

D.C. Service Corps Looks to Instill Sense of Caring, Community

CORPS, From B1

with high energy, to bring everyone together and to be seen by the public."

They end the sessions with hugs, high fives and handshakes. Then they catch buses and subway trains to three work sites.

Recently, the corps went to Birney Elementary School, the U.S. Soldiers' and Airmen's Home and a

"If I have a positive impact, maybe these kids will look at white people differently."

— Corps member Joss Williams

garden in the Montana Terrace public housing complex in Northeast Washington.

At the home, corps member Seeky Hernandez helped feed veterans in the hospital.

Hernandez, an 18-year-old with a mop of curly hair, put a napkin in the lap of an elderly man sitting in a wheelchair.

"You like spinach? Makes you stronger," he said, gingerly placing a forkful of the vegetable in the man's mouth.

A few minutes later, Hernandez put a towel at the neck of a man whose head moved back and forth in

spasms. Then he held up a cup of chocolate milk and carefully put a straw in the man's mouth.

"I decided to join the corps because it would help me stay out of the street," said Hernandez, who came to Washington from El Salvador when he was 11 and dropped out of school in the eighth grade. He is working on getting his diploma and wants to become a teacher.

On a dreary, misty day, corps members cleared land and built a compost bin at Montana Terrace, where the Department of Recreation and Parks' Youth and Urban Gardens Program gives free plots and vegetable seeds to residents.

Corps members hoed for Barbara Queen, a 63-year-old resident whose arthritis prevented her from doing it.

Queen, who dreamed all winter of a garden, said of the volunteers, "I couldn't do this without them."

Amsterdam already is recruiting the next corps, which will consist of 100 youths working year-round. He said he searches for idealism, optimism and a balance between what candidates can offer and what they can gain from the experience.

He has asked current members to help find their replacements. Last week they took their "show" to the auditorium of the Washington International School in Cleveland Park.

Before going on stage to speak to the audience of teenagers, Joss Williams, 18, said he joined the corps because he had seen the value of

community service in the lives of his father, who went to Mississippi to work in the civil rights movement, and his mother, who works with battered women.

On stage, he told the high school students of his own work at Birney Elementary School in Anacostia.

"It's an all-black school and . . . I was real scared to go there," Williams said. "The kids would say, 'Yo, Vanilla Ice! White men can't jump! This little boy on the play-

ground came up the other day and said, 'I don't like white people.' I didn't know what to say."

"I feel the corps is a chance to expose them to white people," Williams said, "and if I have a positive impact, maybe these kids will look at white people differently."

Corps member Dan Carter, 20, a Ballou High School graduate, didn't tell the students that he once sold drugs, but said he was "part of the problem."

Meeting an elderly Italian American woman in a nursing home has made him feel better about himself.

"I never understood a word she said," Carter said, referring to the woman's thick accent.

He paused, then went on. "I go to see her every Saturday now. She looks forward to seeing me. It makes me feel good about myself. I can't explain it. You have to do this kind of work yourself to understand."



McClain helps Montana Terrace resident Barbara Queen in her garden. "I couldn't do this without them," she said.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, APRIL 21, 1992

5

This Corps Fights to Give Something Back to the Community

By Patrice Gaines-Carter
Washington Post Staff Writer

It happened to Joanna Harriston while she was at the Hospital for Sick Children. "The therapist just wanted a little girl to sit up for a minute, but he couldn't get her to do it. I don't want to brag, but I got her to sit up for two minutes," the 18-year-old said, smiling broadly.

For Kevin Brown, 23, a greater understanding of what it means to give came while he was working with the elderly at the U.S. Soldiers' and Airmen's Home. Brown recalled: "Mr. Reynolds won Bingo. I said, 'Mr. Reynolds, yell Bingo!' He struggled. He said, 'B . . . B . . . Bin . . . Bingo!'"

As members of the D.C. Service Corps, Harriston and Brown have spent seven months doing large and small services for some of the neediest people in the city. The corps has 30 members, most of whom grew up in the Washington area and many of whom still live with relatives. They joined the corps for different reasons: to keep busy and off the streets, to ponder what next, to learn about worlds they would otherwise never enter or to earn a little tuition money.

But by the time they leave it in June, all of them should have gained a lasting sense

of community, said John Amsterdam, the corps director.

"So many young people are increasingly alone . . . Over the last few generations we have become less connected to our communities," Amsterdam said. "Whatever careers they choose, we want them to be connected to their communities, to recognize there is an undissolvable bond that says, 'I am who I am because the community allowed me to be this.'"

In the corps, young people ages 17 to 23 spend September through June working for a stipend of \$100 a week and the promise of \$2,000 in scholarship money and assistance in applying to colleges. They paint shelters for the homeless, till gardens in city neighborhoods, tutor children and help elderly people feed themselves. Money to support the program comes from private donors.

Of the 30 members of this first group, 26 are high school graduates. Four are working on their general equivalency diplomas, and six have attended college. They come from diverse racial, social and economic backgrounds.

Each workday begins with calisthenics at 8:30 a.m. at Freedom Plaza on Pennsylvania Avenue NW. Amsterdam said the sessions are "a chance to start the morning

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Corps member Seeky Hernandez helps Paul Turner at the Soldiers' and Airmen's Home.

BY DAYNA SMITH—THE WASHINGTON POST

Sweeping away litter and apathy

By Terence Samuel
INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

Vernon Park in Germantown is eight acres of combative greenery standing firmly in an urban colony of concrete and commerce. In the middle of the park is a 19th-century summer house surrounded by grass and shade trees and winding walkways.

But this is territory under siege.

The invaders are fiscal trouble, poverty, homelessness, drugs and apathy, and in Vernon Park these modern day Visigoths are visible mostly in the form of trash.

"The park has potential," said John Sgrillo, 60, who is one of the five to 15 people who come out to clean up the park once a month. "It could easily be as nice looking as Rittenhouse Square," Sgrillo said. "But we have no money. None."

Yesterday they got some help.

The Philadelphia Youth Service Corps, itself a

retaliation against some of the ills that afflict young people in the city, marched into the park with lawnmowers and trashbags, weedtrimmers and rakes, brooms and shovels, and went to work.

They mowed the grass, swept the walks, collected the bottles.

As they worked, 9-year-old Darren Massey played with his basketball while his cousins played near the Germantown Avenue side of the park. This is one of his favorite parks, he said.

"It's real big and you can run around in it," Massey said. But he also has some concern. "I'm worried because of drug dealers; they might mess up the

park."

"Some people think it would be child abuse to send their kids down here," said Gerry Johnson, president of Friends of Vernon Park, "because there is a lot of drinking, a lot of drinking."

The area behind the benches on the eastern

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CORPS from B1

edge of the park provide a checklist of numerous brands of cheap liquor popular with the winos and kids who converge on the park after dark. Playing children would save the park, Johnson says.

The Vernon Park cleanup was the first of what Youth Corps officials said will be 100 projects completed in 100 days all across the city from Chestnut Hill to Hunting Park and from Bustleton to Elmwood. It has been billed the "Philly Challenge 100."

The Youth Service Corps is an independent agency supported by a combination of private, public, and corporate money that offers young people — many of whom have dropped out of high school — a chance to "get a leg up."

Renee Buxton, 22, said she had "so many problems in school with my attitude" that she dropped out in 1987, when she was in the 11th grade.

Yesterday, armed with gloves and a rake, she whacked away at the weeds on the north side of the park near Germantown Avenue. Having traveled all over the city on cleanup projects, she said the city was suffering at its own hands.

"We can do better than this," Buxton said, looking at the condition of Vernon Park. "If a lot of people in Philadelphia did this [cleaned up]... I like to think that it's getting better, because we're helping."

But she is being helped, too, Buxton said.

In 1990, three years after dropping out of high school, Buxton had a daughter. She found herself working in fast food restaurants, unable to quite make ends meet. She often had to ask her mother for help, for money.

"I was lazy," she said.

Then last year Buxton heard

about the corps and joined. First she got a general equivalency degree. She was working, cleaning up neighborhoods and putting herself back together. She tutored other corps members for their GED tests. All of them passed.

"I appreciate them letting me help, because for once I was boss of something... and when they all passed, it's not a feeling I can explain," Buxton said.

So that even if she is pulling weeds and sweeping parks, she is thinking about going to college and becoming a math teacher.

Anthony Fairbanks, executive director of the Youth Service Corps, thinks that cleanups like the one yesterday, and the youth corps members who did it, is the way to save both the kids and the city.

"It worked in '30s," he said, referring to the federal Civilian Conservation Corps, which offered jobs during the Depression era. "It'll teach job skills, it'll connect young people to their communities and it'll get things done."

There is no longer any point in worrying about the fiscal crisis facing the city, he said. "There will never again be enough government money for us to do what we want to do," Fairbanks said. "It is the citizens, the good citizens, who are going to have to do it."

Johnson said he was optimistic, not just about Vernon park but about the future of the entire city.

"If there is a grander vision that I see between this kind of thing and the whole city, it is that we do have something to offer people, something built around clean parks and streets and safe housing," Johnson said.

As a first step, Johnson would like to see the park taken over by more friendly forces. "I have a very simple goal, to get a lot of kids playing in the park."



The Philadelphia Inquirer / J. KYLE KEEN

Jamal Reeves, of the Youth Service Corps, helps in the cleanup of Vernon Park. The cleanup is one of 100 planned summer projects.

The Philadelphia Inquirer

Monday, June 15, 1992

Youth service is on the march; it can provide work and discipline

By NEAL PEIRCE

Rugged and demanding youth service programs, says Pennsylvania Sen. Harris Wofford, could be one of America's best antidotes against ominous social dissolution and Los Angeles-style riots during the 1990s.

Our hopes are slim, he suggests, unless we move quickly to re-engage our poor, our jobless, and our disillusioned and turned-off young people.

The concept of youth service has come a long way since 1933, the year President Franklin D. Roosevelt conceived the idea of the Civilian Conservation Corps. FDR asked Congress to act in March; the response was almost instant. By July, over 300,000 jobless young men were out in the woods, working on conservation projects and receiving special education courses.

Many of the 2.5 million young people who went through the CCC would later describe it an immense skill- and confidence-builder, a turning point in their lives akin to direct military service.

There was, in fact, military discipline in the camps. One of the most prominent CCC organizers was the redoubtable Gen. George C. Marshall. Many reserve military officers were hired to run CCC operations.

The old Civilian Conservation Corps is a model for programs now under way.

No one today asks for some single, massive federal service corps — a reincarnation of the CCC. But since formation of the California Conservation Corps in the 1970s, inventive youth service and conservation corps programs have spread to 27 states. Altogether, Youth Service America reports, there are 75 of them, operating on combined budgets of \$180 million. They enroll some 25,000 young people.

The vast majority of programs involve tough calisthenics, uniforms, real demands on kids — often the first constructive discipline they've ever experienced.

City Year in Boston was launched by two young Harvard Law School graduates, Michael Brown and Alan Khazei, expressly to create a youth service prototype for communities nationwide.

City Year offers its young recruits (ages 17-22) a \$100-a-week stipend and \$5,000 scholarship on graduation. The recruits are poor, rich, black, white, Asian, Hispanic, inner-city gang, suburban preppy — this is

one of the few programs that doesn't just draw poor kids, but the wide variety of youth. Kids of widely divergent backgrounds not only get to meet; they also learn to work cooperatively together.

They work in teams of 10 to 12, building playgrounds and soup kitchens, rehabilitating homeless shelters, distributing food to the hungry, tutoring and mentoring younger kids, assisting the sick. The program builds self-confidence, leadership skills, a "community of idealism," says City Year co-founder Brown.

One would like to see hundreds of thousands of youths in just such programs. And it could happen. The Commission on National and Community Service, created by Congress in 1990, is just getting ready to make about \$60 million in expansion grants to some of the country's best youth service programs.

Wofford believes we should, in the wake of Los Angeles, at least double that and then "scrounge and redirect money" from lots of sources. Example:

redirect about \$700 million a year in questionably useful Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) funds. Or use Defense dollars to let several thousand competent people now leaving the military serve as leaders of youth service programs. Military bases slated for closure could also serve as youth service camps.

Wofford thinks we should create a national voucher system to provide kids who sign up for youth service programs with living allowances and, on successful completion, educational bonuses.

Presidential candidate Bill Clinton has a parallel idea — a universal educational loan program a young person can pay off by two or three years of public service, or a future add-on to his or her income tax.

Author and former tennis champion Arthur Ashe argues (in a guest article for the Washington Post) that

service programs should provide graduates with certification of the technical skills they learn — a way to demonstrate, especially for disaffected minority youth, that their best efforts will be rewarded, that they won't fall victim to a discriminatory job market.

"We need these kids on the front lines — to serve and not be served," says Wofford. "I'm sick and tired of the patronizing social service approach — treating young people as problems, dangers, menaces. We need to turn them around and let them discover themselves as resources."

Critics can argue, of course, that a myriad of state and local youth service programs will be of uneven quality, that long-term results are uncertain.

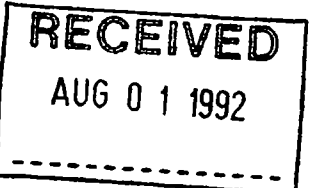
But we do now have a competent national youth service commission

to guide the movement. And we've seen enough pilot programs to prove that youth service is a powerful way to divert poor kids from a life of the streets, joblessness, drugs and, all too often, crime and prison.

Youth service also is one of the rare tools we have to reclaim college-bound kids, as Wofford puts it, from "a self-centered life of civic indifference."

Can we rationally contemplate spending billions on full youth service in a nation plagued by a \$400 billion-a-year national deficit? The fiscal answer is no. The human, common sense answer is yes — that if we don't, the country's social fabric will keep on unraveling, rendering incalculable damage not just to budgets, but to our security as a nation.

Neal Peirce is a syndicated columnist.



FOUNDED IN 1946

A PUBLICATION OF THE YORK DISPATCH

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Give teens key to unlock opportunity

WHEN SEN. HARRIS Wofford comes to York County tomorrow, he probably won't be doing or saying anything different about community service than he has in the last 40 years.

Wofford, co-founder of the Peace Corps, is scheduled to visit

a local Summer Youth Training Corps job site at Rocky Ridge County Park.

The site is one of 10 job training/community service projects for which the York County Job Training Partnership Act office plans to hire 80 to 100 underprivileged teen-agers this summer. The JTPA office will more than double the number of young workers in the program.

Chances are, the office will be able to expand the youth program even more after the state Department of Labor and Industry divvies up \$8.8 million in new federal funding. The programs, based on community service, teach job and leadership skills, stress the importance of education and give teen-age participants a way out of their impoverished world.

The money is part of \$58 million in grants approved earlier this month by

the Commission on National and Community Service. Pennsylvania was awarded the most of any state. It was a real coup for the commonwealth, which had to compete nationally for the money.

Wofford has long practiced and preached that community service is the best way to provide

poor and disadvantaged young people with the tools they'll need to unlock the chains of poverty and hopelessness. He was a major force behind the Commission on National and Community Service's grant approvals.

Wofford, however, is not ready to relax.

His visit tomorrow comes after a campaign to convince Congress to take \$25 million of \$700 million originally slated for employment programs and add it to CNCS's \$58 million to expand programs that mix job training with Community Conservation Corps programs. Congress last week approved a \$1 billion aid package to U.S. cities that includes an increase in funding for job training, but Wofford argues that the programs the money will go toward are only make-work jobs.

His argument is that for years regular job training programs have created nothing but busy work for young people without giving them real opportunities to better themselves through hard work and education. The programs have not broken the cycle of welfare dependency nor have they helped rebuild communities.

He says there are several programs, such as Pennsylvania's, that successfully mix community service with job opportunities for youngsters.

York County's JTPA director seems to share Wofford's philosophy. Kathy Fox wants to take young people out of the "weed wacking" jobs and give them community service projects that, if done correctly, will stand as monuments to their accomplishments. This summer for instance, local JTPA workers will be rehabilitating municipal buildings, beautifying parks and helping Hanover in its storm sewer system study.

We're excited about the local projects and by the national rebirth in community service, an area in which York County has a strong history.

Community service is one of the best ways to help youngsters rebuild the community and themselves.

OUR OPINION

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1992

David Boren and Harris Wofford

Lessons of the '30s

Not the dole, not welfare, but work.

In the wake of the Los Angeles violence, there are some signs that our political leaders may be willing to stop playing the politics of fixing blame and start fixing problems. It's time to put into place policies that work instead of wasting time and money on those that don't.

While more resources will have to be invested, the solution is clearly not as simple as increased funding for existing welfare and job training programs. Enterprise zones and home ownership programs have their place, but they are not enough by themselves. What is most needed is a change in thinking and a new approach that looks at what has worked in the past.

If we are going to solve the urban crisis in this country, we need to work our way out of it—literally. In the 1930s, America addressed an economic and social crisis with a straightforward, action-oriented approach: the Works Progress Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps. What worked for FDR was work—not the dole, not welfare, but work, both in the WPA and the CCC.

During the eight years the WPA was in existence in the late '30s and early '40s, 8 million WPA workers built more than 650,000 miles of roads, highways and sidewalks, 125,000 public buildings (including 39,000 schools), 124,000 bridges, 8,000 parks and 18,000 playgrounds. They wrote hundreds of books and created countless artistic works. They served more than 1 billion meals to hungry schoolchildren and sewed more than 382 million garments for those in need. All of this required an investment of about \$90 billion in today's terms.

By comparison, what has our welfare system created in the past eight years? At a cost of over \$900 billion spent on all public assistance, we have managed to produce little more than subsistence-level payments to an increasingly hopeless and alienated segment of American society. By simply handing people checks, the system robs them of a sense of being part of the communities where they live and of any motivation to achieve. There is nothing worse for a person's self-esteem than to have no reason to get out of bed in the morning and no useful work to perform.

A young high school dropout involved in Philadelphia's Youth Service Corps understood that with productive work he not only helped his community, he also helped himself: "I got tired of people coming to do good against me, trying to help me all the time. This corps asked me to do the helping. Now I'm making a difference."

We now understand that personal responsibility and self-esteem can't simply be taught; they have to be earned. It is a scandal that we sit by while another generation of inner-city young people drops out of school and onto the streets, into joblessness, drugs and the dependency systems of welfare and prison. A society with children who need care, roads that need repair and bridges that need building cannot afford to pay able men and women to sit idle. America's inner-city poor do not want to be viewed as a



WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION PHOTO

danger, as the enemy, but rather as a resource, as talent ready to make a difference.

We have been joined by a diverse group of Democratic and Republican senators in proposing a new program that would provide work opportunities for those on welfare and the unemployed by bringing back the WPA and CCC in modern versions.

Under this new "Community WPA" (CWPA) program, all welfare recipients, with the exception of mothers with very young children and those enrolled in education and training programs, would be required to take an available job in a sponsored project if they cannot find jobs elsewhere. Many young men not counted in official unemployment figures are falling through the cracks in the current system because they never held a job entitling them to unemployment compensation or received AFDC benefits. They, too, would be eligible to participate.

In addition to the CWPA, there would be two youth programs that would provide work opportunities to high school students and young adults in exchange for educational benefits. A new "Youth Community Corps" would enable students from seventh to 12th grade to work up to 250 hours per year in demanding community service projects. The second youth division, the "National Youth Community

Corps" would create camps or dormitory units for young people to work on such projects as reforestation, auxiliary police service and park or low-income housing reconstruction. Those still in school would participate in the summers, and those out of school would work year-round.

Many people out of the work force today lack the skills and training of those who went to work for the WPA and CCC in the Depression years. There will therefore be an even greater need for supervisors who can help train workers on the job. The Army ran the CCC in the 1930s. Now is a good opportunity for many of the talented people being forced into early retirement from the military because of changes in the world to take up this leadership role again. In addition, as Sen. John Warner said recently, military facilities that are slated for closing have already been paid for by the taxpayers and should be put to use:

"Why not fill those empty bunks and dormitory barracks with young people who need a chance to work and whose talents are needed to rebuild America?"

America worked its way out of a crisis in the 1930s. If we get to work, we can do it again today.

David Boren is a Democratic senator from Oklahoma. Harris Wofford is a Democratic senator from Pennsylvania.

Volunteers Can Be Key To Problem Solving With Community Service

There is a powerful African-American spiritual, *A Balm in Gilead*, which suggests that in the midst of tremendous challenges and problems always exists the very solution to those challenges and problems. The spiritual is one of helping and healing, resilience and responsiveness, saving and strength. For individuals the "balm" comes from within, for society the solution originates in individual caring and action.

Today our nation faces an array of serious challenges and problems. And it is the American people in all their wonderful diversity — young and not so young, of all races and creeds, of all income and education levels, of so many different talents — that can provide the solution to these problems through community service efforts.

The successful integration of service programs throughout our society — into schools, corporations, churches, retirement centers, and government agencies — can be a catalyst that will help transform America. Service is a powerful tool that can be used to tackle some of society's most difficult problems by fostering the ability to work as a team, solve problems, share ideas, and then transform those ideas into action. As communities across the nation confront shrinking budgets and increased needs, it is imperative that we revitalize the role of service at all levels. According to *Independent Sector*, the value of formal volunteer time by adults was estimated at \$170 billion in 1989. Yet, only an estimated 54 percent of adults volunteered in 1989. Think of what could happen if we increased these numbers by half.

Our state of Pennsylvania leads the nation in its innovative support for citizen service. All across this proud Commonwealth, people from all walks of life are making a significant difference in their communities. And while the following is by no means exhaustive, I'd like to highlight just a few programs:

In Philadelphia, *The Center for Intergenerational Learning* at Temple University has developed 12 programs that bring youth and elders together to meet community needs and enrich each others' lives. One such program in North Philadelphia called *Across Ages* creatively involves approximately 180 middle school students in community service in local nursing homes, while at the same time matching them with older mentors who will help them navigate the obstacles of adolescence.

In Pittsburgh, *Generations Together*, based at the University of Pittsburgh, provides technical assistance to organizations interested in intergenerational service programs and researches the impact of such programs. They also have a model child care training and employment program for older workers, place senior volunteers in elementary schools as resource persons, and run mentor programs.

In Williamsport, the local high school has created *WILLSERVE*, feeding energetic young people into community agencies where they are trained to help those in need while considering career options. The school has even developed an elective service-learning course.

In Philadelphia a movement of young people, *Empty the Shelters*, has formed

partnerships stressing community organizing, public education and the empowerment in remedying homelessness. *Empty the Shelters* includes an eight-week summer of social action training young people from across the nation to foster social change. It is working and the movement is now spreading and being adapted to local conditions in a variety of cities throughout the country. Also in Philadelphia, at St. Joseph's University, *HAWKS: Help A Wonderful Kid Succeed* is mentoring children in need of support and guidance.

In Montgomery County, senior volunteers are caring for children with special needs and their families through the efforts of RSVP, the Variety Club and Developmental Center and ACTION in an effort called *Homefriends*.

In Butler County, Slippery Rock University and the United Way have combined to organize *Kids That Care: Bringing the Pieces Together* which has been launched in cooperation with six school districts. In addition to mentoring match-ups, one of their exciting initiatives is a series of workshops directed by and for young people that address issues of concern for young people and our nation. And the idea is spreading to other counties in the state.

In Harrisburg, *PENNSERVE*, an entity

that I had the good fortune of helping to start while heading the Department of Labor and Industry under Governor Casey, is challenging all Pennsylvanians to be of service to those in need and to make our state a better place.

And again, in Philadelphia, the Boys and Girls Clubs innovatively award grants to young people dedicated to improving their communities through a program called *Youth Are Resources*. In its third year of operation under a William Penn Foundation grant, 39 youth-initiated projects have been launched involving over 800 young people and over 30,000 beneficiaries. Reflecting the creative energy of young people, the projects are quite diverse in approach and in the issues addressed.

The strength of our democracy depends on educated, informed and involved citizens. Citizenship entails certain responsibilities, one of which I firmly believe to be service to the larger community. We need to show people that community service is not merely an extracurricular activity that may or may not fit into their spare time. As my friend Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund, is fond of saying "service is the rent we pay for living."

Community service is a powerful way to teach citizenship and respect for human dignity and to develop leadership — things that can't be taught primarily by talking. Community service is learning by doing.

Community service benefits those that serve and those served, as well as our society as a whole. Moreover, our communities benefit from more than just the services provided.

Regrettably, too often in our society the younger generation is viewed in terms of its problems, seniors are forgotten or seen as burdens, and business people are thought to be caught up in a culture of greed. Community service can help us to see each other as resources rather than problems, and build bridges between the generations. Through service, people learn that they can make a difference to themselves, their families and their communities.

We all are looking for constructive, innovative, and effective programs in which to invest our money and our time, and I've always believed we need even more comprehensive service efforts. Programs that encourage people of all ages and talents to participate in enterprises can benefit their local communities, as well as our nation.

If we are going to succeed at creating opportunities for service, however, the private sector must become even more involved either by financially underwriting service programs or by creating opportunities for service at the grassroots level.

Mentor programs, sponsored financially or through actual personal commitments, could and should link members of the business community with young people. This partnership would allow young people to consider future life options and provide additional role models and examples of caring adults.

Programs like *Phila-a-Job*, which uses federal Job Training Partnership funds to

provide a summer-long program for disadvantaged, inner-city kids is another option. Programs should be focused around effective job training, community improvement, and individual self-esteem. Controls need to be implemented to ensure that businesses accept young people into their workplaces, providing adequate guidance and substantive projects to ensure the quality of the program. The *Philadelphia Ranger Corp*, *Youthbuild* and *City Year* are other options for meaningful business participation.

"Community service can help us to see each other as resources rather than problems, and build bridges between the generations."

Senator Wofford

I believe that implementing a system of national and community service is a means of asking all Americans to swear themselves into the high office of active citizen. By encouraging and changing the way we perceive and treat the young, the elderly, the disadvantaged, and all those who can make a difference, we can change the way future generations realize their potential.

Everyone can be on the front lines of service in preparing our nation for the 21st century. Thank you for helping to put me on the front line. I salute you, and I know that we can and will work together to build a better future for Pennsylvania and for America.



HARRIS WOFFORD (D-Pennsylvania) was elected to the United States Senate in November, 1991 following his interim appointment to the Senate by Governor Casey in May, 1991. Senator Wofford serves on three Senate committees: Foreign Relations, Environment and Public Works and Small Business.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3803

July 22, 1992

Dear Friend:

Knowing of your interest in national and community service, I have enclosed copies of several recent articles and statements for your review.

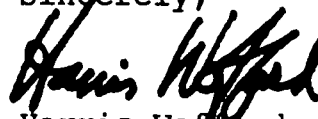
The following is a list of materials enclosed:

- ▶ article entitled "Youth Service is on the March; It can Provide Work and Discipline" (The Philadelphia Inquirer, June 15, 1992);
- ▶ statement entitled "Beyond the Riots and the Rhetoric" (May 12, 1992), sharing my reflections on my visit to Los Angeles and the crisis of our cities and youth;
- ▶ statement entitled "A Legislative Agenda" (May 21, 1992), which lays out a roadmap of federal action that I hope you will help me pursue now;
- ▶ article entitled "Volunteers Can Be Key To Problem Solving With Community Service" (Community Affairs, April/May 1992);
- ▶ article entitled "Lesson's of the 30's" (The Washington Post, May 21, 1992);
- ▶ article entitled "Give Teens Key to Unlock Opportunity" (York Sunday News, June 21, 1992)

I hope you find this material both encouraging and informative. I will keep you informed of my activities here in the Senate and in trade I hope that you will share with me your thoughts on the enclosed or other matters and keep me apprised of your own activities related to service.

I am convinced that together we can create a national and diverse service movement focused on youth but reaching out to all.

Sincerely,


Harris Wofford



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 102^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 138

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1992

No. 72

Senate

A LEGISLATIVE AGENDA FOR RECLAIMING OUR YOUNG PEOPLE BY ASKING THEM TO SERVE, EARN, AND LEARN

Mr. WOFFORD. Mr. President, last week, I described my visit to south central Los Angeles in the days after the riot and some of the lessons I learned there.

First of those lessons was that the crisis is not only of the cities, or of race, but is, above all and foremost, and maybe most hopefully, a crisis of our young people. As I pointed out last week—and it was hammered to me all day in Los Angeles—not all the rioters were of any one racial or cultural background. But all were young.

I also sketched out in broad brushstrokes a vision of large-scale youth service as a key part of our response, not just in the short term but over the long haul.

Today, I would like to paint in, in more detail, how Congress can take immediate action to put the young people of this country to work—rebuilding their communities and reshaping their own lives in the process.

I found out exactly the same thing in Watts 27 years ago after the riots there. Yet here we are, nearly 3 decades later, watching another generation of inner-city young people drop out of school into the streets, into drugs, into welfare, into crime, into prison, even into death.

I believe we can break that cycle. I believe we know how to do it. We have seen it work in the past. We have pilot programs today in many parts of this country that are working right now, but the time has come for those pilot lights to ignite the whole furnace.

The toughest indictment of our current dependency system, and the best argument for how to change it, was put to me a few years ago by a young Philadelphia Youth Service Corps member who was a dropout, who was in a street gang, and he enlisted in the Philadelphia Youth Service Corps. I asked him why he had broken this pattern and gone into the service corps for hard work, to serve, earn and learn. He said, "Look, man, all my life people have been coming to do good against me, trying to help me. I got tired of that. And this corps came along and asked me to do something and I'm making a difference."

Over the years I have come to believe that major reforms are possible only when two conditions occur: When certain propositions become self-evident and when the lack of action to make them real becomes a scandal.

I believe that work, not welfare, is now a self-evident truth—and we know—we can begin applying that principle to the young.

We understand that personal responsibility and self-esteem cannot simply be taught by lectures. They have to be earned. And we need to give young people the opportunity to earn those qualities, which are the same qualities that a good citizen needs and a productive worker needs.

I believe it is a scandal now, and recognized as such, that we know this but we sit by idly while another generation of young people falls into alienation, hopelessness, frustration and anger; succumbs to the epidemic of crack cocaine, to the gangs that replace family, church, or any other institution that instills the values of responsible citizenship and productive workmanship.

A society with children who need care, with older people who need help, roads that need repair, bridges that need building, cannot afford to allow—and sometimes even pay—able young people to sit idle. It is a scandal, too, that we do not challenge the college-bound young people to move beyond a self-centered life of civic indifference.

All our young people, in coming of age in America, must be asked to serve, not to be served. To produce, not just to be consumers.

Today, I want to suggest how we can turn that word "ask" into the strong verb it was when John Kennedy said, "Ask not what our country can do for us, ask what we can do for our country."

First, I want to make it clear that I am not imagining the one big, federally run Peace Corps that we once envisioned in the days of John Kennedy, a Peace Corps come home to America, a million strong. We talked about that at the beginning of the War on Poverty.

Instead of that, I see us coming to a new Bill of Rights and Responsibilities for the young with a voucher for a year or two of living expense stipends and educational bonuses that could be used to support work in a wide range of service programs run by local, State or Federal governments or by communities, church, student organizations, or nonprofit corporations. Some could be very small, like the best one I know of in the country, the Boston City Year. Some could be larger, like the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps which I administered in recent years, and the California Conservation Corps, the first of the State conservation corps.

We can go back even further in our history for an older model that worked. What worked best for America in the Great Depression was the Civilian Conservation Corps. Franklin Roosevelt himself said the best thing he ever did was the Civilian Conservation Corps. It enlisted more than 2.5 million young unemployed Americans in a State-based system of residential, Army-run camps in or on the edge of our parks and forests.

What worked with FDR was work—not the dole, not welfare, but work. The young men of the CCC were challenged to achieve big goals. They transformed our parks and forests, and then graduated into the national service of World War II.

More important, they transformed themselves. Just as the GI bill after the war was one of the best investments America ever made, so is the Civilian Conservation Corps. Such corps are an important part of the answer to the crisis of the young and the problem of welfare dependency. More than 60 such corps are in operation today around the country. Pennsylvania is proud to believe that it leads the way with the largest number of organized, full-time youth corps of all kinds, but every city, every community in our country can develop one or more of these programs.

The vehicles for achieving this goal are at hand. Some would not cost any more tax dollars. They would ensure that we make better use of the funds we are now spending on federally mandated youth employment and training programs. And to the extent we do expand our investments in our cities and our young people, the money is already there if we would finally take the step of breaking down the budget wall so we can invest military savings in our pressing domestic needs.

The world has been turned upside down. We have the chance now to turn America's priorities right side up. Taking \$8.9 billion from a single B-2 bomber could pay for a quantum leap in national youth service and, like the GI bill and the Civilian Conservation Corps, it would be one of the best investments this country ever made.

Let us take one of those nonexistent, unnecessary B-2's and land it in American youth service. Breaking down that wall between defense savings and our national needs would give us the resources we need to rebuild our cities, revitalize our economy, and to begin a large-scale youth service program.

Let me propose a legislative roadmap for a quantum leap in organized youth service. First, the Commission on National and Community Service established by the National Community Service Act of 1990. The Commission is one of Congress' most creative bipartisan accomplishments. I salute the efforts of Senator KENNEDY, who worked tirelessly to make the Commission a reality; Senator HATCH, who supported it; Senator MIKULSKI, who has championed it and led it through her committee. And I salute the Commission itself, under the excellent leadership of former Congressman Pete McClosky. That Commission is now primed to be an engine of a new

movement for national service. In its first request for proposals, the Commission received 489 requests from 49 States and several territories and Indian tribes. The funding requests amounted to more than \$226 million. That is about a third of one of those B-2's, roughly three times the \$67 million it has the ability to distribute this year. Only a fraction of the youth corps applications were able to be approved, and in order to speed the grants to those that were, the amounts granted were less than needed.

Last night, this body took a good step in adopting an amendment I offered with Senator MIKULSKI and cosponsored by Senator NUNN and Senator SPECTER to the emergency supplemental appropriations that will apply \$25 million of the \$700 million slated for summer job programs to invest in rigorous, well-organized service corps programs funded through the Commission on National and Community Service. Without adding a single penny to the cost of this emergency legislation, that amendment will make effective job programs available right now, this summer to young people throughout the Nation. That is a good start. We must go on to expand funding for the Commission.

In addition to the \$25 million from the emergency supplemental appropriations, I would like to see us double the Commission's funding for next fiscal year. We can do it by fully funding the Commission at the authorized \$105 million level and recapture the \$55.9 million lost and reverted to the Treasury because of the delay in the appointment of the bipartisan Commission. This would amount to a total appropriation of \$160 million in 1993.

Two, the Community Work Progress Act of 1992. Today, some of us will testify before the Senate Subcommittee on Unemployment and Productivity on Senator BOREN's Community Work Progress Act of 1992 which I and a number of our colleagues have cosponsored. We should move forward quickly to enact that legislation and enable its provisions to get underway.

Two new national youth corps are key elements of that legislation. Each would provide substantial education benefits to students and young adults in exchange for work on community service projects. The first division, the Youth Community Corps, would allow

secondary school students to earn college scholarship funds by working on approved community projects after school, on weekends, or in the summer. Beginning in the 7th grade, students could work up to 250 hours per year on these projects until they reach the 12th grade. Students participating for 6 years could earn up to \$10,000 in scholarship funds or \$5,000 in direct payments after graduation.

The second division of Senator BOREN's bill, the National Youth Community Corps, would create dormitory environments for young people age 17 to 22 to work on projects ranging from reforestation to auxiliary police work to urban renewal. This CCC approach would provide up to \$10,000 for each year of service to be used for college or vocational school. Those not wishing to continue their education after high school would also have the option of receiving a \$5,000 payment per year of service.

Senator NUNN has long pioneered in pressing us toward consideration of such a youth service program. These two youth corps would give preference to young people from families who are on welfare, out of work, or below the poverty line. But it is essential that these corps not be limited just to those groups. They need to be economically and ethnically diverse. That is why the single-most effective program, in my opinion, is the Boston City Year, which was from the beginning designed to be diverse and representative of urban and suburban young people, rich and poor, college-bound and high school dropouts, black, white, and brown.

Mr. WOFFORD. Mr. President, third, college work study. Under title IV of the higher education amendments now in conference committee, we should immediately mandate 10 percent of all Federal work study dollars go to students engaged in community service. When Congress created the work study program almost 30 years ago, it envisioned that many or most of those jobs would be in the community, but the colleges and universities define the public service programs that students would work in as college programs on campus helping their own budgets.

I was a college president and was part of the whole process. But experi-

ence shows us that the original vision of students working their way through college by working in the community has been lost. We must go beyond encouraging colleges and universities to a mandate that requires that they move in the direction of the original vision of students working in the community. The 10-percent mandate is a beginning, and I would, having read the GAO report on that program that shows that only a tiny fraction of the students, the large number of students engaged in that program work in the community, urge that we go on and that we ask colleges and universities to see that the majority of those jobs are serving the community.

Fourth, Job Training Partnership Act. An expanded investment in the Job Training Partnership Act would be helpful. But what we most need is a change in approach. While I was Secretary of Labor and Industry in Pennsylvania, administering that program, we succeeded in stipulating that an increasing share of all JTPA dollars go to youth job training and employment programs that are designed in the model of youth corps. We made great progress in that direction. That progress can be made all over the country.

We found that so much of the present work experience programs of the JTPA funding are make-work jobs, menial jobs, not structured to be demanding or in any way transform the lives of the young people. And our business and academic leadership task force in Pennsylvania, of which I was a member, recommended, just before I was appointed to this body, that the majority of the JTPA employment and training programs for young people be organized in the form of the youth corps. I urge that we seize the day with those dollars we are now investing, more than \$1 billion mandated for youth programs, as we have begun to do in the amendments that are now before us in the JTPA bill, to make far better use of the JTPA Program.

JTPA programs need to reorganize and refocus their efforts more along the youth corps model—emphasizing teamwork and economic and ethnic diversity, performing work on challenging community projects while developing citizenship and leadership skills. Private industry councils should devote the major part of their funds mandated for summer youth and year-round youth programs to the initiation and support of youth service and conservation corps.

This body should be proud of the current JTPA reauthorization, now in conference, that creates a new year-round jobs program while encouraging some of the things I have mentioned.

YOUTHBUILD

Youthbuild employs and trains young people in rehabilitation and construction of buildings to provide permanent and transitional housing to homeless and other low-income people. The Youthbuild Program is geared to attract young people, age 16 to 24, who have a low income and a need for education. Seventy-five percent of participants must be young people who have dropped out of school.

Under the National Affordable Housing Act, I encourage the strong support of HOPE for Youth. While many of us have legitimate concerns about the President's HOPE Program in general, the Youthbuild portion is a good step forward to expand this program. It would allocate to States \$40 million in the first year and \$80 million in year two.

The Police Corps contained in the current crime bill would do much to make our streets and communities safer.

Expand VISTA and the Peace Corps. Obviously I have a strong personal commitment here. Having been involved with Sargent Shriver in the founding of both the Peace Corps and Volunteers in Service to America—our domestic Peace Corps. I know these programs can change lives. Not only of those who are helped, but of those who do the helping.

That is the hidden genius of the service movement. That is what that Philadelphia Youth Service Corps-member understood when he said he was tired of people doing good against him. Service is a way of developing the characteristics needed not only for responsible citizens, but also for productive workers—discipline, self-reliance, teamwork, initiative, leadership and a commitment to lifelong learning.

The fires of Los Angeles illuminate a reality we have been avoiding for years about our cities and the children who grow up in them. But the cleanup of the ashes illustrated something even more powerful.

So long as we treat our young only as the danger to be feared, the problem to be solved, the client to be served, we and they will never progress. Our young people need to be seen as a resource, a solution, a talent

ready to contribute something to their communities.

The young people of Los Angeles are ready to start rebuilding their city. The young people of American are ready to rebuild America. We must enable them to do it.

This idea of service goes beyond ideology, beyond the debate over who's to blame. It brings together liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, Congress and the Executive. This is something we can agree on. It's time for us to do it.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to print in the *Record* articles on the Boston City Year and on the Civilian Conservation Corps, on the Pennsylvania and Philadelphia youth service programs.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Boston Globe; Apr. 29, 1992]

SERVING BOSTON, SHOWING THE NATION

(By Lauren Robinson)

Until last year, her mother made every critical decision in 18-year-old Laura Rivera's life. She sheltered her from the dangers of her Roxbury neighborhood. She chose the colleges to which Rivera should apply.

And when Rivera stood up to her mother and refused to go away to college, her mother "made" her apply to City Year, the urban youth corps that pays young people a nominal fee to perform community service.

After nearly completing her nine months of City Year service, Rivera thanks her mother for pushing her to get involved. Helping others has given her the confidence to help herself, Rivera said yesterday at a breakfast with community leaders at Roxbury Community College where expansion plans for City Year were announced.

City Year officials, hoping to make the Boston program a national model for urban youth service, plan to increase the number of participants from 100 to 200 by the fall, to 350 by 1993 and to 500 by 1996.

The youth corps received more than 500 applications for the 100 slots last year and expects to receive about 1,000 for next year. City Year participants, aged 17-22, are drawn from Boston's neighborhoods and from throughout the country.

"The demand has grown," said Michael Brown, who cofounded City Year with Alan Khazel and other friends when they were students at Harvard Law School. "We're at a crossroads."

Participants said the program is in demand because, not only do young people get \$100 a week and a \$5,000 bonus upon graduation, but they get the chance to learn the value of themselves and others.

Rivera, who is from Guatemala, said that, through developing and running English language programs for immigrants in Chelsea, she realized she was a capable young woman who could make her own decisions and live with the consequences.

"It's changed my life a lot," said Ouseth Chea, who joined City Year after high school graduation because he could not afford to go to college and had no prospects for a job. He is now headed to architectural school.

Stephen Spaloss, 23, who completed the program and joined City Year's staff, said that, in his New Hampshire hometown, community service was something people did when they got into trouble.

"When you see growth in yourself it is absolutely exciting," said Spaloss, who was forced by his father to join the program—because "I had gotten myself into a lot of trouble."

Spaloss's father, a lawyer, decided it was time for a dose of reality. Through cleaning vacant lots and work with the less fortunate, Spaloss said he got it.

"I had no belief in the older generation," Spaloss said. "They would say you could do things but wouldn't give you a chance to do them. City Year empowers young people. It has showed me that you can make a change."

City Year began in 1988 as a summer project and expanded to a nine-month program in 1989. Khazel said it started as an idea among friends who were frustrated about the lack of opportunities for young people and even more frustrated that America, the country of wealth and opportunity, harbored great poverty.

The feeling was that nothing would change unless people took the opportunity to "walk a mile" in their neighbors' "moccasins," Khazel said.

"There's a wealth of untapped spirit out there," he said. "The idea is to tap the energy and idealism of our young people for community service."

City Year, which has operated on millions of dollars in private funding and donations, is an evolving project that changes as needs do, Khazel said.

A recent survey of those who completed the program since its inception, showed that about 40 percent were enrolled in four-year college programs, 8 percent were in two-year programs, 8 percent were either in part-time or vocational programs, 32 percent were working, and others were either new parents or could not be tracked.

Brown said the program, in keeping with its goal to become a national model, is now seeking federal funding to help the expansion. He said the goal is to show a large program that works and to prove whether such programs can help young people while fulfilling community needs, train youths to be leaders and become catalysts for widespread community service.

Brown said the program will also work in new target areas, suggesting the youths might become involved in violence-prevention programs at public schools, with environmental protection and with organizing community volunteer centers.

Boston School Committee member George Joe, one of several community members who were asked yesterday to boost City Year efforts, said the emphasis on teamwork, multicultural diversity and aiding others will "open the doors for our youths, our leaders of tomorrow."

Roxbury Community College president Huble Jones called the City Year expansion a necessary "quantum leap" for a nation that is "absolutely wasting the resources of young people." He added:

"They are at the forefront of something that will ultimately explode in this country and that is national youth service."

[From the National Journal, May 9, 1992]

HIGHER MISSIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

(By Neal R. Peirce)

PHILADELPHIA.—As Ira Harkavy, a vice dean at the University of Pennsylvania, sees it, it's not just unseemly for universities located in the nation's inner cities to ignore the chaos at their doorsteps—"to be islands of affluence in seas of poverty, oases in deserts of despair."

The dereliction, in Harkavy's view, goes further: It is a betrayal of the optimistic 18th and 19th-century missions of American universities: not simply to advance learning, but to create a new and better society.

Harkavy has University of Pennsylvania professors and instructors, graduate students and undergraduates actively involved in reaching out to some of West Philadelphia's most ravaged neighborhoods and troubled schools. They've become personally engaged in inventing courses and programs, in guest teaching, in getting inner-city kids to open their minds to the idea of service to their own communities.

The model is the polar opposite of the way most universities ignore—or simply exploit—their host cities. It's based on Harkavy's belief that the real problem in such poverty-ravaged areas as West Philadelphia "is not housing or education or health care—it's the collapse of community." The only long-term cures, he believes, lie "in developing caring, cohesive, cosmopolitan communities." The public mission of universities demands their involvement, he added, "not researching on people, but with them."

The results of Harkavy's efforts are now appearing in several West Philadelphia public schools (some of them not far from the site of the infamous 1985 firebombing of a row house occupied by the radical MOVE group). Activities range from rehabilitating housing to repairing concert pipe organs, from projects with the elderly to removing graffiti and litter.

Visit the Turner Middle School on a Saturday, for example, and you'll find students taking courses on computers, airplane modeling, remedial writing, dance, vegetarian cooking and African-American history. Instructors include schoolteachers, residents of the community and Penn undergraduates.

On weekdays, seventh graders learn about health from faculty members of the Penn Medical School and then go to a feeder elementary school to share what they've learned with the younger children. Eighth-graders work one morning a week at a local hospital and run an evening program on hypertension, even performing—under supervision—the initial screening of adults.

The long-term goal is a full neighborhood health promotion and disease prevention center that seeks its advances through health improvement activities rather than simply handing out health information.

Students at West Philadelphia High School built a greenhouse with advice from one of the university's landscape gardeners. And they renovated an abandoned crack house under the direction of a retired union carpenter.

The ultimate goal of Harkavy's West Philadelphia experiment is to set up "community schools" that operate at least 18 hours a day, seven days a week, and serve as a neighborhood's educational and social service nerve center—the site of job training programs, public health services and day care programs.

But the idea behind Harkavy's experiment isn't simply the delivery of services: It's "to activate people including students in a leadership role, to serve each other and the community," he said. A current goal, for example, is to get middle-school students to work directly with kids in Head Start classes.

Schools that elect to become community centers, Harkavy said, need to make a full commitment. And the university needs to come in to "serve as a permanent anchor" for public schools that want to be community centers. "We won't cut and run," he said.

There are tough issues, Harkavy added, in how much decision making falls to the university, how much to professional educators, how much to the community. Harkavy doesn't advocate 100 per cent community control. He thinks that the collaborations can work if there's commitment on all sides to the idea of democratically run partnerships.

Despite this advanced thought and action, not to mention the enthusiastic support of Sheldon Hackney, the president of the University of Pennsylvania, broad faculty involvement is tough to get rolling at Penn—or, for that matter, at any American college or university.

And it's not hard to figure why: The incentives are all wrong. What gives young faculty members a shot at promotion or tenure? It's not teaching. It's not thinking creatively and holistically across subject areas. And it's certainly not getting their hands dirty in the nitty-gritty problems of the surrounding communities.

Instead, the senior faculty who control today's highly specialized academic departments routinely reward and promote their clones—scholars who publish copiously, however arcane the subject. A young chemist or historian or political scientist forms his loyalties down the hallway or with colleagues in institutions hundreds or thousands of miles away, not in service to the real city where he or she works.

Harkavy acknowledged such disincentives but said that he believes the tides are starting to shift. Dissatisfied taxpayers in the cash-strapped '90s will want to see more responsiveness in publicly financed universities. More and more academics will get fed

up with the career straitjackets imposed by single departments. And students, he said, will "want to put their idealism into action, not just by volunteering but by doing research with real people to solve real problems in communities."

Most people may find it hard to be quite that optimistic. But one thing is certain: When America's institutions of higher learning finally start casting about for the most-creative examples of college and university engagement in our increasingly complex and troubled cities, they will find an intriguing model in Philadelphia.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, May 13, 1992]

FOR HINTS ON HOW THE RACES CAN COEXIST, LOOK NO FARTHER THAN THE U.S. MILITARY

(By David S. Broder)

Of the millions of words spoken and written in the aftermath of the Rodney King verdict and the Los Angeles riots, none were more pertinent, pointed and eloquent than those of Gen. Colin L. Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Addressing the graduating class at Fisk University in Nashville, his wife's alma mater, Powell reflected not only his own remarkable character but also the special moral authority he gains from the largely unrecognized performance of the institution to which he has devoted his adult life—the United States military.

Here is the gist of Powell's message, for those who have not heard it or read it:

"As I saw those pictures on my television set," he began, "my heart hurt . . . I didn't want to believe what I was seeing.

"Violence—by the police or by the mob—is not the answer. . . . It shouldn't be; we've come too far for this. But it did happen. And we see once again what a long way we still have to go. Because the problem goes beyond Rodney King. The problem goes beyond Los Angeles. It goes beyond the trial of those four officers.

"The problem goes to the despair that still exists in the black community over the inability of black Americans to share fully in the American dream. Too many African Americans are still trapped in a cycle where poverty, violence, drugs, bad housing, inadequate education, lack of jobs and loss of faith combine to create a sad human condition, a human condition that cannot be allowed to continue if this nation is to hold its rightful place in the world.

"We have an American problem," Powell said. "It can only be solved by all Americans working together."

Respecting the inhibitions of his official position, the general did not outline an agenda for governmental action. Instead, he addressed the graduates—and through them, all Americans—about the responsibilities of citizens in this crisis.

"First," he said, "I want you to believe in yourself. You have to know that you are capable, that you are competent, that you are good. . . .

"Second, I want you to believe in America . . . We are still, as Abraham Lincoln said, 'the last, best hope of earth.'

"Third, I want you to find strength in your diversity. Let the fact that you are black or yellow or white be a source of pride and inspiration to you. Draw strength from it. Let it be someone else's problem, but never yours. Never hide behind it or use it as an excuse for not doing your best. . . .

"I want you to fight racism. I want you to rail against it. We have to make sure that it bleeds to death in this country once and for all. . . .

"Finally, I want you to raise strong families. As you raise your families, remember the worst kind of poverty is not economic poverty, it is the poverty of values. It is the poverty of caring. It is the poverty of love."

Obviously, the man who said this is a remarkable person. But he is also the product—the symbol—of a remarkable institution, the United States military, which in the last two generations has probably done more and succeeded better in creating a non-racist, bias-free meritocracy than any other part of American society. Powell's position as the head of the armed services symbolizes, but does not begin to describe, this success story.

The scope of the change was pointed out to me last year by David Gergen, the wise editor at-large of *U.S. News & World Report*, when we participated in a program at the Army War College. Gergen made the point then that the military's combination of disciplined structure and genuinely color-blind opportunity for advancement had transformed the lives of thousands of minority youths—and made the non-commissioned officers' (NCO) and officers' clubs far more integrated than college faculties, business boardrooms or newsrooms.

Gergen argues passionately that the military services and its people have vital experiences and lessons to share with civilian America. Last week, I heard the same point made by historian Stephen Ambrose, who has been spending time on military bases in connection with his own work. Ambrose made a historian's point: "There's all this argument about whether the Great Society programs worked, or whether Jack Kemp's enterprise zones will work. Why not return to ideas that everyone agrees did work?"

One of those ideas, he says, was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) of New Deal days, which took unemployed youths and put them to work on what we would now call environmental projects.

"It was run by the military," Ambrose said, "when the military had not much else to do. It pulled those kids out of the morass of their lives, gave them a sense of identity and discipline and of group purpose—the same things they need now."

Like Gergen, Ambrose noted that thousands of men and women—senior NCOs and junior officers in their 30s—face involuntary separation from their military careers because of the post-Cold War budget cuts. Why not take these young Colin Powells and let them lead a new CCC, he asks.

Why not?

[A Report of the Work Force Development Committee of the Pennsylvania Economic Development Partnership, April 1991]

A STATE PREPARED: DEVELOPING PENNSYLVANIA'S WORK FORCE

(By Robert P. Casey, Governor, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; Dr. Peter Likins, Committee Chairman)

Young people must be challenged to serve and thereby learn to be good citizens and productive workers.

The Committee has heard strong testimony that teamwork, problem-solving skills, self-esteem, initiative, leadership and a commitment to life-long learning are key elements of a high-performance work force and a responsible citizenry. Corporate leaders and other major employers agree with Governor Casey that "the qualities of a productive worker are the same as those of a good citizen."

The committee has also seen evidence that an effective way to acquire these qualities and learn these skills is through active learning in well-organized forms of community service and youth corps. In both full-time youth service corps, organized in teams with team leaders, and in part-time, school-based volunteer service, young people learn team, work and good citizenship by practicing it.

Dr. Ernest Boyer emphasized the same theme in his 1989 talk to the National Business Roundtable: "Above all, I'd like to see all students feel needed and have a sense of their own worth. In our report, High School, we proposed a new Carnegie Unit of high school credit—a community service term to help teenagers become responsibly engaged in youth clubs, in retirement villages, and in tutoring other kids at school, discovering a connection between what they learn and how they live."

Learning by doing is the essence of apprenticeship or workplace learning. Citizenship needs to be learned that way. It can't be learned just by lectures, anymore than basketball could be taught off the court by a coach's talk or house-building learned in a classroom. Well-planned community service assignments stretch and test young people, and enable them to discover their power to improve their communities while exploring possible careers.

The committee also appreciates the problem facing schools as increasing proportions of students come from disadvantaged backgrounds and as new needs press on the public purse. The Committee is impressed by the promising results obtained from programs of community service where youth themselves become the resources to solve their own problems and help meet the needs of their communities. In many parts of Pennsylvania, youth are serving as tutors of younger students, as environmental recyclers, as housing rehabilitators, and as conservation workers in parks and forests and

on other public land. Instead of being an added burden on taxpayers, youth engaged in service are giving an immediate return on the investment in their education.

The basic difference in this approach is that it is not youth who are served, but youth who serve. Too often in our society youth are just consumers with no opportunity to be productive. In successful programs of service they replace alienation with engagement, exchange boredom with excitement, and learn the exhilaration of making a difference. In this active form of education teachers and trainers become coaches, the community becomes the classroom, and students become resources.

The President of the United States and all 50 Governors have recognized this approach as an integral part of our nation's educational goals. In 1990 they adopted six national education goals (see Appendix G) which would ensure that by the year 2000 "all students will be involved in activities that promote and demonstrate good citizenship, community service, and personal responsibility." Such service learning was seen as an important way to achieve Goal Three: that all students are "prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy."

The concept of citizen service has been supported by Pennsylvania's State Board of Education and by the major educational organizations in the Commonwealth. The State Board resolved that "programs of community service should be an integral part of education at all levels and strongly urges schools, colleges and universities to institute or strengthen community service programs so every student is encouraged to serve and participate in volunteer service."

The Commonwealth must now find the ways and means to achieve this goal and make community service the common expectation and experience of all young Pennsylvanians as they prepare to be the work force of the future. This will require the creation of a youth service system which strengthens existing institutions and creates new institutions of full-time service, so that a sustained period of community service becomes an established route from school-to-work or from school-to-college.

Objective: To expand the opportunities for full-time community service that are offered by such organizations as the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps and local corps so that a sustained period of full-time community service becomes an alternative route from school to work or from school to college.

Recommendations:

1. State, federal, local and private funds should combine to continue the expansion of the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps and local corps throughout the Commonwealth.
2. The Department of Education should promote the use of service corps as alternative education programs.

3. PennSERVE should initiate a study of alternative funding sources including fee-for-service contracting for youth service programs.

4. Business/education partnerships should work with school districts, colleges and universities, private industry councils, and other agencies to expand opportunities for full-time service, in both year-round and summer corps.

5. The Private Industry Councils of the state's 28 Service Delivery Areas under the federal Job Training Partnership Act should devote the major part of their funds mandated for summer youth programs and for year-round youth programs to the initiation and support of youth service corps.

APPENDIX F—PENNSERVE: THE GOVERNOR'S
OFFICE OF CITIZEN SERVICE

The report of the EDP Committee on Work Force Development frequently mentions community service as a component of education and job training. Pennsylvania is a national leader in the application of service-learning principles to these issues. Under the leadership of Governor Robert P. Casey, and the administration of Secretary of Labor and Industry Harris Wofford and Secretary of Education Donald Carroll, Pennsylvania has become a model in the attempt to mobilize the voluntary efforts of youth in service to their community and themselves as a conscious strategy. This appendix outlines the organizational and programmatic structure that has made this effort possible.

To ask and enable

PennSERVE was created by Governor Casey in 1988 as an interdepartmental initiative "to ask and enable all Pennsylvania to serve their communities." To carry out this mission PennSERVE: Provides competitive grants to schools, colleges, local governments and non-profit agencies; offers technical assistance, training, in-service presentations and fund-raising information to community service programs; administers the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps and provides assistance to summer corps and full-time local corps; serves as an advocate for volunteering in public policy and as an information exchange for public and private volunteer initiatives; cooperates with other public and private agencies; publicizes and recognizes successful model programs and outstanding volunteers; serves as Pennsylvania's designated point of contact for the development of a comprehensive proposal under the National and Community Service Act of 1990.

PennSERVE's interest encompasses the entire range of community service and volunteer programs, but it has a special mission to encourage and support community service by young people. PennSERVE believes that the habits of service, once established, will continue throughout life; and that young people are an overlooked resource in the development of strong communities and a healthy environment.

Located administratively in the Department of Labor and Industry, PennSERVE

reports to an ad hoc Committee of the Cabinet headed by the Secretaries of Labor and Industry and Education. It is guided by an advisory board which also operates its own programs as the Citizen Service Project of Pennsylvania. In 1990-91 PennSERVE had a total budget of \$6,990,000 and a staff of seven. Through PennSERVE and associated programs, the Commonwealth invests about \$10 million in youth service. In return it receives at least \$10 million in completed projects and many times that figure in skills, enhanced self-esteem and lives given purpose and meaning.

Students as resources, school and college based community service

Traditionally, education and youth development policies and practices have focused on the perceived problems of youth, such as ignorance, irresponsibility and immaturity. Service-learning reverses those assumptions; it builds on the capacities, skills and abilities of youth. It views youth as resources—as workers and citizens. Service-learning has proved its worth as a means of raising self-esteem, cutting dropout rates, helping students to see the relevance of their academic work, providing a laboratory for citizenship skills and values, and serving as a stimulus to school restructuring. It plays a vital role in building an effective citizenry and work force. PennSERVE supports school- and college-based service-learning through:

Mini-grants: PennSERVE, on its own and in cooperation with Project Success, an award-winning dropout prevention program of the Department of Education, provides three-year, \$15,000 mini-grants to support community service programs in 85 schools.

Training: PennSERVE has worked closely with the Philadelphia School District and the Citizen Service Project of Pennsylvania to launch a statewide community service training institute, the Pennsylvania Youth Service Institute. PennSERVE also offers in service programs, regular regional workshops and summer teacher institutes.

Literacy Corps: PennSERVE administers the Pennsylvania Literacy Corps, which provides grants, workshops and technical assistance to 16 colleges. It also works closely with the 12 colleges in Pennsylvania that have received federal Literacy Corps grants. Through these programs more than 840 college students provide literacy tutoring to over 2,100 Pennsylvanians as part of credit-bearing courses.

Advocacy: PennSERVE sponsors joint workshops with the 27 school districts involved in Pennsylvania's school restructuring project, "RE: Learning." PennSERVE helped launch the Pennsylvania Campus Compact, an agreement among 35 college presidents to encourage student community service on campus. PennSERVE works closely with the State Board of Education and the Department of Education. Materials on community service are a regular feature in departmental publications and mailings.

Service-learning has shown promising results. Chestnut Ridge School District raised its going-on-to post-secondary education rate from 28 percent to 68 percent in five years. Philadelphia's Overbrook High School raised attendance among its most at-risk students from 75 percent to 89 percent after adding a service component. Pittsburgh's OASES program for at-risk 8th graders places nearly 20 percent of its participants on the honor roll.

Service-learning is spreading. The proportion of schools offering academic credit for service has increased from 5.6 percent to 13.5 percent in two years; five school districts in Pennsylvania now require community service for graduation. In all, it is estimated that some 25,000 Pennsylvania students are involved in intensive and well-organized school-based community service.

Youth as resources: Conservation and Service Corps

Many youth seek a more intensive, full-time community service experience. At the same time, there is much community work that needs the concentrated effort that a team of young people can provide. Environmental improvement, housing rehabilitation, cabin and park headquarter construction and elder care are just a few of the types of work undertaken by the more than 10,000 young Pennsylvanians who have served in Pennsylvania's various conservation and service corps in the past 6 years.

Youth corps offer young people the chance to develop the skills of citizenship and employability. Working in groups under the direction of skilled crew leaders, youth corps members learn to work as a team, to be punctual, to show initiative, to carry out instructions and to shoulder responsibility. By completing needed, substantial and highly visible projects, corps members develop self-confidence and know—perhaps for the first time—how it feels to have accomplished something of importance and to have it recognized by others.

PennSERVE's goal is to have a year in a corps become the expected pattern of growing up in Pennsylvania. In the near term the program aims to provide opportunities for 10,000 young Pennsylvanians to serve each year. PennSERVE's current efforts include:

Pennsylvania Conservation Corps: PennSERVE administers the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps (PCC), the second-largest statewide corps program in the country. Since 1984, 9,000 PCC corpsmembers have undertaken some 450 conservation, recreation and historic preservation projects throughout the Commonwealth. PCC has improved 18,000 acres of forest lands, 30 miles of streams and 2,500 acres of wildlife habitat; built or renovated 4,600 miles of trails, 349 state park cabins and 417 picnic areas; rehabilitated 22 historic buildings and a nineteenth-century sailing ship; and plant-

ed 150,000 trees. Every dollar invested in the corps produces over \$1.30 in completed projects. But the larger value of the Corps lies in giving lives dignity and purpose. All corpsmembers were unemployed when they joined the Corps; nearly 50 percent had not completed high school; nearly 20 percent were on public assistance. After a term in the Corps, one-third of all corpsmembers move directly into outside jobs.

Local Corps: PennSERVE has provided financial and technical assistance to eight municipalities for the creation of new, locally operated youth corps that will serve as integral parts of youth development in their communities. It is expected that 400 youth will serve in local full-time corps in 1991-92.

Summer Corps: PennSERVE has worked closely with the Bureau of Job Training Partnership and the Pennsylvania Service Delivery Areas to restructure the Summer Youth Employment and Training Program into the Summer Youth Service Corps, an effort attracting national attention and emulation. During the summer of 1990, more than 1,000 young people were enrolled in 100 summer corps.

All Pennsylvanians

PennSERVE devotes much of its time and resources to youth, but its mandate is to "ask and enable ALL Pennsylvanians to serve." PennSERVE works closely with like-minded organizations, including the Pennsylvania and National Volunteer Centers, the Pennsylvania Association for Volunteerism, the United Way of Pennsylvania and the Citizen Service Project of Pennsylvania. PennSERVE functions as an advocate for volunteering and an information center for volunteer activities in the state. PennSERVE co-sponsors an annual statewide conference on volunteering with the Pennsylvania Association for Volunteerism, and distributes information through newsletters, articles in journals and through phone contacts.

For further information contact:

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United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 102^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 138

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, MAY 12, 1992

No. 65

Senate

BEYOND THE RIOTS AND THE RHETORIC: YOUNG PEOPLE ARE THE CHALLENGE AND THE SOLUTION

Mr. WOFFORD. Mr. President, a week ago Sunday, from dawn until dusk, I was in the streets of south-central Los Angeles. I saw the burned-out stores, smelled the smoke, and talked with the people. With pastors and parishioners, with high school students, with young black professionals, with police and National Guardsmen, with volunteers cleaning the streets.

Today for a few minutes I want to be this body's firsthand reporter, to describe the scene. Then I will give some reflections on how we got to this point in our country. And finally, I will propose a different way of viewing this crisis and issue a challenge to leadership at all levels of society, including this body. A challenge to act to make the thousand points of light the reality of the years to come, not the thousand fires of Los Angeles.

Like all Americans who turned on their TV's weekend ago, in Los Angeles I saw the worst and the best of our country:

The fear and anger in the faces of Korean-Americans standing guard in front of stores already stripped of even light fixtures; African-American families in their Sunday best going into churches without electricity; Hispanic-Americans in line for groceries in the only store open in their neighborhood; white couples in Hollywood and out Wilshire Boulevard in semi-shock that this time the fires were set on their side of the freeway; weary and worried National Guardsmen no older than the rioters they were sent to control.

I saw miles of Los Angeles that had the look of Third World cities I have seen smoldering under police or army rule—or how I imagine a capital city would look in the middle of a coup.

Old graffiti was being painted out at one corner while new graffiti was being sprayed on at another, with Los Angeles Police Department SWAT team members looking across their guns at the most frequent slogan on the walls: "Kill the LAPD."

An unconcerned young man moved away as we neared the graffiti he had just tagged on the last wall of a burned-out block. It was only his nickname to show he had been there.

"He's a gang leader," said my guide, Tracy Robinson, a specialist on the gangs that he said had enlisted 90,000 young people—and caused hundreds of gang-related deaths the previous year.

Tracy Robinson, my Virgil-for-the-day on this tour of hell and purgatory in Los Angeles, told how he, an administrator in the city attorney's office, had often been stopped and hassled by police, even sometimes when he was in an official city car—suspected of stealing the car because he was black. Tracy and his organization of young black professionals with whom I talked were among the best I met in that city named for "the angles."

They were arguing about the long-term needs of their community, but also ready to work alongside men and women of all colors and cultural backgrounds who were clearing the debris in small teams all that long Sunday.

With shovels and brooms thousands of volunteer citizens had responded to the call of Edward James Olmos to join him at 6 a.m. at First and Broadway. The star of "Stand and Deliver,"

"American Me." and "Miami Vice" had driven to TV station after station, issuing an appeal to join in cleaning up the mess caused by the fire and then cleaning up the mess that caused the fire. "I'm just using my medium," he told me as we walked along Broadway early Sunday morning.

That is enough, for now, to set the scene. Except this: I had seen it before. Twenty-seven years ago, I walked the streets of Watts after the terrible riots of 1965 engulfed that section of south-central Los Angeles.

Then, as now, I went to see for myself and to understand first hand. I saw the same burned-out shells, smelled the same smoke, heard the same stories from owners of looted stores. Then, and now again, the refrain from the sixties' song "When will we ever learn?" rang in my head.

I remember the testimony of my wise and good friend Kenneth Clark to the 1968 Kerner Commission on Civil Disorder. On rereading the report of the Commission on the 1919 riot in Chicago, Clark told the Commission that it was—

As if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of 1935, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of 1943, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot.

Ken Clark said it was as if—

The same moving picture were being re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction.

And I remembered a prophetic witness who predicted that 25 years from then we would be reading the report of another Commission.

It is certainly not another Commission that we need today. Nor is the analysis I will present the same. But this time, we must agree on action—on bipartisan action, on Presidential and congressional action, on Federal, State and local action, on public and private action. I believe the crisis has grown to such proportions that we may at last be moved to that action. And I'm glad that the President and congressional leaders are meeting today to begin the job.

We face a crisis of our cities, to be sure. Also one of race and of law and order. But most importantly, I believe it is a crisis of our young people. Let me speak briefly about each.

In California, just before driving to Los Angeles, I heard Mayor Raymond Flynn of Boston present the agenda for action of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, and I discussed with him how we might help in the Senate. He will be here this week, along with Mayor Ed Rendell of Philadelphia, with whom Senator SPECTER and I met yesterday.

There is an urban crisis, caused in part by the sharp cutbacks of Federal and State funds going to our major cities, by the loss of manufacturing industries and the jobs they provide, and by the disintegration of the urban tax base. I have long supported the idea of urban enterprise zones to help counteract these trends, and I will work with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to enable such enterprise zones to be created in all our major cities.

And I favor action to replace public housing units with home ownership. I hope Jack Kemp and the Presidential program he talks about will produce the flood of credit and capital to the inner city he predicts. I will believe it when I see it.

In Los Angeles last week, when a surgeon was telling me on the steps of the Second Baptist Church that throwing money at the problem was not as important as getting a new vision—a new way of viewing the problem—the Reverend William Epps turned on him and said, "If the S&L's need hundreds of billions of dollars, and the Russians need billions, we sure do need money—for our cities and our people here at home." They are both right.

So let us indeed turn to the needs of the cities, and let us listen to the mayors, and above all let us hope the President meets with the mayors and leaders of business who will need to invest most of the flood of capital and credit required. With the cold war over and the adversary against which we have poured trillions of dollars over 40 years gone, who dare say that there cannot be major savings in military spending, some of which can be invested in meeting the needs of our cities?

Some steps, such as the prompt provision of emergency Small Business Administration loans to rebuild the looted or burned-out businesses and some SBA loans to businesses in other cities that have been ravaged by the

recession can have an early impact. But most urban economic development programs are long-term investments and will take a long time to yield their full dividends.

Today I want to point most of all and most hopefully to the need for action—and to the possibilities for effective action—to deal with the crisis of the young. Here, too, Federal, State and local governments and the private sector will need to make major investments in the education and training of our human capital.

But first of all it is not more money that is most needed, but a new approach, a new analysis, and a new plan of action.

By focusing today on the young, I do not mean to discount the factor of racial discrimination, dramatized by the beating of Rodney King and the verdict of the Simi Valley jury. Or the need for the enforcement of law and order, to protect the rights of Rodney King and the citizens of Koreatown alike. Our new definition of national security in the post-cold war must begin with security for the American people in their own streets.

After going to Howard Law School in 1950 in order to become a part of the civil rights movement and working in that field, off and on, most of the years since then, I have some understanding of the depth of racial prejudice, the difficulty of overcoming it, and the disappointments along the way.

But after a half-century of struggle and a decade of nonviolent direct action, we did overcome the walls of legally enforced segregation and the barriers to black Americans voting in one-third of our country. That is part of our history, too—a success story of democratic action, albeit belated—but a success that cannot be taken away.

The right to vote and the end of segregation laws were the primary goals Martin Luther King set out to reach. He got to that mountaintop but found the Promised Land still far away, over other peaks of a whole range of mountains yet to be crossed. When he was killed, Martin Luther King was just trying to move up the next steep slope—the mountain of poverty in our cities, the mountain of class mixed with race, the mountain we have not climbed.

In one of my last conversations with Martin Luther King, he raised the possibility of persuading the people of one of the Nation's worst slums to openly, deliberately, peacefully walk out of that slum and, at a publicly stated time, set it afire. To set a blaze that would sear the conscience of the country. And to go to jail for doing this and stay in jail until the country acted.

I doubt he would have gone that far, but he was wrestling with the terrible challenge of urban poverty and the inner city. He had met his worst defeat in the streets of Chicago. But he was going on, to Memphis and the Poor People's March. Who knows how far we would have come in this last quarter of a century if Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy, and John Kennedy had not been killed? But I do believe we would have done better.

And I know that if we do not do better in the years at hand, the Commission report 5 or 10 years from now will tell of whole metropolitan areas in which the affluent minority is walled in behind armed guards, leaving the majority of their fellow citizens.

In any case, the fire has come this time, and the one thing we know is that Martin Luther King's message, when fires were set violently in his day, was not "Burn, baby, burn." But "Learn, baby learn."

What did I learn in Los Angeles? First of all, that this is not just a crisis of cities, or of race. It is first and foremost a crisis of our young people.

In his Paradise Baptist Church, Pastor A.D. Iverson sat in his dark study without electricity, with two candles flickering on the table, pressing the point that not all the rioters were black or Hispanic, but all were young.

We are losing our young, he said, to alienation, hopelessness, frustration, and anger, to the epidemic of crack cocaine, to the gangs that replace family, church, or any other institution that instills the values of responsible citizenship and productive workmanship.

"This was a wake-up call," Reverend Iverson said. "Pray God we don't press the snooze button." The lack of good education, the lack of challenging work or good jobs for which they are

ready, the lack of constructive alternatives and opportunities for the young was the crux of the problem, the pastor said.

That point was hammered home over and over again all day. It was made in a different way by some 30 high school students from all over the area who met with me in the late afternoon for a long anguished session, packed in a small living room. They were volunteers in student community service programs based in Los Angeles high schools, sponsored by the Constitutional Rights Foundation. They worked in teams. They took action on some of the problems of their community. They learned responsibility by taking it; citizenship by doing it. Their purpose was to serve, not to be served.

The cause of the alienation among their peers, the students told me, was the sense that the young had no way to participate in society, no way to do something important, no alternative form of action than the excitement and camaraderie of the street gangs.

Those high school students, and many of the older people with whom I talked, pointed to the whole process of coming of age in America today. With vivid evidence, they spoke of the need for early childhood education for all, beginning with prenatal care, good day care and Head Start. They liked the idea of using summers, to get challenging experience either in intensive Upward Bound learning, or in Outward Bound in the wilderness, or in effective apprenticeship work, or in well-organized, demanding community service corps.

They said they would enlist for a year or more of full-time community or national service after high school, together with other young people from all backgrounds, if well organized projects were available and if their living expenses could be paid.

Some wanted an educational bonus for such service, to help them go through college. Others argued that there should be no special benefits—just a living allowance and a chance to do something to change and improve their communities: to tutor younger kids, to care for senior citizens, to fight graffiti, to reclaim neighborhoods from drug dealers, to be supplementary community police, to repair parks, to rehabilitate homes for the poor.

In any case, they wanted to stop being viewed as the enemy or as a danger and begin to be viewed as a resource—as talent ready, earlier than people might think, to make a difference. They urged that organized service projects begin very young, in elementary schools.

The clue to what to do, the path to which I want to point today, was best put to me a few years ago by a young high school dropout, this time in Philadelphia. He had gone from a street gang into the Philadelphia Youth Service Corps. I do not remember whether he was homebuilding with the Habitat project or on the team renovating a Revolutionary War fort on the banks of the Delaware River.

But when I asked him why he had enlisted in the corps, he first said it was a better gang than the one he left behind: It did some good, it had different kinds of people in it. It was leading somewhere up and off the streets, and it would not end in being killed. I pressed him further and he said something like this:

Look, all my life people have been coming to do good against me. I got tired of people trying to help me all the time. This Corps asked me to do the helping. I'm doing something now, I'm making a difference, I'm in action.

Where does this lead? It leads past the fruitless bickering about the sixties and jumps back to the thirties for some light on what worked in the Great Depression and where we went wrong. What worked was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) that enlisted more than a million young unemployed Americans in residential, army-run camps in or on the edge of our parks and forests.

The corpsmembers of the CCC were challenged to achieve big goals. Their success in later years proved that the qualities of productive workers and good citizens are much the same: initiative, responsibility, and teamwork.

What worked with FDR was work—not the dole, not welfare, but work, both in the CCC and in the Works Progress Administration. The young men of the CCC transformed our parks and forests and then graduated into the National Service of World War II. More importantly, they transformed themselves. Just as the GI bill after that war was one of the best investments America ever made, so was the Civilian Conservation Corps.

After World War II, the CCC was forgotten, until the war on poverty was being planned by Sargent Shriver in the sixties. The proposed residential Job Corps had some of the elements of the CCC, and it has proved worthwhile. But it did not have the central idea of service and it has reached only a fraction of the young who need that kind of intensive education and job training outside the distractions of their urban slums.

When I was helping Sargent Shriver plan the war on poverty we envisioned a million strong volunteers in service to America—the Peace Corps comes home. But VISTA never passed the 10,000 volunteers mark.

When the war in Vietnam consumed the attention and resources of the country, the idea of asking all young American to serve for a year as volunteers, for the rebuilding and education of America was trampled under by the fight over the draft and a war that divided our Nation against itself. But the idea of large-scale, voluntary national service has been turned up again by the harsh logic of events that came to a climax in Los Angeles.

On another occasion, I will present in detail the way I would propose that we proceed. For today, let me salute the Congress for enacting the National and Community Service Act of 1990. That creative law, supported by Republicans as well as Democrats, has laid the foundation for the rebirth of the CCC and of other forms of effective youth service corps.

Such corps, in which the corpsmembers serve, earn, and learn are an important part of the answer to the crisis of the young. More than 60 such corps are in operation today around the country. Pennsylvania is proud to lead the way with the largest number of youth corps of all kinds. Every city, every community can develop one or more.

There have been enough pilot programs to prove that this approach works in the 1990's as the CCC worked in the 1930's. The time has come for the pilots to ignite the whole furnace. That is where we must help.

The Commission on National and Community Service should, with our support and the President's support, convene the appropriate leaders of business, labor, education, and government, and especially youth leaders

themselves, to agree upon a strategy for the development of a nationwide, decentralized system of voluntary community service.

Before coming together, they should do some homework. They should read Arthur Ashe's proposal in last Sunday's Washington Post, "Can a New 'Army' Save our Cities? With Discipline and Training, Our Alienated Young Could Find New Lives."

They should read William Buckley's book, "Gratitude: Reflections on the Debt We Owe Our Country," and the articles and reviews which I ask unanimous consent to be printed in the Record at the end of my remarks, including the findings and recommendations of the Commission on the Study of National Service, which Jacqueline Grennan Wexler and I co-chaired in the late 1970's.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. WOFFORD. Mr. President, this is one idea that transcends politics, that goes beyond left or right, that draws on the liberal agenda and the conservative agenda at the same time. It is an idea that brings Arthur Ashe and SAM NUNN, Bill Buckley and Bill Clinton, Marian Wright Edelman and Father Hesburgh, BARBARA MIKULSKI, and General Schwarzkopf together on the same platform.

Work not welfare is now self-evident truth and we know we can begin applying this principle to the young. We understand that personal responsibility and self-esteem cannot simply be taught; they have to be earned.

It is a scandal that we know this but sit by while another generation of inner-city young people drop out of school, or graduate from school into the streets, joblessness, drugs, and the dependency systems of welfare or prison. And it is a scandal that a society with children who need care, roads that need repair, bridges that need building is allowing and sometimes paying able men and women to sit idle. It is a scandal, too, that we do not challenge the college-bound to move beyond a self-centered life of civic indifference.

Is this a liberal or conservative idea? It does not matter. We agree on it, so let us act together. In cities across our country 10-year-olds point loaded guns

at each other's heads. It is time for Congress and the White House to stop pointing fingers at each others policies. It is time to sit together around a table and hammer out solutions that do work, instead of wasting time and money on those that do not.

It is time to recognize that saving a generation of young people goes beyond ideology, and end the artificial debate over whether programs are liberal or conservative, Democrat or Republican—another round of fixing blame instead of fixing problems.

In our hearts and in our minds we know why angry, jobless, hopeless young people burn, and loot their own communities. We do not need another commission, another study, another pilot program. We need action. Immediate and sustained action.

So let us begin. Let us begin at the place where we most agree. Let us commit ourselves to saving another generation of young people by engaging them in the hard work of building their own communities, starting with the rebuilding of Los Angeles by the young of Los Angeles. Let us challenge and enable and empower them to do so. For the young are not only the crux of the problem, they offer the best hope for progress in our cities and in our country.

Mr. President, I close with the warning Robert Kennedy gave, the day after Martin Luther King was killed. He warned us not—

To look at our brothers as aliens, men with whom we share a city, but not a community, men bound to us in common dwelling, but not in common effort.

Our lives on this planet are too short and the work to be done too great to let this spirit flourish any longer in our land. Of course we cannot vanquish it with a program, nor with a resolution. But we can perhaps remember—even if only for a time—that those who live with us are our brothers, that they seek—as we do—nothing but the chance to live out their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction, and fulfillment they can.

Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men and surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to

become in our own hearts, brothers and countrymen once again.

Mr. President, that is not a liberal or a conservative idea, a Democratic or a Republican idea, a Presidential or a congressional idea, but it is an idea whose time has come.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington Post, May 10, 1992]

CAN A NEW "ARMY" SAVE OUR CITIES?

(By Arthur Ashe)

Once again, seething, residual anger has burst forth in an American city. And the riots that overtook Los Angeles 10 days ago were a reminder of what knowledgeable observers have been saying for a quarter-century: America will continue paying a high price in civil and ethnic unrest unless the nation commits itself to programs that help the urban poor lead productive and respectable lives.

Once again, a proven program is worth pondering: national service.

Somewhat akin to the military training that generations of American males received in the armed forces, a 1990s version would prepare thousands of unemployable and undereducated young adults for quality lives in our increasingly global and technology-driven economy. National service opportunities would be available to any who needed it and, make no mistake, the problems are now so structural, so intractable, that any solution will require massive federal intervention.

In his much-quoted book, "The Truly Disadvantaged," sociologist William Julius Wilson wrote that "only a major program of economic reform" will prevent the riot-prone urban underclass from being permanently locked out of American economic life. Today, we simply have no choice. The enemy within and among our separate ethnic selves is as daunting as any foreign foe.

Families rent apart by welfare dependency, job discrimination and intense feelings of alienation have produced minority teenagers with very little self-discipline and little faith that good grades and the American work ethic will pay off. A military-like environment for them with practical domestic objectives could produce startling results.

Military service has been the most successful career training program we've ever known, and American children born in the years since the all-volunteer Army was instituted make up a large proportion of this targeted group. But this opportunity may disappear forever if too many of our military bases are summarily closed and converted or sold to the private sector. The facilities, manpower, traditions, and capacity are already in place.

Don't dismantle it; rechannel it.

Discipline is a cornerstone of any responsible citizen's life. I was taught it by my father, who was a policeman. Many of the rioters have never had any at all. As an athlete and former Army officer, I know that discipline can be learned. More importantly, it must be learned or it doesn't take hold.

A precedent for this approach was the Civilian Conservation Corps that worked so well during the Great Depression. My father enlisted in the CCC as a young man with an elementary school education and he learned invaluable skills that served him well throughout his life. The key was that a job was waiting for him when he finished. The certainty of that first entry-level position is essential if severely alienated young minority men and women are to keep the faith.

We all know these are difficult times for the public sector, but here's a chance to add energetic and able manpower to America's workforce. They could be prepared for the world of work or college—an offer similar to that made to returning GIs after World War II. It would be a chance for 18- to 21-year-olds to live among other cultures, religions, races and in different geographical areas. And these young people could be taught to rally around common goals and friendships that evolve out of pride in one's squad, platoon, company, battalion—or commander.

We saw such images during the Persian Gulf War and during the NCAA Final Four basketball games. In military life and competitive sports, this camaraderie doesn't just happen; it is taught and learned in an atmosphere of discipline and earned mutual respect for each other's capabilities.

Ethnic hatred, like that portrayed in Los Angeles, is also taught and learned.

A national service program would also help overcome two damaging perceptions held by America's disaffected youth: that society just doesn't care about minority youngsters and that one's personal best efforts will not be rewarded in our discriminatory job market. Harvard professor Robert Reich has opined that urban social ills are so pervasive that the upper 20 percent of Americans—that "fortunate fifth" as he calls them—have decided quietly to "secede" from the bottom four-fifths, and the lowest fifth in particular. We cannot countenance such estrangement on a permanent basis. And what better way to answer skeptics from any group than by certifying the technical skills of graduates from a national service training program?

Now, we must act decisively to forestall future urban unrest. Republicans must put aside their aversion to funding programs aimed at certain cultural groups. Democrats must forget labels and nomenclature and recognize that a geographically isolated subgroup of Americans—their children in particular—need systematic and substantive assistance for at least another 20 years.

The ethnic taproots of minority Americans are deeply buried in a soil of faith and fealty to traditional values. With its accent on discipline, teamwork, conflict resolution, personal responsibility and marketable skills development, national service can provide both the training and that vital first job that will reconnect these Americans to the rest of us. Let's do it now before the fire next time.

YOUTH AND THE NEEDS OF THE NATION

(Report of the Committee for the Study of National Service, the Potomac Institute)

FOREWORD

This report examines two major national problems and outlines a program of service that would attack both at once.

One of these problems is the predicament of America's young people. Alarming numbers of them are unemployed—worse yet, unoccupied. Many, especially those from minority and impoverished backgrounds, reciprocate society's disregard for them with a like disregard for the claims of society. Even among those materially better off, many are either aimless or preoccupied with narrow self-interest.

The other problem is the host of needs in our society that go untended. These needs are of many sorts. They range from caring for the sick and elderly to repairing our abused physical environment. What they all have in common is that they are dealt with inadequately, if at all, by business or government.

How can the unused energies and talents of American youth best be directed to critical needs of the nation that are going begging? And how, in that process, can the idea of service gain new currency among all elements of our population? When Jacqueline Wexler and Harris Wofford asked the Potomac Institute to sponsor a study of these questions, to be directed by a committee of interested and knowledgeable persons, the Institute readily agreed. The Ford Foundation provided basic support for the study and publication of its results. Additional assistance—including grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, the Field Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the J. M. Kaplan Fund, the New World Foundation, and the Charles H. Revson Foundation—has made possible follow-up activities by the Committee and its Study Director, designed to promote widespread consideration and debate of the issues. The statements made and the views expressed in the report are solely the responsibility of the Committee and its Study Director. They invite the criticisms and suggestions of every reader.

The Report consists of two distinct, though closely related, parts. The first is a summary of the findings and recommenda-

tions on which the Committee, after vigorous discussion and debate, reached general agreement; it is supplemented by a description of the Committee and its work.

The second part of the report is a paper by Study Director Roger Landrum that presents background information relevant to the consideration of National Service, as well as his own thoughtful analysis of the central issues.

The aim of the report as a whole is not to put forward an immutable blueprint of a National Service program as conceived by the Committee. Rather, it is to lay out the main issues and the Committee's collective thinking about them in such a way as to help generate widespread, intelligent public discussion of alternative possibilities. To the extent that that aim is realized, the effort will have been a success.

HAROLD C. FLEMING,
President, The Potomac Institute.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

Until the spirit of service is restored among American citizens, the most pressing human problems of our society will not be solved. The full participation of youth in National Service could be a powerful force in meeting the needs of the nation and in strengthening the spirit of service. Today, little is asked of young people except that they be consumers of goods and services. A vast industry serves youth with schooling, entertainment, and goods of all kinds, but there are limited opportunities for the young themselves to produce goods and serve others.

Anyone who pays taxes or deals with bureaucracy or has been disappointed with government programs can think of arguments against the idea of universal National Service for young people: it wouldn't work well, it would cost too much, it would create a new bureaucracy, and it would inhibit individual liberty.

The Committee has considered these arguments and weighed the difficulties against the gains that could result from enlisting the energy and talent of young people in effective service to society. We have concluded that the nation's social, economic, educational, environmental, and military needs, including the need of young people to serve and be productive, and the need of our society to regain a sense of service, together make a compelling case for moving toward universal service for American youth.

The Committee calls for the country to move toward universal service by stages and by incentives but without compulsion. One early but not continuing member of the Committee—Stuart Symington—who has long favored universal military service, presented a strong argument for a mandatory National Service system. Only with a universal system, he thinks, would the gains be worth the cost; without compulsory military service he believes the armed forces will not be able to maintain the levels required for

national security at a price the nation can afford. He was therefore unable to join in the Committee's recommendations, particularly number 11, calling for the development of a voluntary system while further consideration is given to the idea of making National Service mandatory.

A number of members of the Committee, including the co-chairmen, agree with Mr. Symington that mandatory service for all young people could make the maximum contribution to meeting the nation's military and non-military needs, and believe that it would be good for such service to become a regular and required part of growing up in America. But they do not think this will be politically feasible unless it becomes clear to the Congress and the country that the armed forces require the reinstitution of a draft—or until the large-scale voluntary service proposed in this report has proved itself and persuaded the American people to go all the way to universal service. Other Committee members oppose a mandatory system on grounds of administrative and political practicality, or constitutional and personal principle. Further points in this central argument about National Service are reported in the Committee's Findings and Recommendations below and in Roger Landrum's background study.

The following recommendations and the reasons that led to them (including that one important disagreement) are offered as a contribution to the national study and debate that this far-reaching idea requires.

1. All young people should be challenged to serve full-time for one or more years in meeting the needs of the nation and the world community.

2. A system for National Service should be established to provide opportunities so that at least a year of such service after leaving secondary or higher education can become a common expectation of young people. Year-by-year the system should find, encourage, and develop a variety of new opportunities for civilian service—in the home community, in national parks, in other parts of the country, and overseas—so that before long participation in either civilian or military National Service will be as generally accepted as going to high school.

3. In moving toward universal service, the system should aim to enlist at each stage a representative cross-section of American young people, drawing into work together men and women from all regions, races, and backgrounds. Though difficult to carry out, this functional integration of Americans should be an essential operating principle of the system.

4. National Service should be organized so as to enable young people to help meet the real economic, social, and educational needs of the nation in the most economical and effective ways. It should expand only to the extent the service of young people is effectively helping to meet those needs. The administrative structure should emphasize decentralization and result in the smallest feasible government bureaucracy with the

strongest possible ties to the private and voluntary sectors of American society, including business, labor, charitable, and religious organizations.

5. All the present government programs of full-time civilian service, such as VISTA, the Peace Corps, and the Young Adult Conservation Corps, should be included among the options in the new system of National Service. Another option could be individual or small-team arrangements with private or public agencies in local communities on the pattern demonstrated by the ACTION project in Seattle. Private programs, such as those approved by Selective Service for alternative service by conscientious objectors during conscription, should also be included if they can offer at least a year of full-time service. In addition, the system should develop—or assist in the development of—new programs that make effective use of young men and women in essential areas of community and national need.

6. Each of the programs to be included should plan and administer the work of the young men and women in National Service so as to achieve a substantially increased contribution to meeting one or more of the nation's needs. Those responsible for schools, day-care centers, tutoring programs, programs for the elderly, hospitals, community health centers, institutions for the retarded and for the mentally ill, prisons and juvenile detention centers, neighborhood associations, city, county, and national agencies for conservation, renovation, and energy-saving, and efforts to deal with disasters of nature—and other service agencies—should be asked:

What could you do better to meet your present goals if you had the full-time service of a substantial number of young people? What larger goals could you then set? Precisely how would you utilize the service of such young people? What training and supervision would be required?

The same invitation to the imagination should be put to business, labor, and religious groups who might be ready to organize and sponsor new programs of National Service.

7. National Service should not be seen as job-training or work programs for the unemployed but as a supplement to, or, for some young people, an alternative to such programs. Those in National Service should find the experience of serving under the supervision and discipline of private or government agencies a practical form of career exploration; in many cases the training and work of National Service could be viewed as internships and apprenticeships. Notwithstanding the differences of approach and purpose between National Service and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (including the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects), there should be careful coordination. In some cases, young

people in job-training programs might move thereafter into one or two years of National Service; in other cases, young people completing National Service might benefit by one of these training or job-placement programs.

8. The terms of National Service should reflect the fact that service is being rendered. Following the precedents of the Peace Corps and VISTA, the general rule during service should be a reasonable living allowance. Though these modest cash stipends would be important to young people seeking not to be dependent on their families, especially those who are poor, for more affluent youth the amount will seem like very little and part of the challenge will be learning to live on less. Citizens, in turn, would be gaining new services at low cost.

9. One of the incentives for participants should be appropriate post-service educational and employment benefits along the lines of the G.I. Bill of Rights and the Peace Corps readjustment allowance, apportioned according to the length of service. Not all such benefits need to be provided by the government. In making hiring decisions, the private business sector as well as government at all levels should consider giving appropriate weight to an applicant's National Service. Colleges and universities should give such service weight in admissions decisions at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. In these ways, society could place value on the experience and reinforce the concept of service as an obligation of citizenship.

10. While engaged in National Service, the participants should be encouraged to continue their education. In addition to the learning-by-doing of apprenticeship, once the main form of American education, they might take a variety of available extension courses or attend night school, as further preparation for a career and for more general education. The staff of the National Service system should seek to initiate and assist a variety of educational activities among participants: English-speaking and Spanish-speaking young people could learn to tutor each other in oral language skills; college-trained participants could tutor high school dropouts in basic skills or subjects they lack; the central literature of the American tradition could be read and discussed.

11. The nation should seek effective ways to provide the opportunities for service from all its citizens, and should ask the young to participate at some point after age 18, but it is not necessary now to decide whether the nation should require such service. During the gradual development of a voluntary system, the idea of mandatory service can be carefully considered. If it should be determined that the needs of national defense call for the restoration of the military draft, at that point the case for

mandatory universal service, including non-military options, would be very strong.

12. Military enlistment should be recognized as a form of National Service, and service should be re-emphasized as the central mission of the military. A growing expectation of service should improve the climate for all volunteering, and thus aid the armed forces in attracting young people without having to offer over-higher compensation and benefits.

13. To assist young people in choosing the best form of National Service, service councils should be established in each community, composed of citizens with experience in voluntary service, education, business, labor, and religious organizations. Members would be appointed nationally and serve without pay. The councils might well be located in underutilized facilities in local high schools. They would provide information and counseling on the various opportunities for service. The history of local boards in the Selective Service System and the experience of the new community Education and Work Councils should be reviewed in determining the procedures for selection and operation of local service councils.

14. After age 16 and before leaving high school, all young people should be urged to visit a local service council, and the councils should hold open meetings in schools. In addition to giving up-to-date information on National Service opportunities, the councils should be well-informed about job-training and public service jobs available through other federal programs, and about opportunities in the armed forces.

15. Establishing the National Service system as a public corporation, chartered and funded by Congress but drawing its leadership largely from the private sector of American society, seems to us the most promising course. Innovative structures in both the private and public sectors should be examined, including the American Red Cross, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Peace Corps, and the administration of the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights. The National Service system should be empowered to set overall guidelines and criteria for funding and monitoring the various programs in which young people may serve; to initiate and administer some programs directly itself; and to establish a network of local service councils for information and counseling. Its charter must give it appropriate flexibility.

16. The system of full-time National Service for youth should be connected in all appropriate ways to the voluntary service of older citizens and of students who are in secondary schools or colleges so that the spirit of service, whether full-time or part-time, paid or unpaid, is strengthened throughout all parts of American life and among all ages.

Case for national service

The Background Study by Roger Landrum gives many of the facts and factors that caused the Committee to come to the above consensus. In summary, our reasons for these recommendations are as follows:

For the young who were called to serve in the armed forces during World War II, such service was a "rite of passage" from adolescence into adulthood. The Peace Corps and VISTA have also given a number of young people the chance to prove themselves in situations calling for hard work, imagination, and responsibility. But for most young people today the lack of any challenging experience away from home and outside the classroom that stretches and tests them in the service of their community or their country makes that passage very difficult. Indeed, the problem may even begin in the home, where children are no longer so often required to undertake regular chores and do necessary work in the house, in the yard, or on the farm.

Some period for action in the larger community, before commitment to a career, appears to be desirable for a substantial proportion of students leaving high school or college. They feel the need to explore careers and discover more about themselves in the world beyond the school room and away from their families. However, when it is mainly a period of frustration, with little opportunity to be productive, it may only prolong adolescence and promote lives of quiet—or noisy—desperation.

Our modern technological society places such low value on physical labor and has such persistently high rates of youth unemployment that the transition from school to work has become harder than ever. For those who can find no work, it is a transition to walking the streets and waiting for welfare payments. Unemployment at this critical turning point adds to the forces that produce antisocial citizens and, for all too many, alcoholism, drug addiction, crime, and incarceration.

Other roads, not limited to the poor and to disadvantaged minorities, lead in the same direction. Too many sons and daughters of the suburbs are drifting without purpose, and their apathy or self-centeredness is seldom cured by schooling. If pride in the units in which people served was often a source of war-time morale, the lack of social organizations in which many young people can take part with pride is part of the problem today. Even if most young people escape the extreme breakdown feared, the present degree of alienation among youth of all backgrounds has passed the point of safety, for them or for society.

Race and Poverty

Compounding all this is the inescapable factor of race. Plans for school integration and affirmative action in industry, government, and other institutions to the contrary

notwithstanding, racial separation and inequality of opportunity remain facts of national life. Deep-rooted prejudice is reinforced by the culture of poverty into which millions of people are born.

Efforts to improve educational and employment opportunities for disadvantaged minorities and for all the poor are continuing with new federal programs of job training and public service jobs. But the statistics suggest that as the proportion of minority youth in the total population increases, the problem of youth unemployment is also mounting and becoming more intractable. Part of the problem is structural in our economy: Are there enough jobs? A deeper part may be the matter of motivation: Is there the will? How many inner-city youth who are born into poverty and bred in an environment of defeat will respond to the programs designed to help them?

Federal, state, and local, public and private programs for job training and for new job opportunities for youth are necessary. But taken altogether, we do not think that these programs will be sufficient to break the vicious circle of poverty and discrimination among a substantial proportion of minority youth. And since by definition (and by statute, although not always in practice) these programs are targeted on the poor and the unemployed, or on minority youth, they do not break the pattern of segregation and do not pretend to deal with the larger problem we find to exist for practically all American youth: the need to be challenged to serve.

Most existing programs say, in effect, "Here is training or work designed to help you—the poor and the racially disadvantaged—to take you off the streets, to get you a job, to give you a better chance." This is very different from an approach that would say, "We need you and ask you—along with other young people—to serve your community and country in demanding and disciplined work on some of the important problems of our society." The immediate results—in terms of taking unemployed youth off the streets and putting them to work—may be much the same statistically, but we think the psychological impact and lasting results would not be. Having good done for you—or, as it must often feel, to you—is hardly the best way to self-reliance and self-confidence. It is worse if the jobs provided are temporary and seem to be make-work, without much significance. Moreover, some of the programs tend to segregate and thus further to stigmatize those who are already most alienated.

A system of full-time National Service would bring together black and white, rich and poor, young people from the North and South, East and West, city and suburb, small town and farm, those who do not go to college and those who do, and bring them together because their service is needed.

Integration in such a positive and functional setting, for a year or two between age 16 and 25, before the patterns of adult life are set, could have a profound effect on the relation of racial and other groups in this country. Doing hard tasks together, sharing frustrations and successes, being partners in

a common adventure should help break down the barriers between people and lead to better understanding. Working and living together may not make people like each other, but without that experience the distance between them may never be bridged.

Fields of Service

The possible good results of National Service would depend on the quality of the experience while serving and the value of the actual service rendered. The work to be done must be really needed, and efficiently organized. We have no doubt that there is plenty of work that needs to be done on many fronts requiring human service, where with adequate training and supervision young people could make effective contributions. A recent study for the Department of Labor has identified and analyzed the need in more than 100 activities in public service, and estimated that 3 million full-time jobs are called for.

Roger Landrum's Background Study lists the breakdown of activities in considerable detail, and reports some other estimates of service needs. Despite these documented needs, the task of assessing the kinds of National Service most needed and best able to be rendered by young people has just begun.

In determining areas for National Service, the designers of the program will have to ask: What needs to be done about this particular problem that is not now being done, is not likely to be done with existing resources, and could be done successfully by young people working together for one or two years? That process of questioning various social institutions and systems of service should itself be valuable for the country, in setting priorities and promoting better public understanding of our national problems. The young people in National Service will be asking those questions about the work they do and the institutions they serve. They should come out of service with a questioning habit that will serve them and the country in good stead in the years to come.

Our concept of National Service would not be fulfilled simply by recruiting young people to fill public service jobs, letting them live at home, and paying them the minimum wage for a year or two. That would put them in direct competition with regular public service workers and make the experience primarily one of employment, not service. National Service should be different in quality, involving much more of a break from the accustomed worlds of home, school, and work, and making a more innovative contribution to the solution of some of our nation's major problems. In most cases it should involve working in teams and in programs with new goals that National Service participants would help define.

National Service should no doubt include existing programs such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, and the Young Adult Conservation Corps, and encourage those programs to expand substantially. However, the larger part of National Service must be designed

anew if it is to involve a million or more young people. We have not undertaken to complete such a design, but our specific recommendations propose some guidelines. We would give priority to a few areas of most pressing need, where a new form of service could make an important difference. Our nation's inadequate systems of day-care for pre-school children and care for the infirm and aged are two obvious examples; so is the need for special tutoring of many low-achieving elementary and secondary students, both urban and rural, and for renovation and reconstruction of many neighborhoods.

Service, Education, and Employment

To stress the value of service is not to discount the necessity of education and employment as key conditions for anyone's development and as ways of contributing to society. Indeed, we recognize the importance and interdependence of all three. Each relates to and has elements of the other, but the emphases are different. Of the three, modern American society has concentrated on education and employment and neglected service. We think it is time to right that balance.

At least 10 years of classroom education is required of all young people, and many of them go on to 12 or 16 or more years of formal education. If all goes well, they can then look forward to four or five decades of employment. But there are no such large-scale opportunities for full-time service, even for a year or two, except in the military. We think American youth would be better educated and better prepared as workers and citizens if a million or more young people in each group coming of age enlisted for one or two years of full-time civilian National Service.

To recommend such full-time service is not to disparage the part-time service being given by millions of volunteers through civic, charitable, and religious groups. The introduction of National Service should strengthen the whole voluntary service sector. We would expect various voluntary service organizations, both at the national and the local level, to utilize and supervise groups of young people in National Service, and in subsequent years to enlist many of the participants for continuing part-time service.

Similarly, we do not intend to minimize the role of the military—the country's first example of National Service. At present, however, as Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine recruiting brochures vividly display, the all-voluntary armed forces increasingly present themselves as sources of career training and long-term employment in competition with other employers. As the idea of service becomes more widely accepted among the young, the numbers who will choose to serve through the military should increase. Thus the move toward universal National Service should make military recruiting easier, and help restore the tradition of citizen-soldier now giving way to a mercenary system.

We do not suggest that National Service will cure all, or even a large part, of our nation's ills, but it should stimulate other institutions to do more than they are now doing, or do what they are doing better. Schools may be challenged, for instance, to prepare students for National Service by involving them in forms of community service as part of their education; in doing so they would also be making more connections between school and work.

The experience of National Service could alter attitudes toward work in our society by demonstrating the satisfaction that comes from doing well any job that is needed and is valued. By infusing with purpose all the tasks undertaken, no matter how dirty or difficult, National Service should help break down the present hierarchy of values in which so much necessary work is considered degrading. Every program of National Service, under good supervision and leadership, should promote the pride and discipline of work needed throughout everyone's career. Work places, whether in business or in the professions, might find themselves stirred by a new spirit of service that would make the work itself more purposeful, productive, and satisfying.

The quality of citizenship in this country could also be improved if all on a large part of the younger generation experienced National Service. The voting age has been lowered to 18, but little has been done to raise the standards for citizenship or better prepare young people to be active and informed citizens. In National Service the participants would get first-hand knowledge of some of society's needs and learn-by-doing the ways of taking action to meet them.

Self-Interest and the Common Good

There are obstacles on all sides. Perhaps age 17 or 18 is too late if the idea of service is not instilled long before then. Unless a National Service system does in some way include younger students in their early teens—perhaps part-time during school or in summer vacations—the response at a later age may be inadequate. It may be that the narrow sense of self-serving among many young people cannot be overcome until our society as a whole begins to rediscover the common good. The healthy skepticism and individualism self-government needs seems too often now, with the old and the middle-aged as well as the young, to cross the threshold into a cynicism and selfishness that can destroy a society. The reaction to Vietnam and Watergate may still be too heavy a weight for any National Service system to carry.

We hope, however, that the idea of National Service can be a point of entry—a means of breaking that vicious circle of cynicism and selfishness. We are not seeking a pure altruism that seldom exists in this world. The motives behind National Service, both for the people and the government supporting it and for the young who engage in it, will be mixed.

In the most realistic sense, National Service is enlightened self-interest. Volunteers often discover that they gain more than they give. In serving others, they serve themselves. In giving of themselves, they find themselves. We think that a society in which service is valued more highly and is more readily given will itself be healthier and stronger.

Persuasion or Compulsion?

We do not expect our words or anyone's words alone to achieve the fundamental change in national viewpoint required. When the well of words runs dry and rhetoric loses its power, as seems to be the case in our country today, work is a way to restore the spirit. If a system of National Service can be established, the work young people do in it may bring about that restoration, first in their lives and then in the lives of their fellow citizens. If they will try it, we think they and the nation will like it.

Persuading them and the nation to try it is another matter. We are divided on the question of whether or not the program should be compulsory. Some of us favor the adoption of mandatory National Service as soon as the public can be persuaded to support it, although no member of the Committee favors sending anyone to jail who refuses to serve. One purpose of National Service is to diminish the number who go to jail, not increase it. Sanctions such as withholding certain government benefits have been proposed (one member has jokingly but provocatively suggested a novel sanction: denying a driver's license to anyone who declines National Service!).

Only by a mandatory system could we be sure that those who may need the experience most will serve. Some of us think that by making it mandatory the nation could save a significant fraction of its young who may otherwise have little chance of a decent and productive life.

Others of us consider compulsion unacceptable, particularly for the younger generation who would be subject to it, and it may be that compulsory peace-time, non-military service would be held unconstitutional. In a 1977 Gallup Poll on National Service, 70 percent of those over 50 supported compulsory service for men, but about half of those between 18 and 24, who would be most directly affected, opposed it—and more than half of all those polled opposed compulsory service for women.

Those of us who think coercion would not work nevertheless want National Service in due course to include a majority of each generation and favor various incentives such as educational and training benefits and other forms of persuasion. Some of us would also condition a number of federal benefits, for example the present system of educational grants, on completion of a term of National Service. We all want National Service to become accepted as an obligation and opportunity the way most young people

view continuing in high school beyond the age of compulsory attendance.

In his 1910 proposal for National Service, *The Moral Equivalent of War*, William James called for conscription but put his main emphasis on social pressure and the power of persuasion. With "time and education and suggestion enough," he believed that constructive service in peace-time could come to seem "no less imperative" than military service in war. Our specific recommendations leave open the question of compulsion as one of the subjects of the public debate we hope will now begin and as a matter for time and education to determine.

Another question argued is the extent to which National Service should involve living and working outside one's home community. We have agreed that this option should be available, but we differ some on how much it should be emphasized over service in one's own community. The educational value of the long journey, out of one's customary environment, has been demonstrated in many situations. The poverty of spirit in much of affluent America may best be recognized by experiencing the other forms of poverty in inner-city slums; those born in slums may most of all need to discover another America in the national parks or in small towns. Peace Corps Volunteers found that the outsider often has special insight and energy; sometimes it seems as if a volunteer is not without impact save in his own community. On the other hand, there is more continuity in one's work and future career if one stays at home, and certainly the immediate costs are less.

A further open question is the length of service. The Peace Corps requires two years; VISTA, one year. The Committee recommends at least one year but recognizes that where longer training is required or the work calls for a longer commitment, a two-year term would be appropriate.

Questions of Cost

The cost of National Service is a central question we could neither dodge nor fully answer. In this period of budget-cutting, will the people or the Congress or President think it can be afforded? With the pressure for tax cuts, can some new method of financing National Service be devised as an alternative to a substantial addition to the general federal budget? Could there be substantial shifts in the allocation of federal expenditures for education, job training, unemployment compensation, welfare, and military recruiting to reduce the additional costs of National Service?

We can calculate the approximate costs, and point to some of the offsetting cost benefits.

At present price levels, the average total cost for a year of one person's full-time service in non-military programs would range from \$5,000 to \$11,000, depending upon the kind of program. An important variable would be the numbers who serve with local

institutions in their home communities and who serve in other places, and the different living allowances that may be set. There is also the question of post-service educational and training benefits, along the lines of the G.I. Bill of Rights. Another key factor to be determined will be the costs of training, supervision, and administration and how those should be shared by the National Service system and local sponsoring groups. Including training, supervision, and administrative expenses, the average cost of a year of service by a VISTA Volunteer in 1979 is estimated at \$6,700; in the Young Adult Conservation Corps the average cost is \$10,500 (\$9,000 in the non-residential programs and \$11,000 in the residential camps).

Against these costs must be weighed the reductions possible in other expenses. If National Service becomes a more general expectation, the rising cost of recruiting and maintaining the all-volunteer armed forces can be checked and perhaps substantially reduced. With National Service the number of jobs needed to be provided for unemployed youth should be greatly reduced. To the extent that young people come out of National Service more productive and able and willing to work, who might otherwise have spent years unemployed and on welfare—or perhaps in prison—there would be important savings.

But who can count the dollars saved in terms of lives saved? And how do you estimate the cost of leaving great public needs unmet because funds are not available to hire people at standard wages? The cost of trying to meet those needs without National Service would be very high.

A true audit of National Service would therefore need to evaluate the progress made, at relatively low cost, in meeting important community and national needs. It would also need to estimate the cost to the country of not having such a system.

A nation has no greater potential resource than its youth, and National Service may prove to be a vitally necessary way to develop that potential. Since such service appears to us to be a critically missing dimension in the education and development of American young people for an adult life of productive work and good citizenship, we think that the sooner a system of National Service is established, the better for the nation.

ABOUT THE COMMITTEE

(By Jacqueline Grennan Wexler and Harris Wofford)

At the time our unofficial Committee, with one full-time professional director and one secretary, and the volunteer services of 13 members, was completing its study of the idea of National Service, we learned that President Carter has included in the 1979 budget for ACTION a request to Congress for \$3.8 million in research and development funds to study and prepare a plan for a national youth service. That sum dwarfs the total of \$45,000 we received from the Ford

Foundation for our year-long study, and we hope that the new research to be funded will multiply our contribution. The issues are indeed complex, the possibilities great, and much more study and debate is required. Our Committee has identified empirical questions that we would have liked to have had the time and resources to answer, such as the attitudes of young people toward different forms of National Service (including attitudes toward monetary and non-monetary incentives), and the vocational, educational, and developmental benefits derived from various types of service. Detailed analyses of costs, benefits, and possible trade-offs within the federal dollar are also needed.

That the President should ask for such an investment in the development of a plan for National Service is a sign that sparks struck by this idea during recent decades may at last find tinder that is ready. The large sum requested is also a warning sign: If government research and development begins, can government bureaucracy be far behind?

Earlier Efforts

In the Great Depression of the 1930s, the idea of youth service was advanced as an alternative to youth unemployment and the dole. The Civilian Conservation Corps came into being, with a Camp William James, but all the youth programs of the New Deal put together fell far short of universal National Service.

After World War II several private ventures were initiated, especially for service in developing nations, and bills began to be proposed in Congress for a federally-funded overseas youth service. Then John Kennedy, spurred by students at the University of Michigan, promised that if elected he would establish a Peace Corps. Sargent Shriver shaped the program, created one of the most unbureaucratic agencies in history, won the support of Republicans and Democrats, Conservatives and Liberals alike in the Senate and House, and hundreds of thousands of young people volunteered in its first years. However, the Peace Corps, even at its height of 15,000 Volunteers overseas, most of them college graduates, reached a very small fraction of the nearly 4 million young people turning 18 each year. Even adding the thousands who enlisted in the War on Poverty as Volunteers in Service To America (VISTA), and others in private programs, young people involved in full-time service were relatively few in number and not a very representative cross-section.

Drawing on this experience, in 1965 President Johnson proposed that the nation "search for new ways" through which "every young American will have the opportunity—and feel the obligation—to give at least a few years of his or her life to the service of others in the nation and in the

world."¹ In that same era of social invention and high hopes, the Secretary General of the United Nations also declared he was "looking forward to the time when the average youngster—and parent or employer—will consider one or two years of work for the cause of development, either in a far-away country or in a depressed area of his own community, as a normal part of one's education."²

¹ Lyndon B. Johnson, University of Kentucky, Feb. 22, 1965. In signing the 1966 Peace Corps Act, the President repeated his hope that the search would "develop a manpower service program for young people which could work at every level to transform our society," and lead to the day "when some form of voluntary service . . . is as common in America as going to school."

² U. Thant to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Geneva, July 5, 1968. There was also the May 18, 1966, proposal by secretary of Defense Robert McNamara that we move toward universal service "by asking every young person in the United States to give one or two years of service to his country—whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad" (address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Montreal, Canada, and reprinted in R. S. McNamara, *The Essence of Security*, New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

By 1968 the war in Vietnam and the cumulative effect of the assassinations of John and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr., had cast a heavy cloud. Opposition to the war, resistance to military service, and cynicism about political leadership dimmed the prospect of getting the consent of young people for a program of universal service. In the aftermath of Watergate, the disclosures of corruption and abuse of power accentuated anti-government attitudes. The Seventies began with a spirit far removed from "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

A New Opportunity

Nearly a decade later, with the war behind us, with new pressures from youth unemployment and the unmet needs in every community, the logic of events again seems to be pointing toward National Service. President Carter says that universal National Service with non-military options should be considered if a military draft again becomes necessary.³ After reviewing the costs and other problems of the all-volunteer military service, Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, on the Armed Services Committee, called for the study of such a universal service system. A 1977 Gallup Poll reported that two persons in three would support a law requiring all young men to give a year of service either in the military forces or in non-military work here or abroad, such as in VISTA or the Peace Corps. George Gallup concluded that "few programs that President Jimmy Carter could introduce would have such broad public approval. . . ."

As two of those who had been involved in early discussions of plans for National Service in the mid-1960s while working together in the Peace Corps, we decided in the summer of 1977 to test the possibility that the time for serious consideration of the idea by the American people may be at hand.

We found that young people of various backgrounds with whom we talked were interested and, on balance, affirmative, despite great skepticism about everything governmental. The same response came from many others, of older ages, in both political parties, in business and labor, in academia and government, in public and private life. They, and we, had many questions. We decided to enlist some colleagues in a study that would seek to define the idea, explore the key issues, and produce proposals for public debate.

The Potomac Institute in Washington, D.C., agreed to sponsor and be host to the study. The Ford Foundation granted the Potomac Institute \$25,000, and when additional work proved necessary, a further grant of \$20,000 to support the effort. Roger Landrum agreed to be the full-time study director. As one of the first Peace Corps Volunteers who went to Nigeria, and later as founder of Teachers, Incorporated, a private organization that worked in inner-city schools, and director of Yale's teacher preparation program, he was known to us as a sharp critic and successful innovator. His skepticism toward bureaucracy and grandiose plans, and his experience in service programs at home and abroad, seemed a good combination.

The Committee, whose members are briefly described on pages 20-21, met 10 times as a group, and many more times in small subcommittees with others who could throw light on the subject. Altogether the Committee, its subcommittees, and the study director consulted with over 100 other persons, including various young people, officials of pertinent government agencies, and leaders of business, labor, education, and other parts of the independent sector of our society.

Existing government programs related to youth were reviewed—especially the Young Adult Conservation Corps, the Peace Corps and VISTA, ACTION's new community-based service programs, and the training and public jobs programs of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), including the Youth Employment Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA). Demographic and socioeconomic projections into the 1980s for American youth were studied. We benefited from other studies that analyzed, diagnosed, and presented the

³ March 5, 1977, during a program on CBS radio in which persons asked the President questions on the telephone; restated in Memphis, December 1978.

needs of young people and the prospects for utilizing their talents through programs of training and service.

Various models for National Service were considered, ranging from a universal compulsory system to a modest escalation of full-time volunteer programs. We argued the propriety, efficacy, and constitutionality of suggested sanctions and incentives. We explored administrative structures and principles of restraint (such as the early Peace Corps rule that no one be employed in the agency longer than five years) to check the growth of a new federal bureaucracy and make the system more a part of the independent sectors of society than of the government.

An Idea for Public Debate

Above all the Committee argued. It heard and questioned those it consulted. It read and criticized the papers presented or prepared by Roger Landrum, including his lively minutes of the meetings, but most of all it carried on an argument. And most of all now it hopes through this report to extend the argument to the many individuals and groups—and the general public—that must be involved in shaping and debating such an idea. To promote that public debate, grants have been made by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, the Field Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, The J.M. Kaplan Fund, the New World Foundation and the Charles H. Revson Foundation.

During the Committee's study, two participants went to China (under other auspices). Like visitors to the People's Republic before them, they came back impressed and challenged by the extraordinary mobilization of the talent of young people possible under authoritarian, post-revolutionary conditions. They came back both more determined than before to try to devise a democratic equivalent and more aware of the difficulty.

We were all aware that service to one's community and country is practiced in one form or another almost everywhere, and that the challenge of the mobilization of human resources by an authoritarian regime is as old as the hills of Sparta, where the power of its universal youth service so impressed and worried visitors from ancient Athens. Yet service to others, and voluntary action without waiting for government leadership or command, has been a special American theme from the first days of colonial settlement. In the early 19th century de Toqueville saw it as the secret of American success—just as the involuntary servitude of some Americans was the nation's great sin. Frontier life required that neighbors help each other build barns, fight fires, harvest crops, and care for the sick. Popular movements for the abolition of slavery, for women's suffrage, and for civil rights are later manifestations of the same spirit; the growth of the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts,

the Little Leagues and 4H Clubs, are other less political examples involving young people, as is all the free time given to the wide range of religious and civic organizations in our midst.

In most wars prior to Korea and Vietnam, a great part of the population was swept with the spirit of national service. But in peace-time in the 20th century, without the challenges of the physical frontier, that spirit has withered. Our Committee advances the idea in the hope that it could help end the present depression of the national spirit and tap once again, on a large scale, the best in the American tradition and the best in us as a people today.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Bernard E. Anderson is Associate Professor of Industry at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, and Chairman of the National Council on Employment Policy. He has worked as an economist with the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and taught at Swarthmore College. He has conducted numerous studies of labor market issues, and has written several books, including *Opportunities Industrialization Centers: A Decade of Community-based Manpower Services*.

Donald J. Eberly has been Executive Director of the National Service Secretariat since 1966 and Senior Policy Analyst at ACTION since 1971. He was a consultant to the 1966 National Advisory Commission on Selective Service and Vice-Principal of Molusi College in Nigeria, and is the author of numerous articles about National Services.*

Harold Fleming is President of The Potomac Institute. He has been Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and assisted in organization of the U.S. Community Relations Service; he is active in the development of equal opportunity policies and programs within government and the private sector.

Edythe J. Gaines was until recently Superintendent of Schools in Hartford, Connecticut, where she initiated the Workplaces Program, integrating private and public sector support. As teacher, curriculum specialist, secondary school principal, and superintendent in the New York City public schools, she developed programs of economic empowerment for youth. She has served on the National Panel on S.A.T. Score Decline and the National Task Force on School Desegregation Strategies.

Father Theodore M. Hesburgh has been President of the University of Notre Dame since 1952. He is Chairman of the Board of The Rockefeller Foundation and Ambassador, U.S. Delegation to the 1979 U.N. Conference on Science and Technology for Development. He was Chairman of the U.S. Civil

*No government agencies were represented on the Committee; Mr. Eberly served in his capacity as long-time Executive Director of the independent National Service Secretariat.

Rights Commission and a member of the President's Commission for an All-Volunteer Armed Forces, and is author of *The Human Imperative*.

Mildred Jeffrey is National Chair of the National Women's Political Caucus, a member of the Wayne State University Board of Governors, and Coordinator of the Child Care Seminar of the Coalition of Labor Women. She is former Director of the Consumer Department of the United Automobile Workers.

Charles Killingsworth is University Professor of Economics at Michigan State University, a member of the National Council on Employment Policy, and a long-time arbitrator of labor-management disputes. He is author of *Jobs and Income for Negroes*.

Christian Kryder is a student at Georgetown University School of Medicine and will be a member of the National Health Service Corps. He is a former CETA worker, and co-editor of *Americans and Drug Abuse*.

Roger Landrum is with The Potomac Institute as Study Director for the Committee. He has taught at the University of Nigeria, Harvard, and Yale, was founder and President of Teachers Incorporated, and served as a Peace Corps Volunteer.

John G. Simon is Augustus Lines Professor of Law at Yale University and President of The Taconic Foundation. He was founding chairman of The Cooperative Assistance Fund, and is co-author of *The Ethical Investor*.

Jacqueline Grennan Wexler has been President of Hunter College in New York City since 1969. She has also been President of Webster College in Missouri, a Sister of Loretto, a member of the President's Task Force on Urban Education Opportunities, and a high school teacher. She is a director of two major business corporations.

Eddie N. Williams is President of the Joint Center for Political Studies, and a member and former Chairman of the Census Bureau Advisory Committee on the Black Population for the 1980 census. He has been Vice-President for Public Affairs of the University of Chicago and Director of the University's Center for Public Study, and a Foreign Service Officer.

Willard Wirtz is Chairman of the National Manpower Institute and a partner in the law firm of Wirtz & Gentry. He was Secretary of Labor under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, has taught at Northwestern University, and is author of *The Boundless Resource*.

Harris Wofford was President of Bryn Mawr College from 1970 to 1978. He has been Special Assistant to President Kennedy for Civil Rights, Associate Director of the Peace Corps, President of the State University of New York College at Old Westbury, and Associate Professor of Law at the University of Notre Dame. He is an attorney in Philadelphia.

(From the New York Times, Oct. 18, 1990)

NATIONAL DEBT, NATIONAL SERVICE

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

The points of light of George Bush, those little oases of civic-mindedness and philanthropy he spoke of during his Presidential campaign, have ended in Las Vegas comedy routines ("Mister, can you spare a point of light?"). Yet in 1988, 23 million Americans gave five hours per week or more in volunteer social work. Assuming that the labor of those who engage in such activity is worth only the minimum wage, we are talking about \$25 billion worth of time already given to serve concerns other than one's own.

All this suggests that the spirit is there; but it coexists with a strange and unhealthy failure by many American men and women to manifest any sense of obligation to the patrimony, a phenomenon noted 50 years ago by the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset, except he was speaking about Modern Man, not Americans. The neglect of the patrimony by Americans is perhaps more unconscionable, because it can be persuasively argued that we owe more than perhaps any other country to those who bequeathed us the land we live in and the institutions that govern us.

My thesis is that we need a national service. There are proposals sitting around in Congress, whose strengths and failures I have evaluated elsewhere. Here the focus is on the spirit that prompts the proposal: the search for an institutional vehicle through which we could give expression to the debt we feel, or should feel, to the patrimony. Here are the distinctive aspects of the program I have elaborated.

1. The program should be voluntary, both because voluntary activity is presumptively to be preferred to obligatory activity, and because although we are thinking in terms of requital (what can we do for our country, in return for what it has done for us?), man, lest he become unrecognizable, should be left free to be ungrateful.

2. That doesn't mean that society should not use incentives, such positive and negative reinforcements as the behaviorist B.F. Skinner wrote about, to press the point that those citizens who appreciate the Bill of Rights and the legacies of the Bible, of Aristotle, Shakespeare and Bach, and who document that appreciation by devoting a year of their lives to civic-minded activity, are to be distinguished from those who do not.

Distributive justice never hesitates to treat unequally unequal people, in respect of rewards, and esteem. There is such a thing as a first-class and a second-class citizen, and although commutative justice is owed to them equally, that's the end of it. The person who devotes 40 hours a week to community service is a better citizen than

his ungrateful counterpart, and society shouldn't funk acknowledging the difference. Those who fear a class system should ponder the offsetting effects of shared experience, shoulder to shoulder.

3. The objective of national service should not be considered in the tender of Good Deeds. Tending to the sick, teaching illiterates to read, preserving our libraries are desirable ends. But the guiding purpose here is the spiritual animation of the giver, not the alms he dispenses. The person who has given a year in behalf of someone or something else, is himself better for the experience. National service is not about reducing poverty; it is about inducing gratitude.

There isn't any way in which we can tangibly return to our society what we have got from it: liberty and order, access to the poetry of the West, the devotion of our parents and teachers. The point needs to be made that tokenism is not to be dismissed because, in other contexts, it is scorned. Because the dead of the Civil War cannot be revived doesn't mean, as Lincoln told us, that they can be forgotten. And the search for the practical way in which to hold them in esteem should go beyond national holidays we spend on the beach. The cultivation of the rite of passage, from passive to active citizenship, is the challenge of national service.

We will always be short of Americans who can add to the Bill of Rights, or compose another "Don Giovanni." But there is the unmistakable means of giving witness to the gratitude we feel, or ought to feel, when we compare our lot with that of so many others who know America only in their dreams.

Investment in Ideals Yields a Return

An underreported education story is the persistent flowering of campus idealism. For more and more undergraduates, college years are service years. Students who arrive as uninvolved and unstirred freshmen leave four or five years later aware of the world's injustice and suffering and what they can do to ease it.

How do these conversions happen? Their school had a program—tutoring in the local literacy office, coaching at the police boys and girls club, organizing food drives—that aroused feelings for compassion and service. The school had a president who believed that outlets for those feelings were a major academic mission. Minds that can think are not much without hearts that can feel.

Recently in Washington, 175 service-minded colleges and universities received the kind of encouragement that matters—federal grant money—to broaden their commitments to idealism. The Commission on National and Community Service, created by the National and Community Service Act of 1990, awarded \$5.2 million to schools ranging from Yale, Stanford and Cornell to Earlham in Indiana and Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa Community College in Minnesota.

The \$5.2 million was part of an overall disbursement of \$63 million by the commission. In the political chaos that now grips the country and promotes ventings against the federal government in venal Beltwayland, the Commission on National and Community Service might as well have been doing its work on the outback of Western Australia for all that anyone was noticing.

Retroactive attention is due. Plenty of social programs are working in local communities, many because citizens are volunteering. The immobilizing cynicism that “nothing works” and the defeatism that sees reform impossible is refuted by the willingness of people who have, as almost a chemical condition, service in their philosophical marrow.

Besides the money to higher education programs, the commission awarded \$16.3 million to Serve-America. Its purpose is to bring service learning into high school and grade school curricula. In Minnesota, where progressive education means more than pushing for tougher math and science requirements, 57,000 children—in 90 percent of the public schools—are involved in classroom-based service programs.

The Minnesota experiment, begun five years ago when the legislature gave school districts the option to raise property taxes for service programs, has been watched by the National Youth Leadership Council, a St. Paul group. Its president, James Kielsmeier, sees a “redefinition of learning going on. Students are learning by doing but there's a humane application to it. Something significant and consequential happens because you go to school. You just don't go to get something for yourself. You're giving back. It's a different way of framing the instructional process. The young are seen as contributors, as resources, as leaders.”

The commission's grants to promote and strengthen service programs is the federal government's catching up with local successes. It's called backing a winner. Last year at six Indiana universities and colleges—Earlham, Butler, DePauw, Indiana University, Notre Dame and Valparaiso—some 4,500 students gave time volunteering in homeless shelters, literacy projects, after-school programs for children. This happened because students had their consciences appealed to, and because a determined administrator scrounged for the money to staff a community service office.

At Earlham College, an Indiana leader in the philosophy of service, the scrounger was the president, Richard Wood. Six years ago, he recalls, “We committed a budget to creating a service learning center and hired a person to run it. Since then we have more than tripled the number of students who are volunteering.”

It was about six years ago that Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.), who is the only former neighborhood social worker in the Senate, began building legislative support for what would lead to the National and Community Service Act, and the commission to carry it out. Mikulski, smart as a pool player in knowing the political angles, had the bill go through an Appropriations subcommittee she chaired. The commission was established as an independent agency and funded for \$75 million. Mikulski won bipartisan support on the message, “Let's give help to those who practice self-help.”

The \$75 million means there is a peace dividend after all. What is community service if not peacemaking? And what is Mikulski, securing funds in this era of cuts, if not a social worker turned miracle worker?

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Requiring Students to Volunteer: Learning Experience or Servitude?

By KAREN DE WITT

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 28 — On Wednesday, Maryland is expected to become the first state to require all high school students to do community service in order to graduate, a move promoted by a member of the Kennedy family who has spent the last six years pressing for the requirement and by Gov. William Donald Schaefer.

Since the proposal is opposed by the state teachers' union, principals, superintendents, parent-teacher groups and many students, its expected passage by the 11-member state board of education on Wednesday is a testament to the political power of Governor Schaefer and the perseverance of Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, a politician who is a daughter of the late Robert F. Kennedy.

The Governor appoints the board members. Almost all are solidly behind the requirement, which says Maryland students must perform 75 hours of voluntary service between 8th grade and the end of their senior year in high school. It would take effect in the fall of 1993.

"I'm persuaded that it is a good thing," said Robert C. Embry Jr., president of the board.

But the board's vice president, Jack Sprague, opposes it as "fluffy, feel-

good stuff" that will divert schools from their academic mission.

First proposed in a 1983 report by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in Princeton, N.J., mandatory student service was promoted as a way to instill citizenship values and make students take responsibility for others.

200 Schools With Programs

Today, about 200 schools nationwide — including private schools and public schools like Rye High School in Rye, N.Y., and the Atlanta and Detroit school systems — operate mandatory service programs, according to the National Center for Service Learning in Early Adolescence, a research program at the City University of New York. Many thousands more have voluntary community service projects.

Mrs. Townsend, who became involved in the student service movement after an unsuccessful bid for Congress in Maryland in 1986, is the director of the Maryland State Student Service Alliance, a public-private partner-

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Service Rule for Students Stirs a Debate

Continued From Page A1

ship. She is not a state employee, but has considerable political influence.

The proposed requirement in Maryland, Mrs. Townsend argues, will not only "open vast new possibilities for young people" to become "resources to their communities," she said, but also change the way education occurs. "This is education reform," she said. "This is not just volunteerism."

Opposing 'Servitude'

But the mandatory aspect is precisely why many people object to the regulation. Edwina L. Green, president of the Maryland Congress of Parents and Teachers, said it would be an imposition on working-class students who had jobs, on students involved in trying to get academic or sports scholarships to college, on students who were single parents, and on students who live in rural areas where there might be a scarcity of volunteer opportunities.

And the Maryland State Teachers Association calls the requirement unconstitutional, both as a forced imposition of values that violates the First Amendment and as involuntary servitude that violates the 13th Amendment. "It is outrageous," said the president of the group, Jane R. Stern. "A lot of our children are black, the descendants of slaves who got their freedom. What are their parents going to say when they realize the state is forcing their children into servitude?"

Parents have sued to block several mandatory programs, most recently in Bethlehem, Pa., where a group of parents who oppose such a program on First and 13th Amendment grounds lost their initial lawsuit last year in district court but plan to appeal. In general, courts have upheld schools

Should volunteer work be a requirement for graduation?

and school districts, saying they have the authority to require such service.

The idea of students voluntarily taking part in some type of community service is a concept almost universally praised. President Bush, for example, has pushed his "thousand points of light" concept of volunteerism.

And in his Democratic Presidential campaign, Gov. Bill Clinton has been advocating a college loan program that would permit graduates to repay their Government loans by doing community service for some years.

But problems arise when the service becomes a requirement for a high school diploma, a relatively new idea that raises the question of what constitutes a legitimate service activity.

While some students may be required to read to the elderly or deliver meals to people confined to their homes, then write and discuss their experience in class, others may end up fulfilling such a requirement by merely collecting cans for recycling at the request of an already over-burdened teacher.

Opponents in Maryland won some measure of victory earlier this year when they managed to get the board of education to agree that, instead of a single statewide requirement, each of Maryland's 24 school districts could devise its own definition and decide whether the service should be performed during or after school.

"We are not opposed to community service," said Susan Buswell, executive director of the Maryland Association of Boards of Education. "We've long supported student involvement in volunteer service, but what concerned our boards was the mandatory nature of the program. How much will it cost? Who is liable if a student gets hurt or injured on a project? Who will do the record keeping?"

Uncertain Costs

Mrs. Townsend said the program would cost anywhere from zero to \$100 each for the state's 240,000 high school students, depending on the amount of record keeping involved. Eighty Maryland schools now offer some opportunity for voluntary student service, she said.

The experience has been positive, said the head of one school with voluntary service. Fred M. Prumo, principal of Chesapeake High School in Baltimore said that his largely working-class students had benefited from volunteering, but added that he had some reservations.

"It may become a very expensive program," he said. "Right now, 30 of our teachers type the kids' service hours into the computer after school. The programs were run after school or during the 45 minutes of their activity period. I don't know how it will work in the future."

In 1984, David Hornbeck, at the time the State Superintendent of Schools, proposed service as a component of the state's high school education, but was unable to get the concept adopted statewide. Mr. Hornbeck hired Mrs. Townsend in 1986 with the help of a \$100,000 grant from the Able Foundation, which was headed then by Mr. Embry, now the head of the state board of education.

"Kathleen is a ball of fire," Mr. Hornbeck said. "Now with Embry



Maryland teachers were accompanied by their children as they learned to clean a stream bed in Baltimore as part of a program sponsored by the

Maryland Student Service Alliance to teach community service to high school students, who will soon have to do volunteer work to graduate.

heading the board, we finally had somebody inside who was a friend of the notion of student service."

Mr. Sprague, the board member who opposes the requirement, argues that schools are "already over-extended," and have more important educational issues to deal with than this one.

"I can't, in the reading I've done, find one iota of scientific research that says that this has made a difference in a student's education," he said. "It's fluffy, feel-good stuff and I'd rather concentrate on making sure our stu-

dents are getting a good grounding in the basics, particularly when I know that the people who are running our schools don't want it."

On hearing of proposed requirement in Maryland, Barbara Steiner, one of the parents in the Pennsylvania case, voiced dismay.

"How can they get away with this?" she said in a telephone interview. "Don't get me wrong — I believe in community service, voluntary service. My whole family is involved in community service. We all volunteer. But this

is getting into my private life. This is like communism, and that's dead, isn't it?"

But Mrs. Townsend argues that community service provides a crucial learning experience.

"There are two strands of education," she said. "Increasingly, the individual will work with technology, a computer, but there is also socialization through volunteer service. Opposition to this comes from those steeped in an educational model that is irrelevant."

Parents of Truants Get Apt Sentence: Hard Time Working in Child's School

By Meg Sommerfeld

The Paterson, N.J., schools and a local judge have joined forces in a new strategy to combat chronic absenteeism: sentencing the parents of habitually truant students to scrub graffiti off school walls, serve as hall monitors, and perform other menial tasks in the schools.

Since Feb. 17, Nestor F. Guzman, a municipal-court judge in the city, has sentenced 30 parents of truant students to spend between one week and 30 days each working in their child's school.

While elsewhere around the country judges have sentenced parents to attend school with their truant children, Paterson is believed to be the only district that requires parents to perform services for the schools.

To date, all 30 parents have completed their mandated service, and school administrators are hailing the program a success in limiting absenteeism. Average daily attendance had risen to 93 percent as of March, up from 91.2 percent in the 1990-91 school year.

"The response we've gotten has been much more positive; [the parents] are very supportive," Chuck Coligan, a spokesman for the district, said, noting that most parents try to schedule their period of service as soon as possible after sentencing.

"The sentence is a very nice alternative, considering what the other alternative is, which is a jail sentence," he added.

'Growing Concern'

Paterson's problems are "no more chronic" than those of most urban districts, according to Mr. Coligan. Located in northern New Jersey about 15 miles west of New York City, Paterson is the state's third-

largest district, with an enrollment of 24,263 students.

Last summer, declaring the district bankrupt and poorly managed, the New Jersey Board of Education took control of the schools. It immediately disbanded the Paterson board of education and fired Superintendent Frank Napier Jr., replacing him with Laval S. Wilson, the former superintendent of the Boston Public Schools. (See *Education Week*, Sept. 4, 1991.)

"It's clear that attendance was a problem along with a number of other issues," Mr. Wilson said. The new program "indicates to parents that they have a major responsibility legally to get young people to school, and, if their young people are not going to attend, there are some personal penalties associated with it," he added.

Growing concern about truancy is also evident in City Hall. Paterson's Mayor, William J. Pascrell, who also serves in the state Assembly, has introduced state legislation that would classify a parent's failure to ensure that his or her child attends school as a "petty disorderly persons" offense, punishable by a fine of up to \$500, 30 days in jail, or both.

Currently, district policy in Paterson requires students to attend school at least 160 days a year, and to have no more than 20 unexcused absences.

In a typical truancy case, once a student has accrued 5 days of unexcused absences, one of the district's 16 attendance officers sends a written notice to the student's home. At the 10-, 15-, and 20-day marks, an officer pays a personal visit to the child's parents at home.

Under current state law, once students pass the 20-day mark, their parents can be fined \$25 for a first offense and \$100 for a second offense.

For a third offense, they can be jailed.

By the time a case reaches the courts, Mr. Coligan said, most truant students have accumulated 32 days of unexcused absences. In one of the most egregious cases, a student missed 115 days of school in one academic year.

While Paterson's program appears to be unique in mandating parent service to the school, an increasing number of jurisdictions are punishing the parents of truants, according to representatives of several organizations that track juvenile-justice issues.

One such program, LearnFare, launched in Wisconsin in 1988, cuts families' welfare benefits if their child has more than two unexcused absences in a month.

However, a study by the Employment and Training Institute at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee was unable to attribute any improvement in attendance levels to the program.

In some of the most extreme situations, parents in Atlanta, Baltimore, and Chicago have been jailed for failing to send their children to school.

"Truancy is a thorn in the side of every juvenile-justice system in the country," said David Steinhart, a senior researcher with the National Council on Crime and Delinquency in San Francisco.

Because schools and the courts have continually failed to coordinate their anti-truancy efforts, Mr. Steinhart said, enforcement of attendance requirements has often been "spotty and poor."

"Nothing seems to work all that well," he observed.

Only a Stopgap?

Critics of punitive measures such as those used in Paterson say the programs are short-term cures that do



New Jersey Newsphotos

Yvonne Lamb, one of 30 parents of truant students ordered to work in the Paterson, N.J., schools, does some filing at P.S. 6.

not address the root of the problem.

"I have deep concerns about whether [it's] going to result in anything in the long run," said William Rioux, the executive director of the National Committee for Citizens in Education.

"Mandating parental involvement is tempting because it's so frustrating to take the longer, more time-consuming route, but [that is] the only one that's going to pay off over time," he said. "You can't force people to do something they don't really see the innate value of."

Others suggested that requiring parents to meet with counselors and

teachers to talk about their child's absenteeism would be more constructive.

Mr. Coligan conceded that "some individuals, regardless of what the court decides and what the school decides, will not see the value of education." But he disagreed that forcing parents to perform service at the school might engender resentment among them.

"The parent plays an important role in getting the kids there," he said. "If the cooperation [of the parent] comes via the channel of the courts, then we'll take that, we'll accept that."

Community service: A new graduation requirement?

By Dennis Kelly
USA TODAY

On his own time, without getting paid, 16-year-old Derek Henderson spends a couple of hours a week visiting the lonely and the frail at the Regency nursing home in Suitland, Md.

He gives them his time and an attentive ear. They give him an occasional gift and more.

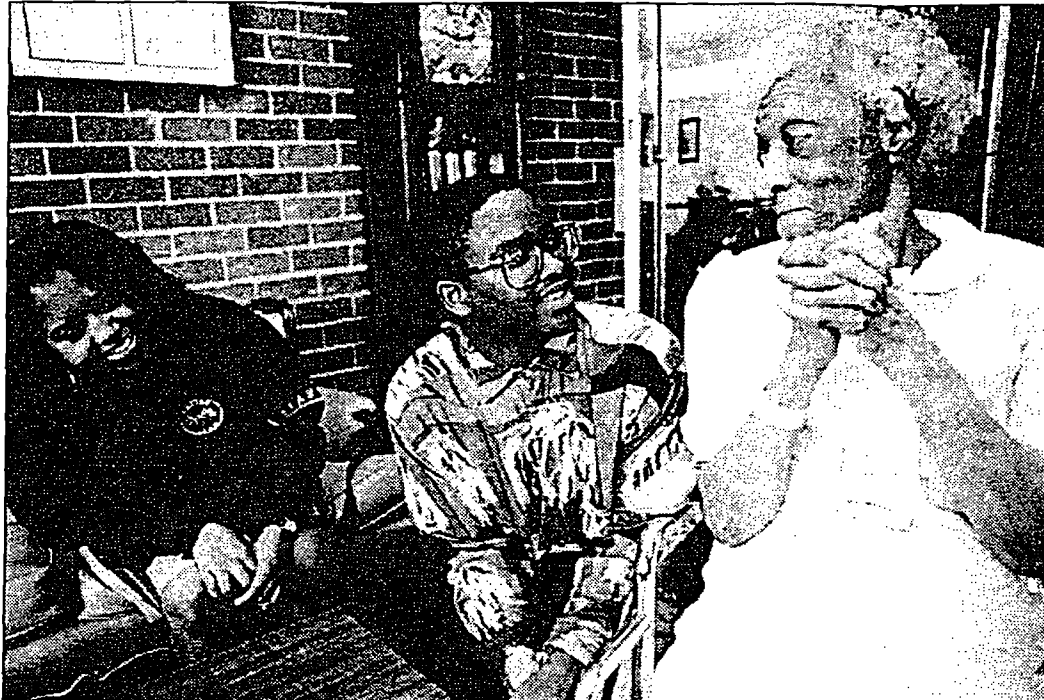
"Hugs and kisses always," says the senior at Suitland High School. "That's something that happens always, right when you get there."

Beyond that, he says the visits improve his skills in interacting with adults — something that he's able to use in all other walks of life.

That's exactly the kind of benefit that Maryland state officials envision from a controversial proposal that comes before the state board of education for a vote Wednesday. The plan: require that all Maryland students complete 75 hours of community service between sixth and 12th grade in order for them to graduate.

The concept: If students help the elderly, tutor younger students, work in hospitals or in environmental projects, they'll be educated in citizenship just as they need to be educated in math, history or English.

But Michael Butera, executive director, the Maryland State Teachers Association, says that while community service should be applauded, forcing it on students constitutes a form of slavery. And there is also, he says, the question of what constitutes service: working with the football team booster club? The church



COMFORTING: Takeia Martin, 17, and Derek Henderson, 16, visit with Lola Thorpe at the Regency Nursing Care and Rehabilitation Center. Henderson says he benefits from the community work.

By Chuck Agel, AP

choir? The Ku Klux Klan?

"This is a do-gooder thing gone wrong," says Butera, who suggests the plan could end up in the courts.

Maryland would be the first state to require community service if the plan gets the green light. But the idea is cropping up in individual schools and colleges throughout the U.S. It's in place now in:

► Atlanta Public Schools, where students must finish 75 hours between grades 9 and 12.

► Eight of the 501 school districts in Pennsylvania, says John Briscoe, director of PennSERVE, the governor's office

agency that coordinates volunteer efforts in the state.

► Three Pennsylvania colleges: Cabrini, Messiah and Waynesburg.

The Maryland proposal, affecting children entering sixth grade in 1993, has run into opposition from the 43,000-member Maryland State Teachers Association, and the state PTA.

Butera of the teachers union says that it's awkward being opposed to good deeds, but that mandating community service is akin to the punishment handed out to drunken drivers.

"It's a very short road between asking people to com-

plete community service and involuntary servitude," Butera says. "People don't like that said, but the fact of the matter is that may be requiring children to perform a service for free that some may in fact have been paid for before. It's important to give to your community, but it's not right to engage in servitude."

Bob Embry, president of the Maryland Board of Education, says, however, this is no different from requiring students to take mathematics or science.

"That's like saying having to go to school is involuntary servitude," Embry says.

Parents take fight to court

The U.S. Supreme Court may eventually be asked to decide whether students can be required to do community service in school.

Parents opposed to required service sued the Bethlehem, Pa., school district on grounds the plan violates the 13th amendment prohibition against involuntary servitude — slavery — and the First Amendment in that helping your neighbor is a form of "expressive conduct" protected as free speech, says Robert Magee, the families' attorney.

A federal district court judge rejected the families' argument in March, but the case has now been appealed to the 3rd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Barbara Moralls, one of the parents suing, says the families are prepared to take the case to the Supreme Court.

"It's not American to force people into involuntary servitude," says Moralls, whose son, David, 16, is in Bethlehem's Liberty High School. "They're not learning citizenship. All the school is saying is go out and mop floors, wash cars or whatever. That's not learning citizenship. All that's doing is performing labor for someone else."

But John Briscoe, director of PennSERVE, a state agency coordinating volunteer efforts, defends the program as good for the education of students. He points out that community service is required in 75% to 80% of the state's private schools.

"As a society, we do have some values, values of citizenship, honesty and decency and helping one another out," Briscoe says. "They're the civic religion of this country."

Butera suspects the proposal is being pushed by business interests, who have their own social agenda and who might also benefit from getting free help. But he concedes there are liberals backing the plan, too.

Maryland's program is run by Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, daughter of the late Robert F. Kennedy and herself a former Democratic candidate for Congress. And in Bethlehem, Pa., where mandatory service has been challenged by a lawsuit, the liberal People for the American Way filed a brief

in support of the school district.

Schools were not only formed to teach math and science, "but also to teach citizenship and those skills are not learned in the classroom," Townsend says.

Butera raises the specter that students could fulfill their obligations by doing church work, which he sees as a direct violation of separation of church and state, or that they might even do service for hate groups like the Ku Klux Klan.

Townsend sees no conflict with church activities, but says

what activities constitute community service will be left up to local school districts to decide.

"What I've discovered is theoretical issues on required service can engender a long, interesting, philosophical discussion, but in practice kids just do it and they like it," she says.

Edwina Green, president of the the state PTA, says an informal poll of membership found most opposed to the community service plan, largely because of the hardships this would place on students who have to work and on students in rural areas with no easy access to the sites where community service can be performed.

But Tony Deliberti, a retired Rockville teacher who coordinated student service projects for years, says the state is asking only 75 hours over a six-year period.

"That's ridiculous," he says. "I know some students who do that in one month."

Students are divided.

Takeia Martin, 17, a senior at Suitland High School, does four to five hours community service a week helping senior citizens and young students. But she doesn't think students should be forced to do it.

"That really doesn't say a person is going to be sincere."

Jennifer Freeland, 17, a senior at Richard Montgomery High School, Rockville, Md., for years has been doing projects like peanut-butter-and-jelly socials for homeless families and Christmas parties for underprivileged kids.

"We have to give back something that we take," she says. "The community does so much (for us). It's like an obligation."

WASHINGTON EDITION

Los Angeles Times

Monday

August 3

1992

Recycling an Old and Good Idea

Community works program is a promising approach to welfare reform

A public jobs program that would put welfare recipients to work is one of the gems in the federal tax bill that the Senate Finance Committee approved last week. The Community Works Project Administration (CWPA), modeled after Franklin D. Roosevelt's WPA, which put people in jobs during the Depression, is a promising approach to welfare reform.

The CWPA, proposed by Sen. David L. Boren (D-Okla.), would require able-bodied welfare recipients, except single mothers with very young children, to work or lose assistance. The government would become the employer of last resort.

The public jobs would be created by local and state governments or federal agencies that applied for federal grants managed by the U. S. Department of Labor. Those jobs could include cleaning up parks, delivering hot meals to senior citizens or other

tasks that require minimal skills. Using the CWPA to replace government workers would be prohibited.

Welfare recipients would earn the minimum wage or their welfare



payment plus 10%, whichever was higher. In addition to a few extra dollars a month, CWPA workers would also gain training, job experience and references that could help them get better-paying jobs.

Many states require welfare recipients to go to school or work, but neither federal nor state government alone can adequately fund job-

oriented education and training programs.

California's workfare program, GAIN, is especially effective in smaller cities, suburbs and rural communities, but it has space for only a fraction of the state's welfare recipients. GAIN would be complemented by the CWPA because the federal project would provide training opportunities and jobs for people who otherwise could not compete in a tight job market.

The Senate Finance Committee has allocated \$400 million for demonstration projects in three cities and two states. The projects are to run for four years, long enough to determine what would work without harming poor children. Los Angeles should be one of the test cities.

Welfare reform is high on the public agenda. A public jobs program belongs in the mix of remedies designed to cure welfare dependency.

AUG 11 1992

Dreams of College and Home No Longer on Collision Course

By SEN. HARRIS WOFFORD

AS PRESIDENT of both a public and a private college for nearly a dozen years, I came to the Senate with a special concern for higher education. In fact, the very first bill I introduced was designed



to make federal student aid more available to middle-income families, both in Pennsylvania and across our country. For more than a decade, college tuition has been racing ahead of inflation, while scholarships and low-cost student loans to working families have been on the decline. But new legislation passed by Congress and finally signed by the president in July includes key provisions from my own bill to reverse that trend.

Middle-income families who have college-bound children understand all too well: They often can't qualify for financial aid because of the accumulated equity in their homes. Throughout our state, I met families who spent years paying off their mortgages and were then penalized for their efforts by a student aid system which included the value of their home or farm in calculating their ability to pay college tuition. For them, it was the collision of two American Dreams — the dream of owning a home and the dream of sending children to college.

The new higher education bill will expand federal loans and grants to these families by excluding home value from calculated assets. It will help put new life into the American dream for millions of families and make certain that a college education doesn't become the

exclusive province of the very rich — who can afford to pay full tuition — and the very poor — who qualify for scholarships.

I think this is a vital action, not only as a matter of basic fairness, but also as a long-term investment in America's economic future. We know that a college education is a key to unlocking new jobs and productive careers for young people. In an era when so many other nations are competing for American jobs in basic industries, our most important asset is our people and the quality of their education and training. For children to earn a better life than their parents, opening the doors to college is essential.

Another provision of the new Higher Education Bill will begin returning the Federal Work-Study Program to its original focus on service to the local community. When Congress created the Work-Study Program almost 30 years ago, it envisioned that many students who received this new form of student financial assistance would do more than work in campus dining halls or offices. The point was to give something back to the community. Congress called upon colleges and universities to develop opportunities for work-study students to work "in the public interest," providing education, health, recreation, and other services that would not otherwise be available.

A recent GAO report makes clear, however, that only a tiny fraction of students who receive work-study are, in fact, engaged in community service. Students — representing a vast resource of skills, talents, and energy — who could be performing work of real benefit to the community, are all too often left with low-skill jobs unrelated to ei-

ther society's needs or a student's personal goals.

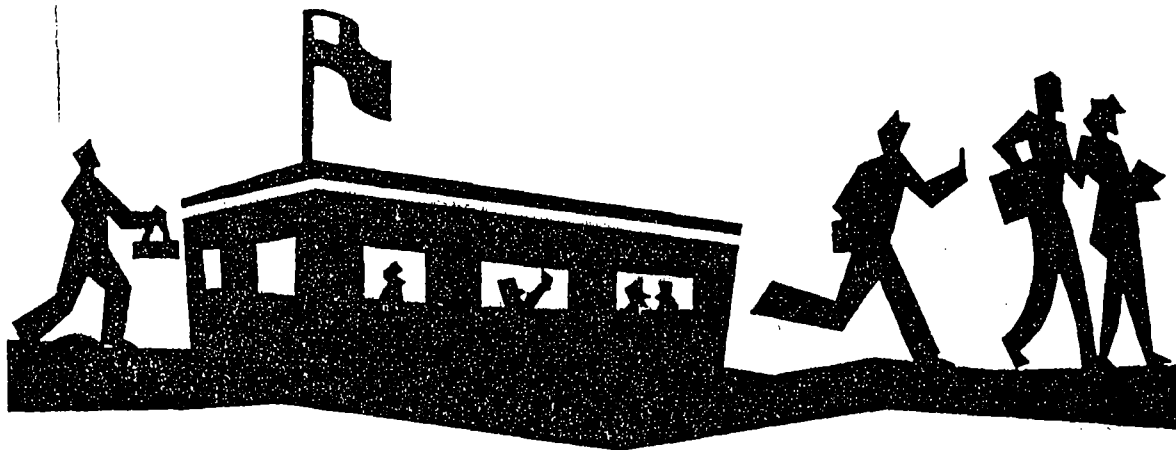
I know from experience that colleges themselves can always use the lower-cost labor that work-study students provide. But I also know that we can do more with this program than simply help college administrators balance the books.

A House-Senate conference report on the Higher Education Bill incorporates a number of practical changes designed to restore community service to its intended role as an essential component of any work-study program. Most significantly, it includes a modest and practical mandate — that at least 5 percent of federal work-study dollars go to students engaged in community service.

I hope our colleges and universities will rise to the occasion and go far beyond this modest mandate. Most of us have discovered that we learn best by doing. The academic studies of the classroom can be vastly enhanced by the experience with real people and real problems that a community service job can provide. And targeting funds to allow young people to direct their creative energies to the tremendous needs of our nation — tutoring, mentoring, battling illiteracy, serving the elderly, feeding the hungry, and housing the homeless will help everyone.

Millions of Americans are frustrated by our federal government's failure to do something about the problems they face every day. But this Higher Education Bill is one example of action in Washington which will make a difference in people's lives. For the sons and daughters of steelworkers and secretaries, it can turn the dream of a college education into a reality.

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER



Public Service for Students?

I applaud the decision by Maryland's State Board of Education to include community service in the high school curriculum ["Md. Mandates Public Service by Students," front page, July 30]. Through this action the state has an opportunity to become a model for the nation.

Community service can help students relate the lessons of the classroom to the realities of life. Medical schools, law schools, business schools and technical schools know that theory is best understood when put into practice. That's why they increasingly involve their students early in fieldwork and clinical activities. Teenagers, who often view school as irrelevant, urgently need such experience too.

Community service also can help students find meaning and greater purpose for their lives. Today's young people are not overworked. More often, they are adrift and disengaged. Many feel unneeded at the very time they are trying to discover who they are and where they fit.

Several years ago the Carnegie Foundation surveyed 5,000 fifth- and eighth-graders. Sixty percent said, "I often wish I had more things to do." Asking students to complete 75 hours of community service during their high school years does not appear to be a particularly weighty obligation. Martin Luther King Jr. said, "Everyone can be great because everyone can serve." I'm convinced the nation's youth are ready for a larger vision.

Finally, community service can contribute to the building of a nation. If schools are to promote good citizenship, it's foolish to expect high school graduates suddenly to become civically engaged if for 12 years we've encouraged them to get but not to give. Nancy S. Grasmick, Maryland's superintendent of

schools, got it right when she suggested that if students take something from a community they should be taught to give something back.

It seems especially inappropriate to reject community service because it is "not voluntary." Schools are not centers of volunteerism. They are places where our children are asked—required—to complete programs that prepare them for life: economically, civically and morally. A service requirement is as justified as a requirement in math or science or physical education if it helps contribute to these essential ends.

If it is to succeed, however, community service must be viewed not as a bureaucratic burden but as an exciting challenge. Service segments should be linked to formal learning. Students should be actively involved in planning the program and be expected to reflect on the experience. We honor athletic heroes. So why not have service recognition days in schools, helping students understand that to be truly human, one must serve?

In taking this bold, creative step the Maryland Board of Education is responding to an inspired vision, one that will strengthen education, enrich the lives of students and contribute to the building of a better world.

ERNEST L. BOYER

President
The Carnegie Foundation
For the Advancement of Teaching
Princeton, N.J.

Webster's Dictionary defines "moron" as "a very stupid person." Webster's also defines "oxymoron" as "a combination of contradictory or incongruous words." Certainly "mandated volunteerism" falls into the category of oxymoron. I am, of course, responding to The Post's article about Maryland requiring

75 hours of volunteer service for a high school diploma.

I support pro-bono work of all kinds. Everyone should be encouraged to support their communities, but mandating this would be counter to all of our basic freedoms.

It doesn't surprise me that this idea started in Maryland. The citizens of Maryland are already overtaxed. Now that our wallets are empty, the state fathers are after our time as well.

ERNEST H. WOODZELLE
Odenton

I have a proposal for Maryland Gov. Schaefer:

In order to to serve as an utmost example of community service and as a gesture of his respect and solidarity with the secondary students of Maryland, would he, state School Superintendent Nancy Grasmick and each member of the Maryland State Board of Education voluntarily work 75 hours without pay each year, beginning with the next fiscal year? Aside from the obvious character-building effect it would have on all concerned, this would also serve as a means to help offset some school district budget cuts made by the state Department of Education and would truly epitomize Nancy Grasmick's feelings of "giving back to the community" what we take from it.

PATRICE M. MOLNAR
Olney

The 13th Amendment says that neither slavery "nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for a crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States." Community service for convicts is thus perfectly constitutional. "Involuntary" community "servitude" for students is blatantly violative of the 13th Amendment.

THEODORE H. FIDDLEMAN
Arlington

The Washington Post

SUNDAY, MAY 10, 1992

Can a New 'Army' Save Our Cities?

With Discipline and Training, Our Alienated Young Could Find New Lives

By Arthur Ashe

ONCE AGAIN, seething, residual anger has burst forth in an American city. And the riots that overtook Los Angeles 10 days ago were a reminder of what knowledgeable observers have been saying for a quarter-century: America will continue paying a high price in civil and ethnic unrest unless the nation commits itself to programs that help the urban poor lead productive and respectable lives.

Once again, a proven program is worth pondering: national service.

Somewhat akin to the military training that generations of American males received in the armed forces, a 1990s version would prepare thousands of unem-

Arthur Ashe, an author and former tennis champion, is a contributor to The Washington Post sports section and a commentator on ABC-TV and HBO.

ployable and undereducated young adults for quality lives in our increasingly global and technology-driven economy. National service opportunities would be available to any who needed it and, make no mistake, the problems are now so structural, so intractable, that any solution will require massive federal intervention.

In his much-quoted book, "The Truly Disadvantaged," sociologist William Julius Wilson wrote that "only a major program of economic reform" will prevent the riot-prone urban underclass from being permanently locked out of American economic life. Today, we simply have no choice. The enemy within and among our separate ethnic selves is as daunting as any foreign foe.

Families rent apart by welfare dependency, job discrimination and intense feelings of alienation have produced minority teenagers with very little self-discipline and little faith that good grades and the American work ethic will pay off. A military-like environment for them with practical domestic objectives could produce startling results.

Military service has been the most successful career training program we've ever known, and American children born in the years since the All-volunteer Army was instituted make up a large proportion of this targeted group. But this opportunity may disappear forever if too many of our military bases are summarily closed and converted or sold to the private sector. The facilities, manpower, traditions, and capacity are already in place.

Don't dismantle it; rechannel it.

Discipline is a cornerstone of any responsible citizen's life. I was taught it by my father, who was a policeman. Many of the rioters have never had any at all. As an athlete and former Army officer, I know that discipline can be learned. More importantly, it *must* be learned or it doesn't take hold.

A precedent for this approach was the Civilian Conservation Corps that worked so well during the Great Depression. My father enlisted in the CCC as a young man with an elementary school

education and he learned invaluable skills that served him well throughout his life. The key was that a job was waiting for him when he finished. The certainty of that first entry-level position is essential if severely alienated young minority men and women are to keep the faith.

We all know these are difficult times for the public sector, but here's a chance to add energetic and able manpower to America's workforce. They could be prepared for the world of work or college—an offer similar to that made to returning GIs after World War II. It would be a chance for 16- to 21-year-olds to live among other cultures, religions, races and in different geographical areas. And these young people could be taught to rally around common goals and friendships that evolve out of pride in one's squad, platoon, company, battalion—or commander.

We saw such images during the Persian Gulf War and during the NCAA Final Four basketball games. In military life and competitive sports, this camaraderie doesn't just happen; it is taught and learned in an atmosphere of discipline and earned mutual respect for each other's capabilities.

Ethnic hatred, like that portrayed in Los Angeles, is also taught and learned.

A national service program would also help overcome two damaging perceptions held by America's disaffected youth: that society just doesn't care about minority

youngsters and that one's personal best efforts will not be rewarded in our discriminatory job market. Harvard professor Robert Reich has opined that urban social ills are so pervasive that the upper 20 percent of Americans—that "fortunate fifth" as he calls them—have decided quietly to "secede" from the bottom four-fifths, and the lowest fifth in particular. We cannot countenance such estrangement on a permanent basis. And what better way to answer skeptics from any group than by certifying the technical skills of graduates from a national service training program?

Now, we must act decisively to forestall future urban unrest. Republicans must put aside their aversion to funding programs aimed at certain cultural groups. Democrats must forget labels and nomenclature and recognize that a geographically isolated subgroup of Americans—their children in particular—need systematic and substantive assistance for at least another 20 years.

The ethnic taproots of minority Americans are deeply buried in a soil of faith and fealty to traditional values. With its accent on discipline, teamwork, conflict resolution, personal responsibility and marketable skills development, national service can provide both the training and that vital first job that will reconnect these Americans to the rest of us. Let's do it now before the fire next time.

The Philadelphia Inquirer

Vol. 325, No. 133 a

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Wednesday, May 13, 1992

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DAVID S. BRODER

For hints on how the races can coexist, look no farther than the U.S. military

Of the millions of words spoken and written in the aftermath of the Rodney King verdict and the Los Angeles riots, none were more pertinent, pointed and eloquent than those of Gen. Colin L. Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Addressing the graduating class at Fisk University in Nashville, his wife's alma mater, Powell reflected not only his own remarkable character but also the special moral authority he gains from the largely unrecognized performance of the institution to which he has devoted his adult life — the United States military.

Here is the gist of Powell's message, for those who have not heard it or read it:

"As I saw those pictures on my television set," he began, "my heart hurt ... I didn't want to believe what I was seeing.

"Violence — by the police or by the mob — is not the answer ... It shouldn't be; we've come too far for this. But it did happen. And we once again what a long way we still have to go. Because the problem goes beyond Rodney King. The problem goes beyond Los Angeles. It goes beyond the trial of those four officers.

"The problem goes to the despair that still

The United States military has probably done more in creating a non-racist, bias-free meritocracy than any other part of American society.

exists in the black community over the inability of black Americans to share fully in the American dream. Too many African Americans are still trapped in a cycle where poverty, violence, drugs, bad housing, inadequate education, lack of jobs and loss of faith combine to create a sad human condition, a human condition that cannot be allowed to continue if this nation is to hold its rightful place in the world.

"We have an American problem," Powell said. "It can only be solved by all Americans working together."

Respecting the inhibitions of his official

position, the general did not outline an agenda for governmental action. Instead, he addressed the graduates — and through them, all Americans — about the responsibilities of citizens in this crisis.

"First," he said, "I want you to believe in yourself. You have to know that you are capable, that you are competent, that you are good ...

"Second, I want you to believe in America ... We are still, as Abraham Lincoln said, 'the last, best hope of earth.'"

"Third, I want you to find strength in your diversity. Let the fact that you are black or yellow or white be a source of pride and inspiration to you. Draw strength from it. Let it be someone else's problem, but never yours. Never hide behind it or use it as an excuse for not doing your best ...

"I want you to fight racism. I want you to rail against it. We have to make sure that it bleeds to death in this country once and for all ...

"Finally, I want you to raise strong families. As you raise your families, remember the worst kind of poverty is not economic poverty, it is the poverty of values. It is the poverty of caring. It is the poverty of love."

Obviously, the man who said this is a remarkable person. But he is also the product — and symbol — of a remarkable institution, the United States military, which in the last two generations has probably done more and succeeded better in creating a non-racist, bias-free meritocracy than any other part of American society. Powell's position as the head of the armed services symbolizes, but does not begin to describe, this success story.

The scope of the change was pointed out to me last year by David Gergen, the wise editor at-large of U.S. News & World Report, when we participated in a program at the Army War College. Gergen made the point then that the military's combination of disciplined structure and genuinely color-blind opportunity for advancement had transformed the lives of thousands of minority youths — and made the non-commissioned officers' (NCO) and officers' clubs far more integrated than college faculties, business boardrooms or newsrooms.

Gergen argues passionately that the military services and its people have vital experiences and lessons to share with civilian America. Last week, I heard the same point made by historian Stephen Ambrose who

has been spending time on military bases in connection with his own work. Ambrose made a historian's point: "There's all this argument about whether the Great Society programs worked, or whether Jack Kemp's enterprise zones will work. Why not return to ideas that everyone agrees did work?"

One of those ideas, he says, was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) of New Deal days, which took unemployed youths and put them to work on what we would now call environmental projects.

"It was run by the military," Ambrose said, "when the military had not much else to do. It pulled those kids out of the morass of their lives, gave them a sense of identity and discipline and of group purpose — the same things they need now."

Like Gergen, Ambrose noted that thousands of men and women — senior NCOs and junior officers in their 30s — face involuntary separation from their military careers because of the post-Cold War budget cuts. Why not take these young Colin Powells and let them lead a new CCC, he asks.

Why not?

David S. Broder, based at the Washington Post, won a Pulitzer Prize in 1973.

National Journal

THE WEEKLY ON POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

JULY 4, 1992/NO. 27

STATE OF THE STATES

NEAL R. PEIRCE

FOR THE YOUNG, SERVICE WITH A SMILE

Rugged and demanding youth service programs, says Sen. Harris Wofford, D-Pa., could be one of America's best antidotes to ominous social dissolution and Los Angeles-style riots during the 1990s.

The chances for social tranquillity in the years ahead are slim, as Wofford sees it, unless the nation moves with determination and speed to reengage its poor, its jobless and its disillusioned and turned-off young people.

"We know why angry, jobless and hopeless young people burn and loot their own community," Wofford recently told students at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. "We don't need another commission, another study, another pilot program. We need action."

The concept of youth service has come a long way since 1933, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt conceived the idea of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). FDR asked Congress to act in March; the response was almost instantaneous. By July, more than 300,000 of the nation's jobless young men—from the slums of New York City to the dust bowl of Oklahoma—were out in the woods, working on conservation projects and receiving special-education courses.

Many of the 2.5 million young people who went through the CCC would later describe it as an immense skill and confidence-builder, a turning point in their lives akin to direct military service.

There was, in fact, military discipline in the camps. One of the most prominent CCC organizers was the redoubtable Gen. George C. Marshall. Many reserve military officers were hired to run CCC operations. Young men were handed leftover uniforms and boots from World War I and housed in barracks or tents.

Few politicians these days dare to push for a single, massive federal service corps—a reincarnation of the CCC. But since the formation of the California Conservation Corps in the 1970s, inventive youth service and conservation corps programs have spread to 27 states. Altogether, according to Youth Service America, a Washington-based organization that develops and promotes the idea, there are 75 such programs, operating on combined budgets of \$180 million. They enroll about 25,000 young people.

The vast majority of programs involve tough calisthenics, uniforms and other real demands—often the first constructive discipline that many of the young enrollees have ever experienced.

Consider, for example, City Year in Boston, which was launched by Michael Brown and Alan Khazei, two young Harvard Law School graduates, expressly to create a youth service prototype for communities from coast to coast.

City Year offers its 17-22-year-old recruits a \$100-a-week stipend (the CCC paid \$1 a day) and a \$5,000 scholarship on graduation. The recruits are poor, rich, black, white, Asian, Hispanic, inner-city gang, suburban preppy. It's one of the few programs, in fact, that doesn't draw just poor youth, but kids from

widely divergent backgrounds. They not only get to meet, but also learn to work cooperatively together.

City Year's enrollees work in teams of 10-12, building playgrounds and soup kitchens, rehabilitating homeless shelters, distributing food to the hungry, tutoring and mentoring younger kids, assisting the sick. The program builds self-confidence, leadership skills and "a community of idealism," says co-founder Brown.

Hundreds of thousands of youths nationwide could be enrolled in similar programs. And it could happen. The Commission on National and Community Service, which was created by Congress in 1990, is just getting ready to make about \$60 million in grants to some of the nation's best youth service programs.

Wofford believes that Congress should, in the wake of the violence in Los Angeles, at least double that amount and then "scrounge and redirect money" from lots of sources, including, for instance, about \$700 million a year in questionably useful Job Training Partnership Act money. And why not use defense dollars to let several thousand competent people who are now leaving the military serve as leaders of youth service programs? Military bases slated for

shutdowns could also serve as youth service camps.

Wofford favors a national voucher system to provide kids who sign up for youth service programs with living allowances and, on successful completion, bonuses for their education.

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the likely Democratic presidential nominee, has a parallel idea: a universal educational loan program in which young people could pay off college loans with two or three years of public service or as future add-ons to their income taxes.

"We need these kids on the front lines—to serve, and not be served," Wofford said. "I'm sick and tired of the patronizing social service approach—treating young people as problems, dangers, menaces. We need to turn them around and let them discover themselves as resources."

Critics can argue, of course, that myriad state and local youth service programs will be of uneven quality and that their long-term dividends are uncertain.

But there is a competent national youth service commission to guide the movement. And there have been enough pilot programs to prove that youth service is a powerful way to divert poor kids from a life of the streets, joblessness, drugs and, all too often, crime and prison.

Youth service is also one of the few tools society has to reclaim college-bound kids, as Wofford puts it, from "a self-centered life of civic indifference."

Can a nation that's plagued by a \$400 billion deficit rationally contemplate spending billions on a universal youth service program? The fiscal answer is no. The human, commonsense answer is yes. Without such a commitment, America's social fabric will keep on unraveling, rendering incalculable damage not just to budgets, but also to the nation's security. ■

The concept of youth service has come a long way since 1933, when FDR conceived the idea of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

LOS ANGELES TIMES

Commentary

WEDNESDAY, JULY 8, 1992

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Spare the One Jobs Program That Works

Budget cuts: The California Conservation Corps gives urban youth experience on projects that benefit all of us.

By J. ANTHONY KLINE
and LOREN MILLER Jr.

If the violent events in the wake of the verdict in the Rodney King beating case demonstrate anything, it is the depth of the anger and alienation among the youth of our inner city. The predicament of these young people, and our indifference, threaten to undo the social contract that binds our diverse society.

At this most inauspicious time, the governor and the Legislature are debating whether to dismantle one of the scandalously few state agencies that provide positive programs to integrate these young people into the mainstream of our society. The nearly 50% reduction in the budget of the California Conservation Corps proposed by Gov. Pete Wilson warrants reconsideration.

The CCC, which has been the model for scores of similar programs across the country, is a no-lose proposition for the young people who participate, state taxpayers and the environment. No other state program addresses so many needs for a single and relatively small investment.

Throughout its 16-year history, the CCC has helped the diverse youth of our state get their lives together. At the same time, the work accomplished by these young people provides major assistance in tackling California's environmental needs. The proposed budget cut would thus do double damage, affecting the CCC's efforts to help youth and to improve the state's natural resources.

As efforts focus on the many ways to rebuild Los Angeles, here is one existing program that deserves continued support and commendation. Why slash the dollars for the very type of program we badly need, and in fact are moving to create on

the federal level?

The CCC takes young people from California's urban areas and gives them a chance to grow and mature in a new and different environment, in a residential setting that may be several hundred miles away. The corps also has opportunities for youth to live at home and work at a local CCC facility. Here in Los Angeles, young people are commuting daily to the corps' Vernon and Main facility, or to its Watts satellite based at Southwest College.

This is not a make-work program. The environmental achievements are without peer. The CCC offers a valuable labor force to cities and counties, as well as state and federal agencies. And while its young people are landscaping school playgrounds, building visitor trails at a regional park or fighting wilderness fires, they are developing solid skills. Equally important, they are developing self-esteem, along with restored hope and faith.

Recent census data show that almost a third of all black teen-agers in California were unemployed in 1990, double the rate for white teen-agers. Latino youth fall somewhere in between. The CCC program targets 18- to 23-year-olds, an age group that is often desperately lacking in motivation, direction and diplomas.

So what does the CCC offer? It offers jobs year-round, with the largest proportion going to young men and women from Los Angeles County. It is a source of pride for the CCC that its crews reflect California's ethnically diverse population. In addition, the corps is believed to be the nation's largest employer of minority youth involved in environmental efforts. The CCC strives to instill not only the work ethic, but also the conservation ethic, in these young people. Each year, corps members log upward of 3 million hours in natural-resource work for the benefit of the state and Californians.

But there is much more to the corps than environmental work. It also stresses education, recognizing the absolute necessity of literate employees in today's workplace. Corps members without high school diplomas work toward general equivalency diplomas; others are enrolled in community college, and all receive practical job-seek-

ing skills through career counseling by the corps.

Is the program paying excessive wages to interest young people in joining? In fact, it pays minimum wage, advertises "hard work, low pay and miserable conditions." Nevertheless, throughout the state there is a waiting list of applicants eager to join.

As the state budget decisions come down to the wire, no one quarrels with the fact that these are tough times and state departments have never been in greater demand. The CCC is a "lean and mean" agency that delivers to urban youth, to the environment and to the state. It would be a terrible error in judgment to cut back California Conservation Corps when it is needed most.

J. Anthony Kline, a presiding justice of the state Court of Appeal in San Francisco and Los Angeles Superior Court Judge, and Loren Miller Jr. have both served as juvenile court judges.

(Lisa E' Shirley:
"The Feminist
Dvo for the
Future!" --
that's a good
slogan, do you
think -- now
what are we
going to run
for?")

CAMPUS COMPACT

The Project for Public & Community Service

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MESSAGE:

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Democratic Platform Stresses Non-Profits' 'Wisdom' as Key to Healing Social Ills

The Democratic Party and its presumed Presidential nominee Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas are pledging to "bolster" and place a new emphasis on non-profit organizations, which the Democrats see as key players in their plans for curing social ills and underscoring "our common rights and responsibilities as citizens."

"The wisdom, energy, and resources required to solve our problems are not concentrated in Washington, but can be found throughout our communities, including America's non-profit sector, which has grown rapidly over the last decade," states the party's platform, which will be presented to delegates at their nominating convention in New York this week.

Stuart F. Eizenstat, who was President Carter's chief domestic policy adviser, called the document "a significant departure" from past platforms. "It's a recognition that both for political reasons—we are often accused of being about big government—and as a practical matter—because

we have a \$400 billion defense budget—the government cannot do it all."

Will Marshall, a Clinton adviser, said the platform "says we ought to rely more on strategies that empower communities to solve their own problems."

Added Mr. Marshall, "The old debate has revolved around a failed debate between the government and the market. And we need to look beyond those to the third sector to solve public problems." Mr. Marshall is executive director of the Progressive Policy Institute, the research arm of the Democratic Leadership Council, which was founded in 1985 by moderate and conservative Democrats to help their party attract like-minded voters. Mr. Clinton was a founder of the council and its chairman from March 1990 until August 1991.

Not Points of Light

Mr. Marshall said that the Democratic platform differs from the Bush Administration's "Points of Light" program, which also calls on volunteers and community-based non-pro-

fits to tackle local problems. "What Bush is saying is that private volunteerism will somehow solve our problems, and he doesn't understand the crucial link between public leadership and community action," Mr. Marshall said.

In response to such criticism, Greg Petersmeyer, director of the White House Office of National Service, has said that President Bush believes that "the government has a very critical role to play in a very large range of social problems and problem solving," but that volunteers and non-profit programs are more likely than government bureaucracies to affect individual lives.

The Republicans are expected to release their platform shortly before their convention next month.

To serve as Mr. Clinton's liaison to non-profit groups and to work on policies affecting them, the campaign last week appointed James P. Clark, founder and executive director of Access, Inc., working in the Public Interest, which links job applicants to

charities seeking new employees. Mr. Clark will continue in that job and serve the campaign as a volunteer during his off hours.

He said he planned to call a meeting of non-profit leaders from around the country in New York during or shortly after the convention to discuss both specific legislative issues and broad questions—such as "what should the role of the sector be in society, and is it under-utilized?" Similar meetings in other cities are also planned.

National Service Called Key

Mr. Clark had been informally advising the Democrats on national and community service, which the platform cites as important to meeting a number of social needs.

The party would support legislation requiring that within two years of going on welfare, recipients who can work find a job or enlist in a community service program. The platform calls for creation of a civilian conservation corps for young people and describes a "Domestic Civil



James P. Clark has been named by the Clinton campaign to draft policy positions on issues of interest to non-profits.

that would allow students to borrow money for college and pay it back through national service addressing unmet community needs." —KRISTIN A. COSS

Foundations and Charities Seek New Ways to Reform Electoral Politics

Continued from Page 15
profit in 15 states to set up similar databases on contributions to state elected officials. It also has a new effort, called the Watch, to monitor the Federal Election Commission and build a case for its reform.

Ellen Miller, the center's executive director, says contributions to her group have nearly tripled since the 1984 Presidential election, in part because the center has matured, in part because foundation interest in campaign reform has grown, and in part because the influence of money on politics has become more noticeable.

Ms. Miller's group is taking its message outside Washington by holding conferences for grassroots activists around the country in hopes of interesting them in tracking the influence of money on politics.

One organization that the center collaborates with is the Working Group on Electoral Democracy, a loose-knit confederacy of civil rights, environmental, peace, and other long-time activists.

Information for Activists

Founded four years ago, the Working Group has opened the Chicago-based Grassroots Resource Center on Electoral Democracy to provide information and referrals to activists who want to begin campaign-finance projects. The Working Group's fledgling efforts have garnered \$145,000 this year from several foundations.

"For a long time grassroots activists have said that in order to advance our issues, we need to

develop sophisticated techniques for raising money from individuals, and even put up our own candidates. I think what grassroots activists are finally realizing is, this game is stacked against us, and in the name of democracy we need to change the game."

A growing number of groups are trying to do that. With money from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Western States Center, a Portland, Ore.,

curriculum and internship program that would train activists to become "pro-democracy guerrillas" by teaching them the ins and outs of campaign-finance reform, voter registration, and barriers to third-party participation in elections, says Joel Rogers, chair of the center's advisory board and a professor of law, political science, and sociology at the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

Many non-profit and foundation officials say they believe people aren't voting, because elections lack vibrancy. Some of them suggest, in fact, that voter-education efforts will not really succeed until the party system is reinvigorated and political races made more competitive.

With \$20,000 from the J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation, the Center for a New Democracy undertook an unsuccessful federal lawsuit challenging a Wisconsin law that prohibits more than one party from nominating the same candidate for the same office in the same election. Such "fusion" candidacies were widespread in the 19th century, but the practice was quashed by the major parties in order to weaken the political clout of outside challengers, Mr. Rogers says. The center plans to continue challenging laws in other states in hopes that eventually the Supreme Court will agree to decide whether fusion candidacies should be legal.

The Chicago-based Joyce Foundation gave \$50,000 to the Center for Contemporary Media at DePaul University for a conference

Making Races Competitive

the conference—which was broadcast on the C-span cable television network—is to be released soon.

Leaders in a growing movement to limit the number of terms elected officials are allowed to serve say theirs is the surest way to make elections more competitive, but so far they are receiving support from few foundations. "We're 'Americans Back in Charge,' a Denver-based group that grew out of a successful effort in Colorado to

defend term-limit measures in court, says Ms. Mitchell, a former Democratic state representative from Oklahoma.

Date: _____

Many non-profit and foundation officials say they believe people aren't voting because elections lack vibrancy.

place limits on state and federal politicians' tenure, has begun the Term Limit Legal Institute to help grassroots groups around the country to counter legal challenges to term-limit measures.

Training on Term Limits

The institute, which is based in Washington, has received about \$100,000 from the Carthage Foundation in Pittsburgh, along with a grant from a foundation that gave on the condition that the institute not reveal its identity, according to Clela Deatherage Mitchell, the institute's director and general counsel.

porting the process about voter coverage, and providing voters with information through toll-free telephone numbers.

The Markle Foundation, an unusual arrangement, has committed \$3.5 million to Cable News Network, part of Ted Turner's for-profit media empire, to enhance its coverage of the 1992 election. The money is going toward a series of "People's Agenda" segments on concerns of everyday citizens, reports analyzing modern campaigning, and other efforts to invigorate voter interest in the election.

To help CNN producers and reporters prepare for that coverage, Markle spent \$315,000 to stage a series of seminars on topics from urban poverty and racial strife, to political advertising and "counterbalancing the spin doctors," to the integration of electronic town meetings and other so-called interactive technology into network programming.

The grant was not without controversy when it was announced in October. Some press observers, including Bill Kovach, curator of Harvard University's Nieman Foundation, questioned the use of foundation funds to support a for-profit enterprise. (The Internal Revenue Service permits such a grant as long as the foundation assumes financial oversight for it and

Can a New 'Army' Save Our Cities?

With Discipline and Training, Our Alienated Young Could Find New Lives

By Arthur Ashe

ONCE AGAIN, seething, residual anger has burst forth in an American city. And the riots that overtook Los Angeles 10 days ago were a reminder of what knowledgeable observers have been saying for a quarter-century: America will continue paying a high price in civil and ethnic unrest unless the nation commits itself to programs that help the urban poor lead productive and respectable lives.

Once again, a proven program is worth pondering: national service.

Somewhat akin to the military training that generations of American males received in the armed forces, a 1990s version would prepare thousands of unem-

Arthur Ashe, an author and former tennis champion, is a contributor to The Washington Post sports section and a commentator on ABC-TV and HBO.

ployable and undereducated young adults for quality lives in our increasingly global and technology-driven economy. National service opportunities would be available to any who needed it and, make no mistake, the problems are now so structural, so intractable, that any solution will require massive federal intervention.

In his much-quoted book, "The Truly Disadvantaged," sociologist William Julius Wilson wrote that "only a major program of economic reform" will prevent the riot-prone urban underclass from being permanently locked out of American economic life. Today, we simply have no choice. The enemy within and among our separate ethnic selves is as daunting as any foreign foe.

Families rent apart by welfare dependency, job discrimination and intense feelings of alienation have produced minority teenagers with very little self-discipline and little faith that good grades and the American work ethic will pay off. A military-like environment for them with practical domestic objectives could produce startling results.

Military service has been the most successful career training program we've ever known, and American children born in the years since the all-volunteer Army was instituted make up a large proportion of this targeted group. But this opportunity may disappear forever if too many of our military bases are summarily closed and converted or sold to the private sector. The facilities, manpower, traditions, and capacity are already in place.

Don't dismantle it; rechannel it.

Discipline is a cornerstone of any responsible citizen's life. I was taught it by my father, who was a policeman. Many of the rioters have never had any at all. As an athlete and former Army officer, I know that discipline can be learned. More importantly, it *must* be learned or it doesn't take hold.

A precedent for this approach was the Civilian Conservation Corps that worked so well during the Great Depression. My father enlisted in the CCC as a young man with an elementary school

education and he learned invaluable skills that served him well throughout his life. The key was that a job was waiting for him when he finished. The certainty of that first entry-level position is essential if severely alienated young minority men and women are to keep the faith.

We all know these are difficult times for the public sector, but here's a chance to add energetic and able manpower to America's workforce. They could be prepared for the world of work or college—an offer similar to that made to returning GIs after World War II. It would be a chance for 16- to 21-year-olds to live among other cultures, religions, races and in different geographical areas. And these young people could be taught to rally around common goals and friendships that evolve out of pride in one's squad, platoon, company, battalion—or commander.

We saw such images during the Persian Gulf War and during the NCAA Final Four basketball games. In military life and competitive sports, this camaraderie doesn't just happen; it is taught and learned in an atmosphere of discipline and earned mutual respect for each other's capabilities.

Ethnic hatred, like that portrayed in Los Angeles, is also taught and learned.

A national service program would also help overcome two damaging perceptions held by America's disaffected youth: that society just doesn't care about minority

youngsters and that one's personal best efforts will not be rewarded in our discriminatory job market. Harvard professor Robert Reich has opined that urban social ills are so pervasive that the upper 20 percent of Americans—that "fortunate fifth" as he calls them—have decided quietly to "secede" from the bottom four-fifths, and the lowest fifth in particular. We cannot countenance such estrangement on a permanent basis. And what better way to answer skeptics from any group than by certifying the technical skills of graduates from a national service training program?

Now, we must act decisively to forestall future urban unrest. Republicans must put aside their aversion to funding programs aimed at certain cultural groups. Democrats must forget labels and nomenclature and recognize that a geographically isolated subgroup of Americans—their children in particular—need systematic and substantive assistance for at least another 20 years.

The ethnic taproots of minority Americans are deeply buried in a soil of faith and fealty to traditional values. With its accent on discipline, teamwork, conflict resolution, personal responsibility and marketable skills development, national service can provide both the training and that vital first job that will reconnect these Americans to the rest of us. Let's do it now before the fire next time.

David S. Broder

The Military Model

Of the millions of words spoken and written in the aftermath of the Rodney King verdict and the Los Angeles riots, none were more pertinent, pointed and eloquent than those of Gen. Colin L. Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Addressing the graduating class at Fisk University in Nashville, his wife's alma mater, Powell reflected not only his own remarkable character but the special moral authority he gains from the largely unrecognized performance of the institution to which he has devoted his adult life—the U.S. military.

Here is the gist of Powell's message, for those who have not heard or read it:

"As I saw those pictures on my television set," he began, "my heart hurt. . . . I didn't want to believe what I was seeing.

"Violence—by the police or by the mob—is not the answer. . . . It shouldn't be; we've come too far for this. But it did happen. And we see once again what a long way we still have to go. Because the problem goes beyond Rodney King. The problem goes beyond Los Angeles. It goes beyond the trial of those four officers.

"The problem goes to the despair that still exists in the black community over the inability of black Americans to share fully in the American dream. Too many African Americans are still trapped in a

cycle where poverty, violence, drugs, bad housing, inadequate education, lack of jobs and loss of faith combine to create a sad human condition, a human condition that cannot be allowed to continue if this nation is to hold its rightful place in the world.

"We have an American problem," Powell said. "It can only be solved by all Americans working together."

Respecting the inhibitions of his official position, the general did not outline an agenda for governmental action. Instead, he addressed the graduates—and through them, all Americans—about the responsibilities of citizens in this crisis.

"First," he said, "I want you to believe in yourself. You have to know that you are capable, that you are competent, that you are good. . . .

"Second, I want you to believe in America. . . . We are still, as Abraham Lincoln said, 'the last, best hope of earth.'

"Third, I want you to find strength in your diversity. Let the fact that you are black or yellow or white be a source of pride and inspiration to you. Draw strength from it. Let it be someone else's problem, but never yours. Never hide behind it or use it as an excuse for not doing your best. . . .

"I want you to fight racism. I want you to rail against it. We have to make sure that it bleeds to death in this country once and for all. . . .

"Finally, I want you to raise strong families. . . . As you raise your families, remember the worst kind of poverty is not economic poverty, it is the poverty of values. It is the poverty of caring. It is the poverty of love."

Obviously, the man who said this is a remarkable person. But he is also the product—and symbol—of a remarkable institution, the U.S. military, which in the last two generations has probably done more and succeeded better in creating a non-racist, bias-free meritocracy than any other part of American society. Powell's position as the head of the armed services symbolizes, but does not begin to describe, this success story.

The scope of the change was pointed out to me last year by David Gergen, the wise editor at-large of U.S. News & World Report, when we participated in a program at the Army War College. Gergen made the point then that the military's combination of disciplined structure and genuinely colorblind opportunity for advancement had transformed the lives of thousands of minority youths—and made the non-commissioned officers' and officers' clubs far more integrated than college faculties, business boardrooms or newsrooms.

Gergen argues passionately that the military services and its people have vital experiences and lessons to share with civilian America. Last week, I

heard the same point made by historian Stephen Ambrose, who has been spending time on military bases in connection with his own work. "So many NCOs tell me," he said, "I'm from Watts," or "I'm from the South Bronx. If it weren't for the military, I'd be dead or in jail."

Ambrose made a historian's point: "There's all this argument about whether the Great Society programs worked, or whether Jack Kemp's enterprise zones will work. Why not return to ideas that everyone agrees did work?"

One of those ideas, he says, was the Civilian Conservation Corps of New Deal days, which took unemployed youths and put them to work on what we would now call environmental projects. "It was run by the military," Ambrose said, "when the military had not much else to do. It pulled those kids out of the morass of their lives, gave them a sense of identity and discipline and of group purpose—the same things they need now."

Like Gergen, Ambrose noted that thousands of men and women—senior noncommissioned officers and junior officers in their thirties—face involuntary separation from their military careers because of the post-Cold War budget cuts. Why not take these young Colin Powells and let them lead a new CCC, he asks.

Why not?

Erie Daily Times, Erie, Pa.

EDITORIAL PAGE
Ed Wellejus
editor

Viewpoint

Instilling the work ethic

How do you teach the value of work to young people, the quality a state official last week called "an ethic of citizenship," if the young men and women involved can't find jobs?

And that's the value of efforts like the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps, which does provide work for disadvantaged young people.

The Pennsylvania unemployment rate for 16- to 24-year-olds was 14.7 percent last year, twice the rate for the state work force as a whole.

That's a lot of young people on the streets, without much to do.

As Donald W. Mathis, director of the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps, explained last week in a talk to the Erie Rotary Club, Pennsylvania has the second-largest year-round Conservation Corps in the nation, with more than 320 crew members working at 58 sites. The state has the nation's largest summer

OUR OPINION

youth corps program, employing more than 3,000 people of ages 14 to 21.

Members of either corps receive minimum wage, \$4.25 an hour. After six months, if they are asked to stay, Conservation Corps members receive a raise to \$4.450. One day a week, students who have not received a high school diploma study for the high school equivalency test.

In Erie, the Conservation Corps members have joined in such worthwhile projects as cleaning up Presque Isle State Park and — just last week — mowing the weeds along the bayfront parkway. They're involved with the Greater Erie Community Action Committee in a num-

ber of work projects, including cleaning City Hall windows, the subject of a recent *Erie Daily Times* photograph.

Mathis emphasized that the corps doesn't displace workers. "We do the work that otherwise wouldn't get done."

Which, of course, was the theory back in the days of the Great Depression behind Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps for young people and the Works Progress Administration for welfare recipients.

A bill pending in both the House and Senate would revive both agencies. The proposed legislation would create two federal youth corps, giving high school students and young adults scholarships or cash in return for service. Also, a new Community Works Progress Administration would require nearly all able-

bodied welfare recipients, except women with small children, to take public works or public service jobs.

Sen. Harris Wofford, a co-founder of the Peace Corps during the administration of President John F. Kennedy, is an outspoken advocate for more youth opportunities. He told David S. Martin, of the *Harrisburg Patriot-News*: "Structured work — with projects, with goals — that you're proud of when you're finished. These things can have a transforming effect on young people. For the first time in their lives — unless they've found it in a gang — they would discover what esprit de corps was."

Mathis and Wofford are right: Our young people need work. Agencies like the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps can help provide it.

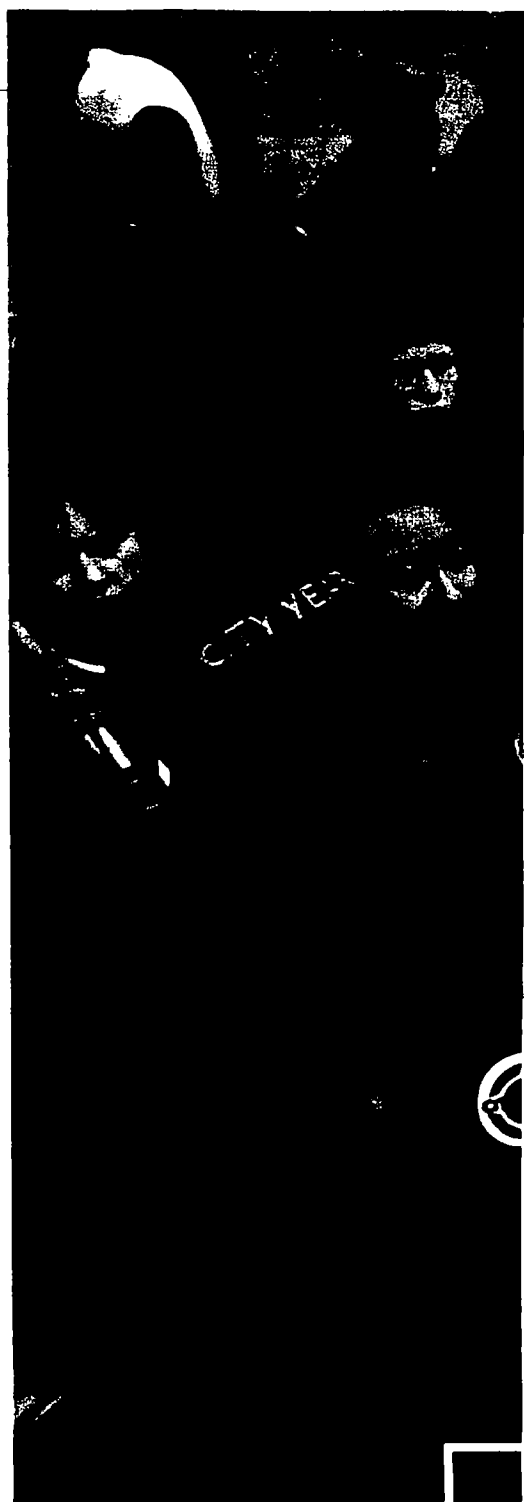
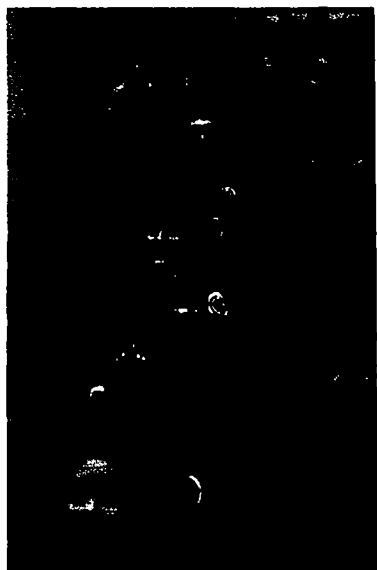
To the stream of commuters emerging from the subway onto Boston's City Hall Plaza every morning, they must resemble a paramilitary group. Lined in rows and dressed identically in brilliant red jackets, they shout in cadence to morning calisthenics. A closer look, however, reveals a bewildering mixture of faces and styles that suggests a most eclectic regiment: Sri Lankan, Cambodian, Dutch, Guatemalan, Mexican, Southie, preppie, a Korean kid from Texas, a white Harvard kid from Michigan with dreadlocks, a girl from Hong Kong, a boy from Haiti, a pretty blond girl with a ring in her nose. It's more than enough to make one wonder what they're up to.

The contrast presented by this regimented chaos is no accident. It is the carefully planned brainchild of Michael Brown '83, J.D. '88, and Alan Khazei '83, J.D. '87, and it represents a bold and extremely successful experiment in voluntary youth service. Begun in 1988, City Year combines the idealism of the Peace Corps and the novelty of 100-percent private-sector funding with a veneer of military structure, while doggedly insisting that its members represent the widest possible range of economic and racial backgrounds. Next year, the growing program will choose two hundred youths between the ages of seventeen and 23 from among one thousand to twelve hundred applicants to become members of the "corps." Every weekday from September to June they will meet for morning calisthenics, announcements, and personal exchanges—and then head out in teams to perform a range of services throughout the city. Each team of ten to twelve has a corporate sponsor (roughly \$15,000 per corps member) and is directly responsible to a salaried team leader.

Each member receives \$100 per week and a \$5,000 public service grant at the end of the year. At the heart of City Year is the idea of citizenship:

corps members are required to register to vote, obtain a library card, produce a résumé, complete a workshop in tax preparation, and, if they are not high school graduates, earn a GED before the end of the year.

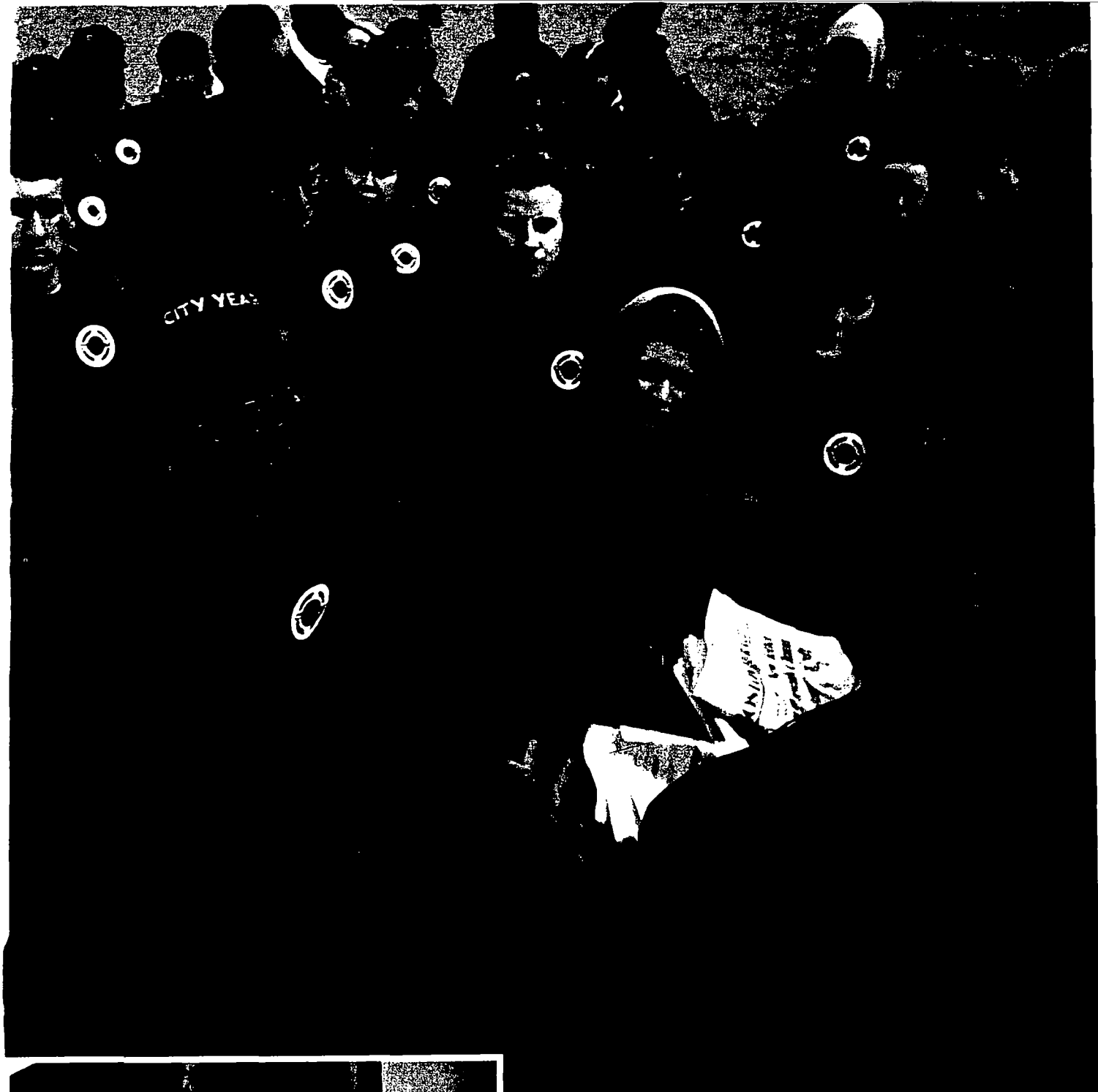
Above: For starters, the Citizens team loosens up. At right: team leader Ricardo Torres delivers some morning announcements. Far right: The Bank of Boston team moves out to the Blackstone School.



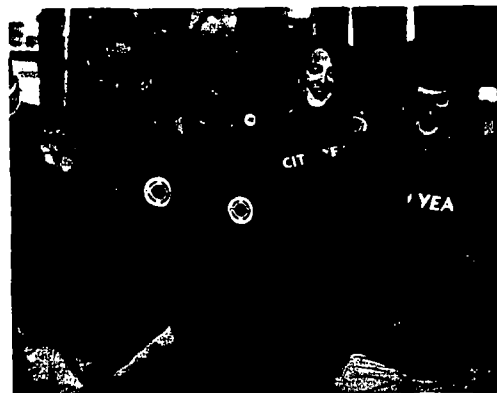
City Year

Photographs and text by
JIM HARRISON

"My generation is going to change the world," says a City Year member, "and this is how we are going to start." An innovative urban youth corps just might revolutionize public service.



Left: Founders Alan Khazei, at left, and Michael Brown hatched the idea for City Year as undergraduates at Harvard. Says former Radcliffe president Matina Horner, chair of City Year's board, "They are a wonderful example of how much difference two people with commitment can make."



City Year teams spend three weeks to four months on a project, splitting their time whenever possible between physical labor and human-service work. Some projects are ongoing, with one team replacing another throughout the year. One of the most extensive of these is at the Blackstone School, the largest public elementary school in the city. Here corps members assist teachers, tutor students in reading, organize gym activities, help in the bilingual program, and run the after-school program. As in many other cases, City Year is taking over services and programs that have recently been dropped because of budget cutbacks in Boston public schools. Projects involving physical labor have included the rehabilitation of a facility on Long Island in Boston Harbor that will become an AIDS hospital, and working alongside contractors in Somerville to restore a three-story building as permanent housing for the homeless.

"Our most important criterion in every strategic decision we make here is whether or not it will enhance the youth-service movement," says Brown. Whenever possible, teams do not merely complete tasks but design programs and organize projects from scratch, and develop methods for the community to sustain them beyond City Year's involvement.

An interesting example of City Year's constant tinkering with its design occurred this February when the program put together a joint-service day with one of its

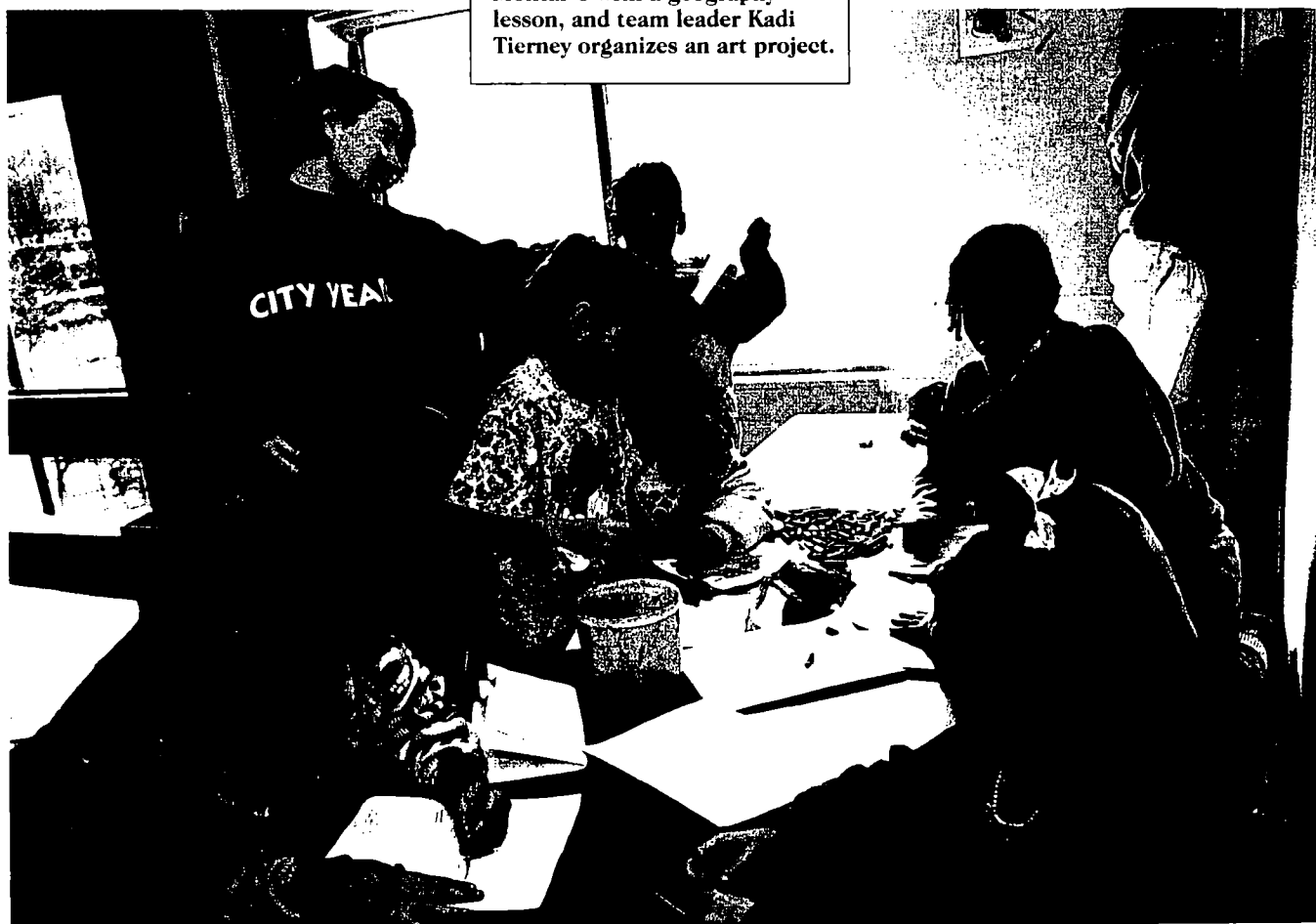
sponsors, the Timberland Company. First, fifty corps members from four teams met with corporate staff at Timberland's offices in Hampton, New Hampshire. After various presentations, fifteen Timberland employees donned work clothes and accompanied the corps members to Odyssey House, a nearby residential treatment center for troubled adolescents. The rest of the day, corps members, Odyssey House residents, and Timberland employees (including chief operating officer Jeff Swartz) worked together to paint the entire facility.

But if City Year projects are more than merely "picking up beer cans in Yosemite," as HUD secretary Jack Kemp once sardonically remarked of youth-service programs in general, the benefit to corps members is also meant to be far-reaching and permanent. This is not intended to be just a chummy nine-month break from reality but a direct confrontation with the problems of growing up in a demanding and uneasy world.

Corps members are constantly encouraged not only to keep informed (through reading the daily newspaper and attending a variety of workshops) but to keep involved (more than 25 volunteered to brave zero-degree weather last January to help with Boston's homeless census). From weekly classes on community service taught by psychiatrist Robert Coles to a one-month self-motivated internship in January, the corps is expected to get educated and get trained for what lies ahead.



At the Blackstone School, Jose Ortiz, above, helps Danny Montalvo with a geography lesson, and team leader Kadi Tierney organizes an art project.





Many hands. City Year helps paint Odyssey House, a treatment center for troubled adolescents. Inset, from left: Tanshella Branch of City Year, an Odyssey House resident, and Dick Morgan, director of human resources at Timberland, a team sponsor.



NINA WALKER

Nina left West Roxbury High School after failing to complete her senior year. After three years of temporary work and odd jobs, and with a newborn to raise on her own, she met two City Year corps members on a bus and learned about the program. She joined this year and belongs to the Bank of Boston team. Her roommate takes care of her two-year-old son during the day. In addition to working in the tutorial program at the Blackstone School, she takes classes at City Year twice a week for her GED and hopes to attend nursing school in the fall. "City Year has meant a lot to me because it let me work with and develop friendships with people not of my race," she says. "Our team is probably the most racially mixed, and we are very close. I wouldn't have gotten to know half these kids outside City Year. I've also had experiences I couldn't have had otherwise. I remember working on Saturdays at the soup kitchen in Chelsea—it was a chance to do something that really seemed to make a difference, and I discovered that I liked that."

MATT CARTY

Matt and his roommate at Phillips Exeter Academy, Creighton Reed '95, first heard about City Year at a Youth Outreach Weekend at Milton Academy. Creighton joined last year after Exeter's graduation, and Matt came on this



year after his freshman year at Harvard. During the first half of his year he worked as a case manager at a housing project in Charlestown sponsored by The Equitable. His current team, sponsored by Bain & Company, runs an after-school program in Dorchester. Matt plans to return to Harvard in the fall. "After my first year in college, I felt the need to learn something outside of school, and I really wanted to have the opportunity to do something tangible—where I could see the results of my work," he says. "City Year seemed to be the kind of working and learning I was looking for. I remember a man we worked with at the housing project in Charlestown. He'd lived in the projects for sixteen years and almost never left his room. His apartment was filthy—so bad it was in danger of being condemned. The initial focus that my team members and I had was just to help the guy clean his apartment. After a while we got him to do his

own cleaning, and we began to form a relationship. Later, after my team had moved on to another project, I was back in Charlestown. I ran into the man just walking down the street. He was happy to see me and offered to buy me lunch—and that from a man who a few months earlier almost never left his room and never spoke to anyone."

OUSATH CHEA

Ousath was born in Cambodia and emigrated with his family to the United States in 1981 at the age of eight. He lives in Hyde Park, graduated from Boston Technical High School, and is on the Timberland team. During his first term he organized a homeless relief initiative in Cambridge for mothers and their children. He is now working in Dudley Triangle with an after-school program. With his \$5,000

scholarship from City Year and money he makes washing dishes on the weekend, he plans to attend Wentworth Institute in the fall. "This year I've learned things from everyone on my team and everyone I work with," he says. "Even the kids at the after-school program have helped me know

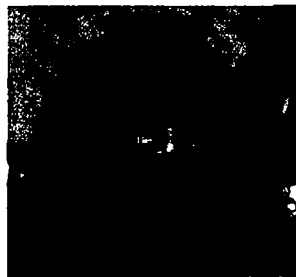
how to deal with children—how to have fun with them and how to help them. The kids at the program look up to me. They chant my name when I come in each afternoon. They've helped me realize that I can be a real role model for younger kids."



LAURA RIVERA

Laura was born in Guatemala. Soon after she came to the United States at the age of four, her parents separated, and she now lives with her mother in Roxbury. A Mormon, she heard about City Year from two members of her church who had completed the program. She is on the Reebok team and spent the first term working in the Spanish bilingual program at the Blackstone School. She is currently setting up a clothes bank at St. Rose Church in Chelsea. Because her partner in this project spends much of his time on his GED studies, she has had to organize the project almost entirely by herself—everything from getting dry cleaners to donate hangers to cleaning and organizing the trailer that houses the clothes bank. She is also taking continuing education courses at the University of Massachusetts at Boston on weekends and plans to enroll full time next year. "All

my life my mother made decisions for me and sheltered me from the drugs and violence in our neighborhood," she says. "This year I've learned that I can organize a project on my own and make all the decisions needed to carry it through."





Two versions of "switch-swatch," a game in which each participant simultaneously (and vehemently) argues one side of a debate. At a signal from a moderator, the debaters switch sides. The idea is to show that anyone can support both sides of an argument, but that to do so without listening to the other side results in chaos. Top: the merits of youth service get a hearing before a distinguished group including Boston mayor Raymond Flynn and presidential candidate Bill Clinton. Below: two Timberland vice presidents square off over the issue of light versus dark colors for the spring line of shoes.

Since City Year was not a jobs program, nor limited to the poor, it was from the beginning ineligible for federal funds. For financing, Brown and Khazei brought corporations into the citizenship equation, exposing what Brown saw as an untapped well of idealism in the private sector. This strategy directly involved corps members with a business community of which most would eventually become a part. It also allowed City Year to expand its laboratory idea, by streamlining innovation without the drag of bureaucratic regulations.

This year's sponsors are Bank of Boston, Bain & Company, New England Telephone, Reebok, Timberland, The Equitable, The Boston Company, Summit Partners, The Echoing Green Foundation, The Boston Legal Community, and The Kellogg Foundation. A final team, the Citizens Team, is financed entirely by private donations. Khazei sees this team as bringing full circle the idea of citizenship—the chance for every individual citizen to participate. ▢

Jim Harrison is a contributing editor of this magazine.

THOMAS EHRLICH

In recent years, politicians from every point on the political spectrum have been championing volunteer community service.

President Bush sponsors the Points of Light foundation because of his belief that "any definition of a successful life must include serving others." President Carter, since leaving office, has personally spent time each year helping build homes for poor families.

Congress recently adopted the National and Community Service Act to encourage volunteer service, particularly among young people. A nationwide consortium of colleges and universities called Campus Compact promotes volunteer service among its members.

As a director of the new Commission on National and Community Service, appointed by Mr. Bush, I am impressed that volunteer service is considered "the thing to do" by more young people throughout the coun-

Thomas Ehrlich is president of Indiana University. This article written for Scripps Howard News Service.

The volunteer 'thing to do'

try. At Indiana University, for example, I find that increasing numbers of students give their time, talents and energies to helping others as volunteers.

But why should we applaud volunteer service? In reply to this question, some say the nation's ills run so deep they can be met only through volunteer power. They believe that urban blight, drugs, teen pregnancies and other problems can be solved, or at least contained, only by the combined minds and muscles of volunteers — just as a neighbor's need for a barn brought community volunteers together in an earlier era.

Others stress the extent to which young people of all ages learn more when their learning is linked with service. Arithmetic comes alive to primary schoolchildren when they are collecting pennies for UNICEF. An undergraduate sociology course on urban problems becomes a living laboratory when students are engaged in projects that help ease those problems.

These and others reasons for vol-

To me, the most important reason to encourage volunteer service among young people is that it has a profound effect on character. Three key qualities are involved: self-esteem, responsibility and leadership.

unteer service are significant. But to me, the most important reason to encourage volunteer service among young people is that it has a profound effect on character. Three key qualities are involved: self-esteem, responsibility and leadership.

In my own definitions, self-esteem means having high expectations for oneself and the will to achieve those expectations. It entails being principled, not expedient, honest with oneself and with others.

Responsibility means accepting

personal responsibility for one's relations with others and conducting those relations with respect. It includes the broader sense of civic responsibility that makes democracy work.

Leadership means taking an active role in helping in the lives of others. Each of these attitudes can be shaped by many forces, but serving others is among the most powerful.

I recently read a report by an IU undergraduate who, for a volunteer

service project in one of his courses, went back to his old school to talk to the children about the value of education. This young man had been an outstanding football player in high school, recruited by many colleges. But in his senior year a serious injury ended his athletic career — a loss he still had not accepted.

"All the way there," he wrote, "I wondered how I was going to convince those kids I was sincere when really I was still so bitter. But I talked to them about the importance of education and the message seemed to sink in. I was someone they knew had been injured and had it all taken away, so I felt my speech was helpful to them."

"But just as important," he went on, "this assignment has helped me more than you can know. I was able to look into their eyes and see how lucky I am to have experienced all that I have, and that my education is something I can be proud of."

In serving others, in short, we serve ourselves.

Our society is so complex it is sometimes hard to believe that what we do as individuals can make a real and lasting difference. But that is precisely what I do believe.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 1, 1992

Dear Shirley:

Attached is a thoughtful article by Tom Ehrlich which you might enjoy reading.

I know you may have already written an article yourself on the important subject of community service, but if not, I hope that Tom's article will inspire you to put some of your thoughts on paper and submit them for publication in local and national media outlets.

I hope all is well with you.

Sincerely,



C. Gregg Petersmeyer
Assistant to the President

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Private-industry council officials meeting last week in Washington learned from leading lawmakers that the Congress has yet to seriously consider the job-training reforms described earlier this year by the Bush Administration. Under the proposed revisions, local Job Training Partnership Act governing councils would also be responsible for coordinating vocational-education programs.

"We've got to see what's in it first," said Senator Edward M. Kennedy, the Democrat from Massachusetts who chairs the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. "We need to see the fine print."

Representative Steve Gunderson of Wisconsin, the ranking Republican on the House Human Resources Subcommittee, offered a similarly skeptical view.

"I don't think kids want to administer vocational education, and I don't think you're going to get to do it, so don't get your hopes up," Mr. Gunderson told representatives of the National Association of Private Industry Councils.

Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin said, however, that President Bush continues to support the scheme and will make efforts to change the minds of Mr. Gunderson and others on Capitol Hill, even though the Administration's program is not yet ready to be introduced.

"It is still a work in progress," she said.

Ms. Martin cautioned, however, that the Administration would not soften its stance. "If you think the current system is working, then we should keep it, but that is false," she said. "I am not going to say that, just because we've got interest groups lined up against us, you don't propose it."

In the meantime, Ms. Martin said she hoped Mr. Kennedy's appearance signaled that the Senate committee is prepared to mark up its version of amendments to the J.T.P.A. While deliberations on the bill have been delayed twice in recent weeks, Mr. Kennedy assured the NAPIC assembly that the bill will be considered this month.

■ On May 6, educators can participate in a 90-minute teleconference on vocational education's role in larger school-restructuring efforts. The video program, sponsored by the National Center for Research in Vocational Education, will be free.

The program will feature school administrators from Newark, Del.; Salem, Ore.; Louisville, Ky.; and Jackson, Miss. An hourlong discussion will focus on topics ranging from combining academic and vocational curricula to new assessment practices.

To obtain more information or to register for the afternoon program, contact Susan L. Faulkner, N.C.R.V.E., 231 Lane Hall, Virginia Polytechnic and State University, Blacksburg, Va. 24061-0254; (703) 231-8721. —L.H.

Program Found To Boost Youths' College Attendance

By Lonnie Harp

Intervention programs aimed at raising the expectations of disadvantaged youths can succeed in boosting college-attendance rates and can encourage success, but often are handicapped by a lack of information on successful tactics or are overwhelmed by the continuing pressures to raise funds, a new study concludes.

The longitudinal study, released this week by the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, found that five years after completing the group's monthlong residential training program, participants were more likely than their peers to have attended college or joined the military.

In addition, the study found that, among low to moderate achievers in high school, twice as many participants as nonparticipants attended college.

The study compared 92 graduates of the program with 104 nonparticipants.

The study, which also examined 12 other intervention programs aimed at improving disadvantaged students' skills in science and mathematics, concludes that, by observing exemplary practices, intervention programs can quickly improve the outlook for students who often are overlooked by schools.

"These kids are really an extraor-

dinary pool of talent for the nation," said David P. Weikart, the president of the foundation. "When given the opportunity, they will respond."

In the new report, "Challenging the Potential: Programs for Talented Disadvantaged Youth," researchers, including Mr. Weikart, conclude that five years after completing the course at the nonprofit group's Institute for Initiative, Diversity, Expectations, Achievement, and Service in Michigan, 73 percent of the participants had gone on to postsecondary education, compared with 55 percent of a comparison group.

Considering only students who were identified as low or moderate achievers, 65 percent of the participants enrolled in college, compared with 29 percent of their peers.

High/Scope's Michigan institute, initially financed through the federal Job Training Partnership Act, is being expanded into other states with funding from the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund.

Mr. Weikart noted, however, that by using the information on proven intervention strategies, stronger programs could be initiated by a host of sponsors.

"We have the resources in J.T.P.A.; there are literally thousands of facilities that could be opened to programs like this, and the kids exist," he said. "We just have to bring all of

this together and make it go."

A 'Significant Report'

In studying the math and science programs, Mario A. Kelley of Hunter College of the City University of New York found that the common skills necessary for academic achievement are knowledge of one or more specific fields, problem-solving abilities, motivation, and communications skills.

To help students master those areas, he found, successful programs offer such strategies as advanced courses, hands-on exercises, exposure to work settings, involvement with role models, study coaching, personal counseling, and strong teacher training and parent involvement.

And while finding exemplary practices in many programs, the report notes that a lack of comprehensive program evaluations means that, even among model programs, few have designed strategies that incorporate all of the proven tactics.

"Programs are caught in a vicious circle," the report notes. "To secure funding, they must prove they are effective, and to prove they are effective, they must secure funding."

The research points to improvements needed to ensure greater success among intervention programs, and the report urges that more residential programs be established to

remove students from surroundings that have provided obstacles.

But, the authors add, the findings suggest changes for schools as well. Schools should incorporate more active learning and cooperative projects, and encourage more informal contact between teachers and students, the study says.

Educators should also gauge student abilities in ways other than test scores, which often hide the potential of disadvantaged youths.

"We must change our view of talented disadvantaged and minority students' potential for achievement, with the firm belief that our higher expectations will enhance their achievement," the report concludes.

Educators who have reviewed the 390-page report said the research on High/Scope participants will interest other researchers.

"It is a significant report," said Karen Pittman, a vice president of the Academy for Educational Development and the director of its center for youth development and policy research. "The rigorous evaluation and longitudinal work they've done gives us a strong base for making policy recommendations on what works and what doesn't."

Copies of the report are available for \$29 each from the High/Scope Press, 600 North River St., Ypsilanti, Mich. 48198.

Nabisco Pledges \$4,000 in College Aid to Workers' Children

By Meg Sommerfeld

The R.J.R. Nabisco Corporation has announced an education-assistance program that it hopes will break down the financial barriers to postsecondary education for the children of its 35,000 employees.

In addition, the package, announced last week by the snack-food and cigarette producer, is designed to help employees improve their own work skills and to foster parental involvement in schools.

The corporation has promised to help families save for postsecondary education by providing up to \$4,000 per child in matching funds. For each year of high school the child completes, the employee may contribute up to \$1,000 in pre-tax dollars to a deferred-savings account. The company will then match the contribution dollar-for-dollar up to the maximum.

In a letter to employees introducing the program, Nabisco's chairman, Louis V. Gerstner, called the initiative "a down payment on the future of R.J.R. Nabisco and the nation."

Nabisco will also pay the 3 percent loan-guarantee fee charged parents for loans made under the federal Parent Loans for Undergraduate Study program and will subsidize interest expenses on PLUS loan payments up to \$4,000 a year.

Nabisco estimates the tuition-assistance portion of its education package will cost the company between \$5 million and \$6 million annually.

The company's top 147 executives, however, will not be able to receive the matching or the loan subsidy. "We wanted to help out employees most in need," and not simply provide "a perk for senior management," Mr. Gerstner said in a statement.

School Involvement Rewarded

Also included in the financial-aid portion of the company's initiative is a partnership with CollegeCred-

it, the financial-aid division of the College Board. CollegeCredit will provide financial-aid information services to Nabisco workers, helping them locate additional grants and loans if necessary.

This will be the first time that employees of a large corporation will have access to the same information that college financial-aid officers use, according to Kathleen Brouder, a spokesman for the College Board's Scholarship Service.

Such a program is "a very good use of philanthropic dollars," according to Mary Leonard, director of pre-collegiate programs at the Council on Foundations. "It is strategic in

that it tries to use some of the funds through the company plus access other sources of revenues," she said.

Several corporate executives and financial-aid experts noted last week that although many companies offer a limited number of competitive scholarships, they were unaware of any other major corporations that extend aid benefits to all employees' children.

In addition to the tuition-aid component, the plan also encourages Nabisco employees to become active participants in their local schools. Nabisco will award \$2,000 Leadership Grants to schools where employees are working as "agents of change"

while serving on a parent-teacher association, board of education, or other similar group, according to Tracey Riese, a Nabisco spokesman.

The program also allows employees to take time off from work for a child's first day of school, to attend conferences with their child's teacher, and to participate in business or community partnership programs with schools.

In addition to helping employees, Nabisco will provide in-house training for employees as needed in reading, language, mathematics, problem-solving, computer literacy, management, and other job-related skills.

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IN SUMMARY

Chafing Over Choice

A new "controlled choice" plan unanimously approved by the Indianapolis school board is facing criticism even from board members themselves. **Page 5.**

Tightening Security

In the wake of the fatal shooting of two students at a Brooklyn high school, New York City officials last week unveiled a \$28-million effort to curb violence in the city's schools. **Page 5.**

Computer Kudos

School officials in Montgomery County, Md., are suggesting that a new computer system is partly responsible for dramatic increases in student-test scores in the district. **Page 8.**

Paying for College

The R.J.R. Nabisco Corporation has announced an education-assistance program that it hopes will eliminate the financial barriers to postsecondary education for its employees' children. **Page 10.**

Back to Reform

Thanks to a promise of no new budget cuts, Ohio lawmakers and educators may now turn to drafting major school-finance and classroom and governance reforms. **Page 12.**

Migrant Panel Tiff

The chairman of the national migrant-education panel threatened to resign last week following a heated argument with two members of the Congress on the panel. **Page 18.**

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CONVENTIONS IN PRINT

A special pullout guide to the annual convention of the National Association of Elementary School Principals.

Begins opposite page 20.

EDUCATION WEEK (ISSN 0277-4232) is published 40 times per year (weekly except for the first week in January, the last week in June, the month of July, the last three weeks in August, and the last two weeks in December) by Editorial Projects in Education, Incorporated. Editorial and advertising sales offices are located at 4301 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 250, Washington, D.C. 20008. (202) 364-4114. Subscriptions: U.S.: \$59.94 for 40 issues. Canada: \$82.94 for 40 issues. Foreign: \$124.94 (airmail) and \$92.94 (surface mail) for 40 issues. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to EDUCATION WEEK, P.O. Box 2083, Marion, Ohio 43306. Volume XI, Issue 25.

ACROSS THE NATION

NATIONAL

Survey Finds Most Youths Pessimistic About Future

More than half of today's youths believe that life in the United States will be worse a decade from now, according to a national survey conducted for Scholastic Inc.

The poll—conducted Feb. 20 of more than 2,800 3rd- to 12th-grade students in public, private, and parochial schools—showed that only 23 percent of those

polled thought life would be better 10 years from now than today. Older students were even more pessimistic; fully 64 percent of high-school students said life in 10 years would be worse.

The students polled by Chilton Research Services, a national marketing-research firm, said they were most worried about drug use (56 percent), AIDS (50 percent), and unemployment and the economy (38 percent). Only 15 percent said they worried about education.

The survey also found that older students were much more skeptical of the ability of

elected officials to solve the nation's problems. Thirty-five percent of 3rd to 5th graders said that the best-qualified candidates run for President; only 12 percent of high-school students agreed. Fifty-three percent of the youngest age group said that most elected officials care about their concerns; only 17 percent of high schoolers thought so.

High-school students were especially critical of President Bush's performance. Only 8 percent of students in grades 9-12 gave Mr. Bush an A, while 46 percent of the youngest students polled did so. ■

STATES

Survey Finds Mass. Districts Hit By Recession, Spending Limits

Spending restrictions and a depressed economy have forced Massachusetts' school districts to cut academic programs, staff sizes, and transportation services and to institute fees for extracurricular activities, according to a survey conducted by the Massa-

chusetts Association of School Committees.

The severe cuts are a result of the adoption in 1980 of Proposition 2½, which caps local spending, coupled with steady reductions in state aid to localities, the report says.

Budgets for the current school year were lower than last year's in 44 percent of the districts, while they were held to less than 4 percent increases in another 36 percent of the districts.

Districts that attempted to override Proposition 2½ failed three out of five times.

More than 80 percent of the responding districts said they had cut academic programs, chiefly in music, physical education, industrial arts, home economics, reading, and guidance.

All but 6 percent said they had to reduce size of their professional staff between 1991 and 1992, and one in four districts said they were forced to reduce or eliminate transportation services.

Fifty-eight percent, or 210, of the state's school districts responded to the survey. ■

DISTRICTS

Federal Judge Holds Oakland May Delay Redistricting Effort

A federal judge has turned back an effort by Hispanic and Asian-American voters in Oakland, Calif., to require city officials to redraw local voting districts before this November's elections for school board and city council.

Population variances in the current districts, which were drawn on the basis of the 1980 census, have become more pronounced in recent years and should be corrected in light of the 1990 census before the city's next planned redistricting in 1993, according to backers of the lawsuit filed last November.

U.S. District Judge Fern Smith ruled last month, however, that while the city's reapportionment delay was "constitutionally suspect," it was justified by the city's efforts to base the new districts on revised census data.

Oakland voters have approved a ballot

measure that would create a 10-year redistricting cycle that would begin in 1993.

Currently, the local school board has no Asian or Hispanic representatives. Together, the groups account for about 15 percent of the city's population.

■ Three former members of the Harlan County, Ky., school board have filed a lawsuit in county circuit court challenging the state education commissioner's constitutional authority to remove local school-board members.

The three men were ousted by the state school board after a weeklong hearing. A fourth board member and the district's superintendent resigned shortly after the state lodged its charges last year.

In their suit filed last month, the board's former chairman, Benny Dale Coleman, and the ex-board members, Ronnie Ball and David Lewis, charge that the education department exercised powers reserved for the state attorney general. The men claim they still hold office and are seeking a court order preventing their replacement.

The state had anticipated that the Harlan County decision would spark a challenge to the governance provisions of the 1990 Kentucky Education Reform Act.

In the lawsuit, the men contend their rights to a jury trial were violated and say they are considering a federal lawsuit alleging that they were denied their rights under the First and Fourth amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

■ The Baltimore Teachers Union has sued the city of Baltimore, charging that a salary-reduction plan there is unconstitutional.

The union, which filed suit last month in federal district court, objects to the city's decision to save money by not paying teachers for one week of work. That works out to a 2 percent pay cut.

The state board of education rejected an earlier proposal to furlough teachers and close Baltimore's schools for a week because students would have been in school for fewer than the state-mandated 180 days.

A second lawsuit, filed by the union in

Crossing the Red Cross

Barren County, Ky.'s Red Cross School, named for the century-old community it serves, has been receiving a lot of attention lately from the American National Red Cross, and not because of blood drives.

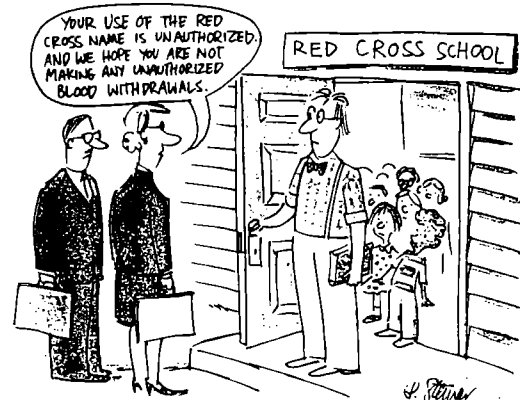
Recently, the county school board received a letter from the charitable organization informing it that its use of the name "Red Cross," a registered trademark, was considered unauthorized.

The letter stunned administrators of the 80-year-old school. "We're not trying to take advantage of the Red Cross name," said Roy Withrow, the superintendent of the Barren County schools.

According to Mr. Withrow, the U.S. branch of the international organization had not realized that the 210-student elementary school was a public school. After he explained the situation, the American Red Cross decided not to take further action, Mr. Withrow said.

"They should have checked their facts before proceeding," the superintendent said. "It would have saved everyone a lot of trouble."

The Red Cross had learned of the school's existence during a routine Dun & Bradstreet trademark search. The school's name may have appeared on the list because of bonds it had issued, said Margaret McCarthy, a spokesman for the organization.



The Red Cross has apologized in writing and, in future, Ms. McCarthy added, "each situation will be taken on its own merits."

Peter Steiner

—L.D.

THE CHRONICLE OF PHILANTHROPY.

ISSN 1040-4776 • Copyright © 1991 by The Chronicle of Philanthropy

The Newspaper of the Non-Profit World

Vol. III, No. 22 • September 10, 1991 • \$2.75

TURNING KIDS ON TO GOOD WORKS

Youth service spreads rapidly; some of the programs give young people the power to make decisions and award grants

By KRISTIN A. GOSS

PHILANTHROPY isn't just for grown-ups anymore. As social crises escalate, adults are turning to kids for help—giving them grant money, decision-making power, and vast new opportunities to deploy their skills and ideas to serve themselves and their communities.

Over the last decade, community-service programs for young people have spread like wildfire. Washington-based Youth Service America counts roughly 2,500 such programs but says they probably number far more. More recently, non-profits and foundations have begun asking kids to design grant proposals and apply for charitable funds. In some cases, charities also have created fund-raising and grant-making committees composed in part or entirely of young people.

Those experimental efforts have received major



Patty Stoddard, who helped hand out grants as a high-school student in Kalamazoo, Mich., says the experience has taught her that individuals can make a difference. "That's where everything starts," she says. See Page 12.

support from some of the nation's largest private foundations and from Congress, which last year authorized \$287-million in federal spending for community-service programs through 1993.

Many foundation officials, legislators, and youth advocates believe that the programs could play a key

role in overcoming problems that have stymied adults: ineffective public schools, racial tensions, gangs and drugs, political and civic apathy among young people, and the need to train a new generation of non-profit executives, donors, and trustees.

Youth advocates insist that it is high time that adults begin to view kids not as problems, but as problem solvers.

They say that kids may know best how to help their peers, and that in so doing they will help themselves. In fact, a growing number of the programs are using philanthropy as therapy for troubled youths.

"I think some philanthropy can be quite removed and quite precious," says John A. Calhoun, executive director of the National Crime Prevention Council, a non-profit that has started numerous philanthropic programs for young people. "The kids are going to make mistakes too, but I think ultimately, especially around kids' issues, that it's going to be more accountable."

Youth Corps and College Programs

Among the burgeoning efforts:

► Youth corps, which are usually heavily supported by state or local governments, pay a stipend to people, generally poor or troubled youngsters 15 to 25 years old, to perform human-services and environmental projects. All but two of the nation's 75 corps have begun within the last decade. Several foundation-financed efforts are under way to increase that number, especially in the cities.

► College-based programs, such as Campus Com-

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Door-to-Door Troubles

Charities that have relied on door-to-door fund raising are finding it harder to recruit volunteers because more women are in the work force and many people are concerned about safety. In response, the charities have developed some new techniques that they say work even better. Story on Page 26.

'Alternative' Funds

The new leader of the Funding Exchange, a group of "alternative" foundations, hopes to have an impact on mainstream grant makers. Story on Page 7.

Campaign for Children

A California non-profit has developed a new approach to advocacy. Children Now is using a high-powered media effort to make the public aware of the problems faced by children living in poverty. Story on Page 33.



The Soviet Upheaval

U.S. foundations and non-profits are looking at their role following the dramatic changes in the Soviet Union. Above, a worker loads supplies for Lithuania. Story on Page 6.

A complete guide to this issue appears on Page 3.

Indiana Program Helps Youths Design and Carry Out Community Projects

INDIANAPOLIS

This summer, at O'Brien Park on this city's east side, residents of a home for delinquent and abused teen-age boys learned what it's like to be on the giving end, rather than the receiving end, of philanthropy.

Passing the park playground near their home each day, the boys noticed that the swing set, jungle gym, and other equipment were run down, and that the neighborhood kids had ceased to play there.

So they decided to apply for a grant to finance a rehabilitation project.

With guidance from the adult counselors at their group home, known as Mallon House, the boys designed a proposal that outlined their plan for painting the equipment with bright colors and spreading mulch underneath.

They submitted their request to Youth as Resources, a program started in Indianapolis and nine other Indiana communities by the National Crime Prevention Council, a Washington-based non-profit. The program encourages young people to design and carry out community-service projects and aims to teach adults that kids have valuable ideas, skills, and time to offer.

'Made Everybody Feel Good'

The boys defended their proposal before the Youth as Resources allocations board—composed of community leaders and young people—and they got their money.

"At first I didn't want to do it, because I thought it was going to be hard, and plus we weren't getting paid for it," says Derrick, a 16-year-old Mallon House resident. "But once I seen everybody else, that really convinced me, and we was having fun painting and everything."

"Made everybody feel good," Derrick adds. (The boys spoke on the condition that their last names not be revealed.)

Donny, another project participant, had done community-service before. It was ordered by a court, he says, after his conviction for shoplifting, but he liked the park project better. "You're doing it for yourself and other people, instead of doing it because you have to and as a punishment," says the 16-year-old.

John, 15, helped design the grant proposal, and all told, he would probably do another such project. But, he says, "the kids that play in the park, if they acted like they appreciated it more, I would probably be happier. But they don't."

Youth as Resources began as a pilot project in three Indiana cities: Evansville, Fort Wayne, and Indianapolis. It was supported by a \$770,000 grant from the Lilly Endowment in Indianapolis. The programs continue today with additional support from Lilly and other private contributions.

Under the program, kids from youth groups and schools design a community-service project, prepare a grant proposal, present their ideas to a grant-making board, and, in most cases, receive \$500 to \$2,500 to carry out their idea.

Among the projects supported during the demonstration period:



These residents of an Indianapolis home for troubled boys thought playground equipment at this local park needed a fresh coat of paint. To give it one, they got a grant from Youth as Resources, which supports community-service projects for young people.

► Adolescent mothers performed an anti-teen-age-pregnancy play for young girls.

► Group-home residents held workshops to teach kids how to manage stress.

► Middle-school students taught courses in English as a second language to their peers.

► Kids produced public-service announcements on relations between police officers and young people.

"What's thrilling about this is, it

"Before I got involved in volunteering and community service, I was basically just a follower. Now, I'm definitely a leader."

has kids defining what the social issues are," says John A. Calhoun, executive director of the National Crime Prevention Council. "And it has programs not by adults for kids, but by kids with adults for the community."

Spreading to 7 New Cities

During the 2½-year demonstration project, which ended in December 1989, Youth as Resources boards gave out nearly \$300,000 to more than 140 projects involving 4,300 young people.

Last year Lilly made an additional grant of just under \$738,000 to spread the program to seven new

Indiana communities, and to test it with kids in several Indianapolis group homes, including Mallon House, and in the Indiana Girls' School, a correctional facility for juvenile offenders aged 12 to 18. The first grants to the group-home and girls'-school kids were made in July, and their projects are just getting under way.

"Part of the dream here," Mr. Calhoun says, "is to alter the way kids who are troubled or in trouble are taken into systems."

Says John Mutz, president of the Lilly Endowment: "Somehow or other kids who thought they had nothing to offer suddenly have a great deal more to offer than they thought, and this turns their whole attitude around."

Mr. Calhoun remembers a ceremony in which disadvantaged kids received their grants: "If you could've seen these kids get their awards!" he says. "I'd forgotten the negative aura, the body language, they carry. They were hunched, as if they were accustomed to getting hit, or being said 'No' to all the time. And they made their little acceptance speech, and what they said was beyond belief."

Program officials hope Youth as Resources will build kids' self-esteem and teach important values and skills, including leadership, responsibility, citizenship, organization, planning, and money management.

"Often we think of kids as being ineffective or not experienced enough to make good decisions," says Lilly's Mr. Mutz. "I think this program helps correct some of those myths about kids."

"A lot of kids on the streets think nobody cares about them—I thought nobody cares about me."

says Misty, a 17-year-old resident of the Indiana Girls' School. "But each of us cares about everyone else. We want to help them take care of themselves." (Indiana Girls' School authorities let the girls speak provided their last names were not revealed.)

Misty is working on a Youth as Resources-supported project called "Kids Care for Kids," in which girls'-school residents received \$2,000 to provide food baskets, activities, and personal-hy-

giene training to indigent children.

Participants through the grant-writing process so they are assured of receiving funds.

Working with troubled kids has posed tough challenges to program administrators. The difficulties include the high turnover rate at the girls' school, the need for tight security when the kids go off campus, and widely varying skill levels among project participants, Ms. Patterson says.

Youths Serve on Boards

Youth as Resources boards in the demonstration cities include kids. In Fort Wayne, the board chairman is a teen-ager. In Indianapolis, a girls'-school resident and a group-home resident served on the board until recently, and effort are under way to recruit replacements.

"Before I got involved in volunteering and community service, I was basically just a follower. Now I'm definitely a leader," says 18-year-old Jeffrey Sanford, who was recruited from a youth-leadership program in 1987 to serve on the Indianapolis board that gives grants to kids from the general population. "People will listen to what I say, and I can make decisions and they won't always be scoffed or ignored."

Adds Mr. Sanford: "I can also say it changed my life for the better."

Others believe the program is as much about altering adults' attitudes toward kids as it is about changing kids' attitudes toward themselves and their community.

"One of the real successful by-products of it has been changing the opinions of the staff, so that they can really begin to see the children's potential," says David

"You're doing it for yourself and other people, instead of doing it because you have to and as a punishment."

gene training to indigent children.

Lisa Patterson, who coordinates the Youth as Resources program in the group homes and the girls' school, says her major concern was that the children's proposals were good enough to avoid being rejected.

"What we didn't want to do was add another failure to kids who have had a lot of failures in their lives," she says. "While you don't want to just give them something for nothing, we also didn't want to do something that would make their situations worse."

Ms. Patterson says that she and board members walk program par-

jects

Emenhiser, executive director of The Villages, which runs 10 group homes for abused and neglected kids throughout Indiana. "If you change the attitude of people working with kids, you change the children's attitudes pretty quick."

Says Sandra Emmanuel, a Youth as Resources board member who is also executive vice-president of the Indianapolis Urban League: "The thing that strikes me is the reaction of adults who are on the receiving side of the community service, their ability to change their opinion about young people."

Mr. Calhoun says that "another thing that began to happen, which was unintended, was that these kids began to flirt with some social-policy issues."

"It's said in a very innocent and unadorned way: 'Gee, we helped in a battered women's shelter; who's going to do something about violence on TV? We have to write a brochure on AIDS: who's going to do research?'"

Long-Term Effects Unclear

Adult leaders of Youth as Resources admit they don't know if the program will help kids stay out of trouble over the long term.

"You never know what you prevent," says Mr. Emehiser.

Says Carol Duncan, assistant supervisor of education at the girls' school: "I think community service is important, but I'm certainly not one who thinks it's a panacea. I think the girls have to understand their own role and to begin to have some feeling about themselves before they can give to the community."

Nonetheless, Ms. Duncan says she is an enthusiastic supporter of the Youth as Resources program, and says the girls are learning important organizational, bookkeeping, and decision-making skills.

Several girls have already asked Ms. Patterson to allow them to continue in other Youth as Resources projects after they leave the girls' school, a request Ms. Patterson says she will try to honor. She says she does not want the kids to become "emotionally invested" in a project, only to be forced to abandon it after release from the school.

'I Wasn't Responsible at All'

Some of the girls say just planning the project has been good for them.

"Before I worked in our group, I wasn't responsible at all," says Jaime, age 15, who has asked to continue her involvement with Youth as Resources after her release from the school. "After I got into this project, the counselor said, 'I see you being real responsible.' I was so happy."

Jaime is working on a project called "We Are Involved in Helping Others," in which the girls received \$1,564 to provide activities, crafts, and cleaning assistance to physically handicapped, mentally disabled, and elderly people.

Adds Jaime: "I think if everybody just pulls together, it's going to be a wonderful project. The whole world, I mean everybody, should do it, because it's neat! I don't know how else to explain it. It's just neat!"

—KRISTIN A. GOSS

Wealth of New Programs Turning Kids On to Good Works

Continued from Page 1

pact, a coalition of college and university presidents created in 1985 to promote community service, and the Campus Outreach Opportunity League, an organization composed of young people who came together in 1984 to do the same, also have grown impressively. Campus Compact, which began with 125 campuses, now includes 266. cool's network of campus programs has grown from 15 in 1984 to more than 600 today. And new national groups have formed to start more-specialized programs, including work on the environment and community projects performed over spring break.

Once predominantly limited to Catholic, Quaker, and some other religious schools, elementary and secondary-school-based programs are sweeping through public education. Several school districts, including those in Atlanta and Detroit, require students to perform a minimum number of hours of community service before receiving their diplomas. A proposal before the Maryland Board of Education and a bill making its way through the New Jersey Senate would require the same of schoolchildren in those states. However, such mandatory programs are controversial, and in at least one community, Bethlehem, Pa., a lawsuit has

charged that the requirement is unconstitutional.

Beyond community service, some charities are experimenting with giving young people money, both as grant makers and recipients, to finance their ideas.

Community foundations in Maine and Michigan—as well as United Ways in Michigan, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas—have established separate committees in which young people learn how to evaluate grant proposals and decide how to raise and disburse charitable funds for worthy causes. (See story on Page 12.)

In Houston, for example, the 30 organizers of Kids' Way made

a fund-raising videotape showing problems and their solutions and raised \$65,120 last year. The young people will help distribute that money this year.

Applying for Grants

In Boston, Indiana, and Philadelphia, kids are getting experience designing community-service projects and applying for grants to finance them.

The Boston program—known as Teens as Community Resources—sparked a major duplication effort in Indiana in 1987. The National Crime Prevention Council received a \$770,000 grant from the Lilly En-

Continued on Page 12

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Serve on Boards

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Mr. Sanford: "I can also change my life for the better."

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How can kids be hungry for knowledge when they're just plain hungry?

Every day, an unbelievable one in eight children goes hungry, and others do not receive proper medical care. These students have trouble learning. The inextricable link between children's health and education has long been recognized by experts, but programs and policies are seldom coordinated.

The Prudential Foundation decided to help make the connection. Providing funds and leadership, The Prudential mobilized 48 national organizations, both policy-makers and service

providers, to form the National Health/Education Consortium.

We're proud that this unique consortium is working to provide integrated solutions to help our kids to a better life.

We not only want to stop their hunger pangs, we want to whet their appetite for knowledge.

If you share our concern and want to help, contact: The Prudential Foundation, Dept. HE-CR, 15 Prudential Plaza, Newark, NJ 07102.

The Prudential Foundation

Helping in ways that help the most.

Leaders Hope to Insure Philanthropy's Future by Teaching Kids How to Give Away Money

Concerned that philanthropy may have a tough time finding leaders in the decades ahead, some foundations and non-profit executives are hoping to stave off problems by teaching kids how to raise and distribute money.

"It's very important to insure the continuity of philanthropy, and the only way to do that is to instill in kids the values and attitudes that will enable them to see charity as a vital part of their lives," says Mary Leonard, who coordinates Grantmakers for Children and Youth, an affinity group of the Council on Foundations. She adds: "Growing your own philanthropists is the answer in many cases."

In Michigan, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation four years ago gave the Council of Michigan Foundations \$2-million to distribute to community foundations in the state. Kellogg stipulated that its money go into youth funds administered by the community foundations, and that kids help with grant making and with raising the matching funds required by Kellogg. The young people also had to help assess the needs of the community.

The 26 programs have proved so successful, says Kathy A. Agard, program director of the Michigan council, that Kellogg gave \$35-million more for the community foundations last March.

"We're excited about a whole generation in Michigan having philanthropic experience," says Ms. Agard.

In Kalamazoo, Mich., the Kalamazoo Community Foundation joined with the Greater Kalamazoo United Way to help it raise and distribute its youth funds.

The Battle Creek Foundation has joined with the United Way of Greater Battle Creek in a similar program.

Gave Away \$22,500

In Kalamazoo, the kids have raised money in their high schools to support both the community foundation's youth fund and projects run within the school system and by community agencies. In the first two years of the program, the Youth Advisory Board has given out \$22,500 in Kalamazoo Community Foundation funds to non-profit groups.

Before making their grants, the kids surveyed 20 per cent of the students in all 11 Kalamazoo-area high schools to determine what their priorities were, using the results as a basis for their grant-making decisions. Drinking-and-driving was No. 1, and sexual abuse and rape ranked higher than expected, according to Patty Stoddard, a member of the Youth Advisory Board.

After the first-year, the kids decided not only to give money to the non-profit groups, but to volunteer for them, as well.

"There's a lot of people who think that the individual can't make a difference, and I've realized that that's not true. That's where everything starts," says Ms. Stoddard, 18 years old.

"After going through something like this, it just seems more possible."

Ms. Stoddard, who has begun her freshman year at Valparaiso University in Indiana, says she "definitely" believes that experiences such as hers will make kids more philanthropic.

"Lots of times people don't really have the opportunity, and if they do, they're not asked to do anything," she says. "It was the adults who were giving us the chance."

"It's always been nice to have kids get involved in philanthropy in some peripheral way, but the Youth United Ways, where kids raise the money and really make the decisions—that is going to be something we'll see more and more in the future," says Joel J. Orosz, who directs the Kellogg

"All of us active in non-profit boards know how tough it's getting because we don't have youth coming up through the system."

Foundation's philanthropy and volunteerism program. Youth United Ways operate in at least four states.

In Tarrytown, N.Y., Hitachi America is working with two 12th-grade classes at Sleepy Hollow High School to teach leadership skills through philanthropy. The classes—each of which distributes \$1,500 a year in Hitachi money—are "learning the gift of giving, and they also are discovering how difficult that is, by the way," says Ellen Kaplan, the school psychologist who teaches the classes, called the Peer Leadership Program. This school year, she says, the students will complement their grants with volunteer work.

Youth Service America, an advocacy group, in November will begin its first Youth Leadership Institute, which will feature training sessions and seminars for young people who are starting youth-service programs. Issues to be covered will include fund raising and administration.

Says Kellogg's Mr. Orosz: "The thing that is really neat about this field is that you can become a national leader very young."

Mr. Orosz sees "a new sophistication," particularly among college kids' community-service efforts.

"The first group said, 'Let's make soup to the homeless,' and that's great," Mr. Orosz says. "This group I'm seeing now is saying, 'Let's empty the shelters, let's find ways to build affordable housing, let's find ways to make public policy more supportive of long-term solutions.'"

Getting Youths on Boards

Some foundation and non-profit leaders are also trying to find ways to get kids to serve on boards of non-profit groups, especially those that work for and with young people.

"There's a great need for non-profits to involve young people in their governance structures," says Jon Blyth, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation's program officer for at-risk youth. "Once you ask that, you say, 'What have foundations done to involve kids in the decision-making about their own programs?' We ought to point the question at ourselves: We don't have a young person on our board."

In Indianapolis and several other Indiana communities, the National Crime Prevention Council, a Washington-based non-profit, has begun programs, called Youth as Resources, in which school and youth groups design community-service projects and then request grant money to finance them. Both kids and adults serve on the grant-making boards.

Paula Allen, who directs the Indianapolis program, says she had her "fingers crossed," hoping the two groups would work together well. "I was more concerned about the adults working with youth—whether they would accept them and really work well with them, or whether they would patronize them and not share power," she says. Both young and adult members of the board report that the mix has been good for both groups.

Insuring the future vitality of non-profits and foundations is one aim of YES! America, a program in which local corporations or other organizations put up \$1,000 to be matched and then distributed by groups of school kids.

"All of us active in non-profit boards know how tough it's getting because we don't have youth coming up through the system who understand fund raising and non-profit boards," says Edie Fraser, spokeswoman for YES!, which stands for Youth Engaged in Service.

YES!, which grew out of the Youth in Philanthropy project of the Community Foundation of Greater Washington, hopes to be operating in 200 cities by the end of 1995.

Ms. Fraser says the program will track kids to determine what effect, if any, participation in the program had on philanthropic activities or other pursuits.

—KRISTIN A. GOSS

Turning Kids On to Good Works:

Continued from Page 11

downward to begin programs—called Youth as Resources—in Evansville, Fort Wayne, and Indianapolis. Pleased with the success, Lilly last year gave \$738,000 to spread the program into seven additional Indiana communities and into facilities for troubled teenagers in Indianapolis. (See story on Page 10.)

Based on the Indiana model, the Boys and Girls Club of Philadelphia, with a grant from the William Penn Foundation, created its own Youth As Resources program. A board composed of kids and adults has given close to \$100,000 to groups of young people for, among other projects, a videotape that explores stereotyping of Asian-American teenagers, a training program to help people resolve domestic and racial conflicts in neighborhoods, and a project to feed after-school meals to latchkey children.

"Given an opportunity, young people will get involved and give back," says Gerald Romeo, executive director of the Boys and Girls Club. "It depends on the messages the adult community gives."

He adds: "Kids have a sense of what works and what doesn't work."

Charlotte Griffiths, a University of Virginia sophomore, received \$2,075 from Youth As Resources in Philadelphia to run a summer camp for homeless children. Says Ms. Griffiths: "Usually kids are told, 'Here's the project, this is what you're going to do.' Whereas [board members of] Youth As Resources say, 'What do you want to do?' They really, really encourage responsibility to the community."

A New Source of Creativity

Behind these myriad philanthropic and community-service efforts, say youth advocates, are various political and sociological forces—everything from President Bush's "Thousand Points of Light" campaign to a revival of the 1960's self-help ethic, to the failure of policy makers to find ways to reduce poverty, violence, and disaffection among young people.

But mostly, the advocates say, adults have begun to realize that the best way to attack social problems is to tap kids as a new source of creativity, energy, and available time—and to call upon them at a young age.

Long-time youth-service advocates warn that giving and volunteering are not panaceas for the troubles facing kids or their communities. What's more, they say that solid research on the long-term benefits for young people is sorely lacking, though anecdotal evidence abounds.

Even the extent of programs for kids is not known, and little research has been done to understand what motivates or sustains their philanthropic behavior.

One of the most comprehensive studies, published last year by Independent Sector, a coalition of non-profits and grant makers, found that teen-agers actually volunteered at a higher rate than adults. The study found that teen-agers—58 per cent of whom volunteered,

compared to 54 per cent of adults—gave 1.6 billion hours to formal and informal voluntary projects in 1989.

Such efforts got a substantial lift last year, with the passage of the National and Community Service Act, which authorized up to \$287-million for youth corps, school-based service programs, and state demonstration projects.

The body created to distribute the federal funds, the Commission on National and Community Service, is expected to meet for the first time this month. The most optimistic projection is that the commission could begin giving out money by the beginning of next year.

What's more, several large grant makers—including the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, the Lilly Endowment, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, and the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund—are putting up millions of dollars to test the effects of philanthropy and community service on young people. And at least 10 states have formed youth-service coalitions to increase such programs.

Benefits for Education

Youth advocates say the benefits of involving young people in good works are potentially great. They recommend youth service and youth philanthropy as strategies for:

- Improving education.
- Rehabilitating juvenile offenders and troubled teen-agers.
- Reducing racial and class tensions in urban areas.

In public-school systems across the country, a growing number of teachers and administrators are coming to see community service as the best—and most underused—strategy for helping students to learn better, think better, and do better.

Using "service learning" as a method for reforming public schools has been discussed in education circles for at least two decades, but only recently has it caught the attention of policy makers and the public. The strategy—which has philosophical roots in the writings of Aristotle and John Dewey—assumes that kids learn better when lectures and readings are complemented by experiences outside the classroom.

"I'd call it the sleeping giant" of school reform, says Joe Nathan, a former schoolteacher who is now director of the Center for School Change at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs.

"I'd say 85 to 90 per cent of what's going on in education reform isn't going to do any long-term good because it assumes the kids are empty vessels into which knowledge is to be poured," says Mr. Nathan. "Students are far more motivated when they have the chance to apply what they've learned."

Supporters of community service also argue that it is among the best ways to teach citizenship to young people.

"An important part of public education is to develop a sense of civic responsibility—especially to those in need," says New Jersey

September 10, 1991

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Youth Service Spreads Rapidly

State Sen. Richard J. Codey, a Democrat who introduced a bill that would require high-school students to perform 40 hours of community service as a condition of graduation. "These community-service activities will introduce students to the real world."

"We're moving away from the idea that young people are constantly in the act of preparing for active citizenship and adulthood, and looking at them as active members of the community now," says Jim Kielsmeier, executive director of the National Youth Leadership Council, a St. Paul group that is creating "service learning" programs in 30 elementary and middle schools nationwide.

an advocacy group, says his biggest worry about mandatory community-service programs is whether they will provide a valuable experience for the students. "You can't just do it by a stroke of the pen," he says. "You need people who know how to set up community-service programs, and there aren't many people around who are experts in this arena."

Other educators note that there are few colleges and universities with courses to teach aspiring teachers how to run the programs.

Programs Seek to Involve Youths

Several community-service programs are aimed at kids who have

been abused or neglected or who are considered likely to succumb to drugs and crime, drop out of school, or become teen-age parents. Often these kids have arrest records, as well.

While courts have long imposed community-service sentences both to punish and to rehabilitate juvenile offenders, the new non-profit programs tend to solicit more active involvement from the kids: from designing projects, to lobbying city councils for funds, to sitting on governing boards.

Says the crime-prevention council's Mr. Calhoun, who headed the federal Administration for Children, Youth and Families in the Carter Administration: "To the extent that philanthropy can begin to engage youth in the diagnostic

piece—what's going on with you, what do you see as issues—and indeed not to be afraid of projects that may be kid-run, we can really break some new ground."

In Maine, the Maine Community Foundation is giving junior-high kids a chance to make small grants in the community. "They haven't been identified as leaders, so they're typically kids with low self-esteem," says Rebecca Buyers-Basso, the foundation's program director. "In most cases, no adult has trusted them with anything."

Under the Partners in Philanthropy program, each of 10 groups of kids receives \$1,000 to distribute

to one or two non-profits. After site visits, presentations, and proposal reviews, they decide how to distribute the money, learning how to build consensus and rank priorities at the same time.

In one case, Ms. Buyers-Basso says, a Passamaquoddy Indian youth group gave its grant money to a predominantly white youth association, hoping

that racial tensions between the groups would cease.

"The thing we have sort of out-grown is this notion that volunteerism is the best and brightest people going out to help the poor and benighted," says Joel J. Orosz, who

Continued on Page 14

Lawsuit in Pennsylvania

While requiring community service of schoolchildren has its champions, it also has plenty of critics.

In Bethlehem, Pa., several families have sued the school district over a requirement that students spend 60 hours in community service before they graduate. The lawsuit—which was filed in federal district court in Philadelphia and is expected to be decided as early as this month—charges that the requirement violates the constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression and the constitutional prohibition against involuntary servitude.

"We do not want the school board, which is a governmental agency, telling their values to our children," says Karen Ritter, vice-president of Citizens Against Mandatory Service, a group that was formed to oppose the requirement and is raising money to finance the lawsuit.

Says Ms. Ritter, whose daughter helped organize student opposition to the requirement: "I know a lot of people think we're against helping people, or against benevolence. That's not the case. We are all volunteers—my daughter has been volunteering since she was eight years old. But we did it because we wanted to, not because someone told us we had to do it or that there would be a punishment if we didn't."

Responds Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, director of the Maryland Student Service Alliance, which sets up community-service programs in the schools: "What's public school if not a requirement?"

She and others argue that schools should teach civic values and citizenship just as they teach reading, writing, and arithmetic. If the schools don't promote those values, only kids who attend civic-minded churches and synagogues and those from philanthropic families will learn those values, argues Ms. Townsend, a daughter of the late Robert F. Kennedy.

Ms. Ritter says she would not oppose community service if it were incorporated into a learning experience. The Bethlehem requirement has to be met on students' own time, and students are responsible for their own transportation, she says.

Roger Landrum, executive director of Youth Service America,



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Turning Kids on to Good Works: Youth Service Spreads Rapidly



Members of City Year, a Boston community-service group, construct planters in a public garden in Dorchester, Mass.

Continued from Page 13

directs the Kellogg Foundation's philanthropy and volunteerism program. "It's cutting across class and race."

In Philadelphia, Public/Private Ventures, a non-profit group that designs and manages youth-oriented social-policy programs, and the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps have undertaken a foundation-financed project to spread youth corps into 13 American cities.

Behind the Urban Corps Expansion Project is the notion that community service could be a valuable strategy for turning troubled kids around, raising both their self-esteem and their sights for education and achievement.

Says Jerry Kolker, the Public/Private Ventures vice-president who directs the program: "We don't know if the notion of service—doing good things for other people—really resonates with at-risk kids. That's what distinguishes us from advocacy organizations that say, 'Oh definitely, it's the best thing in the world.'"

Mr. Kolker cautions against the tendency to "romanticize" the potential of community service to transform troubled kids immediately into healthy, productive members of society. "Kids are resources, but these kids have a lot of needs, too—they can't read, write, and compute," he says. "And you've got to work on that, too."

Mr. Kolker says the urban-corps project, which enrolls kids 18 to 23 years old, will be evaluated both quantitatively—how many got jobs afterward, for example—and qualitatively—what, if anything, they gained from community service. He hopes that such research, if it documents a high success rate, will open the door to increased funds from government agencies.

Vincent Moore, a 23-year-old, says being a member of the UCEP corps in Milwaukee "really changed my attitude." Mr. Moore, who served five years in prison for armed burglary, says he is proud of the work he has done and of the respect he has earned from younger kids in the city.

"You say, 'What do you want to

do when you grow up?,' and they say, 'I want to do that,'" Mr. Moore says. "That kind of makes you feel proud. You feel like a role model."

Reducing Tensions in Boston

Reducing racial and class tensions in strife-torn Boston has been one of the principal aims of City Year, a new, highly touted youth corps that describes itself as an urban Peace Corps.

Racial tension is "the biggest challenge we face in our country," says Alan Khazei, the 30-year-old Harvard graduate who, with a college friend, Michael Brown, founded City Year in 1988.

The corps, which is supported entirely by corporate and other private donations, brings together kids from all backgrounds—I rich preparatory-school graduates to poor teen-age mothers—for months of community service. The youths receive a \$100 weekly stipend and a \$5,000 public-service award at the end of the year.

Like City Year, the Youth Volunteer Corps of America also is seeking a racially and socio-economically diverse membership. Youth Service America, the Washington-based advocacy group that is overseeing the project with a \$1-million grant from the Kellogg Foundation, hopes to start the corps in at least 42 cities. Eleven are already up and running.

The corps include junior-high and high-school students on a part-time basis during the school year and full time during the summer—characteristics that set this effort apart from the traditional youth and conservation corps.

Mr. Orosz, of the Kellogg Foundation, calls the volunteer-corps project a "laboratory for multicultural citizenship."

"Increasingly, it's possible for young people to grow up isolated from other races and social classes," says Mr. Orosz. "We think these efforts to bring kids from different backgrounds together in a team setting are terribly important."

Holly Hall con-

to this arti-

The Perception Gap is Revealed In Study of Racial Attitudes

Lobbying Group Documents 'Dangerous Divisions' Among Youths

By Lynne Duke
Washington Post Staff Writer

About half of white American youths believe it is whites, not minorities, who are more likely to be denied opportunities because of race, while most black and Hispanic youths say their groups are the ones most likely to face discrimination, according to a new study of racial attitudes of American youths.

This "perception gap" is among the major findings of a 190-page study of Americans ages 15 to 24 commissioned by People for the American Way, a liberal lobbying group.

It reveals what the authors call "dangerous divisions" among the nation's majority and minority youths, as well as "noble ideals."

A majority of the blacks, whites and Hispanics questioned in the 1,170-person national telephone survey viewed relations between their groups as bad.

Like a "stubborn stain," the report says, racial prejudice and contempt exist among many white youths, according to focus groups and one-on-one interviews that also were conducted for the study. White youths are far less supportive of interracial dating than their black and Hispanic counterparts.

Despite such divisions, 62 percent of all respondents reported

having at least a few close personal friendships with those of another race. Majorities of all groups think racial integration is important, although that belief was notably stronger among blacks and Hispanics than whites. Also, each group espoused the same basic val-

"When the young blacks who have the most contact with white society have the most cynical view of white society, that's disturbing."

—Geoff Garin, report's principal analyst

ues as the others, according to the study, conducted by Peter D. Hart Research Associates.

Officials at People for the American Way, which is to release the report at a news conference today, hope that national leaders will view the survey's results as a tool for improving race relations.

American youths, like the generation before them, "have divided themselves, divided America, into

camps," said Arthur J. Kropp, president of People for the American Way, said in an interview yesterday. The study, Kropp said, "gives us a guide to where we go from here."

What is hopeful about the report, Kropp said, is that consensus can be found despite the divisions. The youths share the same values, believe in the concept of fairness for all and rank education as a main tool for success. Unfortunately, said Kropp, the youths do not seem to know that such a consensus exists. In part, that is because what youths hear from national leaders is the language of division rather than the language of consensus, Kropp said.

The findings on race relations come against a backdrop of general pessimism among American youths: more than half say they are worried that America's best years may have already passed and that the country is doing "not so well" at encouraging positive race relations.

In what the survey authors described as "one of the greatest causes for alarm," upwardly mobile, college-educated blacks tended to be most pessimistic about race relations in general and whether America's best years had passed.

"When the young blacks who have the most contact with white society have the most cynical view of white society, that's disturbing," said Geoff Garin, the principal analyst who wrote the report with Debbie Klingender, also of the Hart group.

The study, conducted last fall, had three parts. In a national telephone survey, 1,170 youths were questioned, including 709 whites, 295 blacks, 122 Hispanics, with the rest being Asian and those of other racial/ethnic groups. One-on-one interviews also were conducted with 32 whites, 20 blacks and 18 Hispanics throughout the country. And because the racial views of whites were found to be more complicated than those of other groups, two focus groups of white youths were conducted.

The gap between white and minority attitudes was widest on the issue of who is being victimized by the status quo. Among whites, 49

indolino Daniel Green

[The Washington Post, March 17, 1992]

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

YOUTH AND RACE

SHARED VALUES

A list of American values was read to survey respondents, who were asked to rate the importance of each value to them personally. The percentages are the number of respondents who rated the following values as extremely important to them.

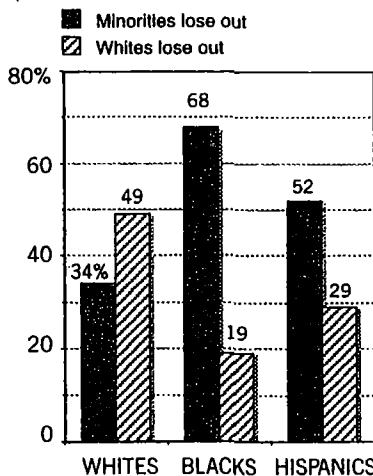
	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	All Youth
The importance of family	80%	87%	87%	81%
Fair treatment for all, without prejudice or discrimination	77	86	85	79
Emphasis on self-reliance and taking responsibility for yourself	73	84	77	75
Belief in God	65	85	74	68
Respect for rights of minorities	54	71	70	58
Personal liberty and freedom to do as you please	55	54	51	55
Helping those who are less fortunate	49	65	64	53
Patriotism and pride in our country	51	32	46	47
Economic success and being well-off financially	29	52	47	35

WHO IS A VICTIM?

Survey respondents were asked which of the following problems is most likely to happen:

■ Qualified minorities are denied scholarships, jobs and promotions because of racial prejudice.

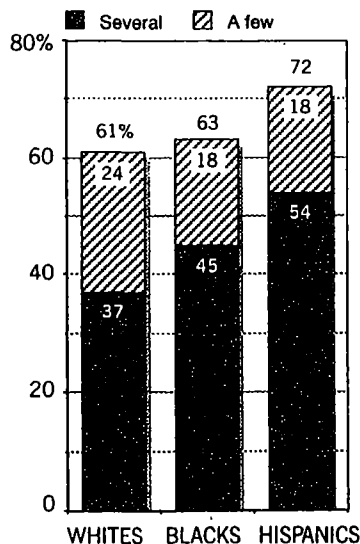
■ Qualified whites lose out on scholarships, jobs and promotions because minorities get special preference.



FRIENDSHIPS

Survey respondents were asked:

■ How many close personal friends of different races do you have?



SOURCE: Peter D. Hart Research Associates, for People for the American Way. There were 1,170 survey respondents, survey was conducted last fall.

THE WASHINGTON POST

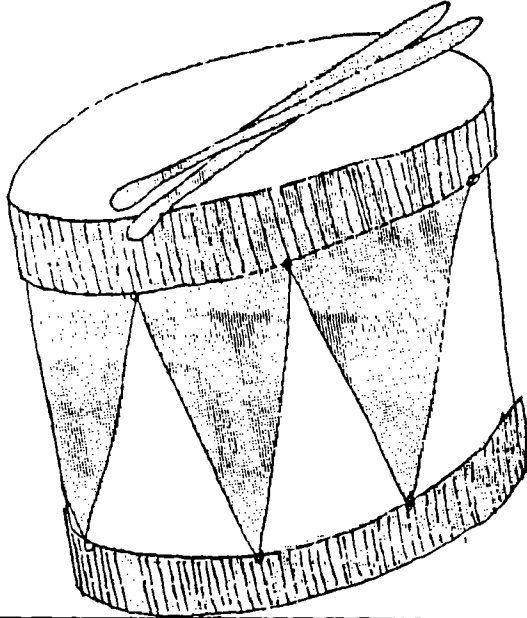
ercent said that whites are denied opportunity because of discrimination, compared to 34 percent who did not. For blacks, however, 68 percent said their group is victimized by discrimination, and 52 percent of Hispanics felt likewise.

But when asked whether they had been a victim of discrimination, only 18 percent of whites said yes, compared to 41 percent of blacks and 36 percent of Hispanics. And 2 percent of all respondents agreed with the statement "racial and ethnic minorities still face a lot of discrimination in our society."

The greatest consensus found in the study was on values. Fair treatment was deemed extremely important by 86 percent of blacks, 85 percent of Hispanics and 77 percent of whites. Likewise for personal responsibility: 84 percent of blacks, 77 percent of Hispanics and 73 percent of whites; and family, with an extremely important ranking from 87 percent each of blacks and Hispanics, and 80 percent of whites.

"If it's a belief, it doesn't have a color," a 22-year-old black male college student said in one of the interviews.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



BY KATY KELLY

The Washington Post

SUNDAY, JULY 17, 1988

Barbara Mikulski

A New Kind Of National Service

We need a new kind of national service. In deciding what that should be, we need to think in terms of a new social invention rather than another social program.

We face critical questions. How will young people pay for education? How will they get the down payment for their first home? How will we reinstall the "habits of the heart" that made our country great? The answer lies in enabling young people to make an investment through their own sweat equity in themselves and their communities.

National service used to be for the idealistic rich kids who could afford to take two years off and "do good." At the same time, military service attracted mostly the poor who had no place else to go for jobs or education.

My proposal is for a new national service program for all Americans. It was developed with the help of Dr. Arthur Naparstek, president of the Premier Industrial Foundation, and includes as basic components:

- A six-year all-voluntary commitment.
- A schedule under which volunteers would work two weekends a month, plus two weeks in the summer, like in the National Guard.
- A credit of \$3,000 for each year served, to be used toward outstanding federally backed education loans or home down payments.
- Eligibility open to people of all ages—anyone fit for duty.
- Administrative governors on the National Guard model, with volunteers organized in community-based platoons.
- Work that would supplement, not compete with, existing public or private services.

The people in this program would not be cogs in a great national project. They would be local citizens who banded together in small, community-based groups to solve local problems. Working on weekends, they would serve as volunteer firefighters, deliver meals on wheels, tutor the illiterate and help in recycling programs.

The work would be hands-on. Problems must be tackled person to person if we are truly to affect those who choose this service. To hide business graduates in accounting departments or confine architects to drafting tables serves no purpose. We must take them beyond their narrow worlds into the streets and neighborhoods of America, to meet people, to nourish them, care for them, teach them and learn from them.

The unit of service for this new proposal would be a platoon or a team: a group of or women, multi-ethnic,

from diverse economic backgrounds, working together toward a common goal. The individual loyalty that would grow out of these small groups would be the loyalty on which we first built our country. By reawakening this loyalty, we could recreate a spirit that is all too sadly lacking right now.

This would not be a difficult or expensive program to create. We already know how to use volunteers in public service and community projects ranging from the Boy Scouts to hospitals.

This proposal would solve two problems:

1) Access in this country to higher education is slipping away from many young people because they simply cannot afford the skyrocketing costs. Under this proposal, a major benefit for performing national service is earning a public benefit to reduce student indebtedness.

2) The same demographic changes that are shrinking our work force are also shrinking the pool of available volunteers. There just are not as many young people in this country as there used to be, and all too often, they are too busy paying off their student loans or their mortgage to volunteer for service.

We were always very good in the past at creating new social inventions to provide access to education. We created night schools to teach immigrants English. We created the GI Bill for returning veterans, and we invented community colleges to bring higher education close to home at modest cost. Now, we need to solve a new social problem with a new mechanism.

Other national service programs, such as the Peace Corps or Vista, have involved taking people away from their homes for two years or more. This has been costly and has limited the number of people able to participate.

Under the Mikulski model, people would live in their communities, hold their regular jobs and also volunteer in their communities. Their volunteer work would be an investment, not only in their own future but in their communities' as well. The volunteers would do real things to help real people with a tangible payoff that provided real benefits that met their own needs.

I worked for many years as a social worker and community organizer in Baltimore. I learned from that experience more than I have ever learned from memos and briefings in Washington. I am a better senator because of what I learned from the people and the communities I worked with every day. The people who participated in this new national service program would also learn from their experience and be changed by it.

Community-based national service offers a framework we can use to approach both the crisis of indebtedness and the need to put our people back in touch with the fundamental American values and obligations. The members of these platoons would remember the experience of successful service, and later on in their lives, many of them could put that knowledge to work for America in ways we can only now dimly foresee.

The writer is a Democratic senator from Maryland.

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Shortly before he died, Edsel Ford voiced views about his company that were contrary to those of his father. A reporter asked, "Why haven't you said this before?" Edsel replied, "Because I was never asked."

Years ago I told the country, "We've been brainwashed," referring to our tragic involvement in Viet Nam. Since then, I'm no longer asked about presidential elections.

But I'm a profoundly concerned citizen and I've paid for this ad to tell why I am voicing my concern at this time.

My experience convinces me that David Halberstam is right in his book The Next Century when he said: "Our political debate does not accept the new equation, that the years of easy affluence are over. It turns on the idea that everything is as it used to be.... We have become a nation divided: Our political system is still based philosophically on the glory days of hegemony, but our economic (and social) system is stumbling clumsily in the early days of the new international economy. The result is a society oddly oblivious of its new realities, a people and a nation living above their heads, and politicians who dare not tell the truth to the population."

The Buchanan vote in New Hampshire and the inconclusive Democratic result have created a volatile political environment that opens the door for people power to replace money, special interests and the media in selecting who will become president next January.

People should "seize the moment" because we face an historical challenge never previously surmounted by any great nation.

No great nation has ever achieved plenty, comfort and leisure, and remained great. We confront a fateful global economic challenge as other nations mount a competitive might built by emulating the economic

miracle we created, and then improving on it.

This is occurring at a time when our competitiveness has been seriously weakened. It has been weakened by excessive power of corporate management focused on short-term benefits, promoting monopoly, diverting money for job creation into government expenditures. This deficit-fueled prosperity has weakened discipline and dangerously increased social instability.

It is vital for citizens who are concerned about the future of America to subordinate their partisan affiliations and economic interests to their God-given responsibilities as citizens—responsibilities and rights they alone have the right to use under the constitution. If only a small percentage of "We the People" across the nation use their 1992 vote as Americans for America, it will decide the outcome of the presidential election.

Patrick Henry said, "I know not what course others may take..." But I know what I'm going to do. I'm going to do everything possible to ensure that the Democrat or Republican or Independent candidate who is elected as president will restore power to the people and lead them in doing what's necessary for America to educate, be competitive, resume economic growth, provide economic opportunity and enjoy social stability.

America Can't Wait Four More Years To Face Reality! By then it could be too late.

We need 1992 Americans for America who agree on these facts:

1. Our principal problems are within and not without.
2. America's unprecedented success has spawned unprecedented problems; in particular, horrendous

social problems.

3. Too many of our children are not being educated and trained for the future.
4. To remain great we must again emphasize politically, economically and socially those basic methods that made us great in the first place.
5. It is the individualism that freedom permits that makes superior American teamwork possible.
6. It is free competitive enterprise that produces the greatest economic progress—not, primarily, government regulation and control.
7. The power of monopolies and excessive special interests stifle education, economic growth and social problem solving.
8. It is people helping people, not money, that most effectively solves social problems.
9. Excessive reliance on government to solve social problems has become counterproductive.
10. No family, no enterprise, no government can continue to spend beyond its income, as we are doing, without becoming dependent, bankrupt or impoverished.

I've written this to encourage you to determine your own voting criteria and identify yourself as a 1992 American for America. This is not an effort to establish an organization nor to solicit funds.



George Romney
George Romney

Lenore Romney
Lenore Romney
"I agree!"

(Michigan's 1970 Senatorial candidate defeated by incumbent Senator Phil Hart.)

George Romney - Board Member of both the Commission on National Community Service (created by Congress and appointed by the President) and the private Jordanian San Points of Light Foundation. Cabinet member 1969 - 73 Presidential Candidate, 1967 - 68 Three-term Governor of Michigan, 1963 - 69 Chairman of the Michigan Manufacturers Association and Automotive Council for War Production, 1940 - 48 George Romney, 1840 East Valley Rd., Bloomfield Hills, MI 48303

Creating a fish habitat



ED ANDERSON Associated Press

California's first lady, Gayle Wilson, swings a sledgehammer Tuesday to help the California Conservation Corps call attention to development of fish habitat at drought-drained Folsom Lake. She helped drive a stake to which wires are attached to hold shrubs, called manzanita, to the bottom of the lake. Edwin Garbe of the Placer CCC Center holds the stake.

Panel to use grants to spur volunteers

By **CAROL ELROD**
STAR STAFF WRITER

Drugs, gangs and teen pregnancy are so rampant in urban America "we need action quick," former University of Notre Dame basketball coach Digger Phelps told fellow members of a presidential commission on volunteer service Sunday.

The commission, meeting in Indianapolis through today, soon will do its part to help provide that action by granting \$75 million to innovative volunteer programs designed to help people improve their own lives and those of others.

The money, which was appropriated by Congress for fiscal year 1992 through the National and Community Service Act of 1990, will especially target the disadvantaged.

But it would be wrong to think the \$75 million in grants will fix everything that's wrong with the country, said George Romney, a former governor of Michigan and another of the commission's 21 members.

"For \$75 million to do much more than demonstrate the effectiveness of what can be done seems inconceivable."

He told the commission enough money ought to go to each program funded so that something substantial could be accomplished. He agrees with Phelps that something must be done quickly to solve the social ills in the United States.

They are, he said, "undermining the future of the country."

The first year of grantmaking is meant to prove to Congress that the program ought to be expanded, said commission

member Shirley Sagawa. She is senior counsel for youth policy to the U.S. Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee.

Two other Hoosiers besides Phelps serve on the commission: Thomas Ehrlich, president of Indiana University; and Leslie Lenkowsky, president and chief executive officer of the Hudson Institute.

Ehrlich said grants to schools like IU will be used to "enhance public service opportunities of our students." Part of being a good citizen is volunteer service, he believes, and those values should be taught.

States will have until Feb. 3 to let the commission know they plan to apply for grants. Applications are due by March 23, with grants being made by May or June.

More than 30 states have indicated they will apply, said Paul N. McCloskey Jr., former U.S. representative from California and chairman of the commission.

During the public comment period Sunday, Indiana first lady Susan Bayh told the commission that Indiana has started writing a grant proposal. She said Hoosiers traditionally have been committed to volunteerism.

"We believe giving something back to the community is the right thing to do," Bayh said.

The commission meeting, which is open to the public, continues from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. today in Room 132 of the University Place Conference Center on the campus of Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis.

In addition to the above the commissions work was apparently mentioned on all three local network affiliates on Sunday evening January 12th.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1990

Investing in Idealism

President Bush last week signed a modest new law that can greatly enhance volunteerism and community service. The National and Community Service Act of 1990, while spending very little money, will establish a host of badly needed volunteer efforts around the nation.

Some programs will bring adult volunteers into public schools that are short of resources. And various schools, colleges and universities will draw on the funds to involve their students as volunteers aiding the elderly, the homeless, the disabled and the illiterate.

A key provision of the act will set up a youth corps, modeled on the highly successful City Volunteer Corps of New York, to encourage teen-agers who have left or graduated from school to perform community service, with an education bonus at the end. Young people who serve full-time, one-year

stints in the corps will leave with an education stipend of up to \$5,000.

Participants who are not college bound and need remedial instruction will receive it. There is an added benefit: statistics show that such services steady the lives of most of those who participate, making it more likely that they will complete their own educations.

In signing the act, Mr. Bush said: "There can be no more noble goal than to strengthen the American ethic of community service and to help translate this ethic into meaningful action." The act calls for \$63 million in its first year, rising to twice that by the third year. But even \$120 million seems a small price for advancing the view that caring for others is part of citizenship, that individuals can do something to help solve the most intractable social problems.

New US Commission Created to Sow Seed Of Local Self-Help

By Tom Abate

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

WHEN the City Volunteer Corps first began in 1984, Joyce Black recalls, a group of streetwise teenagers got together to paint the Staten Island Ferry. The old paddle wheeler got a facelift, and Ms. Black got a fresh outlook on voluntarism.

"Times have changed; kids are very different than they were in the 1970s and 1980s," says Black, who now heads New York State's Office for Voluntary Services. "This me-first stuff is going by the board."

Black will soon have a chance to test her optimism in all 50 states. She is joining the National Community Service Commission, a 21-member body established by Congress to hand out seed money for pilot projects that could grow into a national service program.

"We expect the commission to establish a pattern of grant giving that helps focus the nation's attention on the ability of local communities to solve their most serious social problems," says Gregg Petersmeyer, director of the White House Office of National Service.

Signed into law in November, the National Community Service Act created the 21-member commission to hand out \$55 million this year and a total of \$180 million in two succeeding years, to encourage people of all ages to perform civic chores.

The act embodied parts of several House and Senate proposals, according to Alden Schacher, aide to US Rep. Dave McCurdy (D) of Oklahoma, who co-sponsored a national service bill with Sen. Sam Nunn (D) of Georgia. The compromise bill that emerged from the Senate enjoyed strong bipartisan support.

The names of the 21 commission nominees have been submitted to the United States Senate and 16 have so far been approved — enough to begin meeting to hire staff and start soliciting proposals in three broad areas, Sagawa said.

"I'm excited that these nominees have finally been announced, and I look forward to working with the commission," said Sen. Orrin Hatch (R) of Utah, ranking minority member of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, which must review the nominations.

The committee chairman, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D) of Massachusetts, said the nominations would be reviewed and sent to the Senate floor "as quickly as possible so the commission can begin its important work."

Shirley Sagawa, a former Kennedy aide who helped draft the National Community Service Act, offered an insider's view of this rare bipartisan effort.

"Both major parties thought it was their idea," said Ms. Sagawa, one of the 21 commission nominees. "You had the president with his 'Points of Light' approach, and people like Sam Nunn. Fortunately, all of the key thinkers came together."

The first will involve students from kindergarten through college. Sagawa used the example of a Springfield, Mass., school in which children in the middle grades "adopt" senior citizens.

The commission could also choose to fund proposals for state or local youth corps in which teenagers do community service in exchange for student or home loans, she said.

Finally, the commission could solicit proposals for experimental programs.

"One of the really great things about this is that some of the states are already coming up with ideas," Sagawa said. "Even if the federal money should disappear, once the programs begin they could take on a life of their own."

Alan Khazei, another nominee to the National Service Commission, is co-founder of City Year, a privately-funded program that enables Boston teenagers to perform nine months of community work in exchange for a \$5,000 public service award.

"The thing that excites me most about this is the universal appeal," said Khazei, who began City Year in 1988 with a handful of volunteers.

This year 600 teens applied for 100 volunteer spots.

Environment Efforts Focus on the Young

Programs Aim to Cultivate Custodians

By Jane Seaberry
Washington Post Staff Writer

Shubha Dhage, 17, a junior at South Lakes High School in Reston, said she is involved in a project to create a wetland near her school. It's not because she is a "gung-ho environmentalist," she says, because she's not. She said she just wants to improve the community.

Amy Bloch, 16, another South Lakes junior working on the project, said she feels the same way. "I don't consider myself an environmentalist," Amy said. "Like Shubha, I recycle. I just consider it fun."

Throughout Fairfax County, students from elementary school age on up are engaged in projects to improve and study the environment, from a "Save Our Earth" science fair at Silverbrook Elementary in Fairfax Station later this month to the South Lakes wetlands project in association with an environmental engineering firm.

The county extension service also is starting youth environment clubs for youngsters in grades 7 through 12 to take on community projects, particularly in areas involving water quality, extension agent Julie Haisler said.

Environmental programs are targeting youngsters because in a few years they will be adults in decision-making positions, and environmental instructors want to get their messages across early.

"Kids might be the best ambassadors to tell adults what it's all about," Haisler said.

At Silverbrook, "Everybody's interested in ecology and saving and recycling and we're recycling at our school," said Mary Jane McCuen, a second-grade teacher. The theme of this year's science fair is the environment, and some students already are working on their projects.

"Some of my students are making things out of boxes and cans," McCuen said.

Even second-graders are interested by environmental studies, she

At South Lakes, Shubha and Amy and a dozen other students have designed a project to build a wetland at a pond next to a public golf course in Reston.

Their goal is to create an area that will act as a natural filter for pesticide runoff from the golf course and control erosion below the site, according to Colleen Robinson, a spokeswoman for CH2M Hill, the Herndon company that is helping the high school with the project.

The students have picked their project site, designed a work plan, built a model and researched what plants would be useful in filtering pesticide runoff, said Carolyn Lavallee, chairman of the South Lakes science department.

The students next expect to get a list of tasks for the project from the engineering firm, then assemble task teams, Lavallee said.

In addition to curbing the runoff, the students also plan to enhance the habitat there for animals by planting undergrowth for birds to feed safely, and shelter other prey, Lavallee said.

"It's something different," Shubha said. "Not everybody builds a wetland. It's to stop erosion, make the place look prettier, bring more animals onto the site."

Amy said the wetland site is near her house, so part of her effort is to improve her community.

"I've seen how it's changed over the years," Amy said of the pond. "There were a lot more animals there. There are not a lot of fish, there are some turtles. I'd like to see the water life increase."

Farther east in the county, the local Extension Service has formed environment clubs in the Springfield area to work with Lake Accotink, in the Burke and central Fairfax areas to handle Lake Royal, and in the Lorton/Newington area to concentrate on the landfill there, Haisler said.

Club members will decide what

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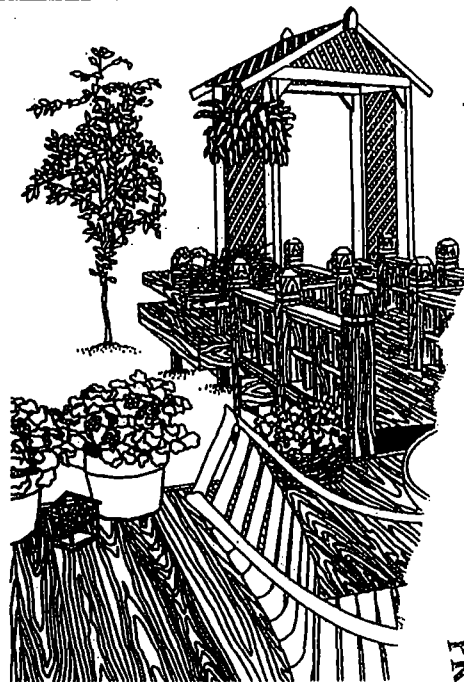
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said.

"They actually have some good ideas," McCuen said. "You wouldn't think they would come from a second-grader, such as ways to protect the environment by planting trees. They're very aware of recycling. They were talking about plastic bags versus paper bags. They said you can go to the supermarket and get recyclable paper napkins and paper towels. They're very aware of all that."

A lot of the students like the idea of an environmental science fair, McCuen said. "They get to work with their hands, test things out, try things," McCuen said.

projects they will do, Haisler said. They must attend twice-monthly meetings to learn about the environment, for example, "where there is high stress on the waterways, where water quality tests have shown water is not in good condition, or in the landfill area, its effect on water," Haisler said.

They also will have activities outdoors.

"One of the major components is that kids will be doing community service projects," Haisler said. "As they learn more of the impact they can make on things, you do get kids excited and enthused about community service."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

National Center on Education and the Economy, recommended that such an assessment be created by a consensus among higher-education institutions and the public.

"The issue is not technical," Mr. Tucker said, "it is whether we can achieve a broad consensus" on what college students should know and be

able to do. The panel also recommended that the goals panel collect data on teacher quality and instructional practices.

The panel also would include professional development opportunities, teachers' self-reports on their own expertise, and teacher responses to pedagogical problems.

"It's all very well to test outcomes," said Senta A. Raizen, director of the National Center for Improving Science Education. "But if you don't know what leads to the outcomes, and how to change prac-

tion, the group outlines a national student sample system that would enable more accurate comparisons across states and help schools track students who transfer to other schools or states.

Rafael Valdivieso, vice president of the Hispanic Policy Development Project, said the proposed system would build on an effort by the Education Department and the Council of Chief State School Officers to establish common definitions of graduation and dropout rates.

sity," Mr. Renner said, adding that the Governor is responsible for overseeing the public university's operation.

In recent weeks, reports in newspapers across the state have high-

from the state's Registry of Election Finance because of continued political lobbying and his role in helping Mr. Alexander answer recent questions about changes in his financial disclosure forms.

CAPITAL DIGEST

Youth-Service Panel To Hold First Meeting

The Commission on National and Community Service is set to hold its first meeting Sept. 25, Bush Administration officials have announced.

Members of the Congress from both parties had criticized the White House because it missed by weeks a statutory deadline for nominations to the panel.

President Bush announced his nomination of all but 1 of the commission's 21 members on July 22. By the time of its August recess, the Senate had confirmed all but 4 of the 20 nominees.

The remaining 4 are also expected to win confirmation before this month's meeting, said J. Russell George, associate director of policy in the White House office of national service.

The panelists include Daniel J. Evans, the former Governor and U.S. Senator from Washington State, and Richard F. "Digger" Phelps, the head basketball coach of the University of Notre Dame from 1971 to 1990.

The commission is responsible for designing and administering new programs authorized under the Na-

tional and Community Service Act of 1990.

■ About 430,000 high-school students were enrolled in cooperative-education programs in the 1989-90 school year, according to a General Accounting Office report released last month.

The report notes, however, that the programs, which link the classroom and workplace, are often overlooked by education policymakers, despite delivering encouraging results.

In its report, which was mandated by the 1990 Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act, the G.A.O. says that cooperative-education programs are among the most promising apprenticeship-type programs, but noted that the programs are often stigmatized as a "dumping ground" for weak students.

Despite local successes noted by schools and employers, the Education Department no longer tracks such programs. The G.A.O. recommends that the department begin to examine the efforts as a solution to gaps in the nation's school-to-work transition.

"Both students and employers can benefit from participating in high-quality cooperative education," the report notes. "Students attain work orientation, job skills, and, often, permanent employment."

"They are also more likely to stay in school and pursue additional education," it adds.

Single copies of the report, "Transition from School to Work: Linking Education and Worksite Training," document number HRD-91-105, are free from the G.A.O., P.O. Box 6015, Gaithersburg, Md. 20877.

■ The Interior Department may have to put an 111-acre tract that once housed the Phoenix Indian School up for bids following the collapse of negotiations with a Florida-based developer, which was to have acquired the land in a swap for 100,000 acres of wetlands.

Spokesmen for the Barron Collier Company, of Naples, Fla., said that its five-year effort to negotiate the swap was at end, in part because the Phoenix city government was unwilling to permit a higher density of development on the site.

As a condition of the swap, the developer had proposed to establish a \$35-million educational trust fund for Native Americans.

Mayor Paul Johnson of Phoenix appealed to Senator Dennis DeConcini, Democrat of Arizona, in late July to obtain an additional \$20 million from the federal government to sweeten the deal, but Mr. DeConcini told local newspapers that the request came too late in the federal budget process.

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EDUCATION WEEK

Volume XI, Number 15 • December 11, 1991

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Chris Birka

Rich., Travis Britanyak blows bubble gum to earn credit as well as profit.

Foundation Aims to Revitalize Communities

The Kellogg Foundation last year made a belief in the power of Mr. Sansom: \$167,000 to revamp his school's scheduling, regroup and overhaul its pedagogy, and expose his entire staff to the wide world beyond his island.

"I didn't realize the magnitude of Kellogg's commitment and what an amazing opportunity they had given myself and my staff to get immersed in a whole movement overnight," Mr. Sansom said. "It is the most incredible contribution to education I have ever seen."

The Kellogg Youth Initiative Program that has earned Mr. Sansom's admiration and gratitude exemplifies a growing trend in philanthropic programming, according to Mary K. Leonard, the director of pre-collegiate education programs for the

Continued on Page 12

Sizer Outlines Triumphs, Travails Of 'Horace's School' in New Book

By Lynn Olson

Nearly a decade after writing what is widely viewed as one of the most trenchant and scathing analyses of the American high school, Theodore R.Sizer has completed a new book that details what a "better and more powerful" school would look like.

Horace's School: Redesigning the American High School is scheduled for release next month by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

It is based on Mr. Sizer's experiences over the past eight years as chairman of the Coalition of Essential Schools, a group of some 200 schools in 23 states that are working to revamp education based on a set of commonly held principles.

Mr. Sizer, a professor at Brown University, initially outlined those principles in his

1984 critique, *Horace's Compromise*. In that book, readers first met Horace Smith, a fictional English teacher at Franklin High School, who was frustrated by the system's status quo and its red tape, but who felt too overwhelmed to change anything.

Mr. Smith was a composite character based on more than two years of field research in a cross-section of American high schools.

In *Horace's School*, Mr. Sizer describes the further triumphs and travails of Horace and his fictional colleagues—including teachers, students, administrators, and parents—as they struggle to prepare a blueprint for change.

The book provides a more detailed exposition of what coalition principles might look like in practice at both the middle- and

Continued on Page 16

Carnegie Proposes Seven-Point Action Plan To Ensure Children's Readiness for School

By Deborah L. Cohen

WASHINGTON—Maintaining that millions of young children living in stressful environments lack the security, support, and confidence to become successful students, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has set forth an ambitious national strategy to ensure that all children enter school well prepared.

In a 184-page report set for release this week, Ernest L. Boyer, the foundation's president, proposes a seven-point plan involving policymakers, schools, health officials, employers, parents, libraries, museums, parks and playgrounds, and community centers. A full chapter is devoted to improving television programming and

advertising aimed at young children, educators, and parents.

The report—which charges that "America is losing sight of its children"—comes at a time when policymakers are turning their attention to the first of six national education goals set by the President and the governors. That goal states that by the year 2000, all children will enter school ready to learn.

A panel of prominent early-childhood experts convened by the National Association of State Boards of Education issued a separate report last week broadly defining readiness and outlining steps toward achieving that goal. (See related story, page 10.)

Mr. Boyer, a former U.S. education commissioner, *Continued on Page 10*

Issue of Sexual Harassment in Schools Moves to Supreme Court

By Mark Walsh

Christine Franklin was a sophomore at North Gwinnett High School in suburban Atlanta when she was sexually harassed by a teacher.

months, with the teacher eventually pressuring her to have sex with him three times during school hours—twice in the field house and once in the school's stadium press box.

who graduated from North Gwinnett in 1989, should be allowed to sue school officials for money damages for tolerating her alleged sexual harassment.

A federal district judge in Atlanta in

Carnegie Sets Forth a Strategy To Ensure School Readiness

Continued from Page 1

missioner who recently headed an advisory panel that drafted a report on assessing the readiness goal, has authored many influential school-reform reports, including one on the high-school years and another on college-level education.

Although he began work several years ago on a report on preschool and primary education, Mr. Boyer decided after the readiness goal was adopted to split the study into two parts, the first one focusing on the preschool years. The study was funded by a \$400,000 grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

Several national groups—including the National Alliance of Business, the National PTA, and the United Way—have agreed to help implement the report's recommendations.

"We've stated some goals for the nation, and we've talked a lot in the recent past about how to evaluate results," Mr. Boyer said in an interview. "Equal attention has to be given to steps we need to take to fulfill the objectives."

The "urgency" of such actions, Mr. Boyer said, was highlighted by a survey of 7,000 kindergarten teachers conducted for the study.

Their responses indicate that 35 percent, or nearly 1.5 million of U.S. children, are "not ready to participate in formal education," according to the report. Forty-two percent of the teachers also said that children are entering school less prepared than they were five years ago.

"It is unacceptable that some [children] don't know where they live, can't identify colors, or are unable to recite their full and proper name," the report says. It also

quotes teachers voicing distress about the numbers of children coming to school hungry, abused, lacking attention, and with "deep emotional" and health problems.

When asked about the most serious obstacles to readiness, the largest share of teachers—51 percent—cited language deficiencies.

No More 'Protective Ring'

The school-reform movement of the

"We have ignored . . . that to improve the schools, a solid foundation must be laid."

—"Ready To Learn"

past decade, Mr. Boyer contends, has focused on such school-related initiatives as higher academic standards, school-based management, and parental choice, without addressing conditions that affect children's lives before they enter school.

"In our reach for excellence, we have ignored the fundamental fact that to improve the schools, a solid foundation must be laid," the report states. "We have failed to recognize that the family may be a more imperiled institution than the school, that many of education's failures may relate to problems that precede schooling and even birth."

Meanwhile, it notes, families and communities are under increasing stress, and the "protective ring" of ex-

tended family members and neighbors that once helped to nurture children has also eroded.

To help compensate for such conditions, Mr. Boyer said, "what we've tried to stress from first to last is that the arbitrary line between school and preschool should be broken down" through health and education efforts that reach families and connect them to schools "long before the child is dropped off at kindergarten."

Seven-Step Strategy

Mr. Boyer calls in his seven-step strategy for:

- Establishing clinics in impoverished communities to ensure basic health care for mothers and preschool children; fully funding the federal nutrition program for women, infants, and children and boosting funds for child care and community and migrant health centers; integrating federal, state, and local child-health programs; offering students of all ages a "life cycle" health course; and placing well-trained health and education teams at clinics through the National Service Corps.

- Setting up parent-education programs in every state and ensuring that every parent of a preschool-age child has access to them; publishing and distributing a national "parent-education guide" prepared cooperatively by state education departments and a "ready-to-learn library series" under the auspices of the American Library Association; and organizing a "preschool PTA"—a step agreed to by the National PTA—to engage parents in their children's education early and bridge home and school.

- Designating Head Start an entitlement to ensure that all eligible children are served and seeing that

all school districts offer preschool for children not in Head Start; establishing a division in each governor's office to integrate health, human-services, child-care, and education programs for preschoolers; and convening a forum that the National Association for the Education of Young Children has agreed to sponsor on child-care standards that states would be urged to meet by 2000.

- Promoting such "family friendly" workplace policies as unpaid leave for new parents, flexible scheduling and job sharing, days off to visit schools and child-care providers, and help for parents in finding child care at or near work. The National Alliance of Business has agreed to help set up a clearinghouse for information on "responsive workplaces."

'A New Network'

- Founding a cable-television channel devoted to the educational needs of preschoolers and offering at least an hour of preschool-education programming per week on every major commercial network; ensuring that each hour of children's programming includes a public-service spot highlighting children's physical, social, or educational needs; appropriating \$20 million to the National Endowment for Children's Educational Television to improve preschool programming; and sponsoring a conference for broadcast executives, sponsors, and educators to design a decade-long school-readiness strategy.

- Designing a network of outdoor and indoor parks and "street playgrounds" and setting up school-readiness programs and play spaces in every library, museum, zoo, and major shopping mall; and allowing college students to staff such programs



In his new report, Ernest L. Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation, charges that "America is in the sight of its children."

through the Youth Services Corps.

- Urging communities, such as day-care centers, and retirement villages to organize intergenerational programs involving the elderly in activities with young children.

The report places a premium on promoting "a warm, supportive home environment, with lots of lively social interaction" and opportunities for "language development" "critical" school success. But Mr. Boyer argues that "the time has come to move beyond the tired old 'family versus government' debate and create a new network of support."

Copies of "Ready to Learn—Mandate for the Nation" are available for \$8 each from the Princeton University Press, 3175 Princeton Pike, Lawrenceville, N.J. 08648.

Sizer Book Outlines Redesigned 'Horace's School'

Continued from Page 1

high-school levels, based on the best ideas and the most common problems that Mr. Sizer has encountered during nearly a decade of work in schools.

At a time when policymakers are racing to develop national standards and assessments in education, the book also presents an impassioned argument for respecting the integrity of individual school communities.

In fact, Mr. Sizer proposes a new system of accountability that would limit national examinations to the areas of reading, writing, and basic mathematics.

"Today the power of the nation is increasing at the expense of the community," he warns in the book. "Americans must ponder whether that is wholly in the culture's best interest."

"Places differ. Kids differ. Good schools differ," Mr. Sizer adds. "In the teeth of an insistent national culture, the characteristics of individual schools gain additional meaning."

More Compromises

According to Mr. Sizer, the reform movement of the 1980's barely touched Horace or his colleagues.

In 1991, Horace still has too many students to teach; a curriculum that covers too many topics in too little depth; a grade structure that erroneously treats all youngsters of the same age alike; and a day fragmented into 52-minute class periods separated by ringing bells.

If anything, Mr. Sizer asserts, the reforms, by mandating more of the same, have forced Horace to make even more compromises.

The new book calls for a markedly different vision of schooling.

To be effective, Mr. Sizer suggests, schools must define what a thought-

ful and informed high-school graduate should look like.

Each school would then design a series of "exhibitions" that enabled students to display such qualities. Successful completion of the exhibitions—rather than "seat time"—would become the basis for a high-school diploma.

Unlike traditional tests, the exhibitions would occur over an extended period of time. They would challenge students to use their knowledge in realistic situations, not just regurgitate facts. And they would provide opportunities for extended "dialogues" between teach-

Educator proposes new system of accountability.

ers and students.

The book provides a number of examples of what such exercises could look like. (See excerpt, page 16.)

Everything else in the school—ranging from what is taught, to how teachers spend their time, to how the school day is structured—would be designed by faculty members to help students perform well on such tasks.

"Until we understand clearly just what [students] should do with their minds and hearts, and what standards they should meet," Mr. Sizer writes, "it is difficult to design a sensible school."

'Intellectual Chaos'

According to Mr. Sizer, the results of such an exercise would be a simpler and more focused school,

with the same high standards and common curriculum for all students.

In a more productive school, he speculates, most students could complete the exhibitions by age 16, after which they could participate in advanced coursework, structured apprenticeships, and substantial independent study.

"I am more persuaded now than I was at the time I wrote *Horace's Compromise* of the intellectual confusion of the curriculum as we know it," he explained in an interview. "Sitting through many more school days... has brought even more profoundly home the notion that 52 minutes of physics and 52 minutes of French and then 52 minutes of art is intellectual chaos."

At Franklin High, academic offerings would be organized into three curricular units: mathematics and science, the arts, and history and philosophy. All faculty members would share responsibility for work in language and the skills of expression, for techniques of inquiry, and for study habits.

This appeal for a "newly focused and systematically integrated curriculum is a voice in a national chorus," Mr. Sizer writes.

The Greatest Irony

The book also reiterates Mr. Sizer's contention that the means by which adolescents reach a common standard should vary, depending on the student.

For schools to mold their program to each individual child, teachers must have the opportunity to know students well, he maintains, primarily by having responsibility for no more than 80 youngsters.

To prove that such a change is feasible, *Horace's School* includes a proposed budget and schedule that details how such a reallocation of

resources could be accomplished without additional funds.

It would require teachers to work in multidisciplinary teams and educational "specialists" to take on broader teaching duties.

The book also supports the notion of breaking larger schools into separate "houses" of faculty members and students, each with its own character and culture.

Mr. Sizer also argues even more strongly than he did in his previous work that students should be given greater responsibility for their education and for the school as a whole.

He suggests, for example, that students be responsible for maintaining the building and operating the food-service facility.

In addition, community service would become an integral part of a student's education, not an addendum to it.

"The irony is the responsibility we give kids outside of school compared with the amount of responsibility inside of school," Mr. Sizer said last month. "The kid is assistant manager at McDonald's in the evening, but has a hall pass in school."

'Least Imposition Is Best'

But to create such coherent and cohesive schools, Mr. Sizer cautions, will require substantially more autonomy and stability than schools now enjoy.

"Those with central responsibility for education should always be guided by the aphorism, 'The least imposition is the best imposition,'" he writes.

According to Mr. Sizer, each school must be free to adapt a program to its own immediate community, whether stable or transient.

Within the school, the direction should be toward a "flat" hierarchy that blurs the line between teachers



Theodore R. Sizer's new book, scheduled for release next month, details what a "better and more powerful" school would look like.

and administrators.

As in the past, the principal would be "the principal teacher." And teachers would take substantial responsibility for the institution as a whole.

To the "maximum feasible extent," parents and their children and teachers must be able to choose their school, Mr. Sizer argues, "in fact, to choose their community."

Although choice must not be cover for segregation, he says, "being able to choose one's school provides a powerful incentive for families, students, and teachers."

The current faculty membership within a school must also be in control of assigning new teachers, spending their money as they see fit.

"This policy of unqualified delegated authority is the logical extension of the belief that places differ and schools differ," Mr. Sizer writes. "Expecting them to be the same denies reality, and insisting that they be the same guarantees mediocrity."

Finally, Mr. Sizer notes, building a better school is a long process. *Continued on Following Page*

Sample 'Student Exhibition' From Sizer's Horace's School

convince him that he is able to use knowledge, and he can so use it to help others. This is the goal of education.

Continued from Preceding Page

and maintaining a school culture requires stability. To ensure it, he proposes that schools be "forward-funded," with "next year's" budget guaranteed to allow for planning during the current school year.

Four-Part System

But providing schools with significantly greater freedom does not mean a slackening of accountability, according to Mr. Sizer.

Instead, he proposes a four-part system of accountability that he contends would be a marked improvement over what now exists.

First, Franklin High students would be subjected to a limited number of standardized "mass" tests—in the areas of reading, writing, and basic mathematics.

Second, each student would keep a portfolio of his or her work, including performance over time on the exhibitions. This portfolio would be open to inspection by the student's parents and teachers. State officials could also "audit" a sample of such portfolios to assess the school's effectiveness.

"Analysis of the portfolios by these outsiders would be a check on the standardized-test scores and would give some indication of the development of students' habits," Mr. Sizer maintains.

Third, specifically assigned district and state officers who were familiar with the school could act as "advisers and friendly critics" on a regular basis. Mr. Sizer equates such individuals with an "American version" of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools in Britain.

Fourth, Franklin High would present a yearly report on itself to the community and hold a public meeting to discuss and answer questions about it. These reports would also be tied into the regional accreditation process, with the school's reports to that outside agency being fully sum-

marized and distributed locally for the public record.

Together, these approaches would yield a "rich, fair, and thorough assessment of the school's worth," maintains Mr. Sizer, without threatening its individual integrity. And they would provide far more information to local communities than now exists.

'Questions of Values'

But Mr. Sizer lambastes current attempts to develop national standards and assessments in any areas beyond reading, writing, and basic mathematics as both "dangerous" and "arrogant."

He questions the ability to create "decent mass tests" that would measure the thoughtful qualities he values in young people.

In addition, he suggests that the standards in such subjects as history or English are open to reasonable disagreement and are "ultimately questions of values."

"The latter, in my view, have to be assessed at a local level, where the reasonable objections of citizens can be properly and quickly accommodated," he asserts. "I don't want to have some committee miles away, in the state capital, make those decisions."

Whether Horace will ultimately get his school, according to Mr. Sizer, is still an open question.

"I fear," he writes toward the end of *Horace's School*, "that the preferred alternative to careful rethinking will be continued pushing, prodding, testing, and protesting our largely mindless, egregiously expensive, and notably unproductive current system."

But he maintains that there is a "growing army of Horace Smiths... as yet localized, inchoate, often barely known by the public."

"If we gain new schools," he argues, "it will be because these individuals have found among themselves a fresh source of authority and have asserted in community after community a new order."

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DATES AND LOCATIONS

Orientation sessions sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation will be held one day prior to major education association meetings.

1. February 13, 1992, San Francisco. Prior to the National Association of Secondary School Principals Annual Meeting.
2. February 20, 1992, San Diego. Prior to the American Association of School Administrators Annual Meeting.
3. March 27, 1992, New Orleans. Prior to the National Association of Elementary School Principals Annual Meeting.
4. April 3, 1992, New Orleans. Prior to the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development Annual Meeting.
5. April 24, 1992, Orlando. Prior to the National School Boards Association Annual Meeting.

HOW TO APPLY

To request an application for the February sessions, call Phyllis Blaustein at 202/667-0901 by December 18, 1991. Deadline for these applications is January 2, 1992.

To request applications for later sessions, write to:

Lighting a volunteer spark in the young

Catherine Milton takes years of public service experience to new federal commission

By Caroline Drewes
OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

CATHERINE MILTON believes that an individual can make a difference.

It is a passionate conviction that seems to have governed everything she has ever done, including her role as a self-styled, cutting-edge activist in the civil rights movement, as an assistant director for the Ford Foundation's Police Foundation in the nation's capital and her work in the Treasury Department's office of Law Enforcement and Operations, a pioneering role for a woman.

In the '70s, she was a leader in the effort to bring equality to women in the criminal justice field, and also to bring reforms to policing. In the '80s, it was the victims' rights movement that held her attention.

Milton, a woman who makes things happen, was graduated from Mt. Holyoke College in 1964, when "K" was calling on young people to get involved. Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.

Her last involvement, in a career that also includes five years as a journalist and five published books, was as founder-director of the Haas Center for Public Service at Stanford University.

A few months ago, after a decade at Stanford, Milton departed this post to help pioneer the new federal Commission on National and Community Service.

The program she established at Stanford, with the premise that young people if asked to serve would serve, has resulted in the involvement of 70 percent of the undergraduate student body in volunteerism.

The new commission, authorized by Congress in 1990 after years of debate on the needed services of the young, represents the first time substantial public money

has been made available in this field.

By the summer of 1992, the commission must disburse some \$73 million in grants to states, colleges and native American tribes, and through their nonprofit groups thus increase the commitment of young people to volunteering.

It is an enormous task of distribution. The long-term goal is a major national community service movement, focused initially on youth but welcoming all.

As executive director, Milton has returned to Washington to this new challenge: how to make a federal act work. For five days a week she spends 16 hours a day guiding her forces through the bureaucratic tangle of red tape, rules and regulations that is the inevitable trapping of government operation. Particularly an operation hoping to avoid the usual bureaucratic barriers that prevent local organizations from receiving funds.

On the sixth day, there is no letup for the unquenchable Milton — a tall, effervescent woman with a short fling of brown hair and an impish smile. She flies home to Stanford to spend the weekend being a wife and mother.

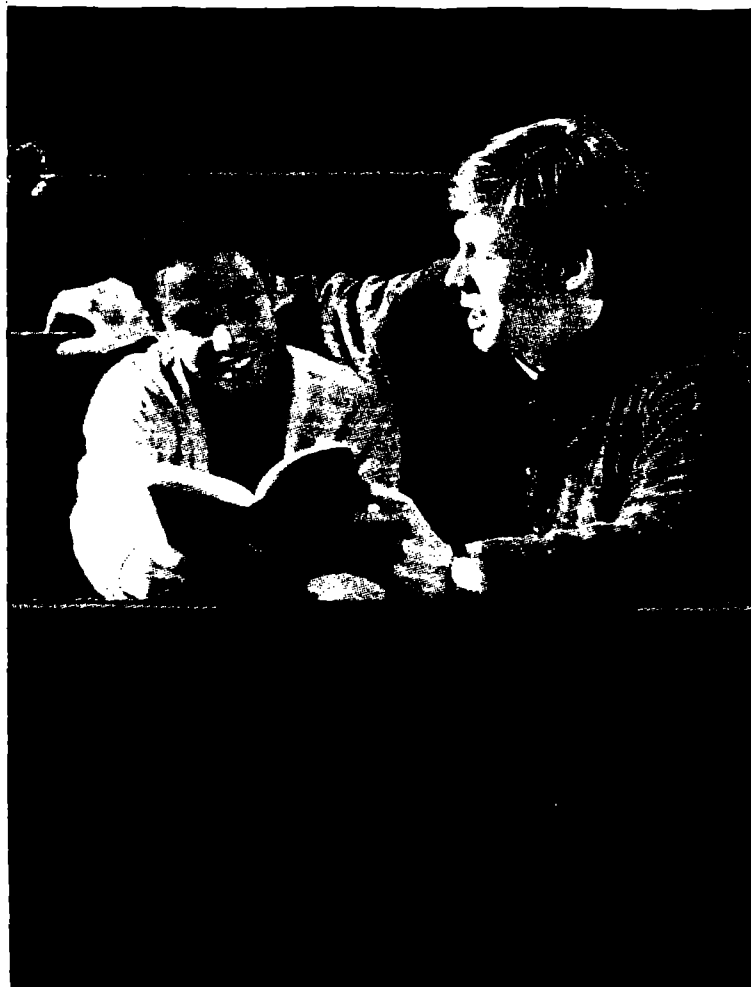
Her husband is Tom McBride, an associate Watergate prosecutor and former associate dean of Stanford Law School who then became director of environmental health and safety at Stanford; they have two young sons.

Milton somehow manages on this schedule. Her commute, she says, "is not as bad as I would have thought in the abstract. I have a concentrated time at home with my family and a concentrated time in Washington. The work is energizing."

She was in the Bay Area a few weeks ago, for a daylong technical assistance meeting to help potential applicants for the commission's funds, held at the Airport Sheraton Hotel. (Final deadline for state and higher education proposals, which must be sent to the commission, is March 23.)

Commission Chairman Pete McCloskey of Palo Alto welcomed 76 representatives from 11 states and jurisdictions to this western meet.

(The 27 commissioners, 21 appointees and six ex-officio, have



Law student Jay Blount tutors 13-year-old Sean Littlefield.

diverse backgrounds. They include George Romney, former governor of Michigan; Richard "Digger" Phelps, ex-Notre Dame basketball coach; Reatha King, who was born in a depressed Georgia town and went on to earn a Ph.D. in chemistry, and presidency of a major corporate foundation; and Gayle Wilson, wife of California's Governor Wilson.)

To emphasize the commission's position that the young participate in local planning, also invited to the local confab were Hastings law student Jay Blount, a native of Modesto, and 13-year old Sean Littlefield, the youth he has been tutoring two hours a week since October.

Blount began working with Sean, who lives with his mother in the Valencia Garden Housing Project, under auspices of St. John's Tutoring Center on 15th Street, after Sean's grades had begun to

drop when he made the transition from elementary school, where was getting A's and B's, to Everett Middle School. Sean is eager to return to the "gifted" class.

Beside the desire to serve, "I'm doing this for selfish reasons," says Blount. "Volunteer work makes me happy. I have no brothers or sisters, it's nice to meet kids, and I'm refreshing the math skills I lost."

Sean confessed that his problem is reading; he doesn't like it. "I like math and social sciences. When I read I can't see what it means to my head. Math is easier. But I know it's a matter of doing homework every day, and Jay makes me do it."

Another volunteer on hand was Edward Pettway, 20-year-old member of the East Bay Conservation Corps, the nation's second oldest after the San Francisco Corps. Pettway is a YES intern (Youth Engaged in Service) who said

Lighting a volunteer spark in the your g



EXAMINER PHOTOS BY KATY RADDATZ

Her new job allows Catherine Milton only weekends with her family.

came from Los Angeles to help his out-of-work father and joined the Corps when he dialed the wrong number. Beyond conventional CCC-type work, he is a tutor under teacher supervision in Oakland elementary schools.

The need for young volunteers in the field of education was illustrated by statistics such as these: Throughout the nation there are 3,000 school dropouts a day, a million a year, creating a new American underclass. Eighteen percent of the work force is illiterate.

Milton has returned to the huge task at hand in Washington, where she works with a staff limited by law to 10 technical posts, some of which are temporarily filled by consultants.

Along these lines, an ironic twist is that no volunteers may help the commission, because federal agen-

cies are denied volunteers unless they are authorized in the regulations, and such language was accidentally omitted in the enabling act. Righting this situation has been high on Milton's list of priorities.

Her final word on the present work, a logical continuation of her Stanford commitment and, indeed, of her life: "I want every school child to have the opportunity to give service through the classroom, to learn first hand the joy that comes from helping others and the power that comes from making a contribution."

For further information about California's role, contact Linda Forgyth, Consolidated Programs, Department of Education, 721 Capitol Mall, Sacramento, CA 95814. The Commission on National and Community Service is at 529 14th St., 4th floor, Washington, D.C. 20045 (202-724-0600).

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Honorable Dale Bumpers
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Compliments of
The Elementary School Center

Hot Course on Campus: Volunteerism 101

College Students Giving Shape to New Spirit of Community Service

By Mary Jordan
Washington Post Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA—In the Castle, a grand Victorian landmark in the center of the University of Pennsylvania campus, a fraternity not unlike that in the movie "Animal House" used to romp.

But the boozing and brawls that rocked the stone building in the 1980s have become as much a part of history as the nearby statue of Benjamin Franklin, who in founding Penn said the great aim of all learning is "to serve mankind."

Now, students who tutor the young, feed the hungry and bring medical attention to the sick have turned the Castle into the hub of an exploding social activism movement that has grown from involving 100 students six years ago to almost 3,000 today.

So suddenly and dramatically has this new movement blossomed here and nationally, including the Washington area, that many educators say volunteerism may well become a distinguishing characteristic of college

life in the 1990s. While reminiscent of the political activism that swept campuses during the Vietnam War, this movement is less visible, largely disengaged from politics and more focused on the difference one person can make.

"I don't see myself influencing a political election, I feel so removed from it," said Penn sophomore Clare Epstein, who lives in the Castle. "But when I go into a neighborhood and work with a child, I can see an improvement. I've done something."

Such thinking has been a windfall for nonprofit groups.

For the first time in 22 years, the Community for Creative Non-Violence, which runs Washington's largest homeless shelter, has so many college students knocking on its door that dozens, even those who offer to live in, are being turned away each month.

"I think we have a whole change happening in our country, and no one has caught on to it yet," CCNV di-

See ACTIVISM, A7, Col. 1

College Volunteers Seeking to Make 'a Difference'

ACTIVISM, From A1

rector Carol Fennelly said. "The 'Me decade' is over, and we are getting into a period of new activism. Everyone I talk to in this line of work says volunteerism is way up."

Fennelly said she has not seen as much civic interest and heard as much talk of "the social conscience" since the days of President Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society" programs.

A dozen blocks from the CCNV shelter on Capitol Hill, at the So Others Might Eat (S.O.M.E.) soup kitchen, more than 300 students from local and faraway universities arrive each morning at 6:30 to help feed more than 1,000 people a day.

"I felt a little emptiness, like I was disconnected to the world," said Maureen Whelan, a senior from Trinity College in Burlington, Vt. On spring break last week, she and eight other students piled into a van, arranged for overnight shelter in the basement of a Dupont Circle church and signed up to work at S.O.M.E., one of the largest soup kitchens on the East Coast.

As Whelan served a tomato-and-rice casserole to the hundreds passing through one recent day, she said she had grown tired of doing nothing to right the wrongs, such as hunger and homelessness, that she sees around her.

"I could have used the days off to get more spending money for myself," said Robbi Handy, a Trinity junior who accompanied Whelan. "But I get more out of the feeling that I helped. I made a difference."

Frank Newman, president of the Education Commission of the States, helped to found Campus Compact, a pioneering group of three prestigious universities—Stanford, Brown and Georgetown—that, in 1985, pledged assistance to students involved in community service. He said the idea has caught on like wildfire.

As of last week, the Campus Compact group included 280 colleges and universities.

"It was as if the need to get involved was there and the students were quietly burning embers," Newman said. "Then someone fanned them, and they burst into flames."

Some students have had the fire for years, and Roman Catholic schools, in particular, have long had volunteerism as part of their mission. And vast numbers of the nation's 13 million college students no doubt will graduate without ever setting foot in a public housing project or soup kitchen.

But recent interviews with students and school administrators on 10 campuses indicate a clear trend toward increased community involvement. In fact, many said volunteering has become the trendy thing to do.

"Now it's gotten to the point where, if you're not involved, you can't hold your head up," said Jack DeGioia, dean of student affairs at Georgetown, where senior surveys have shown that two-thirds of all undergraduates, or about 3,400 students, perform some kind of volunteer service.

Some students acknowledged that they do so because of peer pressure, to pad their resumes or to



Maureen Whelan, of Trinity College in Vermont, distributes lunches at S.O.M.E.

meet dates. Several talked of "posers," students who act as though they care deeply but barely lift a finger. Yet most talked idealistically, as did Elmer Abbo, a biology major at John Carroll University near Cleveland who counsels youths about AIDS. He said he wants "every person doing something" to make the world better.

Reasons for the outpouring of such altruism are as varied as the activities themselves.

Some of those interviewed attributed it to the federal government's retreat under President Ronald Reagan from social service work and said students are moving to address increasingly visible problems. Others noted that crime had become a significant problem at urban schools such as Penn that border poor neighborhoods and said the schools and students had decid-

ed they must improve relations with their neighbors.

Jeff Howard, coordinator of volunteer services at the University of Michigan, cited more factors for the dizzying increase of student involvement in Ann Arbor. The UM volunteer program, barely breathing a few years ago, now includes 4,400 students. New requirements in high schools for public service attracted students now in college, and colleges increasingly are granting academic credit for community service.

Harry C. Boyte, a senior fellow at the Humphrey Institute at the University of Minnesota who has written about the "renewed citizen engagement" on campus, points to generational conditioning. "The children of '30s activists brought you the campus protests of the '60s, and now their children are

addressing the massive problems that accumulated during the Reagan years," he said.

Todd Gitlin, a sociologist at the University of California at Berkeley who has written widely on the 1960s era, agreed but said today's students, whose "earliest political memory is the hostage crisis, see politics as a failure" and are forsaking politics for "rolling up their sleeves to teach one kid, help one person."

As the number of students involved has grown, so have the national networks.

Eighteen months ago, more than 7,600 students convened at the University of Illinois for a Student Environmental Action Coalition meeting. Last month, a new group called JUSTICE, an effort to link social efforts at the nation's 28 Jesuit colleges and universities, held its first national convention in Cleveland. This past weekend, 1,200 students attended a workshop in Orlando sponsored by the Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL), based at University of Minnesota.

"I think a lot of people our age are looking for meaning," said John H. Sarvey, COOL's national meetings director, explaining why so many students are forsaking Florida sun during spring break for indoor discussions about hunger, poverty, AIDS and illiteracy.

"In the early 1980s, more students were willing to accept the Reagan vision of America: 'Don't worry, be happy,'" Sarvey said. "But then the bubble burst. Then we realized that the vision was shallow and empty."

"We realized that, if we didn't address the problems, no one would."

AB MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1992

Payment in Kind

MENTION "student aid," and the words "community service" aren't far behind. The link between the two has been a topic of considerable discussion over the years—on the Hill and now on the presidential campaign trail as well. In 1989 prominent members of Congress floated proposals requiring students to perform some sort of national service in exchange for financial aid. That's a path fraught with dangers, but there are safer ones diverging off it. Gov. Bill Clinton is heading down one now. He suggests voluntary service as one way of paying back a loan already received—part of his "domestic GI bill." This is an idea that worked its way into the Senate's student-aid bill as well.

The questions raised by such a plan are many. Would the government extend another privilege to the few or provide a public good by forgiving loans in exchange for certain kinds of service—in the Peace Corps, in public hospitals, in rural schools? Would such a program help students defray debt that averages \$10,000 for graduates of private colleges? How many students would be drawn to national service? What would such a program cost and—the ever-looming question—how to pay for it?

It's in part because these questions have never been satisfactorily answered that the Senate bill includes a demonstration program. Guaranteed student loans would be partially forgiven for anyone who engages in a variety of volunteer or service work, including teaching in areas with shortages, nursing in public hospitals, lay community work or the Peace Corps. The effect—who joins, how much the government spends etc.—would be monitored and reported. Calling for a study was the only way to satisfy both a skeptical administration, which opposes loan forgiveness for any reason, and the Democrats, who are interested in providing incentives for good works.

All this is just an asterisk to the financial aid debate. Direct loans, high default rates and institutional governance have been the focus of a reauthorization that's been compared to a major rearrangement of the furniture. But anything decided about the relationship between aid to students and aid to the country could in fact upend some of that furniture in unexpected and potentially beneficial ways.

THOMAS EHRLICH

In recent years, politicians from every point on the political spectrum have been championing volunteer community service.

President Bush sponsors the Points of Light foundation because of his belief that "any definition of a successful life must include serving others." President Carter, since leaving office, has personally spent time each year helping build homes for poor families.

Congress recently adopted the National and Community Service Act to encourage volunteer service, particularly among young people. A nationwide consortium of colleges and universities called Campus Compact promotes volunteer service among its members.

As a director of the new Commission on National and Community Service, appointed by Mr. Bush, I am impressed that volunteer service is considered "the thing to do" by more young people throughout the coun-

Thomas Ehrlich is president of Indiana University. This article written for Scripps Howard News Service.

The volunteer 'thing to do'

try. At Indiana University, for example, I find that increasing numbers of students give their time, talents and energies to helping others as volunteers.

But why should we applaud volunteer service? In reply to this question, some say the nation's ills run so deep they can be met only through volunteer power. They believe that urban blight, drugs, teen pregnancies and other problems can be solved, or at least contained, only by the combined minds and muscles of volunteers — just as a neighbor's need for a barn brought community volunteers together in an earlier era.

Others stress the extent to which young people of all ages learn more when their learning is linked with service. Arithmetic comes alive to primary schoolchildren when they are collecting pennies for UNICEF. An undergraduate sociology course on urban problems becomes a living laboratory when students are engaged in projects that help ease those problems.

These and others reasons for vol-

To me, the most important reason to encourage volunteer service among young people is that it has a profound effect on character. Three key qualities are involved: self-esteem, responsibility and leadership.

unteer service are significant. But to me, the most important reason to encourage volunteer service among young people is that it has a profound effect on character. Three key qualities are involved: self-esteem, responsibility and leadership.

In my own definitions, self-esteem means having high expectations for oneself and the will to achieve those expectations. It entails being principled, not expedient, honest with oneself and with others.

Responsibility means accepting

personal responsibility for one's relations with others and conducting those relations with respect. It includes the broader sense of civic responsibility that makes democracy work.

Leadership means taking an active role in helping in the lives of others. Each of these attitudes can be shaped by many forces, but serving others is among the most powerful.

I recently read a report by an IU undergraduate who, for a volunteer

service project in one of his courses, went back to his old school to talk to the children about the value of education. This young man had been an outstanding football player in high school, recruited by many colleges. But in his senior year a serious injury ended his athletic career — a loss he still had not accepted.

"All the way there," he wrote, "I wondered how I was going to convince those kids I was sincere when really I was still so bitter. But I talked to them about the importance of education and the message seemed to sink in. I was someone they knew had been injured and had it all taken away, so I felt my speech was helpful to them."

"But just as important," he went on, "this assignment has helped me more than you can know. I was able to look into their eyes and see how lucky I am to have experienced all that I have, and that my education is something I can be proud of."

In serving others, in short, we serve ourselves.

Our society is so complex it is sometimes hard to believe that what we do as individuals can make a real and lasting difference. But that is precisely what I do believe.

Programs To Share \$63 Million Through 'G.I. Bill for Service'

By Millicent Lawton

WASHINGTON—School-based service programs and other community-service projects nationwide will share \$63.1 million in the first round of grants awarded by the federal Commission on National and Community Service.

The projects—154 in all—will receive between \$7,000 and \$3.5 million in mostly one-year grants, officials of the 21-member bipartisan commission said in announcing the awards last week.

The grants are being made under the National and Community Service Act of 1990, which authorized the commission to provide money, training, and technical assistance to states and communities to develop and expand service opportunities.

The funding will be divided among a mix of new programs and existing ones undertaking expansion or change, officials said.

The programs fall into four categories: service-learning efforts in public schools, community-service endeavors in colleges and universities, youth-corps groups that offer community service and job training, and national-service demonstration models for youths age 17 and older.

"This is a big day as far as I'm concerned for the concept of national service," Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, told a press conference here.

"I call this the G.I. Bill for community service," he added.

Mr. Nunn, an early proponent of the concept of national service for young Americans, said he hoped the commission's grants would "awaken a new spirit of civic obligation among the people of our country." He said he would like the program to mobilize young people to help meet the country's critical needs and to provide upward mobility by giving its participants a better chance for education and skills training.

"The overall goal of the commission," Catherine Milton, its executive director, said at the press conference, "is to make available meaningful community-service opportunities to everyone regardless of income, race, or background."

"We want to weave community service into the fabric of American life by involving thousands of institutions, both public and private, in

collaborative efforts," she said.

Evaluation, Replication

The commission accepted about 30 percent of the grant applications it received, turning away nearly 350 of more than 500 proposals.

Successful applications, Ms. Milton said in an interview, met four criteria: high quality, including a proven track record for the program; replicability; innovation; and potential for continuing without federal funding.

"The extent to which these programs can be imitated by others will become the best measure of their success," Gregg Petersmeyer, the director of the White House Office of National Service, told the press conference.

School-based efforts are among 154 receiving grants.

While most of the grants are for one year, some of the proposals in the category of national-service demonstration models are two-year grants, Ms. Milton noted.

The short duration of most of the grants will allow the commission to see how well the projects proceed and whether other, different proposals might be funded instead in the second year, she said.

All of the federal grants require some matching effort, said Shirley Sachi Sagawa, a vice chairman of the commission and a former Senate staff aide who worked on the authorizing act.

School-based programs must match 10 percent of their grant amounts (20 percent and 30 percent in the second and third years, if the awards are extended), Ms. Sagawa said. The conservation and youth-service corps must match 25 percent of their grants, she said, while colleges must raise money equivalent to half of the grants they receive.

The states hosting national-service demonstration models must

only split evenly with the commission the grant money for the participant's post-service benefit—a total of \$2,000 per year of service for part-time workers and \$5,000 a year for those who served full time, according to Terry Russell, the general counsel to the commission.

Such benefits will likely take the form of a tuition scholarship for participants, he said.

The commission is also putting heavy emphasis for all its grant recipients on thorough program evaluation, Ms. Milton said.

"We want to be able to demonstrate what works," she said, "because if we're going to build a national movement, we've got to have proof that it does work so we can sell these ideas to every local community, to every foundation, to every corporation."

Eight 'Leader States'

In the school-based grant category, called Serve-America, 47 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico will divide \$16.3 million for service-learning projects for children from kindergarten through high school.

In most cases, state education agencies will determine which local schools and communities will receive subgrants.

For example, in New York City, high-school students will work with junior-high students to train them in racial understanding, including prejudice prevention and conflict resolution, Ms. Milton said.

And public-school students in Washington who have been the recipients of volunteer services such as tutoring, she said, will be asked to themselves become tutors.

Eight of the states receiving Serve-America grants are designated "leader states," recognized for proposals that "hold especially significant promise" for the development of school-based community service.

The leader states are Colorado, the District of Columbia, Maryland, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Vermont, and West Virginia.

Those states will share an additional \$1.2 million to speed the expansion of their proposals.

Ms. Milton said representatives from the programs in those states will work closely with the commission as "field marshals" to develop model curricula



Pete McCloskey, left, the chairman of the community-service commission, and Sen. Sam Nunn at last week's press conference.

and to train teachers elsewhere.

"The theory being those running programs are in the best position" to explain to others what works, Ms. Milton said.

Out-of-School Youths

Projects in the category of conservation and youth-service corps—designed for out-of-school youths—will share \$21.5 million.

Such corps in 25 states, 5 operated by American Indian tribes, bring together teenagers and young adults from diverse backgrounds to work on service projects in such areas as education, the environment, and public safety.

In exchange for their service, the corps members receive living allowances and earn scholarships.

The program will offer a service-learning curriculum, setting it apart from those that focus solely on job training, officials said.

In Los Angeles, a \$1-million commission grant will enable the Los Angeles Youth Corps to open satellite centers in areas affected by the recent rioting and to recruit new members from the various minority-

group communities hardhit by the violence.

The new recruits will then lead efforts to rebuild burned-out buildings and plant community gardens in vacant lots.

National Models

Another one-third of the commission's grant money—\$20.1 million—will go to developing seven demonstration models, six of them new, for a national-service program geared to young people 17 and older.

The existing model is the Boston-based City Year program, a privately funded urban youth corps, which will expand four-fold with its grant of \$3.5 million a year for two years—the largest single grant awarded by the commission.

In addition, 59 grants totaling \$5.2 million will help 175 higher-education institutions pursue community-service efforts.

For example, Ms. Milton said, a program at the City University of New York will recruit students to work with residents of low-income housing projects to plan economic-development projects.

ASCUS Study Finds 'Favorable Marketplace' for Teachers

By Daniel Gura

Despite the nation's continuing economic problems, a new study by the Association for School, College, University Staffing depicts a relatively auspicious marketplace for teachers in most subject areas.

The study, the fifth in a series of ASCUS reports on teacher supply and demand dating back to 1969, concludes that there is either a balance or undersupply of teachers in 30 of 46 categories.

Those characterizations are based on responses from college and university placement officers and public-school officials who were asked to rate the supply of subject-area teachers on a scale ranging from "considerable surplus" to "considerable shortage." Physical education, social studies, and mathematics were the only

greatest undersupply, according to the placement officers and school officials. A variety of special-education fields ranked next, followed by physics, chemistry, foreign languages, and mathematics.

"With the exception of certain areas, it's still a favorable marketplace," said Alex C. Moody, the principal author and researcher of the study, which was released earlier this month.

Recently, however, tight budgets for elementary and secondary education have curbed the demand for teachers, added Mr. Moody, the director of the Bureau of School Services at Indiana State University. And continuing budget woes make the future job market uncertain.

Nonetheless, the ASCUS study points out that the number of live births in the United States has risen

Many members of this "baby boomlet" have not yet reached school age, so elementary-school enrollments should increase at least through 1996, the report says.

Total student enrollment is projected to increase from 45.1 million in 1985 to 49.1 million in 1995, which will create a corresponding need for more teachers, Mr. Moody said.

Teacher Preparation

At the same time, the study reveals that the number of teachers being prepared by colleges and universities of education has reached its lowest level in 20 years.

The number of education-school graduates increased modestly in the second half of the 1980s, but that

65 percent less than in the peak of 1971-72.

Like other recent reports on the subject, the ASCUS study illustrates the near impossibility of speaking of a national job market for teachers because supply and demand vary so widely by both subject matter and region.

This new study, for example, finds the greatest oversupply of teachers in the Northeast, which continues to be one of the regions hardest hit by the recession. Public-school teachers are in much greater demand, by contrast, in the South-Central, Southwest, Northwest, and West regions.

Although the ASCUS report provides new data about the teacher marketplace, it will not resolve the continuing debate over the existence—or absence—of a teacher shortage. The

maintained that there is a considerable oversupply of qualified teachers.

Emily Feistritz, who directs the National Center for Education Information, a private organization, is one researcher who has argued that there are no teacher shortages.

"By and large," Ms. Feistritz said last week, "our research is showing that, by the time the school year starts, districts have the teachers they want in the classrooms."

Studies such as ASCUS's, which focus primarily on figures from education schools, "won't cut it," she argued, because they ignore large pools of nontraditional teaching candidates, such as military retirees, career-changers, and former teachers returning to the classroom.

"I don't know that the last word will ever be written" on the subject, she said.

Copies of "A Study of U.S. Teacher Supply and Demand" are available

United States Senate

Courtesy of
Harris Wofford

Harris Wofford

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United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 102^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 138

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, MAY 12, 1992

No. 65

Senate

BEYOND THE RIOTS AND THE RHETORIC: YOUNG PEOPLE ARE THE CHALLENGE AND THE SOLUTION

Mr. WOFFORD. Mr. President, a week ago Sunday, from dawn until dusk, I was in the streets of south-central Los Angeles. I saw the burned-out stores, smelled the smoke, and talked with the people. With pastors and parishioners, with high school students, with young black professionals, with police and National Guardsmen, with volunteers cleaning the streets.

Today for a few minutes I want to be this body's firsthand reporter, to describe the scene. Then I will give some reflections on how we got to this point in our country. And finally, I will propose a different way of viewing this crisis and issue a challenge to leadership at all levels of society, including this body. A challenge to act to make the thousand points of light the reality of the years to come, not the thousand fires of Los Angeles.

Like all Americans who turned on their TV's weekend ago, in Los Angeles I saw the worst and the best of our country:

The fear and anger in the faces of Korean-Americans standing guard in front of stores already stripped of even light fixtures; African-American families in their Sunday best going into churches without electricity; Hispanic-Americans in line for groceries in the only store open in their neighborhood; white couples in Hollywood and out Wilshire Boulevard in semi-shock that this time the fires were set on their side of the freeway; weary and worried National Guardsmen no older than the rioters they were sent to control.

I saw miles of Los Angeles that had the look of Third World cities I have seen smoldering under police or army rule—or how I imagine a capital city would look in the middle of a coup.

Old graffiti was being painted out at one corner while new graffiti was being sprayed on at another, with Los Angeles Police Department SWAT team members looking across their guns at the most frequent slogan on the walls: "Kill the LAPD."

An unconcerned young man moved away as we neared the graffiti he had just tagged on the last wall of a burned-out block. It was only his nickname to show he had been there.

"He's a gang leader," said my guide, Tracy Robinson, a specialist on the gangs that he said had enlisted 90,000 young people—and caused hundreds of gang-related deaths the previous year.

Tracy Robinson, my Virgil-for-the-day on this tour of hell and purgatory in Los Angeles, told how he, an administrator in the city attorney's office, had often been stopped and hassled by police, even sometimes when he was in an official city car—suspected of stealing the car because he was black. Tracy and his organization of young black professionals with whom I talked were among the best I met in that city named for "the angles."

They were arguing about the long-term needs of their community, but also ready to work alongside men and women of all colors and cultural backgrounds who were clearing the debris in small teams all that long Sunday.

With shovels and brooms thousands of volunteer citizens had responded to the call of Edward James Olmos to join him at 6 a.m. at First and Broadway. The star of "Stand and Deliver,"

"American Me." and "Miami Vice" had driven to TV station after station, issuing an appeal to join in cleaning up the mess caused by the fire and then cleaning up the mess that caused the fire. "I'm just using my medium," he told me as we walked along Broadway early Sunday morning.

That is enough, for now, to set the scene. Except this: I had seen it before. Twenty-seven years ago, I walked the streets of Watts after the terrible riots of 1965 engulfed that section of south-central Los Angeles.

Then, as now, I went to see for myself and to understand first hand. I saw the same burned-out shells, smelled the same smoke, heard the same stories from owners of looted stores. Then, and now again, the refrain from the sixties' song "When will we ever learn?" rang in my head.

I remember the testimony of my wise and good friend Kenneth Clark to the 1968 Kerner Commission on Civil Disorder. On rereading the report of the Commission on the 1919 riot in Chicago, Clark told the Commission that it was—

As if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of 1935, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of 1943, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot.

Ken Clark said it was as if—

The same moving picture were being re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction.

And I remembered a prophetic witness who predicted that 25 years from then we would be reading the report of another Commission.

It is certainly not another Commission that we need today. Nor is the analysis I will present the same. But this time, we must agree on action—on bipartisan action, on Presidential and congressional action, on Federal, State and local action, on public and private action. I believe the crisis has grown to such proportions that we may at last be moved to that action. And I'm glad that the President and congressional leaders are meeting today to begin the job.

We face a crisis of our cities, to be sure. Also one of race and of law and order. But most importantly, I believe it is a crisis of our young people. Let me speak briefly about each.

In California, just before driving to Los Angeles, I heard Mayor Raymond Flynn of Boston present the agenda for action of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, and I discussed with him how we might help in the Senate. He will be here this week, along with Mayor Ed Rendell of Philadelphia, with whom Senator SPECTER and I met yesterday.

There is an urban crisis, caused in part by the sharp cutbacks of Federal and State funds going to our major cities, by the loss of manufacturing industries and the jobs they provide, and by the disintegration of the urban tax base. I have long supported the idea of urban enterprise zones to help counteract these trends, and I will work with my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to enable such enterprise zones to be created in all our major cities.

And I favor action to replace public housing units with home ownership. I hope Jack Kemp and the Presidential program he talks about will produce the flood of credit and capital to the inner city he predicts. I will believe it when I see it.

In Los Angeles last week, when a surgeon was telling me on the steps of the Second Baptist Church that throwing money at the problem was not as important as getting a new vision—a new way of viewing the problem—the Reverend William Epps turned on him and said, "If the S&L's need hundreds of billions of dollars, and the Russians need billions, we sure do need money—for our cities and our people here at home." They are both right.

So let us indeed turn to the needs of the cities, and let us listen to the mayors, and above all let us hope the President meets with the mayors and leaders of business who will need to invest most of the flood of capital and credit required. With the cold war over and the adversary against which we have poured trillions of dollars over 40 years gone, who dare say that there cannot be major savings in military spending, some of which can be invested in meeting the needs of our cities?

Some steps, such as the prompt provision of emergency Small Business Administration loans to rebuild the looted or burned-out businesses and some SBA loans to businesses in other cities that have been ravaged by the

recession can have an early impact. But most urban economic development programs are long-term investments and will take a long time to yield their full dividends.

Today I want to point most of all and most hopefully to the need for action—and to the possibilities for effective action—to deal with the crisis of the young. Here, too, Federal, State and local governments and the private sector will need to make major investments in the education and training of our human capital.

But first of all it is not more money that is most needed, but a new approach, a new analysis, and a new plan of action.

By focusing today on the young, I do not mean to discount the factor of racial discrimination, dramatized by the beating of Rodney King and the verdict of the Simi Valley jury. Or the need for the enforcement of law and order, to protect the rights of Rodney King and the citizens of Koreatown alike. Our new definition of national security in the post-cold war must begin with security for the American people in their own streets.

After going to Howard Law School in 1950 in order to become a part of the civil rights movement and working in that field, off and on, most of the years since then, I have some understanding of the depth of racial prejudice, the difficulty of overcoming it, and the disappointments along the way.

But after a half-century of struggle and a decade of nonviolent direct action, we did overcome the walls of legally enforced segregation and the barriers to black Americans voting in one-third of our country. That is part of our history, too—a success story of democratic action, albeit belated—but a success that cannot be taken away.

The right to vote and the end of segregation laws were the primary goals Martin Luther King set out to reach. He got to that mountaintop but found the Promised Land still far away, over other peaks of a whole range of mountains yet to be crossed. When he was killed, Martin Luther King was just trying to move up the next steep slope—the mountain of poverty in our cities, the mountain of class mixed with race, the mountain we have not climbed.

In one of my last conversations with Martin Luther King, he raised the possibility of persuading the people of one of the Nation's worst slums to openly, deliberately, peacefully walk out of that slum and, at a publicly stated time, set it afire. To set a blaze that would sear the conscience of the country. And to go to jail for doing this and stay in jail until the country acted.

I doubt he would have gone that far, but he was wrestling with the terrible challenge of urban poverty and the inner city. He had met his worst defeat in the streets of Chicago. But he was going on, to Memphis and the Poor People's March. Who knows how far we would have come in this last quarter of a century if Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy, and John Kennedy had not been killed? But I do believe we would have done better.

And I know that if we do not do better in the years at hand, the Commission report 5 or 10 years from now will tell of whole metropolitan areas in which the affluent minority is walled in behind armed guards, leaving the majority of their fellow citizens.

In any case, the fire has come this time, and the one thing we know is that Martin Luther King's message, when fires were set violently in his day, was not "Burn, baby, burn." But "Learn, baby learn."

What did I learn in Los Angeles? First of all, that this is not just a crisis of cities, or of race. It is first and foremost a crisis of our young people.

In his Paradise Baptist Church, Pastor A.D. Iverson sat in his dark study without electricity, with two candles flickering on the table, pressing the point that not all the rioters were black or Hispanic, but all were young.

We are losing our young, he said, to alienation, hopelessness, frustration, and anger, to the epidemic of crack cocaine, to the gangs that replace family, church, or any other institution that instills the values of responsible citizenship and productive workmanship.

"This was a wake-up call," Reverend Iverson said. "Pray God we don't press the snooze button." The lack of good education, the lack of challenging work or good jobs for which they are

ready, the lack of constructive alternatives and opportunities for the young was the crux of the problem, the pastor said.

That point was hammered home over and over again all day. It was made in a different way by some 30 high school students from all over the area who met with me in the late afternoon for a long anguished session, packed in a small living room. They were volunteers in student community service programs based in Los Angeles high schools, sponsored by the Constitutional Rights Foundation. They worked in teams. They took action on some of the problems of their community. They learned responsibility by taking it; citizenship by doing it. Their purpose was to serve, not to be served.

The cause of the alienation among their peers, the students told me, was the sense that the young had no way to participate in society, no way to do something important, no alternative form of action than the excitement and camaraderie of the street gangs.

Those high school students, and many of the older people with whom I talked, pointed to the whole process of coming of age in America today. With vivid evidence, they spoke of the need for early childhood education for all, beginning with prenatal care, good day care and Head Start. They liked the idea of using summers, to get challenging experience either in intensive Upward Bound learning, or in Outward Bound in the wilderness, or in effective apprenticeship work, or in well-organized, demanding community service corps.

They said they would enlist for a year or more of full-time community or national service after high school, together with other young people from all backgrounds, if well organized projects were available and if their living expenses could be paid.

Some wanted an educational bonus for such service, to help them go through college. Others argued that there should be no special benefits—just a living allowance and a chance to do something to change and improve their communities: to tutor younger kids, to care for senior citizens, to fight graffiti, to reclaim neighborhoods from drug dealers, to be supplementary community police, to repair parks, to rehabilitate homes for the poor.

In any case, they wanted to stop being viewed as the enemy or as a danger and begin to be viewed as a resource—as talent ready, earlier than people might think, to make a difference. They urged that organized service projects begin very young, in elementary schools.

The clue to what to do, the path to which I want to point today, was best put to me a few years ago by a young high school dropout, this time in Philadelphia. He had gone from a street gang into the Philadelphia Youth Service Corps. I do not remember whether he was homebuilding with the Habitat project or on the team renovating a Revolutionary War fort on the banks of the Delaware River.

But when I asked him why he had enlisted in the corps, he first said it was a better gang than the one he left behind: It did some good, it had different kinds of people in it. It was leading somewhere up and off the streets, and it would not end in being killed. I pressed him further and he said something like this:

Look, all my life people have been coming to do good against me, I got tired of people trying to help me all the time. This Corps asked me to do the helping. I'm doing something now, I'm making a difference, I'm in action.

Where does this lead? It leads past the fruitless bickering about the sixties and jumps back to the thirties for some light on what worked in the Great Depression and where we went wrong. What worked was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) that enlisted more than a million young unemployed Americans in residential, army-run camps in or on the edge of our parks and forests.

The corpsmembers of the CCC were challenged to achieve big goals. Their success in later years proved that the qualities of productive workers and good citizens are much the same: initiative, responsibility, and teamwork.

What worked with FDR was work—not the dole, not welfare, but work, both in the CCC and in the Works Progress Administration. The young men of the CCC transformed our parks and forests and then graduated into the National Service of World War II. More importantly, they transformed themselves. Just as the GI bill after that war was one of the best investments America ever made, so was the Civilian Conservation Corps.

After World War II, the CCC was forgotten, until the war on poverty was being planned by Sargent Shriver in the sixties. The proposed residential Job Corps had some of the elements of the CCC, and it has proved worthwhile. But it did not have the central idea of service and it has reached only a fraction of the young who need that kind of intensive education and job training outside the distractions of their urban slums.

When I was helping Sargent Shriver plan the war on poverty we envisioned a million strong volunteers in service to America—the Peace Corps comes home. But VISTA never passed the 10,000 volunteers mark.

When the war in Vietnam consumed the attention and resources of the country, the idea of asking all young American to serve for a year as volunteers, for the rebuilding and education of America was trampled under by the fight over the draft and a war that divided our Nation against itself. But the idea of large-scale, voluntary national service has been turned up again by the harsh logic of events that came to a climax in Los Angeles.

On another occasion, I will present in detail the way I would propose that we proceed. For today, let me salute the Congress for enacting the National and Community Service Act of 1990. That creative law, supported by Republicans as well as Democrats, has laid the foundation for the rebirth of the CCC and of other forms of effective youth service corps.

Such corps, in which the corpsmembers serve, earn, and learn are an important part of the answer to the crisis of the young. More than 60 such corps are in operation today around the country. Pennsylvania is proud to lead the way with the largest number of youth corps of all kinds. Every city, every community can develop one or more.

There have been enough pilot programs to prove that this approach works in the 1990's as the CCC worked in the 1930's. The time has come for the pilots to ignite the whole furnace. That is where we must help.

The Commission on National and Community Service should, with our support and the President's support, convene the appropriate leaders of business, labor, education, and government, and especially youth leaders

themselves, to agree upon a strategy for the development of a nationwide, decentralized system of voluntary community service.

Before coming together, they should do some homework. They should read Arthur Ashe's proposal in last Sunday's Washington Post, "Can a New 'Army' Save our Cities? With Discipline and Training, Our Alienated Young Could Find New Lives."

They should read William Buckley's book, "Gratitude: Reflections on the Debt We Owe Our Country," and the articles and reviews which I ask unanimous consent to be printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks, including the findings and recommendations of the Commission on the Study of National Service, which Jacqueline Grennan Wexler and I co-chaired in the late 1970's.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. WOFFORD. Mr. President, this is one idea that transcends politics, that goes beyond left or right, that draws on the liberal agenda and the conservative agenda at the same time. It is an idea that brings Arthur Ashe and SAM NUNN, Bill Buckley and Bill Clinton, Marian Wright Edelman and Father Hesburgh, BARBARA MIKULSKI, and General Schwarzkopf together on the same platform.

Work not welfare is now self-evident truth and we know we can begin applying this principle to the young. We understand that personal responsibility and self-esteem cannot simply be taught; they have to be earned.

It is a scandal that we know this but sit by while another generation of inner-city young people drop out of school, or graduate from school into the streets, joblessness, drugs, and the dependency systems of welfare or prison. And it is a scandal that a society with children who need care, roads that need repair, bridges that need building is allowing and sometimes paying able men and women to sit idle. It is a scandal, too, that we do not challenge the college-bound to move beyond a self-centered life of civic indifference.

Is this a liberal or conservative idea? It does not matter. We agree on it, so let us act together. In cities across our country 10-year-olds point loaded guns

at each other's heads. It is time for Congress and the White House to stop pointing fingers at each others policies. It is time to sit together around a table and hammer out solutions that do work, instead of wasting time and money on those that do not.

It is time to recognize that saving a generation of young people goes beyond ideology, and end the artificial debate over whether programs are liberal or conservative, Democrat or Republican—another round of fixing blame instead of fixing problems.

In our hearts and in our minds we know why angry, jobless, hopeless young people burn, and loot their own communities. We do not need another commission, another study, another pilot program. We need action. Immediate and sustained action.

So let us begin. Let us begin at the place where we most agree. Let us commit ourselves to saving another generation of young people by engaging them in the hard work of building their own communities, starting with the rebuilding of Los Angeles by the young of Los Angeles. Let us challenge and enable and empower them to do so. For the young are not only the crux of the problem, they offer the best hope for progress in our cities and in our country.

Mr. President, I close with the warning Robert Kennedy gave, the day after Martin Luther King was killed. He warned us not—

To look at our brothers as aliens, men with whom we share a city, but not a community, men bound to us in common dwelling, but not in common effort.

Our lives on this planet are too short and the work to be done too great to let this spirit flourish any longer in our land. Of course we cannot vanquish it with a program, nor with a resolution. But we can perhaps remember—even if only for a time—that those who live with us are our brothers, that they seek—as we do—nothing but the chance to live out their lives in purpose and happiness, winning what satisfaction and fulfillment they can.

Surely this bond of common faith, this bond of common goal, can begin to teach us something. Surely we can learn, at least, to look at those around us as fellow men and surely we can begin to work a little harder to bind up the wounds among us and to

become in our own hearts, brothers and countrymen once again.

Mr. President, that is not a liberal or a conservative idea, a Democratic or a Republican idea, a Presidential or a congressional idea, but it is an idea whose time has come.

EXHIBIT 1

(From the Washington Post, May 10, 1992)

CAN A NEW "ARMY" SAVE OUR CITIES?

(By Arthur Ashe)

Once again, seething, residual anger has burst forth in an American city. And the riots that overtook Los Angeles 10 days ago were a reminder of what knowledgeable observers have been saying for a quarter-century: America will continue paying a high price in civil and ethnic unrest unless the nation commits itself to programs that help the urban poor lead productive and respectable lives.

Once again, a proven program is worth pondering: national service.

Somewhat akin to the military training that generations of American males received in the armed forces, a 1990s version would prepare thousands of unemployable and undereducated young adults for quality lives in our increasingly global and technology-driven economy. National service opportunities would be available to any who needed it and, make no mistake, the problems are now so structural, so intractable, that any solution will require massive federal intervention.

In his much-quoted book, "The Truly Disadvantaged," sociologist William Julius Wilson wrote that "only a major program of economic reform" will prevent the riot-prone urban underclass from being permanently locked out of American economic life. Today, we simply have no choice. The enemy within and among our separate ethnic selves is as daunting as any foreign foe.

Families rent apart by welfare dependency, job discrimination and intense feelings of alienation have produced minority teenagers with very little self-discipline and little faith that good grades and the American work ethic will pay off. A military-like environment for them with practical domestic objectives could produce startling results.

Military service has been the most successful career training program we've ever known, and American children born in the years since the all-volunteer Army was instituted make up a large proportion of this targeted group. But this opportunity may disappear forever if too many of our military bases are summarily closed and converted or sold to the private sector. The facilities, manpower, traditions, and capacity are already in place.

Don't dismantle it; rechannel it.

Discipline is a cornerstone of any responsible citizen's life. I was taught it by my father, who was a policeman. Many of the rioters have never had any at all. As an athlete and former Army officer, I know that discipline can be learned. More importantly, it must be learned or it doesn't take hold.

A precedent for this approach was the Civilian Conservation Corps that worked so well during the Great Depression. My father enlisted in the CCC as a young man with an elementary school education and he learned invaluable skills that served him well throughout his life. The key was that a job was waiting for him when he finished. The certainty of that first entry-level position is essential if severely alienated young minority men and women are to keep the faith.

We all know these are difficult times for the public sector, but here's a chance to add energetic and able manpower to America's workforce. They could be prepared for the world of work or college—an offer similar to that made to returning GIs after World War II. It would be a chance for 16- to 21-year-olds to live among other cultures, religions, races and in different geographical areas. And these young people could be taught to rally around common goals and friendships that evolve out of pride in one's squad, platoon, company, battalion—or commander.

We saw such images during the Persian Gulf War and during the NCAA Final Four basketball games. In military life and competitive sports, this camaraderie doesn't just happen; it is taught and learned in an atmosphere of discipline and earned mutual respect for each other's capabilities.

Ethnic hatred, like that portrayed in Los Angeles, is also taught and learned.

A national service program would also help overcome two damaging perceptions held by America's disaffected youth: that society just doesn't care about minority youngsters and that one's personal best efforts will not be rewarded in our discriminatory job market. Harvard professor Robert Reich has opined that urban social ills are so pervasive that the upper 20 percent of Americans—that "fortunate fifth" as he calls them—have decided quietly to "secede" from the bottom four-fifths, and the lowest fifth in particular. We cannot countenance such estrangement on a permanent basis. And what better way to answer skeptics from any group than by certifying the technical skills of graduates from a national service training program?

Now, we must act decisively to forestall future urban unrest. Republicans must put aside their aversion to funding programs aimed at certain cultural groups. Democrats must forget labels and nomenclature and recognize that a geographically isolated subgroup of Americans—their children in particular—need systematic and substantive assistance for at least another 20 years.

The ethnic taproots of minority Americans are deeply buried in a soil of faith and fealty to traditional values. With its accent on discipline, teamwork, conflict resolution, personal responsibility and marketable skills development, national service can provide both the training and that vital first job that will reconnect these Americans to the rest of us. Let's do it now before the fire next time.

YOUTH AND THE NEEDS OF THE NATION

(Report of the Committee for the Study of National Service, the Potomac Institute)

FOREWORD

This report examines two major national problems and outlines a program of service that would attack both at once.

One of these problems is the predicament of America's young people. Alarming numbers of them are unemployed—worse yet, unoccupied. Many, especially those from minority and impoverished backgrounds, reciprocate society's disregard for them with a like disregard for the claims of society. Even among those materially better off, many are either aimless or preoccupied with narrow self-interest.

The other problem is the host of needs in our society that go untended. These needs are of many sorts. They range from caring for the sick and elderly to repairing our abused physical environment. What they all have in common is that they are dealt with inadequately, if at all, by business or government.

How can the unused energies and talents of American youth best be directed to critical needs of the nation that are going begging? And how, in that process, can the idea of service gain new currency among all elements of our population? When Jacqueline Wexler and Harris Wofford asked the Potomac Institute to sponsor a study of these questions, to be directed by a committee of interested and knowledgeable persons, the Institute readily agreed. The Ford Foundation provided basic support for the study and publication of its results. Additional assistance—including grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, the Field Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the J. M. Kaplan Fund, the New World Foundation, and the Charles H. Revson Foundation—has made possible follow-up activities by the Committee and its Study Director, designed to promote widespread consideration and debate of the issues. The statements made and the views expressed in the report are solely the responsibility of the Committee and its Study Director. They invite the criticisms and suggestions of every reader.

The Report consists of two distinct, though closely related, parts. The first is a summary of the findings and recommenda-

tions on which the Committee, after vigorous discussion and debate, reached general agreement; it is supplemented by a description of the Committee and its work.

The second part of the report is a paper by Study Director Roger Landrum that presents background information relevant to the consideration of National Service, as well as his own thoughtful analysis of the central issues.

The aim of the report as a whole is not to put forward an immutable blueprint of a National Service program as conceived by the Committee. Rather, it is to lay out the main issues and the Committee's collective thinking about them in such a way as to help generate widespread, intelligent public discussion of alternative possibilities. To the extent that that aim is realized, the effort will have been a success.

HAROLD C. FLEMING,
President, The Potomac Institute.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

Until the spirit of service is restored among American citizens, the most pressing human problems of our society will not be solved. The full participation of youth in National Service could be a powerful force in meeting the needs of the nation and in strengthening the spirit of service. Today, little is asked of young people except that they be consumers of goods and services. A vast industry serves youth with schooling, entertainment, and goods of all kinds, but there are limited opportunities for the young themselves to produce goods and serve others.

Anyone who pays taxes or deals with bureaucracy or has been disappointed with government programs can think of arguments against the idea of universal National Service for young people: it wouldn't work well, it would cost too much, it would create a new bureaucracy, and it would inhibit individual liberty.

The Committee has considered these arguments and weighed the difficulties against the gains that could result from enlisting the energy and talent of young people in effective service to society. We have concluded that the nation's social, economic, educational, environmental, and military needs, including the need of young people to serve and be productive, and the need of our society to regain a sense of service, together make a compelling case for moving toward universal service for American youth.

The Committee calls for the country to move toward universal service by stages and by incentives but without compulsion. One early but not continuing member of the Committee—Stuart Symington—who has long favored universal military service, presented a strong argument for a mandatory National Service system. Only with a universal system, he thinks, would the gains be worth the cost; without compulsory military service he believes the armed forces will not be able to maintain the levels required for

national security at a price the nation can afford. He was therefore unable to join in the Committee's recommendations, particularly number 11, calling for the development of a voluntary system while further consideration is given to the idea of making National Service mandatory.

A number of members of the Committee, including the co-chairmen, agree with Mr. Symington that mandatory service for all young people could make the maximum contribution to meeting the nation's military and non-military needs, and believe that it would be good for such service to become a regular and required part of growing up in America. But they do not think this will be politically feasible unless it becomes clear to the Congress and the country that the armed forces require the reinstitution of a draft—or until the large-scale voluntary service proposed in this report has proved itself and persuaded the American people to go all the way to universal service. Other Committee members oppose a mandatory system on grounds of administrative and political practicality, or constitutional and personal principle. Further points in this central argument about National Service are reported in the Committee's Findings and Recommendations below and in Roger Landrum's background study.

The following recommendations and the reasons that led to them (including that one important disagreement) are offered as a contribution to the national study and debate that this far-reaching idea requires.

1. All young people should be challenged to serve full-time for one or more years in meeting the needs of the nation and the world community.

2. A system for National Service should be established to provide opportunities so that at least a year of such service after leaving secondary or higher education can become a common expectation of young people. Year-by-year the system should find, encourage, and develop a variety of new opportunities for civilian service—in the home community, in national parks, in other parts of the country, and overseas—so that before long participation in either civilian or military National Service will be as generally accepted as going to high school.

3. In moving toward universal service, the system should aim to enlist at each stage a representative cross-section of American young people, drawing into work together men and women from all regions, races, and backgrounds. Though difficult to carry out, this functional integration of Americans should be an essential operating principle of the system.

4. National Service should be organized so as to enable young people to help meet the real economic, social, and educational needs of the nation in the most economical and effective ways. It should expand only to the extent the service of young people is effectively helping to meet those needs. The administrative structure should emphasize decentralization and result in the smallest feasible government bureaucracy with the

strongest possible ties to the private and voluntary sectors of American society, including business, labor, charitable, and religious organizations.

5. All the present government programs of full-time civilian service, such as VISTA, the Peace Corps, and the Young Adult Conservation Corps, should be included among the options in the new system of National Service. Another option could be individual or small-team arrangements with private or public agencies in local communities on the pattern demonstrated by the ACTION project in Seattle. Private programs, such as those approved by Selective Service for alternative service by conscientious objectors during conscription, should also be included if they can offer at least a year of full-time service. In addition, the system should develop—or assist in the development of—new programs that make effective use of young men and women in essential areas of community and national need.

6. Each of the programs to be included should plan and administer the work of the young men and women in National Service so as to achieve a substantially increased contribution to meeting one or more of the nation's needs. Those responsible for schools, day-care centers, tutoring programs, programs for the elderly, hospitals, community health centers, institutions for the retarded and for the mentally ill, prisons and juvenile detention centers, neighborhood associations, city, county, and national agencies for conservation, renovation, and energy-saving, and efforts to deal with disasters of nature—and other service agencies—should be asked:

What could you do better to meet your present goals if you had the full-time service of a substantial number of young people? What larger goals could you then set? Precisely how would you utilize the service of such young people? What training and supervision would be required?

The same invitation to the imagination should be put to business, labor, and religious groups who might be ready to organize and sponsor new programs of National Service.

7. National Service should not be seen as job-training or work programs for the unemployed but as a supplement to, or, for some young people, an alternative to such programs. Those in National Service should find the experience of serving under the supervision and discipline of private or government agencies a practical form of career exploration; in many cases the training and work of National Service could be viewed as internships and apprenticeships. Notwithstanding the differences of approach and purpose between National Service and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (including the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects), there should be careful coordination. In some cases, young

people in job-training programs might move thereafter into one or two years of National Service; in other cases, young people completing National Service might benefit by one of these training or job-placement programs.

8. The terms of National Service should reflect the fact that service is being rendered. Following the precedents of the Peace Corps and VISTA, the general rule during service should be a reasonable living allowance. Though these modest cash stipends would be important to young people seeking not to be dependent on their families, especially those who are poor, for more affluent youth the amount will seem like very little and part of the challenge will be learning to live on less. Citizens, in turn, would be gaining new services at low cost.

9. One of the incentives for participants should be appropriate post-service educational and employment benefits along the lines of the G.I. Bill of Rights and the Peace Corps readjustment allowance, apportioned according to the length of service. Not all such benefits need to be provided by the government. In making hiring decisions, the private business sector as well as government at all levels should consider giving appropriate weight to an applicant's National Service. Colleges and universities should give such service weight in admissions decisions at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. In these ways, society could place value on the experience and reinforce the concept of service as an obligation of citizenship.

10. While engaged in National Service, the participants should be encouraged to continue their education. In addition to the learning-by-doing of apprenticeship, once the main form of American education, they might take a variety of available extension courses or attend night school, as further preparation for a career and for more general education. The staff of the National Service system should seek to initiate and assist a variety of educational activities among participants. English-speaking and Spanish-speaking young people could learn to tutor each other in oral language skills; college-trained participants could tutor high school dropouts in basic skills or subjects they lack; the central literature of the American tradition could be read and discussed.

11. The nation should seek effective ways to provide the opportunities for service from all its citizens, and should ask the young to participate at some point after age 18, but it is not necessary now to decide whether the nation should require such service. During the gradual development of a voluntary system, the idea of mandatory service can be carefully considered. If it should be determined that the needs of national defense call for the restoration of the military draft, at that point the case for

mandatory universal service, including non-military options, would be very strong.

12. Military enlistment should be recognized as a form of National Service, and service should be re-emphasized as the central mission of the military. A growing expectation of service should improve the climate for all volunteering, and thus aid the armed forces in attracting young people without having to offer over-higher compensation and benefits.

13. To assist young people in choosing the best form of National Service, service councils should be established in each community, composed of citizens with experience in voluntary service, education, business, labor, and religious organizations. Members would be appointed nationally and serve without pay. The councils might well be located in underutilized facilities in local high schools. They would provide information and counseling on the various opportunities for service. The history of local boards in the Selective Service System and the experience of the new community Education and Work Councils should be reviewed in determining the procedures for selection and operation of local service councils.

14. After age 16 and before leaving high school, all young people should be urged to visit a local service council, and the councils should hold open meetings in schools. In addition to giving up-to-date information on National Service opportunities, the councils should be well-informed about job-training and public service jobs available through other federal programs, and about opportunities in the armed forces.

15. Establishing the National Service system as a public corporation, chartered and funded by Congress but drawing its leadership largely from the private sector of American society, seems to us the most promising course. Innovative structures in both the private and public sectors should be examined, including the American Red Cross, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Peace Corps, and the administration of the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights. The National Service system should be empowered to set overall guidelines and criteria for funding and monitoring the various programs in which young people may serve; to initiate and administer some programs directly itself; and to establish a network of local service councils for information and counseling. Its charter must give it appropriate flexibility.

16. The system of full-time National Service for youth should be connected in all appropriate ways to the voluntary service of older citizens and of students who are in secondary schools or colleges so that the spirit of service, whether full-time or part-time, paid or unpaid, is strengthened throughout all parts of American life and among all ages.

Case for national service

The Background Study by Roger Landrum gives many of the facts and factors that caused the Committee to come to the above consensus. In summary, our reasons for these recommendations are as follows:

For the young who were called to serve in the armed forces during World War II, such service was a "rite of passage" from adolescence into adulthood. The Peace Corps and VISTA have also given a number of young people the chance to prove themselves in situations calling for hard work, imagination, and responsibility. But for most young people today the lack of any challenging experience away from home and outside the classroom that stretches and tests them in the service of their community or their country makes that passage very difficult. Indeed, the problem may even begin in the home, where children are no longer so often required to undertake regular chores and do necessary work in the house, in the yard, or on the farm.

Some period for action in the larger community, before commitment to a career, appears to be desirable for a substantial proportion of students leaving high school or college. They feel the need to explore careers and discover more about themselves in the world beyond the school room and away from their families. However, when it is mainly a period of frustration, with little opportunity to be productive, it may only prolong adolescence and promote lives of quiet—or noisy—desperation.

Our modern technological society places such low value on physical labor and has such persistently high rates of youth unemployment that the transition from school to work has become harder than ever. For those who can find no work, it is a transition to walking the streets and waiting for welfare payments. Unemployment at this critical turning point adds to the forces that produce antisocial citizens and, for all too many, alcoholism, drug addiction, crime, and incarceration.

Other roads, not limited to the poor and to disadvantaged minorities, lead in the same direction. Too many sons and daughters of the suburbs are drifting without purpose, and their apathy or self-centeredness is seldom cured by schooling. If pride in the units in which people served was often a source of war-time morale, the lack of social organizations in which many young people can take part with pride is part of the problem today. Even if most young people escape the extreme breakdown feared, the present degree of alienation among youth of all backgrounds has passed the point of safety, for them or for society.

Race and Poverty

Compounding all this is the inescapable factor of race. Plans for school integration and affirmative action in industry, government, and other institutions to the contrary

notwithstanding, racial separation and inequality of opportunity remain facts of national life. Deep-rooted prejudice is reinforced by the culture of poverty into which millions of people are born.

Efforts to improve educational and employment opportunities for disadvantaged minorities and for all the poor are continuing with new federal programs of job training and public service jobs. But the statistics suggest that as the proportion of minority youth in the total population increases, the problem of youth unemployment is also mounting and becoming more intractable. Part of the problem is structural in our economy: Are there enough jobs? A deeper part may be the matter of motivation: Is there the will? How many inner-city youth who are born into poverty and bred in an environment of defeat will respond to the programs designed to help them?

Federal, state, and local, public and private programs for job training and for new job opportunities for youth are necessary. But taken altogether, we do not think that these programs will be sufficient to break the vicious circle of poverty and discrimination among a substantial proportion of minority youth. And since by definition (and by statute, although not always in practice) these programs are targeted on the poor and the unemployed, or on minority youth, they do not break the pattern of segregation and do not pretend to deal with the larger problem we find to exist for practically all American youth: the need to be challenged to serve.

Most existing programs say, in effect, "Here is training or work designed to help you—the poor and the racially disadvantaged—to take you off the streets, to get you a job, to give you a better chance." This is very different from an approach that would say, "We need you and ask you—along with other young people—to serve your community and country in demanding and disciplined work on some of the important problems of our society." The immediate results—in terms of taking unemployed youth off the streets and putting them to work—may be much the same statistically, but we think the psychological impact and lasting results would not be. Having good done for you—or, as it must often feel, to you—is hardly the best way to self-reliance and self-confidence. It is worse if the jobs provided are temporary and seem to be make-work, without much significance. Moreover, some of the programs tend to segregate and thus further to stigmatize those who are already most alienated.

A system of full-time National Service would bring together black and white, rich and poor, young people from the North and South, East and West, city and suburb, small town and farm, those who do not go to college and those who do, and bring them together because their service is needed.

Integration in such a positive and functional setting, for a year or two between age 16 and 25, before the patterns of adult life are set, could have a profound effect on the relation of racial and other groups in this country. Doing hard tasks together, sharing

a common adventure should help break down the barriers between people and lead to better understanding. Working and living together may not make people like each other, but without that experience the distance between them may never be bridged.

Fields of Service

The possible good results of National Service would depend on the quality of the experience while serving and the value of the actual service rendered. The work to be done must be really needed, and efficiently organized. We have no doubt that there is plenty of work that needs to be done on many fronts requiring human service, where with adequate training and supervision young people could make effective contributions. A recent study for the Department of Labor has identified and analyzed the need in more than 100 activities in public service, and estimated that 3 million full-time jobs are called for.

Roger Landrum's Background Study lists the breakdown of activities in considerable detail, and reports some other estimates of service needs. Despite these documented needs, the task of assessing the kinds of National Service most needed and best able to be rendered by young people has just begun.

In determining areas for National Service, the designers of the program will have to ask: What needs to be done about this particular problem that is not now being done, is not likely to be done with existing resources, and could be done successfully by young people working together for one or two years? That process of questioning various social institutions and systems of service should itself be valuable for the country, in setting priorities and promoting better public understanding of our national problems. The young people in National Service will be asking those questions about the work they do and the institutions they serve. They should come out of service with a questioning habit that will serve them and the country in good stead in the years to come.

Our concept of National Service would not be fulfilled simply by recruiting young people to fill public service jobs, letting them live at home, and paying them the minimum wage for a year or two. That would put them in direct competition with regular public service workers and make the experience primarily one of employment, not service. National Service should be different in quality, involving much more of a break from the accustomed worlds of home, school, and work, and making a more innovative contribution to the solution of some of our nation's major problems. In most cases it should involve working in teams and in programs with new goals that National Service participants would help define.

National Service should no doubt include existing programs such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, and the Young Adult Conservation Corps, and encourage those programs to expand substantially. However, the larger part of National Service must be designed

anew if it is to involve a million or more young people. We have not undertaken to complete such a design, but our specific recommendations propose some guidelines. We would give priority to a few areas of most pressing need, where a new form of service could make an important difference. Our nation's inadequate systems of day-care for pre-school children and care for the infirm and aged are two obvious examples; so is the need for special tutoring of many low-achieving elementary and secondary students, both urban and rural, and for renovation and reconstruction of many neighborhoods.

Service, Education, and Employment

To stress the value of service is not to discount the necessity of education and employment as key conditions for anyone's development and as ways of contributing to society. Indeed, we recognize the importance and interdependence of all three. Each relates to and has elements of the other, but the emphases are different. Of the three, modern American society has concentrated on education and employment and neglected service. We think it is time to right that balance.

At least 10 years of classroom education is required of all young people, and many of them go on to 12 or 16 or more years of formal education. If all goes well, they can then look forward to four or five decades of employment. But there are no such large-scale opportunities for full-time service, even for a year or two, except in the military. We think American youth would be better educated and better prepared as workers and citizens if a million or more young people in each group coming of age enlisted for one or two years of full-time civilian National Service.

To recommend such full-time service is not to disparage the part-time service being given by millions of volunteers through civic, charitable, and religious groups. The introduction of National Service should strengthen the whole voluntary service sector. We would expect various voluntary service organizations, both at the national and the local level, to utilize and supervise groups of young people in National Service, and in subsequent years to enlist many of the participants for continuing part-time service.

Similarly, we do not intend to minimize the role of the military—the country's first example of National Service. At present, however, as Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine recruiting brochures vividly display, the all-voluntary armed forces increasingly present themselves as sources of career training and long-term employment in competition with other employers. As the idea of service becomes more widely accepted among the young, the numbers who will choose to serve through the military should increase. Thus the move toward universal National Service should make military recruiting easier, and help restore the tradition of citizen-soldier now giving way to a mercenary system.

We do not suggest that National Service will cure all, or even a large part, of our nation's ills, but it should stimulate other institutions to do more than they are now doing, or do what they are doing better. Schools may be challenged, for instance, to prepare students for National Service by involving them in forms of community service as part of their education; in doing so they would also be making more connections between school and work.

The experience of National Service could alter attitudes toward work in our society by demonstrating the satisfaction that comes from doing well any job that is needed and is valued. By infusing with purpose all the tasks undertaken, no matter how dirty or difficult, National Service should help break down the present hierarchy of values in which so much necessary work is considered degrading. Every program of National Service, under good supervision and leadership, should promote the pride and discipline of work needed throughout everyone's career. Work places, whether in business or in the professions, might find themselves stirred by a new spirit of service that would make the work itself more purposeful, productive, and satisfying.

The quality of citizenship in this country could also be improved if all on a large part of the younger generation experienced National Service. The voting age has been lowered to 18, but little has been done to raise the standards for citizenship or better prepare young people to be active and informed citizens. In National Service the participants would get first-hand knowledge of some of society's needs and learn-by-doing the ways of taking action to meet them.

Self-Interest and the Common Good

There are obstacles on all sides. Perhaps age 17 or 18 is too late if the idea of service is not instilled long before then. Unless a National Service system does in some way include younger students in their early teens—perhaps part-time during school or in summer vacations—the response at a later age may be inadequate. It may be that the narrow sense of self-serving among many young people cannot be overcome until our society as a whole begins to rediscover the common good. The healthy skepticism and individualism self-government needs seems too often now, with the old and the middle-aged as well as the young, to cross the threshold into a cynicism and selfishness that can destroy a society. The reaction to Vietnam and Watergate may still be too heavy a weight for any National Service system to carry.

We hope, however, that the idea of National Service can be a point of entry—a means of breaking that vicious circle of cynicism and selfishness. We are not seeking a pure altruism that seldom exists in this world. The motives behind National Service, both for the people and the government supporting it and for the young who engage in it, will be mixed.

In the most realistic sense, National Service is enlightened self-interest. Volunteers often discover that they gain more than they give. In serving others, they serve themselves. In giving of themselves, they find themselves. We think that a society in which service is valued more highly and is more readily given will itself be healthier and stronger.

Persuasion or Compulsion?

We do not expect our words or anyone's words alone to achieve the fundamental change in national viewpoint required. When the well of words runs dry and rhetoric loses its power, as seems to be the case in our country today, work is a way to restore the spirit. If a system of National Service can be established, the work young people do in it may bring about that restoration, first in their lives and then in the lives of their fellow citizens. If they will try it, we think they and the nation will like it.

Persuading them and the nation to try it is another matter. We are divided on the question of whether or not the program should be compulsory. Some of us favor the adoption of mandatory National Service as soon as the public can be persuaded to support it, although no member of the Committee favors sending anyone to jail who refuses to serve. One purpose of National Service is to diminish the number who go to jail, not increase it. Sanctions such as withholding certain government benefits have been proposed (one member has jokingly but provocatively suggested a novel sanction: denying a driver's license to anyone who declines National Service!).

Only by a mandatory system could we be sure that those who may need the experience most will serve. Some of us think that by making it mandatory the nation could save a significant fraction of its young who may otherwise have little chance of a decent and productive life.

Others of us consider compulsion unacceptable, particularly for the younger generation who would be subject to it, and it may be that compulsory peace-time, non-military service would be held unconstitutional. In a 1977 Gallup Poll on National Service, 70 percent of those over 50 supported compulsory service for men, but about half of those between 18 and 24, who would be most directly affected, opposed it—and more than half of all those polled opposed compulsory service for women.

Those of us who think coercion would not work nevertheless want National Service in due course to include a majority of each generation and favor various incentives such as educational and training benefits and other forms of persuasion. Some of us would also condition a number of federal benefits, for example, the present system of educational grants, on completion of a term of National Service. We all want National Service to become accepted as an obligation and opportunity the way most young people

view continuing in high school beyond the age of compulsory attendance.

In his 1910 proposal for National Service, *The Moral Equivalent of War*, William James called for conscription but put his main emphasis on social pressure and the power of persuasion. With "time and education and suggestion enough," he believed that constructive service in peace-time could come to seem "no less imperative" than military service in war. Our specific recommendations leave open the question of compulsion as one of the subjects of the public debate we hope will now begin and as a matter for time and education to determine.

Another question argued is the extent to which National Service should involve living and working outside one's home community. We have agreed that this option should be available, but we differ some on how much it should be emphasized over service in one's own community. The educational value of the long journey, out of one's customary environment, has been demonstrated in many situations. The poverty of spirit in much of affluent America may best be recognized by experiencing the other forms of poverty in inner-city slums; those born in slums may most of all need to discover another America in the national parks or in small towns. Peace Corps Volunteers found that the outsider often has special insight and energy; sometimes it seems as if a volunteer is not without impact save in his own community. On the other hand, there is more continuity in one's work and future career if one stays at home, and certainly the immediate costs are less.

A further open question is the length of service. The Peace Corps requires two years; VISTA, one year. The Committee recommends at least one year but recognizes that where longer training is required or the work calls for a longer commitment, a two-year term would be appropriate.

Questions of Cost

The cost of National Service is a central question we could neither dodge nor fully answer. In this period of budget-cutting, will the people or the Congress or President think it can be afforded? With the pressure for tax cuts, can some new method of financing National Service be devised as an alternative to a substantial addition to the general federal budget? Could there be substantial shifts in the allocation of federal expenditures for education, job training, unemployment compensation, welfare, and military recruiting to reduce the additional costs of National Service?

We can calculate the approximate costs, and point to some of the offsetting cost benefits.

At present price levels, the average total cost for a year of one person's full-time service in non-military programs would range from \$5,000 to \$11,000, depending upon the kind of program. An important variable would be the numbers who serve with local

institutions in their home communities and who serve in other places, and the different living allowances that may be set. There is also the question of post-service educational and training benefits, along the lines of the G.I. Bill of Rights. Another key factor to be determined will be the costs of training, supervision, and administration and how those should be shared by the National Service system and local sponsoring groups. Including training, supervision, and administrative expenses, the average cost of a year of service by a VISTA Volunteer in 1979 is estimated at \$6,700; in the Young Adult Conservation Corps the average cost is \$10,500 (\$9,000 in the non-residential programs and \$11,000 in the residential camps).

Against these costs must be weighed the reductions possible in other expenses. If National Service becomes a more general expectation, the rising cost of recruiting and maintaining the all-volunteer armed forces can be checked and perhaps substantially reduced. With National Service the number of jobs needed to be provided for unemployed youth should be greatly reduced. To the extent that young people come out of National Service more productive and able and willing to work, who might otherwise have spent years unemployed and on welfare—or perhaps in prison—there would be important savings.

But who can count the dollars saved in terms of lives saved? And how do you estimate the cost of leaving great public needs unmet because funds are not available to hire people at standard wages? The cost of trying to meet those needs without National Service would be very high.

A true audit of National Service would therefore need to evaluate the progress made, at relatively low cost, in meeting important community and national needs. It would also need to estimate the cost to the country of not having such a system.

A nation has no greater potential resource than its youth, and National Service may prove to be a vitally necessary way to develop that potential. Since such service appears to us to be a critically missing dimension in the education and development of American young people for an adult life of productive work and good citizenship, we think that the sooner a system of National Service is established, the better for the nation.

ABOUT THE COMMITTEE

(By Jacqueline Grennan Wexler and Harris Wofford)

At the time our unofficial Committee, with one full-time professional director and one secretary, and the volunteer services of 13 members, was completing its study of the idea of National Service, we learned that President Carter has included in the 1979 budget for ACTION a request to Congress for \$3.8 million in research and development funds to study and prepare a plan for a national youth service. That sum dwarfs the total of \$45,000 we received from the Ford

Foundation for our year-long study, and we hope that the new research to be funded will multiply our contribution. The issues are indeed complex, the possibilities great, and much more study and debate is required. Our Committee has identified empirical questions that we would have liked to have had the time and resources to answer, such as the attitudes of young people toward different forms of National Service (including attitudes toward monetary and non-monetary incentives), and the vocational, educational, and developmental benefits derived from various types of service. Detailed analyses of costs, benefits, and possible trade-offs within the federal dollar are also needed.

That the President should ask for such an investment in the development of a plan for National Service is a sign that sparks struck by this idea during recent decades may at last find tinder that is ready. The large sum requested is also a warning sign: If government research and development begins, can government bureaucracy be far behind?

Earlier Efforts

In the Great Depression of the 1930s, the idea of youth service was advanced as an alternative to youth unemployment and the dole. The Civilian Conservation Corps came into being, with a Camp William James, but all the youth programs of the New Deal put together fell far short of universal National Service.

After World War II several private ventures were initiated, especially for service in developing nations, and bills began to be proposed in Congress for a federally-funded overseas youth service. Then John Kennedy, spurred by students at the University of Michigan, promised that if elected he would establish a Peace Corps. Sargent Shriver shaped the program, created one of the most unbureaucratic agencies in history, won the support of Republicans and Democrats, Conservatives and Liberals alike in the Senate and House, and hundreds of thousands of young people volunteered in its first years. However, the Peace Corps, even at its height of 15,000 Volunteers overseas, most of them college graduates, reached a very small fraction of the nearly 4 million young people turning 18 each year. Even adding the thousands who enlisted in the War on Poverty as Volunteers in Service To America (VISTA), and others in private programs, young people involved in full-time service were relatively few in number and not a very representative cross-section.

Drawing on this experience, in 1965 President Johnson proposed that the nation "search for new ways" through which "every young American will have the opportunity—and feel the obligation—to give at least a few years of his or her life to the service of others in the nation and in the

world."¹ In that same era of social invention and high hopes, the Secretary General of the United Nations also declared he was "looking forward to the time when the average youngster—and parent or employer—will consider one or two years of work for the cause of development, either in a far-away country or in a depressed area of his own community, as a normal part of one's education."²

¹ Lyndon B. Johnson, University of Kentucky, Feb. 22, 1965. In signing the 1965 Peace Corps Act, the President repeated his hope that the search would "develop a manpower service program for young people which could work at every level to transform our society," and lead to the day "when some form of voluntary service . . . is as common in America as going to school."

² U. Thant to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Geneva, July 5, 1965. There was also the May 18, 1966, proposal by secretary of Defense Robert McNamara that we move toward universal service "by asking every young person in the United States to give one or two years of service to his country—whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad" (address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Montreal, Canada, and reprinted in R. S. McNamara, *The Essence of Security*, New York: Harper & Row, 1968).

By 1968 the war in Vietnam and the cumulative effect of the assassinations of John and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr., had cast a heavy cloud. Opposition to the war, resistance to military service, and cynicism about political leadership dimmed the prospect of getting the consent of young people for a program of universal service. In the aftermath of Watergate, the disclosures of corruption and abuse of power accentuated anti-government attitudes. The Seventies began with a spirit far removed from "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

A New Opportunity

Nearly a decade later, with the war behind us, with new pressures from youth unemployment and the unmet needs in every community, the logic of events again seems to be pointing toward National Service. President Carter says that universal National Service with non-military options should be considered if a military draft again becomes necessary.³ After reviewing the costs and other problems of the all-volunteer military service, Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, on the Armed Services Committee, called for the study of such a universal service system. A 1977 Gallup Poll reported that two persons in three would support a law requiring all young men to give a year of service either in the military forces or in non-military work here or abroad, such as in VISTA or the Peace Corps. George Gallup concluded that "few programs that President Jimmy Carter could introduce would have such broad public approval. . . ."

As two of those who had been involved in early discussions of plans for National Service in the mid-1960s while working together in the Peace Corps, we decided in the summer of 1977 to test the possibility that the time for serious consideration of the idea by the American people may be at hand.

We found that young people of various backgrounds with whom we talked were interested and, on balance, affirmative, despite great skepticism about everything governmental. The same response came from many others, of older ages, in both political parties, in business and labor, in academia and government, in public and private life. They, and we, had many questions. We decided to enlist some colleagues in a study that would seek to define the idea, explore the key issues, and produce proposals for public debate.

The Potomac Institute in Washington, D.C., agreed to sponsor and be host to the study. The Ford Foundation granted the Potomac Institute \$25,000, and when additional work proved necessary, a further grant of \$20,000 to support the effort. Roger Landrum agreed to be the full-time study director. As one of the first Peace Corps Volunteers who went to Nigeria, and later as founder of Teachers, Incorporated, a private organization that worked in inner-city schools, and director of Yale's teacher preparation program, he was known to us as a sharp critic and successful innovator. His skepticism toward bureaucracy and grandiose plans, and his experience in service programs at home and abroad, seemed a good combination.

The Committee, whose members are briefly described on pages 20-21, met 10 times as a group, and many more times in small subcommittees with others who could throw light on the subject. Altogether the Committee, its subcommittees, and the study director consulted with over 100 other persons, including various young people, officials of pertinent government agencies, and leaders of business, labor, education, and other parts of the independent sector of our society.

Existing government programs related to youth were reviewed—especially the Young Adult Conservation Corps, the Peace Corps and VISTA, ACTION's new community-based service programs, and the training and public jobs programs of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), including the Youth Employment Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA). Demographic and socioeconomic projections into the 1980s for American youth were studied. We benefited from other studies that analyzed, diagnosed, and presented the

³ March 5, 1977, during a program on CBS radio in which persons asked the President questions on the telephone; restated in Memphis, December 1978.

needs of young people and the prospects for utilizing their talents through programs of training and service.

Various models for National Service were considered, ranging from a universal compulsory system to a modest escalation of full-time volunteer programs. We argued the propriety, efficacy, and constitutionality of suggested sanctions and incentives. We explored administrative structures and principles of restraint (such as the early Peace Corps rule that no one be employed in the agency longer than five years) to check the growth of a new federal bureaucracy and make the system more a part of the independent sectors of society than of the government.

An Idea for Public Debate

Above all the Committee argued. It heard and questioned those it consulted, it read and criticized the papers presented or prepared by Roger Landrum, including his lively minutes of the meetings, but most of all it carried on an argument. And most of all now it hopes through this report to extend the argument to the many individuals and groups—and the general public—that must be involved in shaping and debating such an idea. To promote that public debate, grants have been made by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, the Field Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, The J.M. Kaplan Fund, the New World Foundation and the Charles H. Revson Foundation.

During the Committee's study, two participants went to China (under other auspices). Like visitors to the People's Republic before them, they came back impressed and challenged by the extraordinary mobilization of the talent of young people possible under authoritarian, post-revolutionary conditions. They came back both more determined than before to try to devise a democratic equivalent and more aware of the difficulty.

We were all aware that service to one's community and country is practiced in one form or another almost everywhere, and that the challenge of the mobilization of human resources by an authoritarian regime is as old as the hills of Sparta, where the power of its universal youth service so impressed and worried visitors from ancient Athens. Yet service to others, and voluntary action without waiting for government leadership or command, has been a special American theme from the first days of colonial settlement. In the early 19th century de Toqueville saw it as the secret of American success—just as the involuntary servitude of some Americans was the nation's great sin. Frontier life required that neighbors help each other build barns, fight fires, harvest crops, and care for the sick. Popular movements for the abolition of slavery, for women's suffrage, and for civil rights are later manifestations of the same spirit; the growth of the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts,

the Little Leagues and 4H Clubs, are other less political examples involving young people, as is all the free time given to the wide range of religious and civic organizations in our midst.

In most wars prior to Korea and Vietnam, a great part of the population was swept with the spirit of national service. But in peace-time in the 20th century, without the challenges of the physical frontier, that spirit has withered. Our Committee advances the idea in the hope that it could help end the present depression of the national spirit and tap once again, on a large scale, the best in the American tradition and the best in us as a people today.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Bernard E. Anderson is Associate Professor of Industry at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, and Chairman of the National Council on Employment Policy. He has worked as an economist with the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and taught at Swarthmore College. He has conducted numerous studies of labor market issues, and has written several books, including *Opportunities Industrialization Centers: A Decade of Community-based Manpower Services*.

Donald J. Eberly has been Executive Director of the National Service Secretariat since 1968 and Senior Policy Analyst at ACTION since 1971. He was a consultant to the 1968 National Advisory Commission on Selective Service and Vice-Principal of Molusi College in Nigeria, and is the author of numerous articles about National Services.⁴

Harold Fleming is President of The Potomac Institute. He has been Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and assisted in organization of the U.S. Community Relations Service; he is active in the development of equal opportunity policies and programs within government and the private sector.

Edythe J. Gaines was until recently Superintendent of Schools in Hartford, Connecticut, where she initiated the Workplaces Program, integrating private and public sector support. As teacher, curriculum specialist, secondary school principal, and superintendent in the New York City public schools, she developed programs of economic empowerment for youth. She has served on the National Panel on S.A.T. Score Decline and the National Task Force on School Desegregation Strategies.

Father Theodore M. Hesburgh has been President of the University of Notre Dame since 1952. He is Chairman of the Board of The Rockefeller Foundation and Ambassador, U.S. Delegation to the 1979 U.N. Conference on Science and Technology for Development. He was Chairman of the U.S. Civil

⁴ No government agencies were represented on the Committee; Mr. Eberly served in his capacity as long-time Executive Director of the Independent National Service Secretariat.

Rights Commission and a member of the President's Commission for an All-Volunteer Armed Forces, and is author of *The Human Imperative*.

Mildred Jeffrey is National Chair of the National Women's Political Caucus, a member of the Wayne State University Board of Governors, and Coordinator of the Child Care Seminar of the Coalition of Labor Women. She is former Director of the Consumer Department of the United Automobile Workers.

Charles Killingsworth is University Professor of Economics at Michigan State University, a member of the National Council on Employment Policy, and a long-time arbitrator of labor-management disputes. He is author of *Jobs and Income for Negroes*.

Christian Kryder is a student at Georgetown University School of Medicine and will be a member of the National Health Service Corps. He is a former CETA worker, and co-editor of *Americans and Drug Abuse*.

Roger Landrum is with The Potomac Institute as Study Director for the Committee. He has taught at the University of Nigeria, Harvard, and Yale, was founder and President of Teachers Incorporated, and served as a Peace Corps Volunteer.

John G. Simon is Augustus Lines Professor of Law at Yale University and President of The Taconic Foundation. He was founding chairman of The Cooperative Assistance Fund, and is co-author of *The Ethical Investor*.

Jacqueline Grennan Wexler has been President of Hunter College in New York City since 1969. She has also been President of Webster College in Missouri, a Sister of Loretto, a member of the President's Task Force on Urban Education Opportunities, and a high school teacher. She is a director of two major business corporations.

Eddie N. Williams is President of the Joint Center for Political Studies, and a member and former Chairman of the Census Bureau Advisory Committee on the Black Population for the 1980 census. He has been Vice-President for Public Affairs of the University of Chicago and Director of the University's Center for Public Study, and a Foreign Service Officer.

Willard Wirtz is Chairman of the National Manpower Institute and a partner in the law firm of Wirtz & Gentry. He was Secretary of Labor under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, has taught at Northwestern University, and is author of *The Boundless Resource*.

Harris Wofford was President of Bryn Mawr College from 1970 to 1978. He has been Special Assistant to President Kennedy for Civil Rights, Associate Director of the Peace Corps, President of the State University of New York College at Old Westbury, and Associate Professor of Law at the University of Notre Dame. He is an attorney in Philadelphia.

[From the New York Times, Oct. 18, 1990]

NATIONAL DEBT, NATIONAL SERVICE

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

The points of light of George Bush, those little oases of civic-mindedness and philanthropy he spoke of during his Presidential campaign, have ended in Las Vegas comedy routines ("Mister, can you spare a point of light?"). Yet in 1988, 23 million Americans gave five hours per week or more in volunteer social work. Assuming that the labor of those who engage in such activity is worth only the minimum wage, we are talking about \$25 billion worth of time already given to serve concerns other than one's own.

All this suggests that the spirit is there; but it coexists with a strange and unhealthy failure by many American men and women to manifest any sense of obligation to the patrimony, a phenomenon noted 50 years ago by the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset, except he was speaking about Modern Man, not Americans. The neglect of the patrimony by Americans is perhaps more unconscionable, because it can be persuasively argued that we owe more than perhaps any other country to those who bequeathed us the land we live in and the institutions that govern us.

My thesis is that we need a national service. There are proposals sitting around in Congress, whose strengths and failures I have evaluated elsewhere. Here the focus is on the spirit that prompts the proposal: the search for an institutional vehicle through which we could give expression to the debt we feel, or should feel, to the patrimony. Here are the distinctive aspects of the program I have elaborated.

1. The program should be voluntary, both because voluntary activity is presumptively to be preferred to obligatory activity, and because although we are thinking in terms of requital (what can we do for our country, in return for what it has done for us?), man, lest he become unrecognizable, should be left free to be ungrateful.

2. That doesn't mean that society should not use incentives, such positive and negative reinforcements as the behaviorist B.F. Skinner wrote about, to press the point that those citizens who appreciate the Bill of Rights and the legacies of the Bible, of Aristotle, Shakespeare and Bach, and who document that appreciation by devoting a year of their lives to civic-minded activity, are to be distinguished from those who do not.

Distributive justice never hesitates to treat unequally unequal people, in respect of rewards, and esteem. There is such a thing as a first-class and a second-class citizen, and although commutative justice is owed to them equally, that's the end of it. The person who devotes 40 hours a week to community service is a better citizen than

his ungrateful counterpart, and society shouldn't funk acknowledging the difference. Those who fear a class system should ponder the offsetting effects of shared experience, shoulder to shoulder.

3. The objective of national service should not be considered in the tender of Good Deeds. Tending to the sick, teaching illiterates to read, preserving our libraries are desirable ends. But the guiding purpose here is the spiritual animation of the giver, not the alms he dispenses. The person who has given a year in behalf of someone or something else, is himself better for the experience. National service is not about reducing poverty; it is about inducing gratitude.

There isn't any way in which we can tangibly return to our society what we have got from it: liberty and order, access to the poetry of the West, the devotion of our parents and teachers. The point needs to be made that tokenism is not to be dismissed because, in other contexts, it is scorned. Because the dead of the Civil War cannot be revived doesn't mean, as Lincoln told us, that they can be forgotten. And the search for the practical way in which to hold them in esteem should go beyond national holidays we spend on the beach. The cultivation of the rite of passage, from passive to active citizenship, is the challenge of national service.

We will always be short of Americans who can add to the Bill of Rights, or compose another "Don Giovanni." But there is the unmistakable means of giving witness to the gratitude we feel, or ought to feel, when we compare our lot with that of so many others who know America only in their dreams.



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 102^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol 138

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1992

No. 72

Senate

A LEGISLATIVE AGENDA FOR RECLAIMING OUR YOUNG PEOPLE BY ASKING THEM TO SERVE, EARN, AND LEARN

Mr. WOFFORD. Mr. President, last week, I described my visit to south central Los Angeles in the days after the riot and some of the lessons I learned there.

First of those lessons was that the crisis is not only of the cities, or of race, but is, above all and foremost, and maybe most hopefully, a crisis of our young people. As I pointed out last week—and it was hammered to me all day in Los Angeles—not all the rioters were of any one racial or cultural background. But all were young.

I also sketched out in broad brushstrokes a vision of large-scale youth service as a key part of our response, not just in the short term but over the long haul.

Today, I would like to paint in, in more detail, how Congress can take immediate action to put the young people of this country to work—rebuilding their communities and reshaping their own lives in the process.

I found out exactly the same thing in Watts 27 years ago after the riots there. Yet here we are, nearly 3 decades later, watching another generation of inner-city young people drop out of school into the streets, into drugs, into welfare, into crime, into prison, even into death.

I believe we can break that cycle. I believe we know how to do it. We have seen it work in the past. We have pilot programs today in many parts of this country that are working right now, but the time has come for those pilot lights to ignite the whole furnace.

The toughest indictment of our current dependency system, and the best argument for how to change it, was put to me a few years ago by a young Philadelphia Youth Service Corps member who was a dropout, who was in a street gang, and he enlisted in the Philadelphia Youth Service Corps. I asked him why he had broken this pattern and gone into the service corps for hard work, to serve, earn and learn. He said, "Look, man, all my life people have been coming to do good against me, trying to help me. I got tired of that. And this corps came along and asked me to do something and I'm making a difference."

Over the years I have come to believe that major reforms are possible only when two conditions occur: When certain propositions become self-evident and when the lack of action to make them real becomes a scandal.

I believe that work, not welfare, is now a self-evident truth—and we know—we can begin applying that principle to the young.

We understand that personal responsibility and self-esteem cannot simply be taught by lectures. They have to be earned. And we need to give young people the opportunity to earn those qualities, which are the same qualities that a good citizen needs and a productive worker needs.

I believe it is a scandal now, and recognized as such, that we know this but we sit by idly while another generation of young people falls into alienation, hopelessness, frustration and anger; succumbs to the epidemic of crack cocaine, to the gangs that replace family, church, or any other institution that instills the values of responsible citizenship and productive workmanship.

A society with children who need care, with older people who need help, roads that need repair, bridges that need building, cannot afford to allow—and sometimes even pay—able young people to sit idle. It is a scandal, too, that we do not challenge the college-bound young people to move beyond a self-centered life of civic indifference.

All our young people, in coming of age in America, must be asked to serve, not to be served. To produce, not just to be consumers.

Today, I want to suggest how we can turn that word "ask" into the strong verb it was when John Kennedy said, "Ask not what our country can do for us, ask what we can do for our country."

First, I want to make it clear that I am not imagining the one big, federally run Peace Corps that we once envisioned in the days of John Kennedy, a Peace Corps come home to America, a million strong. We talked about that at the beginning of the War on Poverty.

Instead of that, I see us coming to a new Bill of Rights and Responsibilities for the young with a voucher for a year or two of living expense stipends and educational bonuses that could be used to support work in a wide range of service programs run by local, State or Federal governments or by communities, church, student organizations, or nonprofit corporations. Some could be very small, like the best one I know of in the country, the Boston City Year. Some could be larger, like the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps which I administered in recent years, and the California Conservation Corps, the first of the State conservation corps.

We can go back even further in our history for an older model that worked. What worked best for America in the Great Depression was the Civilian Conservation Corps. Franklin Roosevelt himself said the best thing he ever did was the Civilian Conservation Corps. It enlisted more than 2.5 million young unemployed Americans in a State-based system of residential, Army-run camps in or on the edge of our parks and forests.

What worked with FDR was work—not the dole, not welfare, but work. The young men of the CCC were challenged to achieve big goals. They transformed our parks and forests, and then graduated into the national service of World War II.

More important, they transformed themselves. Just as the GI bill after the war was one of the best investments America ever made, so is the Civilian Conservation Corps. Such corps are an important part of the answer to the crisis of the young and the problem of welfare dependency. More than 60 such corps are in operation today around the country. Pennsylvania is proud to believe that it leads the way with the largest number of organized, full-time youth corps of all kinds, but every city, every community in our country can develop one or more of these programs.

The vehicles for achieving this goal are at hand. Some would not cost any more tax dollars. They would ensure that we make better use of the funds we are now spending on federally mandated youth employment and training programs. And to the extent we do expand our investments in our cities and our young people, the money is already there if we would finally take the step of breaking down the budget wall so we can invest military savings in our pressing domestic needs.

The world has been turned upside down. We have the chance now to turn America's priorities right side up. Taking \$8.9 billion from a single B-2 bomber could pay for a quantum leap in national youth service and, like the GI bill and the Civilian Conservation Corps, it would be one of the best investments this country ever made.

Let us take one of those nonexistent, unnecessary B-2's and land it in American youth service. Breaking down that wall between defense savings and our national needs would give us the resources we need to rebuild our cities, revitalize our economy, and to begin a large-scale youth service program.

Let me propose a legislative roadmap for a quantum leap in organized youth service. First, the Commission on National and Community Service established by the National Community Service Act of 1990. The Commission is one of Congress' most creative bipartisan accomplishments. I salute the efforts of Senator KENNEDY, who worked tirelessly to make the Commission a reality; Senator HATCH, who supported it; Senator MIKULSKI, who has championed it and led it through her committee. And I salute the Commission itself, under the excellent leadership of former Congressman Pete McClosky. That Commission is now primed to be an engine of a new

movement for national service. In its first request for proposals, the Commission received 489 requests from 49 States and several territories and Indian tribes. The funding requests amounted to more than \$226 million. That is about a third of one of those B-2's, roughly three times the \$67 million it has the ability to distribute this year. Only a fraction of the youth corps applications were able to be approved, and in order to speed the grants to those that were, the amounts granted were less than needed.

Last night, this body took a good step in adopting an amendment I offered with Senator MIKULSKI and co-sponsored by Senator NUNN and Senator SPECTER to the emergency supplemental appropriations that will apply \$25 million of the \$700 million slated for summer job programs to invest in rigorous, well-organized service corps programs funded through the Commission on National and Community Service. Without adding a single penny to the cost of this emergency legislation, that amendment will make effective job programs available right now, this summer to young people throughout the Nation. That is a good start. We must go on to expand funding for the Commission.

In addition to the \$25 million from the emergency supplemental appropriations, I would like to see us double the Commission's funding for next fiscal year. We can do it by fully funding the Commission at the authorized \$105 million level and recapture the \$55.9 million lost and reverted to the Treasury because of the delay in the appointment of the bipartisan Commission. This would amount to a total appropriation of \$160 million in 1993.

Two, the Community Work Progress Act of 1992. Today, some of us will testify before the Senate Subcommittee on Unemployment and Productivity on Senator BOREN's Community Work Progress Act of 1992 which I and a number of our colleagues have cosponsored. We should move forward quickly to enact that legislation and enable its provisions to get underway.

Two new national youth corps are key elements of that legislation. Each would provide substantial education benefits to students and young adults in exchange for work on community service projects. The first division, the Youth Community Corps, would allow

secondary school students to earn college scholarship funds by working on approved community projects after school, on weekends, or in the summer. Beginning in the 7th grade, students could work up to 250 hours per year on these projects until they reach the 12th grade. Students participating for 6 years could earn up to \$10,000 in scholarship funds or \$5,000 in direct payments after graduation.

The second division of Senator BOREN's bill, the National Youth Community Corps, would create dormitory environments for young people age 17 to 22 to work on projects ranging from reforestation to auxiliary police work to urban renewal. This CCC approach would provide up to \$10,000 for each year of service to be used for college or vocational school. Those not wishing to continue their education after high school would also have the option of receiving a \$5,000 payment per year of service.

Senator NUNN has long pioneered in pressing us toward consideration of such a youth service program. These two youth corps would give preference to young people from families who are on welfare, out of work, or below the poverty line. But it is essential that these corps not be limited just to those groups. They need to be economically and ethnically diverse. That is why the single-most effective program, in my opinion, is the Boston City Year, which was from the beginning designed to be diverse and representative of urban and suburban young people, rich and poor, college-bound and high school dropouts, black, white, and brown.

Mr. WOFFORD. Mr. President, third, college work study. Under title IV of the higher education amendments now in conference committee, we should immediately mandate 10 percent of all Federal work study dollars go to students engaged in community service. When Congress created the work study program almost 30 years ago, it envisioned that many or most of those jobs would be in the community, but the colleges and universities define the public service programs that students would work in as college programs on campus helping their own budgets.

I was a college president and was part of the whole process. But experi-

ence shows us that the original vision of students working their way through college by working in the community has been lost. We must go beyond encouraging colleges and universities to a mandate that requires that they move in the direction of the original vision of students working in the community. The 10-percent mandate is a beginning, and I would, having read the GAO report on that program that shows that only a tiny fraction of the students, the large number of students engaged in that program work in the community, urge that we go on and that we ask colleges and universities to see that the majority of those jobs are serving the community.

Fourth, Job Training Partnership Act. An expanded investment in the Job Training Partnership Act would be helpful. But what we most need is a change in approach. While I was Secretary of Labor and Industry in Pennsylvania, administering that program, we succeeded in stipulating that an increasing share of all JTPA dollars go to youth job training and employment programs that are designed in the model of youth corps. We made great progress in that direction. That progress can be made all over the country.

We found that so much of the present work experience programs of the JTPA funding are make-work jobs, menial jobs, not structured to be demanding or in any way transform the lives of the young people. And our business and academic leadership task force in Pennsylvania, of which I was a member, recommended, just before I was appointed to this body, that the majority of the JTPA employment and training programs for young people be organized in the form of the youth corps. I urge that we seize the day with those dollars we are now investing, more than \$1 billion mandated for youth programs, as we have begun to do in the amendments that are now before us in the JTPA bill, to make far better use of the JTPA Program.

JTPA programs need to reorganize and refocus their efforts more along the youth corps model—emphasizing teamwork and economic and ethnic diversity, performing work on challenging community projects while developing citizenship and leadership skills. Private industry councils should devote the major part of their funds mandated for summer youth and year-round youth programs to the initiation and support of youth service and conservation corps.

This body should be proud of the current JTPA reauthorization, now in conference, that creates a new year-round jobs program while encouraging some of the things I have mentioned.

YOUTHBUILD

Youthbuild employs and trains young people in rehabilitation and construction of buildings to provide permanent and transitional housing to homeless and other low-income people. The Youthbuild Program is geared to attract young people, age 16 to 24, who have a low income and a need for education. Seventy-five percent of participants must be young people who have dropped out of school.

Under the National Affordable Housing Act, I encourage the strong support of HOPE for Youth. While many of us have legitimate concerns about the President's HOPE Program in general, the Youthbuild portion is a good step forward to expand this program. It would allocate to States \$40 million in the first year and \$80 million in year two.

The Police Corps contained in the current crime bill would do much to make our streets and communities safer.

Expand VISTA and the Peace Corps. Obviously I have a strong personal commitment here. Having been involved with Sargent Shriver in the founding of both the Peace Corps and Volunteers in Service to America—our domestic Peace Corps. I know these programs can change lives. Not only of those who are helped, but of those who do the helping.

That is the hidden genius of the service movement. That is what that Philadelphia Youth Service Corps member understood when he said he was tired of people doing good against him. Service is a way of developing the characteristics needed not only for responsible citizens, but also for productive workers—discipline, self-reliance, teamwork, initiative, leadership and a commitment to lifelong learning.

The fires of Los Angeles illuminate a reality we have been avoiding for years about our cities and the children who grow up in them. But the cleanup of the ashes illustrated something even more powerful.

So long as we treat our young only as the danger to be feared, the problem to be solved, the client to be served, we and they will never progress. Our young people need to be seen as a resource, a solution, a talent

ready to contribute something to their communities.

The young people of Los Angeles are ready to start rebuilding their city. The young people of American are ready to rebuild America. We must enable them to do it.

This idea of service goes beyond ideology, beyond the debate over who's to blame. It brings together liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, Congress and the Executive. This is something we can agree on. It's time for us to do it.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to print in the *Record* articles on the Boston City Year and on the Civilian Conservation Corps, on the Pennsylvania and Philadelphia youth service programs.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Boston Globe; Apr. 29, 1992]

SERVING BOSTON, SHOWING THE NATION

(By Lauren Robinson)

Until last year, her mother made every critical decision in 18-year-old Laura Rivera's life. She sheltered her from the dangers of her Roxbury neighborhood. She chose the colleges to which Rivera should apply.

And when Rivera stood up to her mother and refused to go away to college, her mother "made" her apply to City Year, the urban youth corps that pays young people a nominal fee to perform community service.

After nearly completing her nine months of City Year service, Rivera thanks her mother for pushing her to get involved. Helping others has given her the confidence to help herself, Rivera said yesterday at a breakfast with community leaders at Roxbury Community College where expansion plans for City Year were announced.

City Year officials, hoping to make the Boston program a national model for urban youth service, plan to increase the number of participants from 100 to 200 by the fall, to 350 by 1993 and to 500 by 1996.

The youth corps received more than 500 applications for the 100 slots last year and expects to receive about 1,000 for next year. City Year participants, aged 17-22, are drawn from Boston's neighborhoods and from throughout the country.

"The demand has grown," said Michael Brown, who cofounded City Year with Alan Khazel and other friends when they were students at Harvard Law School. "We're at a crossroads."

Participants said the program is in demand because, not only do young people get \$100 a week and a \$5,000 bonus upon graduation, but they get the chance to learn the value of themselves and others.

Rivera, who is from Guatemala, said that, through developing and running English language programs for immigrants in Chelsea, she realized she was a capable young woman who could make her own decisions and live with the consequences.

"It's changed my life a lot," said Ouseth Chea, who joined City Year after high school graduation because he could not afford to go to college and had no prospects for a job. He is now headed to architectural school.

Stephen Spaloss, 23, who completed the program and joined City Year's staff, said that, in his New Hampshire hometown, community service was something people did when they got into trouble.

"When you see growth in yourself it is absolutely exciting," said Spaloss, who was forced by his father to join the program—because "I had gotten myself into a lot of trouble."

Spaloss's father, a lawyer, decided it was time for a dose of reality. Through cleaning vacant lots and work with the less fortunate, Spaloss said he got it.

"I had no belief in the older generation," Spaloss said. "They would say you could do things but wouldn't give you a chance to do them. City Year empowers young people. It has showed me that you can make a change."

City Year began in 1988 as a summer project and expanded to a nine-month program in 1989. Khazel said it started as an idea among friends who were frustrated about the lack of opportunities for young people and even more frustrated that America, the country of wealth and opportunity, harbored great poverty.

The feeling was that nothing would change unless people took the opportunity to "walk a mile" in their neighbors' "moccasins," Khazel said.

"There's a wealth of untapped spirit out there," he said. "The idea is to tap the energy and idealism of our young people for community service."

City Year, which has operated on millions of dollars in private funding and donations, is an evolving project that changes as needs do, Khazel said.

A recent survey of those who completed the program since its inception, showed that about 40 percent were enrolled in four-year college programs, 8 percent were in two-year programs, 8 percent were either in part-time or vocational programs, 32 percent were working, and others were either new parents or could not be tracked.

Brown said the program, in keeping with its goal to become a national model, is now seeking federal funding to help the expansion. He said the goal is to show a large program that works and to prove whether such programs can help young people while fulfilling community needs, train youths to be leaders and become catalysts for widespread community service.

Brown said the program will also work in new target areas, suggesting the youths might become involved in violence-prevention programs at public schools, with environmental protection and with organizing community volunteer centers.

Boston School Committee member George Joe, one of several community members who were asked yesterday to boost City Year efforts, said the emphasis on teamwork, multicultural diversity and aiding others will "open the doors for our youths, our leaders of tomorrow."

Roxbury Community College president Huble Jones called the City Year expansion a necessary "quantum leap" for a nation that is "absolutely wasting the resources of young people." He added:

"They are at the forefront of something that will ultimately explode in this country and that is national youth service."

(From the National Journal, May 9, 1992)

HIGHER MISSIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

(By Neal R. Pelrice)

PHILADELPHIA.—As Ira Harkavy, a vice dean at the University of Pennsylvania, sees it, it's not just unseemly for universities located in the nation's inner cities to ignore the chaos at their doorsteps—"to be islands of affluence in seas of poverty, oases in deserts of despair."

The dereliction, in Harkavy's view, goes further: It is a betrayal of the optimistic 18th and 19th-century missions of American universities: not simply to advance learning, but to create a new and better society.

Harkavy has University of Pennsylvania professors and instructors, graduate students and undergraduates actively involved in reaching out to some of West Philadelphia's most ravaged neighborhoods and troubled schools. They've become personally engaged in inventing courses and programs, in guest teaching, in getting inner-city kids to open their minds to the idea of service to their own communities.

The model is the polar opposite of the way most universities ignore—or simply exploit—their host cities. It's based on Harkavy's belief that the real problem in such poverty-ravaged areas as West Philadelphia "is not housing or education or health care—it's the collapse of community." The only long-term cures, he believes, lie "in developing caring, cohesive, cosmopolitan communities." The public mission of universities demands their involvement, he added, "not researching on people, but with them."

The results of Harkavy's efforts are now appearing in several West Philadelphia public schools (some of them, not far from the site of the infamous 1985 firebombing of a row house occupied by the radical MOVE group). Activities range from rehabilitating housing to repairing concert pipe organs, from projects with the elderly to removing graffiti and litter.

Visit the Turner Middle School on a Saturday, for example, and you'll find students taking courses on computers, airplane modeling, remedial writing, dance, vegetarian cooking and African-American history. Instructors include schoolteachers, residents of the community and Penn undergraduates.

On weekdays, seventh graders learn about health from faculty members of the Penn Medical School and then go to a feeder elementary school to share what they've learned with the younger children. Eighth-graders work one morning a week at a local hospital and run an evening program on hypertension, even performing—under supervision—the initial screening of adults.

The long-term goal is a full neighborhood health promotion and disease prevention center that seeks its advances through health improvement activities rather than simply handing out health information.

Students at West Philadelphia High School built a greenhouse with advice from one of the university's landscape gardeners. And they renovated an abandoned crack house under the direction of a retired union carpenter.

The ultimate goal of Harkavy's West Philadelphia experiment is to set up "community schools" that operate at least 18 hours a day, seven days a week, and serve as a neighborhood's educational and social service nerve center—the site of job training programs, public health services and day care programs.

But the idea behind Harkavy's experiment isn't simply the delivery of services: It's "to activate people including students in a leadership role, to serve each other and the community," he said. A current goal, for example, is to get middle-school students to work directly with kids in Head Start classes.

Schools that elect to become community centers, Harkavy said, need to make a full commitment. And the university needs to come in to "serve as a permanent anchor" for public schools that want to be community centers. "We won't cut and run," he said.

There are tough issues, Harkavy added, in how much decision making falls to the university, how much to professional educators, how much to the community. Harkavy doesn't advocate 100 per cent community control. He thinks that the collaborations can work if there's commitment on all sides to the idea of democratically run partnerships.

Despite this advanced thought and action, not to mention the enthusiastic support of Sheldon Hackney, the president of the University of Pennsylvania, broad faculty involvement is tough to get rolling at Penn—or, for that matter, at any American college or university.

And it's not hard to figure why: The incentives are all wrong. What gives young faculty members a shot at promotion or tenure? It's not teaching. It's not thinking creatively and holistically across subject areas. And it's certainly not getting their hands dirty in the nitty-gritty problems of the surrounding communities.

Instead, the senior faculty who control today's highly specialized academic departments routinely reward and promote their clones—scholars who publish copiously, however arcane the subject. A young chemist or historian or political scientist forms his loyalties down the hallway or with colleagues in institutions hundreds or thousands of miles away, but not in service to the real city where he or she works.

Harkavy acknowledged such disincentives but said that he believes the tides are starting to shift. Dissatisfied taxpayers in the cash-strapped '90s will want to see more responsiveness in publicly financed universities. More and more academics will get fed

up with the career straitjackets imposed by single departments. And students, he said, will "want to put their idealism into action, not just by volunteering but by doing research with real people to solve real problems in communities."

Most people may find it hard to be quite that optimistic. But one thing is certain: When America's institutions of higher learning finally start casting about for the most-creative examples of college and university engagement in our increasingly complex and troubled cities, they will find an intriguing model in Philadelphia.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, May 13, 1992]

FOR HINTS ON HOW THE RACES CAN COEXIST, LOOK NO FARTHER THAN THE U.S. MILITARY

(By David S. Broder)

Of the millions of words spoken and written in the aftermath of the Rodney King verdict and the Los Angeles riots, none were more pertinent, pointed and eloquent than those of Gen. Colin L. Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Addressing the graduating class at Fisk University in Nashville, his wife's alma mater, Powell reflected not only his own remarkable character but also the special moral authority he gains from the largely unrecognized performance of the institution to which he has devoted his adult life—the United States military.

Here is the gist of Powell's message, for those who have not heard it or read it:

"As I saw those pictures on my television set," he began, "my heart hurt . . . I didn't want to believe what I was seeing.

"Violence—by the police or by the mob—is not the answer. . . . It shouldn't be; we've come too far for this. But it did happen. And we see once again what a long way we still have to go. Because the problem goes beyond Rodney King. The problem goes beyond Los Angeles. It goes beyond the trial of those four officers.

"The problem goes to the despair that still exists in the black community over the inability of black Americans to share fully in the American dream. Too many African Americans are still trapped in a cycle where poverty, violence, drugs, bad housing, inadequate education, lack of jobs and loss of faith combine to create a sad human condition, a human condition that cannot be allowed to continue if this nation is to hold its rightful place in the world.

"We have an American problem," Powell said. "It can only be solved by all Americans working together."

Respecting the inhibitions of his official position, the general did not outline an agenda for governmental action. Instead, he addressed the graduates—and through them, all Americans—about the responsibilities of citizens in this crisis.

"First," he said, "I want you to believe in yourself. You have to know that you are capable, that you are competent, that you are good. . . .

"Second, I want you to believe in America . . . We are still, as Abraham Lincoln said, 'the last, best hope of earth.'"

"Third, I want you to find strength in your diversity. Let the fact that you are black or yellow or white be a source of pride and inspiration to you. Draw strength from it. Let it be someone else's problem, but never yours. Never hide behind it or use it as an excuse for not doing your best. . . .

"I want you to fight racism. I want you to rail against it. We have to make sure that it bleeds to death in this country once and for all. . . .

"Finally, I want you to raise strong families. As you raise your families, remember the worst kind of poverty is not economic poverty, it is the poverty of values. It is the poverty of caring. It is the poverty of love."

Obviously, the man who said this is a remarkable person. But he is also the product—the symbol—of a remarkable institution, the United States military, which in the last two generations has probably done more and succeeded better in creating a non-racist, bias-free meritocracy than any other part of American society. Powell's position as the head of the armed services symbolizes, but does not begin to describe, this success story.

The scope of the change was pointed out to me last year by David Gergen, the wise editor at-large of U.S. News & World Report, when we participated in a program at the Army War College. Gergen made the point then that the military's combination of disciplined structure and genuinely color-blind opportunity for advancement had transformed the lives of thousands of minority youths—and made the non-commissioned officers' (NCO) and officers' clubs far more integrated than college faculties, business boardrooms or newsrooms.

Gergen argues passionately that the military services and its people have vital experiences and lessons to share with civilian America. Last week, I heard the same point made by historian Stephen Ambrose, who has been spending time on military bases in connection with his own work. Ambrose made a historian's point: "There's all this argument about whether the Great Society programs worked, or whether Jack Kemp's enterprise zones will work. Why not return to ideas that everyone agrees did work?"

One of those ideas, he says, was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) of New Deal days, which took unemployed youths and put them to work on what we would now call environmental projects.

"It was run by the military," Ambrose said, "when the military had not much else to do. It pulled those kids out of the morass of their lives, gave them a sense of identity and discipline and of group purpose—the same things they need now."

Like Gergen, Ambrose noted that thousands of men and women—senior NCOs and junior officers in their 30s—face involuntary separation from their military careers because of the post-Cold War budget cuts. Why not take these young Colin Powells and let them lead a new CCC, he asks.

Why not?

(A Report of the Work Force Development Committee of the Pennsylvania Economic Development Partnership, April 1991)

A STATE PREPARED: DEVELOPING PENNSYLVANIA'S WORK FORCE

(By Robert P. Casey, Governor, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; Dr. Peter Likins, Committee Chairman)

Young people must be challenged to serve and thereby learn to be good citizens and productive workers.

The Committee has heard strong testimony that teamwork, problem-solving skills, self-esteem, initiative, leadership and a commitment to life-long learning are key elements of a high-performance work force and a responsible citizenry. Corporate leaders and other major employers agree with Governor Casey that "the qualities of a productive worker are the same as those of a good citizen."

The committee has also seen evidence that an effective way to acquire these qualities and learn these skills is through active learning in well-organized forms of community service and youth corps. In both full-time youth service corps, organized in teams with team leaders, and in part-time, school-based volunteer service, young people learn team work and good citizenship by practicing it.

Dr. Ernest Boyer emphasized the same theme in his 1989 talk to the National Business Roundtable: "Above all, I'd like to see all students feel needed and have a sense of their own worth. In our report, *High School*, we proposed a new Carnegie Unit of high school credit—a community service term to help teenagers become responsibly engaged in youth clubs, in retirement villages, and in tutoring other kids at school, discovering a connection between what they learn and how they live."

Learning by doing is the essence of apprenticeship or workplace learning. Citizenship needs to be learned that way. It can't be learned just by lectures, anymore than basketball could be taught off the court by a coach's talk or house-building learned in a classroom. Well-planned community service assignments stretch and test young people, and enable them to discover their power to improve their communities while exploring possible careers.

The committee also appreciates the problem facing schools as increasing proportions of students come from disadvantaged backgrounds and as new needs press on the public purse. The Committee is impressed by the promising results obtained from programs of community service where youth themselves become the resources to solve their own problems and help meet the needs of their communities. In many parts of Pennsylvania, youth are serving as tutors of younger students, as environmental recyclers, as housing rehabilitators, and as conservation workers in parks and forests and

on other public land. Instead of being an added burden on taxpayers, youth engaged in service are giving an immediate return on the investment in their education.

The basic difference in this approach is that it is not youth who are served, but youth who serve. Too often in our society youth are just consumers with no opportunity to be productive. In successful programs of service they replace alienation with engagement, exchange boredom with excitement, and learn the exhilaration of making a difference. In this active form of education teachers and trainers become coaches, the community becomes the classroom, and students become resources.

The President of the United States and all 50 Governors have recognized this approach as an integral part of our nation's educational goals. In 1990 they adopted six national education goals (see Appendix G) which would ensure that by the year 2000 "all students will be involved in activities that promote and demonstrate good citizenship, community service, and personal responsibility." Such service learning was seen as an important way to achieve Goal Three: that all students are "prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy."

The concept of citizen service has been supported by Pennsylvania's State Board of Education and by the major educational organizations in the Commonwealth. The State Board resolved that "programs of community service should be an integral part of education at all levels and strongly urges schools, colleges and universities to institute or strengthen community service programs so every student is encouraged to serve and participate in volunteer service."

The Commonwealth must now find the ways and means to achieve this goal and make community service the common expectation and experience of all young Pennsylvanians as they prepare to be the work force of the future. This will require the creation of a youth service system which strengthens existing institutions and creates new institutions of full-time service, so that a sustained period of community service becomes an established route from school-to-work or from school-to-college.

Objective: To expand the opportunities for full-time community service that are offered by such organizations as the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps and local corps so that a sustained period of full-time community service becomes an alternative route from school to work or from school to college.

Recommendations:

1. State, federal, local and private funds should combine to continue the expansion of the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps and local corps throughout the Commonwealth.

2. The Department of Education should promote the use of service corps as alternative education programs.

3. PennSERVE should initiate a study of alternative funding sources including fee-for-service contracting for youth service programs.

4. Business/education partnerships should work with school districts, colleges and universities, private industry councils, and other agencies to expand opportunities for full-time service, in both year-round and summer corps.

5. The Private Industry Councils of the state's 28 Service Delivery Areas under the federal Job Training Partnership Act should devote the major part of their funds mandated for summer youth programs and for year-round youth programs to the initiation and support of youth service corps.

APPENDIX F—PENNSERVE: THE GOVERNOR'S
OFFICE OF CITIZEN SERVICE

The report of the EDP Committee on Work Force Development frequently mentions community service as a component of education and job training. Pennsylvania is a national leader in the application of service-learning principles to these issues. Under the leadership of Governor Robert P. Casey, and the administration of Secretary of Labor and Industry Harris Wofford and Secretary of Education Donald Carroll, Pennsylvania has become a model in the attempt to mobilize the voluntary efforts of youth in service to their community and themselves as a conscious strategy. This appendix outlines the organizational and programmatic structure that has made this effort possible.

To ask and enable

PennSERVE was created by Governor Casey in 1988 as an interdepartmental initiative "to ask and enable all Pennsylvania to serve their communities." To carry out this mission PennSERVE: Provides competitive grants to schools, colleges, local governments and non-profit agencies; offers technical assistance, training, in-service presentations and fund-raising information to community service programs; administers the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps and provides assistance to summer corps and full-time local corps; serves as an advocate for volunteering in public policy and as an information exchange for public and private volunteer initiatives; cooperates with other public and private agencies; publicizes and recognizes successful model programs and outstanding volunteers; serves as Pennsylvania's designated point of contact for the development of a comprehensive proposal under the National and Community Service Act of 1990.

PennSERVE's interest encompasses the entire range of community service and volunteer programs, but it has a special mission to encourage and support community service by young people. PennSERVE believes that the habits of service, once established, will continue throughout life, and that young people are an overlooked resource in the development of strong communities and a healthy environment.

Located administratively in the Department of Labor and Industry, PennSERVE

reports to an ad hoc Committee of the Cabinet headed by the Secretaries of Labor and Industry and Education. It is guided by an advisory board which also operates its own programs as the Citizen Service Project of Pennsylvania. In 1990-91 PennSERVE had a total budget of \$8,990,000 and a staff of seven. Through PennSERVE and associated programs, the Commonwealth invests about \$10 million in youth service. In return it receives at least \$10 million in completed projects and many times that figure in skills, enhanced self-esteem and lives given purpose and meaning.

Students as resources, school and college based community service

Traditionally, education and youth development policies and practices have focused on the perceived problems of youth, such as ignorance, irresponsibility and immaturity. Service-learning reverses those assumptions: It builds on the capacities, skills and abilities of youth. It views youth as resources—as workers and citizens. Service-learning has proved its worth as a means of raising self-esteem, cutting dropout rates, helping students to see the relevance of their academic work, providing a laboratory for citizenship skills and values, and serving as a stimulus to school restructuring. It plays a vital role in building an effective citizenry and work force. PennSERVE supports school- and college-based service-learning through:

Mini-grants: PennSERVE, on its own and in cooperation with Project Success, an award-winning dropout prevention program of the Department of Education, provides three-year, \$15,000 mini-grants to support community service programs in 85 schools.

Training: PennSERVE has worked closely with the Philadelphia School District and the Citizen Service Project of Pennsylvania to launch a statewide community service training institute, the Pennsylvania Youth Service Institute. PennSERVE also offers in-service programs, regular regional workshops and summer teacher institutes.

Literacy Corps: PennSERVE administers the Pennsylvania Literacy Corps, which provides grants, workshops and technical assistance to 16 colleges. It also works closely with the 12 colleges in Pennsylvania that have received federal Literacy Corps grants. Through these programs more than 840 college students provide literacy tutoring to over 2,100 Pennsylvanians as part of credit-bearing courses.

Advocacy: PennSERVE sponsors joint workshops with the 27 school districts involved in Pennsylvania's school restructuring project, "RE: Learning." PennSERVE helped launch the Pennsylvania Campus Compact, an agreement among 36 college presidents to encourage student community service on campus. PennSERVE works closely with the State Board of Education and the Department of Education. Materials on community service are a regular feature in departmental publications and mailings.

Service-learning has shown promising results. Chestnut Ridge School District raised its going-on-to post-secondary education rate from 28 percent to 88 percent in five years. Philadelphia's Overbrook High School raised attendance among its most at-risk students from 75 percent to 89 percent after adding a service component. Pittsburgh's OASES program for at-risk 8th graders places nearly 20 percent of its participants on the honor roll.

Service-learning is spreading. The proportion of schools offering academic credit for service has increased from 5.6 percent to 13.3 percent in two years; five school districts in Pennsylvania now require community service for graduation. In all, it is estimated that some 25,000 Pennsylvania students are involved in intensive and well-organized school-based community service.

Youth as resources: Conservation and Service Corps

Many youth seek a more intensive, full-time community service experience. At the same time, there is much community work that needs the concentrated effort that a team of young people can provide. Environmental improvement, housing rehabilitation, cabin and park headquarter construction and elder care are just a few of the types of work undertaken by the more than 10,000 young Pennsylvanians who have served in Pennsylvania's various conservation and service corps in the past 8 years.

Youth corps offer young people the chance to develop the skills of citizenship and employability. Working in groups under the direction of skilled crew leaders, youth corps members learn to work as a team, to be punctual, to show initiative, to carry out instructions and to shoulder responsibility. By completing needed, substantial and highly visible projects, corps members develop self-confidence and know—perhaps for the first time—how it feels to have accomplished something of importance and to have it recognized by others.

PennSERVE's goal is to have a year in a corps become the expected pattern of growing up in Pennsylvania. In the near term the program aims to provide opportunities for 10,000 young Pennsylvanians to serve each year. PennSERVE's current efforts include:

Pennsylvania Conservation Corps: PennSERVE administers the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps (PCC), the second-largest statewide corps program in the country. Since 1984, 9,000 PCC corpsmembers have undertaken some 450 conservation, recreation and historic preservation projects throughout the Commonwealth. PCC has improved 18,000 acres of forest lands, 30 miles of streams and 2,500 acres of wildlife habitat; built or renovated 4,600 miles of trails, 348 state park cabins and 417 picnic areas; rehabilitated 22 historic buildings and a nineteenth-century sailing ship; and plant-

ed 150,000 trees. Every dollar invested in the corps produces over \$1.30 in completed projects. But the larger value of the Corps lies in giving lives dignity and purpose. All corpsmembers were unemployed when they joined the Corps; nearly 50 percent had not completed high school; nearly 20 percent were on public assistance. After a term in the Corps, one-third of all corpsmembers move directly into outside jobs.

Local Corps: PennSERVE has provided financial and technical assistance to eight municipalities for the creation of new, locally operated youth corps that will serve as integral parts of youth development in their communities. It is expected that 400 youth will serve in local full-time corps in 1991-92.

Summer Corps: PennSERVE has worked closely with the Bureau of Job Training Partnership and the Pennsylvania Service Delivery Areas to restructure the Summer Youth Employment and Training Program into the Summer Youth Service Corps, an effort attracting national attention and emulation. During the summer of 1990, more than 1,000 young people were enrolled in 100 summer corps.

All Pennsylvanians

PennSERVE devotes much of its time and resources to youth, but its mandate is to "ask and enable ALL Pennsylvanians to serve." PennSERVE works closely with like-minded organizations, including the Pennsylvania and National Volunteer Centers, the Pennsylvania Association for Volunteerism, the United Way of Pennsylvania and the Citizen Service Project of Pennsylvania. PennSERVE functions as an advocate for volunteering and an information center for volunteer activities in the state. PennSERVE co-sponsors an annual statewide conference on volunteering with the Pennsylvania Association for Volunteerism, and distributes information through newsletters, articles in journals and through phone contacts.

For further information contact:

John Briscoe, Director, PennSERVE: The Governor's Office of Citizen Service, 1304 Labor and Industry, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Telephone: 717-787-1971.

National Journal

THE WEEKLY ON POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

JULY 4, 1992/NO. 27

STATE OF THE STATES

NEAL R. PEIRCE

FOR THE YOUNG, SERVICE WITH A SMILE

Rugged and demanding youth service programs, says Sen. Harris Wofford, D-Pa., could be one of America's best antidotes to ominous social dissolution and Los Angeles-style riots during the 1990s.

The chances for social tranquility in the years ahead are slim, as Wofford sees it, unless the nation moves with determination and speed to reengage its poor, its jobless and its disillusioned and turned-off young people.

"We know why angry, jobless and hopeless young people burn and loot their own community," Wofford recently told students at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. "We don't need another commission, another study, another pilot program. We need action."

The concept of youth service has come a long way since 1933, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt conceived the idea of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). FDR asked Congress to act in March; the response was almost instantaneous. By July, more than 300,000 of the nation's jobless young men—from the slums of New York City to the dust bowl of Oklahoma—were out in the woods, working on conservation projects and receiving special-education courses.

Many of the 2.5 million young people who went through the CCC would later describe it as an immense skill and confidence-builder, a turning point in their lives akin to direct military service.

There was, in fact, military discipline in the camps. One of the most prominent CCC organizers was the redoubtable Gen. George C. Marshall. Many reserve military officers were hired to run CCC operations. Young men were handed leftover uniforms and boots from World War I and housed in barracks or tents.

Few politicians these days dare to push for a single, massive federal service corps—a reincarnation of the CCC. But since the formation of the California Conservation Corps in the 1970s, inventive youth service and conservation corps programs have spread to 27 states. Altogether, according to Youth Service America, a Washington-based organization that develops and promotes the idea, there are 75 such programs, operating on combined budgets of \$180 million. They enroll about 25,000 young people.

The vast majority of programs involve tough calisthenics, uniforms and other real demands—often the first constructive discipline that many of the young enrollees have ever experienced.

Consider, for example, City Year in Boston, which was launched by Michael Brown and Alan Khazei, two young Harvard Law School graduates, expressly to create a youth service prototype for communities from coast to coast.

City Year offers its 17-22-year-old recruits a \$100-a-week stipend (the CCC paid \$1 a day) and a \$5,000 scholarship on graduation. The recruits are poor, rich, black, white, Asian, Hispanic, inner-city gang, suburban preppy. It's one of the few programs, in fact, that doesn't draw just poor youth, but kids from

widely divergent backgrounds. They not only get to meet, but also learn to work cooperatively together.

City Year's enrollees work in teams of 10-12, building playgrounds and soup kitchens, rehabilitating homeless shelters, distributing food to the hungry, tutoring and mentoring younger kids, assisting the sick. The program builds self-confidence, leadership skills and "a community of idealism," says co-founder Brown.

Hundreds of thousands of youths nationwide could be enrolled in similar programs. And it could happen. The Commission on National and Community Service, which was created by Congress in 1990, is just getting ready to make about \$60 million in grants to some of the nation's best youth service programs.

Wofford believes that Congress should, in the wake of the violence in Los Angeles, at least double that amount and then "scrounge and redirect money" from lots of sources, including, for instance, about \$700 million a year in questionably useful Job Training Partnership Act money. And why not use defense dollars to let several thousand competent people who are now leaving the military serve as leaders of youth service programs? Military bases slated for

shutdowns could also serve as youth service camps.

Wofford favors a national voucher system to provide kids who sign up for youth service programs with living allowances and, on successful completion, bonuses for their education.

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the likely Democratic presidential nominee, has a parallel idea: a universal educational loan program in which young people could pay off college loans with two or three years of public service or as future add-ons to their income taxes.

"We need these kids on the front lines—to serve, and not be served," Wofford said. "I'm sick and tired of the patronizing social service approach—treating young people as problems, dangers, menaces. We need to turn them around and let them discover themselves as resources."

Critics can argue, of course, that myriad state and local youth service programs will be of uneven quality and that their long-term dividends are uncertain.

But there is a competent national youth service commission to guide the movement. And there have been enough pilot programs to prove that youth service is a powerful way to divert poor kids from a life of the streets, joblessness, drugs and, all too often, crime and prison.

Youth service is also one of the few tools society has to reclaim college-bound kids, as Wofford puts it, from "a self-centered life of civic indifference."

Can a nation that's plagued by a \$400 billion deficit rationally contemplate spending billions on a universal youth service program? The fiscal answer is no. The human, commonsense answer is yes. Without such a commitment, America's social fabric will keep on unraveling, rendering incalculable damage not just to budgets, but also to the nation's security. ■

The concept of youth service has come a long way since 1933, when FDR conceived the idea of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1992

David Boren and Harris Wofford

Lessons of the '30s

Not the dole, not welfare, but work.

In the wake of the Los Angeles violence, there are some signs that our political leaders may be willing to stop playing the politics of fixing blame and start fixing problems. It's time to put into place policies that work instead of wasting time and money on those that don't.

While more resources will have to be invested, the solution is clearly not as simple as increased funding for existing welfare and job training programs. Enterprise zones and home ownership programs have their place, but they are not enough by themselves. What is most needed is a change in thinking and a new approach that looks at what has worked in the past.

If we are going to solve the urban crisis in this country, we need to work our way out of it—literally. In the 1930s, America addressed an economic and social crisis with a straightforward, action-oriented approach: the Works Progress Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps. What worked for FDR was work—not the dole, not welfare, but work, both in the WPA and the CCC.

During the eight years the WPA was in existence in the late '30s and early '40s, 8 million WPA workers built more than 650,000 miles of roads, highways and sidewalks, 125,000 public buildings (including 39,000 schools), 124,000 bridges, 8,000 parks and 18,000 playgrounds. They wrote hundreds of books and created countless artistic works. They served more than 1 billion meals to hungry schoolchildren and sewed more than 382 million garments for those in need. All of this required an investment of about \$90 billion in today's terms.

By comparison, what has our welfare system created in the past eight years? At a cost of over \$900 billion spent on all public assistance, we have managed to produce little more than subsistence-level payments to an increasingly hopeless and alienated segment of American society. By simply handing people checks, the system robs them of a sense of being part of the communities where they live and of any motivation to achieve. There is nothing worse for a person's self-esteem than to have no reason to get out of bed in the morning and no useful work to perform.

A young high school dropout involved in Philadelphia's Youth Service Corps understood that with productive work he not only helped his community, he also helped himself: "I got tired of people coming to do good against me, trying to help me all the time. This corps asked me to do the helping. Now I'm making a difference."

We now understand that personal responsibility and self-esteem can't simply be taught; they have to be earned. It is a scandal that we sit by while another generation of inner-city young people drops out of school and onto the streets, into joblessness, drugs and the dependency systems of welfare and prison. A society with children who need care, roads that need repair and bridges that need building cannot afford to pay able men and women to sit idle. America's inner-city poor do not want to be viewed as a



WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION PHOTO

danger, as the enemy, but rather as a resource, as talent ready to make a difference.

We have been joined by a diverse group of Democratic and Republican senators in proposing a new program that would provide work opportunities for those on welfare and the unemployed by bringing back the WPA and CCC in modern versions.

Under this new "Community WPA" (CWPA) program, all welfare recipients, with the exception of mothers with very young children and those enrolled in education and training programs, would be required to take an available job in a sponsored project if they cannot find jobs elsewhere. Many young men not counted in official unemployment figures are falling through the cracks in the current system because they never held a job entitling them to unemployment compensation or received AFDC benefits. They, too, would be eligible to participate.

In addition to the CWPA, there would be two youth programs that would provide work opportunities to high school students and young adults in exchange for educational benefits. A new "Youth Community Corps" would enable students from seventh to 12th grade to work up to 250 hours per year in demanding community service projects. The second youth division, the "National Youth Community

Corps," would create camps or dormitory units for young people to work on such projects as reforestation, auxiliary police service and park or low-income housing reconstruction. Those still in school would participate in the summers, and those out of school would work year-round.

Many people out of the work force today lack the skills and training of those who went to work for the WPA and CCC in the Depression years. There will therefore be an even greater need for supervisors who can help train workers on the job. The Army ran the CCC in the 1930s. Now is a good opportunity for many of the talented people being forced into early retirement from the military because of changes in the world to take up this leadership role again. In addition, as Sen. John Warner said recently, military facilities are slated for closing have already been paid by the taxpayers and should be put to use:

"Why not fill those empty bunks and dormitory barracks with young people who need a chance to work and whose talents are needed to rebuild America?"

America worked its way out of a crisis in the 1930s. If we get to work, we can do it again today.

David Boren is a Democratic senator from Oklahoma. Harris Wofford is a Democratic senator from Pennsylvania.

Volunteers Can Be Key To Problem Solving With Community Service

There is a powerful African-American spiritual, *A Balm in Gilead*, which suggests that in the midst of tremendous challenges and problems always exists the very solution to those challenges and problems. The spiritual is one of helping and healing, resilience and responsiveness, saving and strength. For individuals the "balm" comes from within, for society the solution originates in individual caring and action.

Today our nation faces an array of serious challenges and problems. And it is the American people in all their wonderful diversity — young and not so young, of all races and creeds, of all income and education levels, of so many different talents — that can provide the solution to these problems through community service efforts.

The successful integration of service programs throughout our society — into schools, corporations, churches, retirement centers, and government agencies — can be a catalyst that will help transform America. Service is a powerful tool that can be used to tackle some of society's most difficult problems by fostering the ability to work as a team, solve problems, share ideas, and then transform those ideas into action. As communities across the nation confront shrinking budgets and increased needs, it is imperative that we revitalize the role of service at all levels. According to *Independent Sector*, the value of formal volunteer time by adults was estimated at \$170 billion in 1989. Yet, only an estimated 54 percent of adults volunteered in 1989. Think of what could happen if we increased these numbers by half.

Our state of Pennsylvania leads the nation in its innovative support for citizen service. All across this proud Commonwealth, people from all walks of life are making a significant difference in their communities. And while the following is by no means exhaustive, I'd like to highlight just a few programs:

In Philadelphia, *The Center for Intergenerational Learning* at Temple University has developed 12 programs that bring youth and elders together to meet community needs and enrich each others' lives. One such program in North Philadelphia called *Across Ages* creatively involves approximately 180 middle school students in community service in local nursing homes, while at the same time matching them with older mentors who will help them navigate the obstacles of adolescence.

In Pittsburgh, *Generations Together*, based at the University of Pittsburgh, provides technical assistance to organizations interested in intergenerational service programs and researches the impact of such programs. They also have a model child care training and employment program for older workers, place senior volunteers in elementary schools as resource persons, and run mentor programs.

In Williamsport, the local high school has created *WILLSERVE*, feeding energetic young people into community agencies where they are trained to help those in need while considering career options. The school has even developed an elective service-learning course.

In Philadelphia a movement of young people, *Empty the Shelters*, has formed

partnerships stressing community organizing, public education and the empowerment in remedying homelessness. *Empty the Shelters* includes an eight-week summer of social action training young people from across the nation to foster social change. It is working and the movement is now spreading and being adapted to local conditions in a variety of cities throughout the country. Also in Philadelphia, at St. Joseph's University, *IIAWKS: Help A Wonderful Kid Succeed* is mentoring children in need of support and guidance.

In Montgomery County, senior volunteers are caring for children with special needs and their families through the efforts of RSVP, the Variety Club and Developmental Center and ACTION in an effort called *Homefriends*.

In Butler County, Slippery Rock University and the United Way have combined to organize *Kids That Care: Bringing the Pieces Together* which has been launched in cooperation with six school districts. In addition to mentoring match-ups, one of their exciting initiatives is a series of workshops directed by and for young people that address issues of concern for young people and our nation. And the idea is spreading to other counties in the state.

In Harrisburg, *PENNSERVE*, an entity

that I had the good fortune of helping to start while heading the Department of Labor and Industry under Governor Casey, is challenging all Pennsylvanians to be of service to those in need and to make our state a better place.

And again, in Philadelphia, the Boys and Girls Clubs innovatively award grants to young people dedicated to improving their communities through a program called *Youth Are Resources*. In its third year of operation under a William Penn Foundation grant, 39 youth-initiated projects have been launched involving over 800 young people and over 30,000 beneficiaries. Reflecting the creative energy of young people, the projects are quite diverse in approach and in the issues addressed.

The strength of our democracy depends on educated, informed and involved citizens. Citizenship entails certain responsibilities, one of which I firmly believe to be service to the larger community. We need to show people that community service is not merely an extracurricular activity that may or may not fit into their spare time. As my friend Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund, is fond of saying "service is the rent we pay for living."

Community service is a powerful way to teach citizenship and respect for human dignity and to develop leadership — things that can't be taught primarily by talking. Community service is learning by doing.

Community service benefits those that serve and those served, as well as our society as a whole. Moreover, our communities benefit from more than just the services provided.

Regrettably, too often in our society the younger generation is viewed in terms of its problems, seniors are forgotten or seen as burdens, and business people are thought to be caught up in a culture of greed. Community service can help us to see each other as resources rather than problems, and build bridges between the generations. Through service, people learn that they can make a difference to themselves, their families and their communities.

We all are looking for constructive, innovative, and effective programs in which to invest our money and our time, and I've always believed we need even more comprehensive service efforts. Programs that encourage people of all ages and talents to participate in enterprises can benefit their local communities, as well as our nation.

If we are going to succeed at creating opportunities for service, however, the private sector must become even more involved either by financially underwriting service programs or by creating opportunities for service at the grassroots level.

Mentor programs, sponsored financially or through actual personal commitments, could and should link members of the business community with young people. This partnership would allow young people to consider future life options and provide additional role models and examples of caring adults.

Programs like *Phila-a-Job*, which uses federal Job Training Partnership funds to

provide a summer-long program for disadvantaged, inner-city kids is another option. Programs should be focused around effective job training, community improvement, and individual self-esteem. Controls need to be implemented to ensure that businesses accept young people into their workplaces, providing adequate guidance and substantive projects to ensure the quality of the program. The *Philadelphia Ranger Corp.*, *Youthbuild* and *City Year* are other options for meaningful business participation.

"Community service can help us to see each other as resources rather than problems, and build bridges between the generations."

Senator Wofford

I believe that implementing a system of national and community service is a means of asking all Americans to swear themselves into the high office of active citizen. By encouraging and changing the way we perceive and treat the young, the elderly, the disadvantaged, and all those who can make a difference, we can change the way future generations realize their potential.

Everyone can be on the front lines of service in preparing our nation for the 21st century. Thank you for helping to put me on the front line. I salute you, and I know that we can and will work together to build a better future for Pennsylvania and for America.



HARRIS WOFFORD (D-Pennsylvania) was elected to the United States Senate in November, 1991 following his interim appointment to the Senate by Governor Casey in May, 1991. Senator Wofford serves on three Senate committees: Foreign Relations, Environment and Public Works and Small Business.



The Bush Campaign Revival Corps gets its orders

National service

Reinventing the wheel

WASHINGTON, DC

IF THE country is sick, could national service be the cure? The question has been debated ever since William James argued, in 1910, that national service could be the moral equivalent of war, fostering discipline and self-reliance while "inflaming the civic temper".

In 1940 Congress instituted the first peacetime draft which lasted, with one brief interruption, until 1973. The draft came with ribbons attached. Under the original GI Bill of Rights, ex-servicemen were offered education, housing and employment in exchange for service in the second world war, Korea or Vietnam.

Civilian national service was tried most famously in the Depression of the 1930s. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), both set up by the federal government, put millions of unemployed people to work building everything from bridges to ski lodges, and even put unemployed writers and artists to work on cataloguing the country. But now, 30 years after John Kennedy urged Americans to ask "what you can do for your country", organised public service seems to lack appeal.

The Peace Corps, founded in 1961 to send idealistic young Americans to the developing world, still enjoys broad bipartisan support. Yet VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), its domestic counterpart,

barely survived the 1980s. VISTA volunteers, appalled by the poverty of the places to which they had been assigned, organised rent strikes and tenant unions; the Reagan administration, seeing VISTA as "leftist activism", slashed its budget to \$11.8m in 1983. It has crept back since, to \$41m, but the programme remains lacklustre.

In 1990, under the new National and Community Service Act, Congress created a commission to test the "feasibility" of national service. On June 8th, the commission announced the seven state and local projects that would serve as the country's pilot programmes and would share the federal funding of \$20m.

One of the most encouraging models is the idea of a "Youth Corps", now adopted by 65 towns, cities and counties. In Boston's City Year programme, for example, 100 young people, from smooth schools like Phillips Exeter as well as from the inner city, gather each morning for callisthenics in the plaza in front of City Hall before setting off to, say, distribute food to shelters. In return for nine months of service, volunteers receive \$100 a week plus a \$5,000 scholarship for further education and training.

The apparent success of Youth Corps programmes has encouraged Congress to consider reforms to the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) of 1982. The JTPA (the only significant legislative accomplishment of Vice-President Dan Quayle, who pushed it when he was a senator from Indiana) is designed to funnel job-training to the nation's poorest, least-skilled people. It appeals to both Democrats and Republicans because it puts people to work while weaning them off welfare. But it is limited to the very poor and is seen, predictably, as a programme for losers. In New York city, which runs the biggest JTPA scheme in the country, fewer than 20% of the 500 people who enroll

in each cycle complete the programme.

Harris Wofford, the new Democratic senator from Pennsylvania, redirected JTPA money to the local Youth Corps when he was the state's secretary of labour and industry. Now he is promoting a bill, the Community Works Project Act of 1992, that would reshape the JTPA in the Youth Corps' image and would no longer limit it to the poorest. With the welfare system in disgrace everywhere, his scheme, with its echoes of Depression-era programmes, may turn out to be popular. But it still amounts to tinkering with a social programme, rather than anything deeper.

America is still a long way from an official policy of national service. The idea smacks too much of conscription. Even voluntary community service is criticised, by some, as "national obedience training". Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the libertarian CATO Institute, says that national service is all things to all people; and that the 1990 act, in particular, is "an incoherent Christmas tree" that allowed its sponsors to get their feet in the Treasury's door in the hope of expanding their programmes in the future.

The debate may gather momentum as the election draws near. Bill Clinton's policy gurus at the Democratic Leadership Council regard national service as nothing less than the Democrats' route to political redemption. "Reciprocal responsibility" is the new phrase which, they hope, will break the party's association with failed entitlement programmes. Yet until the handful of test projects receive government approval as national prototypes, the prospects for official national service in the near term may prove only as strong as Mr Clinton's candidacy or as enduring as the congressional attention span.

FOUNDED IN 1946

A PUBLICATION OF THE YORK DISPATCH

205 N. GEORGE ST.
YORK, PA. 17401
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YORK SUNDAY NEWS

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Give teens key to unlock opportunity

WHEN SEN. HARRIS Wofford comes to York County tomorrow, he probably won't be doing or saying anything different about community service than he has in the last 40 years.

Wofford, co-founder of the Peace Corps, is scheduled to visit a local Summer Youth Training Corps job site at Rocky Ridge County Park.

The site is one of 10 job training/community service projects for which the York County Job Training Partnership Act office plans to hire 80 to 100 underprivileged teen-agers this summer. The JTPA office will more than double the number of young workers in the program.

Chances are, the office will be able to expand the youth program even more after the state Department of Labor and Industry divvies up \$8.8 million in new federal funding. The programs, based on community service, teach job and leadership skills, stress the importance of education and give teen-age participants a way out of their impoverished world.

The money is part of \$58 million in grants approved earlier this month by

the Commission on National and Community Service. Pennsylvania was awarded the most of any state. It was a real coup for the commonwealth, which had to compete nationally for the money.

Wofford has long practiced and preached that community service is the best way to provide poor and disadvantaged young people with the tools they'll need to unlock the chains of poverty and hopelessness. He was a major force behind the Commission on National and Community Service's grant approvals.

Wofford, however, is not ready to relax.

His visit tomorrow comes after a campaign to convince Congress to take \$25 million of \$700 million originally slated for employment programs and add it to CNCS's \$58 million to expand programs that mix job training with Community Conservation Corps programs. Congress last week approved a \$1 billion aid package to U.S. cities that includes an increase in funding for job training, but Wofford argues that the programs the money will go toward are only make-work jobs.

His argument is that for years regular job training programs have created nothing but busy work for young people without giving them real opportunities to better themselves through hard work and education. The programs have not broken the cycle of welfare dependency nor have they helped rebuild communities.

He says there are several programs, such as Pennsylvania's, that successfully mix community service with job opportunities for youngsters.

York County's JTPA director seems to share Wofford's philosophy. Kathy Fox wants to take young people out of the "weed wacking" jobs and give them community service projects that, if done correctly, will stand as monuments to their accomplishments. This summer for instance, local JTPA workers will be rehabilitating municipal buildings, beautifying parks and helping Hanover in its storm sewer system study.

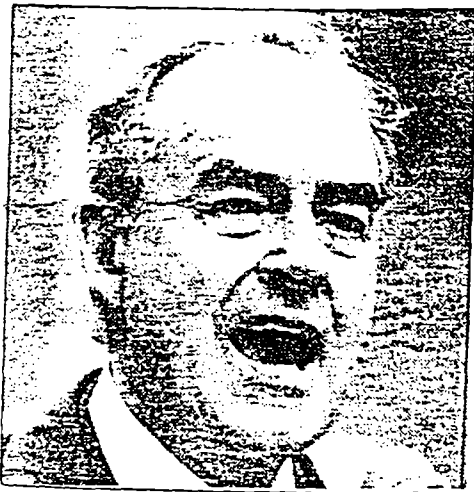
We're excited about the local projects and by the national rebirth in community service, an area in which York County has a strong history.

Community service is one of the best ways to help youngsters rebuild the community and themselves.

OUR OPINION

The Boston Globe

THURSDAY, JUNE 4, 1992



SEN. HARRIS WOFFORD
"We need action"

At Harvard, Wofford urges students to serve US

By Victoria Benning
GLOBE STAFF

CAMBRIDGE — Sen. Harris Wofford told students here last night to continue the legacy of President Kennedy by serving their country and encouraging others to do so.

He urged the students at the John F. Kennedy School of Government to resist being swayed by what may seem to be intimidating odds.

Wofford, a Pennsylvania Democrat who won his seat against long odds, served as a

civil rights adviser to Kennedy. Wofford said the country's young people are in crisis, and that service corps, on both the national and local levels, are the key to preparing, training and saving young people.

Wofford said he visited Los Angeles following the riots last month and said the young people he talked to said they are tired as being viewed as "the enemy" and instead want to be seen as resources. He said wide-

scale service programs, similar to the Civilian Conservation Corps created by Franklin Roosevelt the 1930s, would develop those "resources." Through their work with the corps, he said, CCC workers transformed themselves.

"Service is a way of developing the characteristics needed, not only for responsible citizens, but for productive workers," he said. Service also shows young people personal responsibility and self-worth — principles that he said must be learned.

Wofford said the country must act immediately. The resources needed to implement

such service corps already exist. It is time, he said, to sit down and hammer out solutions.

"We know why angry, jobless and hopeless young people burn and loot their own community. We don't need another commission, another study, another pilot program," he said. "We need action."

He told of Kennedy's mandate during the civil rights struggles. "He said, 'Harris, you know what we need to do in civil rights. Go do it,'" Wofford said. "That's my mandate to you tonight. You know what needs to be done ... go out and do it."

Campaign '92



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 102^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 138

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, JUNE 30, 1992

No. 96

Senate

Mr. WOFFORD. Mr. President, in passing the higher education reauthorization bill, the Senate is taking an important step in adapting our Nation's system of higher education to the realities of the 1990's and the challenges of the next century. This legislation will improve access to education for low and middle-income students who, in recent years, have been squeezed between spiraling tuition costs and the unavailability of scholarships and student loans. I hope this bill marks the beginning of a new commitment to focusing our resources on investments in our Nation's most precious natural resources—our children.

I am particularly pleased about two elements of the measure. First, this higher education reauthorization includes a provision that will make it easier for middle-income families to send their children to college. This provision—which is based on the very first piece of legislation that I introduced in the Senate, S. 1140—will stop the collision of two American dreams: the dreams of owning a home and the dream of sending children to college. Families who have college-bound children understand too well that they can't get financial aid because of the accumulated equity in their homes. Families who spent years paying off their mortgages should not be penalized for their efforts by our system of financial aid.

The provision I underscore tonight excludes the value of a family's home or farm from the calculation of the parents' assets. It helps struggling

middle-class families on limited incomes send their children to college. No longer will college aid be out of reach for children from families whose home is their only major asset. Tonight we send to the President, a bill to protect the American dream, and to make certain that parents seeking to pass on a better and brighter future to their children can do just that. In many respects that is the essence of the American Dream: hope for a better life for our children.

The second element of this bill I want to highlight is our improvement of the Federal Work-Study Program. When Congress created the Work-Study Program almost 30 years ago, it envisioned that many of the college students who received this new form of student financial assistance would give back to their communities through service. Congress called upon colleges and universities to develop opportunities for work-study students to work "in the public interest," providing education, health, recreation, and other services that would not otherwise be available to the community.

Over the past decades, Congress has repeatedly encouraged colleges and universities to incorporate community service into their work-study programs.

A recent GAO report makes clear, however, that only a tiny fraction of youth who receive work-study are engaged in community service. Students—representing a vast resource of skills, talents and energy—who could be performing work of real benefit to the community are all too often left with low-skilled jobs unrelated to either societal needs or students' personal goals.

This conference report changes that and incorporates a number of practical changes designed to restore community service to its intended role as an essential component of any work-study program. Most significantly, it includes a modest and practical mandate—that at least 5 percent of Federal work-study dollars go to students engaged in community service. In addition, the measure makes several improvements in the community service aspects of the Work-Study Program:

Adopting a single broad definition of community service which encompasses both on- and off-campus service, including support services to students with disabilities;

Ensuring that work-study recipients learn about the opportunity to work in community service rather than more typical work-study jobs;

Permitting colleges to devote a higher proportion of work-study funds to locating and developing community service jobs for students;

Increasing the authorized appropriations for work-study and increases the maximum Federal share for typical work-study jobs, which will ensure that institutions will retain the ability to place work-study students in essential on-campus jobs;

As an added incentive, distributing reallocated monies to colleges and universities that attain a threshold of 10 percent of their work-study dollars going to students engaged in community service.

As the former college president of Bryn Mawr and the State University of New York at Old Westbury, I hope that colleges and universities will rise to the occasion and go far beyond the 5 percent mandate.

In total, this measure will constructively redirect funding to allow thousands of young people to direct their creative energies to the tremendous needs of our Nation—tutoring, mentoring, battling illiteracy, serving the elderly, feeding the hungry, and housing the homeless.

Service learning, sleeping giant of school reform

By GEORGE V. GRUNE

IN A NATION grown almost immune to bad news about its educational system, there is a quiet success story building. It's known as "service learning," but it's also been called "the sleeping giant of school reform."

Service learning is built around the idea that young people learn most effectively when their education is directly linked to a program of service to others.

The most important thing is that it's working. Here are some examples:

— High school students in New York's South Bronx are working with a community organization to refurbish a building for the homeless, including some of the families of the students. An hour away in the Long Island suburbs, students at the Shoreham-Wading River Middle School are involved daily with service programs that range from helping handicapped children to teaching computer literacy to adults.

— In Washington state, teenagers at Gig Harbor High School are using their newly acquired skills in science, English and social studies to initiate environmental improvement programs in and around Puget Sound.

— Service learning at the St. Paul, Minn., Open School tran-

sends the boundaries of geography and tradition. Students there have served on community councils in their own neighborhood and traveled as far as Nicaragua to help build bridges or harvest crops.

The success of service learning so far is most easily measured by reactions of students across the country taking part in these and other programs. In one nationwide survey covering 4,000 young people, 75 percent said they learned more through their service learning projects than they did through their regular schoolwork.

Although each service learning program is different, all are united by the shared belief that a generation of public school kids has been shortchanged. Not because we gave them too little but because we demanded too little of them, especially in terms of their responsibility to others.

Think about it. There is not one severe social or economic problem facing this country that is not aggravated by the fact that young people are coming out of school, as graduates or dropouts, lacking a sense of social responsibility or a sense of self-worth.

Service learning attacks both these deficiencies. It encourages young people to use their initia-

tive to make a difference. Instead of being totally dependent on others, they have the experience of having others depend on them.

Take the case of a group of students in Salt Lake City. The students, all from families with the lowest per capita incomes in the area, took on a series of ambitious environmental projects. Said Barbara Lewis, their teacher, "They believe that the future depends on them. They're not afraid to attack things that other people say can't be done."

Community service by itself is worthwhile, but service learning takes the idea of volunteerism further. In a well designed service learning program, the student's volunteer work is closely tied to academic work.

Quite often, the youngsters who carry out the service project are involved in deciding what kinds of needs deserve their attention. Working with specially trained teachers, they are encouraged to plan the project. There is always a part of a service learning program where students use speaking, reading, writing and other communications skills to evaluate their work — not just what they are doing but why.

Perhaps most important for the individual students, service learning teaches the crucial skill

of critical thinking. This is a skill needed by anyone who hopes to have anything more than a marginal job in the 1990s.

There are small national and regional organizations working effectively to spread the service learning concept. I've become familiar with several of these organizations through my work with the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, a private foundation I serve as a chairman.

Along with other private foundations and corporations, we've made grants to organizations including the National Youth Leadership Council at the University of Minnesota, the National Center for Service Learning in Early Adolescence at the City University of New York and the Council of State School Officers in Washington, D.C.

We consider this kind of financial support to be social need seed-money that will help service learning take root and grow. It is a quintessential long-term investment in the future of American education, an investment that could be returned many times over by the turn of the 21st century.

George V. Grune is chairman and CEO of the The Reader's Digest Association, Inc.

What Will Ian Tell God About Us?

On Feb. 26, two students at Thomas Jefferson High School in Brooklyn, Ian Moore and Tyrone Sinkler, were shot and killed by another student. Here are excerpts from the eulogy at Ian Moore's funeral on Tuesday.

By Johnny Ray Youngblood

Why are we here today? If your primary purpose here today is solely to pay tribute to the memory of Ian Moore, I want to suggest now that you clear space on your calendar for next week because with the way things are going there's going to be somebody else. And for the next week because, my brothers and sisters, the tragedy that we rally around today is not merely the tragedy of this young man and young Sinkler losing their lives, but it is the fact that this is usual. This is not unusual. The tragedy is that what used to be unusual is now usual.

The 24 hour virus — the all-around-the-clock virus — of violent death threats to young men and women should be unthinkable but it's commonplace. The full-blown manifestation in the murder of two young men in a school hallway is unthinkable. The alleged suicide of another young man in his home alone on the same

day — that used to be unthinkable. The recent killing of another young man and the wounding of a teacher in the very same school — these things used to be unthinkable.

And that all of this should happen now in our city, in our country, in one school, in one community, in one borough — there was a time you could not have paid anybody to think that kind of thing would happen. And yet the unthinkable — the death of our young — has indeed become common, repetitive and thinkable.

In Brooklyn in 1992 the clichés and the stock phrases of politicians and celebrities, the adherence to conventional responses, even like more metal detectors and cute slogans and even more cops — the standardized codes of expression at press conferences and demonstrations and funerals — all of these in their own way, if we just think about it, protect us against a certain reality. And that reality is the death of three boys, one wounded teacher and boys and girls and teachers who are still on some kind of hit list.

Hannah Arendt, the great Jewish social philosopher, thought evil was not demonic but more the absence of thinking — a kind of blankness, an emptiness. She said we have lost the habit of stopping and thinking; not just the young man in the hallway at Thomas Jefferson, but all of us have failed in the thinking department somehow. But it's time to stop and think, stop the rhetoric and think, stop the reaction and think, stop the metal detectors and think, stop the press

The 24-hour virus of violent death.

statements and think, stop the posturing and think.

And we can correct — through thoughtful action — many of the conditions that our children are trapped in, like prisoners in schools that are as dangerous as Rikers Island. We ought to think about rooting out the patronage in schools or firing incompetent custodians and administrators and teachers. It has been considered unthinkable. But we need to think about that.

About five years ago, the suggestion was in the newspapers that Jefferson be closed down. I am not saying that it should be closed down but at least it ought to be thought about, and then maybe some of the young people who are trapped by laws and regulations and codes that were dreamed up inconsiderate of them might be given the vouchers that they deserve to go where they want to go.

We always say somebody is responsible but nobody ever steps forth. Somebody is responsible. I heard the Mayor say something that shook me. He said that Ian has gone to be with God. That's frightening. That's frightening because if Ian has gone to be with God, what's he going to tell God

about us when he gets there?

If God has entrusted our children to us and we are his babysitters, what are these young children going to report about us when they stand before God? We've done our best by giving them Guess and Champion. We've done our best by giving them Reeboks. Yes, we've done our best by giving them Fila. Yes, but they are more than bodies.

Young people, I want to tell you today, think. It's not illegal yet. Think! Think! Yes, God has given you gorgeous black, brown and white bodies. Yes, but there is something that he's put in your cranial cavity that is so marvelous that you can even connect with Him. But you've got to think. You've got to think.

Young people, you've got to stop courting death. You've got to stop making pacts with death. There are some of us adults who love you and we're doing everything we can to make life better for you but if you don't decide to live and to be better than we are then all that we do is in vain.

Today if we do not decide to make some changes, to think some of the things that have formally been considered unthinkable, then I assure you as a preacher of the unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ, as a man of God, I assure you that if we don't think some new thoughts about how to revolutionize and turn our community, city and our country around, I'll be seeing more of you in circumstances like these. □

Dr. Johnny Ray Youngblood is senior pastor at Saint Paul Community Baptist Church.

FOR
YOUR
INFORMATION

Shirley Sagawa

I'll use this for my
talk at Notre Dame;
I'm also sending it to
The New Republic.

William J. Byron, S.J.
President

WJB

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COMMUNITY SERVICE: A SINGULAR SOLUTION

By William J. Byron, S.J.

The Congress of the United States is now on record as wanting to change the way Americans view community service. Without intending it, judges across this land have for many years been giving community service a bad name. White collar criminals and errant public officials have, in exchange for their venality or violations of the public trust, been sentenced to large or small punitive doses of "community service" in lieu of spending time in jail. That kind of judicial sentence will, of course, not disappear; regrettably, it will retain the name "community service." But by enacting the National and Community Service Act of 1990, the Congress said it wants to "enhance" community service and "renew the ethic of civic responsibility in the United States."

Service is to be encouraged now as a matter of public policy. Service is a responsibility to be met, not a punishment to be avoided. Service, we may soon discover, is a singular solution for much of our national and personal discontent and may well assist significantly in the reduction of many of our vexing and persistent social problems. In any case, government at local, state, and federal levels is expected now to foster service--voluntary and, if not altogether uncompensated, just modestly stipended service--to local communities and the nation as a whole.

As is often the case when a bill clears both houses of Congress, the final product represents an amalgam of legislative ideas carved up and compacted into a single law, in this case Public Law 101-610--Nov. 16, 1990. The legislation has two major title-headings and four minor ones. The first major title, the "National and Community Service State Grant Program," has seven subtitles authorizing funding of a broad range of new service initiatives. The second major title, "Modifications of Existing Programs," has three associated subtitles that amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 for purposes congenial to this new legislation; and amend as well the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973 by adding a new title called "Youthbuild Projects," intended to connect economically disadvantaged young adults "with opportunities for meaningful service to their communities in helping to meet the housing needs of homeless individuals and low-income families." In the process, the young builders will, it is hoped, acquire "employment skills necessary to achieve economic self-sufficiency."

The four remaining titles authorize:

- > the establishment of the "Points of Light Foundation" as an Executive Branch agency;
- > the provision of a model "Good Samaritan Food Donation Act;"
- > appropriation of funds, most of which are designated for Title I programs;

and a final title covers "Miscellaneous Provisions" unrelated to the national and community service theme.

It has taken a long time to get a national service bill through both houses of the Congress. Over the years, the Senate has shown much more interest than the House of Representatives in the notion of national service; and the acoustics have been better among Democrats than Republicans for discussion and debate of this idea. Consequently, the bill produced by a Democratic Congress and signed without noticeable enthusiasm (except for the "Points of Light" provision) by President George Bush, has identifiable Democratic parentage and Democratic pride of authorship. Hence, influential Democrats will have an understandable interest in seeing how "their" program is doing, especially that portion of "their" program that was "his" (Senators Kennedy, Nunn, and Dodd, for example) or "her" (Senator Mikulski) idea. These senators and others (notably Democrats Pell, Robb, Graham, and Bumpers, and Republicans Hatch and Durenberger) will be watching as money moves out (\$73 million in FY'92) from the entity established by the 1990 Act and known as the Commission on National and Community Service, a brand new and quite small independent agency within the Executive Branch of the federal government. Funds will be awarded to the states, Indian tribes (included at the insistence of Senator Kent Conrad, Democrat of North Dakota), and institutions of higher education (whose interests were promoted by Senators Kennedy and Pell) for:

- > "Serve-America" (\$16.9 million in FY'92 for statewide, school-aged service-learning programs);
- > "Higher Education Innovative Projects" (\$5.6 million in FY'92 to encourage students to participate in community service activities while attending college);

- > "Conservation and Youth Service Corps" (\$22.5 million for youths age 16 to 25 willing to commit themselves to up to 24 months of full-time service, for environmental or human needs); and
- > "National and Community Service" (\$22.5 million for persons 17 years of age or older who would work for not less than three years "to meet unmet educational, human, environmental, and public safety needs, especially those needs relating to poverty").

Pell
This last program, which has the symbolic advantage of bearing a name identical with that attached to the entire 1990 bill, can fairly be described as the portion of the program "belonging" to Senators Barbara Mikulski and Sam Nunn. Senator Edward M. Kennedy contributed "Serve-America" to this legislative amalgam. The "Higher Education Innovative Projects" section bears the fingerprints of Kennedy and Senator Claiborne Pell. And the "Conservation and Youth Service Corps" ideas come chiefly from the legislative imagination of Senator Christopher Dodd.

Elsewhere in this awkwardly constructed mosaic of statutory strategies aimed at enlisting Americans for volunteer service to their nation and communities, are provisions for:

- > "Governors' Innovative Service Programs" (a limited number of "models" easily replicated in other states; an idea promoted by Senator Orrin Hatch);
- > Grants to the Director of the Peace Corps or the Director of ACTION "to carry out training and educational benefits demonstration programs" that will attract to their volunteer ranks members of groups now under-represented there (Senate sponsorship for this provision came from Kennedy and Pell with House support from Representative Connie Morella, Republican of Maryland);

- > Special demonstration projects in rural areas to involve the elderly and to engage young people in "assisted-living services" to needy others, both young and old (credit for this provision goes to Michigan Democratic Representative Dale E. Kildee);
- > Grants to increase the number of low-income persons who would work in Head Start programs (such an obviously good idea that it had multiple sponsorship!);
- > Grants to bring together retirees, their former employers, and community agencies "to develop employer-based, retiree volunteer programs" (another Kennedy contribution to the program).

Grants made under Title I (the State Grant Program) directly to public and private higher education institutions, to educational consortia, or to public agencies and non-profit organizations working in partnership with higher education institutions, are to meet the following purposes specified in the enabling legislation:

- (1) to enable the institution to create or expand community service activities for students attending that institution;
- (2) to encourage student-initiated and student-designed community service projects;
- (3) to facilitate the integration of community service into academic curricula, so that students can obtain credit for their community service activities;
- (4) to encourage students to participate in community service activities that will engender a sense of social responsibility and commitment to the community;
- (5) to encourage students to assist in the teaching of individuals with limited basic skills or an inability to read and write; and

- (6) to provide for the training of teachers, prospective teachers, related education personnel, and community leaders in the skills necessary to develop, supervise, and organize community service activities, taking into consideration the particular needs of a community and the ability of the grantee to actively involve [the split infinitive is a federal offense, not mine; I'm simply quoting!] a major part of the community in, and substantially benefit the community by, the proposed community service activities.

As funds move out from Washington and programs start up across the nation, legislators will want to have reliable measures of results. This, of course, goes by the name of "evaluation." Some results can be quantified with relative ease. How many programs? How many volunteers? How many poor people were involved? What are the cost-benefit ratios? Did the programs attract middle-class volunteers? Did school-age participants stay in school? Did participants gain genuine job skills? Were paid workers displaced by volunteers? Were volunteers simply rearranged--i.e., was there a net increase in volunteer activity or did these new programs simply attract participants from pre-existing volunteer programs? What effect did these programs have on military recruiting? (There is fear in the House of Representatives that they will compete with military recruitment.) How about the effect on student loan obligations? Do post-service benefits like mortgage subsidies and education grants attract participants?

On the qualitative side, some sponsors of this legislation, notably Senators Mikulski and Kennedy, will want to know whether the programs do, in fact, foster a community service ethic. If

they do, the nation can expect to see a continuum of service over the course of the lifetime of persons attracted into service programs in their formative years. Similarly, the legislators will want to know whether service experiences can really change a poor youth's life. A large legislative bet has been placed on the potential of this act to have precisely that effect.

In thinking about evaluation, it occurred to me that one might look upon this as a horse race. As various programs are funded, one might visualize the Kennedy horse, Mikulski horse, Dodd horse, and other entries with identifiable legislative "colors," breaking away from the starting gate and running for the results their sponsors envisioned. Even if the programs were sufficiently pure-bred to display distinctive legislative origins, it would not be possible to attribute success or failure on the basis of one short race, and probably not fair to run them head-to-head against each other.

Perhaps a horse show would be a more useful analogy: admire the distinctive features, estimate their potential for realizing program objectives, and think about measuring results. One way or another, results will have to be measured.

It would be a mistake, in my opinion, to attempt to measure the success of these initiatives in reduced rates of teen-age pregnancy, a decline in drug abuse, a drop in youth unemployment, and other positive social indicators. Families, schools, religious and other institutions, not least among them the private job market, cannot look to this modest program and expect it to carry the freight of social recovery for troubled youth in a

troubled nation. True, community service could become part of a national job-training strategy. True, service might be successful in attracting non-traditional volunteers--i.e., low-income people--into organized volunteer activity. But the basic institutions have to do the foundational work required to produce enduring social change.

Washington lawyer Richard Danzig, co-author of National Service: What Is It? (Lexington Books, 1986) advised the evaluation committee of the Commission during a December 17, 1991 White House meeting, that the evaluative emphasis should be on the "first order" questions, not on the larger issues of societal change. There are three central criteria for measuring the success of these programs, in Danzig's view: recruiting, rewards, results. Do the programs recruit a range of people? Are improved self-esteem and a sense of altruism among the rewards a participant gains from the service experience? What are the results of the program in terms of services rendered; what are the results for the persons being served?

Another consultant to the Commission's committee on evaluation--Jerome Kolker, Director of the Philadelphia-based Urban Corps Expansion Project of an organization called Public/Private Ventures--emphasized the importance of engaging young people in activities that meet genuine community needs while lifting their own self-esteem. These two problems--unmet community needs and widespread deficits in self-esteem among the young--have one solution, he said, and that solution is service.

I agree that service is a singular solution in this and in at least two other important ways. It looks to the individual. One person can make a difference. Many persons freely choosing to unite their efforts in service to others can make an enormous difference. Moreover, the fact that the service envisioned in this act is voluntary, or only modestly stipended, makes it all the more singular in the culture of greed that appears to be tightening its grip on the nation.

An unresolved pedagogical debate focuses on the question of whether persons are better off thinking their way into new ways of acting or acting their way into new ways of thinking. The bias in this bill (with which I have no serious disagreement) favors the action-as-avenue-to-thought side of the argument. The legislation employs the phrase "service learning" in the "Serve America" section, where it proposes to offer grants and contracts for school-based community-service projects involving children as providers of the service. The trick, of course, is to get them to reflect on the experience and tie it in with what they are picking up in the classroom. Funding for programs that will train persons who would guide this reflection are provided for in the legislation. A substantial challenge awaits those who hope to document attitudinal and behavioral change as a consequence of service-learning. I think it happens. I don't know how to measure it.

The "Higher Education Innovative Projects" portion of this bill carries great expectations signaled by the legislative language I quoted above. New and expanded community service

activities for college students will, it is hoped, "engender a sense of social responsibility and commitment to the community." This can indeed happen. I surely hope it will. But I would not want to be the evaluator charged with the responsibility of documenting the fact that it has happened.

The anticipated programs are also expected "to facilitate the integration of community service into academic curricula, so that students can obtain credit for their community service activities." The incentive system now moves closer to campus! Payment in academic credits coupled (for those who work part-time in Subtitle D--National and Community Service--programs) with post-service benefits, complicates and possibly compromises the civic-mindedness the legislation (and the social movement it will help to launch) hopes to cultivate. That is an issue to be dealt with on the campuses once the larger issue--approving the programs for academic credit--makes it through the various committees, councils, and senates that process academic policy.

The possibility of a social revolution is latent in these complicated provisions. They could open the way for us to become a nation that cares about service. Much depends on what happens in the state houses. There is an impressive array of community service advocates around the country who will be sure to keep their governors informed. Applications will be filed in four major categories: (1) Serve America, (2) Higher Education, (3) Conservation and Youth Service Corps, and (4) the National and Community Service programs for full- or part-timers in up to ten states. The relatively few states that will be represented in

this fourth category are likely to blaze the trail for whatever national movement might eventually emerge.

Grants from the Commission on National and Community Service will be made by early June, 1992. It will be many moons and Junes, however, until we will have anything resembling a good idea of whether or not the worthy objectives of this welcome public policy initiative are being realized.

The writer is president of The Catholic University of America and a member of the Board of Directors of the Commission on National and Community Service.

Wofford urges public service in new national security plans

By DAWN LEVY

Calling for "active duty citizenship," Sen. Harris Wofford (D-Penn.), a founder of the Peace Corps, urged a Stanford University audience to move beyond militarism and into activism.

"With the unraveling of the Soviet Union, and the end of the Cold War, the whole world has turned upside down," Wofford said in his Feb. 1 keynote address at Stanford's ninth annual You Can Make a Difference conference. "We now have a historic opportunity, a historic duty, to turn our country's priorities right side up."

Suggesting a new definition of national security that "puts emphasis not on bombs but on our brains," Wofford said Americans need to reexamine military strategies and weapons systems that burden the country in a post-Cold War economy.

He advocated doubling the budget of the Peace Corps to \$400 million, and merging the organization with Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). He suggested tripling the budget authorized by the National and Community Services Act to \$600 million. All that money, he said, could be provided by canceling one \$800-million B-2 bomber.

The federal government must give the same attention to domestic needs as foreign ones, he said.

"It's right that we extend a helping hand, that we respond to the emergencies (abroad), but I can't understand why we don't respond with equal commitment, resources and energy to the human problems at home," Wofford said.

"I'm not only interested in saving a new generation from dropping out of high school, into the streets, into the drugs, into welfare or prison or death," he said. "I'm just as interested in saving an affluent generation of young (college-educated) people from moving into the culture of greed that this country has been celebrating for the last 10 years."

A former Pennsylvania secretary of labor and industry, Wofford defeated former U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh in last fall's elections largely on the issue of health insurance. And he said that issue is not irrelevant to the nation's economy.

To build economic rather than military strength, he said, America must establish a strong labor force. And health insurance is the crux of most labor disputes, Wofford said.

Besides South Africa, the United States is the only major industrial country without a universal health plan, he said.

"In the Constitution, if you're charged with a crime, you have a right to a lawyer," Wofford said. "It's far more fundamental if you're sick to have a right to a doctor."

Sworn into the Senate last May to replace the late John

Harris Wofford, who defeated former U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh in a race to represent Pennsylvania in the U.S. Senate, told his Stanford audience that the Peace Corps should have its budget doubled so it can expand into Eastern Europe without pulling out of other countries.



PHOTO/CHUCK PAINTER

Hein, Wofford is less traditional than his predecessor. He has been a law student at Howard and Notre Dame universities, a kibbutz resident in Israel and president of Bryn Mawr College.

As a young man, Wofford went to India to study Gandhi's teachings.

"I came back from India feeling embarrassed that I'd never done anything about civil rights," he said. "I had been asked all

'If you're charged with a crime, you have a right to a lawyer. It's far more fundamental if you're sick to have a right to a doctor'

over India: 'What have you done about segregation laws?' At age 22, I hadn't done anything."

Upon returning home, he decided to study law at historically black Howard University. He was the first white person to attend Howard since women's suffrage leaders, unable to gain acceptance anywhere else, had been admitted at the turn of the century.

His family objected, saying a Howard degree would ruin his chances for a political career.

Yet Wofford credits attending Howard with his ability to bring together John F. Kennedy, to whom he was an assistant, and Martin Luther King Jr., to whom he was an adviser.

"Going to Howard put me on the track that led me to talk at black institutions in the South about civil disobedience and Gandhi," Wofford said.

"The fact that I went to Howard University was a major factor in convincing African Americans in Pennsylvania that I was not a campaign convert to civil rights," he said. Wofford has garnered as much as 90 percent of the black vote in Pennsylvania elections.

In the 1950s, Wofford and some classmates formed the International Development Placement Association to get young Americans to teach or work in institutions in Asia, Latin America and Africa.

"It was a little Peace Corps," Wofford said. "It was a hard thing doing in the private sector. We didn't have a government penny. And about six years later we gave up . . . but we knew it worked."

When John Kennedy later proposed the Peace Corps, Wofford, who was on Kennedy's campaign staff as a civil rights worker, asked to help Sargent Shriver develop the prototype. He negotiated the presence of the Peace Corps in several African countries. ■

vn Levy is an intern with the Stanford News Service.

To: Shirley S. Sagawa
National Women's Law Center

From: Peter P. Tesella
(707) 838-9841

Comment: Thought these two
articles would be of interest
to you.

Saving kids by having them serve

NEAL PEIRCE



WASHINGTON — Rugged and demanding youth service programs, says Pennsylvania Sen. Harris Wofford, could be one of

America's best antidotes against ominous social dissolution and Los Angeles-style riots during the 1990s.

Our hopes are slim, he suggests, unless we move quickly to re-engage our poor, our jobless, and our disillusioned and turned-off young people.

The concept of youth service has come a long way since 1933, the year President Franklin D. Roosevelt conceived the idea of the Civilian Conservation Corps. FDR asked Congress to act in March; the response was almost instant. By July, over 300,000 jobless young men were out in the woods, working on conservation projects and receiving special education courses.

Many of the 2.5 million young people who went through the CCC would later describe it an immense skill- and confidence-builder, a turning point in their lives akin to direct military service.

There was, in fact, military discipline in the camps. One of the most prominent CCC organizers was the redoubtable Gen. George C. Marshall. Many reserve military officers were hired to run CCC operations.

No one today asks for some single, massive federal service corps — a reincarnation of the CCC.

But since formation of the California Conservation Corps in the 1970s, inventive youth service and conservation corps programs have spread to 27 states. Altogether, Youth Service America reports, there are 75 of them, operating on combined budgets of \$180 million. They enroll some 25,000 young people.

The vast majority of programs involve tough callisthenics, uniforms — real demands on kids — often the first constructive discipline they've ever experienced.

City Year in Boston was launched by two young Harvard Law School graduates, Michael Brown and Alan Khazel, expressly to create a youth service prototype for communities nationwide.

City Year offers its young recruits (ages 17-22) a \$100-a-week stipend

and \$3,000 scholarship on graduation. The recruits are poor, rich, black, white, Asian, Hispanic, inner-city gang, suburban preppy — this is one of the few programs that doesn't just draw poor kids, but the wide variety of youth.

Kids of widely divergent backgrounds not only get to meet; they also learn to work cooperatively together.

They work in teams of 10 to 12, building playgrounds and soup kitchens, rehabilitating homeless shelters, distributing food to the hungry, tutoring and mentoring younger kids, assisting the sick.

The program builds self-confidence, leadership skills, a "community of idealism," says City Year co-founder Brown.

One would like to see hundreds of thousands of youths in just such programs. And it could happen. The Commission on National and Community Service, created by Congress in 1990, is just getting ready to make about \$60 million in expansion grants to some of the country's best youth service programs.

Wofford believes we should, in the wake of Los Angeles, at least double that and then "scrounge and redirect money" from lots of sources.

Example: redirect about \$700 million a year in questionably useful Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) funds.

Or use defense dollars to let several thousand competent people now leaving the military serve as leaders of youth service programs. Military bases slated for closure could also serve as youth service camps.

Wofford thinks we should create a national voucher system to provide kids who sign up for youth service programs with living allowances and, on successful completion, educational bonuses.

Presidential candidate Bill Clinton has a parallel idea — a universal educational loan program a young person can pay off by two or three years of public service, or a future add-on to his or her income tax.

Author and former tennis champion Arthur Ashe argues (in a guest article for The Washington Post) that service programs should provide graduates with certification of the technical skills they learn — a way to demonstrate, especially for disaffected minority youth, that their best efforts will be rewarded, that they won't fall victim to a

"I'm sick and tired of treating young people as problems, dangers, menaces."

SEN. HARRIS WOFFORD

discriminatory job market.

"We need these kids on the front lines — to serve and not be served," says Wofford. "I'm sick and tired of the patronizing social service approach — treating young people as problems, dangers, menaces. We need to turn them around and let them discover themselves as resources."

Critics can argue, of course, that a myriad of state and local youth service programs will be of uneven quality, that long-term results are uncertain.

But we do now have a competent national youth service commission to guide the movement. And we've seen enough pilot programs to prove that youth service is a powerful way to divert poor kids from a life of the streets, joblessness, drugs and, all too often, crime and prison.

Youth service also is one of the rare tools we have to reclaim college-bound kids, as Wofford puts it, from "a self-centered life of civic indifference."

Can we rationally contemplate spending billions on full youth service in a nation plagued by a \$400 billion-a-year national deficit? The fiscal answer is no.

The human, common sense answer is yes — that if we don't, the country's social fabric will keep on unraveling, rendering incalculable damage not just to budgets, but to our security as a nation.

Neal Peirce writes a syndicated column for the Washington Post Writers Group. **PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION**

To rebuild the nation,

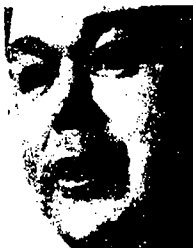
learn lessons of the '30s

The Press Democrat
Friday, May 22, 1992

pg B5

AFTER THE RIOTS

By DAVID L. BOREN
HARRIS WOFFORD



Boren

In the wake of the Los Angeles violence, there are some signs that our political leaders may be willing to stop playing the politics of fixing blame and start fixing problems. It's time to put into place policies that work instead of wasting time and money on those that don't.

While more resources will have to be invested, the solution is clearly not as simple as increased funding for existing welfare and job-training programs. Enterprise zones and home-ownership programs have their place, but they are not enough by themselves.



Wofford

What is most needed is a change in thinking and a new approach that looks at what has worked in the past.

If we are going to solve the urban crisis in this country, we need to work our way out of it — literally. In the 1930s,

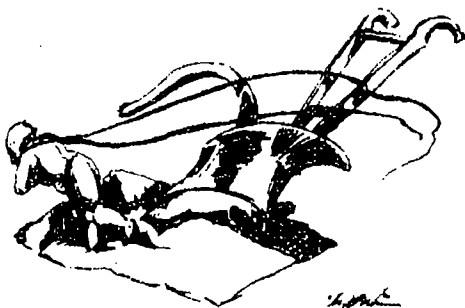
America addressed an economic and social crisis with a straightforward, action-oriented approach: the Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps. What worked for FDR was work — not the idle, not welfare.

During the eight years the WPA was in existence in the late '30s and early '40s, 8 million WPA workers built more than 50,000 miles of roads, highways and sidewalks; 125,000 public buildings (including 39,000 schools); 124,000 bridges; 8,000 parks, and 18,000 playgrounds.

They wrote hundreds of books and created countless artistic works. They served more than 1 billion meals to hungry schoolchildren and sewed more than 382 million garments for those in need.

All of this required an investment of about \$90 billion in today's terms.

By comparison, what has our welfare system created in the past eight years? At a cost of more than \$900 billion spent on all public assistance, we have managed to reduce little more than subsistence-level payments to an increasingly hopeless and alienated segment of American society.



Society cannot afford to pay able men and women to sit idle.

By simply handing people checks, the system robs them of a sense of being part of the communities where they live and of any motivation to achieve. There is nothing worse for a person's self-esteem than to have no reason to get out of bed in the morning and no useful work to perform.

A young high school dropout involved in Philadelphia's Youth Service Corps understood that with productive work he not only helped his community, he also helped himself: "I got tired of people coming to do good against me, trying to help me all the time. This corps asked me to do the helping. Now I'm making a difference."

We now understand that personal responsibility and self-esteem can't simply be taught; they have to be earned. It is a scandal that we sit by while another generation of inner-city young people drops out of school and onto the streets, into joblessness, drugs and the dependency systems of welfare and prison.

A society with children who need care, roads that need repair and bridges that need building cannot afford to pay able men and women to sit idle.

America's inner-city poor do not want to be viewed as a danger, as the enemy, but

rather as a resource, as talent ready to make a difference.

We have been joined by a diverse group of Democratic and Republican senators in proposing a new program that would provide work opportunities for those on welfare and the unemployed by bringing back the WPA and CCC in modern versions.

Under this new "Community WPA" (CWPA) program, all welfare recipients, with the exception of mothers with very young children and those enrolled in education and training programs, would be required to take an available job in a sponsored project if they cannot find jobs elsewhere.

Many young men not counted in official unemployment figures are failing through the cracks in the current system because they never held a job entitling them to unemployment compensation or received AFDC benefits. They, too, would be eligible.

In addition to the CWPA, there would be two youth programs that would provide work opportunities to high school students and young adults in exchange for educational benefits.

A new "Youth Community Corps" would enable students from 7th to 12th grade to work up to 250 hours per year in demanding community service projects. The second youth division, the "National Youth Community Corps," would create camps or dormitory units for young people to work on such projects as reforestation, auxiliary police service and park or low-income housing reconstruction. Those still in school would participate in the summers, and those out of school would work year-round.

Many people out of the work force today lack the skills and training of those who went to work for the WPA and CCC in the Depression years. There will therefore be an even greater need for supervisors who can help train workers on the job.

The Army ran the CCC in the 1930s. Now is a good opportunity for many of the talented people being forced into early retirement from the military because of changes in the world to take up this leadership role again.

In addition, military facilities that are slated for closing have already been paid for by the taxpayers and should be put to use.

America worked its way out of a crisis in the 1930s. We can do it again today.

David L. Boren is a Democratic senator from Oklahoma; Harris Wofford is a Democratic senator from Pennsylvania. From The Washington Post.

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