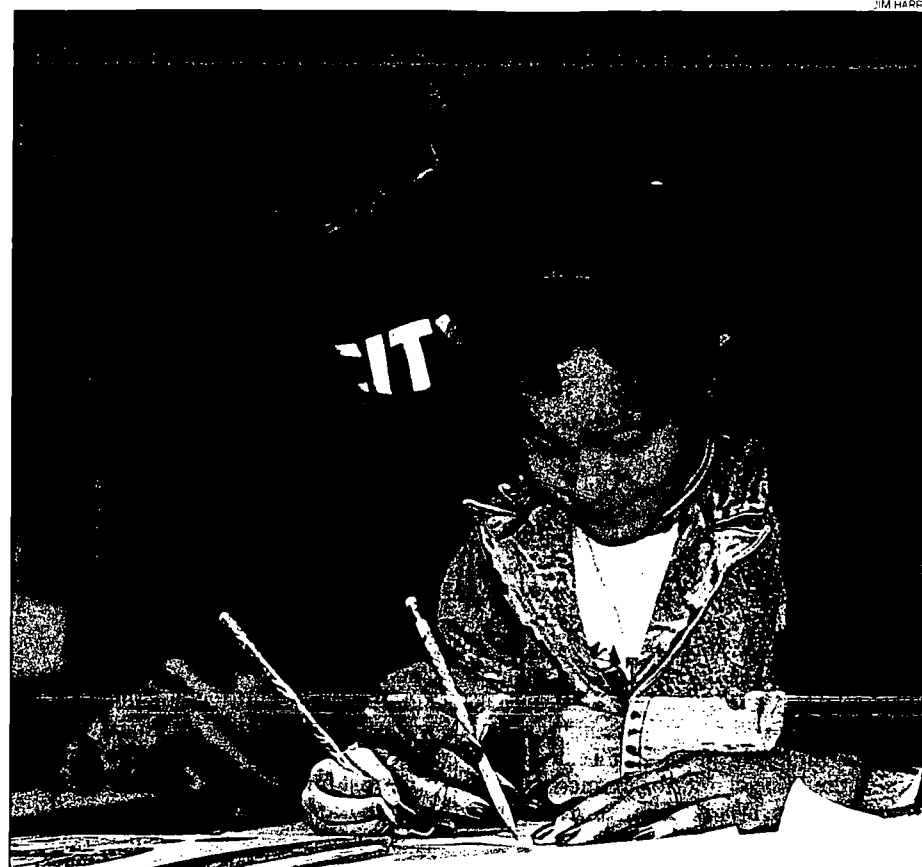
Wanted: National service

*Clinton's favorite idea
must clear big hurdles
before it takes off*

Friends and acquaintances say Bill Clinton's enthusiasm for national service never lets up. Back in 1991, not long after Princeton graduate Wendy Kopp started her much-praised Teach for America, which gives recent college graduates the chance to work in the classroom, she got a note from the then Arkansas governor, who had read about the program. "He was the only governor to invite us into his state," recalls Kopp. Last month, when his budgeteers considered trimming his beloved national service program, Clinton made it clear that it was to be nationwide in scope, not small and experimental. "His position was very clear," an aide laughs.

At \$7.4 billion, national service is among President Clinton's largest domestic initiatives. By all accounts, the public shares his enthusiasm for the idea that America's young people ought to give something back to their country. "It's what we're all about," says Clinton's pollster, Stanley Greenberg. "It shows we have real values." But even though Clinton and the country want national service, the particulars of making it work are very complicated and, in all likelihood, the final program may be smaller than voters might have been led to expect. While Clinton hits the road in New Jersey this week to tout his program, and the administration hopes to send a national service bill to Congress as soon as April, key questions remain unanswered. "It's like a Calder mobile," says a Clinton adviser. "Lots of pieces are moving around." Here are some of the hurdles:

■ **Picking winners.** Throughout the campaign, Clinton said his program would allow any student to borrow the money to go to college and pay it back in one of two ways. The first would be by paying a small percentage of income over many years at tax time—"so they can't beat the bill,"



Helping hands. Unions back small service programs but might oppose a national effort.

Clinton loved to say—and so students won't be burdened by huge repayments right after graduation that might discourage them from taking a low-paying but noble job like working as a drug counselor. The second way to pay back a loan would be through national service. It is becoming clear, though, that while service will be an option available to tens of thousands of students—far more than the maximum of 16,000 who served in the Peace Corps at any one time—only a small number of the millions eligible for the program will enjoy loan forgiveness in exchange for a stint of service. "This is not an entitlement," says Clinton's national service czar, Eli Segal. Right now there's no scheme—like a lottery—to decide who gets in.

■ **Angry bankers.** Clinton wants the government to abolish the current student loan program, whereby banks lend money to students but the government guarantees the loan. Instead, he would have the government lend directly to students. The Clinton forces argue that this will save \$1 billion annually, since banks cur-

rently make a handsome profit from these ventures. Clintonites also think direct lending will make it easier to administer the "income contingent" loans that let students pay back their loans as a small percentage of income.

The multibillion-dollar student loan industry is fighting hard, claiming that the government will botch the job and that Clinton should not nix the current system just because it is profitable. "If you believe in innovative government and public-private partnerships, then this is the model," says Lawrence Hough, president of Sallie Mae, the congressionally chartered Student Loan

Marketing Association, which earned nearly \$400 million last year by running a secondary market for the student loans issued by banks. Last week, Hough got powerful ammunition when the Congressional Research Service issued a report disputing the notion that direct lending would save money. Even if the administration prevails, no one seems to have a good answer for how to keep alive the existing bond market



Clinton's man. Eli Segal

that supports the current student loan system while Clintonites phase in a new system. If the administration can't reform the student loan program, it might have to scale back the numbers of students who can participate in the service scheme.

■ **Labor pains.** The Clinton team has been very careful to make sure that public employee unions—among its biggest backers during the campaign—are on board for the national service program. Unions traditionally have been wary of such programs, fearing that they will displace more highly paid, full-time government workers. White House adviser William Galston regularly walks across Lafayette Square to meet with union leaders at the AFL-CIO's national headquarters. Both sides wax optimistic about being able to cut a deal. "There are difficulties," says a Clinton aide. "But nothing is a deal breaker." Indeed, unions have not reflexively opposed national service plans. In Boston, for example, unions have endorsed the City Year volunteer program and even donated labor and materials to build its headquarters. "Once you stop talking about theory and start talking about practice, labor unions can be tremendously supportive" says City Year founder Alan Khazei.

But most service programs to date have been small; City Year's corps of youths, engaged in recycling and other projects, barely tops 220 members. Nationwide, only 17,000 are enrolled in City Year-style groups. If a national service program lifts that number by a factor of 10 or more, "then it will be a challenge," says Kathleen Selz, head of the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps. Conversely, if the program displaces no workers, it might just be busy work like CETA, the old Comprehensive Employment and Training Act program of the 1970s. Finding a balance may be possible, but it won't be easy.

The success of national service is likely to be a bellwether for the administration. Clintonites already tout it as the quintessential program to "reinvent" government, combining old-fashioned values with low bureaucracy. To keep the program decentralized, it's likely that students will apply through their states and then be placed either in existing volunteer programs or in new start-up programs. "This cannot be the social engineering of the '60s in which someone sits in Washington and announces the shape of the program," says Segal. No one disagrees. And everyone is watching. ■

BY MATTHEW COOPER



What's your line of work? Write us and tell us about it.

IF THERE'S ONE THING Jack Daniel's doesn't mix with, it's fire.

We'd never want a blaze to get going in one of our aging houses. (With all that whiskey in it, it'd go up like a Tennessee Fourth of July!) That's why these whiskeymen do double duty as members of our Volunteer Fire Department. We don't know if every distillery is this prepared to keep their product from going up in smoke. But after a sip of Jack Daniel's, we believe, you'll agree the protection is worth any cost.

SMOOTH SIPPIN'
TENNESSEE WHISKEY

Tennessee Whiskey • 40-43% alcohol by volume (80-86 proof) • Distilled and Bottled by Jack Daniel Distillery, Lem Motlow, Proprietor, Route 1, Lynchburg (Pop 361), Tennessee 37352
Placed in the National Register of Historic Places by the United States Government.



national effort.

profit from
also think
easier to ad-
gent" loans
their loans as
re.

student loan
aiming that
the job and
the current
profitable. "If
government
ships, then
s. Lawrence
e Mae, the
student Loan
association,
nearly \$400
ear by run-
ary market
it loans is-
Last week,
werful am-
the Con-
search Serv-
report dis-
otion that
would save
the admin-
ils, no one
a good an-
keep alive
and market

Plan from a Kennedy gets mixed review

STATES NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON - John F. Kennedy's call to service has been revived with President Clinton's plan to let students pay for college with community work. But a program designed by another Kennedy to build better citizens has received a mixed reception in Maryland.

Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, daughter of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy and author of the nation's first statewide mandatory public service program, says she wrote the plan because "students don't know how to be good citizens."

"They don't know how to get involved," said Kennedy Townsend, director of the Maryland Student Service Alliance for the Maryland state Department of Education. "They don't know how to identify problems. They don't know how to make a difference."

"There is a pervasive view that citizenship is being a nice person, obeying the law, not hurting anybody, not getting in anybody's way,



KATHLEEN K. TOWNSEND
Offers service plan

doing your own thing. That kind of view will not make for a successful democracy."

Starting next fall, ninth grade students in Maryland will have to

complete 75 hours of public service before the end of their senior year to graduate. Service can begin in sixth grade. Local school boards can design alternative programs and submit them to the state for approval.

"We have a variety of communities from very rural to urban Baltimore. They wanted to have the latitude to put together a program that would fit their needs," said Ron Peiffer, director of the state Board of Education Community Outreach Program. "Most wanted to fuse it more tightly with the curriculum."

Critics say the plan would place too much pressure on students and drain resources away from teaching.

State Sen. Charles Smelser, a Democrat from Carroll County, has filed a bill that would reverse the board's new graduation requirement.

"There's a lot of people out there that aren't particularly satisfied about what young people are learning now," he said. "This just puts a little more wash on the line that's already overloaded."

Kennedy Townsend agrees that

teaching needs improvement, "but the purpose of public schools is not just to teach reading, writing and arithmetic; it is also citizenship, and we are not teaching kids to be good citizens."

Peiffer said the Maryland plan isn't designed to promote volunteerism, but to teach civic responsibility. Service can reinforce social studies lessons as field projects help illustrate science class lectures, he said.

"When they walk out of high school, you want them to be good citizens. You want them to understand their role as a citizen," he said. "We think this will help them."

To be approved at the state level, locally designed programs must include "preparation and reflection components," Kennedy Townsend said, to make students think about the issues facing their communities "so that the service that the student does will be connected to their learning."

Smelser complains that a "whole new bureaucracy" will be created by the program that could cost taxpayers millions a year.

Post. Globe 3/8

City Year is a model for National Service

By Patti Doten
GLOBE STAFF

There he was again. President Clinton was interviewed on trendy MTV last week. This time, he was promoting his plan for involving young people in community service, which, he promised, will "change America forever and for the better."

The president wants local communities to develop their own programs to employ young people. He said he won't dictate the program from Washington.

Last week, Clinton sent his labor secretary, Robert Reich, to Boston. Reich visited Roxbury, where members of the Youthbuild Boston program were converting a gutted building into a homeless shelter. Youthbuild teaches construction skills to unemployed young adults and helps them earn their high school diplomas.

"The president takes programs like this and national service and all kinds of summer jobs programs extraordinarily seriously," said Reich. "These are the building blocks for the future."



GLOBE STAFF FILE PHOTO

Clinton has modeled his national service program on City Year, founded in Boston in 1988. City Year enrolls people between the ages of 17 and 23 for nine months of community service. They are paid

\$100 a week and, at the end of the nine months, they receive \$5,000 to further their education. There are 220 corps members this year from many different backgrounds and educational levels.

"It doesn't matter where you come from," said Alan Khazei, 31, a graduate of Harvard University and Harvard Law School who cofounded City Year with Michael Brown. "Community service is a meeting place to build common ground. Everyone has something to give and learn no matter where they were brought up or what schools they attended."

For more information on City Year, call (617) 451-0699. Here are some other groups, too, to contact if you are interested in community service work: The JFK Library Corps, (617) 282-1189; the Thomas Jefferson Forum, (617) 523-6699; Teens as Community Resources, (617) 338-0881;

Massachusetts Youth Service Alliance, (617) 542-2544. Khazei would like to see children begin community service in first grade and stay with it through high school and into their later years.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO ?

► What sort of community service work would you like to do now or when you get older? Write to Student NewsLine and tell us your thoughts. Don't forget your name, grade and school.



Boston
Globe
3/5/93

TO: Service Stars
FR: Ethan
RE: Editorial response to our Rutgers event
DT: 3/11

Over the last week and a half I have been gathering editorials from national and local newspapers in reaction to the Rutgers event.

The large majority of editorials reflected a positive response to the President's speech. Virtually all looked favorably on the tone in which the President called on Americans to play their part in creating change. But most tempered their compliments with concern about lack of details. The following quote from the Seattle Post summarizes the general attitude most had toward the program:

"Clinton invoked everything from the Civilian Conservation Corps to the Homestead Act to suggest his idea has a proud lineage. National service is an appealing concept. The trick is to sustain the warm feelings with details."

Though most editorials were in this general vein, there were a few surprises. For example, the Boston Globe, one of the nation's most liberal major dailies, wrote critically about the need to separate the service and loan components of the plan. And the conservative Bismarck Tribune lauded our program writing, "we are unabashedly endorsing one of Clinton's new spending programs - national service", but suggested that service should be mandatory. Clearly, national service cuts across ideological lines in strange ways.

Here are some of the specific questions raised by editorial writers:

Who will oversee the distribution of federal money?
How much will students be able to borrow?
What kind of stipend will volunteers receive?
Where will community service jobs come from?
Won't it really cost more than the \$7.4 billion allocated?
Will 100,000 kids really want to participate in service?

Some highlights:

San Francisco Chronicle

"If Clinton's fledgling program can help restore the tarnished spirit of service for the MTV generation, as the Peace Corps did for the baby boomers, the accomplishment would outshine the narrower goal of making college a more affordable option for more Americans. Anything that motivates young people to get immersed in community work -- tutoring, child care, pollution cleanup, health and drug counseling -- is good for them, good for the community and good for the nation. If it helps pay off college loans as well, all the better."

Seattle Times:

"The goal is lofty. The work needs to be done. The cost is low. The program deserves congressional approval and funding."

A low-light:

The Indianapolis News:

"Clinton has that theatrical ability to force an audience to engage in the willing suspension of disbelief and distract them from dwelling on the props, the artifice of the sets or the improbability of the plot."

I have on file editorials from the following newspapers:

Austin American-Statesman
Bismarck Tribune
Boston Globe
Indianapolis Star
L.A. Times
L.A. Daily News
Newark Record
New York Times
Philadelphia Enquirer
San Diego Union-Tribune
San Francisco Chronicle
Seattle Times
Seattle Post-Intelligencer
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
USA Today
Washington Post

If you would like to see any of them, please stop by my desk.

Barbara Mikulski

Make National Service Work

The 'McService' syndrome and other pitfalls

As one of the godmothers of the national service movement, I'm bullish on the Clinton plan as set forth in the president's call for a "season of service" by young people. Those who are quick to condemn it do so because their vision is limited. They see it as a social program rather than a social invention to create an ethic of service in our country.

Here are the key elements I'd like to see the president consider to strengthen the appeal of national service and increase its chance for success:

1. Organize service around national goals. National service jobs should focus on broad national accomplishments such as public health, the environment and public safety.

2. Strike a balance between pre-college and post-college service opportunities. National service will help young people pay for college, but it should also be an option for young

college graduates whose student loans are their first real loan, in effect their first "mortgage." Also, not all kids will go on to a university. Some will attend community college or choose to learn a trade. Still others who did not come from a strong school system or family unit will reach out to national service as a kind of "boot camp" to get them ready for educational opportunities.

This initial experience of service can help young people to mature and believe in themselves. In Baltimore, the young men and women in Civic Works, our youth corps group, say that what has changed them most is learning that they could give service as well as benefit from it. In discovering this, they themselves were transformed.

3. Make post-service benefits equitable. The benefit following service should be roughly the same for pre- and post-college participants. Other-

wise we run the risk of creating a caste system that diminishes the value of the pre-college group.

4. Allow part-time post-college participants. Not everyone who graduates from college can or should go away to serve for a year or two. But for those who can, and want to, let's get them into service experiences where the practical application of their skills will help develop those skills. If that means part-time service, so be it. Think of the effect a young NASA scientist could have running a Saturday scholars' program for children. That scientist could teach and inspire the next Sally Ride or Johnetta Cole.

5. Set rigorous standards for participation. National service should have tough certification requirements for those programs that want to sponsor participants. Let's look to our very able Commission on National and Community Service, which set out

these criteria: quality, innovation, replicability and sustainability without federal funds.

Finally, before the president and the country charge full speed ahead down the road to a national service program, let's take a minute to be aware of the things that could detour or derail us.

As the president goes forward, he should minimize any federal or state bureaucracy affiliated with this program. The Commission on National and Community Service should be the basis upon which the service program grows.

He should also be sensitive to concerns about displacing workers. While we help young people prepare for a life of service, we must look out for those Americans who are serving—the young teacher, the night school student preparing to be a cop, or the GI who helped us win the Cold War.

One other note of caution: We

should avoid the "McService" syndrome—the trap of using one or two national service models and trying to franchise them in every town and city in America. We should foster national models but always encourage their adaptation to the unique character of a particular community.

National service is a solid framework for reaching two goals. One is practical: handling the crisis of student indebtedness. One is idealistic: developing the habits of the heart that were the foundation of this country.

We can get back to hard work—neighbors helping neighbors and communities sticking together. Then, long after the post-service vouchers are gone, we will have a nation of national service alumni who will not only stay in touch with each other but will continue to touch the lives of others for generations to come.

The writer is a Democratic senator from Maryland.

Colman McCarthy

Clinton's Call to Service

No speech in the Clinton campaign was more inspirational than the candidate's remarks at the University of Notre Dame last September. As president, Clinton didn't match it until his March 1 speech at Rutgers University. At both campuses, he issued calls for national service for college students.

At Notre Dame: "If we are truly to practice what we preach, Americans of every faith and viewpoint should come together to promote the common good." It was similar at Rutgers: "National service is nothing less than the American way to change America."

Clinton's effort to rally the young to altruism has created a debate that pits idealism against realism, as if the two are forever locked in conflict. Where's the money, ask realists, for the tuition-for-service program that Clinton is proposing: \$389 million in scholarships for 25,000 students the first year and \$3.4 billion for 100,000 by 1997. Realists say that Clinton's sweet talk ignores sour facts: There's no money for a new social program.

From that negative, despairing argument, Clinton is supposed to get the message: Don't even try. That means: don't lead, just preside. The past 12 years witnessed two presidents in the White House. Most first-year college students today were in kindergarten when Ronald Reagan was elected and in fourth grade when reelected. They came into adolescence under a politician who tried nothing by way of linking government with national service. Instead of selflessness to others, he extolled self-enrichment.

Evidence suggests that the young weren't seduced either by Reagan's message of contempt for government or his disdain for altruism. The 1980s saw a surge in campus community-service programs, such as the ones Clinton praised at Notre Dame and Rutgers. Amnesty International chapters increased on campuses, as did those of Oxfam USA. Applications to Peace Corps remained high, as they did for such private domestic programs as the Jesuit Volunteer Corps and the Lutheran Volunteer Corps.

Yet Clinton's philosophy of service represents intellectual newness to many in high school and college. John F. Kennedy's appeals to national service are seen as historical relics, known from books but not live on MTV as are Clinton's. It wasn't a politician's celebrityhood that created support for the president at Notre Dame and Rutgers. Students saw in him someone with a positive message—put community interest above self-interest—that many professors and counselors at their schools had been exposing them to all along: If you can't teach the illiterate, comfort the sick and handicapped, or mend whatever and whoever is broken during your college years, you're receiving a limited education.

Clinton deserves to be honored for taking a risk that he'll be able to raise the money for his program of national service. Critics in Congress with no greater agenda than carping about ideas they were too dull-witted or timid to propose themselves now lie in wait for the president when he comes in with specifics. They will say Clinton's ideas are dangerous because they are romantic and utopian, a charge that ignores the thought of James Madison in 1788: "No theoretical checks—no form of government, can render us secure. To suppose that any form of government will secure liberty or happiness without any virtue in the people is a chimerical idea."

Some critics charge that Clinton is into bribery: tuition money for service. While the details are being worked out on how much money for what service, who complains that the U.S. Army entices recruits with as much as \$20,000 toward a college education. Why isn't it bribery when ROTC programs pay students to shine their boots occasionally and take gut courses in military lore. Nor is much alarm expressed over the most lavish enticement of all: a free ride at the military academies in exchange for a few years in uniform after graduation.

Clinton's Rutgers speech marked the 32nd anniversary of the Peace Corps. Kennedy's spirited message was repeated by Clinton: "Answer the call to service." In "The Bold Experiment," a history of the Peace Corps by Gerard Rice, one of those who responded to Kennedy's call explained why: "I'd never done anything political, patriotic or unselfish because nobody ever asked me to. Kennedy asked."

So has Clinton.

National Service Proposal Exploits the Poor

To the Editor:

President Clinton's call for "National Service — Now" (Op-Ed, Feb. 28) appears to stem from noble intentions, but it is eminently unfair.

In exchange for Federal Government loans enabling students to attend college, Mr. Clinton would have them serve as teachers, police officers, nurses or social workers for one or two years at low wages.

It should not be acceptable for these positions to be considered low-paying public service jobs. Those whose employment involves saving and protecting the lives of others or educating our youth, are as important as, for example, those who can create a better stealth bomber.

What of those who want to make a career in teaching, law enforcement, nursing or social work? Would communities pressed for funds be willing to employ regular staffs when they can have the benefit of college graduates at half-pay? Would the income of the regular employees ever increase to reflect their value to society?

The children of the rich will not be required to participate in this program. They will be able to settle into their chosen careers immediately on graduation from college.

This tuition-for-service program will not, as Mr. Clinton says, "insure that our schools offer the best education in the world."

For that, dramatic changes will be necessary in our public schools. We must correct conditions that permit a class size of more than 50 students (as in Los Angeles) or of two different classes meeting in one converted cafeteria (as in New York). Courses for the gifted and talented, and in music and the arts, must be restored in communities forced to cut back for financial reasons.

Thomas Jefferson said, "It is not enough to create just the form of a republic. We must make it work. We must educate them to use the vote and be worthy of it. We must give them free schools and universities."

It would be ideal to move toward complete Federal funding of education through the university level. But at the very least, we should not add

burdens on young Americans merely because they are financially disadvantaged.

VIRGINIA G. CIOCCO

New York, March 1, 1993

The writer is a former high school supervisor and assistant principal in New Jersey.

A Double Bargain

To the Editor:

"National Service — Now" (Op-Ed, Feb. 28) by Bill Clinton reminded me of my year in the Vista program, Volunteers in Service to America more than 12 years ago in Decatur, Ill. I was a college graduate originally from New York earning a little more than \$300 a month working as a credit and housing specialist. My sponsor was a nonprofit agency, which was efficient and did not resemble a government bureaucracy.

I learned how to organize elderly home owners against unscrupulous realtors, I counseled families on budgeting their funds, worked toward preventing evictions and negotiated with utility companies to have electrical power restored to families who had power terminated for nonpayment. During this time I worked

years abroad as a Peace Corps volunteer in the Micronesian Islands. He was a teacher who traveled to many of the islands as an administrator and to give its inhabitants basic educational instruction.

Whatever improvements we made in the lives of others simply does not compare to what we learned from the community we served, from the volunteers, new friendships, insights into the human condition and ourselves. A volunteer in national service may be a bargain for government; I would have paid a premium for the opportunity.

RICHARD J. MONTELIONE

New York, Feb. 28, 1993.



Rupert Howard

closely with social workers, legal services lawyers and their Vista volunteer to improve the lives of many low-income families.

My brother Thomas spent two

A New Bureaucracy

To the Editor:

Re President Clinton's "National Service — Now" (Op-Ed, Feb. 28): We at Nellie Mae, the largest nonprofit provider of Federal student loan funds nationally, are very supportive of the President's plans for a national service program as one option for repaying student loans.

Unfortunately, some link President Clinton's national service program with elimination of the public-private partnership that delivers billions of dollars a year in student loans and establishment of a Government program of direct Federal loans to students. This would require the Federal Government to borrow the loan funds and fully administer the programs, eliminating the banks, which provide private capital, and other state and nonprofit agencies, which administer and collect student loans.

A direct Federal loan program would increase the Federal debt \$15 billion to \$20 billion a year for the next 15 years. The Congressional Budget Office and the Congressional Research Service determined that a General Accounting Office analysis that concluded such a program would save money was flawed.

Colleges would be asked to bear some \$150 million in costs to originate loans. Virtually every employer in America would be asked to collect Federal student loans through payroll taxes. This seems simple until you recognize that each student will owe a different amount, some will work more than one job, some will be self-employed, and still others will work outside the country.

President Clinton says he does not want to build national service into a massive bureaucracy spending tens of millions of dollars, but will rely for help on community groups that have proved themselves. Why then turn student loans into a Federal bureaucracy?

LAWRENCE W. O'TOOLE

President, New England Education Loan Marketing Corporation
Braintree, Mass., March 3, 1993

Big Brother Wants You

To the Editor:

Kim Grose's vision of extending President Clinton's national service idea to children (Op-Ed, Feb. 23) is frightening for what it ignores: the issue of compulsion. The Indiana students who care for wildlife, the Harlem children who field a "peace team," do so out of their own concern.

The antithesis is expressed in an old Army gag: I need three volunteers, you, you and you.

We risk the kind of violation of civil rights for which America was invented as recourse. It would be a sign that our ship has turned full around, toward propagation of individual morals and behavior from the top. The program would accelerate this motion by giving Government the dual role of demanding that good works be done and defining what works are good (much as public schools teach the virtue of public education, which is elsewhere open to question).

What a way to make kids love public service.

We the people, or at least those with any control over our own lives, are already eyeing routes of escape, ready to devote more energy to obtaining the freedom of our own children than we devote to reducing our taxes — oops, our contributions.

Just as Kim Grose says, people "who serve in their childhood years ... will be better equipped to participate actively in society throughout their lives." But in what kind of society? One that finds a model in the Chinese?

LEONARD RUBIN

New York, Feb. 27, 1993

Wash. Post 3/12/03



Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Making a Difference

BOSTON

The Mason School in Roxbury, a largely black area of Boston, has problems typical of an inner-city school: not enough money, an old building, children who speak different languages. But it has a determined principal in Mary Russo, respected teachers and 10 young men and women helping out as aides. They come from a service group called City Year.

One of the City Year aides, Lucius Graham, is in the first-grade classroom. Three children — Andrea, Sharmekia and Alvin — hang on to him, hugging his legs. He talks with them, then goes to the corner and helps three girls paint T-shirts with colors that glow in the dark.

Lucius, 18 years old, dropped out of high school in the 11th grade, last year. "The school had too many problems," he said. "You were labeled as part of a gang. I went every day with a weapon to protect myself."

How did he end up in City Year, helping in the Mason School? "There was a City Year group building a little park in our neighborhood. The more I watched, the more I liked it."

Now he is in high school equivalency classes that City Year offers its corps members. If he keeps up with the work, and most do, he will get a diploma.

Stephen Noltemy, 21, got his diploma that way, as a City Year corps member, and now teaches in the diploma program. He comes from South Boston, the white stronghold of working-class Boston. He was in trouble, in a halfway house, when he joined City Year.

"I didn't care about too many things then," Steve said. "I was angry, prejudiced, negative. I was less than zero."

"City Year saved my life. I don't want to sell anything to you, but there it is. I like to wake up in the morning — know what I mean?"

One day last week I watched City Year at work and talked with staff and corps members. Like Steve Noltemy, I feel I should discount it and say I am not trying to sell anything. But what I saw was impressive, even moving — and quite without what I had been half afraid I would find, the aroma of do-goodism.

Daina Sutton, 19, had a baby in 1991 and dropped out of school. The father was arrested in June 1992.

"I really didn't want to do anything," she said. "Except I wanted to do something for my son. City Year wasn't a big deal at first. Now it's everything."

The team Daina was on started by making a garden in a run-down area.

Then she helped 225 school kids train at the Boston Ballet. Now the team is at a school in East Boston, giving an environmental curriculum it helped design: "basics like what to do with litter."

"One of the people on my team was a rich white girl," Daina Sutton said. "I thought, I don't want to be her welfare case. But we got really close."

Diversity is a major theme of City Year. Teams are mixed in race, class, education. About a quarter of the 220 young people in the corps are drop-outs, a third in college or on the way.

Black and white, rich and poor spoke of how daunting it had been at first to be with different people.

"It was not just skin color," said Andre Berry, 20, a black corps mem-

A service corps that works.

ber who is now on the staff as a team leader. "One girl on my team had a parent who was a brain surgeon! It was weird to me: Someone who's got money — what's she doing here? But she became one of my close friends."

Lisa Schorr, 22, of Washington, D.C., a graduate of Sidwell Friends School and Harvard, is a corps member this year. "I started out skeptical," she said. "I thought the diversity would be forced and superficial. But it isn't."

Alan Khazei and Michael Brown had the idea of City Year and founded it five years ago, after they graduated from Harvard Law School. Alan Khazei said to me:

"The common ground is service. People have lost the sense that they can make a difference. Everything is so imposing: the homeless problem, drugs, the ghettos. What can I do as one person? This shows people that they can make a difference: bring life to a community under siege, build a playground, improve a school, rehab housing for the homeless. . . ."

City Year is a model for the national service program proposed by President Clinton. I had expected to write about the structural qualities that make it such an appealing model: the lack of bureaucracy, the mix of private and public funding, the entrepreneurial spirit. But that will have to wait for a second column. The young men and women of City Year could not be put aside. □

1 of 2

COLUMN ONE

Teaching Lessons in Living

■ Parents and students praise Quaker schools' emphasis on personal achievement and community service. They may offer Clinton ideas for education reform.

By ELIZABETH SHOGREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PHILADELPHIA—For nearly 20 minutes, the 160 sixth-, seventh- and eighth-graders of the William Penn Charter School sat in silence. Finally, Marshall Roslyn, a seventh-grader with freckles and braces, offered that he likes the school's regular meetings for worship because he can reflect on his week, much as he believes God did during creation.

"We can sit here and think about how good it was or how bad it was," said Roslyn, 12, whose family moved to Philadelphia last year from California's San Fernando Valley, where he attended public school. "And we can make a judgment that it was good or bad, like God did."

The meeting for worship is just one way in which the William Penn Charter School, one of more than 80 schools across the country run by the Society of Friends, or Quakers, tries to help its students develop values and a sense of spirituality.

While many Americans continue to debate whether public schools should attempt to teach values, the students, teachers, parents and administrators of the nation's Quaker schools clearly have their minds made up: Education works best when children are taught not only academics but responsibility to school and society.

Marshall's father, Joel, said the mix of high academic standards and ethics has made him a supporter of the Quaker teaching methods, even though he is Jewish. "There is a very strong moral tone to the school, and I like that," said the senior Roslyn, a surgeon.

About 130 miles south of Philadelphia, another father is getting a firsthand look at Quaker education. President Clinton and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, have enrolled their daughter, Chelsea, in Washington's Sidwell Friends school.

Although the Clintons were criticized by some public school advocates for shunning a public education in favor of a private one, Sidwell's diverse student body and its emphasis on community service made the decision more acceptable for many liberals.

Having declared his intention to improve the nation's schools, the President could decide to incorporate some of what he sees at Sidwell into any school reform

initiative his Administration undertakes.

To be sure, Quaker schools, like other religious and private education institutions across the country, have the luxury of admitting only those students whose families subscribe to their tenets—and can afford admission costs of as much as \$17,000 a year, or qualify for scholarships. That rarefied atmosphere frees the schools from having to contend with many of the problems that widely divergent attitudes—and often a simple lack of money—create for public schools.

Nonetheless, the high expectations for students' achievement, parental involvement and personalized teaching are all trademarks of Quaker schools that could be applied in some form to public institutions, according to Pearl Kane, an associate professor at Columbia University's Teachers College.

"We look to Germany and Japan but not in our own back yard," Kane said.

Academic Excellence

Quaker schools, which educate about 16,600 students nationwide, boast high academic achievement. Many of their graduates go on to prestigious colleges and universities and few fail to get a post-secondary education. Twenty percent of the 102 students in Sidwell's class of 1992, for example, went to Ivy League universities.

But even more than academic excellence, it is a sense of community that makes Quaker schools special, according to students, teachers and administrators.

"There is an inclusivity that Quaker education promotes, and I think that's what [Clinton] is asking public schools to be like," said Stephen Watters, the middle-school headmaster at William Penn Charter.

Although a belief in God is not required for admission to a Quaker school, central to the philosophy of education is the sense that there is "that of God in everyone" and each person should be valued for his or her individuality. That tenet, together with the responsibility each person is taught to feel to the whole, results in a feeling of community rare in schools, students and teachers say.

Competition for admission to the schools is intense. All 124 3½-year-olds applying for 30 spots in Sidwell's pre-kindergarten class next fall are required to take intelligence tests, which is unusually tough competition even for top private schools.

"It's worse than applying for Harvard Law School," said Jim Ritzenberg, a lawyer who graduated from Sidwell in 1975 and whose 3½-year-old daughter, Kate, is going through the application process. "It's definitely become more competitive over the years."

While criticism of Quaker schools from outsiders is rare, the little that does emerge centers on the institutions' cost. Some administrators and middle-class parents whose children attend the schools are concerned that rising tuitions are squeezing out the middle class.

Ray Green, a William Penn Charter alumnus whose two children attend the school, says that with his family's annual pretax

income of \$50,000, meeting the tuition means selling off assets every year.

"I hope I can continue to do it," he said. "But you can only go to the well so many times."

Until the 1930s, Quaker schools were exclusively for Quaker children. Now Quakers constitute only tiny minorities in most schools.

Most Quaker schools have always been co-ed because of the strong Quaker notion of equality, but ethnic diversity has not always been a trademark.

At the George School, a Quaker boarding school 25 miles north of Philadelphia in Newtown, Pa., the first black child, a Jamaican Quaker, was accepted after World War II. Even by 1965, there were still fewer than 10 minority students on campus, according to Paul Machemer, a math teacher at the George School who attended the school at the time. Ethnic diversification did not take off until the 1980s.

Now a third of the students are nonwhite, and students from various ethnic backgrounds, including Marta Lopez, a Latino girl from Newark, N.J., say they experience no racism.

Thirty-eight percent of the students at the George School receive financial aid to cover the tuition of \$10,000 for day students and \$17,000 for boarders.

Lopez, who is on full scholarship, said the program has enabled her to concentrate on her studies and growing up in an oasis far from the troubles of inner-city life.

"I don't have to deal with the problems of friends getting pregnant or doing drugs because at George School, you don't have as much of this stuff."

To make sure students on financial aid feel no stigma, all students do chores such as washing dishes at the cafeteria and cleaning classrooms.

William Penn Charter, on the other hand, is still not as ethnically diverse as some teachers and administrators would like, and according to students, occasional racial slurs on the playground and epithets on the bathroom walls upset the otherwise harmonious atmosphere.

Dealing With Race

At Friends Select School in Philadelphia's Center City area, racism is not tolerated by the faculty or students, but some students said that cliques based on ethnic groups are common and racial tension is evident, especially in debates over figures like Malcolm X.

Helping children develop their own values happens naturally, according to teachers, students, parents and administrators, because they all consider it important.

"There's not a specific program of values," said Fred LaMotte, the teacher who coordinates community service projects at William Penn Charter, a 295-year-old school with an enrollment of 810. "Teachers are viewed as midwives letting values come forth." Simplicity, spirituality, reflection and peace are all encouraged, however.

LaMotte said that because most youngsters often spend much more time at school than with their parents, it's unnatural for schools to ignore values because "kids desperately want to talk about what is right and wrong."

Community Classrooms

Here is a sampling of schools that offer courses blending community service with traditional classroom work:

■ **UCLA:** The Los Angeles riots fueled interest in service classes. About 1,500 students will take 45 service courses this academic year. Volunteer work includes designing brochures for health clinics, tutoring children at homeless shelters and counseling at halfway houses.

■ **Stanford University:** Thirty-six courses taken by about 600 students. Freshman English students write pamphlets, newsletters and other materials for community groups; communications students discuss violence and stereotyping on television with elementary school children.

■ **Santa Clara University:** More than 600 students volunteer at homeless shelters and other agencies as part of their work in two dozen service classes, ranging from Christian ethics to abnormal psychology.

■ **Rutgers University:** In its third year, the New Jersey college's Civic Education and Community Service Program involves 1,000 students, 15 courses and half a dozen academic departments. Projects include delivering meals to AIDS patients and teaching dance to inner-city children. Honors students must take a service course to graduate.

■ **Michigan State University:** Under one of the oldest programs in the nation, students in business law work as crisis counselors at a shelter for battered women; sociology and anthropology majors volunteer in convalescent homes and day care centers.

■ **Bentley College:** Accounting students at this business college in Waltham, Mass., prepare income tax returns for the elderly; others operate a beauty salon at a women's shelter. Thirty of the 200 full-time professors offer service courses. No such courses existed three years ago.

ed community work. The university spends \$20,000 annually on grants to help professors include public service in their curriculum, and employs two part-time staff members who assist faculty and develop volunteer opportunities in the community.

While this trend is new, the concept of service-learning certainly is not. Its intellectual origins may trace to John Dewey's philosophy of education, which includes the idea that learning and life experience are linked and society is the arena in which education occurs.

The roots of the recent boom lie in the 1980s. Researchers from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching visited colleges and found that "a preoccupation with personal interests seemed to dominate, and that there was a

narrowness of vision and lack of . . . commitment to social issues." Even in the heyday of the Me Generation the researchers detected some simmering of altruism, but found that the colleges provided no organized way for young people to act on their convictions.

Troubled by similar impressions, three university presidents founded Campus Compact in 1985, and the organization—which promotes student participation in community service—has given an authoritative voice of support to the service-learning movement.

Theories to explain the rebound in student altruism are plentiful, but most experts agree that deepening social woes—and the sense that government is not fully addressing those woes—play a major role.

"I think society's problems just got to a point where they were staring all of us in the face in a way they hadn't before," said Susan Stroud, a senior adviser in Clinton's Office of National Service. "Five or six years ago, you didn't just trip over homeless people in the streets. Now there's no big city in the U.S. where you don't."

Gaudiani, the Connecticut College president, said many of the young volunteers are children of 1960s activists who had responded to a call for national service by another young President—John F. Kennedy. "I definitely hear an echo of a loud sound made 30 years ago," said Gaudiani.

Clinton's exhortations of "shared sacrifice" and "putting people first" are reminiscent of Kennedy's words, and students such as Marla Maxfield seem to be taking the message to heart. Maxfield is a Stanford junior who spends two nights a week tutoring a 5-year-old homeless boy in math and reading.

"I think a lot of us here feel extremely lucky, because we're privileged to be getting this expensive, wonderful education," said Maxfield, whose volunteer work is part of a history course. "This is a chance to give something back, and the rewards, well, they're just really incredible."

But what distinguishes Maxfield and other students from their altruistic forebears is the educational link—the belief that service is not only of value to society, but an important asset to classroom learning as well.

"If my students weren't becoming better writers through community service, then we wouldn't be doing it," said Stanford professor Ann Watters, whose freshman English students produce newsletters, pamphlets and other materials for the Red Cross and other community organizations.

"But they are learning to write better, because they are writing things that make a difference to someone. Somebody cares if they're persuasive, somebody cares if they get the facts straight. That makes a difference—it pushes them to do better work."

The Washington Post

More on National Service

AS YOU listen to President Clinton and others talk about national service, what you're really hearing is a medley. One strain is a sort of anthem about a patriotic and dedicated citizen corps. The other strain is more of a lament. It's about the cumbersome and wasteful student aid programs and how service to one's country can change the way students finance their college educations.

Don't confuse the two melodies. Building on a civilian corps, which already exists in some unstructured fashion, is a lot easier and cheaper than rebuilding the system of grants and subsidized loans that helps more than half of all undergraduates attend college. To prop up the sagging ethic of service takes not much more than pep talks and seed money. To repair the student aid programs takes a whole lot more.

The administration proposes to spend \$7.4 billion over four years on its national service initiative. It's not clear how many of the estimated 100,000 service slots would be reserved specifically for students who want to have their college loans forgiven. But no matter how many enroll, it would be a mere fraction of the total. Almost 5 million students were loan recipients in 1991, at a cost of \$13.5 billion. Clearly the national service "option" of which the administration speaks wouldn't be an option for most. Repayment, whether contingent on income or by conventional means, will continue to be the norm.

Would the relatively small number who serve get something of disproportionate value from the

government? The answer depends on how the administration proposes to reconcile loans with service. Will students mix and match grants, loans and service jobs up to a fixed aid ceiling? Or will grants to the needy fall further behind in this ever-spiraling race for tuition funds?

Compare, for example, the subsidy of a grant recipient (next year's annual maximum will be \$2,300) with the potential subsidy of a student who receives a government loan to attend a private college and then puts in two years at the local shelter. The loan/service benefit hasn't been calculated, but it could be worth as much as \$20,000 if certain accounts are to be believed. Fair? Yes, according to proponents, because the country will be getting something of value in return. But such a program portends a further imbalance between the grant program, which competes for funds, and loan programs, which are essentially entitlements. Depending on eligibility rules still being crafted by the White House, it also threatens to pit poor students against wealthy ones and traditional students against the substantial number of older, part-timers with family obligations.

William James once called national service "the moral equivalent of war." These days, with tuitions what they are, the same might be said of student aid, long one of society's great equalizers. What you'll hear next will be the battle cries. The fight will be about more than the worth of national service, which deserves a true debate. It will be about whether the government can rightfully buy out some students' loans and not those of others.

NYT 3/19

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Small Is Powerful

BOSTON

Gary Orren, professor of public policy at Harvard's Kennedy School, usually teaches and writes about elective politics. This year, on sabbatical, he is leading a team of 11 young men and women in the service group City Year. He has found the experience so gripping that with the Kennedy School's permission he is going to spend a second year at it.

"This is the first time I've ever felt I touched civic education," Professor Orren said when I visited City Year. "Our team created a beautiful garden in Dorchester, 17 vegetable plots in what had been a junk area, a place for mischief. Now we work at a school in East Boston where 80 percent of the children are in families below the poverty line. You can see the kids' eyes as they watch black and white young people working together."

The City Year model of national service.

They've never imagined that."

How does City Year's diversity work in a city that has known such racial tension? The idea is that the barriers of race and class will break down when team members work together on a project: a garden, a school, whatever. In practice the idea does, visibly, succeed.

"There's no magic here," Alan Khazei, one of City Year's founders, said. "I think the possibilities are inherent in human nature. People work together almost because they have to."

"Here we are, the richest country in history, and in Boston we have 4,000 homeless people and a school dropout rate of nearly 40 percent. Why?"

"One reason is that we've lost the sense of community. People are too separate from each other. We look to big, remote institutions to solve our problems. They should do something about it."

"Service can bring people together. And this is inherently American. It's about citizenship, participation, community, grass roots."

Gary Orren put it that along with individualism there is a communitarian instinct in each of us, but it has

been starved lately in America. Working together for a public good satisfies that felt hunger.

I think there is another reason for City Year's success in making people prize communitarian values. It is small. The teams are 11, the whole core here in Boston 220. It works as the Greek philosophers thought a city-state should work: with every individual feeling a responsibility for the whole.

The importance of smallness is reflected in what Alan Khazei believes, based on City Year experience, about the national service program proposed by President Clinton.

"A national program should be decentralized," he said, "so you don't have one monolithic structure. Federal money should be matched locally, from public and private sources: diverse sources so you have many ideas."

Until last year, when some Federal demonstration money came in, City Year has been financed entirely privately. Its teams are sponsored by local institutions. There is a Bank of Boston team, for example, and one funded by a consortium of Boston law firms.

"Private money has been essential for us," Mr. Khazei said. "It let us experiment. It gave us an entrepreneurial culture — and held us to our promises. The danger in any national program is bureaucracy. Our answer is to have the job done on the ground by not-for-profit organizations."

In that sense City Year is a model for what David Osborne and Ted Gaebler advocated in their 1992 book, "Reinventing Government," which President Clinton has praised. They called for decentralized authority, entrepreneurial spirit, less bureaucracy.

"We think national service is the best place to reinvent government," Mr. Khazei said. "All the others — health and so on — have so many vested interests. If you can reinvent government here, you can use the ideas elsewhere."

The Federal Government, then, would be a catalyst and partial funder of local groups like City Year. That would not satisfy those who want a large, immediate, centralized national service program. But the faults of such programs have become all too evident. Justice Louis Brandeis's vision of progressive American federalism, emphasizing smallness and local freedom to experiment, is coming back. And that is City Year. □



GLOBE PHOTO/TONY DEAK
Deirdre Holmes

A young life devoted to service

By Diane Manuel
SPECIAL TO THE GLOBE

re America's young people really interested in committing a year to national service?

A That's the question the 16 founding members of the Young People's National Service Coalition have been asking themselves as they have put together recommendations for the Clinton administration to consider.

According to their eight-page proposal for AmeriCorps, as they have called their version of a national service program, "The success of any national service system will depend upon many factors, but none more important than its ability to excite young people to commit a year of their lives to service to their country."

HOLMES, Page 43

Lexington native formulating national service proposals for Clinton

■ HOLMES

Continued from Page 42

So far, the response has been good.

"Everyone who's come to me with questions has been really enthusiastic," says coalition member Deirdre Holmes, a 24-year-old Lexington native who is currently in her senior year at Oberlin College in Ohio. "Some are friends of mine who've been involved with community service for a long time and whose hobby has suddenly become a national issue. And others are students who are about to graduate with \$20,000 loans hanging over their heads, and who are excited to hear that there may be a way for them to pay that money back."

Deirdre was nominated to serve on the grass-roots coalition last fall by an aide to Ohio Gov. George Voinovich in recognition of her efforts in founding Ohio Campus Compact, a statewide community service organization. Prior to that, she had worked with Boston's City Year program in Egleston Square, setting up after-school programs for inner-city children.

"I jokingly tell my friends that all my children do City Year," says Deirdre's mother, Elske, who runs a drop-in center for mothers of young children in Lexington. "Her younger brother worked in Roxbury for a year, too, between high school and college."

Elske Holmes adds that her daughter's interest in community service drove her choice of colleges after she graduated from Lexington High School. Deirdre attended Friends' World College, a small, multicampus school that emphasized experiential learning.

Wanted something practical

"She wanted to do something practical, rather than reading books all the time," says Elske Holmes.

Deirdre registered at the college's New York City campus, spent a semester with City Year in Boston and also worked with community service projects in Costa Rica before the Quaker-affiliated college ran out of funds and folded. She transferred to Oberlin mostly because she had heard good things about students' involvement with global issues. She

now is majoring in Third World studies and running an after-school program for kids in Oberlin's two public elementary schools, based on her experience with City Year.

"Everyone knew our bright red jackets in Egleston Square, and it was really nice to feel the community's appreciation," she recalls of the college semester she spent in Boston. "By the time our program ended, the housing project where we were based felt it had been successful enough that they wanted to hire a local coordinator to continue it."

"What was important to me was that the program kept right on running after we left, on the strength of volunteer help. It wasn't like the community was dependent on an outside group coming in. That has been my model ever since."

When Deirdre was invited to Washington in late November for a three-day meeting at the Dupont Plaza Hotel, she says the emphasis was on student diversity and program diversity.

"The 16 of us came from all over the country," she recalls. "Our ages were 17 to 33, and some of us were in

college, some were in graduate school, some were in high school and others had started or were running service organizations. It was incredibly motivating."

The weekend brainstorming session was funded by the Commission on National and Community Service, an independent federal agency established by Congress in 1990 that awards some \$63 million each year to model community service projects such as City Year.

The coalition of which Deirdre is a member is one of many groups submitting proposals for a national service program.

"After Clinton was elected, the commission wanted to help develop an organization of young people to lobby the administration about how to structure its national service programs," says Chris Murphy, a program officer for the commission. "We wanted to bring together a diverse group of young people to hash out what a national service plan might look like."

According to its proposal, AmeriCorps is designed to "heal the wounds of the 1980s" and "bring a

divided nation together with a common purpose." The program that resulted from those meetings builds on the concept of local ownership and operation of community programs, and stresses that initiatives developed by young people should be given top priority.

Under its broad aegis, service programs already in place, such as the Peace Corps and VISTA, might be extended or used as models for fledgling environmental and conservation corps. Information about AmeriCorps could be circulated by high school guidance counselors, computer data bases and nationwide mailings. Service options are suggested for a wide range of settings, from rural agriculture to urban human services.

Submitted to transition team

The proposals were submitted to the Clinton transition team, and Murphy says the feedback was good. Bill Galston, a former George Washington University professor who now is a deputy assistant to the president for domestic policy, was especially supportive.

The emphasis in the AmeriCorps document that has been forwarded to the White House Office of National Service clearly is on attracting young people from all backgrounds and Deirdre says that was a concern of the coalition organizers.

"From what Clinton said initially, it seemed like compensation for service work would be limited to loan forgiveness, and that the whole program would only be open to students who had been able to get into college and had graduated and had loans to pay back," she says. "We wanted to open the program up, so that more people could benefit from it."

While Deirdre waits to hear from the Clinton administration, she says she and the other 15 members of the coalition are reading local newspapers daily and staying in touch with everyone they know in Washington.

"It looks like there will be funding for at least 1,000 students this summer," she says, "and I sure would be interested in continuing with the program on the community level, but not on the political, organizing end in Washington."

Elu ~~CR~~ - *Shouldn't change now?* - B.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3/22/93

lion uninsured. Sin taxes alone, however, won't be enough. Last week Magaziner privately asked representatives of large and small businesses how best to cap costs in the short term while phasing in benefits more slowly. That idea concerns some in the White House, who insist, as one put it, "We have to create winners before we create losers."

In the past two weeks, the AMA, U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association have publicly jumped on the managed-competition bandwagon. Under fire from the White House for price gouging, the drug-makers last week asked the Justice Department to grant an exemption from anti-trust prosecution so that they can negotiate voluntary price restraints. "The train is leaving the station," said a drug lobbyist. "We're just trying to slow the train down long enough ... to get on board."

Until now, Hillary has not submerged herself in the day-to-day work of the task force but has been briefed regularly by Magaziner. For the most part, she has played congressional lobbyist, paying calls on members and listening for ideas while a trio of aides take copious notes. Lawmakers report that the First Lady, for all her reputed aloofness, knows the right moves. When Illinois Democrat Dan Rostenkowski suggested to Hillary that her husband was sending her into a "huge hellfire" on health care, she adroitly replied, "You know, Mr. Chairman, Chicago looks a lot better as a result of that fire." Legislators always get a letter the next day—and sometimes a picture—thanking them for their thoughts on very specific subjects. "This is not a casual exercise," said a top White House aide. "She is making a set of judgments about where there are sensitivities and who will be natural allies."

She is also involved in legislative strategy. For the past few weeks, Democratic leaders in the Senate have been wrestling with ways to attach the health-care bill to the economic package in a giant superbill later this year. Senate rules made the gambit look unlikely from the start, but last week Hillary joined one final push on the issue before Senator Robert Byrd confirmed that it wouldn't be appropriate.

The general public has yet to see the Hillary who is everywhere at once, perfectly conversant on 100 different health-care topics. For now, her goal is to avoid becoming a distraction—or a target for opponents. At a health-care forum last Friday in Tampa, Florida, a visibly tired Hillary listened quietly while witnesses made their cases for various reforms. She usually made her comments, such as they were, in the form of a question, much as Justices do when they hear oral arguments at the Supreme Court. Meanwhile the other 11 Hillaries were probably working back in Washington.

The Political Interest/Michael Kramer

Life After High School

"IF I EVER WIN THIS DEAL," BILL CLINTON SAID 14 MONTHS AGO, "AND IF I'm remembered for only one thing, I hope it's national service. It's the best money we could ever spend, and I mean to spend it."

As good as his word, Clinton is pushing a four-year, \$7.4 billion appropriation for national service, the plan that would permit students to finance their post-secondary education by working for up to two years in a variety of community jobs. Even with a price tag that steep, however, the program can fund at most 150,000 Americans a year by 1997, a fraction of the potential demand and a far cry from Clinton's campaign pledge that "every young American could borrow the money necessary to go to college" by "giving two years of his life to rebuild America."

A spirited debate has arisen as the plan's advocates maneuver to craft its details. The key question involves the program's target audience. The Administration is currently considering giving up to \$10,000 a year to those who serve after graduating from college, twice the sum contemplated for those who complete their work stint after high school. Neither figure would come close to purchasing a private education, but the White House says four years at many state universities could be covered by \$20,000. The three legislators most associated with national service over the years—Representative Dave McCurdy and Senators Sam Nunn and Barbara Mikulski—are dead set against favoring college grads. "Skew it to those who've completed college," says Nunn, "and you've wiped out a major rationale for the plan, which is to get kids of varied backgrounds to work together in a common civic experience. You also want to aid as many members of the college-age population as you can who want decent vocational training. Leave them behind and you pay later in welfare and other costs. And besides," Nunn notes, "most of the jobs that need filling, like helping the elderly in their homes—which could save billions in health-care costs—don't require a college degree." What's more, says American University president Joe Duffey, "at least a quarter of those who go to college aren't sure of what they want, so many drop out. A year or so of service can help them get their heads straight."

Clinton initially became enthusiastic about national service through his participation in the Democratic Leadership Council. Will Marshall of the D.L.C.'s think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute, offers several other reasons for concentrating on high school graduates. "First," says Marshall, "the opportunity costs to the economy are lower. If a college grad delays taking a regular private-sector job, society loses the tax receipts of his labor. Second, since most high school graduates would live at home and are unmarried, we'd be spared the ancillary housing and child-care costs the program aims to pay for. Third, job displacement is less likely. You don't want to put current wage earners on the street because national servants cost an employer less."

During a morning jog with McCurdy last Friday, Clinton confirmed what others have said, that his emphasis on aiding students *after* college derives in part from his desire to assuage middle-class voters upset with his breaking his promise to lower their taxes. Fair enough, but more middle-class families would receive help if their children joined the program after high school, as a confidential transition memorandum pointed out. The President ought to reread that memo and change course. ■



Touting the program in New Jersey

What I Can Do for My Country

BY CASSIE NYLEN

I first heard about national service while my dad and I were shooting hoops at the town school court last fall. He asked me: "What if your country wanted you to serve, maybe in return for college money? You wouldn't have to enlist in the military; maybe you'd be a teacher's aide, or clean up the environment, or something."

I answered, "A sphincter says what?" having just seen "Wayne's World" for the 85th time. But after thinking about it, I said, "Well, I'd say yes. Definitely maybe yes."

I'm a 17-year-old high-school senior at a tiny school (88 students, grades 5 to 12, to be exact) in rural western Massachusetts (the boonies to you). Next year I'll be going away to college (Haverford, specifically). By the end of my college career, I'll have thousands of dollars' worth of student loans to pay back.

That scares me. So national service sounds interesting: perhaps I would work in a field in which I could get a real job eventually, or at least learn *something*, meet new people, pay back my loans and help my country at the same time. So, I'm thinking, Yeah, all right, sign me up! But then I think, Whoa, wait a minute here: I have lots of ques-

tions about national service, like, how much will I earn? (It doesn't have to be a lot, but I'd like to have an idea.) Where will I live? Will I be able to choose the program I want to be involved in, or could I wind up emptying bedpans at an old folks' home (when I really want to work as a teacher's aide, maybe in an inner-city school)? Questions like these have to be answered before somebody my age can get really excited about national service.

Here's what we know so far. In his address before Congress last month, President Clinton said national service is designed to help pay college tuitions for those students who serve their nation and their communities. He said twice as many people would enter national service within the first year of its operation as the number that participated in the Peace Corps in its whole history. Good, I thought, now the plan is big enough to grab people's attention in the bold way it should: the more people involved, the better it is for everybody. But now we learn it'll begin as a pilot plan with a thousand people. A thousand people! That's not exactly what I had in mind. But Clinton promises it will grow, and he's still talking about adding new adjuncts to military service, like a police corps, a teaching corps, a forestry or environmental corps and a health-care corps. That's cool.

My dad is excited about the prospect of a national-service program—maybe a little too excited. The reason he likes the idea (and keeps yammering at me about it) is that he thinks young people will get a chance to gain the kind of understanding of their country and what makes it work

that he got during his own military service, and that my grandparents' generation did during World War II (and after it, thanks to the GI Bill). It's the kind of patriotism that we haven't seen during the past 20 years because there has been no big call to arms. My dad says that while he might not have been acutely aware of it at the time, because he spent a lot of time peeling potatoes and digging foxholes, he learned some very powerful lessons about other people and about his country while he was in the army, and I believe him. So he thinks my generation would learn a lot. That sounds hokey, so I really hate to admit it, but I agree. Does that make me a dork, too?

Daunting future: There are other reasons to be interested. We face awful societal problems today: crime, urban strife, drugs, racial and class conflicts, for instance, not to mention that this is the last season of "Cheers." The nation is coming apart at the seams and people don't connect with one another anymore. The future looks daunting. So maybe some of these problems could be solved or at least minimized a little, if people only understood each other better. A program in which the nation's youth could learn *how* to work together would help. Here's another good point: since I go to a school where virtually everyone looks, dresses and acts exactly like me, I wouldn't mind meeting other kinds of people for a change.

Many kids might benefit from this kind of exposure.

Everybody wants to figure out how much all this idealism will cost, but if the program is going to work, we should first concentrate on what it will do, and then figure out the economic details. The budget should come after we reach a consensus about what we want to do. This program has too much potential to let politi-

cians kill it before it even gets started.

Whoa, heavy stuff! Did I just say all that? Can a teenager have brain room left after all those hours of the very best bits from "Saturday Night Live" and all those Pearl Jam lyrics get lodged in there? That's another thing: national service would give teenagers and young people a great chance to prove themselves to skeptical adults. That may be the best part of the program. But the big problem with Clinton's plan now, judging from the vacant looks I see when I ask kids my age about it, is that the people this plan will affect most dramatically really don't know very much about it. Yet when I explained what I knew about it to my friends, they were intrigued.

So hey, President Clinton, use that telegenic salesmanship on us, and hold a nationally televised national-service summit. Don't rely on MTV alone, either, because we don't have cable here in the boonies. Maybe you could invite members of the earlier national volunteer organizations, like VISTA, and also war veterans, vets from the Job Corps and the Civilian Conservation Corps and representatives from private volunteer organizations. Most important, you should invite some of the young people who will eventually be enlisted to help mold the program that could end up changing their lives. Adults owe it to their children to take action on the subject, to give them a clear stake in their future. President Clinton, do it for Chelsea. But personally, I hope the Gore kids have to empty the bedpans.



National service would give students a chance to prove themselves

Nylén lives in Ashfield, Mass.

lion uninsured. Sin taxes alone, however, won't be enough. Last week *Magaziner* privately asked representatives of large and small businesses how best to cap costs in the short term while phasing in benefits more slowly. That idea concerns some in the White House, who insist, as one put it, "We have to create winners before we create losers."

In the past two weeks, the AMA, U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association have publicly jumped on the managed-competition bandwagon. Under fire from the White House for price gouging, the drug-makers last week asked the Justice Department to grant an exemption from antitrust prosecution so that they can negotiate voluntary price restraints. "The train is leaving the station," said a drug lobbyist. "We're just trying to slow the train down long enough ... to get on board."

Until now, Hillary has not submerged herself in the day-to-day work of the task force but has been briefed regularly by *Magaziner*. For the most part, she has played congressional lobbyist, paying calls on members and listening for ideas while a trio of aides take copious notes. Lawmakers report that the First Lady, for all her reputed aloofness, knows the right moves. When Illinois Democrat Dan Rostenkowski suggested to Hillary that her husband was sending her into a "huge hellfire" on health care, she adroitly replied, "You know, Mr. Chairman, Chicago looks a lot better as a result of that fire." Legislators always get a letter the next day—and sometimes a picture—thanking them for their thoughts on very specific subjects. "This is not a casual exercise," said a top White House aide. "She is making a set of judgments about where there are sensitivities and who will be natural allies."

She is also involved in legislative strategy. For the past few weeks, Democratic leaders in the Senate have been wrestling with ways to attach the health-care bill to the economic package in a giant superbill later this year. Senate rules made the gambit look unlikely from the start, but last week Hillary joined one final push on the issue before Senator Robert Byrd confirmed that it wouldn't be appropriate.

The general public has yet to see the Hillary who is everywhere at once, perfectly conversant on 100 different health-care topics. For now, her goal is to avoid becoming a distraction—or a target for opponents. At a health-care forum last Friday in Tampa, Florida, a visibly tired Hillary listened quietly while witnesses made their cases for various reforms. She usually made her comments, such as they were, in the form of a question, much as Justices do when they hear oral arguments at the Supreme Court. Meanwhile the other 11 Hillaries were probably working back in Washington. ■

The Political Interest/Michael Kramer

Life After High School

"IF I EVER WIN THIS DEAL," BILL CLINTON SAID 14 MONTHS AGO, "AND IF I'm remembered for only one thing, I hope it's national service. It's the best money we could ever spend, and I mean to spend it."

As good as his word, Clinton is pushing a four-year, \$7.4 billion appropriation for national service, the plan that would permit students to finance their post-secondary education by working for up to two years in a variety of community jobs. Even with a price tag that steep, however, the program can fund at most 150,000 Americans a year by 1997, a fraction of the potential demand and a far cry from Clinton's campaign pledge that "every young American could borrow the money necessary to go to college" by "giving two years of his life to rebuild America."

A spirited debate has arisen as the plan's advocates maneuver to craft its details. The key question involves the program's target audience. The Administration is currently considering giving up to \$10,000 a year to those who serve after graduating from college, twice the sum contemplated for those who complete their work stint after high school. Neither figure would come close to purchasing a private education, but the White House says four years at many state universities could be covered by \$20,000. The three legislators most associated with national service over the years—Representative Dave McCurdy and Senators Sam Nunn and Barbara Mikulski—are dead set against favoring college grads. "Skew it to those who've completed college," says Nunn, "and you've wiped out a major rationale for the plan, which is to get kids of varied backgrounds to work together in a common civic experience. You also want to aid as many members of the college-age population as you can who want decent vocational training. Leave them behind and you pay later in welfare and other costs. And besides," Nunn notes, "most of the jobs that need filling, like helping the elderly in their homes—which could save billions in health-care costs—don't require a college degree." What's more, says American University president Joe Duffey, "at least a quarter of those who go to college aren't sure of what they want, so many drop out. A year or so of service can help them get their heads straight."

Clinton initially became enthusiastic about national service through his participation in the Democratic Leadership Council. Will Marshall of the D.L.C.'s think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute, offers several other reasons for concentrating on high school graduates. "First," says Marshall, "the opportunity costs to the economy are lower. If a college grad delays taking a regular private-sector job, society loses the tax receipts of his labor. Second, since most high school graduates would live at home and are unmarried, we'd be spared the ancillary housing and child-care costs the program aims to pay for. Third, job displacement is less likely. You don't want to put current wage earners on the street because national servants cost an employer less."

During a morning jog with McCurdy last Friday, Clinton confirmed what others have said, that his emphasis on aiding students *after* college derives in part from his desire to assuage middle-class voters upset with his breaking his promise to lower their taxes. Fair enough, but more middle-class families would receive help if their children joined the program after high school, as a confidential transition memorandum pointed out. The President ought to reread that memo and change course. ■



CYNTHIA JOHNSON FOR TIME

Touting the program in New Jersey

PUBLIC LIVES

By Joe Klein

Clinton's Project Addiction

Is it just that his immediate predecessor was the affably inert George Bush, or is Bill Clinton's breathless rush to announce new initiatives beginning to seem just a little bit out of control? There's something new every week. And not just new: ambitious, precarious, wildly adventurous. Last week it was a \$20 billion defense-conversion plan, rushed out to take the edge off Les Aspin's military-base Armageddon. Good luck: "The record of massive defense conversion is one unblemished by success," Kenneth Adelman and Norman Augustine noted in *Foreign Affairs* a year ago. The president's attempt at techno-alchemy is more modest than massive, but no less chancy.

It appears to be composed, in equal parts, of a wing and a prayer. One part would encourage defense companies to develop technologies that could also have commercial uses: the V-22 Osprey, if it ever stops crashing in tests, may prove an effective short-haul commercial aircraft (if a market exists for short-haul commercial aircraft, a topic of some debate among those who care). Another part was a beefed-up worker-retraining program which, skeptics say, is only marginally more effective than distributing lottery tickets to those who've been laid off.

Which is not to say defense conversion shouldn't be tried. Even if all \$20 billion is wasted, it's a more hopeful, creative use of the money than tossing people out of work and spending a significant fraction thereof on unemployment insurance. And it won't all be wasted: no doubt, some defense contractors will come up with products even more useful than Tang (NASA's gift to breakfast, you may recall). And, given a chance to experiment in the retraining area, Labor Secretary Robert Reich—who is refreshingly honest about current prospects—may well find some strategies that work. But this is all risky business. It will have to be watched carefully. The plug will have to be pulled quickly on ideas that don't work; ideas that do must be left free to thrive. The trouble is, government is awful at this: plugs never get pulled. The few ideas that thrive tend to be regulated rather than replicated. Inertia rules.

Unfortunately, Bill Clinton seems blithely unconcerned about *process*. He rolls out concepts, rather than fully gestated programs—national service, high tech, universal vaccinations, billions tossed about for housing (even though his own department of housing admitted last week that it can't manage the programs it has) *and*, coming soon, Yeltsin relief—any and all of which could be brilliant, transcendent

feats of governance . . . or utter disasters, depending on how they're designed. But the president is too obsessed with the big picture to sweat the small stuff. He is hooked on projects. In this respect, he's a lot like the private sector: for the past quarter century, American business has been great at R(e-search), but too impatient to be very good at D(evelopment). It's been left to the Japanese, and others, to take bright American ideas—like VCRs—and figure out how to manufacture them. Clinton doesn't have that luxury. He can't subcontract with Sony to run HUD (although it might not be a bad idea).

As it is, several recently announced Clinton initiatives are foundering, victims of politics as usual and sloppy-think. To name three: national service is being picked apart by lobbyists (especially bankers who make money on student loans). The chances for a real managed-competition health-care system were crippled last week when Hillary Clinton announced that health benefits, no matter how plush, wouldn't be taxed—a favor to unions who've gone easy on salary demands in recent years to maintain solid-gold health plans. And the mass-vaccination plan may be overkill engendered by ideological myopia—parental irresponsibility has as much to do with the problem as the price of vaccine (which may be kept high by the threat of lawsuits).

Downsides: A great deal is at stake here. The public is profoundly skeptical of government activism—but, in 1992, its skepticism was overcome by the fear America was unprepared for the new, cold, high-tech globalism. If Clinton doesn't run his government with rigor and a neo-Asian emphasis on "process

technologies" (that is, the way the products are made), his tentative mandate could evaporate. If it does, creative governance could be mothballed for a generation.

There are those, of course, who argue this wouldn't be awful. But national service, if well executed, could be as important to the next generation as the GI Bill was to the last—and shake up the nation's stagnant, cynical, unionized civil service in the process. And high-tech infrastructure ideas like "smart highways" could propel the next economic growth spurt, just as Dwight Eisenhower's interstate highways helped sustain the last. And a carefully crafted aid program for Russia could have as much impact on future tranquillity and economic growth as did the Marshall Plan. Indeed, the president might do well to follow Bob Dole's recent advice: chill out, take the weekend off, have a diet Coke—and then take a closer look at the programs you've already offered before you try anything new.



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

A wing and a prayer: In New Jersey

u0107usnwr

r w bc-volunteer-summit 03-23

First Summit on Community Service Held in Washington; Focus
on Shifting the Paradigm of Volunteer Participation

To: National Desk

Contact: Judi Vallano of The Points of Light Foundation,
202-408-5162

WASHINGTON, March 23 /U.S. Newswire/ -- Major leaders in the nonprofit arena met today at the first summit on community service, sponsored by the Washington D.C.-based Points of Light Foundation. The summit was held to advance the findings of the foundation's "Changing the Paradigm" project which challenges the way in which nonprofit organizations engage volunteers to help organizations achieve their missions.

Summit events included a discussion of the implications of policy and practice of President Bill Clinton's national service agenda as presented by Dr. William Galston, special assistant to the president for domestic affairs at the White House.

Held at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the summit attracted more than 150 leaders of nonprofit organizations and local volunteer center administrators. "As an organization that relies solely on a volunteer workforce, we must create conditions in which volunteers can flourish," said Tom McKenna, executive director of Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America and member of the foundation's advisory committee overseeing the Paradigm project. "The volunteer has a special quality you just can't find in a paid employee, and the Paradigm project is meaningful because it gives significance to volunteers and how they should be valued."

The "Changing the Paradigm" project was created in response to suggestions by the voluntary sector, business and government to give priority to volunteerism; Richard Schubert, president and CEO, the Points of Light Foundation; Rev. Thomas Harvey, former executive director, Catholic Charities USA; Katherine Noyes, president, Association for Volunteer Administration; Walt Smith, corporate consultant, IBM Corp.; Dr. Norman Brown, president and CEO, the Kellogg Foundation, and Sheldon Goldberg, president, American Association of Homes for the Aging.

The Points of Light Foundation is a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated to mobilizing leaders to motivate the American public for community service aimed at solving serious social problems.

-0-

/U.S. Newswire 202-347-2770/
03/23 10:26

White House Announces New Summer Program for Teachers

To: National Desk, Education Writer

Contact: White House Office of Press Secretary, 202-456-2100

WASHINGTON, March 23 /U.S. Newswire/ -- Hundreds of middle and high school teachers from across the country will sharpen their science and mathematics skills at 16 world-class federal laboratories and facilities under a new Summer Teacher Enhancement Program announced today by Dr. John H. Gibbons, President Clinton's assistant for science and technology.

The four-week Summer Teacher Enhancement Program will retrain 800 teachers each year in mathematics, science, and technology by exposing them to hands-on projects and experiments conducted by scientists and engineers in the nation's R&D laboratories. In addition, the teachers will work on-site with education specialists to learn how to use new curriculum and teaching aids.

"This innovative program moves beyond traditional education training by teaming teachers with working experts on actual projects," said Dr. Gibbons. "As teachers return to their classrooms, not only will they be better equipped to inspire students to careers in science, engineering, and mathematics, they will seed the teacher corps with new ideas as well."

The program takes a unique approach to teacher retraining that combines classic instruction with hands-on experience in an intense four-week period. It is the first such program to collaborate so broadly across the agencies. Each host facility will set its own criteria for selection of participants. Follow-up contacts between participants and facility experts will provide continuing education beyond the four-week period. An external evaluation of the program will be jointly funded by the National Science Foundation and the Department of Energy, with input from the other agencies involved.

The \$4 million Summer Teacher Enhancement Program is funded through the Department of Energy and was arranged through the Committee on Education and Human Resources of the Federal Coordinating Council for Science, Engineering and Technology (FCCSET). The Council coordinates federal R&D programs and other multi-agency activities, and is comprised of Cabinet members from the major federal departments and the heads of federal science agencies. Dr. Gibbons is also the Chair of FCCSET.

The following 16 federal laboratories and facilities will each host 50 middle school or high school teachers from their regions: Marshall Space Flight Center, Huntsville, Ala.; Jet Propulsion Laboratory, Pasadena, Calif.; Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, Berkeley, Calif.; Sandia National Laboratories, Livermore, Calif.; Environmental Research Laboratories, Boulder, Co.; Smithsonian Institute's National Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C.; Argonne National Laboratory, Argonne, Ill.; National Wetlands Research Center, Lafayette, La.; Sandia National Laboratories, Albuquerque, N.M.; Research and Development Center, Research Triangle Park, N.C.; Breidenbach Environmental Research Center, Cincinnati, Ohio; Cooperative Extension Service, Clemson, S.C.; Oak Ridge Institute of Science and Education, Oak Ridge, Tenn.; Superconducting Super Collider Laboratory, Dallas; Continuous Electron Beam Accelerator Facility, Newport News, Va.; and Pacific Northwest Laboratory, Richland, Wash.

For additional information about specific sites and programs, please contact Cindy Musick, education development specialist, Office of University and Science Education, U.S. Department of Energy, Washington, D.C. 202-586-0982.

-0-

/U.S. Newswire 202-347-2770/

03/23 13:59

LS/LETTERS SUNDAY, MARCH 14, 1993

National Service Proposal Exploits the Poor

To the Editor:

President Clinton's call for "National Service — Now" (Op-Ed, Feb. 28) appears to stem from noble intentions, but it is eminently unfair.

In exchange for Federal Government loans enabling students to attend college, Mr. Clinton would have them serve as teachers, police officers, nurses or social workers for one or two years at low wages.

It should not be acceptable for these positions to be considered low-paying public service jobs. Those whose employment involves saving and protecting the lives of others or educating our youth, are as important as, for example, those who can create a better stealth bomber.

What of those who want to make a career in teaching, law enforcement, nursing or social work? Would communities pressed for funds be willing to employ regular staffs when they can have the benefit of college graduates at half-pay? Would the income of the regular employees ever increase to reflect their value to society?

The children of the rich will not be required to participate in this program. They will be able to settle into their chosen careers immediately on graduation from college.

This tuition-for-service program will not, as Mr. Clinton says, "insure that our schools offer the best education in the world."

For that, dramatic changes will be necessary in our public schools. We must correct conditions that permit a class size of more than 50 students (as in Los Angeles) or of two different classes meeting in one converted cafeteria (as in New York). Courses for the gifted and talented, and in music and the arts, must be restored in communities forced to cut back for financial reasons.

Thomas Jefferson said, "It is not enough to create just the form of a republic. We must make it work. We must educate them to use the vote and be worthy of it. We must give them free schools and universities."

It would be ideal to move toward complete Federal funding of education through the university level. But at the very least, we should not add

burdens on young Americans merely because they are financially disadvantaged.

VIRGINIA G. CIOCCO

New York, March 1, 1993

The writer is a former high school supervisor and assistant principal in New Jersey.

A Double Bargain

To the Editor:

"National Service — Now" (Op-Ed, Feb. 28) by Bill Clinton reminded me of my year in the Vista program, Volunteers in Service to America more than 12 years ago in Decatur, Ill. I was a college graduate originally from New York earning a little more than \$300 a month working as a credit and housing specialist. My sponsor was a nonprofit agency, which was efficient and did not resemble a government bureaucracy.

I learned how to organize elderly home owners against unscrupulous realtors, I counseled families on budgeting their funds, worked toward preventing evictions and negotiated with utility companies to have electrical power restored to families who had power terminated for nonpayment. During this time I worked



Rupert Howard

closely with social workers, legal services lawyers and their Vista volunteer to improve the lives of many low-income families.

My brother Thomas spent two

years abroad as a Peace Corps volunteer in the Micronesian Islands. He was a teacher who traveled to many of the islands as an administrator and to give its inhabitants basic educational instruction.

Whatever improvements we made in the lives of others simply does not compare to what we learned from the community we served, from the volunteers, new friendships, insights into the human condition and ourselves. A volunteer in national service may be a bargain for government; I would have paid a premium for the opportunity.

RICHARD J. MONTELLIONE

New York, Feb. 28, 1993

Big Brother Wants You

To the Editor:

Kim Grose's vision of extending President Clinton's national service idea to children (Op-Ed, Feb. 23) is frightening for what it ignores: the issue of compulsion. The Indiana students who care for wildlife, the Harlem children who field a "peace team," do so out of their own concern.

The antithesis is expressed in an old Army gag: I need three volunteers, you, you and you.

We risk the kind of violation of civil rights for which America was invented as recourse. It would be a sign that our ship has turned full around, toward propagation of individual morals and behavior from the top. The program would accelerate this motion by giving Government the dual role of demanding that good works be done and defining what works are good (much as public schools teach the virtue of public education, which is elsewhere open to question).

What a way to make kids love public service.

We the people, or at least those with any control over our own lives, are already eyeing routes of escape, ready to devote more energy to obtaining the freedom of our own children than we devote to reducing our taxes — oops, our contributions.

Just as Kim Grose says, people "who serve in their childhood years ... will be better equipped to participate actively in society throughout their lives." But in what kind of society? One that finds a model in the Chinese?

LEONARD RUBIN

New York, Feb. 27, 1993

Excerpted from
the President's Earth Day Speech today - 4/21

We must keep finding new ways to be a force for positive change. For example, the federal government is the largest purchaser of computer equipment in the world, and computers are the fastest growing area of electricity use. That's why I am also signing an executive order today requiring the federal government to purchase energy-efficient computers. We're going to expand the market for a technology where America pioneered and still leads the world, and we'll save energy, saving the taxpayers \$40 million a year, and set an example for our country and for the world.

For as long as I live and work in the White House, I want Americans to see it not only as a symbol of clean government, but also a clean environment. That's why I'm announcing an energy and environmental audit of the White House. We're going to identify what it takes to make the White House a model for efficiency and waste reduction. It might mean fewer memos and less paper. (Laughter.) And then we're going to get the job done. I want to make the White House a model for other federal agencies, for state and local governments, for business, and for families in their homes. Before I ask you to do the best you can in your house, I ought to make sure I'm doing the best I can in my house. (Applause.)

I ask that all of us today reaffirm our willingness to assume responsibility for our common environment, and to do it willingly, hopefully, and joyously. We are challenged here today not so much to sacrifice as to celebrate and create. I've challenged Americans who are young in years or young in spirit to offer their time and their talent to serve their communities and their country. I've asked them to help in teaching our children, healing the sick, policing our streets.

But equally important are efforts to protect our environment -- from our largest cities to our smallest towns to our suburbs. Our National Service Plan will ask thousands of Americans to do their part, from leading recycling drives to preventing lead poisoning.

The challenge to shoulder responsibility and seize opportunity extends to each of us in business, communities, and homes. In our own lives, in our own ways, each of us has something to offer to the work of cleaning up America's environment. And each of us surely has something very personal to gain.

On a colder day in the middle of winter, just three months ago, a poet asked us to celebrate, not only the marvelous diversity of our people, but the miraculous bounty of our land. "Here on the pulse of this new day," Maya Angelou challenged us to look at, "the rock, the river, the tree, your country." Now, it is a season of new hope and new beginnings. And as we look anew at our neighbors, our children and our own communities, as well as the world around us, we must seize the possibilities inherent in this exhilarating moment; to face our challenges, to exercise our responsibilities, and to rejoice in them.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 20, 1993

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
AT NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICES CEREMONY

The South Lawn

2:35 P.M. EDT

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you very much. (Applause.) I want to thank Eli Segal for all of the work that he is doing in leading the charge to translate into reality the belief that national service is something that young people and not-so-young people -- all of us -- want to be a part of. And I want to thank all of you who have gathered here at the White House for this celebration.

Now, this is how campaign promises -- (laughter) -- sort of take on a new life. (Laughter.) A year ago, I have to confess, I never had any doubt that my husband would be President because I believed it was the right thing and I thought that the country was ready for the kind of change that he was advocating. So when, in a moment of careless aside -- (laughter) -- I told Vanessa, this is such a great program and we believe in it so much; why don't we do it in the Rose Garden next year -- (laughter and applause) -- I assumed that she was busy, she had a lot on her mind. (Laughter.) It didn't rank way up there with recruiting more people to be part of public allies. And I, frankly, didn't remember it either. (Laughter.)

So when our collective memory kicked in and we all remembered that I had invited all of you to come, I was very excited. But then, as often happens with campaign promises, you get to the small print. The small print is that I think specifically, Vanessa, I said, next year we'll do this in the Rose Garden. But then there were too many of you to fit in the Rose Garden, and so we fulfilled the campaign promise, but not exactly. So you're here at the White House and we're delighted you're here. And we're excited by what your being here represents.

We've already heard three of the most eloquent testimonies to service that anyone could hear when we heard from Carl and Sarah and Maria, because each in his and her ways talked about how service is not a one-way street. Service is not doing something for somebody else and that's the end. Service is being committed and being part of the community in which you live. And it means then that you get as well as you give.

There's a young man named Matthew whose life has been changed because of Carl, just as Matthew has changed Carl's life. (Applause.) There are 20 children in a classroom whom I wish you had brought with you whose lives are being changed on a daily basis because someone named Sarah decided that teaching and using her education to help other people was something that would not only be good for her to do, but something she would be educated because she had done.

And then there are a lot of people like Maria who now feel part of our country because they have voted and because they have convinced other people to vote and because they now see that they have a stake in helping to change what goes on around them. (Applause.)

When I talk about service, I often quote my friend, Marian Edelman, with that wonderful line from her in which she said that service is the rent we pay for living. And service is a very

MORE

fundamental way we connect with one another while we live. It is the way that we find meaning in our lives, both individually and collectively, because we see what we are capable of and we watch it being reflected in the faces of others.

We see it in the houses we build. We see it in the neighborhoods we help reclaim. We see it in the lives we touch. And then we come home and look in the mirror and know that we've been reclaimed, we've been touched, we've been served. And that is why this whole concept of national service that my husband believes in so passionately is at the root of what he sees as the need to rebuild and reclaim America.

And it is founded on very simple core values. And I'd like to talk about those core values, because community, opportunity, responsibility and education are really at the core. And the more we can expand the idea that we are interconnected and interdependent, that we need one another in order to be fully whoever we were intended by God to be, the more we understand the role that service has to play in an individual's life, in a community's life, in a nation's life.

So arrayed behind me are young people who are being honored for what they have done and what they represent. But also arrayed behind me are lives that have been changed because of service.

I am very hopeful that the decade of the '80s in which individuality and selfishness and greed were viewed as virtues is over. (Applause.) And I am particularly hopeful that the promise of the '90s will be fulfilled. Now, will it be easy? Of course, it won't. As Eli said, I've been doing service in some way or another for many, many years. And has it always been a success? No, it hasn't. Have I always felt that maybe I helped to change something? Not always. But on balance in my life it has enriched my life and it has given me an opportunity to give back what I've been blessed with.

But it is not going to be easy on a national level to translate those very personal values into widely spread concepts and programs that will take root and grow, no matter who is President, no matter what Vanessa does next year, no matter who is the esteemed Senator from Pennsylvania or Illinois. Translating that kind of value into action and then making sure that action lives beyond the actors is what is behind our commitment to national service. (Applause.) Because we believe the American social contract, the American Dream, America itself, as we love it and understand it and believe in it, is at stake.

As we move forward from this day and this occasion, where we take a few minutes out to not only say thank you, but to celebrate the accomplishments of these young people, let's use the energy and the feeling that is gathered here to fuel us for the struggles that lie ahead, which are not really over a program called national service, but over the future of a country -- over what kind of people we are and will be, what kind of opportunities our children will have, what responsibilities all of us will feel for one another.

Service goes far beyond what we can even put into words. But those of us who have done it and believe in it know that it is part of what makes life meaningful and makes it possible for us to look each other in the eye, as Carl has done in his own face, and say I can be somebody, I can do something, I can make a contribution. And that's about the best definition of an American I've ever heard. (Applause.)

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

END

2:45 P.M. EDT

Clinton. Youths Have Plenty Riding on 'Summer of Opportunity'

By Mary Jordan
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton plans to spend well over \$2 billion on youths this summer, more than Idaho and the Dakotas and several other states spent on all programs last year, in the most concentrated social effort of its kind since the 1960s.

"The Summer of Opportunity," as Clinton is calling the summer of '93, includes reactivating a Lyndon B. Johnson-era VISTA program, teaching 850,000 poor children in summer school, creating 700,000 new summer jobs, rounding up 2-year-olds for trips to the doctor, and allowing Ivy League students to counsel gang members in exchange for money for college.

With only two months to go before the June kickoff, job corps, nonprofit community groups and public schools, with no time

even to wait for the expected congressional approval, are racing to hire supervisors and teachers, structure meaningful jobs, and rent everything from office space to computers.

But even those relieved that children and poverty have returned as a top White House priority wonder if this social effort—which Clinton is expected to outline in more detail as he releases his 1994 budget today—is too much, too fast.

"We certainly have not seen this emphasis on inner cities in a long, long time. I'm delighted in that respect," said Robert Engstrom, a member of the inner-city task force for the Urban Land Institute. "But I hope we don't end up with a lot of funds flowing through a bureaucracy that is not capable of administering it."

Elijah Anderson, a University of Pennsylvania professor and expert on poverty and

urban programs, said if the summer jobs turn out, as they have in the past, to be "make-work," they will have no long-term effect.

In addition, he warned that the government could have trouble reaching those it is trying to serve. "There is a tremendous amount of skepticism among the very poor because of what went on under Bush and Reagan," he said.

Still others worry that the Summer of '93 package is going to hit poor neighborhoods like a sudden monsoon in a desert.

But Clinton has a huge stake in making sure this investment does not wash away: It is the first critical test of his social agenda, the programs he said he wants to be the legacy of his presidency. The future of his grander plans for universal immunizations, burgeoning urban job corps and bigger

school budgets could rise and fall on their test run this summer.

"For lack of a better term, they want to throw some spaghetti against the wall and see what sticks," said Fred O'Regan, senior policy analyst for the Aspen Institute, a nonprofit organization involved in social policy.

As he throws out new programs and money, Clinton is not aiming low. "It's nothing less than the American way to change America," he said about youth service.

With all this new money suddenly up for grabs, nonprofit agencies and schools are competing for a share of the action. Many of the summer programs will be administered by nonprofit organizations under contracts with various federal agencies, including the departments of Education and Health and Human Services.

"It's total chaos and pandemonium," said Wendy Kopp, founder of Teach for Amer-

ica, which places top college graduates in less-desirable inner-city schools. The offices of Teach for America, like those of hundreds of other nonprofit groups nationwide, have been ablaze late into the night as they try to meet deadlines for sending summer proposals to Washington.

The various Washington offices administering the programs have different procedures for awarding the summer funds.

But the scene last week at the National and Community Service Commission on 14th Street NW was typical. Truckloads of overnight packages arrived, hand deliveries streamed in all day long.

"It's wild," said Melinda Hudson, commission spokeswoman. "Some people flew in; others drove all day to get here."

In all, more than 450 proposals, represented by
See SUMMER, A11, Col. 3

SUMMER PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

Among Clinton's summer programs, to be carried out largely between mid-June and mid-August, are:

- A summer jobs program for disadvantaged youths costing \$1 billion in new money, adding 700,000 extra jobs, and for the first time including drills in math, reading and writing.
- A so-called Chapter One summer school plan, costing \$500 million. It will keep 500,000 youths, many living in areas of concentrated poverty, in school for remedial studies and will add more than 80,000 jobs for teachers and staff.
- A \$500 million summer extension of Head Start, the preschool program for children whose family income is below the poverty line. It will employ 50,000

adults and serve 350,000 preschoolers.

- The beginning of the \$300 million effort to identify children who need polio, diphtheria and other vaccinations, and immunizing them.
- A \$10 million kickoff of National Service, the plan that allows 1,000 to 1,500 students to tutor and counsel youths and clean up neighborhoods in exchange for money for college or job training.
- A \$1.2 million reactivation of the 1960s VISTA Summer Associates programs, which will add 600 youths to the ranks of the volunteer force that works in programs in needy neighborhoods.
- A \$1 million expansion of existing urban job corps, meant to attract more local money and quickly expand the ranks.

Youth Initiative Producing Excitement, Anxiety

SUMMER, From A10

senting tens of thousands of placements for youths, made the deadline.

In two weeks, the winning community service groups will be announced and they will begin choosing the first National Service class.

These students, age 17 to 25, will convene in a splashy youth summit on the West Coast June 21. Afterward, the students—some poor, others middle-class or rich—will begin work counseling, tutoring and fixing.

Paid \$4.25 an hour, the youths also will receive \$1,000 toward their education or training at the end of eight weeks.

"This is akin to the early days of the War on Poverty," Margaret Weir, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, said about the

new social programs, "but with more modest expectations."

Weir said Clinton is savvy to start off targeting youth and including children of the middle and upper classes.

"Focusing on youth is always the politically easier thing to do," she said. "It's easier to get by the deservedness question."

Some earlier government job programs, like the 1970s Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA), are synonymous with waste, with long-remembered stories of youths pulling a paycheck for nothing more than shooting a basketball.

The administration is expected to put muscle into the selling of these new summer programs, outfitting youths in identifiable T-shirts and making sure many are engaged in visible projects.

Romero Cherry, for one, is looking forward to it.

In 1965, he was assigned to the first full-year program of VISTA, often described as the domestic Peace Corps. He was placed in New York City, a youth fixing up housing projects, and stayed on with the program during its lean years.

Now, as director of a VISTA literacy project in Connecticut, Cherry is waiting to hear if his program will get funded for the summer.

"It is kind of rough in this world to get along if you can't read," said Cherry. "In places like nursing homes where aides are being asked to take written examinations, it is now coming to light that these people can't read. If you can't read, it affects a lot. It affects jobs."

"There is a high-pitched excitement about what is going to take place this summer. People want this."

National Perspective

EMPLOYMENT

Summer Jobs Program Holds Promise, Peril for Teen-Agers

Critics of plan for low-income youths say it's make-work. The White House says it works.

By ELIZABETH SHOGREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—If Bill Clinton needs an ally in his effort to expand the government's summer jobs program for disadvantaged youths, Barraka Baber is ready to step forward. A 12th-grader in Saginaw, Mich., he has spent the last three summers in federally funded jobs, working as a student aide and a park helper, and the experience has made a real difference in his life.

"The summer jobs helped me stay out of trouble, kept me on a straight line and helped me with my financial problems, too," Baber said. "Sometimes I sit back and wonder where I would be without it. Would I be in jail? Would I have a child? Or would I be on my way to college like I am now?"

But Marvin Turner, a job training advocate who has run Saginaw's summer jobs program for the last 25 years, is not so sure that all of the money Clinton is seeking will produce similar results. Kids like Baber, he said, tend to represent the exception rather than the rule. For some, Turner said, the programs undermine rather than reinforce good work habits.

"There's going to be a lot of money wasted this summer," Turner predicted. "God help the folks administering programs in large cities. I have a hard enough time in Saginaw."

The observations of Baber and Turner reflect the promise and the peril facing the Administration as it attempts to significantly expand the summer jobs program. Clinton has asked Congress to spend \$1 billion to put an additional 700,000 young Americans to work in cities across the country, increasing total participation to 1.3 million.

The funding is part of a \$16.3-billion economic stimulus and job creation bill that has provoked a Republican filibuster in the Senate. Most of the GOP criticism is aimed at other provisions in the bill, and it appears likely Clinton will receive the summer job funds he is seeking.

The Administration cites two main benefits of the expansion: It will provide meaningful work and increase the odds of future success for the youths who participate. It also will provide a temporary economic boost to the affected



Participants in Saginaw's Summer Training and Education Program help restore a 100-year-old cabin in St. Charles, Mich.

communities because poor teen-agers generally spend most of what they earn.

Mindful that many Americans view such programs as little more than taxpayer-financed make-work, the Administration has specified that each participant must receive about 90 hours of academic enrichment over the summer in the classroom or on the job.

"We have designed this new program to learn from the mistakes of the past, and to build on its successes," said Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich. "For the first time, the Department of Labor will work closely with the Department of Education on this project and invest substantial resources to provide educational enrichment. We plan on targeting nearly one-third of the additionally requested funding for this purpose."

Critics of the Administration proposal remain unconvinced. Even Saginaw's Turner acknowledges that for many participants, a federally funded summer job is not a positive experience. Some are just in it for the money and refuse to work. Some are assigned to projects where they are not needed or given jobs that are not justified. Some experience such lax supervision that they spend more time on break than on the job.

While a number of cities operate innovative programs like the one Baber has attended, others clearly fall short of

the mark. And the dramatic expansion envisioned by Clinton could easily swamp even the best programs with thousands of new participants.

Across the country, summer job administrators say they fear that the short lead time will make it impossible to

'An effort like this must be judged by its modest goal—to help poor kids retain over the summer what they learned before, and to give them a modicum of structure, discipline and work experience.'

LABOR SECRETARY ROBERT B. REICH

find enough good placement opportunities and to plan the quality educational components mandated by the Administration.

Colorado officials, for instance, expect their allocation to balloon from \$7.4 million to \$22.6 million if the stimulus package is passed in its current form.

"It remains to be seen if we can get as many job sites or as many kids as we need" to use the extra money, said Kathy

Workman, programs manager at the governor's job training office in Denver.

Opponents of the Clinton proposal recall the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, a federal jobs program that was expanded significantly during the Jimmy Carter Administration. The CETA program was widely criticized for tolerating waste, fraud and nepotism.

Demetra Nightingale of the Urban Institute said that CETA was cleaned up by the late 1970s, and that most of the criticism did not involve summer jobs for youths. Nightingale noted that political opposition to government jobs programs is a hardy perennial. Newspaper articles in the 1930s described New Deal workers leaning on their rakes instead of working, and misusing government money.

Reich contends that in recent years, as a result of new legislation and stiffer regulation by the Labor Department, the number of make-work jobs funded by the federal government has been reduced to about 15%—"probably better than the rest of the economy."

And if government-financed summer jobs fail to transform the lives of every participant, maybe expectations are a little too high, Reich said.

"Giving a poor kid a job and some tutoring over the summer doesn't work miracles," Reich said. "Calling the eight to 10 weeks a failure because it fails to alone improve a young person's chance to

lead a productive life is like condemning the school lunch program because it doesn't end malnutrition. An effort like this must be judged by its modest goal—in this case, to help poor kids retain over the summer what they learned before, and to give them a modicum of structure, discipline and work experience."

Good summer programs can do even more than that, said Laurie Levin, who designed an innovative summer program combining half-time work with half-time instruction in reading, math and responsible sexual behavior. Her government-financed Summer Training and Education Program is now used in 100 localities for 8,000 young people, and the Labor Department has asked Levin to expand to 75 more areas this summer.

"We need to invest and help these kids do better because ultimately it's better for society," Levin said.

Typically, disadvantaged young people lose ground academically during summer break, but experimental jobs programs that devote time to academics have produced measurable improvements in reading and math scores. Studies by Levin's group, Public/Private Ventures, has found that on average, STEP participants improve their performance by half a grade level during the summer.

Turner, who is administering a STEP program in Saginaw, said the results are even more encouraging than such studies can show. He said he has seen a number of at-risk students start down paths toward college and careers as a result of their participation.

James Donald, 18, whose father works part time as a custodian, is one of those kids. Donald, who is planning to go to a local college next year and study to be a physical therapist, said the summer work-study program has given him the courage to avoid winding up like his cousin, who has been in and out of juvenile detention over the last few years because of drug dealing.

"I've learned how to make my own money and my own decisions," he said.

Some young people say that more traditional summer jobs can also have a big impact on their lives.

Vanessa Cisneros, a Denver ninth-grader who has worked for three summers as a clerk in the county courthouse, said the experience has made her believe she can fulfill her dream of becoming a lawyer. "It has let me see things I never knew I had in me."

tem and accelerate cuts. The largest savings, \$5.8 billion, would come out of procurement accounts, achieved mostly by scaling back weapons purchases or slipping production schedules. In the short term, the military will continue producing Cold War-era weapons systems like submarine-launched Trident II ballistic missiles and F-22 fighters.

Defense Secretary Les Aspin has acknowledged that the changes in the 1994 budget amount to little more than "treading water." But he promises a more aggressive approach during the next budget cycle.

— John Lancaster

EDUCATION

Service Program, Direct Lending Proposed



Those looking for a big federal investment in education will be disappointed. Clinton's new budget doesn't even seek the same level of increase in education as Bush did in his last year.

However, there are major changes in what this administration wants to do with its \$30 billion—about the same as was appropriated for this fiscal year. The department wants to phase in a new direct lending program, one that aims to lower students' interest rates; launch a national service program, so students can work off college bills through community service; and spend millions for capital improvements to historically black colleges and minority teacher fellowships. Secretary Richard W. Riley said 1994 is a year for structural change and "the proper thing to do" now isn't "to pour money into old programs."

— Mary Jordan

ENERGY

For First Time, Cleanup Gets as Much as A-Arms



Energy's budget is a post-World War II landmark: The amount for environmental restoration and waste management at the department's nuclear weapons plants almost equals the amount for weapons production and handling. The department plans to spend \$6.65 billion for weapons development and testing, stockpile management, naval reactors and other defense-related activities. The environmental cleanup allocation is \$6.55 billion, including \$721 million for former weapons plants now sitting idle while cleanup programs are developed.

Secretary Hazel R. O'Leary put the weapons spending figure at \$5.9 billion, down 19 percent from fiscal 1993, but the actual amount is \$6.65 billion, including money left over from earlier years. The total budget request is \$19.6 billion, up from \$19 billion this year. Beyond the weapons programs, the biggest changes are increases for solar and renewable energy research—up from \$251 million to \$327 million—and for "fundamental science research," up from \$2.7 billion to \$2.9 billion, including \$628 million for the Superconducting Super Collider.

— Thomas W. Lippman

Parks, Wildlife Service Get Big Increases



The Interior Department gets not only an 8 percent increase in funding under the new budget, from \$9 billion to \$9.5 billion, but a significant shift in emphasis to parks, conservation and wildlife. The National Park Service and U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service budgets would go up by 19 percent and 18 percent, respectively. The Interior budget also assumes increases in the fees ranchers pay to graze their stock on federal lands, and a first-ever royalty on gold and other minerals taken from federal property. The White House was criticized for agreeing not to push for those fees in budget reconciliation legislation, but Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt said he will do that administratively.

— Tom Kenworthy

JUSTICE

Budget Stays Flat; Policing Funds Sought



The Justice Department's budget would remain flat at \$11.2 billion. Clinton proposes spending \$50 million on "community policing" programs that strive to get officers out of patrol cars and more in touch with neighborhoods. About \$25 million would go for a "Police Corps" to provide scholarships to college students who pursue law enforcement careers. The department estimates it can save about \$116 million in administrative and personnel costs, including travel for conferences and training. There are no new funds for prison construction after fiscal 1994—a big change from Bush's plans.

— Sharon LaFraniere

LABOR

Employment, Training Set for Added Funds



Labor gets a major increase for employment and training programs, keeping with Clinton's call for more spending—or "investment"—to help those who lose their jobs due to corporate downsizing, defense cuts and the North American Free Trade Agreement. Funds for employment and training would rise from \$5.8 billion to \$7.5 billion, but actual spending would be slightly less than this year because much of the money—spent on a program year, not a fiscal-year basis—won't be paid out until summer. To pay for these programs, \$5 billion will be cut elsewhere. Overall, labor's budget goes down from \$47.9 billion in 1993 to \$40.4 billion next year. Most of the cut reflects the expiration of the Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act, an unemployment trust fund.

— Frank Swoboda

Beau

☐ Feeling
or Irr

☐ Loss
plea
once

☐ Cha
or

☐ Ch
sh

☐ F
h

☐ I

Nash. Post 4/9

NEWS YOU CAN USE

National service—now

Community-based programs can bankroll the education of many a young idealist

For the legions of young people resigned to another summer job behind a fast-food counter, Bill Clinton's speech last month was mouth-watering fare. "Drop me a card at the White House and just mark it 'National Service,'" the president invited, unveiling a summer pilot program designed as a precursor to a national plan that would repay community service with college-aid funds. For each of two years of service, college graduates who teach in inner-city schools, build housing for the homeless and perform other community services would have up to \$10,000 a year in education loans forgiven; high-school graduates would receive \$5,000 toward higher education or employment training. The program would have 100,000 participants by 1997.

The 10-person White House Office of National Service was quickly overwhelmed by thousands of cards and letters. Most of the writers will be disappointed: the pilot "summer of service" will have only 1,000 openings, many

earmarked for disadvantaged youth.

But the fledgling Clinton program isn't the only one of its kind. In the past several years, dozens of federal, state, local and university programs shaped much like the president's proposal have sprung up. A blend of the idealistic and the pragmatic, they are the product of rising student debt, fewer higher-paying career opportunities—and growing interest in public service.

Reaching out. Many high schools, for example, are now building a certain number of hours of volunteer work into the graduation requirement. College job-placement offices report a surge of interest in such programs as VISTA, the Peace Corps and Teach for America. And even before Clinton was elected, the Commission on National and Community Service, an independent bipartisan agency set up by Congress in 1990 to study and support public service, had begun to pump grant money into new or expanding community-service projects.

Few of the existing programs are as



AIDS educators. Crystal Hicks (left) and

generous with educational-debt relief as the Clinton plan is slated to be. But they are up and running, while the National Service Plan hasn't even faced a round of hearings on Capitol Hill. And collectively, they make up an ambitious national service plan of their own. The scope ranges from private or government-funded youth service corps that send teams of young people to help out in nursing homes and refurbish dilapidated elementary schools to college students who work with single mothers to doctors who minister to indigents. The pay in the programs often approaches minimum wage, but taking part can be an excellent way to put idealistic career goals to a real-world test. And a year working with the elderly at a nursing home or teaching in an inner-city Head Start program makes a far better re-

Big sister. Cornell senior Laura Lopes watches over a spin-happy toddler.

CORNELL TRADITION

Ithaca, N.Y.

The participants

600 Cornell students a year

The mission

Students must perform at least 75 hours of unpaid community service, from volunteering in a homeless shelter to organizing students to mentor low-income youth, plus 250 hours of paid work of any kind during the academic year.

The payback

A fellowship of \$2,500 a year against student loans



SCOTT GOLDSMITH FOR USA&WB



Andrea Walders pass out AIDS brochures in Washington, D.C.

sumé entry than flipping hamburgers. The following is a sampling of the kinds of programs that are available. Most are open to applicants from anywhere in the country.

YOUTH SERVICE CORPS

Crystal Hicks and Andrea Walders are unlikely friends. Hicks, 22, is a strong-willed single mother from the mean streets of Washington, D.C., and New York City. She dropped out of college after one year because of money problems. Andrea Walders, 23, grew up in a tony Maryland suburb and graduated from Hobart and William Smith Colleges in Geneva, N.Y., with a double degree in English and Third World studies last spring. Her parents paid for her college education.

But the two women have spent the past six months as a team. They have tutored inner-city elementary-school students, rehabbed a community center

and cared for disabled children as members of the D.C. Service Corps. The two-year-old program, funded with private and federal money, rotates teams of 17-to-23-year-olds through a variety of community-service jobs. Hicks and Walders each get a \$100 weekly living stipend, a \$2,000 scholarship when they complete the nine-month program and, of course, an opportunity to learn from one another. Walders, who plans to apply the scholarship money to graduate-school expenses, says of her growing friendship with Hicks: "I'm amazed that I could have so much in common with a woman whose experiences have been so different. A program like this really brings people together."

The original goal of many youth service corps was to get high-school dropouts off the streets. But the value of bringing together educationally, economically and culturally diverse youth like Hicks and Walders is increasingly

being recognized, and that means more opportunities for college students and recent graduates. The City Volunteer Corps in New York, which is similar to the D.C. Service Corps but offers a \$5,000 post-service scholarship, is about to launch a subway advertising campaign to recruit college students or college-bound youth to the yearlong, city-funded program. The City Year program in Boston, cited by Clinton as a model for the administration's plan, also is trying to attract more college graduates. And a handful of recent start-ups focus on training college students and postgraduates to become community-service leaders. For example, the Pennsylvania Service Corps and Volunteer Maryland!, which both receive funding from the

Commission on National and Community Service, offer extensive education in service management as well as assign participants to projects ranging from AIDS prevention to wildlife conservation for an entire year. Corps members help recruit volunteers and coordinate community services for the organizations to which they are assigned. They are paid a small stipend, plus a \$5,000 scholarship upon completion of the program.

Idealism notwithstanding, college students or graduates need to be sure that programs designed with high-school dropouts in mind can also meet their needs. One indicator of a program's commitment to hands-on community-service training is the time devoted to actually working with people, such as tutoring children or assisting the elderly, as opposed to unskilled physical labor like painting or planting. Generally, no more than one third of the work should consist of such hands-on labor, though a concentrated dose from time to time is fine, says Michael Camunez, program officer for the Commission on National and Community Service. Walders, for example, spent six weeks painting a community center—but she has devoted much more time to leading class discussions at a Head Start program and helping a child psychologist test severely disabled patients at a hospital for sick children.

By contrast, the approximately 65 state and local conservation corps nationwide still aim primarily at training disadvantaged youth in manual job skills, though a few now offer scholarships to

D.C. SERVICE CORPS

Washington, D.C.

The participants

About 100 young people, ages 17 to 23

The mission

Each participant is assigned to a nine-month-long series of community-service jobs in Washington, D.C., ranging from tutoring of low-income children to cleanup projects.

The payback

A \$100 weekly stipend, plus \$2,000 after completion of service to be applied to any education-related expense.

■ NEWS YOU CAN USE

attract collegebound high-school students. Among the projects performed this winter by the state-funded California Conservation Corps, which pays minimum wage and an \$800 scholarship, was cleaning mud from an elementary school flooded by heavy rains.

Virtually all of the youth-corps programs supplement the work assignments with educational training. Depending on the orientation of the program, this varies from literacy classes to resume writing to academic courses on the role of community service in a democratic society. Sometimes the courses ignore the yawning differences in the backgrounds of the participants. Walders, for example, couldn't fathom why, after four years of college, she had to sit through a D.C. Service Corps class on how to take notes. But some programs that offer remedial education to participants have alternatives for college-educated students. The City Volunteer Corps, for instance, requires high-school equivalency classes for many members, but Chantel Young, 19, who plans to return to Syracuse University in the fall thanks to the \$5,000 scholarship from the corps, is instead taking a writing class for credit at the

NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE CORPS

Rockville, Md.

The participants

1,200 doctors, nurses and dentists

The mission

They work in areas that are currently underserved.

The payback

Repayment plan: up to \$120,000 in loan awards for four years of service. Scholarship plan: one year of tuition paid for each year of service, with minimum two-year obligation.

New School, courtesy of the CVC. "I'm getting all this practical experience working in the community and still boosting my college credits," says Young. "That appealed to me a lot."

ON-CAMPUS PROGRAMS

In a 1992 survey by Campus Compact, a Providence, R.I.-based consortium of 360 colleges and universities committed to public service, 30 percent of the

Careful cutter. James Franzbrooke performs a vasectomy at a health clinic.

members offered some form of financial assistance to students or graduates who performed community service. The aid ranged from fellowships at Stanford and Cornell to work-study programs at Michigan State and Ohio Wesleyan universities that pay students who work a set number of hours per week in community-service programs. A few schools, such as Union College in Schenectady, N.Y., help pay off student loans for those who take public-service jobs after they graduate.

The time commitment can take a toll on grades. Laura Lopes, 22, chose Cornell over Harvard because of Cornell's program that pays off \$2,500 of her student loans annually if she does at least 75 hours of unpaid community service and 250 hours of paid work during the academic year. Largely because of the program, which covers 600 Cornell students each year, she will graduate this spring with a total of only \$1,200 in student loans outstanding. But Lopes hopes to go to medical school and worries about her 3.0 grade point average. The long hours involved in organizing such projects as a big brothers-big sisters-type program for the children of single mothers on campus have made it difficult for Lopes to do her best academically. "I just don't have the time to work harder," she says—quickly adding,

Tracking down the programs

Several national organizations can provide information about programs that defray the expense of student loans through community service:

■ **Youth Service America.** A nonprofit information network that can assist people looking for youth-corps programs in their state or town. Call (800) 394-4972.

■ **The National Association of Service and Conservation Corps.** A membership organization with free state-by-state directory of some 80 youth service and conservation corps. Write 666 11th Street, N.W., Suite 500, Washington, DC 20001.

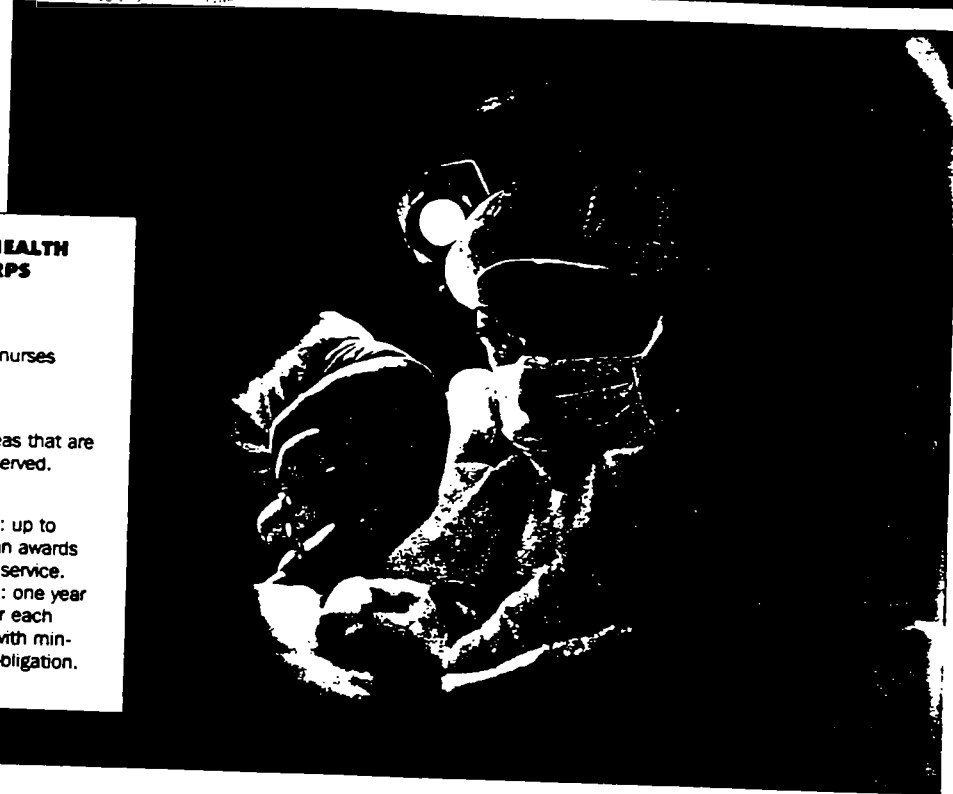
■ **The Commission on National and Community Service.** A bipartisan commission with information on 153 federally funded community-service projects around the country, including the coming summer's pilot version of President Clinton's national service program. For a free brochure and list of state contacts, write: 529 14th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20045.

■ **Campus Compact.** A coalition of colleges and universities with campus-based public-service programs. For a guide to schools with such programs, send an \$18 check to Campus Compact, Brown University, Box 1975, Providence, RI 02912.

■ **National Health Service Corps.** Offers scholarship money and loan repayment to health care workers interested in practicing in underserved areas. Call (800) 221-9393, or (703) 734-6855 in Virginia.

■ **The National Association for Public Interest Law.** Clearinghouse for programs that forgive or repay law-school and state loans. For a copy of "Choosing Wisely," a guide to programs around the country, send a \$25 check to 1118 22nd Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20037, or call (202) 466-3686.

PHOTO: BLACK STAR FOR CVC



however: "I wouldn't change anything. What I've accomplished is more important than grades."

The trade-off, in fact, could turn into a benefit at job-hunting time. Shad Bosh, a 22-year-old senior at Ohio Wesleyan in Delaware, Ohio, spends one afternoon or morning a week as a tutor and mentor for a sixth-grade boy through a program that pays \$6 an hour to college students who help low-income children at nearby elementary and middle schools. Although Bosh previously made more money bagging groceries, he believes the experience working with needy youth helped land him a job last summer developing a recreation program for a county children's home. It has also put his career plans in focus: He hopes to be a family counselor someday.

PROGRAMS FOR PROFESSIONALS

Low pay, difficult working conditions and lengthy service requirements make loan repayment and forgiveness programs for doctors and lawyers an option for the committed—but such people have increasingly plenty to choose from. The 20-year-old National Health Service Corps, reauthorized by Congress in 1990, has a goal to recruit some 8,000 health care workers by the year 2000, including doctors, nurses and dentists, to practice in underserved areas in exchange for loan forgiveness. Forty-four law schools and five states—Arizona, Florida, Maryland, Minnesota and North Carolina—now offer loan repayment or forgiveness for lawyers doing public-service work. And legislation is expected to be introduced in Congress this year to set up an NHSC-like pilot project for lawyers.

But even high-paying programs require several years of service to pay off big loans. James Franzbrooke, a doctor who treats low-income and HIV patients at the Russian River Health Center in Guerneville, Calif., a rural, high-unemployment area 65 miles north of San Francisco, will have received \$120,000 from the NHSC to repay his medical-school loans by the time his four years of service are up. But some of his loans date back to the early 1980s and carry interest rates as high as 18 percent, and Franzbrooke, who is paid about \$70,000 a year, figures it will take at least 10 more years to pay off his \$100,000 medical-school debt. The corps does allow him to renew his service annually after the initial four years are up—something Franzbrooke, 43, hopes to do indefinitely. "If it weren't for this program I would probably have had to join a high-paying suburban practice," he says. "That's not what I want to do with my life."

Terrence Smith was similarly commit-

ted to public-service work after graduating from Tulane University Law School in 1989. He accepted a job with Legal Services of Greater Miami as a \$24,000-a-year attorney, trusting that a loan-repayment program offered by the university would take the edge off his \$40,000 law-school debts. But to his surprise, he was told a few months into his job that the annual loan repayments would be taxable, considerably diminishing their value. Legislation expected to be reintroduced in Congress this month would exempt graduates like Smith from having to declare loan-repayment money as taxable income. For now, however, Smith and others have to pay up. (The

NHSC currently pays 39 percent of the tax bite for health care workers.)

Last month Smith received more bad news. He was informed that a recent \$2,000 raise that brought his income to \$29,295 had put him over the university's limit to get loan-repayment funds. "It stinks," says Smith. Still, he credits the Tulane program with helping him get by for three years. "I'll survive," he says. "I guess I'll just have to put off buying a car again." Besides, as Smith regularly reminds himself, he does have one luxury that makes up for all the sacrifices: He is doing work he believes in. ■

BY AMY SALTZMAN

70,000+ Copies Sold

Transform Your Idea Into A Powerful Business Plan

Get Results

"It helped structure my thinking even though I've written a number of business plans. I probably saved 40 hours, if not more, and it really helped me get started. That's always been the hardest part. It only took us about four months to get \$3 million using BizPlanBuilder. My CPA really liked it, too."

— J.S. Fort Worth, TX

Here's How BizPlanBuilder Works for You

Because it's much easier to edit than to write from scratch, BizPlanBuilder provides over 90 pages of pre-formatted text and spreadsheets in template form on diskette. Special prompts ask you questions and make suggestions, so you can easily and quickly articulate and organize your ideas into a compelling presentation. Plus, it comes with a fact and idea packed book filled with tips and techniques to make your plan even stronger.



Version 4.1

Saves Time

BizPlanBuilder is a fast, proven tool for creating a professional business plan in a small fraction of the time it would take from scratch — and for only about the cost of a business dinner. Instead of struggling with "How to say it," you'll get right to the heart of the key issues. You'll look more professional and present your ideas with confidence and clarity.

Gain Credibility And Earn Respect

Imagine presenting investors, bankers, or upper management a comprehensive document that answers all their questions and anticipates their concerns. You'll gain their respect, capture their interest, and have a much better chance of selling and funding your idea.

30 Day Money-Back Guarantee

Don't let the lack of a plan hold you back. Order today!

Call 1-800-346-5426

Only \$129 and FREE 2nd day air.

(CA residents, please add state sales tax.)

☐ PC (DOS/Windows) ☐ Mac

Name _____

Company _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Credit Card # _____ Exp _____

"It's excellent — just the thing we need. BizPlanBuilder has saved us about 90% of the work. It's tremendous and it looks good"

— A. Armstrong



IAN
127 Second Street
Los Altos, CA 94022
415-941-9191 • FAX 415-941-9272

© IAN 1993

Dept 1050

TRB

FROM WASHINGTON

The vanishing

Remember when Bill Clinton was a failed president? Those were the days. There were about sixteen of them, by my count. Clinton took the oath on January 20. Two weeks later, after the crisis over gays in the military, after Zoe Baird and Kimba Wood, *The New York Times* Washington bureau chief R.W. Apple Jr. announced on the front page of his paper that Clinton's mistakes had been "politically devastating." Democrats were "shell-shocked." The "new president now desperately needs a victory."

How did Clinton try to turn things around? The first thing he did was to give a speech on welfare reform. Welfare may not provide a very good safety net for America's poor, but it provides a sturdy net for Clinton. Every time he seems on the verge of losing mainstream America (e.g., over the gay issue, or his "diversity" obsession) he renews his "commitment" to "end welfare as we know it," reminding voters why they thought he was a "new" kind of Democrat. During the campaign, Clinton's anti-welfare ads ("Those Who Are Able Must Go to Work") were among the first to run in most states, and they are widely believed to have been his most effective spots.

Actually, at the time of Clinton's early February speech, his "commitment" to welfare reform needed a bit of renewing. His health and human services secretary, Donna Shalala, tended to ignore the subject when listing her priorities. Not to worry, Clinton told the National Governors' Association: "Within the next ten days I will announce a welfare reform group." Clinton explicitly restated his call for a two-year time limit on welfare, after which recipients would have to "take a job"—a "public service" job if necessary. Clinton aide Bruce Reed told assembled reporters that "the budget which will be released in the next several weeks will begin to address how quickly we're going to spend" the money to implement the welfare changes.

Clinton's five-year budget has now, of

course, been released, and the money for welfare reform... hey, wait a minute. *It's not there.* You can read through all 145 pages of "A Vision of Change," even the parts on "Rewarding Work," and you won't find a penny earmarked for "ending welfare as we know it."

What gives? Alice Rivlin, deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget, says the decision was to "treat welfare reform the way we are treating health care reform." In both areas, she notes, the administration's plans aren't yet "sufficiently defined" to enable precise cost estimates. So both reforms were taken out of the budget. Rivlin and other White House aides insist that this doesn't mean welfare reform won't happen. Clinton, they say, remains committed, just as he's committed to health care reform.

This argument would be more convincing if it weren't true that the welfare money *was* in the budget until a few days before Clinton presented it to Congress. Apparently the analogy between welfare reform and health care reform became more compelling when the OMB needed a few extra billion to meet its deficit targets. (Rivlin vigorously denies a rumor that she took the welfare money out on her own. Clinton "absolutely" signed off on it, she told me.) Clinton's welfare plans are no more vague than his national service plans, yet the budget has \$6 billion for national service. "The president," Rivlin explains, "wanted [national service] to be on a faster track."

Why is welfare reform on a slower track? One reason, Clinton advisers say, is to avoid overloading the congressional committees (Senate Finance, House Ways & Means) that must also pass on Clinton's tax and health plans. In theory, these committees will first secure the nation's economic future, then spend a few months polishing off the health care problem and then, sometime toward the end of this year, eagerly set about resolving the dilemmas of poverty and welfare.

After the revolution, all things are possible! But dropping welfare reform from the five-year plan has created a large, practical obstacle. Under the "pay as you go" budget rules, any extra money spent reforming welfare will now have to be offset by additional tax increases or cuts in "entitlements." But after it has approved all the taxes and entitlement cuts in the Clinton economic plan and all the taxes and cuts in the Clinton health plan, will Congress (and Clinton) really be in the mood for a third round of pain to finance more spending on welfare mothers? In an election year? Even some Clinton advisers are skeptical.

Clinton's welfare "working group"—the one he promised on February 2 to

announce "within the next ten days"—still hasn't been named. But its key members are likely to be three HHS sub-Cabinet officials: David Ellwood, Marjorie Bane and Wendell Primus. All are genuine reformers, and Clinton properly credits Ellwood's book, *Poor Support*, with the idea of welfare time limits. But as Fred Barnes reported a few weeks ago (see "Carvilled," *TNR*, March 1), not even Ellwood is a reliable supporter of the Ellwood plan. In a recent paper, he worried that "desperately needy people will be cut off and hurt."

The amount of extra spending currently being contemplated by the Clintonites—\$3 billion to \$4 billion—may be small enough to sneak into the budget, but it is also almost certainly too small to finance any sweeping "two-years-and-take-a-job" reform. About 1.5 million welfare recipients would be eligible for "public service" jobs under such a two-year limit. If you figure it costs \$2,500 to supervise each worker, and \$1,500 for day care (both conservative estimates) you've already spent \$6 billion, without paying for extra education and training, extra "earned income tax credits," humanitarian aid for people who are "cut off and hurt" or "transitional" child care for single mothers moving into the private sector.

In fact, Ellwood has already indicated that his preference is not for nationwide reform, but for varied experiments in "up to a dozen states." That's not a crazy idea—the states that want to reform are the most likely to make reforms work. But it also postpones the "end of welfare as we know it" until Clinton's second term. If there is one. A few state experiments will hardly fulfill the expectations raised by Clinton's campaign. In 1992, after all, there was a candidate who ran on a promise to let states conduct bold welfare experiments. His name was Bush.

In truth, voters have a right to expect that Clinton will do more than "end welfare as we know it." That phrase is a brilliant Clintonism, implying both radical change and traditional values, suggesting to conservatives that welfare will be "ended" without committing Clinton to anything in particular. At times, however, Clinton has used more precise language. In the weeks following the L.A. riots, he argued that welfare reform was one way to "break the culture of poverty," noting that in urban ghettos "most of the income comes from government checks and drug deals." In other words, he wanted to solve the problem of the welfare-dependent underclass. With his welfare reforms receding rapidly into the future, it's hard to see how he is going to do that.

MICKEY KAUS

Work-for-Tuition Plan Not Welcome in Some Professions

By ELIZABETH SHOGREN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Even before President Clinton's national service program has been formally proposed to Congress, public service professionals are making it clear that young people eager to participate by working on public projects in exchange for school tuition aid are not welcome everywhere.

Police groups have told Washington officials that they do not want them walking their beats. Teachers are not eager to have them as classroom aides. Unions caution that they must not take workers' jobs.

But Administration officials profess to be undaunted by the resistance, arguing that opportunities for national service workers remain plentiful.

BACKGROUND: As the President describes it, the program, still being designed, would offer high school or college students—or both—a chance to pay some college tuition costs or repay student loans by being the foot soldiers for Administration initiatives, such as child-immunization programs, education and inner-city projects.

The idea, billed as a domestic Peace Corps or civilian GI Bill, was a cornerstone of Clinton's campaign. Thousands of people have written to the White House asking to participate in pilot programs being designed for four to 10 areas of the country this summer. Many write that national service is their last hope for obtaining a college education because their family incomes are too high to qualify for other aid.

CONCERNS: But the White House's office of national service also has received letters from organizations that fear that the plan would replace present wage-earners or send unqualified workers into their demanding fields.

Keith Geiger, president of the National Education Assn., said that without proper training, even college graduates thoroughly familiar with a subject are not qualified to teach it. He also said the profession is not interested in temporary teachers who are only in it to pay for their own educations.

Police groups have expressed wariness about the roles the national service workers might play, and shared the teachers' concern that inexperienced workers could do more harm than good, particularly in their potentially dangerous profession.

Asking students to patrol with police officers would put the students in very dangerous situations, said Jerry Arenberg, spokesman for the National Assn. of Chiefs of Police.

Although the AFL-CIO has stressed that it is not against national service in principle, "workers already on the job should not be displaced," said Candice Johnson, a spokeswoman for the AFL-CIO. To be certain that does not occur, AFL-CIO officials hope that their representatives will get to help determine the needs of specific communities and the jobs that national service participants should have.

RESPONSES: Eli Segal, who is responsible for designing the national service program, said his office has taken pains to assure critics that the program will not lower professional standards or take jobs from others.

"We see this as service and not jobs," Segal said. "Once they understand this, they're comfortable."

So, instead of taking jobs as full classroom teachers, the participants are likely to be teachers' aides and instructors of after-school programs.

Segal said police officials' worries also are unwarranted because national service participants are likely to be involved in community policing and crime prevention, not patrolling.

While taking care not to alienate public service professionals, the national service program is trying to make sure that the jobs it offers will be challenging for participants, especially since many may be college graduates.

The Administration plans to propose its national service plan to Congress in late April or early May. The post-service benefit a participant can earn is likely to be between \$5,000 and \$10,000. Segal said that to ensure a quality experience for all participants, the program will grow slowly, with about 100,000 to 150,000 participants by the end of the President's first term.

LAT 4/4

• BY WILLIAM GREIDER •

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Better Workers or Better Jobs?

The vision thing that George Bush so obviously lacked has been amply delivered by Bill Clinton. His cornucopia of new ideas includes a national-service program for young people who need financial aid for college, reforms "that will end welfare as we know it" and an ambitious concept of a national apprenticeship system and "lifelong learning" for workers.

These and other proposals provide the grist for the important debate on shaping a more equitable future

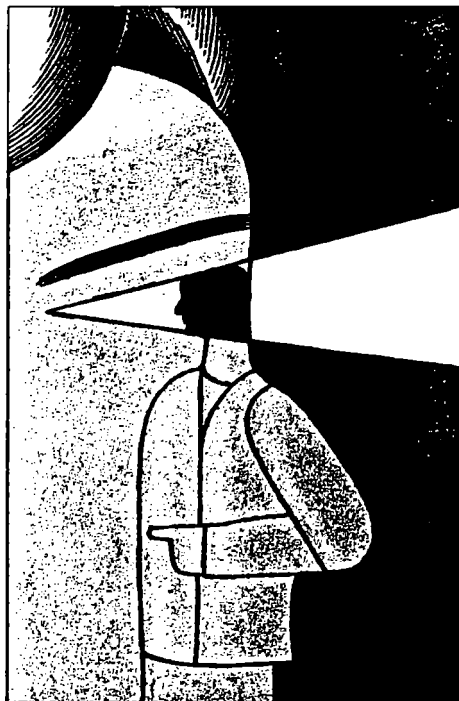
for all citizens. But they also define an aching void I fear will haunt Clinton's presidency — the chasm between high-minded ideas and the dismal here-and-now reality of the federal government. The government, as everyone knows, is broke, and Clinton has committed himself to repairing the deficits. That leaves very little money for new ventures. As a result, Clinton's large ideas are shrinking dramatically as he tries to translate them into reality.

National service, even if it works, is destined to reach only a handful of college-bound students by 1997 — about 100,000, or two percent of those eligible. Genuine

W A S H I N G T O N D C

lions for remedial training and subsidized public-service jobs, yet Clinton's "Vision of Change for America" is silent on how much he intends to spend. The new job-training programs at the Labor Department will get real money, \$250 million for one-stop career centers and \$500 million for apprenticeship training. But those amounts pale alongside the \$6 billion that Labor already spends on a patchwork of dubious — and in some instances, scandalous — training programs.

The budget squeeze isn't Clinton's fault, of course, but his zeal for launching underfunded experiments in so many directions is tempting a fate that befell an



earlier generation of liberal reformers: In the Sixties, grandiose expectations were first excited, then disappointed.

If the money is not there, even the best ideas are likely to fail. Conservative critics will proclaim the ideas half-baked to begin with, and liberal advocates will sputter that their ideas were never given a fair test.

Avoiding this trap requires a self-discipline and toughness not yet evident in the new administration. What Clinton needs is the resolve to undertake a second round of budget cutting, one aimed at the failed experiments left behind by earlier reformers. The budget is burdened by this expensive rubble, social programs that live on despite their obvious failure. To finance his own new ideas, Clinton must clear away some of the past. The Labor Department is a good place to start.

SEVERAL YEARS AGO IN JERSEY CITY, NEW Jersey, a church-based grass-roots group,

the Interfaith Community Organization, began to trace where all the federal job-training money was going in Hudson County. The group's members are working class and poor, black and Hispanic, the very people such programs are meant to serve. What ICO investigators found, says organizer Joe Morris, was a "low-level kind of patronage system," in which politically connected employers and training schools were tapping into federal subsidies and cheap labor.

On-the-job training grants, ranging from \$2000 to \$4000 per trainee, were collected upfront by employers, even if the trainee was fired the next day. One company, Walla Security, collected the funds and sent trainees

on to companies that gave them temporary low-wage jobs. Talon Paint had two trainees — one lasted a day, the other a few months. Trapani's Pizza was paid \$3000 to teach an apprentice to make pizza.

Some of the sites listed as receiving federal money in Hudson County could not be found. ICO members said they made

Rolling Stone 4/15

peated visits, day and night, to an institute training minorities for jobs in financial institutions but could not get anyone to answer the door. Their phone calls reached an answering machine. The Franklin School of Cosmetology closed its Jersey City location but continued to collect subsidies for a manicurist. The Betty Owens Secretarial School acknowledged that some of its graduates wound up in low-wage jobs with less real income than they were getting on welfare.

ICO's investigation produced some action — a new reform mayor promised to clean up the system — but the Jersey City complaints are commonplace across the nation: Federal aid may benefit employers, training schools or local bureaucrats, but it does not do much for the people trapped at the low end of the labor market. An audit by the Labor Department's inspector general found that seven out of ten workers got jobs right after subsidized training, but less than half were still working four months later.

Instead of a ladder for upward mobility, job training more nearly resembles a giant wheel tumbling people about like clothes in a dryer — in and out of marginal jobs. For thirty years, in fact, the government has been inventing new approaches to job training, and each one has eventually produced the same frustrating result.

The logic of failure is inescapable: While a few certainly benefit from training, the overall dimensions of poverty cannot possibly be altered if the wage structure in the private economy continues to deteriorate. The basic problem is the shortage of good jobs with living wages, not a shortage of willing workers. Instead of confronting that politically charged problem directly and creating jobs, the government instead spends a ton of money "training" people to do society's scut work — as custodians, security guards, laborers, dishwashers. Tossing pizzas is not a road out of the ghetto. Nor is flipping burgers at McDonald's.

As it happens, the present failure is bipartisan. It may even be laid partly at Dan Quayle's doorstep. Quayle constantly cited as proof of his social sensibilities the fact that as a senator, he had joined with Edward Kennedy in cosponsoring the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) of 1982. That act was supposed to clean up the job-training mess by taking control away from bureaucrats and giving it to hardheaded businessmen.

Private Industry Councils (PICs) were created at the local level to run the programs. But in many places, the results were privatized rip-offs. The Houston PIC boasted in its annual report that federal on-the-job training aid is "for businesses that want to reduce labor costs and increase profits." Labor's inspector general reported in 1988: "About 60 percent of the employers who receive subsidies to provide OTJ training say they would have

hired the participants without the subsidy and approximately the same percentage of employers actually retain the participants after the subsidy ends." In other words, this is free money for doing what they would have done anyway.

In some places, local community organizations like ICO, in Jersey City, are waging grass-roots struggles to break up such cozy arrangements. In San Antonio, Texas, two groups — Communities Organized for Public Service and Metro Alliance — have launched a \$7 million program with federal, state and local money that starts from very different premises.

In Project Quest, no one will be trained for a job that does not exist. The jobs must pay at least \$7.50 an hour with full benefits and offer a plausible career path upward. Training begins only when an employer has made an upfront commitment to hire the trainee. And the training is real — eighteen months to two years of classroom instruction that produces diesel mechanics, environmental technicians and hospital therapists. Employers get no cash subsidy — what they get are reliable employees with roots in the community.

"We're getting the jobs upfront, so we're not going to be telling people that the jobs will magically appear," says Sister Pearl Caesar, a San Antonio organizer. "We canvassed the community to find the good jobs that employers have to fill by importing people from elsewhere. But this is not an employer-oriented program. We're looking at it as an economic-development strategy for the city — developing a work force that will support growth."

After careful screening, Project Quest has enrolled 450 people so far for training and identified 1500 to 2500 potential jobs in the San Antonio area, mostly in medical care. It has refused to place people in telemarketing and other fields because those jobs did not represent real improvement for the people who might fill them. "There were a lot of employers that wanted to be part of this, but we said no because they paid only \$5.50 an hour," says Ernesto Cortes Jr., a project adviser. "There's absolutely no reason to train people for jobs that will perpetuate poverty."

This tough-minded approach escapes the deceit that goes on in other programs, but it also faces an obvious limitation: Success depends ultimately on real job growth. If the government wanted to get serious about helping the disadvantaged, it would start creating public-service jobs directly and on a large scale. That idea is notably missing from Clinton's heady reform vision. "I'm afraid they don't yet understand the importance of public-sector jobs," says Cortes. "But maybe they'll find a backdoor way to do that."

THE GOOD NEWS, ONE MIGHT SAY, IS THAT the new secretary of labor is an inventive intellectual named Robert Reich. A long-standing critic of the status quo, he has

articulated a new vision of ongoing technical training for the seventy percent of the work force that does not go to college. Eager to change things, Reich has been talking to people like the community organizers from San Antonio. Maybe when Clinton's labor legislation is sent to Congress, it will reflect some of Sister Pearl's street smarts about job training.

The bad news, one has to add, is that Reich and Clinton have so far embraced some of the hoariest features of the bankrupt status quo. Since Congress renewed the JTPA legislation only last year, the new administration would have set off multiple squabbles if it had reopened the subject. So it ducked that fight for now. Instead of rethinking the hodgepodge of thirty job-training pieces at Labor, the administration wants to add a large, new piece of its own, called "lifelong learning."

What's worse, the president's "vision of

then follows up with continuing training programs for adult workers. The assumption is that the decline of wages that is creating a two-tiered society can be reversed by upgrading the productive capacities of people below the professional levels, from factory workers to bank tellers to retail clerks. I'm not convinced the assumption is correct, but at least the thinking is bold.

In effect, the Clinton administration wants to emulate the kind of elaborate labor-market training systems that exist in Germany, Denmark and Sweden. These ideas (even the phrase "lifelong learning") originated in a 1990 study — "America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages!" — produced by the National Center on Education and the Economy. The study has considerable clout in the White House because Clinton adviser Ira Magaziner chaired it, and Hillary Rodham Clinton served on the center's board.

Today the government is spending a ton of money for programs to "train" people to do society's scut work — as custodians, security guards, laborers, dishwashers. But

flipping burgers at McDonald's is not a way out of the ghetto.

change" actually revives and makes permanent a tax break for the businesses that hire dishwashers, fry cooks and bellhops. This so-called targeted-jobs tax credit for hiring disadvantaged young people will consume \$605 million a year, not a trivial amount. But it's basically a bribe to major employers to get them to take on ghetto kids they might otherwise avoid.

The money goes to famous corporate names like Marriott, McDonald's, Kmart, Walmart, Kroger's and UPS. The employer can save up to \$2400 of the first \$6000 in wages by certifying that a young worker (or Vietnam vet or welfare recipient) is "economically disadvantaged," but no one claims that this money actually creates additional jobs, even lousy ones.

Lobbyist William A. Signer, who pushes the tax credit for the National Council of Chain Restaurants, cheerfully acknowledges that it mainly subsidizes low-wage work. But he asks: "How the hell is Bob Reich going to train these kids for the twenty-first-century workplace if we can't get them to work? We've got to teach them how to crawl before you teach them how to walk or to run."

Reich's plan, though still very fuzzy, apparently envisions using a small portion of the \$605 million tax credit to entice employers to set up apprentice-training slots for young people. This would help launch the grand vision of "lifelong learning" — a national system that raises technical skills of noncollege young people,

Ultimately, this approach would require a total overhaul of the government's fragmented commitments to training. In effect, that would mean building a system to serve everyone, not just special categories. Reforming government is difficult enough, but the real barrier to these ideas will likely come in persuading companies to take long-term responsibility for their workers. "America's Choice" envisioned a payroll tax to support government training programs or act as a stick to induce companies to do their own training. But that was abandoned in Clinton's blizzard of new tax proposals.

In the interest of cutting costs, major U.S. companies are currently abandoning their employees, even white-collar employees. Nations like Germany that are Clinton's model are quite different societies; all have strong organized-labor movements to advocate social standards, and their corporations have much stronger commitments to supporting the domestic social order. Of course, if the United States had a stronger labor movement, people in low-wage jobs might be organized to fight for themselves.

Even if Clinton could persuade Congress to clean the job-training house, he'd have to take on the deeper problem of business's social indifference. It's a large order, but at least he's thinking big. Clinton could start to close the gap between rhetoric and reality by not subsidizing the hiring of any more hamburger flippers. ■

April 21, 1993

First Lady Lauds Youth Service

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writer

Yesterday was National Youth Service Day and anything seemed possible, as anything does on days like yesterday. It was warm and blustery, golden tulips were exploding from the balustrade of the South Portico of the blinding white White House, flags were snapping, a young woman led a rap song, and 100 District youths assembled on bleachers and smiled behind Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"Service is not a one-way street," said the First Lady. "Service is not about doing something for somebody else and that's the end. Service is being committed and being a part of the community in which you live, and it means that you get as well as you give."

Anything did seem possible at the outdoor ceremony honoring some 100 local young leaders, even the chance that teenagers could get excited about the notion of public service, of unselfish living, of

helping their brothers and sisters, of doing good and outreach, of uttering new words like "community."

A crowd of dedicated philanthropists and social activists and leaders were gathered on fold-out chairs and listening—people like Peggy Cooper Cafritz and Marian Wright Edelman, Sens. Ted Kennedy and Harris Wofford and Carol Moseley-Braun, Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, and Vanessa Kirsch, 27, who last year founded Public Allies, a community service group upon which President Clinton's new National Service Initiative was modeled.

Eli Segal introduced the First Lady to whoops and whistles. Mother Teresa herself wouldn't have evoked more happy, encouraging noises. Segal, the White House director of the Office of National Service, described her as "a woman who knows what community service is all about and has been making a commitment to her community for a long, long time—long before this was a fashionable idea."

It is fashionable, isn't it? "I am very hopeful that the decade of the '80s—in which individuality and selfishness and greed were viewed as virtues—is over," Mrs. Clinton said. "And I am particularly hopeful that the promise of the '90s will be fulfilled."

She was self-effacing and loose, upbeat and spirited and philosophical. "The more that we can expand the idea that we are interconnected and interdependent," she said, "that we need one another in order to be fully whoever we were intended by God to be, the more we understand the role that service has to play in an individual's life, in a community's life, in a nation's life."

Quoting Edelman—"service is the rent you pay for living"—Mrs. Clinton moved on, with more talk about service, adding more thoughts that made anything seem possible all over again. Service, she said, "is the way that we find meaning in our lives, both individually and collectively. . . . We see it in the houses we build. We see it in the neighborhoods we help reclaim. We see it in the lives we touch."

"And when we come home," she said, "and look in the mirror, we know that we've been reclaimed, we've been touched, we've been served."

This Week



The pitch: Sgt. Anthony Clark, at an Army recruiting station in a Washington, D.C., suburb, talks to John Puder, who is enrolling in a delayed-entry program.

Recruit quality hits 10-year low

Smaller percentage of new troops have high school diplomas

By Chris Murray
Times staff writer

WASHINGTON — The quality of recruits joining the Army has reached a 10-year low, officials say.

According to statistics released by the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, 89.2 percent of the 61,973 recruits the Army brought onto active duty between Oct. 1, 1992, and March 31 were high school graduates. During the 1992 budget year, all of the Army's recruits were high school graduates. This year's rate is the lowest percentage of high school graduates joining the service since 1983.

The drop in the percentage of high school graduates came during the second quarter of the 1993 budget year — January, February and March — when 83.6 percent of the Army's 18,512 recruits came in with diplomas.

Dwindling resources for recruiting and lessened interest in service among young people are among the reasons recruiters are having difficulty bringing in quality appli-

cants, said Lt. Col. Greg McGuckin, chief of the advertising and marketing branch for the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel.

"Fiscal 1993 [quality measures] indicate that we are having more difficulty attracting high quality than in some years because of the decline in the propensity to enlist," McGuckin said.

Drawdown publicity a factor

McGuckin said young people's propensity to enlist in the Army has declined 31 percent since 1991, primarily because of the Army's widely publicized drawdown. Young people perceive a lack of job security and at the same time advertising dollars have been reduced, making it difficult for recruiters to get their point across, he said.

"The only means we have to spread the word that the Army still has opportunities for young people is advertising," McGuckin said. "Our advertising budget has been substantially reduced over the last few years."

According to numbers compiled by the Association of the United States Army, advertising is now less than 5 percent of the overall recruiting dollar.

The lower quality measures come despite

See RECRUITING next page

Clinton's service plan could be a nightmare for military recruiters

By Rick Maze
Times staff writer

FORT JACKSON, S.C. — Military recruiters say the last thing they need is for President Clinton to start a domestic national service plan that competes with them for top-quality high school graduates.

On top of cuts in resources — recruiters and advertising — and less inclination among high school graduates to consider military careers, a national service program would make recruiting harder by drawing possible military candidates into domestic service, said 21 recruiters meeting with four members of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee. The lawmakers talked to groups of service members here, Parris Island Marine Corps Recruit Training Center, S.C.; and Fort Benning, Ga.

Recruiters spoke without knowing much about the Democratic national service plan. Details are still being drawn up by the Clinton administration, although the concept has been discussed for years by Democrats such as Sen. Sam Nunn, D-Ga., the

Senate Armed Services Committee chairman.

What recruiters did know is that the \$10,000 in educational benefits young people would be offered for two years of domestic service would erode the attractiveness of the Montgomery GI Bill, which has been one of the main draws for recruits in recent years.

For a recruit enlisting for two years, the Montgomery GI Bill pays \$11,700 in basic educational benefits. For an enlistment of three years or longer, the GI Bill offers \$14,400 in benefits. To enroll in the GI Bill, a service member must forfeit \$1,200 in basic pay, although Clinton has proposed raising the contribution to \$1,600.

Clinton's national service plan is intended to make youths going to college serve their country in return for getting educational assistance. Two-year assignments in caring for the elderly, working in hospitals, providing day care, community clean-up projects or environmental restoration would be required. Youths enrolled in national service would receive minimum wage and modest benefits. The big draw would be the \$10,000 stipend, which could be used for college or vocational school or a down payment on a home purchase.

See SERVICE next page

Recruit quality at 10-year low

RECRUITING from preceding page
the fact that Army reduced its recruiting goal for 1993 budget year from 83,400 to 76,000 because of the declining pool of potential enlistees, McGuckin said.

"There's going to be a reduction in mission as the Army draws down," McGuckin said.

Another factor is a reduction in U.S. Army Recruiting Command's reach. In 1989, the Army had five recruiting brigades, 55 battalions, 261 companies and 2,027 recruiting stations. This year, it has four brigades, 42 battalions, 222 companies and 1,600 stations.

With the drop in quality enlistees, the Army has had to take in enlistees who scored in the lowest acceptable category of the Armed Forces Qualifications Test. During the first half of the 1993 budget year, 4.3 percent scored in the lowest acceptable category. During the second quarter, 4.4 percent of the recruits were in that category.

"Within the recruiting market, there is a reduced propensity to enlist and so in order to achieve our mission we have to take in some [recruits in] Category IVs," McGuckin said.

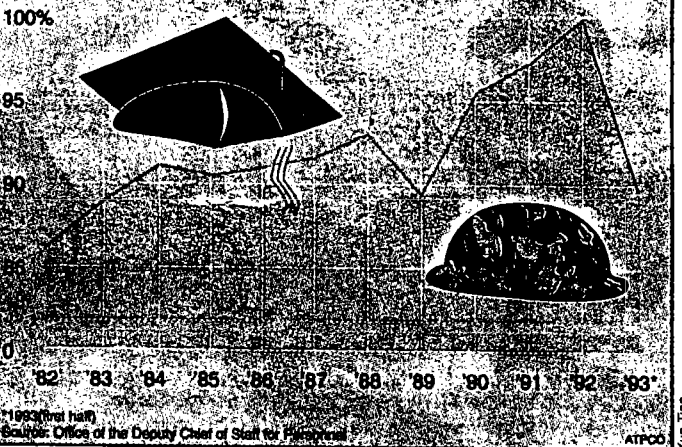
There are six categories of scores on the qualification test. Category I is those scoring 93-99; Category II, 85-92; Category IIIA, 50-64; Category IIIB, 31-49; Category IV, 10-30 and Category V, one to nine. The score given is a percentile, that is, it represents the standing of the person graded against others taking the test. Fifty is an average rating, so recruits in the three top categories are above average. The Army does not enlist people in Category V.

Test scores drop

Another major quality indicator dropped: The percentage of recruits scoring in the top half of the qualifications test. During

Sudden reversal

The percentage of new Army recruits who are high school graduates is suddenly dropping sharply after a generally-upward trend.



the first half of the budget year, 66.2 percent of recruits with high school diplomas scored in that range. For the second quarter, 67 percent of high school grads scored in the top half. During the first half of 1992, 78 percent of the Army's enlistees scored in the higher category of the exam.

Recruiters throughout the country say that with the cutback in television and newspaper advertising, they have to rely on their own abilities to convince young people that the Army is still hiring.

"Recruiters are being asked to do more with less resources," said SFC Bobby Potter of the Woodbridge, Va., Recruiting Station. "The recruiter has to depend on [himself or herself] ... [and] can't depend on television or newspaper ads that are gone now. [A recruiter] has to be the word of the Army and they have to meet prospective enlistees face to face to tell them what the Army has to offer."

Potter said the hardest thing his recruit-

ers face is getting in the door and explaining what the Army has to offer.

"In addition to selling the Army, we have to overcome questions about the drawdown," he said, such as whether young people can still enlist, whether they can retire in 15 years and so on. "That's before we can get our foot in the door and tell them about money for college and job training," Potter said.

Potter said the pool of quality applicants is available, but finding them depends on the location. He said young people in some areas have a higher tendency to enlist than others.

The recent increase in the Army College Fund from \$25,000 to \$30,000 for a four-year enlistment, from \$22,800 to \$25,000 for a three-year enlistment and from \$17,000 to \$20,000 for two years helps recruiters sell the Army to high school graduates, Potter said.

Service plan worries recruiters

SERVICE from preceding page

"I have a lot of concern about a national service plan that provides about the same educational benefit to someone who is emptying bedpans at a hospital as given someone who is serving in Somalia," said Montgomery.

"Everyone would love to be in the military if they could stay home and live with Mom and Dad. That is what makes national service attractive," said SFC Jasper Bemby, a recruiter.

Educational benefits have been a major selling point when recruiters meet with parents. If youths can get generally equal educational assistance without leaving home, parents will become a harder sell, recruiters said.

National service "hasn't even been proposed yet and I am getting questions about it," said Navy recruiter Michael Ruble, a machinist's mate first class.

Like other recruiters, Ruble said that if national service is offered, the military will have to respond with other enticements. "Being competitive is the really big thing. If they come out with a program, we are going to have to change ours," Ruble said.

"What we have learned is we are going to have to be very careful," said Rep. James Clyburn, D-S.C., a veterans' committee member. He said he supports national service as long as military benefits increase at the same time. If military benefits are not increased, the services could be in trouble. "Nobody is going to come out here in July for three months of training when they could opt for service in an air-conditioned classroom," he said while visiting Fort Jackson.

"If educational benefits are the same for national service as for the military, this is going to hurt," agreed Rep. Sanford Bishop, D-Ga.

Some troops say duty, transition help conflict

By Rick Maze
Times staff writer

FORT JACKSON, S.C. — Some soldiers caught in the drawdown are not being given a chance to take advantage of counseling programs designed to ease the transition to civilian life, a group of congressmen were told.

Meeting here with soldiers about to leave active duty, members of a congressional delegation heard complaints that at least one unit in Panama, the 193rd Infantry Brigade, prevented departing soldiers from attending a three-day job counseling and placement assistance program.

The delegation, led by House Veterans Affairs Committee Chairman G. V. Montgomery D-Miss., had just left a briefing on how the Army, Labor Department, Department of Veterans Affairs and state employment officials were combining resources to prepare separating troops for the civilian job market. The counseling programs are operated at 184 sites in 44 states, reaching 97 percent of separating service members, according to defense officials.

But talking here April 13 with a group of about 20 soldiers who were leaving the Army, the delegation was surprised to hear from two soldiers that they were unable to attend the separation seminar. Both had identical stories: They were aware of the Army-run counseling program in Panama but were unable to take the time off from their unit to attend.

Sgt. Ronald Polaco said he benefited from some of the counseling programs, but was ordered back to normal duty before finishing. "I didn't even have the chance to

complete the resume I had started," he said.

"The information they provided looked good, but in Panama we were left in the dark."

Sgt. Michael Southerly, also from the Panama brigade, said he received a lot of bad advice about his medical discharge. Planning to live in Pennsylvania after his separation, Southerly said he left his family in Panama and arrived in South Carolina with only \$5 because he was told his needs would be taken care of. He also said he was denied the chance to enroll in the transition program.

Army officials said they would investigate the complaints.

The problem reported by the two soldiers is one of the many kinds that still have to be worked out of the transition assistance programs, said congressional aides and Defense Department and service officials. Unit commanders decide when and if separating service members can the transition courses. Southerly and Polaco said their unit was involved in a training cycle and the commander would not release them to attend.

What the problems of Polaco and Southerly show is the need for commands to draw up lists of separating troops as early as possible so they can be scheduled for transition counseling within 180 days of leaving the service, as the law allows, officials said. Those leaving the service who are unable or unwilling to attend a transition course before leaving active duty may attend a course up to six months after separation. Pentagon officials have no statistics to show how many people are taking advantage of this.

At Fort Benning, Ga., another site visited by the delegation, base officials have an elaborate system for identifying those who could use the training up to 200 days before separation. Base officials said that support from the base commander, Maj. Gen. Jerry White, is crucial in getting units to release soldiers to attend the courses.

At both Fort Jackson and Fort Benning, it was unclear just how successful transition assistance has been. While soldiers attending the course on how to find civilian employment report in surveys that they are pleased with the course, there is no follow-up after they leave service to find if attending the classes actually helped them find jobs.

Defense Department and service officials said they don't know of any accurate means of evaluating the value of the courses. A simple survey of who is employed six months after separation would not necessarily indicate who benefited from the courses and who found a job through other means, said Robert Stein, the Defense Department director of transition programs.

A survey asking people after they leave the service if the course was helpful would likely be inaccurate because those who had found work would be more satisfied with the Army assistance than those who had not found work, whether or not the course was really the cause of continued unemployment.

The General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, is looking at military transition assistance programs to try to determine if the courses are valuable in helping people get post-service employment.

THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1993

Clinton Plan for National Service Due

By PAUL RICHTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

A1

WASHINGTON—President Clinton is expected to unveil a national service proposal Friday that is larger than envisioned only weeks ago, but still likely to disappoint middle-class families who had hoped that this much-trumpeted campaign proposal would cover their crushing college costs.

At a meeting in New Orleans, Clinton is to propose a program that will employ 150,000 young people by 1997, awarding them \$13,000 for college expenses in return for two years of service at low-paying, socially useful jobs. At that size, the program would be up sharply from the 100,000 slots discussed earlier this spring and the stipend would be enough to cover the average cost of two years at a state university.

But that is still far short of what Clinton talked of during the presidential campaign, when he said that all Americans ought to be able to borrow to cover their educational expenses and repay the money through public service. "Any American, without regard to income, no questions asked," he said at one point last April.

Even when it would reach its full size in 1997, the program would give jobs to, at most, only about 3% of the 5 million students who get financial aid.

And some key congressional aides are already wondering whether national service—despite its wide political appeal—will get the seed money that Clinton wants when pressures are growing in Congress to reduce the deficit and hold down new spending. Clinton's proposal would cost \$7.4 billion

Please see JOBS, A8

over four years.

Also, the program would favor disadvantaged young people, rather than those of middle-income families, for many of the jobs because the plan gives community agencies that will run the programs the power to decide who gets the jobs. And many of those agencies are inclined, because of private grant money they receive and their charters, to prefer those who are most in need.

"The middle class' interests got, obviously, somewhat diluted," acknowledged Charles Moskos, a Northwestern University sociologist who was a Clinton adviser and longtime advocate of national service.

While helping the neediest may be a worthy goal, it could cause political problems for Clinton if this program—a top priority and ever-reliable campaign applause line—is not perceived as serving the interests of the broad middle class.

Already, Republicans have accused Clinton of betraying his claim to be a "new Democrat" by proposing increased taxes for middle-income workers and stressing social programs for the disadvantaged. The national service program was to be proof of Clinton's concern about the financial anxieties of middle-income Americans.

The program's advocates argue that it will fulfill that purpose, although it may take a while.

Will Marshall, who is president of the Progressive Policy Institute—a Clinton-affiliated think tank—and has been an adviser on national service, said that the White House is prudent to start out the program at a reasonable size.

"This is an enormously complicated undertaking," he said. "We shouldn't try to create hundreds of thousands of jobs overnight and risk foul-ups that would discredit it."

Marshall contended that the national service program is a good example of Clinton's philosophy be-

'This is an enormously complicated undertaking. We shouldn't try to create hundreds of thousands of jobs overnight and risk foul-ups that would discredit it.'

WILL MARSHALL
President of the Progressive Policy Institute

cause of the role it conceives between government and citizens.

"This is the paradigmatic 'New Democrat' idea, because it envisions a reciprocal relationship," he said. "This carries the idea of civil responsibility, a quid pro quo and a move away from the entitlements politics that have literally been bankrupting the country."

He said that, if the \$13,000 does not fully cover college costs, it does represent a large down payment on those expenses. And he noted that many families try to pay for college from several sources, including sav-

ings, scholarships, loans and money earned through part-time work.

The program will offer jobs not only for students who have graduated from college but also for students who want public service employment part-time and for high school graduates. Some advocates argue that employing high school graduates can have a particularly big payoff, because it can help many young people mature before they go to college. And it can mean financial support and motivation for others—including students from poorer families—who had not considered college.

The program will put young people to work at a variety of tasks. They will work on environmental cleanup projects, as teacher's aides, health care assistants, day care aides and police cadets, among other positions.

Another element of the proposal is a plan to allow students to take out government loans, then repay them as a small share of their income for a number of years after they graduate.

The program's designers wrestled with how to distribute the available jobs among the many who are expected to apply. Administration officials decided that the answer was to leave the selection to the local agencies that will offer them, while requiring those agencies to comply with certain rules.

Clinton has promised that he would not create a huge bureaucracy to operate the program. For that reason, much of the administration will be handled by the local agencies.

Administration officials came under pressure from organized labor to make sure that the jobs did not dis-

place other workers. To counter that worry, the program's federal supervisors will require proof that the jobs do not displace other hiring before they award money to agencies.

With its emphasis on volunteerism and the public good, the program has many advocates among both parties. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., chairman of the Senate committee that will consider the legislation, said he expected "strong bipartisan support."

Yet it is also clear that obstacles await on Capitol Hill. Some supporters see them in the House Education and Labor Committee, whose chairman, Rep. William D. Ford, D-Mich., has demonstrated more interest in jobs programs for poor youths than in national service.

And one key congressional aide saw risks that even with its wide support the plan may get little financial support—for the present, at least, because of deficit-cutting fever.

"I don't know almost anybody who doesn't like the idea," the aide said. "But with deficit-cutting still moving up the charts, I don't know where the money is going to come from."

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New Orleans, Louisiana)

For Immediate Release

April 30, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN DISCUSSION WITH STUDENTS
OF THE NATIONAL SERVICE INITIATIVE

Benjamin Franklin High School Courtyard
New Orleans, Louisiana

11:52 A.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. It's good to see you.

How many of you are students here? Okay. And how many of you are in the Delta Service Corps? And, then, who's here from Teach For America? That's good. I've got it.

Let me, first of all, say how delighted I am to be here and how much I appreciate all of you taking a little time out to talk with me. You probably know that I am going from here over to the University of New Orleans to speak about the National Service Plan and the new direct loan plan for college students that will be announced today and will be introduced shortly into the Congress.

And I have with me today Senator Johnston and many members of your congressional delegation and your Lieutenant Governor and many state officials here and some people who have come all the way from Washington to be with us -- the Secretary of Education and General David Jones, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff -- a lot of people who believe in you and your future and all the other young people in this country.

And what I wanted to do today is to try to sort of set the stage for this speech that I'm going to go give, and also to listen to you a little bit about the kinds of things that you do now -- why did you get into this service, do you believe if there were more opportunities more young people would do it.

This program we're going to propose will provide opportunities for tens of thousands of young people to work before, during, or after college to build up credit against a college education, or, if they do it afterward, to pay off their college loans. It will also change the way young people borrow money to go to college so that you won't have to pay money back that you can't afford to pay back. Even if you borrow a lot of

money to go to college, you'll always pay it back as a percentage of your income, so that people will be able to -- and if you're not working, you don't have to pay it back. Then you pay it back as you work. But we're going to use the tax system and make sure that you have to pay it back if you can, so there won't be all the defaults we have now. That will lower the cost of -- and the threshold of going to college for every young person in America who wants to deal with it.

So I want to increase access to college, but also it's very important for me to increase the number of people starting in our high schools who will engage in some form of service.

So I think it would be -- it would be helpful to me to know -- we can maybe start with the high school students. If you could talk a little bit about the service projects you've been involved in and why you do it and whether you think we can get a lot more people involved.

Who wants to go first?

Q I'll go first.

THE PRESIDENT: I'm a senior here at Ben Franklin Senior High School, and the program that I'm involved in is the Girl Scouts of America. And for the past four years, what I've been doing is volunteering them with -- I've stayed with the same girls for the past four years.

I started as a volunteer and now I'm a troop leader. And just the other day, this past week it was Take Our Daughters to Work Week, and we brought our girls, we brought them to an attorney's office, we brought them to a doctor's office. We want to show them that their opportunities are not limited. We want to show them that there are role models out there to get them off of that path of drugs and teenage pregnancy and that there are role models for them to follow.

It's a really great program. The girls -- once you get them out of their shell, once you get them talking, they really want to learn. They really want to make a difference. And I think that's what this whole situation is about.

There needs to be more role models. I think that's why we're all here today. That's a given. But it's not just a role model we're talking about, it's someone who wants to take an active role, someone who has the time to contribute, because that's the vital commodity that we're talking about -- time.

And so I think that by volunteering like we're talking about with the National Service Program, not only will we be allowing people to give their time up, but it will also be for a good cause. And hopefully they'll be trained to help these

people, to help these children, especially. And they'll have the knowledge to help them to show them that there is a better way of life for them. Because a lot of these girls, they're from the inner cities and they have very unstable lives. And they come with so many problems, searching for help, looking for help, asking for help, almost. And someone needs to be there to listen to them, and I think that's -- hopefully, I'm achieving that goal that I'm setting up for myself. And I really think it's a good program, along with all of the other programs that we have here with us today.

But the Girl Scouts of America -- they've been in this country for a very long time, has a very long history. But I think its role is changing. We're redefining the role nowadays, because it's not only just the neighborhood girl, it's the girl from the inner city, it's the girl whose dad is unemployed, it's the girl who has no parents; it's any girl.

THE PRESIDENT: You know, one of the things that I think is good about this program is we're going to build on the organizations at work now, and set it up on a state-by-state basis. And a state can certify any program that's working in that state to be eligible to take young people for the national service program. So we're not going to create a whole new network of things. We're going to build on the programs that are working.

Anybody else? Anybody from the Delta Service Corps?
Go ahead.

Q I'm with the National Summerbridge program. That's a program where high school and college students teach fifth and sixth graders from -- we teach at-risk youths, as well as non at-risk youths. And I think it's an important program, because young people are involved in education. And not only education, but teaching in a creative way and mentoring and tutoring. And in the same way Denise was talking about -- we're the role models, we're people who have done a lot in school who are willing to spend our summers teaching and volunteering and showing these kids that there is another world.

And we also bring different kids together from different backgrounds all around the city. And that's really important, because the diversity and meeting, the meeting of ideas and culture, and that's really important. I spent two years teaching and administrating and tutoring. And I'm also involved in lots of -- (inaudible) -- and organizations around school. We have many clubs that go to the Methodist Home for Children who will do to the Christmas party, and we do food drives.

I think there are people out there willing to commit their time. And if they knew that this was a way to fund their education, there would be even more. Because maybe people right

now would say right now, well, they are working on regular jobs to pay for college. But if they could be working and paying off college in the community, that's just like a -- benefit.

THE PRESIDENT: Anyone else?

Q (inaudible) -- my junior year, and I was involved in the Nestle, their Invest in youths program -- and the Nestle Corporation gave a \$10,000 grant and a council of high school students was set up to decide how to spend it. And sitting down and going through and making up priorities.

We ended up with the \$10,000. We spent \$7,000 at a homeless shelter, and we bought them new kitchen equipment, and then we went down and we actually served the lunch on this equipment. And we spent the rest of the money renovating a local park. It was just an incredible feeling to go down there.

THE PRESIDENT: And how many young people were involved in the project?

Q We started out with about 40, and then through attrition, we ended up with about eight or 10 of us at the end. But it was just a great feeling to go down there and do that.

THE PRESIDENT: What did you learn about homeless people?

Q That they're just like us. That they're families and that they want to succeed as badly as we do. And that there are more of them in the city than I ever thought possible. The line for that lunch just kept going forever.

Q I'm with Delta Service Corps. It's a great program. It is a national demonstration model for the country. We're into building a coalition between Louisiana, Arkansas and Mississippi. And what we're trying to do is promote an ethic of civic responsibility through community service. And we're doing that by dealing with already existing agencies. (Inaudible) -- citizens and agencies that can also choose in their community to serve their community. We also get (inaudible) -- benefits and a stipend.

We do promote (inaudible) -- agents from 17 on up, and we want to be able to incorporate those who are in high school, those who are going to college, already in college, and those who are out. I'm out. I'm 27 years old. I graduated in '90 at State University. I never thought I'd be in a service industry. I started out in the hotel industry. It's great. It's a way that not only you can prepare for your future with the experience that you're getting, (inaudible) -- you already have, and also be able to get a decent job that you can pay for the rest of your college tuition. So it ties into the whole idea of you having the big picture and how community service can connect

with that big picture.

Q It occurred to me something you haven't mentioned, and that was when we're with volunteer organizations, we are surrounded by people who are your own age or thereabout, and are a bunch of doers. There's all this energy. I know Americans -- we have a lot of energy all of the time. People are always getting things done. They're giving you new ideas to build from, and you're gaining from those ideas and going off on your own, and there's a lot of support. A program like the one you're talking about will just spread that throughout the nation. Meanwhile, you have things like drug abuse and pregnancy, it's going to give people's names and stories to put with those words that they read in the newspaper. And as you go on in your life, will never forget that, just how important that is.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you have a feeling in the Teach For America program that you're actually helping people change their lives?

Q Sure. I mean, as a teacher you have so many responsibilities, and you see your kids for -- I see my kids for an hour a day because I teach high school. And when I think back about people who influenced me, I can pick out teachers. A lot of people can do that. And now we're in that position.

Q I'm a sixth grade teacher. I'm also with Teach For America. I truly believe that I've had an awesome opportunity to help my children to grow outside of the classroom as well. I took my class to Jazzfest last week. Our lesson was in diversity in music and things like that. They had an opportunity to meet a couple of local rock and rollers. And the day after they met the guys, the guys were on the front page of the paper. This is a friend of mine in town, and he just happened to -- the kids just really respond to people who will take the extra time. Teach For America people have taken a lot of extra time, and teaching requires a lot. And the program is very supportive of people who are under that stressful 80-some hour a week time-taking that it takes. And that's what's great about the organization and what will be great about a national service plan.

There's support there. You can take an 80-hour week and get in there and do it, and that's what's required is help. And that's what they do.

THE PRESIDENT: The Teach For America program has worked very well. And I hope that -- this should help increase the recruitment, because you'll get some credit against whatever your accumulated college loans are to go do that.

What about you? What are you doing?

Q I'm from VISTA, which is Volunteers In Service

To America. And I serve in the literacy program, called Project Learning. It's adult literacy. The area I live, I work in Homer, which is very near the Gulf, so there's a high, high illiteracy rate. And just with my own experience, seen just the incredible need down there. We look at a lot of food stamp recipients and just this vicious circle, the poverty circle just keeps turning round and round. And -- the only way to get out of that is (inaudible) -- education.

So, of course, we try to get it at the end of the line where they're -- (inaudible) -- I'm very against this whole social promotion that goes on, still, today, and I'm trying to fight -- and I am going to go to Teach For America right after this, because that was my whole goal with that, is to provide good teachers in this area, teachers who really care.

And so, what Project Learn does is, we provide tutors. We have -- we use the Loboc(sp.) method of teaching, which is an international method. And we teach the volunteers. We train them. They're certified tutors. At the end of that, we -- (inaudible) -- and so that's what (inaudible) -- do this, and we do a lot of public relations and we're just (inaudible) -- and I also -- (inaudible) -- another thing I've done just on my own is tutoring in an after school program in the project. I think it's -- (inaudible) -- but it's called the -- (inaudible) -- program. And that's a program I'd like to see increased, not only here but all over the nation. Because these kids, they grow up with drugs, violence. I mean, they hear shots throughout the -- (inaudible) -- I think it's just -- I don't know how you can function in school when you've got to worry about you getting shot at night or whatever.

Those kids are tough to work with. They really are. But I love them to death. I've got first- and second-graders, and I come out of there with 10 gray hairs every time. But they're just wonderful students. I'm going to miss them terribly when they leave. But I just really think that those types of programs need to be increased. And I just think they're great.

THE PRESIDENT: You know, one of the things that we discovered when we started trying to put this national service program together is that there were a whole lot of programs like that, that had been funded at a very limited level, and one government agency or another, no one had ever put them altogether and figured out how to get them all to work together. It's one of the things we're trying to do.

Another thing I want to say about the literacy issue is that when I was governor of my state, I devoted a lot of time to trying to dramatically increase the number of people who would go back to get their GED and get into adult literacy programs. We had a huge increase. And one of the things that we can now tell those folks, too, is, if you're involved in any kind of service program, you can earn credit to go on after high school.

But you can't get any money until you get your GED, which I think is important. That will sort of reinforce that.

Q Just to talk about what you had talked about before, about having states be responsible for certifying your local agency, through mobilization at Xavier, which is our community service organization on campus, we have an opportunity to work with the youth in the community, but also work with local agencies. I think that's a real positive part of this, is that you're going to give the local agencies some type of ownership in this to give the support and not to worry about being controlled on the federal side and bring it down to the state side. And I think that's something that needs to be kept in this whole opportunity. I think you'll find that you'll have a lot more volunteers that are a lot more open and willing to do whatever it takes to get this started.

THE PRESIDENT: That's great.

Yes, sir?

Q I do agree with a lot of what was being said here today, but my concern is, I've been involved in the community for the last five or six years. I've been a tutor, mentor, worked at senior citizen homes, soup kitchens and things like that. But when I think of community service, the first thing that I think of is the community. And I think that the community is the most important thing, aspect of this whole program that you're looking at here. And I think they ought to play a leading role in assessing the needs in the government program.

I think (inaudible) -- 1,000 volunteers into the community, because I have worked with small landlords organizations, and I've seen small organizations grow. And my experience is that grassroots organizations are more effective. I've seen organizations lose their effectiveness. And I think that that ought to be a major concern to you is, talk to the people in your community to find out what they actually need and not send somebody into the community and assess their needs for them. Because they know exactly what it is they need.

So I think that they should play a role in everything that happens. Another thing I'm concerned about is, I mentioned sending 400,000 volunteers into communities. By offering students this financial incentive (inaudible) -- job situation, we're graduating this year, and I'm not secure at a job. And I'm sure -- I mean, you know the situation.

I think that by having this alternative, what we will see that is that the number of students who aren't genuinely concerned about improving the conditions that people live in will be leaning towards this program, this national service program, just because they can knock out some loans. And there, I think,

also you may lose some effectiveness in the programs.

THE PRESIDENT: You might, but first, you raise two issues. Let me respond to the first one. I, 100 percent, agree with you about having to be community-based. That's why we went out of our way not to create some big new federal bureaucracy, but to require the states to have community representatives on a board that can just certify a project in a community that's plainly working, because otherwise this whole thing is going to fail. There's no way we know what's good for your home town or mine or anybody else's, of the federal government.

The second thing is -- that may be right. You may have more young people -- I hope you do have more young people coming into the service. It may be that some of them will be just doing it for the money. But frankly, if you look at, for example, the GI Bill, there's no evidence that people -- there's a lot of evidence people enroll in the military service in part because of the benefits, but no evidence that they do it only because they think they're going to get money on the back end, because there's still a -- you have to make the effort, you have to go to it. And I think -- or one of you alluded to this earlier -- one of you has already talked. I don't think you can be in these service programs without being changed yourself. I think it's pretty hard to go all the way through one and not get connected to the people you're trying to help. But it may be a -- I think it's worth the risk to get more people.

There's a -- I may mess up the numbers here, but there's a man here with me from New Jersey who is very successful in business named Ray Chambers who has given the rest of his life to try to help the people in his community and other communities like his community all over the country -- poor kids growing up with all kinds of problems. And we were talking about trying to get more mentors. And he said there's something like 15 million children who need these mentors and only 100,000, 150,000 of the mentors out there. So I think you have to take some risk if you put these incentives out that there will be some people doing it who may not care that much about it. But, first of all, the benefit is not so great as to look like you're just giving somebody something. And secondly, I think most people will themselves be changed by this -- will be reconnected to our country.

Go ahead.

Q I'm a volunteer for Habitat. We help build homes for families who might not otherwise not have an opportunity to own a home of their own.

THE PRESIDENT: It's a great program.

Q Thanks. And I'm also a member of the Delta Service Corps, and I just want to tell you how important I think

the Delta Service Corps and organizations like this could be to allow people right out of college or any situation in their life to do volunteer work.

I graduated school and I knew I wanted to give back, I knew I wanted to do something. And I just wanted the opportunity. And, of course, you know, you need to eat. And the Delta Service Corps, I worked for Habitat for a couple of months until I ran out of money, and I was about to leave -- not because I wanted to and not because I couldn't be important for Habitat, but I didn't have the money. But with the Delta Service Corps, I'm not putting money in the bank, but it's not that I can live hand-and-mouth, and I can still work with Habitat.

So it's just been -- and I think my experience is very representative. There are so many people coming out of school filled with idealism, and they're saying, you know, put me to use, give me the opportunity. And I understand the point raised of people who may take advantage of this. But on the flip side, so many people who are forced in their jobs that they don't really believe in because they don't know of opportunities to do otherwise.

THE PRESIDENT: You know, I'm really particularly proud of the Delta Service Corps because it grew out of the work that was done a few years ago by the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and then Missouri, Kentucky and Illinois and the parts that are right along the river. And we studied the conditions of the lower Mississippi Delta, and one of the things that we urged was that some way be found to bring young people in here to this area to work. And then the legislators and the Congressmen from our states sponsored this bill that's really been very impressive. I'm glad to see all of you here. Walter, did you have --

Q Just to elaborate on what he was trying to say. The Delta Service Corps, we tried not to just place a warm body at an agency. What we do is, we do it basically by getting an application, we interview that person, we try to fit that person into the site that he's best suited for and to make sure that both the person and the organization is going to get something out of this.

We just don't say, well, we've got this person; we're going to place him here. We want to make sure that that person is suited for the organization, and he's going to contribute something to aid in the productivity of that organization.

And so through the Delta Service Corps, which is basically a model that is going on now, we've accomplished a lot. We've proven that civic duty, community -- most of the people that we have are based in their own community. Myself, I'm from Little Rock and I work right there in Little Rock at the

Alternative Learning Center. And every day I see kids that grew up in the same neighborhood and go to the same junior high school -- they're some of the kids that I went to school with.

And I have friends that are teachers that say that there should be more of people volunteering to go in and be mentors toward some of these kids, because we say they're at risk and they're a lost generation, but I feel like they are just a misunderstood generation. That if we give more back into the community, that maybe these kids won't be at a risk anymore and we can help them out. And through the Delta Service Corps, we're doing that and we're helping out in a big way through -- we have a single parenthood scholarship foundation. EDA has a HIPPY program. We have all kinds of programs that are going on through the Service Corps that we have participants involved in that are doing lots of things that are helping out.

I think that the civic duty, as you were saying, putting somebody in the community that is going to help -- I sincerely believe in that, and that's what we're trying to do.

Q I'm one of those college students that have loans that have accumulated over the years, and that I'll have loans in the future when I go on to medical school. So that's why I'm hoping to use my (inaudible) -- but right now I'm -- like he said, we are involved in a lot of services that help people right now. And most of the services -- most of the programs or places or sites in Mississippi are just getting up off the ground.

Like, I'm involved in an organization called Daybreak, and it's a day shelter for the homeless. It's been open for three weeks -- no, three months -- I'm sorry. And right now we have about four weeks left for the shelter, because we are -- have been staying in a place that's free, and so we've been trying to founder another site because of all the trouble that we're having, because people don't want the homeless in their areas so they've been trying to run us out. So, mostly, what we're doing is trying to incorporate programs that we can move with us when we get ready to move. We don't have a van for transportation. And a lot of volunteers or whatever use their own cars to take people places and things like to the Welfare Department or the Veterans Administration Department -- places like this.

So most of the staff at Daybreak are from Delta Service Corps. I am one of three full-timers. And there are about five or six part-timers. And the guy -- the Director of Daybreak is always saying if it were not for Delta Service Corps volunteers, that we really wouldn't have our organization here. We have such a small staff, we wouldn't be able to stand up on our feet. Because he is the only person that is getting paid out of the entire organization. And so a lot of Delta -- because we are full-time and part-time people, we're really incorporated in

building programs to support Daybreak so that when we leave, the programs will be able to function without us.

And I think that -- and another thing -- another point I would like to make about Delta Service Corps is, because they have different agencies and organizations that they work with within our organization, we network and we get help from other programs. I think Paris was asking me about information to start a transitional house here in New Orleans for the homeless. And so that's the type of -- I think that this entire thing about the national service program is going to be really great -- it's really going to be great for this country. And I just wish that the Delta Service Corps can spread out across the nation.

THE PRESIDENT: I think it may. And, certainly, things like it will. I think new organizations will spring up from the grassroots, just to go back to the point you made about that, I think that what'll happen is -- what's the most likely thing that will happen is that there will be communities where there are people like you, but there's no organization.

And when this thing comes out and young people start talking about it and thinking about it, it'll probably be much more likely that in every community in America there will be groups like this.

You know, when I hear all of you talk, one of the things that, as you know, I worry about most of the time is how to find enough jobs for the American people in a world in which we've had a difficult time in our country creating jobs and other wealthy countries are having trouble creating jobs. And a lot of the good things that happen in the economy now -- a lot of you can do this; most of you probably are proficient with computers and things like that -- a lot of the things that happen in the economy now mean that people can do more with fewer workers, because they have all this technology.

But one of the things that you cannot substitute people for are the kind of human contacts that you all are engaged in. I mean, a lot of the people problems of America can only be solved by people in very small groups, or one on one. So I think there will be a huge increase in the demand for folks like you to do what you're doing in the years ahead.

Q As a student leader, I have noticed that not only at our university, but across the country, with the economic system that we're living in, more students are looking forward to going on to bigger and better jobs and avoiding the community service and national service sector. I think with this type of program in place, it will encourage more students to get involved. (Inaudible.) -- understand what other areas are going through, but what we as individuals can do to help change that situation.

THE PRESIDENT: That's a terrific point. I know we've got to quit in a minute and I want to give you a chance to talk. But let me say that people say to me, well, can you afford this program, and what if 250,000 -- what if 500,000, what if a million young people want to do this? Well, if you think about it, think what we're paying now for the failures of the present society.

Think what we're paying now for all the young people who drop out of school, who have children when they're children, who get involved in drugs, who wind up in prisons, who can't work and draw welfare or food stamps or unemployment or who wind up in a homeless shelters. You think what its cost us now to do that.

We're living in a world where we need every person. And I agree with you. I think when people like you get out of college, you get a world-class education in a place like Tulane, if you can get people like that who still are really aware of what is going on and who understand the point you made, that homeless people are just like us.

There are a lot of kids out there in these homeless shelters. A lot of them can learn and do real well if they're given a chance. And if they do well -- this is going to affect you much more than me -- one in 10 Americans now is on food stamps. Now, you think about what your life is going to be like when you're my age, you have children getting ready to go to college if we don't reverse these trends. What's the unemployment rate in America going to be? What's your tax burden going to be? What are you going to be paying it for? What's it going to be like to be in the streets of your country?

This service thing has so much more to do with your future in a way than with mine. And I think the point you made in terrific.

I know we've got to quit, but I want to -- go ahead

--

Q I just want to say, we have something (inaudible) -- we're not saying once you get them in, it doesn't matter how it takes to get them in, it doesn't matter if you pay them to get them in, drag them in by their -- (inaudible) -- once they're in and they really get to feel that great feeling that you get from serving others, then they stay, and they will be convinced (inaudible) -- the rest of their lives the tremendous feeling from helping us.

THE PRESIDENT: Good for you.

Q Thank you for visiting. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much.
(Applause.) You're terrific. I feel a lot better about my

country every time I see young people like you. We're going to
be fine. Thank you.

END

12:25 P.M. CDT

1 of 2

CLINTON PROPOSES SERVICE PROGRAM TO AID STUDENTS

ALSO URGES LENDING
6/195/70/
**\$10,000 Grants Planned
in Return for 2 Years
in Community Jobs**

By **THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN**
Special to The New York Times

NEW ORLEANS, April 30 — President Clinton outlined a plan today to overhaul the way Americans pay for college, offering students up to \$10,000 for college or vocational training in return for two years of community service. In addition, he would change the student loan program to allow students to borrow money directly from the Government.

Mr. Clinton unveiled the aid program — a central promise of his campaign, with great appeal to middle-class voters — to a cheering audience of students at the University of New Orleans, saying that if adopted by Congress, it would "revive America's commitment to community and make affordable the cost of a college education for every American."

G.I. Bill of the 90's?

He said his National Service Trust Act would be to the 1990's what the G.I. Bill was for the 1950's and the Peace Corps was for the 1960's — the place "where higher learning goes hand in hand with the higher purpose of addressing our unmet needs."

If Congress passes the national service bill this year, Mr. Clinton said, the program can start in 1994. The National Service budget calls for \$400 million in 1994, which would cover about 25,000 community service jobs, rising to \$3.4 billion a year for 150,000 participants in 1997.

They would do minimum-wage jobs in education, the environment, public safety and human services. On top of their wages, about \$8,500 a year, they would get \$5,000 a year to repay college loans or otherwise pay for education and training.

Bypassing Banks

The other major component of the aid program, to be introduced as a separate bill, is direct student loans from the Federal Government. Such loans are now guaranteed by the Government but made by banks, which earn a profit on the interest. The President said direct aid would eliminate bank profits, making loans available at lower rates.

In 1992, banks made \$13.6 billion in federally insured student loans. Administration officials estimate that demand for such loans could rise to \$20 billion to \$25 billion a year after five years. The Government would raise the money it lends in the bond market,

not from taxes.

The legislation will include a proposal to allow graduates to repay tuition loans at a monthly rate linked to their income, thereby reducing defaults and encouraging graduates to take low-paying community service jobs. The payments would be collected through the Internal Revenue Service, Mr. Clinton said, most likely through payroll deductions or as part of income tax filings.

Contrary Opinions

Administration officials said they were cautiously optimistic that the plan would have bipartisan support in Congress, but early reaction was mixed.

"The President's plan gets two A's from me because it makes a college education or better job training more affordable and accessible to our young people and our workers," said Representative William D. Ford, of Michigan, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee.

But Representative Marge Roukema of New Jersey, the senior Republican on Mr. Ford's committee, said the President "should be concentrating on reducing the deficit, instead of proposing new multibillion-dollar entitlement programs."

The night before his announcement, Mr. Clinton decided to slash the compensation for community service from a maximum of \$13,000 for two years' work to \$10,000, in hopes of pre-empting complaints from Republicans about costs, and to deal with Pentagon concerns that too much cash would lure young people away from the military which has its own scholarship program in return for service.

Mr. Clinton said his proposal, which is the work of Eli Segal, the director of the White House national service bureau, had been designed to put as much of the bureaucratic burden as possible on state and local institutions.

Bones of the Program

It would work as follows: A National Service Corporation would be set up by the Government to allocate National Service slots to states, which would allot them to community service groups and municipalities.

The number of a state's slots would be based on population, but the Administration hopes to encourage competition by giving states the opportunity to get more if they come up with creative ideas. The states would decide which groups would get slots and the National Service Corporation in Washington will simply ratify the choices.

A community service program authorized for three slots, for instance, can make this offer to three people ages 17 years or older: If they will work for the minimum wage of \$4.25 an hour for one year, the national service trust fund will provide up to \$5,000 toward their tuition, room and board. That money, if used for tuition payments, would be paid by the Government directly to the college of the student's choice; money for loan repayment for former students would be made directly to the bank.

Anyone could volunteer for national service and receive the grants regardless of family income. If a volunteer works for two years, the government would pay \$10,000 toward his education, the maximum available under the

program. The money must be used for education within five years of the service work. The Federal government would also pay 85 percent of the \$4.25 minimum wage — roughly \$6,000 a year per person — with state and local authorities expected to pick up the rest.

The states would be responsible for monitoring the local service organizations to prevent fraud, and the National Service Corporation would also have its own inspector general to monitor the programs. Any program caught in fraud would be removed.

As for the student loan programs, Mr. Clinton proposed two fundamental changes. The first is the establishment of what is being called one-stop direct student loans. Student loans are now provided by commercial banks at below-market interest rates and guaranteed by the Government. When students default, the Government pays the banks, defaults cost the Government about \$3 billion a year.

Under the new program detailed by Mr. Clinton today, the Federal Government would provide a pool of public money for student loans, replacing the private capital being provided by commercial banks. The government would grant student loans, with colleges and vocational schools working as the middlemen. Mr. Clinton said he would like to phase in this program, beginning with roughly \$500 million in loan capital for fiscal 1994 and eventually growing to cover all loans by 1997.

The commercial banking industry is expected to fight this proposal.

Mr. Clinton argued that in the long run this program would save taxpayers money, primarily because the gov-

National Service Plan

\$10,000 per student in school grants would be available in return for community work (\$5,000 per year of service).

Students would also be paid at least the minimum wage, and receive health care and child care assistance if needed.

25,000 students would take part in 1994, working in human services, education, the environment and safety.

Student Loan Overhaul

MONEY would be lent to students directly by the Government.

REPAYMENT would be based on a percentage of a worker's income. Those with lower-income jobs would have longer to pay.

WAGE WITHHOLDING might be used by the Internal Revenue Service to enforce loan collection.

2 of 2

The National Service Plan



Who is eligible?

High school graduates and those with a General Equivalency Diploma, 17 or older, can qualify for school grants in return for community service.

How long will participants serve?

At least one year of full-time service.

How much are the awards worth?

Awards of \$5,000 will be paid for each year of service; students can choose one or two years. The money could be used to repay college loans, or to pay for other education or training. Students would also receive at least minimum-wage stipends, along with health care and child care assistance if needed.

What kinds of jobs will be available?

Service will be in four broad areas. Here are examples:

Education: Assisting teachers in Head Start or in classrooms.

The Environment: Working on recycling or conservation projects.

Human services: Providing care to homebound elderly. Helping to build housing for the homeless.

Public safety: Teaching drug education seminars. Serving as a community service officer with a police department.

ernment will no longer have to extend a subsidy to commercial banks to keep the loans below market rate, because bank profits will be taken out of the equation and because the Government can borrow money for student loans more cheaply than banks can. The loan program is intended to pay for itself.

In the 1991-92 school year, annual costs — tuition, room, board, books and expenses — at four-year public institutions averaged \$7,584, according to the College Board, while the costs of four-year private institutions averaged \$16,292.

The last program Mr. Clinton unveiled is called Excel Accounts, under

which the Government would provide all students with the opportunity to pay back their student loans as a percentage of their income over time; the less the graduate makes, the more time he has to pay off the loan. The value of this program, he said, is that graduates, freed from the pressure of large loan payments, would be encouraged to take low-paying public service jobs.

Mr. Clinton directed the Secretaries of the Treasury and Education to come up with a plan for I.R.S. collection of student loans, through wage withholdings or some other means, to reduce defaults and simplify the system for borrowers.

Clinton Presents National Service Plan

Lobbying by Veterans Alters Program to Help Students Pay for College

By Ruth Marcus

Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW ORLEANS, April 30—President Clinton today proposed a national service program to help people pay for their college costs, making last-minute reductions in the plan to avert an outcry by veterans groups and to secure support from congressional Republicans.

"National service will mark the start of a new era for America in which every citizen . . . can become an agent of change, armed with the

knowledge and experience that a college education brings," Clinton told students and community-service organizers at the University of New Orleans.

During last year's campaign, Clinton envisioned a program that would provide payments of \$20,000 to students in return for two years of community service in schools, nursing homes, environmental projects, public safety programs and other efforts. In the past few weeks of the administration's planning for the ambitious new program, the

figure was scaled back to \$13,000, or \$6,500 for each year of service.

But veterans groups were outraged that such a plan would provide more generous benefits than those available under the GI bill, and they mounted an effort to have the benefits trimmed further. The package announced today provides for loan forgiveness of up to \$10,000—\$5,000 a year—for those who sign up for the community-service program, either before

or after college or other post-high school education.

The veterans made their case at a two-hour White House meeting Wednesday afternoon with top White House officials, including personnel director Bruce Lindsey, arguing that it was unfair to provide better benefits to those who took community-service jobs than to those who volunteer for potentially dangerous military service.

"We definitely told them that if the program that was on the table two days ago was going to the Hill, it would incur opposition," said John Heilman, legislative director for the Disabled American Veterans, who attended the meeting along with representatives of groups including the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars. But White House officials "stated that the president was pretty committed to the \$6,500 figure," Heilman said.

Thursday night, underscoring the veterans' case, Rep. G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery (D-Miss.), chairman of the House Veterans Affairs Committee and the leading champion of veterans' interests in Congress, met again with Lindsey and other senior officials.

"I wanted to help them avoid a big problem," Montgomery said today. Montgomery—noting that he had raised concerns about the veterans issue a month ago and had not heard back from the White House—said he wanted a one-year, \$5,000 benefit and that Clinton tracked him down at a restaurant Thursday night to propose a package of \$5,000 annually for two years. Montgomery said he called the White House this morning to say that was acceptable.

Although the episode offered a vivid demonstration of the clout of veterans groups, White House officials said the last-minute change was also made to garner support from other members of Congress who had expressed concern that the \$13,000 payment was too generous. Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.), here with the president, said he had recommended to White House Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty that he delay the actual intro-

duction of the bill until next week in order to gain more time to line up Republican support.

McCurdy said that although he would prefer higher payments, the White House decision to scale back the program and delay its introduction was "a sign that they're a little more politically astute right now in trying to reach out and see what's politically feasible."

Eli Segal, director of the national service program, said he believed the scaled-back program would still attract volunteers and would fulfill the president's campaign commitment to provide access to a college education for anyone who wants one. "If anything, we're anxious that the figures we've been talking about may not fulfill demand," Segal said. The administration had estimated having 25,000 young people participate in the program during its first year and that it would expand to as many as 150,000.

White House officials said that they had been mindful of the veterans issue since they began

drafting the program and believed that the \$13,000 package they were planning was less than the total amount available to veterans for education, about \$14,000. But veterans groups said the comparison was not fair because veterans must serve three years in the military to be eligible for that amount. While some veterans groups said yesterday that the scaled-back program was acceptable, Larry Rivers, head of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, said, "my reaction is, that's not fair," because he calculated that veterans would receive only \$4,400 for their first year of service.

Clinton's allies on the Democratic Leadership Council, meeting here, expressed disappointment on the decision to scale down from the \$10,000-per-year program that they had recommended. "We set it quite deliberately with the real costs of going to college in mind," said Will Marshall, president of a DLC think tank. "I worry that \$5,000 may not seem like a sufficient return on a year of work to some."

According to the College Board, the 1992-93 average cost of tuition, fees, room and board at a four-year public college was \$5,841, and \$15,073 at a private institution.

Students seeking grants under the plan would have to work at minimum-age public service jobs. In addition to their wages, they would be eligible for \$5,000 a year to pay higher education expenses.

Clinton's plan would also provide lower interest rates for college loans by having students borrow directly from the federal government rather than go through private banks. And it would allow a borrower to set up a repayment schedule based on his or her income, to encourage graduates who want to take lower-paying public service jobs.

"Take a student torn, for example, between pursuing a career in teaching and corporate law," Clinton said yesterday. "This student now can at least make the career choice based on what he or she wants to do, and not the size of the outstanding student loan. . . . That is an incredible incentive."

Staff writer Mary Jordan in Washington contributed to this report.

School loan plans going to Congress

By Carol Jouzaitis
Chicago Tribune

70
195

NEW ORLEANS—Punctuating his first 100 days in office by moving ahead with one of his most popular campaign proposals, President Clinton visited a state university here to unveil details of two programs designed to make college more affordable.

One would create a national service corps, scaled back in size from what he pledged during the campaign, to enable students to work off their college loans with community service. The other would revamp the \$12 billion-a-year federally guaranteed student loan program.

Clinton said he would send to Congress next week measures to enact the two programs.

Through a national service initiative, which he has referred to as a domestic Peace Corps, Clinton said that "we can literally open a new world to a new generation of Americans, where higher learning goes hand-in-hand with the higher purpose of addressing our unmet needs."

Later, in a session with reporters, Clinton played down criticism of his impending health-care proposals by Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), saying the House Ways and Means Committee chairman appeared to have "a high level of confidence in what we were doing."

Clinton's college loan initiative was a priority for aides seeking to counter public opinion that the president hasn't yet delivered on many campaign promises.

But the measures will be handed to a Congress that is becoming concerned about legislative overload, as it considers Clinton's budget plan and other administration bills expected soon on reforming campaign finance and health care.

Clinton's proposed national service program was significantly more modest in size and financial benefits than he suggested during the campaign. As a candidate, Clinton had promised a program that would allow any graduate to work off his or her college loans.

Fleshing out the details of legislation that will be presented to Congress next week, Clinton proposed a service corps that would begin this fall with 25,000 students and grow to 150,000 or more in the 1997-98 school year. It would be open to students from low-income as well as affluent families, although local communities could tailor programs to disadvantaged youths.

Throughout the White House

planning process, financial awards that could be earned through national service have been shrinking.

The administration's bill will propose annual loan forgiveness of \$5,000. Youths could participate for up to two years, which means each participant could earn a maximum of \$10,000 in loan forgiveness, half as much as Clinton aides envisioned during the campaign.

Administration officials said that by reducing the financial benefits, the program could be expanded to include more students.

Sensitive to criticism that the national service corps would be expensive and might not be large enough to meet demand, Clinton also proposed a separate program that intended to make it easier for graduates to repay their debts.

That program would adjust graduates' loan payments to fit their income levels. Clinton said it would ease the financial burden on those who borrow substantial amounts of money to finance their educations but choose relatively low-paying careers, such as those in social work or the arts.

Thirdly, Clinton proposed a major shift in the source of funds loaned to students under federally guaranteed programs. College loans would be funded through federal borrowing rather than with private capital supplied by banks.

The shift to Treasury borrowing would save \$4.3 billion in year in bank fees and administration costs, White House officials said.

While banking industry officials oppose the shift, the administration officials said banks won't be cut out of college loans. Campuses that choose not to originate loans using federal funds could contract with banks to administer their programs.

The administration also proposed giving the Internal Revenue Service authority to collect loan payments through wage withholding, a step it hopes will reduce loan defaults.

National service would require a \$100 million outlay in 1994, White House officials said. That would grow to \$3 billion in 1997.

The program relies heavily on local support and will require matching funds from community groups, which would create service jobs based on local needs. White House officials said they will urge communities to focus jobs in four areas they consider priority needs: teaching, health care, environmental cleanup and public safety.

Community groups also will be required to fund a portion of participants' living stipends, which would be paid separately from loan forgiveness. The federal government would fund 75 percent of the stipends, based on the minimum wage. Community groups would be

required to come up with the remaining 25 percent. If they could raise the money, they would be permitted to pay larger stipends, up to twice minimum wage rate.

After speaking to students at the University of New Orleans, Clinton met with reporters and responded to Rostenkowski's criticism of the administration's health-care package as "the domestic equivalent of Star Wars"—meaning that it was too costly and complicated.

Clinton said Rostenkowski never has expressed such criticisms to him personally.

The powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee visited the White House twice last week after publicly lobbying the criticisms during a speech to a group of health-care professionals and reporters.

"He seemed to me, the last time I talked to him, to have a high level of confidence in what we were doing," Clinton said.

When Hillary Rodham Clinton and others involved in the health care task force spoke with Rostenkowski and "explained what they were thinking about, he seemed very supportive," Clinton said.

"He has to carry a lot of tough stuff out of the House Ways and Means Committee," Clinton said, referring to the committee's jurisdiction over his budget plan and forthcoming health package.

Student Loans: a Longtime Irritation

70/195

By WILLIAM CELIS 3d

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 1 — For years, college and university officials, parents and students have complained about the system of Federal student aid: a confusing welter of programs that can leave students indebted for years and that lose billions of dollars each year in defaulted loans.

"The current system of Federal student loans is altogether too complex, cumbersome and costly," said Eric S. Godfrey, assistant vice president for student affairs at the University of Washington in Seattle. "It is a program whose time has passed."

Now President Clinton has outlined a plan to redesign and enhance Federal student loan programs that is — on paper at least — a simpler, cheaper and more generous approach. The plan, which he unveiled on Friday at the University of New Orleans, would ease repayment requirements to some students and would lend money directly to all students from the Federal Government through their colleges.

'An Incentive for Me'

And students could tap another financial source previously unavailable. Under the President's proposed National Service program, a student could receive as much as \$5,000 a year for two years toward college, trade school, job-training expenses or to pay down existing student loans. The total of \$10,000 would be in addition to wages of about \$8,500 each year.

"This would be an incentive for me," said Julie Greaves, a 22-year-old junior at the University of Cincinnati, who is majoring in health-care administration. "I think the benefits would outweigh the disadvantages, especially since I have \$12,000 in student loans and probably won't find a job in my major."

In proposing programs, which are expected to be introduced as two separate bills in Congress next week, President Clinton raised an assortment of concerns about National Service and even more apprehension about direct lending. Some college and community service officials doubt that the National Service program would be able to gear up quickly enough to accommodate the 25,000 students who would be expected to participate in the 1994-1995 school year.

Acknowledging that many details of the plan remain sketchy, Education Department officials said a variety of community-based service programs in education, health care, the environment and other forms of public service already exist and could be brought together under a National Service board and state commissions, as proposed by the President.

"This is something I would consider doing," said Carl Holcombe, a 26-year-old communications major at San Francisco State University. "If the Government helped you go to college, then giving a year or two of your time is the least you could do."

Eye on 1997 for Full Plan

As many as 100,000 students would participate in the second year, Education Department officials said, with the program fully implemented by 1997. Officials had no estimate of how many students might taking part at that time.

Mr. Clinton's proposal for direct lending to students by the Government, which is currently being tested by the Education Department on a limited basis, has generated much opposition from banks, savings and loans and other lenders. They would be eliminated from the student loan business.

And the plan has drawn mixed reviews from colleges and universities, which assert they would be burdened by a program they are not prepared to handle.

"We are not a bank," said Fred Siegel, director of enrollment manage-

A New Way to Borrow

Direct Lending Proposal

1. THE STUDENT would apply for aid.



2. THE INSTITUTION would determine the level of aid.

MONEY would come from the Education Department.



Current Loan Programs



1. THE STUDENT applies for aid at a college or university.



2. THE INSTITUTION determines the level of aid, then applies to a lender.



3. THE LENDER approves the loan and sends it to a guarantee agency, which underwrites it in event of default.



4. THE LOAN goes back to the bank, which releases money to the institution.

5. FINALLY, the institution gives the money to the student.

Financial aid for college is called too complex and cumbersome.

ment administration at George Washington University here. "Banks know how to lend money, and generally universities are not in that business."

Colleen Hillmeyer, director of financial aid at the University of Denver, said, "We are talking about big bucks here. So it's really important that we get it right. At the moment, I'm taking a very middle-of-the-road approach."

In an attempt to calm jittery financial aid officials, Education Department officials said colleges and universities would not have to participate. Indeed, the officials estimated that a third of colleges and universities would refuse to participate. In these cases, the officials said, they would contract with banks and other lenders to provide the services. As an incentive for colleges and universities to take part, they would be paid a small fee for each loan.

But some universities welcomed the idea. "We are enthusiastic supporters of direct lending," said Tom Butts, the University of Michigan's associate vice president for governmental affairs. "We believe that it's a good deal for students and a good deal for the taxpayers. Reform of the student loan programs is long overdue."

The debate, however, is more than just whether institutions would be able to manage direct lending. There is considerable debate over any savings, one of the central underpinnings of the Government's argument to revamp the loan programs.

The Government estimates it would save \$4.3 billion over five years under the direct lending portion of the program, beginning in the 1994-95 academic year. But an analysis of the plan for the U.S.A. Group Inc., a financial services company, said the Clinton proposal would actually lose \$13 million over that period.

How the same proposal could result in two very different conclusions underscores the high stakes involved: control of a multibillion-dollar-a-year industry. One of the biggest participants is the Student Loan Marketing Association, or Sallie Mae, a congressionally chartered agency that services \$24 billion, or a third, of the \$64.4 billion of the Government's outstanding student loans.

"There is a lot of concern over how

this will work," said Lawrence A. Hough, president and chief executive officer of Sallie Mae, whose shares are traded on the New York Stock Exchange. He said that colleges and universities do not have the expertise to handle the loans and that Government should have continued its pilot program on direct lending longer before trying a full-fledged version.

But other who would be involved in the program say that the concerns can be handled. While students would continue to complete financial aid forms and colleges and universities would determine the level of aid, the institutions would receive the aid directly from the Education Department. The department would collect the loans or hire private contractors to perform the task.

The program would begin modestly with just 4 percent of all new loans extended directly to students in the 1994-95 academic year. By the second year, direct lending would be expected to account for 25 percent of all new loans and 60 percent in the third year, with full implementation the next.

The President's proposal would ease loan repayment schedules for students. It would also allow students to repay loans at a rate that would be based on their income, the first time such a feature would be applied to Federal loans. Part of the payoff, the President believes, would be to trim the amount of defaulted student loans, which now total \$15.8 billion.

The New York Times

Peace Corps Workers: Older and Businesslike

195
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 1 — Two years ago, at age 63, Jane Becker joined the Peace Corps and went to Poland. She was not the oldest volunteer.

As the Peace Corps expands the range and depth of its services to emerging countries, newly required skills are reshaping the image of the traditional volunteer. With the demand for entrepreneurial experience in Eastern Europe and an increasing number of volunteers deciding to stay in, the profile of a typical Peace Corps worker has changed. In 1963 the average age of Peace Corps volunteers was 22. Now the average volunteer is 30.

"In the 60's we were looking for more generalist volunteers," said Kristen Wennberg, a Peace Corps spokeswoman in Washington. "These were the people right out of liberal arts colleges."

Today, Ms. Wennberg said, the situation is different. "The volunteer we sent over to Russia in 1990 had an average age of 41," she said. "They requested volunteers with at least five years' business experience or an M.B.A."

The fall of Communism in Eastern Europe opened new opportunities for entrepreneurs and small businessmen in Ukraine and Russia, but they needed

help in learning how to get started. The formerly Communist countries opened their doors to the Peace Corps, and "as these countries have become more and more developed, they have requested a different kind of volunteer," Ms. Wennberg said.

Ms. Becker was such a person. "I had dabbled in real estate, I had started my own small business," she said. "I never made any money doing it, but I had business experience."

In part because of the need for specialized skills, increasing numbers of veteran volunteers — close to 15 percent — are returning to serve another tour of duty. In their second terms,

many of the volunteers bring specialized degrees in fields like hydrogeology, along with a decade or more of experience to share with the people in their host countries.

Daniel Jenkins served from 1976 to 1978 in Nepal, where he worked on a water project. Upon returning home, Dr. Jenkins enrolled in graduate school and studied hydrogeology. Eleven years later he re-joined the Peace Corps to lead a village water project on a central Pacific island.

"I sort of knew how to roll with it this time," he said. "The first time you don't know what they're saying, and your brain is trying desperately to understand the language. The second time — in the Pacific — I could use what I had before."

John P. Hogan, acting director of the Peace Corps, said the volunteers who

stay on bring invaluable experience to their assignments. The older volunteer has proven to be a rich investment for host countries in Eastern Europe as well as West Africa, he said.

Some people, like J. Arthur Rodger, stay because they want to see the long-term effects of their efforts. Mr. Rodger began his Peace Corps journey in Liberia in West Africa when he was 22 and ended it in Lesotho in southern Africa at age 41.

Mr. Rodger, who remained in one African village for seven years, said he felt strongly about continuity throughout the Peace Corps experience. "Some of the children I taught in junior high came back and said, 'I'm going to college, and you were a part of that,'" he said. "A high point for me was seeing these kids show off for me — that they had gotten a good job, were

graduating high school or going to college."

While a large number of volunteers are still young men and women in their 20's, the demand for technical skills has made sharp minds as valuable as strong backs. And that has proven an advantage to older volunteers like Dorothy Weller and Helen Suchara, both in their 70's and now living in Detroit, who worked in Ms. Becker's group in Poland.

Ms. Becker, now 65, remembers the day she read that the Peace Corps was going to Poland. "It was all I thought about," she said. "I thought 'I would like to make a difference if I can, and if I can't, I would like to have a wonderful adventure.' And I did both."

Clinton Pushes Public Service Plan

Program Would Be Tied to Federal Assistance for College Costs

Associated Press

6/95/90

President Clinton called on Americans today to support a program of national service to help young people pay for a college education.

"I am determined to open the doors of college education and give Americans an opportunity to pay for it through a program of national service," Clinton said in his weekly radio address. "I am determined we won't ever lose the promise of American life."

Clinton is proposing a two-pronged program of direct government loans and assistance with educational costs for students who do public service.

First, student loans would be obtained directly from the federal government, forgoing private lenders and resulting in lower interest rates for borrowers.

The repayment schedule would be based on income, easing the burden for students with low-paying jobs. The administration believes this would encourage more students to consider doing community service jobs.

The Internal Revenue Service might act as the collection agency for all federal student loans to ensure repayment.

Second, education grants—or loan forgiveness—of \$5,000 a year for up to two years would be available to students who sign up for the community service program, either before or after college or some other post-high school education program.

The initiative, one of Clinton's major campaign promises, is envisioned to grow by 1997 into a \$3 billion program involving 150,000 young people.

Initially, it would put 25,000

young people to work in 1994 in the fields of education, the environment, public safety and human services.

"Through national service we can open a new world to a new generation," Clinton said.

"With national service Americans can help themselves by helping each other," he said. "It's the best investment we could ever make in our future."

In the GOP response to the president's address, Sen. Phil Gramm (Tex.) did not comment directly on the president's call for national service. But he did seek to place the blame for a recent slowdown in economic growth on Clinton's first 100 days in office.

"I think the reason is pretty simple: All these new taxes, all this new spending, all these new deficits scare the economy to death," Gramm said.

199 70 *National Service: The Proposal*

THERE'S BEEN a strong and steady windup to the national service program that President Clinton is now ready to pitch to Congress. Mr. Clinton has spoken often, both during the campaign and since, of a civilian volunteer corps in the nation's schools, clinics, parks and police stations. But until last week the idea achieved most of its velocity as a symbol—of responsibility, community and democracy. With his remarks in New Orleans Friday and the release of a legislative outline, the national service program acquires substantive as well as symbolic import. This is a serious and plausible proposal. The obstacles, however, are many, from the Hill on down.

The administration wants to establish a Corporation for National Service, a quasi-governmental body that would combine the existing agencies dealing with volunteer service—ACTION, which includes Vista, and the Commission on National and Community Service, for instance—as well as administer a new trust for the awards and stipends that would go to the 150,000 recruits eventually expected. The corporate model is useful; it silences those who would balk at the creation of yet another federal bureaucracy while permitting the solicitation of private funds.

Many of the service groups that would seek certification and funding from the national board already exist. They range from nonprofit neighborhood-improvement groups, such as the much-touted City Year in Boston, to Head Start, the federal government's preschool program for impoverished children. Other groups undoubtedly would come forward. This is meant to be a national program nourished and sustained by local roots. The challenges are many—from

guarding against patronage and corruption to ensuring that the activities help not just the participants but the recipients and the greater community. National service, after all, is primarily about helping the served.

The mostly young people who opt for service would receive an award—\$5,000 a year with a two-year maximum. This amount, based on the average indebtedness of undergraduates these days and roughly commensurate with veterans' educational benefits, is intended to help students pay off their loans or to pay for further training. The money—a new subsidy, in effect—is advertised as a means toward greater educational opportunity, like the GI Bill. But that's misleading. National service won't really alter the overall student aid equation. Five million students receive loans to finance their college educations, and many of them graduate more than \$5,000 in debt. This program would help only a very small proportion of the college-goers (which is why the administration pairs this program with other proposals intended to reform student aid, such as income-contingent repayment).

Still, national service remains an appealing option. Mr. Clinton is being faulted for starting small. But if anything the administration and Congress begin with too much. One hundred and fifty thousand people and a budget of \$7.4 billion over four years is a major investment—one that will compete mightily for funds along with such programs as Head Start and, not incidentally, grants for needy college students. President Clinton said to his college audience Friday, "We need you." First, though, he needs the money.

Roger Landrum ¹⁹⁵/₁₀

Chance of A Lifetime

National service now.

President Clinton's proposal to link National Service with federal college scholarships or loan forgiveness packs a powerful political punch. It evokes memories of a GI bill rewarding the young men who won World War II with a college education—a venture that also revitalized American higher education. For younger voters and their parents, a National Service Trust Fund is also the modern political equivalent of “a chicken in every pot.”

But with the size of the federal deficit and competing priorities for human resources investment, skeptics say that fulfilling a pledge to reward civic service with federal education assistance is impossible beyond a token effort. Not so. A transforming social initiative can be forged if a new kind of national service vision comes to the fore.

The good news for the president is that the new national service has been taking shape in the nonprofit sector for a decade. The scale is still small, but most of the pieces are in place. A new model of national service that will last for generations, far beyond the Clinton administration, cannot be built overnight, nor can it carry only the Clinton imprint; it must be bipartisan. And to capitalize on the strengths of our society, it needs to be a joint venture of corporations, foundations, educational institutions, the nonprofit sector and government at all levels.

One thing is certain: The new national service cannot be created with a stroke of the presidential pen or constructed with old habits of federal action.

National service used to be defined as a monolithic and one-dimensional federal program following the models of military forces, Franklin D. Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps, and John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps. These programs were built on the guiding assumption that these were activities to be undertaken by young people roughly 18 to 25 years of age in projects funded and administered by government on a full-time basis during a period spent away from civilian life.

The new national service is based on a different set of assumptions. Young participants represent a wider range of ages and come from diverse backgrounds. Some are serving full-time, others part-time. There are many successful program models, organized by different kinds of institutions and supported by different funding sources, public and private. The operations are decentralized, and the leadership is primarily nongovernmental. The next steps forward must build on this foundation.

The president needs to help lay out strategies that persuade corporations, foundations, state and local governments and individuals to at least match the federal government's outlays in direct support of a national service

initiative of their choice. The process is already underway; it only needs to be accelerated. Private foundations such as Ford, Kellogg, DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest, MacArthur, AT&T, Bonner Foundation, Reebok and others are already large investors in national service. So are the state governments of Pennsylvania, California and Minnesota. In addition, the president's proposed National Service Trust Fund—post-service college scholarships for those who serve—could be doubled or tripled by private contributions. If every college and university in the nation engages in the process by establishing its own National Service Trust Funds to augment the federal scholarships, many more young people will be able to gain educational assistance through joining service programs.

The president will have an opportunity to pioneer a set of innovative federal investment strategies for building the new national service, rather than creating a government monopoly. They should include:

- A federalism strategy of investing on a competitive basis in state plans. This approach is already underway on a modest scale through the Commission on National and Community Service, up this year for reauthorization. The commission should be continued, but it is essential that this not be the only investment strategy, because this would place all leadership and direction in the hands of government agencies.

- A franchise strategy of investing in generic youth service models developed and tested by entrepreneurs. The goal would be to replicate them nationally.

- A hub strategy of investing large block grants in national and regional nonprofits with important zones of expertise and excellence, which are essential for improving and ensuring the quality of the new national service. These areas include evaluation research, leadership development, strategic planning and management, replication, communications and promotion, and technical assistance. The Clinton administration should take the step of farming out venture capital to the nongovernmental leadership that organized and led the movement before government became a partner.

Other investment strategies are feasible, but the key is to build the new national service with much broader ownership, diversity and innovation. President Clinton deserves great credit for moving ahead so boldly, but he should not be expected to carry the entire responsibility for building national service. This is the chance of a lifetime to give a great many young people more active and positive roles in our society. Now is the time for all of the country's major institutions to join in creating the new national service.

The writer is executive director, Youth Service America, a national policy, training and public education organization.

Veterans of the '30s program took to the woods yesterday to start the ball rolling.

Reviving the spirit of civilian corps

By Marc Duvoisin
INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

195

As a teenager during the Depression, Harvey A. "Mac" McGowan stacked lumber at a furniture factory in Morgantown, W.Va., for \$1 a day. When the work ran out, he heeded a banner on the town hall and signed up for the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a New Deal public-works program.

McGowan, then 16, figured he'd be assigned to a work camp nearby. Three days later, he was in Yellowstone National Park in Wyoming.

During six months in the wilderness, he tended a tree nursery and worked in the camp infirmary. He learned first aid and minor surgery from the camp physician and was soon launched on a career as a medical corpsman in the Navy.

McGowan, 68, cannot say enough about what the experience did for him. And he is convinced, thoroughly convinced, that the CCC should be brought back to banish unemployment and despair from U.S. cities. What worked then, he says, can work now.

And so yesterday, McGowan and a handful of other veterans of the '30s jobs program marched into the woods off Verree Road in Northeast Philadelphia to plant trees with a half dozen Boy Scouts — and make a small start on reviving the spirit, if not the sweep and scale, of the CCC.

Beneath a canopy of giant poplars in Pennypack Park, these graying children of the Depression grew misty-eyed as they traded stories about the backbreaking work they did as an army of the unemployed — stringing phone lines, digging wells, building bridges and, above all, planting trees.

They laughed about the Spartan barracks, the soggy sandwiches and the magical camaraderie of the conservation corps.

"It gave me a better insight into life — meeting people, getting along with people," said Anthony Bucholski, 71, who helped fill gullies in the Arizona desert for a CCC soil-conservation project. "All kinds of nationalities, all kinds of religions, and we all got along."

The CCC was among the alphabet soup of federal employment programs established under President Franklin D. Roosevelt to help lift the country out of the Depression. From 1933 to 1942, the corps employed 2.5 million people in conservation and

forestation projects across the country.

Eligibility was limited to young single men with at least one relative on the welfare rolls. Corpsmen were paid \$30 a month and were required to send \$22 home to their families. They lived in primitive barracks run by the army and learned landscaping, carpentry and other trades.

"It took us off the streets," said Ed Mogan, 72, a retired long-haul trucker, "and we want to start it again."

On Friday, President Clinton proposed a national service program that would let students repay college loans by working in schools, nursing homes, police departments and other community services.

CCC veterans formed a national association in the late '70s. In January, a group of Philadelphia-area alumni formed their own chapter, with McGowan as president, and began searching for ways to get young people involved in the kind of work they did.

They got in touch with Bob Grow, manager of the Northeast District of the Fairmount Park Commission, which includes Pennypack Park. Grow brings Boy Scouts and other volunteers into the park each spring to plant saplings.

This year, impressed by McGowan's enthusiasm, he ordered more young trees than usual — 500 for Pennypack alone, compared with a normal purchase of 200 for all of the northeast section of Fairmount Park.

The scouts and the elderly corpsman went to work yesterday in soft, dappled sunlight, planting white oaks, red maples, birches and hemlocks encased in 5-foot-high plastic tubes to prevent deer and rabbits from eating them.

"I picture myself when I was doing this 60 years ago," Mogan, the retired trucker, said during a break. He enrolled in the CCC in 1938 as a teenager from the Port Richmond section. His mother had died when he was 4. He and his sister were living on welfare.

In the corps, Mogan worked on a demolition crew in the mountains of northern Virginia and then was shipped to Arizona where he helped fence off tracts of federal grazing land to stop sheep and cattle ranchers from fighting over it.

Asked what the experience did for him, he chuckled ruefully and said, "Saved me from going to jail."

^BC-MI--Washington Trends, Adv02,800

^\$adv02

^For AMs Sunday, May 2 and thereafter

^Michigan Education Economist Says More Choices Better for Students

^lzl1g

^By LISA ZAGAROLI= ^Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) The costs of a college education should keep step with methods to pay for it, said some Michigan education officials who support President Clinton's national service and student loan proposals.

Clinton on Friday officially announced the National Service Corps, which offers at least a partial college education in exchange for community service from its participants.

Volunteering in the fields of the environment, education, public safety and human services, students would receive as much as \$10,000 to make good on their college loans.

They also would receive small stipends, and health care and child care assistance if they need them.

"Anything that can be done to help make that market for school better, ... to improve the system for repaying loans, or to help that student stay in school are socially beneficial policies," said Byron W. Brown, a Michigan State University economics professor whose emphasis is on education and school finance.

The simple economics of a college education is a reason to get a higher education, he said.

"The rate of return for a college education is still far above the return you could get on financial investments," Brown said.

On average, college graduates would get 17 percent return on what they paid to earn their degrees, he said.

The gap between the value of a high school education and a college education measured by lifestyle also widened over the 1980s, he said.

He pointed to a recent study by two Princeton University economists that showed a significant relationship between school spending and payoffs in terms of higher wages.

More students could afford college because the costs would be lower and they would be able to earn a small wage.

"It's another avenue for people to use to help pay back costs of schooling it didn't have before," Brown said. "By allowing people to work off those loans in yet another way, and benefit the country, will provide more incentive for them."

Rep. William Ford, D-Mich. and chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, said the plan would make college or job training more accessible as well as more affordable.

The plan would take the best "people programs" of the 1960s, like the Peace Corps and its U.S. counterpart Volunteers in Service to America, or VISTA, and rework them to meet 1990's needs, said the Ypsilanti Democrat.

Rep. Marge Roukema of New Jersey, the senior Republican on Ford's committee, said Clinton "should be concentrating on reducing the deficit, instead of proposing new multibillion-dollar entitlement programs."

A leader on education in the Senate said he backed the program.

"Without question, this will help defray the escalating costs of a college education either through an educational benefit before one enters college or as loan forgiveness for those who choose service after education," said Sen. Claiborne Pell, D-R.I., chairman of a Senate education subcommittee.

Marvin Peterson, director of the Center for Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education at the University of Michigan, said the success of the program would depend on how it is put together.

"I think it depends an awful lot on how those programs are structured, how they're mentored, what people are encouraged to do as a result of their participation," Peterson said.

The other section of Clinton's announcement, the student loan program, already has raised the ire of bankers.

The government would take over the student loan program and eliminate the need to borrow from banks, which profit from the interest they charge.

The government would borrow money and lend it to students directly, with colleges and universities acting as agents.

Students might pay interest rates a half percentage point lower than if they borrowed from a bank.

Ford said the direct lending program would save more than \$4 billion by the time it is fully implemented in 1998.

``The money saved is money needed to provide more education for more students,'' Ford said. ``The middlemen who would have received that \$4 billion in taxpayer money may rant and rave, but I don't have a problem with using their fees to educate our young people.''

Brown said the system also could be more efficient because of the possibility of linking payment with the tax system.

Under the plan, loan repayments would be based on a percentage of a worker's income. The Internal Revenue Service might act as a collection agency through automatic wage withholding.

``It might not only improve compliance but might make collection costs go down,'' Brown said.

♥WhiteHouse-A2-MI-05-03-93 15:41EST<
(via GenDos v516a).
♦

PM-MO--School Loans, Bjt,0390

President's Loan Program Gets Mixed Reviews

ST. LOUIS (AP) St. Louis-area financial aid officials have their doubts about President Bill Clinton's proposal to have the federal government make direct college loans to students in return for national community service.

Dennis J. Martin, financial aid director at Washington University, said he believes the element of national service should be separated from that of direct government lending.

National service is commendable, he said, and can be effective if it is properly phased in and continually retuned. But Martin said he had reservations about the government replacing private bankers to finance college educations.

"There is a question whether the federal government can be more effective than the private lenders. The present system has put some \$10 to \$15 billion into the hands of students and, despite some criticisms, has worked quite well," Martin said.

If the direct lending program complements the present bank lending mechanism and doesn't replace it, it could add an important option for students and parents, Martin said. Otherwise, there is a danger it could become an unwieldy and ineffectual bureaucracy, he said.

Harold A. Deuser, director of financial aid at St. Louis University, also said the Clinton plan "raises a lot of questions."

"The present system works even though it gets bumpy at times," he said. "Can the federal government manage such a massive program and do it well? Can it manage the huge cash flow that students all over the country need to continue in school?"

Deuser and Martin said many of the questions may be answered by a federal direct lending pilot program that was authorized under the Higher Education Act Congress passed last summer. The program is scheduled to go into effect in the 1994-95 fiscal year. It will substitute the U.S. Treasury for private banks in advancing funds to a limited number of students for several federal student loan and grant programs.

"Let's see how the pilot program works before we throw out the baby with the bath water," Deuser said.

On Saturday, Clinton called on Americans to support a program of national service to help enable young people to pay for their college educations.

He called it "the best investment we could ever make in our future."

♥WhiteHouse-A2-MO-05-03-93 15:41EST<
(via GenDos v516a)-

♦

^AM-Clinton-Interview, 540

^Clinton Upbeat Despite Critical 100-Day Reviews

^Eds: Note Missouri/Kansas interest

^By The Associated Press=

President Clinton vowed Friday to keep fighting for his economic program and sniped at Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole for leading the Republican effort that killed it.

Clinton spoke at the University of New Orleans to promote his plan for national service. Afterward, he met with regional media, including reporters for The Kansas City Star and The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

"There's no longer any doubt about whether we're going to reduce the deficit," Clinton said. "The question is how much, how fast, what's best for the economy?"

He had harsh words for Dole, the Kansas Republican behind the filibuster that derailed Clinton's \$16.3 billion economic stimulus package.

"Of course Senator Dole can say all taxes are bad," Clinton said. "We tried it their way for 12 years. We listened to their anti-tax rhetoric. They lowered the taxes on the wealthy, raised them on the middle class, and the debt went ... to \$4 trillion.

"I can't believe the American people want to try it their way for four more years."

Clinton said the low rate of U.S. economic growth in the first three months of 1993 proved Republicans were wrong in sinking his plan. He said Republicans were out to prove they could best him, and never intended to compromise.

On other matters, Clinton said he may decide Saturday whether the United States will use military force to intervene in Bosnia. Clinton said he still hoped Serbian leaders will agree to peace and such action won't be necessary. But he said the Serbs had not bargained in good faith so far.

"I don't know that I'm optimistic," he said.

Clinton is said by aides to be weighing air strikes against Serbian fighters, lifting the international arms embargo against Bosnian Muslims to allow them to arm themselves for defense, and creating havens for Muslims in territory they still hold.

Some choices might require approval from Congress or the United Nations, Clinton said. He did not say which.

He called the Bosnian problem the most difficult foreign problem facing the United States. He said he was aware the situation in the former Yugoslavia offered a chance the United States could wind up in another Vietnam-style quagmire.

"That's why it's very important that anything we do be clearly defined in terms of its strategy, in terms of the tactics involved, in terms of what the limits are," Clinton said.

He restated his commitment not to put U.S. forces on the ground in Bosnia unless the warring parties reached an agreement and American troops were needed as part of a U.N. peacekeeping force.

On other issues, Clinton said:

He still plans to introduce a sweeping health-care reform plan in time for Congress to consider it this year.

Critics like Ross Perot should propose specifics to change things for the better "instead of all this hot air and rhetoric."

The issue of allowing gays in the military "was pushed up there by Republicans" and others who wanted to take advantage of a controversial issue. He said he was spending little time on the matter.

Roger Landrum 195/10

Chance of A Lifetime

National service now.

President Clinton's proposal to link National Service with federal college scholarships or loan forgiveness packs a powerful political punch. It evokes memories of a GI bill rewarding the young men who won World War II with a college education—a venture that also revitalized American higher education. For younger voters and their parents, a National Service Trust Fund is also the modern political equivalent of “a chicken in every pot.”

But with the size of the federal deficit and competing priorities for human resources investment, skeptics say that fulfilling a pledge to reward civic service with federal education assistance is impossible beyond a token effort. Not so. A transforming social initiative can be forged if a new kind of national service vision comes to the fore.

The good news for the president is that the new national service has been taking shape in the nonprofit sector for a decade. The scale is still small, but most of the pieces are in place. A new model of national service that will last for generations, far beyond the Clinton administration, cannot be built overnight, nor can it carry only the Clinton imprint; it must be bipartisan. And to capitalize on the strengths of our society, it needs to be a joint venture of corporations, foundations, educational institutions, the nonprofit sector and government at all levels.

One thing is certain: The new national service cannot be created with a stroke of the presidential pen or constructed with old habits of federal action.

National service used to be defined as a monolithic and one-dimensional federal program following the models of military forces, Franklin D. Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps, and John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps. These programs were built on the guiding assumption that these were activities to be undertaken by young people roughly 18 to 25 years of age in projects funded and administered by government on a full-time basis during a period spent away from civilian life.

The new national service is based on a different set of assumptions. Young participants represent a wider range of ages and come from diverse backgrounds. Some are serving full-time, others part-time. There are many successful program models, organized by different kinds of institutions and supported by different funding sources, public and private. The operations are decentralized, and the leadership is primarily nongovernmental. The next steps forward must build on this foundation.

The president needs to help lay out strategies that persuade corporations, foundations, state and local governments and individuals to at least match the federal government's outlays in direct support of a national service

initiative of their choice. The process is already underway; it only needs to be accelerated. Private foundations such as Ford, Kellogg, DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest, MacArthur, AT&T, Bonner Foundation, Reebok and others are already large investors in national service. So are the state governments of Pennsylvania, California and Minnesota. In addition, the president's proposed National Service Trust Fund—post-service college scholarships for those who serve—could be doubled or tripled by private contributions. If every college and university in the nation engages in the process by establishing its own National Service Trust Funds to augment the federal scholarships, many more young people will be able to gain educational assistance through joining service programs.

The president will have an opportunity to pioneer a set of innovative federal investment strategies for building the new national service, rather than creating a government monopoly. They should include:

- A federalism strategy of investing on a competitive basis in state plans. This approach is already underway on a modest scale through the Commission on National and Community Service, up this year for reauthorization. The commission should be continued, but it is essential that this not be the only investment strategy, because this would place all leadership and direction in the hands of government agencies.

- A franchise strategy of investing in generic youth service models developed and tested by entrepreneurs. The goal would be to replicate them nationally.

- A hub strategy of investing large block grants in national and regional nonprofits with important zones of expertise and excellence, which are essential for improving and ensuring the quality of the new national service. These areas include evaluation research, leadership development, strategic planning and management, replication, communications and promotion, and technical assistance. The Clinton administration should take the step of farming out venture capital to the nongovernmental leadership that organized and led the movement before government became a partner.

Other investment strategies are feasible, but the key is to build the new national service with much broader ownership, diversity and innovation. President Clinton deserves great credit for moving ahead so boldly, but he should not be expected to carry the entire responsibility for building national service. This is the chance of a lifetime to give a great many young people more active and positive roles in our society. Now is the time for all of the country's major institutions to join in creating the new national service.

The writer is executive director, Youth Service America, a national policy, training and public education organization.

4A • MONDAY, MAY 3, 1993 • USA TODAY

WASHINGTON

A QUICK LOOK AT WHAT'S GOING ON IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Work-for-scholarship dropped to \$10,000

President Clinton, apparently intent on avoiding new troubles with Congress, has quickly retreated in an effort to assure approval of his work-for-scholarships program.

Hours before Clinton was to unveil details of his program in New Orleans Friday, he lopped the maximum scholarship size by almost 25% after being told his original program faced opposition from Republicans and veterans groups because it was more generous than G.I. benefits.

Clinton's decision surprised even some of his own aides. His decision to cut the maximum two-year scholarship to \$10,000 from \$13,000 came after White House briefing papers had been published with the higher number. Those documents were used by USA TODAY in a Friday story.

Under his plan, the grants could be repaid through community service jobs or with payments based on a percentage of future income.

E. J. Dionne Jr.

W. Post 5/4

The Government Albatross

The albatross hanging around the necks of President Clinton and almost every other Democrat is called "government." Democrats can't get to where they want to go as long as voters see government as a synonym for "waste." This leaves Democrats with two choices: They can pretend they're anti-government as anyone else, or they can try to change people's minds about government.

Democrats often opt for the most disingenuous course. At election time, they rail against government waste and pledge to be skinflints. When safely in Congress, they vote for substantial spending while continuing to pretend that they're anti-government. As a result, voters only rarely hear the case for active government and thus decide (not unreasonably) that the people they are electing are being dishonest.

This critique, by the way, applies at least as much to so-called conservative Democrats as to liberals. The liberals are more likely to be direct in making the case for government—one thinks, as just one example, of Rep. David Obey of Wisconsin. Clinton also likes to talk about the power of government to do good. But many of the moderate-to-conservative Democrats who scream loudest about the budget deficit turn out to be the advocates of big subsidies for farmers, ranchers and rural electrification and big foes of cutting the defense budget, the super collider or the space station.

The strategy of being rhetorically anti-government and operationally pro-government may win some elections, but it's not sustainable over the long haul—especially if you have to govern. This may explain why Sen. Bob Krueger is having trouble in the special election in Texas. Clinton also suffers to the extent that the anti-government mood makes deficit reduction the one and only test of his seriousness for a lot of voters—especially Ross Perot's admirers—and for much of the commentating class. Clinton's program, which also includes a lot of new spending, is doomed to fail such a narrow test.

The anti-government constituency is fed by two quite different streams of voters. There are the principled conservatives and libertarians who think government is necessarily wasteful and oppressive. This view was neatly summarized by David Stockman, Ronald Reagan's first budget director, who spoke for "minimalist government—a spare and stingy creature that offered evenhanded public justice but no more."

Only a minority of the electorate believes in this. The anti-government constituency has swelled because of people who would like government to do good things, but have lost faith in its capacity to do so. Their ambivalence is expressed in the fact that they often blame government for the troubles facing the economy. That shows they'd actually like government to "fix" the economy—which is asking government to do a lot. But when government fails to do that, they turn on it with a vengeance.

This impulse is especially common among Perot voters. Mark Mellman, a Democratic pollster, says that Perot backers "have Democratic priorities and favor Republican solutions." They want government to do some-



thing about the economy and health care, among other things, but don't really trust it to get matters right. So they fall back on calls for cutting government down to size.

Defenders of the federal government have another problem: The benefits it confers are often invisible or taken for granted. Voters living under even the worst local governments can see cops and firemen on the streets; they know there are parks and libraries and school buildings and teachers; most of the time, the garbage gets picked up. Local government failures also feed the anti-government mood. But at least the benefits of local government are tangible.

Not so those of the federal government: Over 60 percent of federal spending goes to Social Security, Medicare and other health programs, defense and interest on the debt.

Nothing need be said about the non-benefits of the interest payments. Defense spending does benefit particular groups, but the link between how much we spend and how well-defended we feel is pretty obscure. While slashing the defense budget may make some people feel less secure, each additional dollar spent on the military doesn't make people experience a dollar more of security.

As for Social Security and Medicare, most of the retired will argue that they paid in for years and are thus entitled to the benefits. Government gets no credit, only blame if benefits are trimmed.

Clinton's "new Democrat" message arose in direct response to the sense among so many middle-class people that they were getting nothing from government. It's simply not true that in declaring himself a "new Democrat" last year, Clinton ran as an anti-government candidate. He ran as a candidate who fa-

vored active government but who'd also make government do things differently, see to it that the middle class got something out of government and shape programs that reflected its values. To the extent that Clinton abandons new Democrat themes, he is weakening the case for government. The paradox is that old-fashioned Democrats who want government to do more need Clinton to be an effective new Democrat.

Thus the importance of his new national service-student loan initiative. The service portion is organized in an anti-bureaucratic way to promote activities by non-governmental institutions. It makes the point that government should not only hand out booty but also encourage citizens to behave like citizens. The student loan part is about relieving the middle class of a big headache—its worries about how to send the kids to college.

But there will inevitably be large problems in a new program that's getting started so fast. So it's imperative that those who run the service agency be prepared to shut down bad programs fast and build in ways of detecting failure early. Nothing so discredits government as a program that begins in idealism and ends in scandal.

Democrats may complain that the case for government is hard to make in the current climate. Government's job, after all, is to take care of the problems the market leaves behind—the problems that are hardest to solve. That puts government in charge of failures. And government has failed often enough that taxpayer skepticism cannot be dismissed as simple cold-heartedness. But if Democrats can't make the case for government, they'll not only lose; they'll deserve to.

Slow but Sure on National Service

President Clinton promised voters "a domestic G.I. Bill that will pledge college assistance to any student who wants it." But the national service plan he recently announced falls short of that lofty goal. Only a handful of students will participate, and they will receive a fraction of what it takes to attend private colleges.

Some are urging the President to move faster. But in the current political vortex faster is probably wrong. Mr. Clinton is already trying to ram three major bills — the budget, health care reform and the Mexican trade pact — through Congress this summer. Moreover, Congress needs his strong leadership to strengthen and pass the campaign finance legislation expected to be unveiled later this week. To add an ambitious national service plan to the Congressional agenda risks overload — and gridlock.

So Mr. Clinton has decided to start national service off slowly. That's acceptable, as long as he honors his campaign promises by accelerating the plan next year.

The Clinton plan would open college gates to more students through national service and a restructured student loan program. High school graduates who volunteer for a year or two of community service would, besides earning the minimum wage, receive awards of up to \$10,000 toward post-secondary education or training.

The award isn't large enough to pay for four years at private colleges. And the program would initially accommodate only 25,000 students — a tiny fraction of the eligible population. But a slow pace may prove wise.

Mr. Clinton's vision is grand: young Americans advancing themselves as they combat illiteracy, aid the homeless or rehabilitate housing. But if it is rushed, the program could degenerate into a government bureaucracy handing out useless jobs that

wouldn't be filled by anyone other than volunteers.

The President also proposes to open college to students who don't volunteer for community service by providing affordable student loans. The current loan program is a complex myriad of options under which commercial banks extend loans with the backing of Federal guarantees and subsidies.

Mr. Clinton's would simplify the process by having the Government directly lend to students, thereby cutting out the banks and saving money. The plan would also give students the option to tie repayment to their future income — thereby eliminating the fear of bankruptcy for those who enter low-paid occupations. Whether the plan would work smoothly depends on details that have yet to be provided.

President Clinton's student loan program would be simpler than the current program. But it may not be cheaper. The money saved by eliminating bank profits could easily be swallowed up by bloated bureaucracy and less vigilant collection from deadbeats. And there are ways to cut out fat from the existing program — by reducing the subsidies paid to the banks and forcing them to bear more of the risk from student defaults.

What's odd is Mr. Clinton's decision to revamp the system even before the results of a pilot project of direct lending is studied. Surely it would make sense to see how the program works on a small scale before launching it nationwide.

The President's vision draws on the inspiring model of the G.I. Bill of Rights, which put millions of World War II veterans into college classrooms and made them the best educated, and most productive, workers American has ever had. His plan isn't up to that standard — yet. But Mr. Clinton is on to something important — an idea that is fully consistent with his campaign pledge to fashion government programs that help the needy only in exchange for performance. This worthy endeavor need not be rushed.

The Tragedy of Sri Lanka

When Sri Lanka became independent in 1948, it was called Ceylon and seemed to have it all: reasonable prosperity, a stable parliamentary system, habits of nonviolence and a landscape of bewitching beauty.

Now Sri Lanka, its official name since 1972, is synonymous with strife and tragedy. Last Saturday its President and two dozen others were blown to bits by a suicide bomber. This followed the murder of the President's chief rival and leader of the opposition. The cycle of retribution seems certain to continue.

How did things go so horribly wrong? Sri Lanka's story says a good deal about the unintended consequences of rooting politics in religion and ethnicity. It starts with the election victory in 1956 of the Oxford-educated Solomon Bandaranaike, a year that also marked the 2,500th anniversary of Buddha's attainment of Nirvana. Capitalizing on religious fervor, the Prime Minister made Buddhism the favored religion and decreed that Sinhalese, spoken by Buddhists, was henceforth the sole official language.

This angered a minority of mainly Hindu Tamils, who saw themselves at a permanent disadvantage since they spoke a wholly different language

than the mostly Buddhist Sinhalese. So Mr. Bandaranaike temporized, and suggested allowing "reasonable use" of Tamil. Communal riots erupted, and the well-meaning Prime Minister was murdered in 1959 by a fanatic Buddhist. In due course there followed a full-scale civil war as an extremist Tamil faction clamored for a separate state and found support in India, with its 50 million Tamils, just across the strait.

In a second unintended result, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi saw a chance in 1987 to placate Indian Tamils and win points as a peacemaker in Sri Lanka. He dispatched 50,000 troops to Tamil strongholds on the island as part of a peace accord signed in Colombo. But India's sometimes brutal soldiers were unable to disarm Tamil militants, and in 1991 Mr. Gandhi himself was assassinated, almost certainly by a Tamil extremist.

The lesson is sobering. When an ethnic majority diminishes the citizenship rights of a well-established minority, even a pacific people in an idyllic island can plunge into a bloodbath. It is an open question whether Sri Lankans can ever recover what has been lost. But there is time for other countries with peoples of different creeds and cultures to ponder Sri Lanka's tragic experience.

back at Kevin McHale's career and examines the Celtics' future -

The Boston Globe

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1993

THE BOSTON GLOBE • FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1993

8

White House grants to sponsor 2 Boston volunteer programs

By Kevin Galvin
STATES NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON - Sen. Edward M. Kennedy filed legislation yesterday on behalf of President Clinton that would establish a national service program and reform student loans, and the White House awarded grants to sponsor two volunteer programs in the Boston area this summer.

Boston's City Year won \$380,000 and Tufts University was awarded \$250,000 from the White House Office of National Service and the Commission on National and Community Service, an independent

agency chartered by Congress.

Kennedy took to the Senate floor to introduce the National Service Trust Fund Act of 1993 and the Student Loan Reform Act of 1993. "These measures proposed by President Clinton provide two types of federal support to tap the energy and ideals of our greatest resources: the young men and women of America," Kennedy said.

The Massachusetts awards were part of a kickoff to the "Summer of Service" program, which is to serve as a pilot program and train leaders for Clinton's planned National Service Program. Sixteen groups were awarded grant money nationwide.

City Year, often touted as a model for any national service program, will pick 75 young adults to run an eight-week summer camp for 470 inner-city youngsters, restore a garden area near the Wheatley Middle School in Roxbury, promote childhood vaccinations and health care throughout the city and organize a day-long "servathon" of street cleaning and planting.

Tufts' Lincoln Filene Center, which promotes public service, will direct 50 volunteers in operating a community health outreach program, tutoring sixth-graders from Boston public schools and working with the Environmental Diversity Forum.

A SUMMER IN SERVICE

Federal grant puts Newark youth to work for community

By TERRI P. GUESS

A coalition of Newark colleges and community organizations received a \$1 million grant yesterday to fund the Newark Summer of Service program, part of President Clinton's service initiative.

The grant was awarded by the White House Office of National Service and the Commission on National and Community Service. It was announced during a press conference at New Jersey Institute of Technology (NJIT).

The program, administered by NJIT, will include Essex County College, Rutgers-Newark and the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey (UMDNJ) and will assist youngsters throughout Newark.

Jessica Phipps, chairwoman of the Summer of Service Advisory Board and a Rutgers student, said, "This is an opportunity for Newark-area youth to pull together and get involved in rebuilding the community. We have targeted programs that will immediately impact at-risk children, those who are in danger of sacrificing their potential due to low self-esteem, lack of adequate services and difficult physical surroundings."

The program will mobilize 200 full-time paid corps members ages 18 through 25 and several hundred volunteers to deliver specialized education, health care, environmental and public safety programs. Phipps said 80 percent of them will be Newark residents.

Newark was one of 16 sights chosen for the program.

"This type of program is critically important because it provides job opportunities for at-risk students who normally find it hard to find summer employment," said Mayor Sharpe James.



Jessica Phipps, chairwoman of the Summer of Service Advisory Board and a student at Rutgers-Newark, announces a \$1 million grant to fund the Newark Summer of Service program

"Now they will not only have summer employment, but also academic counseling, community service and development of self-esteem," he said.

Jill Mijanovic, a Rutgers student and one of the first to volunteer for the program, said she is involved because there is a need to help the community grow. "We have to educate our youth and once we educate our youth and get them involved in the community, they will be the future leaders of Amer-

ica."

Mijanovic said she believes community service is on the rise and compared it to the early 1960s, when President John F. Kennedy began the

Peace Corps.

Funding for the project includes the \$980,000 federal grant, \$200,000 for related expenses and \$300,000 in in-kind services from four higher education institutions.

Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) said the Newark Summer of Service program will set an example for other cities grappling with problems.

"Newark's program to cultivate youth leadership and service among 11,460 children at risk is an example of the kind of urban renewal that can occur when the federal government helps cities like Newark help themselves," he said.

Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.) also supported the program, saying it will help in developing a child's potential through education and leadership activities.

Partnership service organizations include the Boys and Girls Clubs of Newark, Community Agencies Corp. of New Jersey, Consortium for Pre-College Education in Newark, Greater Newark Conservancy, Habitat for Humanity-Newark, International Youth Organization, La Casa de Don Pedro, Link Community Middle School, New Community Corp., New Jersey Youth Corps, Newark Police Department, Newark Public Library, NJIT Division of Physical Education and Athletics, Project BABIES, Quest of Essex County, St. Michael's Medical Center and UMDNJ's Community 2000 project.

Newark Star Ledger 5/17

The Philadelphia Inquirer

Metro

Section B

Man found guilty in slayings of 2 bosses. B2.

News in Brief B2
The Scene B2

Friday, May 7, 1993

Phila. wins grant to immunize youth

The Clinton plan puts 150 college students to work. The goal is to reach 5,000 youths.

By Vernon Loeb
INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

The Clinton administration yesterday awarded Philadelphia a \$1.1 million grant designed to put 150 area college students to work this summer immunizing 5,000 low-income children at neighborhood clinics.

Mayor Rendell and Health Commissioner Robert K. Ross unveiled the immunization program at a Center City news conference shortly after President Clinton announced in Washington that Philadelphia and 13 other cities would be receiving grants to run national service projects.

The Commission on National and Community Service is sponsoring the "Summer of Service" program, with Philadelphia the only recipient

using a grant to improve child immunization.

"You just show up and that's enough — don't need an appointment, don't need an insurance card, no long waiting lines," Dr. Ross said. "If you've got a kid, we'll get that kid immunized."

Ross said that there are thought to be between 30,000 and 50,000 preschool children in Philadelphia — more than half of the 60,000 total — who are not properly immunized.

Donna Gentile O'Donnell, a deputy health commissioner, said the immunization program represented the first time that a city administration had been able to develop a full-scale partnership with the region's impressive array of universities, particularly its medical and nursing schools.

Developed jointly by the Health Department, the school district and the Philadelphia Higher Education Network for Neighborhood Development, the grant proposal calls for 150 area students — two-thirds from

See IMMUNIZE on B10

PI 5/7/93

Phila. wins \$1.1 million grant to immunize low-income children

IMMUNIZATION from B1
nursing schools — to begin work June 28 for nine weeks at minimum wage.

They will also receive a \$1,000 stipend toward their education in addition to five days of community-service training at a converted military base outside Oakland, Calif., according to Patricia L. Gerrity, an associate professor of nursing at La Salle University who will act as the program's director.

Gerrity flew to Oakland yesterday for a weekend training session for program directors from grant recipients around the country.

Philadelphia's immunization pro-

gram, designed to reach out to low-income parents and make immunizing their children easier and more accessible, will operate out of six neighborhood-based clinics and two mobile clinics, Ross and O'Donnell said.

O'Donnell said the program's goal of immunizing 5,000 children would probably represent a fourfold increase over the number of children who would otherwise receive immunizations at the city's district health centers.

All children must be fully immunized against an array of communicable diseases in order to attend school. But immunizing children be-

low the age of 6 has long presented a major challenge to public health officials.

"The Centers for Disease Control has been trying to figure out how to get preschool kids immunized for 30 years," Ross said.

"We're going to keep trying different ways of getting this done, and this is another way."

"We've got a huge educational resource in this city, plenty of universities, lots of medical schools, lots of nursing schools," he said. "How do we work together with the public sector to get these kids immunized. I'm sure the CDC is going to be interested and the White House is

going to be interested, and we're going to make this thing go."

Ross called child immunizations a "critical public health need" and said that rates for diseases such as measles, mumps and whooping cough — previously well controlled — have increased recently.

"The most dramatic example of this current trend occurred during the 1990-1991 measles epidemic," Ross said, when 1,539 cases were reported and nine children died.

In 1986, by contrast, only 16 cases of measles were reported in Philadelphia.

The Clinton administration is negotiating with Congress over a pro-

gram that would fully immunize all children in America who are on Medicaid or are uninsured, but O'Donnell said Philadelphia's summer program would proceed regardless of the fate of that national legislation.

Much of the cost of Clinton's plan — originally estimated at \$1.1 billion but later significantly reduced — would go toward purchasing vaccines, which are relatively expensive.

But Philadelphia, O'Donnell said, is able to receive all the vaccines it needs for child immunizations through the CDC in Atlanta.

Clinton proposed the "Summer of

Service" as a prototype for a larger program of national service that would encompass 100,000 low-paid volunteers by 1997 if Congress approves. This summer, 1,500 people will take part, commission officials said.

"We've got huge public health problems that are rooted in a lot of urban crises," Ross said. "And I don't know that we have everything we need to fix the AIDS crisis, or fix the drug problem, or completely fix the tuberculosis problem and make it all go away. . . . But I do know one thing that the department is going to do: We are going to get these kids immunized."

'Summer of Service' comes to Baltimore

By Tom Bowman
Staff Writer

City's was among 12 proposals to win Clinton initiative

Baltimore was chosen yesterday as one of 12 cities and states to participate in the "Summer of Service," one of President Clinton's initiatives to hire young men and women to work on education, health and conservation projects.

Seventy-five young adults — including high school students from the Baltimore area and college students statewide — will be chosen for the seven-week program. They will receive minimum wage, \$4.25 per hour, plus \$1,000 toward their education.

More than 430 proposals from across the country were received by

the federal Commission on National and Community Service, which announced the selections yesterday in Washington.

An estimated 1,500 young people nationwide will take part in the \$50 million federal initiative, with Baltimore's effort costing \$500,000.

"This is very exciting. This is a great opportunity for young people to try and make changes in the community," said Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, director of the Maryland Student Service Alliance, one of three organizations that will be involved in Baltimore's "Summer of

Service."

The local program will be open to young people aged 17 to 25, who will work from 30 to 40 hours a week in the city as teachers' assistants, conservationists, counselors and coaches.

The 75 participants also will oversee high school students who volunteer to work with disadvantaged children.

Through its various components, the program is expected to reach more than 2,000 city children.

Organizers said that in selecting from the applications — which are

due over the next two weeks — they will look for diversity in ethnicity, economic background and education.

The University of Maryland at College Park developed the local proposal and is helping to run the program.

Besides the Maryland Student Service Alliance, the other participant is Civic Works, a Baltimore-based youth service corps.

The federal initiative represents President Clinton's "call to the younger generation," said Georgia Sorenson, director of the Center for Political Leadership and Participa-

tion at College Park, who helped write the Maryland proposal. "This is part of leadership development — getting involved in the community," she said.

"Summer of Service" is being touted by Clinton administration officials as a trial run for a more ambitious National Service program outlined by the president at Rutgers University in March.

Legislation authorizing that program, in which participants could work for as long as two years to earn money to help pay for college, was introduced yesterday in Congress.

Eli Segal, director of the White

See SERVICE, 4B

Baltimore Sun 5/7

BALTIMORE'S 'SUMMER OF SERVICE' PROGRAM

The "Summer of Service" program is open to high school students from the Baltimore-metropolitan area, including Baltimore City and Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Howard, Harford and Carroll counties. College students who either study or live in Maryland can apply. University of Maryland students are expected to submit their applications by Monday; the deadlines for others are listed below. The three projects that comprise Baltimore's "Summer of Service" are:

Civic Works Summer of Service — 51 participants. Four crews of 17- to 21-year-olds will serve as teachers' aides at Herring Run Middle School, health outreach assistants with the Baltimore City Department of Health, environmental conservationists and instructors with Save our Streams, and counselors/coaches at the Madison Recreation Center. Corps members who do not have a high school diploma will be required to attend GED classes offered by Civic Works. Applications — due May 19 — are available by calling 366-8533. The program runs from June 17 to Aug. 20.

Maryland Student Service Alliance Summer Corps 1993 — 20 participants. The team leaders aged 17-25 will supervise 200 middle and high school students who volunteer to work with at-risk children at community-based centers in Baltimore. The team leaders will guide students as they help provide vaccinations, improve children's reading, writing and math skills and coach sports. The team leaders will live together at the College of Notre Dame in Baltimore. For team leader and corps members applications, call 333-2427. They are due May 17. The program runs from June 28 to Aug. 13.

Team Maryland — Four participants. Four student-athletes from the University of Maryland College Park will do outreach to assist both Civic Works and the MSSA Summer Corps in their education and health work. They also will live at the College of Notre Dame. Applications, due Monday, are available by calling (301) 405-5751.

SERVICE

From 1B

House Office of National Service, said in an interview yesterday that the summer program "is a demonstration to the U.S. Congress that national service can work."

Mr. Segal predicted the summer program also will show taxpayers that national service is a "cost effective" way of meeting community needs.

The Clinton administration hopes its National Service program will begin next year and reach 25,000 stu-

dents at a cost of \$400 million.

By 1997, the administration hopes the funding will increase to \$1.5 billion and support 150,000 students performing community service in exchange for stipends and educational benefits.

Besides Baltimore, the cities selected yesterday for the Summer Service program include Atlanta, Boston, Los Angeles, Oakland, New Orleans, Newark, New York, Philadelphia and Red Lake, Minn. Proposals from the states of Delaware and Ohio also were chosen.

GIVE CLINTON A CHANCE

W hooooosshhh!! To paraphrase Ross Perot, that sucking sound you hear is the air rushing out of Bill Clinton's balloon as he ends his first 100 days in office. Over the past two weeks, in an orgy of harsh assessments, enemies and friends alike have been sticking in so many pins that his presidency is losing altitude at an alarming rate.

Clinton brought many of these troubles on himself. By pledging to have "the most productive 100-day period in modern history," he guaranteed a sense of letdown. After running the best Democratic campaign of modern times, his team has also made a surprising number of mistakes in the White House: lurching to the left too often, emphasizing tax increases over spending cuts, treating adversaries with arrogant disdain and gradually losing a central thrust to its leadership. Clinton needs to refocus attention on his economic plan, especially on the creation of jobs, and postpone his health care proposals until fall. Otherwise, he risks loss of both.

Whatever Clinton's sins, however, they hardly merit the extraordinary denunciations that have issued from so many quarters in recent days. Voters express their disappointment that he hasn't brought more change and grade his performance at little more than a gentleman's C. Republicans along with Ross Perot razz him as a liar. Pundits in the press — or the commentariat, as one newspaper calls it — have acted as if he is an utter failure and probably shot his mother when no one was looking. One incident blown out of proportion, for example, was his failure to accept responsibility for Waco in the first hours after the tragedy occurred; in fact, he three times suggested to the staff that day that he speak up and was urged to wait until the facts were clear.

Politicians in his own party have been equally critical. Carefully speaking anonymously, they worry to the press that he is another Jimmy Carter. Every misstep seems to be magnified, every misdemeanor treated as a capital offense. Leon Panetta, his budget director and a former creature of the Hill, added to the frenzy last week with ill-chosen words to the press that his boss was in trouble and Congress might reject his key proposals. Watching his friends pile on, Clinton might have recalled Lyndon

Johnson's remark at a vexatious moment in the 1960s: "The difference between cannibals and liberals," he said, is that "cannibals eat only their enemies."

One might dismiss today's caterwauling as just another outbreak of low jinks on the Potomac were something serious not at stake. But something serious is at risk. Over the past 30 years, America has had a series of broken presidencies: Five of the past six occupants have been driven from the Oval Office in defeat or despair. Only Ronald Reagan survived for two terms, and he too was running out of steam before it was over.

With so much to do at home, America cannot afford the destruction of another presidency. But that is where we are headed unless we regain our sensibility. We are making politics a spectator sport in which our only duty is to vote somebody into office and then retire to the grandstands. When our hero first arrives, we stand and cheer. But when we see he has feet of clay — and they all do — it's "Throw the bum out!" No democracy can succeed as an entertainment.

We owe each other more. The press should show us Clinton's warts, but what about the rest of him? Will his proposal for a national service corps — a fine idea that has been strengthened by his staff — receive as much attention

this week as, say, Panetta's remarks last week? When Education Secretary Richard Riley issued a major initiative for overhauling schools recently, it wound up on page A-28 of the *Washington Post*. Is that balance?

Republicans should indeed stand up against Clinton proposals that violate their philosophy. But where is an alternative Republican agenda that offers positive ideas for change? Where, too, is Ross Perot's real program? He is still maddeningly vague. As for Democrats, they ought to wake up: Voters have put them in charge, at least for now, and rightly expect them to stop complaining and get on with things.

Bill Clinton has had the courage to focus the nation on its major needs of better jobs, better education and better health care, and he is trying to fix them. If he doesn't have all the right answers, we should stop jeering, get off the sidelines and help him find them. For the next 1,300 days, he is the only president we have. ■

*'If he doesn't have
all the right
answers, we
should stop
jeering, get off the
sidelines and help
him find them.'*



first from Panetta, the most prominent "deficit hawk" within the administration. Panetta fairly rocked Washington with a deeply pessimistic—and on-the-record—assessment of Clinton's relations with Congress, warning his boss to hold off on pushing health-care reform until his economic plan had cleared the House and Senate. Panetta also said the North American Free Trade Agreement, which would create a common market with Canada and Mexico, was probably "dead" in Congress, and he added that he was "very nervous" about the nation's economic health. Most of all, Panetta said, Clinton could salvage his legislative program only if he "defines his priorities" more clearly—which is exactly what many old hands in Washington, and at least some of Clinton's economic advisers, also think.

Mr. Mellow: White House sources said Clinton at first reacted angrily to Panetta's apostasy. But the president was Mr. Mellow the next day, telling reporters that Panetta had "had a bad day" and that he only wanted to "buck him up," not "take him to the woodshed." Clinton also restated his intention to announce his long-awaited plan for health reform on schedule—which means sometime later this month, possibly in a speech before a joint session of Congress on May 25. The White House in fact is already gearing up for a nationwide health-reform blitz complete with multiple appearances by Clinton and Hillary and a specially formed political marketing organization spun off from the Democratic National Committee. This group, modeled on the "interactive" campaigns pioneered by Jerry Brown and Ross Perot, will employ an 800-number for citizen-volunteers and promote the formation of grass-roots coalitions to pressure Congress. And while some are wary of a multimillion-dollar "disinformation" campaign from the special interests, a senior White House aide said, "We have the president, and we have millions of Americans who want the system changed."

That much is certainly true. But what Clinton doesn't have—and it matters a lot—is solid support on the Hill. The problem, in part, is that Senate Republicans are successfully wag-

ing parliamentary guerrilla war against the Clinton program: led by Sen. Bob Dole, the GOP last month managed to wreck Clinton's economic-stimulus package with a filibuster. But the real problem is the Democrats, who must somehow hold the line against the GOP and, it can fairly be said, swallow their doubts about the administration's priorities. Last week—shortly after the president's vow to push ahead on health reform—Rep. Dan Rostenkowski delivered a highly disparaging view of the Clinton health plan. Rostenkowski, who as chair-

man of the House Ways and Means Committee is a pivotal player on both issues, said the administration's health plan was "the domestic equivalent of Star Wars" because it includes "elaborate linkages between several different institutions, none of which exist here or anywhere else."

Although an aide later insisted that Rostenkowski actually supports Clinton's determination to move quickly on health care, there was no mistaking the message in the chairman's stinging choice of words. There is, similarly, little doubt that Rostenkowski

The 'Soul' and Sell of National Service

No Kennedy administration program captured the era's spirit of idealism like the Peace Corps. Bill Clinton was an impressionable Hot Springs, Ark., teenager when the corps was in its heyday, dispatching thou-

sands of young American volunteers overseas to work in developing nations. More than 30 years later, Clinton is trying to launch his own inspirational "signature" program—a plan that offers college scholarship money in exchange for one or two years' work in a public-service job. But converting his dream to policy won't be easy.



TOM SOBOLIK—BLACK STAR

The call: At Smith College

National service was a cornerstone of Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign. Yet the program he outlined in

New Orleans last Friday is a shadow of last year's sweeping rhetoric. As a candidate, Clinton promoted a plan to make full-ride college loans available to students willing to work or repay the money through payroll deductions. But the price tag—\$30 billion over the first three years—made the idea a nonstarter. The trimmed-down version (\$3 billion for 150,000 national-service workers by 1997) would make up to \$10,000 in college awards available to anyone over 17 who works one year full-time or two years part-time in a minimum-wage educational, environmental or health job.

Clinton also proposed revamping the federal student-loan program, bypassing banks and establishing a system of direct federal loans. Students uninterested in service could repay the money as a small portion of their annual income rather than a monthly check to a bank. The plan might encourage more young people to take low-paying jobs that address social needs.

Clinton advisers think the universal-loan idea is a political winner. But some of his more tough-minded aides have little use for national service. One of Clinton's consultants regards it as an

idealistic foible of Clinton's. "Every candidate has one of these things," he said. "You humor him and you move on." But Communications Director George Stephanopoulos, among others, championed the program, calling it "the soul of what we ran on."

Waiting game: Opponents have been pecking away at the proposal for months. Veterans groups forced the White House to lower the maximum grant from \$13,000 to \$10,000, just below the amount available through the GI Bill. Banks are unhappy at the prospect of losing the lucrative \$54 billion student-loan market. While the bill should clear the House, the Senate will be tougher. The program's complicated managerial structure—a network of state commissions overseen by a national board—will be denounced by the GOP as an example of Democratic big government. Even Sen. John Breaux of Louisiana, chairman of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council, which Clinton helped found, says the measure won't pass this year. Lawmakers will soon be inundated with a massive health-care reform package. In the Clinton pantheon, job creation, deficit reduction and campaign-finance reform are more urgent priorities. He may have to wait before he can put his signature on an idea close to his heart.

HOWARD FINEMAN in Washington

S.F. Chronicle

Bay Area Youths Eager to Serve in Service Program

By William Carlson
Chronicle Staff Writer

Nineteen-year-old Jeff Carpenter is ready to give up his \$11-per-hour job working in an auto traffic school for a \$4.25-per-hour minimum wage position teaching disadvantaged middle school kids this summer.

"I've always been against all the money spent on campus for ROTC," said the University of California at Berkeley freshman. "Military spending ends up being used outside the country while inside the country things are falling apart. This is a chance to be-

come a soldier to help rebuild my country."

Last week, Carpenter was among 400 UC Berkeley students who descended on a cramped student activities office to grab the hottest item on campus — applications for a pilot project in President Clinton's recently proposed national service program.

Even before official word of the project had gone out, all 400 applications had been snapped up in less than 24 hours.

250 Bay Area Jobs

On Thursday, White House officials announced the selection of

11 locations nationwide as model sites for a "Summer of Service" program for 1,500 youths. The San Francisco Bay Area received 250 job slots, the largest number in the country.

The summer projects are designed to serve as a kind of domestic Peace Corps prototype for Clinton's full-fledged plan to employ 150,000 young people in community service by 1997. Legislation for the large-scale program, which will allow youths to perform a year of public service at minimum wage in exchange for a \$5,000 educational grant, was introduced in Congress last week.

Under the summer pilot program, which draws on \$8.8 million in existing congressional grants, 1,500 participants between the ages of 17 and 25 will earn the minimum wage for eight weeks of community service, then receive a \$1,000 voucher for college tuition, vocational training or to pay back student loans.

Favorable Response

The program, one of the central promises in Clinton's presidential campaign, has struck a nerve not only in the Bay Area but nationwide.

"We have been inundated

with application requests," said Bea Poulin, assistant director of the Center for Political Leadership at the University of Maryland, College Park, one of the project sponsors selected last week.

Harlan Eplan, who is handling applicants for a project site in Atlanta, said his group, Hands on Atlanta Inc., has added extra volunteers to field all the phone calls. "The response is overwhelming," he said. "This is the beginning of something very big."

He said his group has only 50

SERVICE: Page A14 Col. 1

U-M students hear pitch for service

Invoking idealism of Peace Corps, U.S. director urges involvement

By STEPHEN CAIN
NEWS STAFF REPORTER

When President Clinton's director of the Office of National Service returned to his alma mater on Saturday, his handlers couldn't resist setting up a "photo op" on the steps of the Michigan Union to echo John Kennedy's announcement of the Peace Corps during the 1960 presidential campaign.

After all, Eli J. Segal hopes to draw on the same wellspring of idealism that Kennedy tapped, but use it to build a program of service that would be nearly 10 times larger than the Peace Corps at its peak.

Segal also played the Kennedy card in a Saturday afternoon University of Michigan Law School commencement address at Hill Auditorium with a call that the soon-to-be lawyers adopt service as their highest value.

"Some things are too important to leave to the law, including justice itself," said Segal, a 1967 U-M Law School grad. "The law frequently allows conduct that is wrong. For example, it is against the law to run a red light but not to let a Somali child starve."

However, the real business of his excursion to Ann Arbor may have transpired in a packed second-floor room of the Michigan

Union when Segal and U.S. Rep. William D. Ford, D-Ypsilanti Township, met with the U-M's Task Force on Community Service Learning.

Segal challenged the task force to help shape a still undeveloped piece of the proposed national service program, one that would allow students to earn money for their education by performing community service while still in college.

'...Wherever he (President Clinton) talked about national service, there was a resonance with the audience, even though we've gone through three decades of cynicism about the possibility that government can make a difference in communities.'

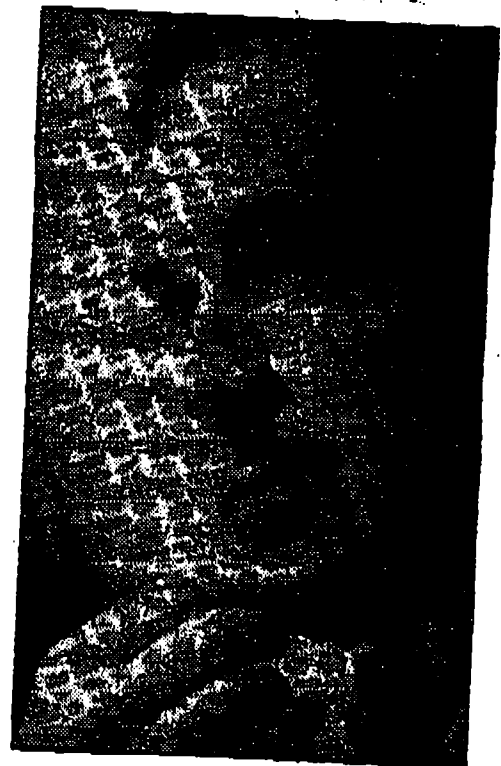
- Eli J. Segal

Task force head Barry Checkoway and U-M Vice President for Student Affairs Maureen Hartford will be testifying in Washington on Wednesday when the House Education and Labor Committee - headed by Ford - has its hearing on the 350-page national service bill the administration introduced only last week.

Clinton campaigned on the economy, deficit reduction and health care reform.

"But wherever he talked about national service, there was a resonance with the audience, even though we've gone through three decades of cynicism about the possibility that government can make a difference in communities," said Segal, who had served as Clinton's chief of staff and finance director at various stages of the campaign.

The first major piece of the national service plan - the establishment of direct stu-



NEWS PHOTO - LINDA WAN

Eli Segal listens to comments on volunteerism Saturday.

See SERVICE, B3

SERVICE, from B1

Task force challenged

dent loans for college students that bypass the banks and make funds available at lower interest rates — was approved by Ford's committee last Wednesday.

Ford said Saturday that the measure, which would save an estimated \$4.3 billion during the next five years, has just been slipped into a Senate budget reconciliation package in such a way that it is immune from filibuster and thus assured of passage.

Now, the task is to shape the national service program itself. The concept is that young people could earn up to \$5,000 toward college or technical training for each of two years of service in meeting community needs in education, health, human services, the environment and public safety.

Segal said he hopes to see the legislation passed this summer, to be in business by Oct. 1 and to have 150,000 people working to help meet community needs ranging from tutoring to immunization to environmental cleanup by the end of Clinton's term. "The Peace Corps was never more than 18,000 and now is only 6,000," said Segal. "National service is at the heart and soul of

the president's agenda. If we're smart and we don't over-promise, it can be done."

Segal said he has good models around which to build programs involving young people who will be attending college or technical school with the help of the money they earn, and additional programs through which college grads can pay off their student loans.

He asked the U-M's task force — which works with some 4,400 undergraduate students and several thousand graduate students already doing community service work — to help with the design of national service programs for students while they are in college.

"We have programs in community service learning that involve both meaningful education and meaningful service," said Checkoway, a professor of social work and urban planning. "Everyone will win if we are able to integrate this type of thing with a national service program that would help students pay for their education. National service is a great investment for society to make, and Segal will have our active collaboration."

THE CLINTON AGENDA

National service: Big promise, little money

By Maria Puente
USA TODAY

President Clinton's plan to link student aid to community service won big applause on the campaign trail, but it's being greeted far less warmly by congressional appropriators.

Touted as a civilian version of the G.I. Bill, the National Service Trust Act is considered a signature initiative of the Clinton administration.

"It's a new approach — no subsidies without strings," says Will Marshall, author of a book that influenced the program.

But while national service has important bipartisan support, it also has influential critics. If those critics have their way, national service will be trimmed to little more than a demonstration project.

"It will probably be (authorized) so as not to embarrass the president, but it may never be appropriated," says Tom Petri, R-Wis., a member of the House subcommittee that will handle authorization.

Jack Lew, general counsel for Clinton's national service office, says it's too early to tell how the program will fare in Congress. "We're not discouraged at the moment," he says.

But even Democrats grumble. "It just costs too much," says Rep. Mike Synar, D-Okla., usually a Clinton supporter.

In the first year alone, the Clinton plan calls for spending \$394 million, and up to \$3.4 billion per year by the fifth year. But the number of participating students would be small: only 25,000 in the first year and 150,000 by the fifth.

"Our message has been muddled up to now," says Rep. Dave McCurdy, D-Okla., one of the plan's creators. "We have the burden of proof to demonstrate this will not be a huge new federal bureaucracy."

As a new program, national service first must be authorized and then funded by the appropriations committees with separate legislation.

"Authorization is easy; funding will be difficult," says Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas. "I'm going to fight this vigorously."

Critics praise the concept of community service, but question whether government can effectively cultivate it.

"In the past we have found that massive funding increases in a short period of time inevitably lead to wasteful and inefficient use of those funds," says Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, R-Kan., ranking Republican on the Senate committee that will handle authorization.

Even without opposition, the program's timing may be a problem. The House Appropriations Committee rarely funds programs before they've been



AP

"We have found that massive funding increases in a short period of time inevitably lead to wasteful and inefficient use of those funds."

— Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, R-Kan.

authorized. Authorization isn't expected until it's too late to fund the program this session.

Meanwhile, voices from conservative think tanks argue that the plan will compete with private charities, distort the true meaning of volunteerism and lead to political favoritism.

"It's laughable to think government can do anything as cheaply as the private sector," says Bruce Chapman, a former Reagan administration official.

Veterans groups complain the potential benefits of national service would exceed those of the G.I. Bill — a threat to the



By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY

"We have the burden of proof to demonstrate this will not be a huge new federal bureaucracy."

— Rep. Dave McCurdy, D-Okla., one of the originators of the national service plan

all-volunteer military.

Under the plan, students would get \$5,000 a year for up to two years to defray the cost of college or pay off loans. In return, they'd put in up to two years of work at minimum wages in jobs such as teacher's aide, hospice care, day care for

NATIONAL SERVICE PLAN

Q: Who is eligible?

A: Those age 17 and older with high school/General Equivalency diplomas.

Q: How long will participants serve?

A: No less than one year, nor more than two years of full-time service.

Q: How much are the awards worth?

A: Awards of \$5,000 for each year of service up to two years. Participants would also get at least minimum-wage, along with health-care and child-care benefits if needed.

Q: What kinds of jobs will they do?

A: Jobs would include: Teachers' aides in classrooms or Head Start; working on recycling or conservation projects; in-home care for the elderly; building housing for the homeless; teaching drug education seminars or serving as a community service officer with a police department.

the elderly or environmental cleanup. They'd also get health care and day-care benefits.

"We're concerned that national service will be more enticing than going into the military," says Steve Robertson, legislative director for the American Legion.

Higher education officials have another complaint: Clinton is proposing a 15% cut — about \$273 million — in existing federal financial aid such as college work/study, loan and grant programs. Those programs already support up to 500,000 students.

But some congressional critics say Clinton hasn't cut enough elsewhere in the bud-

et to pay for national service.

"(Clinton's) budget is already \$8 billion in spending over where we need to be to meet deficit reduction targets," says Rep. David Obey, D-Wis., an Appropriations member.

Still, polls show national service is highly popular with middle-class families, who aren't eligible for most financial aid programs but still have a tough time paying college fees.

"It sounds so wonderful," says Doug Bandow, senior fellow at the libertarian think tank Cato Institute. "Then you get into the substance, and it all melts away."

► Clinton index, 2A

Pass National Service, Cripple Charity ✓

By BRUCE CHAPMAN

Surveys by the Gallup Poll and Independent Sector show that charitable giving and service are thriving today as seldom before. In 1991, the latest year for which data are available, 94.2 million Americans age 18 and over volunteered in some capacity, with an average of more than 4.2 hours of service per week. The motive force is a spirit of true voluntarism and genuine service.

Drawing on a moral tradition going back to the Bible, and wending through the American founding and the young republic described by Alexis de Tocqueville, this ideal has created what some call a "mediating" institution between the profit sector and the government. Now the government proposes not only to compete with this sector (as in the Vista program), but to invade it directly.

Remember CETA

Under President Clinton's national service bill, politically appointed boards chosen by state governors would funnel federal funds for service jobs to selected private and civic groups. Imagine you run a private charity. If it is chosen to participate in the national service program, you've hit the jackpot financially. But if your charity, like the great majority, is not chosen, your cause will find itself trying to compete with the federal treasury. Americans familiar with the notorious Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of the 1970s should find the prospects for unabashed political patronage, and even corruption, obvious.

Incapacitating the nongovernment charitable sector further, the national service bill allows (read, "encourages") the programs it backs to raise additional funds from private sources. Imagine trying to raise money for a private charity when the government's endorsed charities, blessed by your state's governor, can offer donors federal "matching money," prestige and public recognition as incen-

tives to fund them instead.

National-service-backed groups also will be allowed to add private charitable funds to the government salary offered to attract volunteers. Tax-free national service salaries alone will be about \$20,000 annually, including medical and other benefits (such as child care) and the \$5,000 college loan payment. With the government-permitted private match, salaries could exceed \$29,000.

That is more than most youths could hope to make starting out in the private

Imagine trying to raise money for a private charity when government-endorsed charities can offer donors federal "matching money," prestige and public recognition.

sector, where the median income of workers, including those with years of experience, is \$29,400 for males and \$20,500 for females. It is surely far more than most private charities could offer them. Thus, as national service makes selected charitable causes more attractive to volunteers and donors, it automatically will make others less so.

One sees this especially in respect to religious organizations, now the source of roughly half of all charitable activities. Because of understandable concerns over separation of church and state, national service will not support any programs that provide "religious instruction, conduct worship services or proselytize." But, effectively, that means that a church or synagogue running a youth leadership program or day-care center will be at a disadvantage against comparable national service programs. Quickly, the pressure will be on religious groups to secularize or spin off their service programs to make them appealing to national service.

Moreover, the president's bill is full of federal paperwork obligations, so the pre-

mium, increasingly, will be on "professionalizing" volunteer service in order to obtain federal dollars. But it is the amateur, unbureaucratic charities that typically are the most innovative.

Tocqueville, in praising the energy and distinction of America's "voluntary associations," warned: "Once it leaves the sphere of politics to launch out on this new track, [government] will, even without intending this, exercise an intolerable tyranny. For a government can only dictate precise rules. It imposes the senti-

ments and ideas which it favors, and it is never easy to tell the difference between its advice and its commands."

Indeed, much of the intellectual argument for national service expressly rejects the Tocquevillean tradition. Rutgers Prof. Benjamin Barber, whose contribution to the idea of national service was hailed by President Clinton when he announced the plan, is a critic of limited government, capitalism and representative ("thin") democracy. He argues instead for institutions of "strong democracy," including, ultimately, compulsory universal citizen service in government-run programs. Most private, independent efforts, he believes, "encourage self-interestedness."

Another champion of national service, much admired at the White House, is Michael Brown, co-director of Boston's City Year. He has been an influential advocate of seeking private as well as public money for national service programs and of the National Service Trust Fund picking private charity programs to back, rather than running service programs itself.

"In this way," Mr. Brown wrote re-

cently, "the American people should be given the opportunity to fall in love with the idea of the National Service Trust Fund, and not have their affections tied to the success or failure of any specific national service program. . . . Like Social Security, national service will be woven into the fabric of American life."

Congressional hearings on President Clinton's national service plan and the public relations campaign advancing it almost always bring forward as spokesmen young, ingenuous participants in private charities. This approach, with idealistic teacher's aides or student tree-planters making the pitch for a new government program, is affecting. But these admirable youngsters are not the organizers of the scheme, and they are not likely to understand its long-term implications for the voluntary sector as a whole. Neither, apparently, does much of the disorganized opposition.

The Greatest Danger

Opponents of the plan seem to think the main problems are the addition to the deficit (\$400 million this year, \$7 billion by 1997); the moral contradiction of paying for "service" when no risk or inconvenience is entailed (unlike military service or the Peace Corps); and the failure of the plan to cover more than 1% of the student population with its payment of as much as \$10,000 in college loans for two years' government-approved service. These difficulties are all genuine, but not the greatest danger. The attack on the voluntary sector is.

National service reportedly is on a "fast track" in Congress. However, the voluntary sector and its supporters—other than those organizations that hope to benefit directly from federal funds—apparently do not understand yet what is about to hit them.

Mr. Chapman is president of Discovery Institute, a public policy center in Seattle.

Rekindling the JFK spirit

DAVID NYHAN

Dorothy Stoneman spends her days, and a lot of her nights, stitching together a scheme to build housing for the poor and homeless in devastated inner-city tracts, using as labor the sullen, alienated, often dangerous youth America usually fears.

In other words, she is not a cookie who crumbles easily. But she wept, she admitted Tuesday, when she heard that President-elect Clinton had picked a black man, Vernon Jordan, to head his transition. When the young black men with her asked why she cried, she said it was because the part of her that died with John F. Kennedy's murder was about to bloom again.

"It was as if we could pick up where we left off," the founder of the National Youth Build Coalition told a packed house at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

Hundreds of heads nodded. Because this was volunteer country, Peace Corps country, national youth service country. And while the Clinton administration is getting its well-coiffed block knocked off in many areas, the volunteer community of America is still thrilled with Bill & Hill.

The slain president's son, John F. Kennedy Jr., moderated a remarkable panel: Each speaker topped the rest in eloquence, passion and thirst for ways to hammer idealism into practical reality. Sen. Ted Kennedy, a volunteer four decades ago in a Harvard-sponsored settlement house, was embraced repeatedly as the godfather of national service legislation.

The late president's son called national service "the defining ideal" of JFK's life. "I know my father would be proud of the way President Clinton rekindled interest in national service." Then he ran a film clip of his father's speeches laying out the rationale for the Peace Corps.

Craning his neck to catch the grainy video was Eli Segal, Clinton's consigliere for national service. He heard JFK's oddly formal cadence defining "the citizen's responsibility . . . for our privileges can be no greater than our obligations; each can be neglected only at the peril of the other." Memo to Clinton: Hire that speechwriter, Bill!

How long since we had a president quote Goethe's fish-or-cut-bait dictum on "whether you will be a hammer or an anvil?"

Segal told of partying as a 17-year-old Brandeis freshman the night of Kennedy's election, afire with "the sense of hope, the politics of the possible." He quoted Arthur

Schlesinger Jr.'s contention that Kennedy's victory "gave the country back to its best self" and took government away from the cabal of "played-out old men."

As he prepares to make way for the 150,000-strong national service corps Ted Kennedy is marking up in the Senate, Segal cautioned that the nation is far more cynical about government than it was in the early 1960s. But he vowed: "It is going to happen."

Stoneman explained that serving one's community means "liberating what is already there" in alienated youth: "when you scrape off that cynicism and despair." Schemes have to be sensible: a real job, not just park-cleaning, that creates something permanent, like housing. Plus, training, supervision, and then you need "profound respect for the young people who have dropped off the edge." Listen to them.

Elaine Jones, an NAACP lawyer, took her college degrees and her Southern accent to Turkey as a Peace Corps volunteer when Turks were anti-American. They refused to believe this slim black woman was a Yank. She taught English so well to a group of Turkish medical students that they still have Southern accents.

Coming home to become the first black graduate of the University of Virginia Law School was no problem. Why? "It's all relative. It was Charlottesville after Istanbul. So Charlottesville was a breeze." Volunteers get stronger after they serve somewhere, said Jones. "Once you drink from the cup, it is always with you. The whole idea of voluntarism and national service has carried me throughout my career."

Robert Coles of Harvard Medical School, the author and psychiatrist, was a young Air Force doctor in Biloxi, Miss., when he heard JFK's call to volunteer. He plunged into the civil rights effort in the South with the students of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and learned anew the worth of thinking deeply about life, "to take pause, to reflect, to think about what life means."

Coles wants America's colleges to go back to Harvard's mission in the last century: teach character as well as intellect. We've got lots of brainy folk; we need more of a sense of how to behave, we need "a larger kind of learning."

Young people who enlist in service projects learn how to apply learning to life, Coles said, discover "what it means to become a human being" and come to understand that "there is an end and pause to ask, 'How might I live more morally, ethically, responsibly?' What's bigger than that?"

David Nyhan is a Globe columnist.

BOSTON GLOBE 5/27/93

WILLIAM BUCKLEY JR.

National service or hiring hall?

For all that Bill Clinton likes to think of himself as the reincarnation of American idealism, he has the capacity to vulgarize much that he touches.

Raising taxes becomes an act of justice. Vietnam is what he didn't approve of because it was a civil war. And wherever he is on the matter of Bosnia, which is never where he was the day before, that is the only position occupiable by moral and wise men. In the few measures he has taken with respect to national service, he has managed to materialize the whole idea.

Nicola Clark of the Wall Street Journal reminded us of how they handle the problem of cheap labor for social services in Germany. They conscript it, in effect.

Those of us who oppose the draft should from time to time remind ourselves that, in the industrial world, we are a small minority. It is only Canada, the United States, Japan and Great Britain that do not have a military draft.

What happened in Germany was that the shrewd Huns came to terms in 1985 with certain market realities, this being their specialty. On the one hand more young men became 18 than the army needed; on the other hand, social institutions, in particular those relating to health needs, were desperate for more help at affordable prices.

William F. Buckley Jr. is president and editor at large of National Review and a nationally syndicated columnist.

It used to be that in order to avoid the military draft in Germany, you needed to ululate about how force and violence did terrible things to you and therefore you were a conscientious objector. To an extent, one gathers, these motions one still goes through. But it isn't necessary, because the draft board simply winks at you and says: OK, conscientious objector, proceed to Social Assignment Center X.

From there you are sent to old people's homes, or to hospitals, or to schools — whatever. There is a slight penalty in that you are detained in service for 15 months, whereas the military conscripts get out after 12 months. But your pay is \$8.50 per day (the institution to which they are assigned provides room and board), rising slightly after a few months. The Germans get the labor of 135,000 national servants at a cost of about \$3 billion per year.

Mr. Clinton anticipates, by the year 1997, to have 150,000 Americans engaged in national service, at a cost of \$9.5 billion per year. Why the enormous difference?

Because under Mr. Clinton we are preparing in effect to buy the time of the national service students at enticing commercial rates. We are preparing to pay \$20,000 for a year of the "volunteer's" time. It is as uncomplicated as that the government has gone into the business of buying the time of students who are prepared to teach little children how to read or carry the bedpans of the aged or the hospitalized. The list is very nearly endless of things that need to be done — in Germany, one-quarter of the personnel of the Red

Cross are the national service conscientious objectors.

In the United States, these tasks will be done in exchange for paying the student's costs of attending college. As pointed out in this space a few weeks ago, it is not very different from the ROTC. It is not widely imagined that the ROTC collects the true American young patriots. It collects some of these, no doubt, but primarily it collects Americans who are willing to barter time in the military during college, the summer and after college in exchange for tuition, room and board.

In a way, it is an OK deal. If the federal government is going to go into the business of hiring a year of a young person's life in order to accomplish social purposes, then you have a straight market transaction. You pay as much as you need to pay to get the time of as many people as you wish to hire.

But to call this national service disgraces an ideal. The Peace Corps, the Mormon young missionaries — the spirit there is different. For them, the idea is to submit to sacrifice, in exchange for the benefits — not of room and board and tuition — of life in America. The symbol (as advocated in my recent book on the question) is of the 18-year-old approaching the American altar and saying: You have given me the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, protection from foreign powers. I will give you one year of my time in exchange.

Graduates of that ceremony re-enter society with a badge of honor, first-class citizens who believe that blessings are not altogether free, that some gesture of requital is in order. That is national service, not just another employment agency festooned with speeches by Bill Clinton about love of country.

The act, as currently envisioned, should be renamed the Hiring Hall Act of 1993, not to be confused with a point of light.



Welfare Reform Psychology

The Post's May 9 front-page story "Welfare Plan Begins to Emerge" made a passing reference to a Clinton proposal to raise the minimum wage from \$4.25 an hour to help welfare recipients. A deeper look at this issue is necessary. As The Post story indicates, an increase in the minimum wage would leave welfare households worse off.

A 1992 study, "Higher Wages, Greater Poverty: Trapping Americans in Poverty," by economist Carlos Bonilla, reviewed the effect on poor households of California's minimum wage increase from \$3.35 to \$4.25 an hour. Mr. Bonilla found that a single parent of one child who works full time had resources (combined earnings and transfers) that are \$1,800 lower than if the minimum wage had remained at the old level of \$3.35 an hour. Moreover, 85 percent of the increases in wages for low-income workers accrued back to the federal and California governments. Mr. Bonilla concluded that "we have created a

structure whereby poor people decide that they cannot afford not to be poor" as households weigh the net effect of higher earnings against increased taxes and the loss of public assistance benefits.

We applaud the president's desire to "end welfare as we know it." But the evidence suggests that given the structure of tax and transfer programs, an increase in the minimum wage would fail to have its intended effect—increasing the quality of life for poor households with children—and would actually reduce work incentives for these households and decrease employment opportunities. Mr. Clinton's welfare reform efforts should instead focus on increasing the value of work to a recipient and on changing the reward of work relative to dependency.

RICHARD B. BERMAN
Executive Director
Employment Policies Institute
Washington

We Need a National Service Program

Denis P. Doyle's May 13 article "Service Costs, Education Pays" has completely missed the point and, subsequently, the validity of a national service program. The author's argument centers solely on the cost of the program and relative "need" of the prospective recipients, but it fails to recognize the reciprocal relationship that is inherent within this proposal.

Certainly, if the need of its recipients was the lone criterion for judging the merits of this program, I would agree that it is yet another example of misplaced money. But this is not just another government handout. A program of national service is not just about subsidizing college education. It is also about addressing one of our nation's most glaring weaknesses: the lack of individuals committed to curing our country's social ills. A program of national service has the potential to show us how an effective government can and should work.

Good government should solve our national problems by creating solutions that are beneficial to all parties. Clearly a program of national service would meet this requirement. This country needs a corps committed to social healing. Students need help with the spiraling costs of higher

education. Despite the fact that Mr. Doyle dismisses the debt that many graduates face, the financial burden of higher education is real and often overwhelming. If a student is fortunate enough to have half of his or her education financed by a combination of parental contributions, scholarships etc., he or she may still be facing a debt in excess of \$25,000. Faced with large monthly payments, many of those students who long to make a difference simply cannot afford to do so. For other students, a national service program would be an opportunity to work off some of their debt rather than default on their loans. Mr. Doyle laments the increasing number of student loan defaults, but he fails to see that this might be partly because of the magnitude of a graduate's debt.

Regardless of the students' motivations, we as a nation will benefit as we begin to take advantage of a natural resource that has largely gone untapped. If we can get one homeless person off the street, if we can get one person to break the cycle of substance abuse, if we can give one child hope for the future, each member of a national service program

would be worth far more than \$20,000. Each member would be worth his or her weight in gold.

JASON BANFIELD
Washington

The Washington Post

EUGENE MEYER, 1875-1969
PHILIP L. GRAHAM, 1915-1963

DONALD E. GRAHAM
Publisher

LEONARD DOWNIE JR. Executive Editor
ROBERT G. KAISER Managing Editor
MEO GREENFIELD Editorial Page Editor
STEPHEN S. ROSENFELD Deputy Editor Page Editor

THOMAS H. FERGUSON
President and General Manager
VICE PRESIDENTS

BENJAMIN C. BRADLEE At Large
MICHAEL CLURMAN Production
F. J. HAVLICEK Industrial Rel./Environment
BOISFUEUILLET JONES JR. Counsel
ELIZABETH ST. J. LOKER Systems and Engineering
THEODORE C. LUTZ Business Manager
VINCENT E. REED Communications
MARGARET SCOTT SCHIFF Controller/Pers./Admin.

Published by The Washington Post Company

KATHARINE GRAHAM
Chairman of the Board

DONALD E. GRAHAM
President and Chief Executive Officer

ALAN G. SPOON
Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer

1130 15th St. NW • Washington, D.C. 20071 • (202) 334-6000

Military voters flocked to November election

By William Matthews
Times staff writer

WASHINGTON — In a country where only about half the eligible voters cast ballots, the military racked up an astonishing 81.1 percent voter participation record in the 1992 presidential election.

Voting by military personnel soared last November as more of them than ever cast ballots in the three-way race for president, members of Congress and a scattering of state and local officials.

According to the Federal Voting Assistance Program, the percentage of military personnel that cast ballots was up from 63.5 percent in the 1988 presidential election.

Voting by civilians pales by comparison.

Only 55.9 percent of the nation's eligible civilian voters went to the polls, according to Phyllis Taylor, director of the Voting Assistance Program, a Pentagon-based government program intended to encourage and assist military personnel on voting.

A number of factors helped spur military voters to cast ballots, Taylor said.

A key factor was the unusual three-way presidential race between Republican incumbent George Bush, Democrat Bill Clinton and independent Ross Perot.

And the race featured a number of issues of particular interest to the military.

Clinton promised deeper cuts in military strength and military spending than Bush did.

Clinton also vowed to lift the ban against homosexuals in the services.

And there was the question of whether Clinton had dodged the draft.

But like most civilian voters, military personnel also were deeply interested in such issues as the economy, education and taxes, Taylor said.

Probably the biggest element in the high military voter turnout was the Voting Assistance Program's increasing reliance on electronic communication to help military voters, she said.

Almost all states permitted voting information and blank absentee ballots to be faxed to voters.

Some states allowed completed ballots to be faxed back to election officials. And the Voting Assistance Program operated toll-free telephone lines so military voters could call from 47 countries to ask questions and get help solving problems that might have prevented them from voting, Taylor said.

Being able to receive ballots by fax and get help with problems by phone eliminated two of the biggest impediments for military personnel, most of whom vote by absentee ballot, she said.

And a growing number of states are expected to accept completed ballots by fax in future elections, she said.

Among the services, the Coast Guard had the highest rate of voter participation with 84.3 percent. The Army had the lowest at 73.2 percent. The Navy had 80.5 percent; the Marine Corps, 81.9 percent and the Air Force, 82.4 percent.

Taylor said she believes the services can do even better in the future.

"I don't think we have topped out yet."

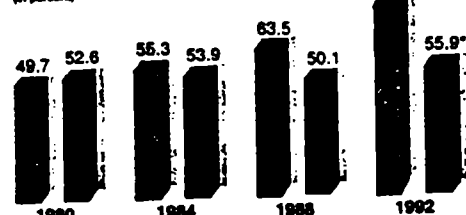
In response to a survey, only 5 percent of military personnel said they were not interested in voting, "so I wonder why we didn't have 95 percent participation" in 1992, Taylor said.

Having more toll-free phone lines for dispensing voter information and solving voter problems and increasing the use of fax machines to receive and send ballots should increase voting among members of the military, she said.

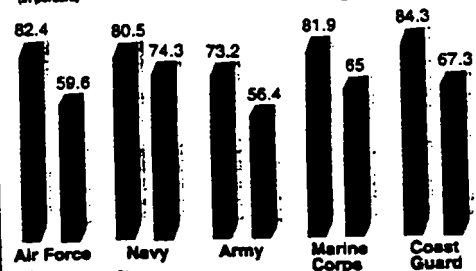
A growing voice

Voting rates in the services increased between 1988 and 1992 and are well above averages for the general public.

Voter participation in presidential elections, 1980 to 1992
(in percent)



Voter participation by service
(in percent)



*Preliminary results
Source: Federal Voting Assistance Program

ATF00

Military spin proposed for national service program

By Grant Willis
Times staff writer

WASHINGTON — Veterans who miss the atmosphere of the barracks and want a chance to instill discipline in young people could find a new calling as counselors in the Clinton administration's proposed national service program, said a former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Retired Air Force Gen. David Jones, speaking May 19 to the House Education and Labor Committee, proposed making unused buildings at military bases available as "mini boot camps" for national service volunteers.

Although the military would not run the boot camps, Jones said, veterans or active-duty members could volunteer their time to supervise the national service participants in the camps.

Jones said that while on base, national service participants should be expected to live like service members and to follow the same rules, including random drug testing with no notice.

"In my military career of more than 40 years, I have seen how military life transformed attitudes and behaviors of young men and women, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds," said Jones, who led the Joint Chiefs from June 1978 to June 1982.

The camps would house young people while they attend daily training sessions in specific job skills sponsored by universities

or companies, Jones said.

Once volunteers are trained, he said, they would go out into communities to perform useful services.

For example, Jones said, donated computers now gathering dust in local high schools could become useful if trained national service volunteers could go to the schools and teach computer skills to students.

Committee members had no reaction to the proposal because they recessed the hearing to attend a House voting session and excused Jones immediately after he spoke.

Jones told Air Force Times that the services have not formally endorsed his proposal, although he said Army Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the JCS, had seen it and was "supportive."

Gen. Merrill A. McPeak, the Air Force chief of staff, also had seen the proposal, Jones said.

The House is considering legislation that would, among other things, offer Americans 17 and older a chance to volunteer for community service work in exchange for educational assistance.

Volunteers would earn the minimum wage and get health- or child-care benefits.

The education benefit would be \$5,000 for each year of full-time service or two years of part-time service, up to a maximum award of \$10,000.

This legislation builds on the legacies of

the GI Bill and the Peace Corps, helping to create a new era of prosperity for a generation of Americans and nurturing a more compassionate, public-spirited consciousness among our citizens," according to a prepared statement released by Rep. William D. Ford, D-Mich., the committee chairman.

But Rep. William F. Goodling of Pennsylvania, the committee's senior Republican, complained that the national service volunteers would get a better deal than people who join the military.

"It's a slap in the face at GIs... You serve three years, seven days a week, 24 hours a day, and you pay into the (Montgomery GI Bill) program," said Goodling, one of a handful of lawmakers on the committee who criticized the legislation.

"It would take me a lot of smoke and mirrors to convince me that this is not better than the GI Bill," he added.

Strict comparisons between the education benefit of the proposed national service program and the Montgomery GI Bill are problematic, because military recruits and national service volunteers would face so many differences in other benefits, pay and risks or rewards of service.

The Montgomery GI Bill pays the typical two-year veteran \$3,900 per year, less than the \$5,000 per year a national service volunteer would get for the same amount of part-time work. In addition, service members must pay \$1,200 to enroll in the mili-

tary's education program.

On the other hand, the GI Bill is worth more money over time than the national service benefit.

While civilian volunteers would get a maximum \$10,000, the military pays veterans for as many as 36 months of full-time study.

That would place the two-year veteran's total benefit at \$11,700, or a net \$10,500 after the enrollment fee is taken into account.

Rep. Dave McCurdy, D-Okla., answered Goodling's objections by noting that the chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, Rep. G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery, D-Miss., has co-sponsored the bill.

Negotiations with veterans' groups shaped the current proposal, McCurdy said, and the stipends volunteers will get in addition to their service would be minimal compared with the benefits the government pays to veterans.

"It's enough higher that Mr. Montgomery was comfortable with it," a Montgomery aide said in a telephone interview.

Jones, in an interview after the hearing, said the national service program would not hurt incentives to join the military.

Only half the 150,000 national service volunteers expected by 1997 likely would be in the 16- to 21-year-old group sought by military recruiters, he said.

Article about Natl Sec from the Air Force Times
Ref III

NWESU: National Service Office Utilizing Many 20-Somethings

Weekend Edition (NPR) Sunday, May 30, 1993

Transcript #1021 Segment #4

National Service Office Utilizing Many 20-Somethings

LIANE HANSEN, Host: By handing the reigns of the White House communications office to 51-year-old David Gergen, President Clinton has answered critics who've attacked the relative youth and inexperience of his staff, including President Bush's former spokesman Marlin Fitzwater who said, 'A few more fat, old bald men wouldn't hurt the place.' Other administrations have had many 30- and 40-somethings in top jobs but there have never been so many people in their twenties in the White House. Take the National Service Office - its mission is to create a multi-billion dollar program that would pay college tuition for young people who agree to work at community service jobs. Many on the staff are barely out of college themselves. NPR's Ira Glass has more.

IRA GLASS, Reporter: Most nights, if you stop by the National Service Office in the old executive office building next door to the White House, by seven or so, most people are going home. Robert Gordon is a policy analyst, age 21, or as he puts it-

ROBERT GORDON, Clinton Policy Analyst: Turning 22 soon.

GLASS: He sits across from Phil Kaplan, who's 29, or as he prefers-

PHIL KAPLAN: Almost 30.

GLASS: Kaplan's one of few people working late this particular night and Robert Gordon says that contrary to what you may have heard about all-nighters in the White House, the work day has slowed to something approximating what normal people work. They come in about eight in the morning and leave around seven.

Mr. GORDON: Yeah, it's gotten a lot quieter and also just the pace of the day isn't so bad. There's less running down the hallway, less people screaming that 'if this doesn't happen, the bill's not going to go up on time' and things like that.

GLASS: A bunch of young staffers drop by Gordon's desk, inviting him

to a reception for the Next Progressive, a magazine targeted to politically active 20-somethings.

Mr. GORDON: Don't you sort of hate this in principle?

GLASS: The 'TWAC thing' someone asks? TWAC is a term another staffer coined. Ethan Zindler [sp] explains. TWAC, T-W-A-C, stands for 'Twenty-somethings With A Cause.'

ETHAN ZINDLER: It's sort of a sarcastic term that we made up for young people and this sort of ridiculous amount of media that the people in this building and in the White House have gotten for being young and doing all kinds of crazy things we're want to do.

GLASS: They're tired of all the hype over the fact that they simply exist and the notion of a party thrown by their peers, by their peers, celebrating the fact that they're young and in politics, is a bit much for Robert Gordon.

Mr. GORDON: It's great that young people become leaders and that young people take responsibility and they become activists but I guess I don't feel like we need to be identified as such.

GLASS: The National Service Office occupies five rooms in the old executive office buildings, five rooms for 20 people who spend their days at big, old wooden desks. The ceilings are two stories high and there's lots of natural light, so despite the clatter there's a pleasant, airy grandeur to the rooms. They've nicknamed the biggest room, 'The Romper Room.' The inhabitants there are sometimes called 'the kids' or 'the children.' In a corner sit Ethan Zindler, who's 23, and Chris Gallagher, who's 24, or as he puts it-

CHRIS GALLAGHER: Just turned 24.

GLASS: His feet are up on his desk. He wears dress clothes, a tie and a red-and-white 'Travs' baseball cap from-

Mr. GALLAGHER: The AAA baseball team from Little Rock, Arkansas, which, during the campaign, we used to go out and watch their games. Only true Clinton heads still have the Trave paraphernalia in the White House.

GLASS: Of the 20 people with desks in the National Service Office, only seven are actually on the White House payroll. Another seven or eight, including Ethan and Chris, are officially on the payroll of other government agencies and are detailed to the White House. This bookkeeping trick is helping Bill Clinton meet his targeted 25 percent reduction in the White House staff. Most of the 20-somethings in the White House got their jobs by being true Clinton heads, by working for the Clinton campaign, usually in the pressurized Little Rock headquarters. They include a disproportionate number from well-off families, from prep schools and Ivy League universities, from backgrounds where they could afford to take off a year and work for a campaign. As Gloria Johnson, of the National Service

Office, remembers Little Rock-

GLORIA JOHNSON, National Service Office: You were dealing with people who, in an ironic way, [were] privileged to really still believe in the American system and the promise that it could bring to all Americans and really functioned out of that framework.

GLASS: There's still idealism in this office. Engage anyone on the subject of national service and they respond with energy and enthusiasm. And there are even volunteers here, like Jim Kriedler, 24, who simply believes in community service. He's worked in soup kitchens and Meals-On-Wheels and run Boy Scout community projects. He was just given a paid White House job after volunteering here for three months.

JIM GRIDLER: I was committed. I had been living in California, I moved back here to Washington and moved in with my parents so I wouldn't have to pay rent, you know, just totally focused everything that I had on working in this office because I really believed in this program and what it can do to really change America.

GLASS: Strange as it may sound, there are hundreds of volunteers in the White House, partly to make up for the 25 percent staff reduction. In this office all the receptionists, all the clerical help, all the data entry people - they're all volunteer - six regular unpaid staff, all young. Taped up in the corner where Chris Gallagher and Ethan Zindler sit are a clip from Newsweek and an editorial cartoon, both making fun of the young people in the White House. 'Government by all-nighters is getting tired,' one clip says, 'Go to sleep and get a life.' Ethan and Chris have heard all the critics, who blame the problems in the White House on the abundance of young people.

Mr. ZINDLER: I get a little bit concerned when you see all these stories that people might actually think there's a bunch of kids running the White House and that's not the case at all.

Mr. GALLAGHER: There was an article a couple of days ago where they were saying that, you know, the kids staying up all night eating pizzas and drinking Coke are making decisions about whether we use force in Bosnia. That's just not true. Anybody that picked up a newspaper and has taken a look at Warren Christopher, although I don't know him personally, I don't really picture him staying up all night with Domino's and a Coke.

GLASS: In fact, the 20-somethings in the White House work as lower-level staff. This office, for example, is run by the 50-year-old Eli Segel, a Boston businessman and political operator. Legislative strategy is run by 37-year-old Jack Law [sp], a veteran of eight years in the House Speaker's office. The 20-somethings work as all-purpose assistants - they write; they contribute ideas; they deal with Capitol Hill and with interest groups; they do the legwork that makes things happen. And because National Service is a program aimed at young people, they do certain jobs that are uniquely suited to someone in his or her twenties. Ethan Zindler and Kate Frusher [sp], who sits on the other side of 'The Romper Room,' are

American system and the promise that it could bring to all Americans and really functioned out of that framework.

GLASS: There's still idealism in this office. Engage anyone on the subject of national service and they respond with energy and enthusiasm. And there are even volunteers here, like Jim Kriedler, 24, who simply believes in community service. He's worked in soup kitchens and Meals-On-Wheels and run Boy Scout community projects. He was just given a paid White House job after volunteering here for three months.

JIM GRIDLER: I was committed. I had been living in California, I moved back here to Washington and moved in with my parents so I wouldn't have to pay rent, you know, just totally focused everything that I had on working in this office because I really believed in this program and what it can do to really change America.

GLASS: Strange as it may sound, there are hundreds of volunteers in the White House, partly to make up for the 25 percent staff reduction. In this office all the receptionists, all the clerical help, all the data entry people - they're all volunteer - six regular unpaid staff, all young. Taped up in the corner where Chris Gallagher and Ethan Zindler sit are a clip from Newsweek and an editorial cartoon, both making fun of the young people in the White House. 'Government by all-nighters is getting tired,' one clip says, 'Go to sleep and get a life.' Ethan and Chris have heard all the critics, who blame the problems in the White House on the abundance of young people.

Mr. ZINDLER: I get a little bit concerned when you see all these stories that people might actually think there's a bunch of kids running the White House and that's not the case at all.

Mr. GALLAGHER: There was an article a couple of days ago where they were saying that, you know, the kids staying up all night eating pizzas and drinking Coke are making decisions about whether we use force in Bosnia. That's just not true. Anybody that picked up a newspaper and has taken a look at Warren Christopher, although I don't know him personally, I don't really picture him staying up all night with Domino's and a Coke.

GLASS: In fact, the 20-somethings in the White House work as lower-level staff. This office, for example, is run by the 50-year-old Eli Segel, a Boston businessman and political operator. Legislative strategy is run by 37-year-old Jack Lew [sp], a veteran of eight years in the House Speaker's office. The 20-somethings work as all-purpose assistants - they write; they contribute ideas; they deal with Capitol Hill and with interest groups; they do the legwork that makes things happen. And because National Service is a program aimed at young people, they do certain jobs that are uniquely suited to someone in his or her twenties. Ethan Zindler and Kate Frusher [sp], who sits on the other side of 'The Romper Room,' are

designing ways to sell committee service to college-age students.

KATE FRUSHER: Young people are really alienated, alienated from communities, don't feel like they're involved in this and see service as kind of geeky. It's not a cool thing to do yet. That doesn't mean we have to fabricate an image. It means that we have to show the faces of the people who are doing it that they identify with, to make it something cool, because it is cool.

GLASS: It was Ethan's idea for the president to appear on MTV, explaining the National Service Program when it unveiled in March. And Ethan is trying to talk his office mate Chris into appearing in Sassy, the hip magazine with attitude for teenage girls.

Mr. ZINDLER: You can make light of it and stuff but if young people read Sassy then we want to be in Sassy magazine. If young people watch MTV, we want to be on MTV and it's that simple.

Mr. GALLAGHER: I mean, the- my image- it's so embarrass- I mean, it's just kind- you know, opening a magazine and being called like Sassy 'Guy of the Month.'

Mr. ZINDLER: You're not Sassy 'Guy of the Month,' don't flatter yourself.

Mr. GALLAGHER: Hey, if I'm not Sassy 'Guy of the Month,' I'm not doing it. That's all.

GLASS: The most striking thing about visiting this office is how well everyone seems to get along. They've been through a lot together during the campaign and have the intimacy that comes with that. These are not the power hungry, self-centered 20-somethings portrayed in the Doonsbury comics about the administration. Instead, there's a friendly, loose collegiality in the office that feels a lot like a political campaign.

RICK ALLEN: There's still something of a campaign structure, the very, you know, all doors are open at pretty much all times. People can sit in on meetings, even if it's not really in their subject area.

GLASS: Rick Allen has a long fancy title that translates to chief of staff of the National Service Office.

Mr. ALLEN: I think that you've got a meritocracy in a way that a campaign, at its best, develops.

Mr. ZINDLER: If you have an idea, let's say, it's not always going to be acted upon, necessarily, if you're a young person at my level-

GLASS: Ethan Zindler.

Mr. ZINDLER: -but you know that if you want it to be, it'll be listened to by people who can make it happen, and there are people who are

receptive to those ideas. That hasn't changed at all. I mean, that wonderful thing about the campaign is that it was about a free flow of
was.

GLASS: Not all White House offices are running this way. In some, younger staff members complain about hierarchies that shut them out of 'the loop.' And some people look back with nostalgia to the campaign - when the goal was simple; when they all shared one big office; when they could at least count on Democrats to support Bill Clinton; and when, they say, it was easier to be idealistic without the compromises and difficulties of actually running the government. They are well aware of the president's problems, but devoting their days to him, surrounded by other Clinton loyalists, they seem sincere when they say, they still believe President Clinton can change this country, as he promised. In Washington, I'm Ira Glass.

[The preceding text has been professionally transcribed. However, in order to meet rigid distribution and transmission deadlines, it has not been proofread against audio tape and cannot, for that reason, be guaranteed as to the accuracy of speakers' words or spelling.]

queries. The case has been a tortuous one. It was twice dismissed by lower courts, reinstated by the Supreme Court in a 1991 ruling, which said that fabricated quotations could be libelous only if they materially changed a speaker's meaning, and finally heard here.

There was general agreement from the start that libel law would not be reshaped in Judge Lynch's 17th floor courtroom. But the testimony offered an unusual, and largely unflattering, peek at how journalism was practiced at one of America's literary institutions, a magazine that in its 58 years has printed landmark works of non-fiction and fiction like Rachel Carson's "Silent Spring" and J.D. Salinger's

later she told her that her call was a fantasy come true, a way to tell his story and perhaps win vindication. And who better than Ms. Malcolm to do it! "I knew you could write," he later told her, his words recorded on 40 hours of tape that were played time and again for the jurors. "I knew you knew something about the subject." He added: "And I know I can reveal a lot of these sexual things because I know pornography is not part of the New Yorker. You're not going to give the lush details of it."

But lush details were, in fact, part of the two-part profile by Ms. Malcolm

once he said. Finally, he complained to her that the deacons of analysis, Kurt Eissler and Anna Freud, treated him "like an intellectual gigolo," enjoying his astringent views in private but shunning him in public. The themes of these remarks were said, were ones that Mr. Masson returned to in his months with Ms. Malcolm. And it was this repetition, Ms. Malcolm said, that guided her literary decision to combine words spoken at different times and in different places into seamless monologues that are not literal renderings of events.

Aides Say Clinton Will Drop Rights Nominee

Continued From Page A1

make more such visits next week. She met with the editorial board of The New York Times today, and a Justice Department official said she had also met with the editorial board of The Washington Post.

On Tuesday, Administration officials said that several top White House aides believed that the Guinier nomination would have to be withdrawn, and a senior Democratic Senator also said as many as two dozen Democrats in the Senate had told the White House the nomination should be withdrawn. The Senator, who declined to be identified, also said Ms. Guinier would not be able to win approval in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Youth Service 'Boot Camp'

SAN FRANCISCO, June 3, (AP) — An island naval base that was a staging ground for thousands of sailors in World War II is now being used as a model "boot camp" for a home-front Peace Corps. Hundreds of 17- to 25-year-olds will meet at the Treasure Island base in San Francisco Bay on June 20 for a weeklong training camp as part of Summer of Service, President Clinton's national program of community service in 11 cities, including Newark and New York. Almost 1,500 young people will attend the camp in the first step of an \$8 billion project that Mr. Clinton envisions as a pilot program for a year-round domestic Peace Corps with 25,000 workers.

Asked today about Ms. Guinier, Mr. Clinton said: "I think that I have to talk to some of the senators about it because of the reservations that have been raised both publicly and privately."

"I want to reaffirm two positive things about her: One is everyone can see she is a first-rate civil rights lawyer, and no real civil rights lawyer has ever held that position before — someone who's made a career of it."

"Secondly, I think any reasonable reading of her writings would lead someone to conclude that a lot of the attacks cannot be supported by a fair reading of the writings. And that's not to say that I agree with everything in the writings. I don't. But I think that a lot of what has been said is not accurate. On the other hand, I have to take into account where the Senate is and I will be doing that and talking to them. I think until I do that, I should have nothing else to say."

One other incident in Mr. Clinton's recent past shows that when he offers seemingly half-hearted words of support for an embattled nominee, that person ought to not quit her current job too soon.

When public opinion began to turn sharply against Zoë Baird amid a furor over her hiring of two illegal immigrants as household workers, the President's first choice to be Attorney General, Mr. Clinton and his spokesmen said they had no plans to withdraw their support, an expression similar to one offered by official White House spokesmen today. Soon afterward, the Baird nomination was soon withdrawn.

Ms. Guinier, a 43-year-old law professor at the University of Pennsylvania, has been the focus of criticism because of her scholarly writings in which she argues that majority rule is often insufficient to guarantee blacks their fair share in the political process.

In articles in the University of Michigan and University of Virginia law reviews, Ms. Guinier has written that even if blacks are elected, they will always be in the minority and may be outvoted and ignored as important decisions are made. For such cases, she has proposed several alternative voting schemes to enlarge the influence of black lawmakers.

Her supporters say that her views have been distorted and that her proposed solutions would only apply in isolated cases of extremely resistant racism.

Asked by reporters today how much of Ms. Guinier's writings the President had read, Mr. Stephanopoulos replied: "I think he's read some summaries of her writings recently since the nomination."

He said he could not say if Mr. Clinton had read any of Ms. Guinier's writings before the nomination.

White House officials aid the nature of Ms. Guinier's writings had been weighed before her nomination as Assistant Attorney General for civil rights was publicly announced on April 29.

More national news appears on page D22.

Receiv
With

ADVI

- Ideas
- Sued
- Cord
- Inno
- Conf
- Shape
- Cramp
- Down
- Hiking
- Water
- Light
- Good
- Breath
- Colors
- (Wome
- Green
- Mens
- Women
- Priced At

Receive A
T-Shirt W



871 Bro
(212) 255-8

*Regular UPS

NYT 6/3/93

stemmed, not surprisingly, from her distrust of the democratic process and her failure to acknowledge African-Americans' significant progress under the Voting Rights Act. She favors artificial schemes for increasing the political power of ethnic minorities.

I disagree. African-Americans, for

Carol M. Swain, assistant professor of politics and public affairs at Princeton, is author of "Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African Americans in Congress."

comes from segregating black voters into black-majority districts. This strategy may not only cap the number of blacks in the House but also cut them off from white voters whose support black politicians need to win governorships and Senate seats.

The zeal to draw black-majority districts has led to the creation of bizarre ones like North Carolina's 12th, a serpentine monstrosity that runs 160 miles along Interstate 85. It connects communities in far-flung parts of the state that have little in common other than race. Foes of the

government plan that concentrated black voters into state legislative districts even though there was no evidence of discrimination or obstacles to voters' ability to elect candidates of choice. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, writing for the Court, declared, "The state may create any district it might desire, so long as minority voting strength is not diluted as a result."

In the Voinovich case, four black Democrats — Mike Espy of Mississippi (now the Secretary of Agriculture), Louis Stokes of Ohio, Craig Washington of Texas and Alan Wheat of Mis-

Guinier's views are shortsighted.

bents from opponents, but it virtually precludes further gains. As other minorities such as Asians and, especially, Latinos gain ground, blacks and whites constitute declining proportions of the national population. Since the turnout of black voters is smaller than that of whites voters, and since the black population is becoming less geographically concentrated, black-majority districts do not seem a promising way to significantly increase blacks' representation.

If black candidates run mostly in black districts, those who want to run for governor or the Senate will face an added disadvantage. Not only will they lack connections to influential white voters whose support they need, they will have accumulated little experience in developing and maintaining biracial coalitions.

An increasing number of blacks have been elected in mainly white jurisdictions at all levels of government. Virginia elected Douglas L. Wilder as Governor. Alan Wheat, Democrat of Missouri, was first elected to the House in 1982 from an 80 percent white district. Gary Franks, Republican of Connecticut, was first elected in 1990 in a district that is 4 percent black.

There is no reason why blacks elected in white-majority districts can't represent the preferences of black voters and still find favor with whites. Mr. Wheat, who consistently holds positions favored by national black leaders, has been re-elected with wide margins. Mr. Franks's support of G.O.P. initiatives reminds everyone that not all blacks are liberal Democrats.

Blacks are divided on how best to increase their representation. They'll achieve that goal when they and other voting rights advocates fully recognize that whites will elect blacks and that white politicians often represent the needs of black voters. □

What Price Patriotism?

By Michael S. McPherson and Morton Owen Schapiro

How much would you pay for the privilege of serving your country? If President Clinton's proposed national service plan gets off the ground, a lot of young people will ask themselves that question. Evidently the designers of the plan must hope the appetite for sacrifice is strong.

Here's the deal. To get \$5,000 in school loans forgiven, graduates will have to work for a year in national service, with a guaranteed minimum-wage stipend of a little under \$9,000, typically in schools, parks, the auxiliary police and similar jobs.

The alternative is to pass up nation-

al service, pay back the loan and get a job. (By the time the program is phased in, between 1994 and 1997, the job market for college graduates should be booming again.) Today, a freshly minted college graduate can earn \$24,000 working for the Government — arguably itself a form of service. The graduate who signs up, taking a minimum-wage national service job, will give up about \$15,000 in income to save \$5,000 in loan payments — a loss of \$10,000. Students who serve for the allotted two years stand to lose \$20,000.

Even with a very favorable tax treatment, this is a steep price for service. People who make a lot more money don't donate that much to charity; it seems silly to assume young graduates would.

Until a couple of days before the program was announced in April, the cost of participating was going to be less. At the last minute, President Clinton cut the ceiling on annual loan forgiveness to \$5,000 from \$6,500, increasing the expense to our minimum wage-earning student by 18 percent.

In order to reduce the sacrifice asked of young people, the Government would require more sacrifice

from taxpayers, either through forgiving more loans or raising the stipend for public service. Supporters of national service may conclude that Americans won't stand for more taxes to pay for it. But if taxpayers are too selfish to pay, why should we suppose young volunteers will prove

National service and your pocket.

to be exceptionally altruistic in deciding to serve?

A well-conceived and economically sound national service plan could renew America's spirit and self-confidence and broaden the experience and understanding of our young people.

But a program that sets the price of service too high will never get off the ground. A failed national service plan would be worse, much worse, than nothing. □

Michael S. McPherson and Morton Owen Schapiro are economics professors at, respectively, Williams College and the University of Southern California. They wrote "Keeping College Affordable: Government and Educational Opportunity."

NYT 6/3/93



Robin Brown, left, is a member of East Bay Conservation Corps, which will participate

in the Summer of Services Program as described by Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt.

MARY F. CALVERT — Staff photos



Rep. Anna Eshoo, D-Palo Alto, speaks at a news conference on Treasure Island.

Treasured opportunity

By Josette Medina
STAFF WRITER

Almost 1,500 young Americans — including about 250 volunteers who will help rebuild abandoned homes in Oakland — will train this month at Treasure Island for President Clinton's Summer of Service program.

The Navy base was designated as the "boot camp" training site for the pilot program by Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt at a news conference at Treasure Island on Tuesday.

"What we are witnessing today is the beginning of a great national movement," Babbitt said. "We must provide the opportunity for every single American to come to serve their country."

Please see Youth, B-2

ed Heart,
#76); St.
y School,
Immacu-
rland, OR
returned to
Dominican

ednesday,
y) 11 a.m.
tician Si-
26 Mission
CA, with
burial being
p.m. Burial
Cemetery
y June 3,
its may be
other Pla
Fund c/o
star's, P.O.
San Jose,

b Mortuary
d Blvd.
10656-1226

URR, R.
sity of Oak-
93. Husband
harrison. A
S.S. of San
an active
e of Ukiah,
rs.

invited to at-
ruesday, June
p.m. at the
Vard Chapel
Jesus Christ
Saints, 4780
hokland with
n officiating.
our prior to
the Church.
y be made to
ncer Society,
Oakland, CA
nt Summit,
nt information

ral Chapel
d St.
532-4068.
h, Director

arshall, Johnny
A. May 27,
other of
leston, Mary
amie Childers,
of Conehatta,
sided in Al-
rk from early
to moving to
in 1989.

will be allowed
June 2, 1993
7 p.m. Funer-
l be held on
e 3, 1993 at
e Chapel of the
l Home, 1331
Berkeley, CA.
formation call
5-1231

JAMES W.
May 29, 1993.
nd of Martyn
of Richmond;
ov, John, and
ierre and step-
r Rhodes. Dear
d; also survived
ves and friends.
Ventress, LA.

re invited to at-
hour Thursday,
from 3 - 9 p.m.
Olson Mortuary,
to Avenue, Al-
services will be
June 4, 1993 at
the Ellis-Olson
ement at St.
rery, San Pablo.
N MORTUARY
125-0746

May 25, 1993.
Thursday, June
10 a.m. - East
ilh Deliverance
E. 14th Street,
let Hour, C.P.

Orinda. Dear grandmother of
15. Also survived by two sis-
ters, three brothers and many
nieces and nephews.
Friends are invited to call
at the Chapel of the Chimes,
4499 Piedmont Avenue, Oak-
land on Thursday, June 3,
1993 at 7:00 p.m. and to attend
funeral services on Friday,
June 4, 1993 at 1:00 p.m. In-
terment at Mt. View Ceme-
tery. In lieu of flowers,
donations to your favorite
charity will be appreciated.
Chapel of the Chimes
Oakland - Mortuary
654-0123

WORDEN, RALPH A.
of Oakland on May 31, 1993.
Dear beloved husband of
Anne Worden. Loving father
of Ralph William Worden,
Norman Lee Worden, Glen
Avery Worden, Judy Ann
Newman; dear step-father of
Lavina Seesman, Myla
Cockerham, Claudia Dairs,
Deborah Birch and Richard
Derrick. Dearest brother of
Raymond, Lyvie, Leland,
Larry, Doris, Vera, Shirley
and the late Evelyn. Devoted
grandfather of 18 grandchil-
dren and five great-
grandchildren.

A native of Limon, Colo-
rado, age 68 years.
Friends are invited to at-
tend services today, June 2,
1993 at 10:30 a.m. at Hillview
Baptist Church, 7309 Greenly
Dr., Oakland. Interment Roll-
ing Hills Cemetery, Richmond.
SANTOS-ROBINSON MORTUARY
SAN LEANDRO 483-0123

YOUNG, ROBERT W.
Born November 11, 1921 in
Mason City, Iowa; died May
27, 1993 in Sacramento, Cal-
ifornia. He was a resident of
El Cerrito, California for 38
years. He is survived by his
loving wife Jennie Young;
daughters Gloria Oranle and
Roberta Buffum of Sacramen-
to; loving sister Dorothy
Cotter of Hayward, California;
six grandchildren; three
nieces and one nephew.
He was a member of
VFW Post 703, American Le-
gion, and the North Congre-
gational Church; all of
Berkeley. He was a retired
safety coordinator for the city
of Berkeley.

Sunset Lawn
Chapel of the Chimes
Sacramento (916) 922-5433

88- Funeral Directory

CHAPEL OF THE CHIMES

Oakland 654-0123
Alameda 865-5888

MCHARY-MORGAN-
ENGEL & JACKSON

PRE-NEED INFORMATION

Complete Cremation-Funeral
& Cemetery Plans 549-1262

WHITTED - WILLIAMS

FUNERAL HOME
Complete Funeral \$1395
Oakland 261-1166

88-Cremation Directory

BAYVIEW CHAPEL
DIRECT CREMATIONS

Member Bay / A 841-2306
1st flr

COOPER'S CHAPEL
CREMATION SERVICES
(310) 532-4114

Oakland

Cops seek gunman: A gun-
man who killed an Oakland
man after a short foot chase was
being sought by police Monday.
The dead man was identified as
Edward L. Goree, 25, who was
killed about 11:40 p.m. Sunday.
Sgt. Jim Emery said Goree was
at a phone booth at Second Ave-
nue and Foothill Boulevard. A
car pulled up, and a man
jumped out with a pistol drawn.
Emery said, Goree ran with the
man pursuing him and shooting
at him, Emery said and was hit
several times. He collapsed in
the 100 block of East 16th
Street and died later at Highland
Hospital.

Hills inspections postponed:

The first round of fire inspec-
tions of hills properties, sched-
uled to have begun Tuesday,
was postponed until next week
because informational fliers
have not been printed, fire offi-
cials said. Captain Don Parker
said firefighters plan to leave fliers
when residents are not home
during the initial visits. Mea-
sures needed to make properties
comply with fire codes will be re-
corded on the notice.

Power fails: About 4,400 ad-
dresses near Lake Merritt were
left in the dark Tuesday after-
noon when a power line fell at
the intersection of Stow and
Wayne avenues, said PG&E offi-
cials. The utility company
spokeswoman said the section
of utility line came down at
about 3:10 p.m. Power was re-
stored to 90 percent of the af-
fected homes and businesses by
3:40 p.m. and to another 8 per-
cent by 5 p.m. The remaining 2
percent of affected customers
had power restored later in the
evening.

Richmond

Series of car burglaries: Sev-
eral residents of Richmond's
Panhandle Annex neighborhood
were the victims of a rash of car
break-ins Monday night and
early Tuesday morning, police
said. Sgt. Bob Flores said at least
17 cars were broken into and
miscellaneous items taken be-
tween 11 p.m. Monday and 7
a.m. Tuesday. All of the crimes
occurred within a three-block
area bordered by South 55th.

in community

Continued from B-1

The Clinton administration
envisioned the Summer of Service
program as a domestic version of
the Peace Corps. Participants,
who were selected from local
programs and colleges, will be
paid minimum wage and given
\$1,000 scholarships to the col-
leges of their choice.

The intensive, six-day training
session on the Navy base is
scheduled to begin June 20 be-
fore its participants disperse to
"focus attention on inner
cities," said Sen. Dianne
Feinstein, D-Calif.

Also taking part at the news
conference were California Dem-
ocratic Reps. Nancy Pelosi and
Anna Eshoo, San Francisco
Mayor Frank Jordan and other
officials.

Participants, ages 17 to 25,
will perform eight weeks of com-
munity service in 16 cities, in-
cluding Oakland, Los Angeles,
Philadelphia and New York City.
They'll help clean up neighbor-
hood parks, assist in health care
services for children and rebuild
condemned and abandoned
buildings.

Treasure Island was chosen as
the training site because the ad-
ministration wanted to use a mil-
itary base slated for possible
closure, said Eli Segal, assistant
to the president and director of
the Office of National Service.

"These young people will be
coming from all different parts of
the country and all different
backgrounds — rich, poor,
black, white, Latino, Asian (and)
Native American," said Cath-
erine Milton, director of the Com-
mission on National and
Community Service, "which ad-
ministers the program.

In Oakland under the pro-
gram, about 50 people from the
East Bay Conservation Corps
will hammer out their building
skills while assisting a non-prof-
it home construction organiza-
tion in a five-year effort to build
40 low-income family homes.

"This will (get) kids from more
private backgrounds to see what
goes on in other neighborhoods
and work in one constructive
effort," said Bruce Gestman, de-
velopment assistant for the East
Bay Habitat For Humanity.

Wise services contributed to

sale is in escrow

Continued from B-1

Meanwhile, a deal worked o
in 1990 by Berkeley Mayor Lo
Hancock to keep the Rep
Berkeley by allowing the theat
to buy the three buildings imm-
diately west along Addison
Street for expansion has still n
been consummated.

Medak said the Rep and t
owner of the three building
Bruce Williamson, agreed upon
\$1.5 million price and on final
ing terms. But they are still ne-
gotiating about who will pay t
cost of needed toxic cleanup.

"For many years, the bur-
ings were occupied by an al-
glass shop and two auto re-
pair shops, so you can imag-
what kind of damage was done
the soil," she said.

Berkeley Rep wants to use
Williamson properties for a sc-
ery shop and warehouse spa-
and ultimately a second m-
stage. The theater curren-
rents space in Emeryville and
Gilman Street in Berkeley.
consolidating the facilities w-
be a cost-saver, said Rich-
Griffoul, director of marke-
for Berkeley Rep.

NE
DELIV
AVAIL
IN A

The

CAL
83

OUTS
1 80

San Francisco Chronicle ★★★★★

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1993

U.S. Rejects Wilson Water Policy

Babbitt defends Endangered Species Act

By Elliot Diringer
Chronicle Staff Writer

Governor Wilson's claim that California's escalating water conflicts can be eased only by overhauling the Endangered Species Act was emphatically rejected yesterday by the Clinton administration's water czar.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, on a swing through the Bay Area, said that by killing interim protections for San Francisco Bay and the delta, the governor had "in effect delegated" key water responsibilities to Washington.

In response, the new administration is working to better coordinate the many federal agencies with a hand in California water policy but sees no need to rewrite federal law, as the governor has urged, Babbitt said.

"Our job in the short run is to get a coordinated federal effort together based on the premise that we can provide a balanced, reasonable response under existing law," he said. "Then we can approach the state and see whether or not they're willing to change their minds and attempt to work under existing law."

Babbitt disputed Wilson's contention in a letter in March to President Clinton that environmental and economic interests cannot be reconciled under the Endangered Species Act as now written.

"There's a defeatist attitude that's kind of crept into all of this. I reject it 100 percent," Babbitt said. "I think if we do this carefully, with a lot of attention to the science ... and checking



BY MICHAEL MACOR/THE CHRONICLE

U.S. Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt greeted Marin Conservation Corps member Robin Brown at Treasure Island, where he announced a U.S. 'summer of service' leadership program

the ideological disputes at the door, there's room for positive outcomes for everyone."

Wilson spokesman Franz Wisner said the governor and the secretary share a philosophy — protecting entire ecosystems to avoid species-by-species show-downs — but differ on whether that can be accomplished under present law.

"The Endangered Species Act as it is written can shut down entire industries and cripple entire states and regions," said Wisner. "There's no reason why we can't save jobs while we're saving species."

Babbitt's comments came during an interview en route from Martinez — where the secretary toured the national historic site that was once home to naturalist John Muir — to Treasure Island, where he and other offi-

cials announced that the Naval base will be a training center for Clinton's "summer of service" program.

Babbitt, a former Arizona governor with strong conservationist credentials, has taken charge of the Interior Department at a time when the federal role in shaping California's water destiny is perhaps greater than ever.

Under sweeping reforms enacted last year by Congress, some supplies controlled by the federal Central Valley Project, the state's largest water system, are being redirected from farms back to rivers and wetlands decimated by years of diversions.

Implementing the act "is in many ways going to be the ultimate test of our ability to restore

and find balance in aquatic ecosystems," Babbitt said.

At the same time, the listing of winter-run salmon and delta smelt as threatened species have given federal wildlife agencies direct say in how California's water systems are operated.

The governor, claiming that those steps under the federal Endangered Species Act made the question of interim bay-delta standards "moot," told state regulators in April not to bother adopting them. That, however, gave the federal government an opening to assert even more authority over California water by imposing protections of its own.

The Environmental Protection Agency is expected to issue bay-delta standards later this year. Babbitt said he is coordinating closely with EPA Administrator Carol Browner.

Wednesday, June 2, 1993 *Marin Independent Journal*

CORPS: Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt on Treasure Island yesterday with Guillermo Aban and Robin Brown of the Marin Conservation Corps. Aban and Brown are among the Marin Conservation Corps workers who will help with a federal weeklong community service training program. About 100 trainees and other volunteers will restore wildlife habitat and repair trails in the Marin Headlands.



UP photo

S.F. camp to launch service program

Associated Press

SAN FRANCISCO — Hundreds of young people will meet at Treasure Island next month for a leadership "boot camp" in President Clinton's national service program, Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt announced yesterday.

"The people who will gather here shortly for the 'Summer of Service' are going to play an extraordinary role because they represent the advance guard, if you will, of this movement," Babbitt said.

The administration selected the naval base in San Francisco Bay for the training site as a model for converting military resources to domestic needs, said Rep. Nancy Pelosi,

BAY AREA

D-San Francisco. She spoke at the news conference at Treasure Island, along with Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-California, and San Francisco Mayor Frank Jordan.

Almost 1,500 young people will attend the weeklong training camp that starts June 20. It will be the first step for the 17- to 25-year-old participants in the \$8 million project, which Clinton envisions as a pilot program for a year-round, domestic "Peace Corps" with 25,000 workers.

The bulk of the money comes from the Community Works Progress Act, said a woman at the Commission on National and Communi-

ty Service who requested that her name not be used.

The act was aimed, among other things, at developing national service programs in communities hit hard by military cuts. Participants who will earn minimum wage plus a \$1,000 college scholarship, will be assigned to work in 11 cities on various goodwill projects. Refurbishing public housing units and cleaning up urban parks will be among jobs.

The cities are Los Angeles, Oakland; New Orleans; Atlanta; Baltimore; Philadelphia; Boston; New York City; Delaware; Ohio; and Red Lake, Minn.

Although the plan must still be approved by Congress, Summer of Service is being launched in anticipation of that approval.