

Y4
.Ed 8/1
P 92/5

96y4
Ed 8/1
P 92/5

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION
ON NATIONAL SERVICE ACT OF 1980

GOVERNMENT

Storage

DEC 24 1980

FARRELL LIBRARY
KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H.R. 6868

TO ESTABLISH A COMMISSION TO EXAMINE EXISTING VOL-
UNTEER SERVICE OPPORTUNITIES, INCLUDING OPPORTUNI-
TIES UNDER THE DOMESTIC VOLUNTEER SERVICE ACT OF
1973, TO EXAMINE ALTERNATIVE COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL
SERVICE PROGRAMS, AND TO DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE
NATIONAL SERVICE PROGRAM

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C., ON

JUNE 4, 1980

Printed for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1980

65-856 O

AUTHENTICATED
U.S. GOVERNMENT
INFORMATION



COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

CARL D. PERKINS, Kentucky, *Chairman*

FRANK THOMPSON, Jr., New Jersey
JOHN BRADEMÁS, Indiana
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, California
WILLIAM D. FORD, Michigan
PHILLIP BURTON, California
JOSEPH M. GAYDOS, Pennsylvania
WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY, Missouri
MARIO BIAGGI, New York
IKE ANDREWS, North Carolina
PAUL SIMON, Illinois
EDWARD P. BEARD, Rhode Island
GEORGE MILLER, California
MICHAEL O. MYERS, Pennsylvania
AUSTIN J. MURPHY, Pennsylvania
TED WEISS, New York
BALASAR CORRADA, Puerto Rico
DALE E. KILDEE, Michigan
PETER A. PEYSER, New York
EDWARD J. STACK, Florida
PAT WILLIAMS, Montana
WILLIAM R. RATCHFORD, Connecticut
RAY KOGOVSEK, Colorado
DON BAILEY, Pennsylvania

JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Ohio
JOHN N. ERLNBORN, Illinois
JOHN H. BUCHANAN JR., Alabama
JAMES M. JEFFORDS, Vermont
WILLIAM F. GOODLING, Pennsylvania
MICKEY EDWARDS, Oklahoma
E. THOMAS COLEMAN, Missouri
KEN KRAMER, Colorado
ARLEN ERDAHL, Minnesota
THOMAS J. TAUKE, Iowa
DANIEL B. CRANE, Illinois
JON HINSON, Mississippi
THOMAS E. PETRI, Wisconsin

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION

PAUL SIMON, Illinois, *Chairman*

JOHN BRADEMÁS, Indiana
EDWARD P. BEARD, Rhode Island
GEORGE MILLER, California
AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, California
MARIO BIAGGI, New York
EDWARD J. STACK, Florida
CARL D. PERKINS, Kentucky
(*Ex Officio*)

KEN KRAMER, Colorado
E. THOMAS COLEMAN, Missouri
ARLEN ERDAHL, Minnesota
JOHN M. ASHBROOK, Ohio
(*Ex Officio*)

CONTENTS

	Page
Hearing held in Washington, D.C., on June 4, 1980.....	1
Text of H.R. 6868.....	2
Statement of—	
Aker, Governor H., former Director, Office of Youth Programs, Department of the Interior.....	29
Cavanaugh, Hon. John J., a Representative in Congress from the State of Nebraska.....	20
Celeste, Richard F., Director, the Peace Corps.....	25
Hogan, Harry J., former Director of Policy and Planning, ACTION Agency.....	33
Norman, Henry, vice president, Alliance for Volunteerism.....	45
Panetta, Hon. Leon, a Representative in Congress from the State of California.....	16
Tsongas, Hon. Paul, a U.S. Senator from the State of Massachusetts....	10
Willenz, June, American Veterans Committee.....	47
Wofford, Harris, Cochairman, Committee for the Study of National Service.....	31
Prepared statements, letters, supplemental materials, etc.—	
Ake, Governor H., former Director, Office of Youth Programs, Department of the Interior, prepared statement of.....	29
Cavanaugh, Hon. John J., a Representative in Congress from the State of Nebraska, prepared statement of.....	18
Hogan, Harry J., former Director of Policy and Planning, ACTION Agency:	
Members, Alliance for Volunteerism (a list).....	37
“National Service and Moral Authority,” article entitled.....	37
Prepared statement of.....	33
Suggested amendments to H.R. 6868.....	39
Tsongas, Hon. Paul, a U.S. Senator from the State of Massachusetts, prepared statement of.....	10
Willenz, June A., prepared statement of American Veterans Committee, presented by.....	48

APPENDIX

American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, et al.....	65
Byron, William J., S.J., “Morality, Necessity and the Common Good—An Ethical Reflection on Compulsory National Service,” article entitled.....	60
Coalition for a Voluntary National Youth Service, prepared statement by....	58
Eberly, Donald J., “Impact on Youth and College Enrollments,” article entitled.....	68
Heftel, Hon. Cec, a Representative in Congress from the State of Hawaii, prepared statement of.....	55
Hornbeck, David, State Superintendent of Education, Maryland State Department of Education, prepared statement by.....	57
McCloskey, Hon. Paul N., Jr., a Representative in Congress from the State of California, prepared statement of.....	55
Muller, Dr. Steven, president, the Johns Hopkins University, prepared statement of.....	63
National Council of La Raza, prepared statement of.....	66

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION ON NATIONAL SERVICE ACT OF 1980

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 4, 1980

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 9:45 a.m., in room 2257 of the Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Paul Simon presiding.

Members present: Representatives Simon, Kramer, and Erdahl.

Staff present: Allen Cissell, deputy staff director; Dianna Cregger, executive secretary; Terri Sneider, minority legislative associate; and John Dean, minority legislative associate.

Mr. SIMON. The select subcommittee hearing will come to order. We are pleased to hear testimony on H.R. 6868, a bill introduced by Representative Leon Panetta, Representative Pete McCloskey, who is unable to be here today, returning from the California primary right now, and Representative John Cavanaugh.

H.R. 6868 would establish a Presidential Commission to examine existing volunteer service programs, to examine alternative comprehensive national service programs, and to develop and recommend a comprehensive national service program.

I expect that nearly everyone here is aware that the Senate has provided for a Commission on National Service in S. 1843, the Domestic Violence Prevention and Services Act. That bill has been reported by the Labor and Human Resources Committee and floor action is expected soon.

Since the members of this subcommittee will go to conference on this bill, it is in our interest to understand the thrust of this legislation and the differences between the House and Senate versions.

[Text of H.R. 6868 follows.]

H. R. 6868

To establish a commission to examine existing volunteer service opportunities, including opportunities under the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973, to examine alternative comprehensive national service programs, and to develop a comprehensive national service program.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 19, 1980

Mr. PANETTA (for himself, Mr. McCLOSKEY, and Mr. CAVANAUGH) introduced the following bill; which was referred jointly to the Committees on Education and Labor and Armed Services

A BILL

To establish a commission to examine existing volunteer service opportunities, including opportunities under the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973, to examine alternative comprehensive national service programs, and to develop a comprehensive national service program.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the “Presidential
Commission on National Service Act of 1980”.

1

ESTABLISHMENT

2

SEC. 2. There is established a Presidential commission to be known as the Presidential Commission on National Service (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Commission").

6

DUTIES OF COMMISSION

7

SEC. 3. The Commission shall examine existing volunteer service opportunities, alternative comprehensive national service programs, the role of women in any national service program, the necessity for drafting individuals into any national service program, and the role of military and civilian service in any national service program and shall develop a comprehensive national service program to meet national and local needs and the manpower needs of the Armed Forces, Reserves, and National Guard of the United States.

16

MEMBERSHIP

17

SEC. 4. (a) NUMBER AND APPOINTMENT.—The Commission shall be composed of not more than twenty-five members appointed by the President from among individuals who are broadly representative of private volunteer organizations, higher education, business, organized labor, organizations, and groups with a primary interest in service opportunities for youth and older Americans, social services organizations, minority group and ethnic organizations, and Federal, State, and local governments including—

1 (1) not less than seven individuals who are be-
2 tween seventeen and twenty-five years of age on the
3 date of their appointment to the Commission;

4 (2) not less than three individuals who are United
5 States Senators;

6 (3) not less than three individuals who are Mem-
7 bers of the House of Representatives of the United
8 States; and

9 (4) at least one individual who is an active duty
10 member of the Armed Forces of the United States.

11 (b) CONTINUATION OF MEMBERSHIP.—If any member
12 of the Commission who was appointed to the Commission as
13 a Member of the Congress or the Armed Forces leaves that
14 office, he may continue as a member of the Commission until
15 his successor is appointed.

16 (c) VACANCIES.—A vacancy in the Commission shall
17 be filled in the manner in which the original appointment was
18 made.

19 (d) TERMS.—Members of the Commission shall be ap-
20 pointed for the life of the Commission.

21 (e) BASIC PAY.—

22 (1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), members
23 of the Commission shall each be paid at a rate equal to
24 the daily equivalent of the maximum annual rate of
25 basic pay in effect for grade GS-18 of the General

1 Schedule for each day (including travel time) during
2 which they are engaged in the actual performance of
3 duties vested in the Commission.

4 (2) Members of the Commission who are full-time
5 officers or employees of the United States or Members
6 of the Congress shall receive no additional pay,
7 allowances, or benefits by reason of their service on
8 the Commission.

9 (f) QUORUM.—Thirteen members of the Commission
10 shall constitute a quorum but a lesser number may hold
11 hearings.

12 (g) CHAIRMAN.—The Chairman of the Commission
13 shall be designated by the President not later than thirty
14 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

15 (h) MEETINGS.—The first meeting of the Commission
16 shall be held not later than thirty days after the appointment
17 of a majority of its members on a date established by the
18 Chairman or a majority of its members. All other meetings of
19 the Commission shall be at the call of the Chairman or a
20 majority of its members.

21 SEC. 5. (a) EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND STAFF OF THE
22 COMMISSION.—The Commission shall have an Executive
23 Director who shall be appointed by the Chairman of the
24 Commission and who shall be paid at a rate not to exceed the

1 maximum rate of basic pay payable for GS-18 of the General
2 Schedule.

3 (b) STAFF.—Subject to such rules as may be prescribed
4 by the Commission, the Chairman of the Commission may
5 appoint and fix the pay, at a rate not to exceed the maximum
6 rate of basic pay payable for GS-18 of the General Schedule,
7 of such additional personnel as the Chairman considers ap-
8 propriate.

9 (c) APPLICABILITY OF CERTAIN CIVIL SERVICE
10 LAWS.—The Executive Director and staff of the Commission
11 may be appointed without regard to the provisions of title 5,
12 United States Code, governing appointments in the competi-
13 tive service, and may be paid without regard to the provi-
14 sions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such
15 title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates,
16 except that no individual so appointed may receive pay in
17 excess of the annual rate of basic pay payable for GS-18 of
18 the General Schedule.

19 (d) EXPERTS AND CONSULTANTS.—Subject to such
20 rules as may be prescribed by the Commission, the Chairman
21 of the Commission may procure temporary and intermittent
22 services under section 3109(b) of title 5 of the United States
23 Code, but at rates for individuals not to exceed the daily
24 equivalent of the maximum annual rate of basic pay payable
25 for GS-18 of the General Schedule.

1 (e) STAFF OF FEDERAL AGENCIES.—Upon request of
2 the Commission, the head of any Federal agency is author-
3 ized to detail, on a reimbursable basis, any of the personnel of
4 such agency to the Commission to assist the Commission in
5 carrying out its duties under this Act.

6 POWERS OF COMMISSION

7 SEC. 6. (a) HEARINGS AND SESSIONS.—The Commis-
8 sion may, for the purpose of carrying out this Act, hold such
9 hearings and conferences, sit and act at such times and
10 places, take such testimony, and receive such evidence, as
11 the Commission considers appropriate.

12 (b) POWERS OF MEMBERS AND AGENTS.—Any
13 member or agent of the Commission may, if so authorized by
14 the Commission, take any action which the Commission is
15 authorized to take by this section.

16 (c) OBTAINING OFFICIAL DATA.—The Commission
17 may secure directly from any department or agency of the
18 United States information necessary to enable it to carry out
19 this Act. Upon request of the Chairman of the Commission,
20 the head of such department or agency shall furnish such
21 information to the Commission.

22 (d) GIFTS.—The Commission may accept, use, and dis-
23 pose of gifts or donations or services or property.

(f) ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT SERVICES.—The Administrator of General Services shall provide to the Commission on a reimbursable basis such administrative support services as the Commission may request.

11 REPORT

(b) The Commission may develop and submit recommendations to carry out its findings to the President and the Congress after it has submitted the final report pursuant to subsection (a).

1

TERMINATION

2

SEC. 8. The Commission shall cease to exist one hundred and eighty days after submitting its final report pursuant to section 7(a).

5

PRESIDENTIAL REPORT

6

SEC. 9. Not later than one hundred and eighty days after the submission of the final report pursuant to section 7(a), the President shall submit to each House of the Congress a report which includes—

10

(1) an analysis of the desirability, feasibility, and cost of implementing the recommendations of the Commission contained in such final report;

13

(2) a statement of the actions taken or needed to implement the recommendations by the Commission contained in such final report;

16

(3) recommendations with respect to legislation recommended by the Commission; and

18

(4) recommendations for any other legislation needed to implement the recommendations of the Commission contained in such final report.

21

, AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

22

SEC. 10. There is authorized to be appropriated to the Commission such sums as may be necessary to carry out this Act.

25

Mr. SIMON. I am pleased to have here particularly not only two of the cosponsors, but a former colleague from the House who is a distinguished Member of the Senate, Senator Paul Tsongas. I saw him presiding over the Senate the other day, and he looked very vice presidential.

Senator TSONGAS. Bored! [Laughter.]

Mr. SIMON. I will pass that comment along to the Vice President. [Laughter.]

I don't know how you intend to proceed. We will hear from the Senator first, Senator Tsongas.

STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL TSONGAS, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Senator TSONGAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me, if I might, introduce this statement into the record and just paraphrase.

Mr. SIMON. The statement will be entered in the record.

[The prepared statement of Senator Paul Tsongas follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR PAUL TSONGAS, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to be here this morning to testify in support of H.R. 6868, "The National Service Commission Act of 1980." This bill is almost identical to legislation which I introduced in the Senate and which has been reported out of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources as part of S. 1843, the Domestic Violence Prevention and Service Act.

Mr. Chairman, we have reached a point in the history of this great nation that makes it necessary for the American people to begin to face up to the harsh realities of the world situation. We can no longer sit back and wait. Today millions of capable young people are alienated from American society. Their lives lack goals and a feeling of self-worth. This nation needs a program that will bring youth back into the mainstream of American life. We can use their talents, their energies, and their trust. A national service program will fortify these qualities.

In addition to helping our youth, national service has the potential to meet many other human needs at home and abroad. A national program of service by Americans can also help make ours a more cohesive, caring society.

Today I would like to share with you some of my personal feelings about service. Then I will discuss the unresolved problems surrounding this issue. Without answers, we will not be able to achieve the consensus necessary for a program of national service to succeed. This is why a Presidential Commission is vital.

SERVICE AS LEARNING

The benefits of service to others are shared between the recipient and the provider. This fundamental aspect of the service experience has been proven to me—and to thousands upon thousands of volunteers—powerfully and personally. My 2 years as a Peace Corps volunteer in a small Ethiopian town were a learning experience that surpassed any formal study before or after it. There I lived and learned with students whose lives had been vastly different from my own. I was a Peace Corps teacher, but I hope my Ethiopian friends know how much they taught me.

We had a very personal sense of depending on each other, so it was natural for us to know that nations also must depend on each other. Nothing before or after that time has shaped my view of the world so deeply.

The experience of service puts us in touch with problems on a human scale. Too often, public policy is made in a bureaucratic dreamworld. The real impact on people's lives is lost. But living in and learning about culture, whether in Ethiopia or in Appalachia, brings understanding and an approach which embraces the human element. Volunteers do not forget their experiences with Vista or the Peace Corps. They carry the experience with them into future careers.

National service would help young Americans understand the complexity of chronic problems. A new, national commitment to service could be the right medicine for our ailing national spirit. It might help turn our society away from the extremes of the "me generation" of the 1970's when many young Americans have grown up to be fashion conscious, but unconscious—apparently unaware—that other Americans are struggling for basic needs.

It is an astonishing irony that, while many young people feel their lives lack meaning, many unmet social needs are crying for help. Day care centers go unstaffed. Elderly citizens are shuffled away to inadequate homes because there is no one to care for them. Local communities have many projects—energy conservation and neighborhood cleanups—which desperately need manpower.

The list of human needs could go on. But in analyzing how participants in a national service program might be apportioned among potential recipients we must look at both the benefit to the so-called recipient and the benefit to the person who serves. In service all the participants gain. The education that the service provider gets is a fundamental reason why I support a program of national service for America's youth.

SERVICE'S POTENTIAL AND PROBLEMS

It is clear that the idea of national service has tremendous potential for the United States in the 1980's and beyond. Despite limited opportunities for full-time volunteer service at present young people participate effectively in public and private programs.

With the potential for greatly expanding the opportunities for service so impressive, we owe it to ourselves and future generations to confront the unanswered questions that surround national service:

What types of service would be most beneficial?

What should be the duration of service?

What incentives for participation should be used?

How can involvement of youth from all ethnic economic and regional backgrounds be assured?

How much would it cost?

How could existing programs be used to offset the costs of national service?

How would coordination among different levels of government and with the private sector be managed?

Should national service be limited to youth?

Two of the most fundamental issues are voluntary service vs. mandatory service program's relationship to military service.

I personally favor a volunteer service plan. I feel that the benefits derived from the national service experience would be seriously compromised by compulsory service, whether civilian or military. The idealism of Peace Corps volunteers, for example, has a major bearing on the quality of their work. The wonderful learning, sharing process that providers of service to others experience cannot be expected for an unwilling worker in national service.

Regarding the military aspect, there is much confusion and much dissent. I oppose mandatory service, and I oppose the draft. I feel that there is no need for this country even to reinstitute registration at this time. The All-Volunteer Army is working adequately, despite some shortfalls in the Reserve component of the military. But even Secretary of the Army, Clifford Alexander, believes the voluntary system is working well. I do not feel we should revert to a compulsory system when it is not necessary. In fact, the Selective Service itself has recently concluded that the President's pre-mobilization participatory registration system would make a difference of just seven days, in terms of inducting the 650,000 individuals the Department of Defense recently determined would be necessary during a national emergency. Clearly, registration is not needed at this time.

Yet, it is essential that the Commission address the military component of national service. Questions concerning our military manpower needs and the role of national service in meeting them, must be explored in all their complexity and controversy.

Many facets of national service deserve thorough analysis and debate. Whatever our opinions on specific features, it would be senseless to establish a Presidential Commission with preconceived conclusions. The Commission's mandate should be an open-minded comprehensive inquiry into the range of national service possibilities.

SEARCHING FOR CONSENSUS

Congressman Panetta's legislation would establish a 25-member Presidential Commission to study this issue and report its findings within 2 years. At least seven of its members would be young people between the ages of 17 and 25. Young people have been seriously under-represented in past consideration of national service. Up to six members of Congress also would be members of the Commission. This provision is not in my bill, but it is clearly a prudent step to take, so long as the Senators and Representatives selected are sincerely interested in the Commission's work.

This legislative approach is preferable to introducing legislation for a full-scale national service program at this time. If national service is to be successful, it will require a wide base of support. It must be well received by the intended participants, and by Federal, State, and local officials and members of private agencies, who run the programs with volunteers. I fear that to go full steam ahead with a national service program could alienate many of these same people. They might see the program as an infringement of their territory, rather than as the provider of expanded programs and services that it really is. A Presidential Commission will make contact with these people during the study and involve them in the evolution of the idea.

Excellent groundwork has been laid for a Presidential Commission by the Committee for the Study of National Service. Last year the Committee issued its report, "Youth and the Needs of the Nation." It is a valuable contribution to the debate. But it has raised more questions than it has answered.

Another factor arguing for a Presidential Commission is the tremendous interest among young Americans. The Gallup Youth Survey on National Service has found that an overwhelming majority of 13 to 18 year olds—71 percent—favor a voluntary service system of national service. When asked whether they would be interested in participating in such a program, 22 percent said they definitely would, and another 32 percent said they might.

I held a conference in Massachusetts on the subject of national service this past February, in conjunction with the Massachusetts Department of Education. We invited high school students from throughout the state to participate in the day-long event. There were speeches, films, seminars and panel discussions. At the conclusion of the conference, my staff distributed a questionnaire to the 250 participants. We were somewhat astounded by the results because throughout the day, many people had spoken out against a national service program. Of those who responded to the questionnaire, 164 favored a system of national service and 26 were opposed. Twenty-five people thought national service should be mandatory, and 142 thought it should be voluntary. I will admit that this was not a scientifically designed poll. However, it does clearly demonstrate that when people, especially young people, are provided with a clear understanding of what we mean by national service, they support it overwhelmingly. We therefore must provide many more citizens in this country with an explanation of our ideas. I am hopeful that a Presidential Commission on National Service, holding regional conferences taking testimony, and talking with our young people, could do just that.

The idea of national service has widespread support among young Americans now—nearly 70 years after William James first wrote in favor of it. James predicted that young Americans would get "the childness knocked out of them, and would come back . . . with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas." As a new decade begins, our situation cries out for the values inherent in national service.

I strongly encourage my colleagues on this Committee to facilitate this educational process, and to support Congressman Panetta's bill.

Senator TSONGAS. As you said, the Senate counterpart, which is S. 1843, has been reported out of Senator Cranston's subcommittee, and it is my hope it will be on the floor in a reasonably short period of time, although we go from one filibuster to another so the time frame is somewhat unclear.

Anyway, I think it is quite obvious to some of us that we have reached a point when the notion of national service is beginning to make sense. I think, given the notion that we are coming out of the "me first" generation approach, and we have some serious problems down the road in this era of limited resources, it seems the issue of

national service will be potentially very attractive and very hopeful to the country as a whole.

The problem with national service is, it is a great idea without a consensus. What we have, in essence, is a concept which has been embraced by a number of people, the details of which began to cause discussion and dissention. That is why we approach it in terms of a Presidential Commission.

Now, my view, as I indicated in the statement, is that service, for people not only who are young but across the age spectrum, is important. I refer to my service in the Peace Corps as clearly the most formative experience in my life. You might say that I went to the Peace Corps as a Republican and came out a Democrat, so there has clearly been progress. [General laughter.]

Mr. SIMON. That is powerful testimony we have here.

Senator TSONGAS. What we are trying to do with the issue of national service is to provide opportunities to people to get out of their particular day-to-day existence and see the world differently, and to understand the relationship between the individual and the society.

There are, however, a number of questions which have to be answered in terms of how to structure national service: what types of service would be most beneficial; what should be the duration; what incentives should there be—which is an interesting question because my initial impression would be that there should not be, although once we start thinking about attracting people from ethnic groups and minority groups and that kind of thing, clearly there is an argument to be made in that respect—how do you involve people across the board; what will the cost be; and those kinds of issues.

My own preference as to the major issue of voluntary versus mandatory service is that it be a voluntary service plan. As someone who has been opposed to mandatory service and opposed to the draft and who will be opposed to the draft today on the Senate floor as well, I think that is the direction we should go.

However, I think if the Commission is going to be credible, it would have to look at all the issues. The mandate to the Commission should be broad so that when the Commission comes back with its findings, it does not, in essence, get waylaid with the argument that you were given a limited mandate.

If the argument for a voluntary system is as good as I think it is, I think it will prevail in the Commission. So I am in favor of a broad mandate to the Commission.

Now, Congressmen Panetta and Cavanaugh's legislation would establish a 25-member Presidential Commission to study this issue and report its findings within 2 years. At least seven of its members would be young people, and I think that is a critical ingredient that I am going to argue for very strenuously in the conference, if I am able to serve on it.

I think it is clear that if you are going to have a Commission that affects young people, they have to have some participation.

There is also the notion of having six members of Congress serve on the Commission, which was not in my original bill, but I think it makes sense and it is a way of developing a constituency here which, over the long term, could be very effective.

A lot of the issues which have been raised have been referred to by the Committee for the Study of National Service. There have been various polls, one done by Gallup, which shows there is an overwhelming majority of people, 71 percent of those 13 to 18 years old, who favor a voluntary service system.

In February of last year I held a conference at Brandeis University with high school students across the State. It was interesting. I went to the conference, and all there were were questions about national service and criticisms of the concept, at least the way it had been structured.

When the conference was over, we pretty much dropped the issue. We had given the participants a questionnaire which we asked them to send back, but all of the people on my staff who were involved in it and I agreed that clearly this was not an idea whose time had come.

We got the questionnaires back, and there was a 6 to 1 ratio in favor of national service, and pretty much the same ratio argued for a voluntary system. What came out of that, from my point of view, was that there is clearly a consensus that there should be some notion of national service. How you structure it is the problem.

What we need is a commission which is well-respected, which has a broad spectrum of participation, that can come up with a reasonable consensus as to where we go from here. Absent that consensus, this idea will bog down. That is why I think the Commission notion, while not the best of all approaches—and it does seem that we are passing the buck—I think it is the only approach which can work at this juncture.

I would commend the notion to the committee and commend my colleagues here for their participation in it.

Mr. SIMON. If my two colleagues do not object, I think we will toss some questions at Senator Tsongas here before he leaves for his committee meeting.

You mentioned, Senator, that this should be as broad as possible. I notice that your legislation talks about human and societal needs. It does not specifically mention the military side at all. I assume that your human and societal needs would include taking a look at the military; and I guess a part of that question is, do you have any objection to some specific reference to the military personnel needs problem?

Senator TSONGAS. I would much prefer not to have the military included, but I understand that if we are going to get this thing through and if there is to be some kind of broad coalition to do it, that may be inescapable. So I guess my answer is, I don't like it; I would prefer to do without it, but if we are going to get any kind of administration support and any support among our colleagues, I think it has to be in there.

It is unfortunate that that is the reality, but it is the reality.

Mr. SIMON. The one sentence you have in here, I think, has real validity. "It is an astonishing irony that while many young people feel their lives lack meaning, many unmet social needs are crying for help." I really sense there is this yearning, almost, for something along this line.

While I notice you say you personally favor a volunteer service, you would favor leaving it up to the Commission to recommend what should be done. There are many people, for example, and I have not talked to

many about this, but I have found the idea of a choice, where it is not voluntary but you would have a choice of military, working in mental hospitals or Peace Corps or whatever it might be, is not frowned upon by young people I have discussed this with.

You would just leave that completely open; is that correct?

Senator TSONGAS. If you have an election and you are allowed to go in to consider the candidacies of Paul Simon, Paul Simon, and Paul Simon, the election of Paul Simon at that point would not be credible.

Mr. SIMON. It sounds very inviting.

Senator TSONGAS. Perhaps that is not a proper analogy. [General laughter.]

I think if you go in with a limited number of options, when you finally get back to the floor and try to get the money for this in the era of the balanced budget, I think you would be destroyed. So, I think the one thing you don't want to do is to be hit on the floor with procedural issues as opposed to substantive issues. That is why I feel we should open it up.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. That was one of the questions I wanted to ask. I take it, then, that no determination is made in this bill as to whether or not the scope of the inquiry ought to be limited to just youth.

Senator TSONGAS. No. In fact, the initial plan we put together was youth oriented. What came out of the Brandeis Conference was a rather strong statement by both older and younger people that you could open it up to people generally.

When I was in Ethiopia in the sixties, one of the two most effective people we had were two women who were in their late sixties, Bueler and Blyth. They were from California, and anyone who had any experience with those two had to come away feeling very strongly there is a capacity among older people for exactly that kind of service.

Mr. KRAMER. What kind of studies of this sort, if any, have been done at this juncture? Are there any coordination councils or anything of that sort in place now which are designed to coordinate voluntary activities that you are aware of?

Senator TSONGAS. I met with some people who were in charge of volunteer organizations, and my understanding is they do not lack for infrastructure that could tie in. What they lack is volunteers. So I don't think that will be a very difficult problem. There is a lot more out there than would have anticipated when I began this in terms of infrastructure.

Mr. KRAMER. Senator, are you aware of any study which has been done by the Congress up to this point on this issue?

Senator TSONGAS. The only definitive study was the one done by Harris Wofford and Don Eberly, and those who I imagine will testify.

Mr. SIMON. They are testifying today.

Mr. KRAMER. Thank you very much.

Mr. SIMON. I think we can dismiss you, then, and hear from your colleagues. We were very pleased to have you here.

Senator TSONGAS. If I may, I think the notion that young people today are really looking for something is really where it is at. I think the generation that grew up in the suburbs and has known nothing but more is better; that kind of syndrome, has really reached the

limits of how much personal reward that kind of system can give anybody.

I think this is one way of bringing them back. There are very rough times ahead for this country. To the extent you have young people and people generally who are conditioned to giving back to the society, we have a much better chance of surviving it.

I appreciate your spending the time on this issue.

Mr. SIMON. I could not agree with you more. It is great to have you back in your own haunts on the House side. Thank you, Paul.

Now we will hear from Representative Leon Panetta first, and then Representative Cavanaugh.

STATEMENT OF HON. LEON PANETTA, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. PANETTA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, I want to express my gratitude personally to you for giving us the opportunity to testify on this legislation on National Service. We want to thank you and the subcommittee for taking the time to do it.

I am proud to be associated with Senator Tsongas and Senator Cranston on the Senate side, who are working together to move the legislation on the Commission on the Senate side, and also my colleagues, John Cavanaugh, Pete McCloskey, and others who have joined me as cosponsors.

As you will notice by the list of cosponsors, they represent a broad spectrum of both Republican and Democrat, liberal and conservative. We share a common concern for looking at the issue of national service.

I think the commission that we recommend here offers an opportunity to try to forge a partnership between Government and the people of this Nation. What is really needed today, it seems to me, is a national debate on the question of service. We can begin to try to release the creative energies of people, particularly young people, in an effort to meet societal needs, whether in the military or civilian sectors.

I think it is particularly appropriate now because of the debate over draft registration, over the possibility of restoring a draft in this country, that it is very important whether you are for or against draft registration, whether you are for or against draft to have the debate on service options for the future.

What kind of service opportunities will we provide young people in America tomorrow? That is really the question. Are we simply going to go back to the inequities of a draft system? Are we simply going to rely on vehicles already in place, or are we going to look to the future, to giving young people the opportunity to make some decisions as to where they want to provide service for America.

These are perilous times, as has been pointed out by Paul. They are also times, I think, of great opportunity. A program of national service would remind our young people and our people in general of the responsibilities that accompany the privileges of citizenship.

A period of service, I think, would allow people to see their own individual efforts make a difference in terms of the welfare of this country, whether on the social or military side.

There is a malaise of the spirit, but perhaps, as I have said, it is also a great opportunity as a turning point in which to try to focus the attention of the country on the future. I am not sure we have done enough to challenge the young people of this country to serve.

We have not made a sincere effort to really explain the need for service at a time when we are moving, as I said, toward the reinstitution of draft registration and the possibility of reinstituting the draft. We owe the young people in this country a debate on the issue as to what kind of service they should provide for the future.

Let me talk briefly about procedurally where this legislation rests right now. There has been significant progress made on the Senate side. The Labor and Human Resources Committee has approved the Domestic Violence Prevention and Services Act and attached to it the proposal introduced by Senator Tsongas, the National Service Act, for consideration.

It is supposed to take place in the very near future, perhaps even within the next week. If the Senate approves the National Service Commission title and the entire bill, the House-Senate conference will ensue on the domestic violence legislation. House conferees would then be in a position to accept the Commission title as part of the domestic violence conference report.

I would certainly urge the members of this subcommittee, if they are part of that conference committee, to support that kind of approach. There are two important provisions of my bill, however, which I think are not explicitly included in the Senate version but which I think the members ought to pay particular attention to.

The first is the question of whether military service needs will be considered by the Commission, and the second concerns the inclusion of three Senators and three House Members, and one active military member on the Commission. Let me discuss those two issues.

First of all, my version states that the duties of the Commission are to:

Examine existing volunteer service opportunities, alternative comprehensive national service programs, the role of women in any national service program, and the role of military and civilian service in any national service program and shall develop a comprehensive national service program to meet national and local needs and the manpower needs of the armed forces, reserves, and national guard of the United States.

By contrast, the Senate bill directs the Commission simply to examine the need for, and the desirability and feasibility of, establishing a national service program to meet a broad range of human and societal needs. While this language is open to wide interpretation, I believe it is very important for the final version of the Commission's mandate to include consideration of the military service requirements.

We are in a period when serious questions have been raised about the manpower issue, about how to develop stronger manpower and meet manpower needs for the military. That is obviously of great concern to Congress and the country. I think it ought to be built in as part of the consideration in dealing with the national service issue.

Second, the Senate version states that not more than five Commission members shall be Federal employees. My version provides for seven but includes Members of Congress. It is very important to have Members of Congress on the Commission.

As the chairman knows, having been members of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, we now have the opportunity, having been members of the Commission, to try to take those ideas and move them in the Congress and try to establish some kind of coalition within the Congress to move the proposals of the Commission.

Commissions come and go. The important thing is to try to make use of those recommendations which have been provided. I think the only way to do that is to include Members of both the House and the Senate as part of the Commission.

In addition to looking at the conference on the Domestic Violence bill, I urge the subcommittee to consider marking up 6868, the bill you are now considering, for consideration. If we can proceed with this bill in the House, it is more likely the full House will accept the Commission plan.

In and of itself, it is also a part of another report. If we can move this legislation through the House, it would certainly give the conferees on the House side a better message as to what to represent within the conference itself, and, I think, greater latitude in dealing with the differences that exist, as minor as they may be.

The goal of the Commission is to make every American aware of his responsibilities and to solicit ideas of the broadest possible spectrum of citizens. The Commission's primary goal should not be to prepare a perfect report on national service. The main goal should be a trigger or process whereby individual citizens themselves begin to examine the responsibilities of citizenship.

This process can only work if large segments of the population are made aware of the Commission's work, and if they participate in the debate and contribute to its inquiry.

In conclusion, the proposed Commission on National Service offers us an opportunity to make a beginning at the outset of this new decade to bring Government and people together in trying to find solutions. I again commend the subcommittee for its interest in this issue of national service, and I look forward to working with you, Paul, and the other members of the subcommittee in trying to bring this idea to fruition.

Mr. SIMON. Thank you very much. I appreciate your testimony.

Now we will hear from Representative Cavanaugh, who, unfortunately, has decided to retire. Someday we will achieve that ripe old age when we can retire.

Representative Cavanaugh?

[The prepared statement of Hon. John J. Cavanaugh follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN J. CAVANAUGH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEBRASKA

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful for the opportunity to appear with my colleagues today in support of legislation to establish a Presidential Commission on National Service. As the members of this subcommittee know, I have sponsored legislation in this Congress to establish a system of public service which would address the future manpower needs of the Nation in a fair and cost-effective manner by asking the young men and women of America to register for random selection for military or civilian service to their country.

I believe there has been a serious deterioration of the sense of obligation to the community, society, and nation on the part of American youth in the wake of the country's disastrous participation in the Vietnam War and in the post-Watergate

era. The great service ethic which was sparked by John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps initiative in the early 1960's has languished in the "Me Decade" of the 70's. The largest single public service components of the Federal government, the armed services, are able to attract those in our society for whom the only alternative is a life of unemployment, poverty and despair. The notion of spending a period of time in service to one's community or in the armed forces no longer occurs to the vast majority of our youth. This state of events has come about primarily because the leadership of the country has not asked for or expected that type of service of its young people.

Since the ending of the draft in 1973 and the inception of the All-Volunteer Force, the obligation for military service has fallen primarily upon the educationally and economically disadvantaged in our society. The glaring inadequacies and gross inequities of our current system of military manpower procurement must be recognized and addressed. Our citizens must be made to realize the inherent unfairness in a system which relies disproportionately upon its minorities, its least fortunate citizens, to meet its military manpower needs, while asking nothing of its more privileged members. It is my belief that, just as the rights and privileges which are guaranteed by the Constitution accrue to all within the society, so too should the obligations for the protection and maintenance of those freedoms fall upon the citizenry without distinction or discrimination.

I have spoken at length in the past about these shortcomings in our military personnel policies, and I would at this point submit for the record copies of materials which further outline the military aspects of the issues involved and my proposal to address those concerns.

In an even larger sense, though, I believe it is imperative that the Congress and the American people make an objective and comprehensive analysis of all the goals and aspirations which we hold for the future of this nation and fashion a mechanism with which to acquire the manpower needed to meet these goals. Our country has many needs beyond those of the military which are equally essential to our national interest. The care and protection of our national resources, the health care and social needs of our poor and elderly, the redevelopment and revitalization of our urban areas are all areas of current commitment by our national government. These needs, as our military needs, are becoming increasingly difficult to meet at the current cost.

As a part of the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, the Congress placed an employment limitation on the executive branch of the federal government effective in fiscal year 1979. Since that time, total federal employment has remained relatively constant at approximately 4.9 million. The costs of compensation and benefits for federal employees, however, have risen from \$74.5 billion in fiscal year 1979 to an estimated \$85.7 billion in fiscal year 1981, an increase of almost 15 percent in just two years, and there is no indication that the trend of spiraling personnel costs is going to abate. These administrative costs will continue to increase, while services remain at the same levels or, in some cases, are reduced.

In addition to the benefits which such a program of national service holds for the Nation as a whole, substantial progress could be made in alleviating the critical and growing problem of youth unemployment in our society. Despite nearly two decades of experience with employment and training programs serving youth, beginning with the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1968, the Economic Opportunity Act which established the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Job Corps in 1964, and continuing with the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 and the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act in 1977, the problem of youth unemployment remains endemic to our society. Using the most recent Bureau of Labor Statistics, teenagers (16 to 19) represent 10 percent of the civilian labor force but 20 percent of the unemployed. The employment situation for black and other minority youth is more severe, and the gap between black and white unemployment has widened dramatically over the last 20 years. In 1958, the unemployment rate for minority males age 16 to 19 was 26.8 percent, compared to 15.7 percent for white males of the same age group; the rate for minority teenagers in 1978 was 34.4 percent, compared to 13.5 percent for white youths.

The federal youth employment programs designed to relieve this chronic unemployment have grown in size and cost to the American taxpayer, and yet have had little long-term impact on the severity of the job shortage. In 1975, for example, Department of Labor programs targeted at youth unemployment accounted for \$1.74 billion in expenditures. 1980 estimates for these same youth programs total \$4.68 billion, a five year increase of almost 170 percent in outlays. The recently reported Youth Act of 1980 will cost between \$7 billion and \$13

billion over the next five years. I sincerely believe that we must at least explore new concepts such as national service and the effects which a program of public service would have upon the problem areas which I have outlined.

For the past year and a half, I have endeavored to bring these issues to the attention of my constituents and my colleagues in the Congress. In a recent poll taken in my district, 36.4 percent of the respondents favored a return to the draft with the option of civilian or military service. More respondents chose that option than any of the other four choices; the next highest group 24.5 percent favored registration for military service. I am confident that when the issues are clearly put before the American public they will support the concept of national service as a fair and cost-effective approach to meeting the future needs of the country.

Because the concept of national service impacts on virtually every segment of our society, from defense manpower needs to its effect on higher education, from youth employment and training programs to the needs of volunteer agencies, from domestic programs such as VISTA to the Peace Corps, I believe that the comprehensive approach of a commission, composed of experts in each of these fields as well as representatives of our youth population, would be the most logical and effective mechanism to evaluate and make recommendations to the Congress and the American people to mobilize and utilize our most precious resources. The energy and talents of the Nation's youth, to meet both the needs of the Nation and the goals, aspirations, and idealism of our young people.

I am pleased that the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources has included language to create a Presidential Commission on National Service in the Domestic Violence Prevention and Services Act (S. 1843), and I am hopeful that the measure will win Senate approval. I am somewhat concerned, however, as to the lack of specific reference in the Senate bill to the military manpower needs of the Nation. I believe that the language of H.Con.Res. 271 is more explicit in this regard, and thus preferable to the Senate language. It is essential that all aspects of the issue be considered by this Commission, and I would hope that the House would retain the references to military service.

Mr. Chairman, let me once again express my gratitude for the opportunity to appear before you in support of my proposal and that of Mr. Panetta. I appreciate your consideration of the issue on national service, and I urge this subcommittee to report this legislation so that we may get on with the business of meeting the Nation's future manpower needs.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN J. CAVANAUGH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEBRASKA

Mr. CAVANAUGH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would have to correct that, though. I am quitting to go to work. [General laughter.]

I appreciate the opportunity to be here, and I commend you, Mr. Chairman, for holding these hearings. More than 1½ years ago, I introduced legislation which does provide for a mandatory and comprehensive system of national service, including both civilian service and military service.

To date, the consideration of national service has been primarily dominated by the Armed Services Committee in the Congress. I think that it is essential to broaden the perspective, both within the Congress and within the country, which is what the legislation we are concerned with here today is designed to do by establishing a national Commission, if we are to develop that consensus, which I think does exist there, and if we are to tap and draw upon, for the strength of this country, the willingness and energies of the people to serve the needs of this Nation which are going unmet, and whose energies are being unsolicited in addressing those needs.

It is to your great credit that you have taken the time and the interest to broaden this issue both in the Congress and in the country, and I want to commend my colleague, Mr. Panetta, who has exerted outstanding leadership on this, as he has on many other issues, to raise

and broaden the consciousness of those of us in the Congress and in the country.

I would simply ask to include my statements in the record of these hearings. I have also supplied the committee with my previous statements to the Armed Services Committee, which detail previous legislation that I have submitted.

Mr. SIMON. Your statement will be entered in the record.

Mr. CAVANAUGH. The materials which I have submitted speak to the critical need for the establishment of this Commission and the very great importance of broadening the awareness of the American people both to the needs of their Nation, military and civilian, and to solicit the abilities, energies, and capabilities of young Americans to address those needs.

Since I do favor a system of mandatory service, I think that the Commission should be as broad as possible, and I am pleased to see that Senator Tsongas agrees in that.

I would not be unhappy with a Commission that concluded that the needs of the Nation could be met by a voluntary system. At this point I simply remain unconvinced that a system of voluntary service can equitably distribute the burdens of our country and can equitably solicit the energies of the diverse social and economic spectrums of the people of our country.

I think it is an unfortunate part of human nature that often we are required to be compelled or disciplined collectively to pursue those activities which benefit us collectively. Should human nature change or should the Commission be able to demonstrate that a voluntary system could, indeed, fairly and equitably, distribute those burdens and solicit that participation, I would be most happy.

I think the Commission should have the responsibility of exploring both possibilities because I think that they both are realistic. In fact, we must, as Senator Tsongas said, find that consensus by which we can meet these needs and utilize the talents of our people in meeting these needs in a form, manner, and structure that is politically acceptable in a democratic society. That, ultimately, should be the purpose of this Commission.

I think that there is almost unquestionable justification for exploring new methods. Whether you look at the military manpower needs—and those are the ones which have received the greatest attention recently, and I think it becomes more apparent that we must have substantial changes in the military manpower system—or the civilian needs of our country, and we look at what we have been doing in the Congress, we have placed an absolute limitation on the addition of Federal employees; yet we have not really saved the cost of administering the Federal Government and meeting the obligations of the Federal Government in any substantial way by that.

We have diminished the capacity of the Federal Government to meet the needs of the people of this country. So clearly, we must have, I think, a new manpower system if we are going to effectively meet those needs. On the other hand, as you so perceptively pointed out, we have a great breadth of population whose abilities are not called upon and whose idealism is unstimulated and whose energies are unsolicited.

The results of that lack of calling, lack of asking, lack of feeling that they can participate constructively in the society causes a growing

feeling of alienation and frustration in their personal lives and with the society they live in.

So I think we must, as leaders in this country, provide that leadership, that vision of opportunity for individuals in our society to have a feeling of worth, community, and participation, and, on the other hand, to establish a system that more realistically meets the totality of the needs of this country, both protecting and defending it, and enhancing and improving it and meeting the basic social goals and needs of our society.

I think we will not be able to find that consensus to match those incongruities that exist in the absence of some concerted effort. This Commission, I think, offers the best opportunity for developing that concerted effort and eventually forming that consensus by which we can address these tremendous problems and unleash tremendous new opportunities.

So I would urge you to hold this markup. I agree with my colleague also on the differences between Senator Tsongas' proposal and Mr. Panetta's that including Members of Congress and including military service is extremely important, in my view, to the successful operation of this Commission.

I thank you for the opportunity to be here this morning and I commend you for your efforts.

MR. SIMON. I thank both of you. Let me ask you some nuts and bolts things.

You say such sums as may be necessary. Do you have any ballpark ideas of what we are talking about in expenditures?

MR. PANETTA. For this kind of Commission, Paul?

MR. SIMON. Yes.

The Senate is \$750,000. I can't tell you whether that is close to the mark or not, but I assume it is. It is probably a ballpark figure.

Is it desirable? As I glance through the bill, I see no time mandate for reporting. I see a mandate for going out of existence after the report. My observation has been that a lot of these commissions, once they are created, the staff does not like to see them go out of business so they just continue on and on.

Would there be any objection in the bill as it might emerge from the committee if we put a time limit, that they should report back in 12 months, 18 months? I don't have the figure.

MR. PANETTA. I would certainly have no objection to that at all. I think that limiting the time frame is extremely important to the Commission. I think, in fact, there is a time frame within the bill.

MR. SIMON. Yes, there is. I am sorry. It is pointed out to me they must report back in 12 months.

MR. PANETTA. As a matter of fact, there is a distinction between the Tsongas-Cranston approach, which was for 2 years. I wanted to tighten that time frame up as much as possible and made it a year. Having participated in the Commission we did. I think 1 year is more than enough.

It is also a crucial issue and I think it needs to be expedited.

MR. SIMON. Good.

MR. CAVANAUGH. Section 7(a) does provide 12 months after the first meeting or 18 months after the enactment of the act, whichever occurs first, for a final report.

Mr. SIMON. Right. I just saw that. So you have taken care of that need.

Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

John, one of the things you discuss in your testimony is the high unemployment rate of minority youth. How would this program work, in your opinion, to alleviate this problem, rather than just deferring it for the period of national service?

Mr. CAVANAUGH. Well, I have grappled with this problem for about 3 years now, and I am not sure that I have an answer for that. The most large-scale Federal Government low-income minority employment program we have now is the military.

We have sustained the All-Volunteer Force throughout its existence by providing employment opportunities in the military for individuals who are not succeeding in the economic mainstream of this country. I think that that is socially intolerable and ultimately militarily ineffective that we create a force which, because of its social inequity, we will not be able to use.

In the legislation I have devised, one of my goals was to try to provide other meaningful opportunities for minorities and economically disadvantaged by providing a civilian alternative; but as a practical matter, it troubles me.

There would be great danger in establishing a system such as I propose that the more sophisticated, the more educated, the culturally more advanced would also be more able to take advantage of this civilian alternative as a way of escaping compulsory military service. I think that is a real danger. I think that is something that a commission should explore further in examining the potentialities of a mandatory system.

Conversely, in examining the potentialities of a voluntary system, how do you appeal to the broad spectrum of our society so that you create not only a worthwhile personal experience—that is, that the individual is making a contribution to the society, something that is substantively enhancing, hopefully giving them the skill and the confidence to participate after the experience independently and more constructively in their society—and at the same time, in order that it is not wasteful make-work and a drain on the society, that it is constructive kinds of activities the service is designed to fulfill?

The biggest problem in all of that will be with low incomes and minorities in making sure that they get an equitable and meaningful participation. We have a mountainous history of failed programs, which I detail, in terms of providing people a skill and a feeling of self-worth. We have spent billions of dollars and have not achieved it.

I don't have any answer, either in this context or in those contexts, but we have to keep trying, and that is a part of what this Commission's responsibilities will be.

Mr. KRAMER. Do you have any rough cost estimates on what your approach would cost on an annual basis?

Mr. CAVANAUGH. Do you mean my proposed legislation of a comprehensive system?

[Mr. Kramer nods affirmatively.]

Mr. CAVANAUGH. Well, we have not ever been able to get a good cost estimate on the civilian side. My proposal calls for setting aside 5 percent of the existing civilian jobs for youth service employment.

The vision there is to not have it cost more but to be able to provide expanded services at less cost. We pay a subsistence wage, both to military draftees and to youth service civilian servants, but it would depend on the size and scope of the program.

Mr. KRAMER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SIMON. John, your comments have brought up one other question I would like to direct to both of you. I agreed with your comments about the concerns that we have. My concern also on the military side is not only the military effectiveness, but somehow the military ought to be constructed so that we do not too easily use the military.

The sons and daughters of Members of Congress ought to be involved in the military. So that it is not people who are poor and—

Mr. CAVANAUGH. And the major contributors to Members of Congress.

Mr. SIMON. That is exactly right. All of these ought to be involved. Absolutely.

Should there be a committee report or a preamble that in some way spells out not what the Commission should do but some of the needs that have precipitated this.

Mr. PANETTA. I think that would be very helpful, Paul. No matter who I have talked to on this issue, there is a mutual concern, whether it is coming from the military perspective or the civilian perspective, the concern about societal needs, the concerns of youth, the concerns of the old or the disabled. All of them have indicated how can we serve this country and what are the opportunities that are there.

So I think it is very important to lay the groundwork at this point in history for why we think this kind of thing is necessary. I think it would be very helpful.

Mr. CAVANAUGH. I share in that. I think that an itemization of many of the concerns, realizing you probably could not list them all, would help in putting the Commission in some context. Clearly, we are establishing this Commission because we have far more questions than answers. The Commission's goal is to assist the country in addressing those questions, and it would be helpful if they were detailed, I think.

Mr. SIMON. We thank both of you and we look forward to working with both of you as we proceed on this.

Mr. PANETTA. Thank you.

Mr. SIMON. Our next panel will consist of Dick Celeste, the Director of the Peace Corps; Governor Aker, former director of the Youth Conservation Corps; Dennis Derryck of the ACTION agency; Harry Hogan, former Director of Policy and Planning for ACTION; and Harris Wofford, an attorney, and I don't see him here yet. He is the former president of Bryn Mawr. I don't believe he is here yet, but he will join the panel here shortly.

First of all, it is a pleasure to welcome you, and we will hear from all members of the panel first, if it is all right, and then toss questions.

First of all it is a pleasure to welcome the Director of the Peace Corps. He has a particular distinction in that he is a former lieutenant governor. Since the chairman is a former lieutenant governor, I think that is a very elevated position. Not many share that feeling.

It is a pleasure to welcome you here, Mr. Celeste.

Mr. CELESTE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SIMON. If you wish to summarize your statements and have them placed in the record, that would be fine.

Harris Wofford has just arrived. We have just introduced the panel and you are part of the panel, whether you realize it or not.

Dick, we will hear from you first.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD F. CELESTE, DIRECTOR, THE PEACE CORPS

Mr. CELESTE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

If I may, for the purpose of facilitating your hearing this morning I will share some comments on my behalf and Dennis Derryck, and both of us then will be available to respond to questions. I do have an appointment, Mr. Chairman, at 11 o'clock, and I will have to leave then.

Mr. SIMON. We certainly understand.

Mr. CELESTE. I would like to express my appreciation to you and to members of the subcommittee for the invitation to present my personal views about a national service program, and to also indicate that my comments reflect the views of the Director of ACTION, Sam Brown, who is out of town at this time but who did testify in the Senate on this matter.

What I would like to do, if I may, is to highlight for your consideration issues which I believe should be considered in the study of the feasibility of national service. Hopefully, this will provide a helpful perspective from which to review the legislation now before you.

As you well know, the idea of national service is not new. It has a deep and rich history in our Nation. Indeed, the list of programs that have been models for it is a list of some of the most successful and popular programs the Federal Government has ever undertaken. The list includes the Civilian Conservation Corps and National Youth Administration in the thirties; Peace Corps and VISTA created in the sixties by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; and the National Center for Service Learning now in ACTION; and the innovative youth volunteer service demonstrations being tested by ACTION.

These programs have successfully mobilized our citizens to volunteer to serve others. Their records suggest that a more broadly based program of voluntary national service can succeed.

Two things are apparent from looking at these programs. First, they are by and large programs that have provided volunteer opportunities for young people while also giving them the chance to serve their country. Except for the Peace Corps and VISTA, the programs have always linked jobs and service. Second, none of the programs were created as fall-back programs for young people who wanted to be exempt from military service.

I wish to present for this committee's consideration several broad principles which I believe should be fundamental components of a national service program feasibility analysis.

First: A national service program should be a challenge, not a compulsion. The prerequisite for national service should be the desire to serve rather than the duress of being drafted or a general mandate. To make national service a program full of young people who feel themselves to be indentured servants would defeat the very purpose of such a program.

From my experience as director of a program in which more than 80,000 Americans have successfully completed 2 years of voluntary service, I believe many Americans, both young and old, would choose enthusiastically to participate in a constructive national service program.

Any study of the feasibility of such a program should consider the proper means of creating specific opportunities for participants. Only by designing positions which challenge participants and provide an opportunity to complete meaningful assignments will public support be sustained.

Second: National service should build skills while it provides service opportunities. The study should weigh equally both the needs of the Nation as well as the needs of potential participants in a national service program. Quite frankly, many young people today do not have a sense that they can personally contribute to the sustenance and growth of this country.

The study should seek ways to demonstrate that individuals can make a difference and that a national service program can provide opportunities for a committed person. The study should give particular attention to the needs of its potential participants.

Assignments which give participants a chance to learn a skill also give them a credential to use when they enter the job market upon completion of service. Such a program will have positive and long-term benefits to the participants and our Nation.

Third: A national service program needs to be about nation-building tasks rather than diversionary work assignments. Such nation-building tasks will be perceived as a demonstration of our commitment to achieve particular national goals. Frankly, these efforts should also be used as an opportunity to rethink the basic message the Federal Government is conveying to young people.

We must be sure that the message we give to our youth, especially to those from disadvantaged backgrounds, is that a national service program will help them develop their fullest potential and will be about meaningful business.

Young people are cynical about government. I spend a good deal of time recruiting for the Peace Corps on college campuses and in talking to high school students. I was just reading the Minnesota youth poll of youths' views on national service and the draft.

I have been struck that many of them show a declining interest in participating in the political process. More broadly than that, they are concerned about their ability to influence events at the national level. At the same time, they are concerned about the well-being of their communities, about people and programs to whom they can personally relate.

These young people can be a potent force in terms of human resources and inspiration to help us meet national goals at the community level. I would stress this as an example in enlisting young people in the national effort to conserve energy. We know that much of that task requires activity at the local level.

We know we can save up to 40 percent of our current energy utilization with an effective conservation method, but that cannot be abstract. ACTION has had a very successful experience in Fitchburg, Mass., and is now working with 18 other communities around the country on community-based programs which involve volunteers

actively in an effort which will be beneficial not only to the individuals involved, but to the country, and is meaningful work for those involved as volunteers.

In a similar way, Peace Corps volunteers have been involved overseas in the energy field, and the skills they learn, they bring back to this country and, I think, would be eager to apply.

Fourth: A national service program should pursue a strategy of decentralized activity. Some of the committee members know ACTION has been testing a model youth service program in Syracuse, N.Y., for the last 2 years, called YCS, Youth Community Service.

We have learned from YCS that young people, regardless of income, race, or education status, will serve in a volunteer program that has service as its primary focus. In a city with enough youth projects to cover every eligible young person, one in four of those eligible volunteered for YCS.

We have also learned that a program which has a decentralized focus, which is geared to the realities of a particular community and which allows young people to negotiate which project they serve in within the community, may be the best way to go about developing a flexible and workable program of national service and, I might add, minimizing the cost of overhead, bureaucracy, and so on.

I outlined in my comments some additional issues which I think are worth studying. Those are in my written testimony. I would only mention one. The focus is on youth, of course. I believe in the adage that youth is a state of mind. It is clear from our experience with the Older Americans Programs that older Americans can be very much a part of this sort of endeavor.

One of the challenges is to create a task which knits together the generations and helps in the sharing of values and in the building of common interests. So I would hope in the examination of the feasibility of national service in this context, one would take seriously the question of whether it is limited to youth, young people of a particular age, or whether other Americans, particularly older Americans, are challenged to participate.

The Peace Corps celebrates its 20th anniversary, Mr. Chairman, this October. As its Director, in a great tradition of Directors of the Peace Corps, we are privileged to work closely with committed Americans who have been volunteers in a modest program of national service.

I think we are convinced that others will respond, that many others will respond to a program as wisely conceived and widely devised and strongly supported as this.

I hope this testimony helps to highlight some of the fundamental issues which I think need to be considered in the process.

Mr. SIMON. Thank you very much.

I had said we would hear from the whole panel, but since Mr. Celeste has to leave, I think we will toss a question or two at you.

If I may direct a question to you which has little to do with your testimony here now, part of the jurisdiction of this subcommittee is the ACTION Agency, and questions have arisen from time to time as to how well the marriage is getting along between the Peace Corps and ACTION.

I want to know if you would like to comment on that.

Mr. CELESTE. I would be happy to comment. I think that the Peace Corps and ACTION are very much creatures of this time and this generation. Like some, our marriage may have been in haste, and like some marriages, we may have gone through traumas. Like those marriages which are enduring today, we have renegotiated the marriage contract as a consequence of the President's Executive Order last year.

I think we have a fine spirit of cooperation and collaboration going on now, and I think I can say safely for Sam Brown and my colleagues at ACTION that Peace Corps and ACTION are really on the track together in a very congenial fashion.

Mr. SIMON. No divorce is imminent?

Mr. CELESTE. No. In spite of the traumas, and as a father of six, married almost 18 years this August, I know there will continue to be traumas, but I know it is a good relationship.

Mr. SIMON. The point you make about the training component I think is extremely important. I have just finished reading a book by Ezra Vogel, "Japan is No. 1." If you have not read it, or others here, it is well worth reading what they are doing in the field of education in a continuing way, compared to what we are not doing.

Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Do you think that the inquiry ought to be extended as, I think you have probably indicated in your testimony—although I didn't have an opportunity to get through all of it—to encompass a review of the relationship of all present volunteer and job programs presently in place?

Mr. CELESTE. I think certainly the compatibility of those programs ought to be of concern to the Commission, any lessons that can be learned from them. In many instances I think they would want to design something in terms of a recommendation and move forward in this field but involve the fit of several of them together.

Mr. KRAMER. Do you think the Commission ought to look into such things, for example, as the success of—let's take a hypothetical—the CETA program and the way it is operating, and make recommendations about how that can be improved or changed or moved in another direction to solve the problem it was originally designed to solve?

Should the scope of the inquiry be that broad?

Mr. CELESTE. Mr. Kramer, my guess is if one tried to examine the success of each of the programs, that that would extend, perhaps, in terms of duration beyond the time limit mandated here. I think specific lessons that might apply to the constituency determined to be a constituency for national service, if that is young people, that component and its relationship, the relationship of CETA to such a program, I think, would be a matter of appropriate concern.

Mr. KRAMER. Thank you.

Mr. SIMON. Let me ask one other question. I gather, although you do not say this specifically, but by indirection perhaps you are saying this, that you would be concerned about the quality of persons, the motivation of the people you would be getting in the Peace Corps, if there were some compulsory service and you had a choice of a series of options.

Am I reading something into your statement that I should not be reading?

Mr. CELESTE. No, Mr. Chairman, you are not. I think it is clear that there are a variety of programs which would necessarily maintain their selectivity, as we do in military service even today even with an All Voluntary Force. We need to meet certain criteria.

To take the Peace Corps as a for instance, we are in countries at their invitation and we must meet the nature of the request they have for individuals to volunteer. Clearly, our selection of those, amongst many who do volunteer now and who might volunteer as part of an overall national service effort, I think would be something we would need to maintain.

Mr. SIMON. We thank you very much for your testimony.

Mr. CELESTE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SIMON. Our next witness is Governor Aker, the former Director of the Youth Conservation Corps.

STATEMENT OF GOVERNOR H. AKER, FORMER DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF YOUTH PROGRAMS, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. AKER. Rather than read my statement, I would prefer to make a few comments about it so we can get on.

Mr. SIMON. We will enter your statement in the record, and you can make your comments.

[The prepared statement of Governor H. Aker follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF GOVERNOR H. AKER, FORMER DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF YOUTH PROGRAMS, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I appreciate this opportunity to express my views on H.R. 6868; I strongly support the establishment of a Presidential Commission on National Service.

The establishment of this Commission is very timely in view of the International situation which has developed in the middle east and other areas throughout the world.

In my view there are other alternatives to military service which would add strengths and unity to this Nation through the participation of our youth. I believe this strength was demonstrated during World War II. This war was not won by a regular peace time Army, but by individuals who had learned their disciplines with a pick and shovel while expanding the vast natural resource base of this great country as members of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) of the 1930's.

In my judgment programs of national service such as the CCC program, did more to unify this Nation than do existing social programs that focus on individual needs.

First of all, the existing social programs do not reach a majority of our youth. The youth that are excluded from these existing programs feel that their only involvement with the Federal Government is to pay taxes and be available for "a call to arms." Another segment of this group become disenchanted upon their inability to find employment. They appreciate the opportunity to work and to serve their country in a meaningful way. This concept has proven itself in programs such as the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) where the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture receive approximately ten applicants for every position available.

The youth participating in programs such as the old CCC or the YACC are developing excellent work attitudes and habits and take a great deal of pride in their accomplishments. They perform in programs that are as diverse as are the participants themselves. These young citizens are laboring in urban parks, military installations, National forests, flood plains and in a myriad of jobs supportive of our natural resources. At any one time these participants can be found using saws and shovels, stringing electrical wiring, building recreational facilities or wildlife habitat. They may be working as cooks or photographers but they are all contributing to the enhancement of our Nation's environment.

Our youth, armed with this unique learning and work experience as a foundation will be better prepared to contribute to the future welfare of our country. A renewed emphasis on the traditional American work ethic is a vast improvement over dependence on nonproductive forms of Federal assistance.

Although such programs are designed to provide a stimulus to the Nations economy and enhance employment opportunities for our youth, the residual benefits cannot be measured in any statistical fashion. One example of the inestimable benefits provided by such programs is the diversity of the characteristics of these young citizens. Since they are of both sexes from varied economic, racial and ethnic backgrounds, with different levels of academic achievement, they not only learn from professional staff but from each other.

The opportunities to serve the Nation are without limit. An identifiable backlog of intensive conservation work is estimated in excess of 750,000 man years. This does not encompass work that can be performed during local or National emergencies such as fires, flood, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and the like. Also, there are over 40 military installations housing youth who are doing conservation work on military reservations.

It is my firm belief that the establishment of a Commission, as proposed in H.R. 6868 would verify and expand on the necessity, desirability and feasibility of establishing a comprehensive national service program.

Since there have been a number of studies concerning youth programs undertaken over the past 20 years, none seemed to have addressed themselves to the involvement of all the Nation's youth but have concentrated their efforts to a targeted few. The use of existing commissions or past study groups would tend to be prejudiced and once again would overlook the fact that our national strength is dependent on our total youth population. The strength and security of this Nation is vested in all of its youth, therefore, a commission created to establish a national service program is appropriate at this time.

Should you or other members of the Subcommittee have questions, I would be pleased to respond.

Mr. AKER. I, of course, implemented the three national youth programs of service, and consequently I am strongly in favor of a commission to look into the national service program. I feel this is really the only way to go as far as our youth of America is concerned.

I have been concerned with youth for the past 35 years, and I think I know pretty well what they will respond to and what they won't respond to. In my statement I have pointed out that the old CCC program of the thirties is the forerunner of national service programs.

I feel that that is one of the things that has made our country as strong as it is today. I feel that because of that participation in that type of program, our young people in those times were willing to go and defend the country and had a pride in national service. I feel that young people today will respond in the same way.

I would like to place before the committee the necessity to really look into national service programs in the area of conservation work on the natural resource base of this United States. I think our natural resources, coupled with our youth, are the things that have made us great and the things that will keep us strong.

Consequently, I really endorse the effort of this committee to establish the Commission on national programs and to really get on with it. I think it is something that is needed.

Mr. SIMON. Thank you very much, Governor Aker.

Our next witness is Mr. Harris Wofford, now a practicing attorney in Philadelphia, the former president of Bryn Mawr.

In the mail yesterday I received a copy of a brand new book by the title of "Kennedys and Kings." I read the first couple of chapters last night. It was written by Harris Wofford.

It is a pleasure to have you back here again.

STATEMENT OF HARRIS WOFFORD, COCHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE FOR THE STUDY OF NATIONAL SERVICE

Mr. WOFFORD. You will find yourself somewhere in that story in the early civil rights days. I am glad you are now pursuing the same sort of questions in this hearing and this legislation, because just look at this campaign. We have seen the end of the primaries. There has been no fundamental idea, no big idea to lift the spirit of the American people to raise our sights proposed by any candidate, so far as I have heard.

The idea you are dealing with, as with other ideas you have dealt with over the years, would be one of those.

In hearings you held on voluntary service and the idea of national service in 1979, I summarized the findings of our privately initiated and very un-Presidential Committee for the Study of National Service. I reported what we considered the success of our work.

We had done many things that led us to recommend strongly that we move now toward the goal of universal but voluntary national service, so that enlisting for a year or two of full-time service after high school or college becomes as common an expectation for young Americans as finishing high school.

Today I want to report a failure of our committee and of the public debate so far, a failure that I think is a reason to support this proposal for a Presidential Commission on National Service.

In our committee we examine three different possible models for national service:

One. A compulsory universal system requiring civilian or military service of every young American;

Two. A system of compulsory military service to the extent needed by the Armed Forces, with a large increase in opportunities for voluntary civilian service; and

Three. An all-volunteer system with a quantum jump in civilian service.

We propose that third course with an initial goal of 1 million volunteers for civilian service. That is about one of every four young Americans in any age group. And we call for public debate to clarify those options and seek a national consensus.

There has been considerable debate but very little clarity, and that is the failure I think we face. Our proposal for voluntary service was taken by many as a euphemism for conscription. In fact, we clearly rejected universal compulsory service, which would be for nearly 4 million young people each year, as too costly, too difficult to run well, and likely to generate too much resistance, and possibly, in peacetime, unconstitutional.

But there is a good case for that kind of system which no one recently has been making. William James once made that case. So did John Connolly, Andrew Young, Jerry Brown and Vernon Jordan a few years ago. But in the current debate, that case has not been properly presented and publicly considered.

Then an ingenious proposal was made by Congressman McCloskey and a number of his colleagues. It assumes that the military may need to draft some young people, or at least need the threat of such

a draft. The plan provides for a system that would involve the minimum number of people drafted and the maximum number of volunteers for both civilian and military service.

It does require universal registration at age 18, but then each young person would have a choice between a commitment to volunteer for military or civilian service before age 25, or, if a person does not wish to volunteer, enrollment in a potential draft pool from which draftees would be drawn by lottery if the military did not get enough volunteers.

The genius of this plan is that with the threat of a draft and more favorable terms for those who volunteer for military service than those who are drafted, the Armed Forces might well get all the volunteers they need without drafting anyone. Yet, Congressman McCloskey's home has been picketed and he has been vilified by those who purport to believe he seeks to draft everyone.

The irony is that if a draft is adopted finally, most of the opponents of military conscription would be demanding the option of alternative civilian service which is the essence of the McCloskey plan. That plan, too, has not yet had a full and fair hearing.

Finally, the all-volunteer approach of our committee seems hardly to be understood at all. Our report, "Youth and the Needs of the Nation," argues that with the power of persuasion available to the President, Congress, media and leaders of the private sector, the idea of volunteering 1 year or more of either military or nonmilitary service could become very widely accepted.

We envisioned a time when employees, admissions officers in colleges and universities and parents would ask why not the experience of national service the way they would now ask why didn't you finish high school. Bill Buckley has suggested that if a few of the leading private colleges and universities would require some form of such public service as a condition for admission to the freshman class, the idea would take hold and spread without any Government sanction or incentive.

DeToqueville, with whom I am sure Buckley would like to be linked, saw the spirit of voluntary service as a secret of America's greatness. Our committee called for the revival of that spirit and its application on a large scale.

Father Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame, one of the members of our committee and of the Presidential committee that recommended the all-volunteer Armed Forces a decade ago, in a statement for Congress that I will attach to this testimony, says that it was clear when the all-volunteer military system was adopted that its success depended on the idea of service becoming far more widely respected in our society.

[The statement of Father Theodore Hesburgh appears in the appendix.]

Mr. WOFFORD. But for such a quantum jump in volunteering to occur, the idea of voluntary national service will need to be much more clearly articulated and the most effective first steps agreed upon.

So each of these versions of national service, and perhaps some others that imagination will lead the Commission to, needs public clarification if the Congress, the President and the people are to choose wisely.

That, as I understand it, would be a central function of the proposed Presidential Commission.

Finally, a few words of warning and hope. If no such clarification occurs and there is no action toward some form of voluntary national service, then it seems very clear to me that the logic of events will soon lead to a military draft and we will have backed into compulsory national service, probably with some civilian service alternatives.

But then it will be too late for the voluntary service approach to be considered and tried. That is my warning. The hope, of importance for those who doubt that the younger generation would respond to a new call to volunteer, comes in 1979 Gallup polls of young people aged 13 to 18 and aged 18 to 24.

These show that a large majority of young people favor the establishment of a voluntary national service system, and that from one-third to more than one-half of these age groups say that they themselves would be interested in volunteering.

But a Peace Corps volunteer in the early 1960's made the point better than any poll. He said, "I had never done anything political, patriotic or unselfish before because no one ever asked me to. Kennedy asked."

Too little is asked of the young today. It is time, I think, again for them to be asked.

Mr. SIMON. Thank you very much, Mr. Wofford.

Dennis Derryck I do not see.

VOICE. He left.

Mr. SIMON. Harry Hogan. We are pleased to have you back again, Mr. Hogan.

STATEMENT OF HARRY J. HOGAN, FORMER DIRECTOR OF POLICY AND PLANNING, ACTION AGENCY

Mr. HOGAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

This oral statement will supplement my prepared statement.

Mr. SIMON. We will enter your prepared statement in the record, as well as the statement of Father Hesburgh that Mr. Wofford referred to. [The prepared statement of Harry J. Hogan follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HARRY J. HOGAN, FORMER DIRECTOR OF POLICY AND PLANNING, ACTION AGENCY

National Service may well be the most important issue to come before Congress in this generation. I do not mean that statement in the usual rhetoric of a self-interest group. I mean it in precisely the opposite sense. National Service describes citizenship and responsibility—it is an assertion of responsibility rather than a demand for privileges or right to be recognized by society.

In that sense, National Service is addressed to the primary issue confronted by America today. It is the ultimate philosophic or moral issue—what is our responsibility to ourselves and to each other; who are we; what is the meaning of our lives. We cannot create a coherent foreign policy or allocate resources for domestic programs until we reach a consensus on basic philosophy.

National Service, as a set of options for service ranging from military to community service, both in the decision to do it and in program administration, offers us a uniquely American way to work out our national philosophy. We will do so empirically both in social decisions on what services to offer and in individual decisions on what option to take. Out of it all should emerge a growing consensus on national purpose.

We are blessed by good fortune. There is no way to avoid a decision on National Service. The Armed Services must solve their manpower problem. The Armed Services are now operating on classic nineteenth-century Milton Friedman Liberal terms. To apply that philosophy to military service is the ultimate expression of self-interest in an atomistic society. In such a market society the way to attract recruits is to offer sufficient wages, attractive work conditions, and benefits, e.g. pensions, to obtain the needed manpower. At present, what the Armed Services is offering is simply not competitive. Military service is now a last-resort job for those who can't get any other work. It is our good luck that we cannot afford the cost of making military service market competitive. We must go to the draft, and in doing so we explore a new social philosophy.

The draft presents military service not as a job but as a civic responsibility. It is based on a philosophy that sees mankind as social, not each person as an end in himself. It sees people, not only as having social responsibilities, but also as reaching personal fulfillment in expressing those responsibilities.

This is a watershed issue. The comparable social decisions over the past thousand years of Anglo-Saxon history would be the Magna Carta in 1215, the English Bill of Rights in 1689, and Liberalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Magna Carta constituted an assertion by the English nobility against an autocratic King John that the King is subject to law. The medieval society in the thirteenth century saw society as basically static and justice as requiring protection of existing rights. The Bill of Rights asserted the right of Parliament against the Stuarts to control both the law-making process and the appropriations process. The emerging middle class in the eighteenth century saw society as changing, and justice ("due process") as requiring the propertied classes to have a voice in social decisions.

Our own American society, expressing Enlightenment principles of rational self-interest, through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries increasingly accepted a socially atomistic philosophy—each individual being an end in himself with no superior end. Because that required liberation from existing values and institutions, the philosophy was known as "Liberalism". In the nineteenth century that philosophy was expressed in the economic arena. By the mid-twentieth century it was accepted that most individuals could not achieve self-realization (described as "social justice") in the market arena alone. More and more, self-interest groups turned to the political process. It is important to recognize that the philosophy was still one of self-interest. The typical demand was for political award of special privileges or for political recognition of rights against society. The change from Liberal laissez-faire to Liberal socialism was a change in theater of action of an unchanged Liberal philosophy. "Liberalism" means freedom from past values. It sees the welfare of society as best achieved in the assertion of self-interest.

It is important that National Service not be limited to the military draft. By itself, it limits the recognition of the emerging social philosophy to the military necessity. It blinds us to the opportunity for a philosophic breakthrough. The rich prospects in such a breakthrough can best be realized if the military service is offered as one option along with a number of community service opportunities. Such opportunities arranged in a spectrum of options require constant social and individual decision-making on the modes of expression of social responsibility in ways that would immensely expedite the evolution of our social thinking.

In this context we all owe a debt of thanks to Mr. McCloskey for his formal structuring of four categories of national service options in his bill HR 2206, introduced last year. It enlarged and disciplined the public dialogue. Mr. Cavanaugh's suggestion, in HR 3603, of a set-aside of 5 percent of the civil service positions for service internships, was a similarly imaginative breakthrough in regard to impact on existing structures.

It is also important that the array of service opportunities be offered at this time as options, not as mandatory. In this stage of our social development it is important that each individual obtain that maximum participation in our social decision-making that goes with free choice. Society can influence that individual decision-making by setting the terms and rewards of service. As we move toward consensus on the importance of acceptance of citizen responsibility, we can then make decisions on assumptions of universality that will move us toward acceptance of universal service.

It is also important that the opportunity for service be offered to all age groups. To concentrate on youth alone emphasizes the military aspect in negative fashion. In our society, two age groups are badly alienated and can be reintegrated through service opportunities. One is youth, which faces the difficult transition from

dependent childhood to independent adulthood. It is now a period of personal trauma expressed in joblessness and loneliness, assuaged by endemic drug-taking. The other is our senior population, growing in numbers and in proportion of population, increasingly alone in a society in which family ties are fast eroding, rejected by a private market job system, and threatened by inflation pressures on an inadequate pension system. Our older citizens can be reintegrated into society by part-time flexi-time market system jobs and community service stipended opportunities. It will also be greatly reassuring to the young to be sharing a service experience with the old. Accordingly, I would suggest amendment of HR 6868, Section 4(a)(1) to require as members of the Commission not less than seven individuals who are aged 60 or over.

It is very important that the service opportunities be developed in ways that involve private sector institutions, particularly the voluntary associations and the universities. I am attaching a paper of mine, dated May 13, 1980, entitled "National Service and Moral Authority". It describes the importance in our Western tradition of separation of moral institutions from the state with recognition of the necessity for a continuing relationship between the two. That separation and shared responsibility, beginning with Constantine in 314 A.D. and described by Augustine in *The City of God* in the fifth century, requires constant attention. In medieval times it was expressed as the separation of church and state. The separation was recognized by our own Founding Fathers in the "establishment" clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution. In a society dominated by Liberalism (i.e. the philosophy of liberation from traditional economic, political and religious institutions) the prohibition on establishment of a religion has been interpreted by the Supreme Court to mean a prohibition of a relationship between organized religion and the state. The effect is to force the burden of moral dialogue upon the secular institutions of corporation, union, university and voluntary association. They have the recognized capability to act in the political arena.

In describing their social purpose, the business corporation, the university, and the voluntary association have so far failed us miserably. They are enamored of nineteenth-century moral atomism, the ultimate product of the "rational" humanism of the Enlightenment. Therefore, business speaks of "free enterprise" meaning individual decision-making in production and marketing in the economic arena, free from broader social responsibility. The university speaks of "academic freedom" meaning freedom of teachers to teach self-selected values with no right in society to pass judgment on those values. The non-profit sector speaks of "voluntarism" meaning individual decisions to help others offered out of non-market motivations but not out of acceptance of social responsibility.

The philosophic ineptitude of the university and voluntary sectors is revealed in their response to the national service possibility. Senator Durenberger, seeing the need for the nation to realize the potential in volunteerism, introduced a bill (S. 239, June 20, 1979) to authorize a National Commission on Volunteerism that would report to the Congress on the social role of volunteerism with recommendations on how the government might support it. The bill was attractive to the Congress because it offered the possibility of a non-military approach to youth service. Immediately upon passage by the Senate, however, the bill was attacked by United Way, joined by the universities and leading voluntary associations on the ground that they were not ready to enter upon a public dialogue regarding the social role of volunteerism. In particular they wanted no part of youth national service which they correctly perceived to be revolutionary in its potential impact upon existing institutions and their territorial claims. Accordingly, the House rejected the bill. Disappointed by the response of the private sector, Senator Durenberger thereupon accepted the suggestion of Volunteer: National Center for Citizen Involvement, a leading volunteer association, that he rewrite his bill so as to exclude consideration of youth service. His new bill (S. 1843) limited the proposed Commission to an analysis of the special stress on volunteerism today in performing its traditional social roles. So phrased the Commission addressed no national issue demanding Congressional attention and the bill died in the Senate Subcommittee.

In strong contrast, Senator Tsongas's bill (S. 2159) to set up a Presidential Commission on National Service passed the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee on April 24 as an amendment to the Domestic Violence Bill. It has a solid chance to pass the Senate. The net effect of the political strategy of higher education and the voluntary sector has been to ensure that national service, with all that it means in exploration of new values and in their institutional expression, will be approached as a governmental concern, and not as one in which private sector universities and voluntary associations have a leadership role.

The present manifest incapacity of the private sector institutions place a special burden upon the government. It is very important that the government do all that it can to encourage both higher education and the voluntary sector to develop their capability both to participate conceptually in the social dialogue and to accept institutional roles in the discharge of social responsibilities. It may well be understandable that members of Congress, required by the political processes to make decisions on pressing national issues, should be tempted to dismiss private sector institutions as having had their chance and as offering little of value to the dialogue. But the long-term need for private sector institutional involvement compels patience.

Therefore I would commend Mr. Panetta for providing in Section 4(a) of his bill for appointment as members of the Commission of individuals representative of a variety of private and public sector institutions.

The impact of national service on both the voluntary sector and higher education will be enormous. The effect on the voluntary sector can be appreciated when it is realized that something like 30 percent of its funds comes from or is related to federal programs. The effect on higher education will be immediately evident in regard to student aid programs, which may well be pre-empted by national service as a reward system (and possibly doubled or tripled in dollar amount) and in regard to involvement of colleges and universities in the development and administration of community service options, and offering academic credit to participants in them.

It is also important that the Congress be directly involved in the Commission's work. Any national service program offering community service options will compel a holistic approach to the delivery of federally funded human services. That will threaten present jealously guarded special interest delivery systems institutionalized in separate federal programs. The necessity for each program to participate in a national program, meeting national standards for service opportunities, offers the major opportunity for Congress in the national interest to regain control of programs now expressing special interest objectives.

The opportunity for holistic re-examination of now-disparate programs can also be described, from a different perspective, as an opportunity to take a major step in the post-war political evolution toward a Parliamentary system, toward a dominant Congress. To do so effectively it is necessary that the Congress be directly involved in setting up and administering the proposed Commission on National Service. In this respect the Panetta bill (H.R. 6868) is superior to the Tsongas bill. The Panetta bill requires the appointment as members of the Commission of not less than three Senators and three Representatives. That concern might be carried a step further by requiring the appointment of one-third of the members by the President pro tempore of the Senate, one-third by the Speaker of the House, and one-third by the President. The relationship with Congress might further be aided by requiring the Commission to make interim reports to the Congress at regular intervals. This is particularly important if Congressional Committees also hold hearings in the interim.

Much of the work of the proposed Commission is already of intense concern to provide sector voluntarism. The Alliance for Volunteerism, a membership organization representing seventeen volunteer-using and volunteer-serving organizations, (a list of members is attached), conducted a two-day conference at Virginia Tech on March 26-28 on the need for a national commission that would examine the social role of volunteerism and the proper role of the government in support of it. The Alliance proposes to continue its information-gathering, analysis and dissemination role, including the holding of workshops, seminars, and conferences. Its work should be of great relevance to the Commission. In the national dialogue, some sort of sharing of responsibility might well be arranged between the two.

Similarly, concern about the need for encouraging acceptance of citizenship responsibilities inspired a number of national organizations to sponsor a Wing-spread conference on May 8-10. Sponsors were: the Center for Citizenship Education, the AFT, the Close-up Foundation, the Combined Insurance Companies of America, the Council of Chief State School Officers, the Education Commission of the States, the NEA, the National School Boards Association, the National PTA, and the Johnson Foundation. Representatives of organizations present enthusiastically agreed to form a Coalition for the Advancement of Citizenship. That Coalition proposes an active role in encouraging citizenship through service. Its interests will parallel that of the Commission and a working relationship between the two will be desirable. Many other private sector entities, including Volunteer: National Center for Citizen Involvement, will also want to participate.

In conclusion, I wholeheartedly endorse the proposed Commission on National Service. It will inspire and shape the much-needed national dialogue on the basic moral issue of social responsibility. It presents the major opportunity for holistic restructuring of federal programs and federal decision-making in the national interest, as distinguished from satisfaction of special interests.

I am taking the liberty of attaching certain suggestions for amendments to the Panetta Resolution.

Thank you for your attention.

MEMBERS—ALLIANCE FOR VOLUNTEERISM

Here is a brief description of Alliance organizations which together represent some 6 million individuals from hundreds of American communities.

The Assembly is a coalition of state offices of volunteerism.

Association for Administration of Volunteer Services is an association of volunteer program administrators.

Association of Junior Leagues is an international voluntary organization of over 235 Junior Leagues and 130,000 members in the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

Association of Voluntary Action Scholars is composed of scholars and professionals who are interested in research, scholarship and programs related to voluntary action.

Association of Volunteer Bureaus is an organization of professionals which accredits volunteer bureaus in cities across the country.

Call For Action is a media-based action and referral service in cities across the country.

Church Women United is a national movement of 2,000 local units of women who express the ecumenical dimensions of their faith.

International Association For Volunteer Education is an association of individuals who work to promote volunteerism in countries throughout the world.

Literacy Volunteers of America is a national program in 83 cities in which volunteers teach reading and conversational skills.

National Association of Neighborhoods is a national association of community and neighborhood organizations and city-wide coalitions.

National Association for Volunteers in Criminal Justice is a new organization that works to promote volunteerism in the field of criminal justice.

National Black United Fund is a mechanism to organize the human and financial resources in black America.

National Council of Negro Women links 25 national organizations and unites women of diverse backgrounds in a common resolve to effect needed change.

National Information Center on Volunteerism provides training, needs assessment, evaluation, consultation and information to the leadership of volunteer programs; it recently merged with . . .

National Center for Voluntary Action provides services to organizations that rely on volunteers to carry out their programs.

National School Volunteer Program provides leadership to some five million volunteers, helping to supplement educational activities in the United States.

National Self-Help Resource Center maintains a net work of technical services for community resource centers.

U.S. Conference of Mayors represents some 800 mayors in cities with populations of over 30,000.

Volunteers in Technical Assistance mobilizes trained volunteer specialists to help solve specific technical problems of developing nations.

NATIONAL SERVICE AND MORAL AUTHORITY

National decisions on Youth Service and Senior Service will decide the future moral climate of our nation. If the service options are offered entirely by the government, rather than in major part by private sector entities, we will have a State dominant in the hitherto private moral area as well as in the public arena.

In Ancient Rome someone remarked, "A slave with two masters is a free man." He meant it as a realistic social observation. It is better understood as the very foundation stone of our Western civilization. The separation, from the time of Constantine in the early fourth century, of the moral institution (the church), from the state, gave us freedom from social rigidities. We could develop in open-ended fashion, avoiding the immediate determination of direction imposed by a totalitarian ideology, whether church or state. In the constant effort to reconcile differences, we developed a capacity unequalled by any other civilization for

rational exploration of possibilities. We did not have the disadvantage of already knowing the final truth.

Although industrial technology is the direct product of the open-ended dynamism of Western society, that technology makes possible, even requires, an unprecedented centralization of decision-making. People around the world are moving strongly toward forms of the totalitarian state. The initial phase is usually the simple seizure of personal power in a social breakdown situation. Some do it by embracing the socialist state, perhaps enamored of Marxian mythology. Some, as Castro in Cuba, use Marxism as a conceptual justification for seizure of personal power. Some, as in Iran, restructure an old religion that has totalitarian potentiality. We in America are doing it by social drift. The potentialities of technology lead us constantly to make ad hoc decisions strengthening the state vis-a-vis society at the same time that our historic suspicion of political power causes us to criticize the state for growing.

Our problem is one of institutionalizing moral authority, including its economic aspect, in a balanced relationship with political authority that recognizes the political need for a viable moral social climate. We have not even developed a rational categorization in which to analyze the problem. It is no longer a matter of separation of church and state. That was the medieval problem, and logically so in an agrarian society in which the church, as the only important non-political institution, represented the familial values dominant socially and economically. In our industrialized urban society, our problem must be the separation from the state, but in a responsible relationship with the state, of our great corporate entities, economic and social, which deal with the potentialities and consequences of technology. The corporate entity becomes the social institution replacing the family in the wider economic and social arenas.

One might ask, what is the role of the churches in this key problem of institutionalization of social moral authority. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court has most obtusely interpreted the First Amendment prohibition of "establishment" of a religion, not as prohibiting a preference by the government of one church over another, but as prohibiting a relationship between the government and churches. The analogy is with Pre-Constantinian Rome, when the state, deified in the Emperor, saw itself as the ultimate moral authority and saw institutionalized religion as either irrelevant or competitive. The immediate result today is to force the burden of the moral dialogue upon the secular institutions of corporation, university, and non-profit association. They have the recognized capability to act in the political arena.

We now face ad hoc decisions in areas of such social importance that the decisions will settle the large issue of maintaining independence sufficient to preserve an open-ended society. In the economic arena the issue is addressed in Government control and regulation, most immediately in the imposition of wage and price controls to stop inflation. Business has two options. One, intransigence non-recognition of the government's need for a viable moral climate, will force the government into unilateral action. The alternative, acceptance of the need of society to face decisions regarding allocation of limited resources on other than a self-interest philosophy, would lead to a definition of the social responsibility of business. Effective dialogue by business with the government must also lead to an institutionalization of the moral authority of business beyond the present capabilities of the Chamber of Commerce and the Domestic Council.

In the education and voluntary sectors, the issue will be addressed in the imminent political decisions to create a National Service. The Armed Services must solve their manpower problem. In classic nineteenth-century Liberal terms, the need would be met by increasing wages and benefits so as to make military service competitive in the job market. If, however, the government should decide that on this issue—as it is deciding in regard to wages and prices—that the fate of the nation cannot be entrusted to a self-interest philosophy, then the government will consider either the draft or a national service in which military service is offered as one of a variety of community service options. The philosophic basis will be shifted from self-interest to acceptance of the moral obligation of citizenship. The key decision, in terms of the historic separation of moral institutions from the state, will be whether the service options will be offered by the state alone or by universities and voluntary associations in a partnership relationship with the state.

The same issue will be raised in regard to Senior Service. The Congress will face this issue because of the necessity of meeting the costs of Social Security. Inflation, inadequate pension systems, eroding family relationships, and the rising proportion of older people in the population will force consideration of stipended part-time,

flexi-time community service options that will offer limited earned income possibilities to retired people.

In describing their social purpose, the business corporation, the university and the non-profit association have so far failed us miserably. They are enamored of nineteenth-century moral atomism, the ultimate product of the "rational" humanism of the Enlightenment. Corporation, university and association, as humanistic institutions, are very reluctant to face socialization in a technological society in which morality can no longer be described in terms of individual self-interest but must be socialized in functional relationships. Therefore, business speaks of "free enterprise" meaning individual decision-making in production and marketing in the economic arena, free from broader social responsibility. The university speaks of "academic freedom" meaning freedom of teachers to teach self-selected values with no right in society to pass judgment on them. The non-profit sector speaks of "voluntarism" meaning individual decisions to help others offered out of non-market motivations but not out of acceptance of social responsibility.

Youth national service will have enormous impact upon education, not only in the demographic sense, but in educational mission. Education institutions—high school and university—will follow their students off-campus. The institutions will assume a role in shaping in educational fashion the service experience of their young people. The social decision to offer national service will pre-empt student aid, requiring qualification in terms of affirmative acceptance of social responsibility rather than the status qualification of family poverty. The shift not only changes the flow of student aid but also the value base for education.

The intellectual bankruptcy of the university and voluntary sectors is revealed in their response to the national service possibility. Senator Durenberger, seeing the need for the nation to realize the potential in volunteerism, introduced a bill (S. 239, June 20, 1979) to authorize a National Commission on Volunteerism that would report to the Congress on the social role of volunteerism with recommendations on how the government might support it. The bill was attractive to the Congress because it offered the possibility of a non-military approach to youth service. Immediately upon passage by the Senate, however, the bill was attacked by United Way, the universities and leading voluntary associations on the ground that they were not ready to enter upon a public dialogue regarding the social role of volunteerism. Accordingly, the House rejected the bill. Disappointed by the response of the private sector, Senator Durenberger thereupon accepted the suggestion of VOLUNTEER: National Center for Citizen Involvement, a leading volunteer association, that he rewrite his bill so as to exclude consideration of youth service. His new bill (S. 1843) limited the proposed Commission to an analysis of the special stresses on volunteerism today in performing its traditional social roles. So phrased the Commission addressed no national issue demanding Congressional attention and the bill died in the Senate Subcommittee.

In strong contrast, Senator Tsongas's bill (S. 2159) to set up a Presidential Commission on National Service passed the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee on April 24 and has a solid chance of passing both Senate and House. The net effect of the political strategy of higher education and private sector volunteerism has been to ensure that national service will be approached as a governmental concern, and not as one in which universities and voluntary associations have a dominant decisionmaking role.

The key decisions on national service will be made by the incoming Administration and Congress in the spring of 1981. A decision that the government will directly create and operate the range of service options will control our moral future. The removal of that role from private sector institutions to the state will end two thousand years of the Western experiment in separation of moral institutions from the state. Our hope must now be that universities and voluntary associations pull themselves together for timely participation in the national dialogue next spring.

SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 6868—ATTACHMENT TO TESTIMONY BEFORE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SPECIAL EDUCATION

1. Whenever the words "Presidential Commission" appear, delete "Presidential".
2. In Section 4(a), line 19 delete "appointed by the President" and insert "whom eight shall be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate, eight by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and nine by the President."
3. In Section 4(a)(3), line 8, delete the semi-colon, insert a period and the following: "Appointment of Senators and Representatives as members of the Commission shall be bi-partisan;"

4. In Section 6(a), line 11, add the following: "The Commission shall appoint advisory committees, national and regional, with membership drawn from public and private sector interests relating to volunteering, i.e. service opportunities, whether unpaid or stipended and expense-paid. Such membership shall include individual volunteers whose experience is relevant to program and organizational matters. In national, regional and local hearings, every effort shall be made to provide opportunities for all groups and interests to participate in the Commission's information-gathering and decision-making process."

Rationale: Assurance must be given to the great variety of volunteer interests that they will have opportunity to participate. Express inclusion of stipended and expense-paid volunteers is desirable in order to avoid the ideologic argument regarding payment of volunteers and with certainty to include service roles where the volunteer receives a stipend (e.g. Foster Grandparents) on expenses.

5. In Section 3, line 9, delete "women" and insert: "youth, seniors, women, the disadvantaged, without limitation"

Rationale: The named groups constitute the major population groups whose members have the greatest problems in obtaining meaningful employment—and concurrent social integration—within the private sector job market system. But it is also important that service opportunities should not be limited to particular groups but be offered to all.

6. In Section 6(d), following "property" insert "matching funds".

Rationale: The private sector has an enormous stake in the Commission's work and should be encouraged to participate in planning and implementation of that work.

7. In Section 4(a)(1), following "Commission" insert: "and not less than seven individuals who are sixty years of age or over on the date of their appointment to the Commission".

Mr. HOGAN. The need of the armed services to solve their manpower problem offers to our Nation the opportunity to solve a much more important problem, our need for a national dialog on value. The proposed National Service Commission will shape and structure our efforts to reach a national consensus on the basic issue of citizenship responsibility.

We miss the dialog opportunity if we treat our need as limited to the military manpower problem. Then it becomes a simple instinctive response to a national defense emergency. The philosophic breakthrough is possible only if military service is offered as one option along with a number of community service opportunities.

It is also important that the opportunities be offered as options. Free choice offers us a uniquely American way to work out our national philosophy. We will do so empirically, both in social decisions on what services to offer and in individual decisions on what options to take.

It is also important that the opportunity for service be offered to all age groups. To concentrate on youth emphasizes the military aspect in a negative fashion. Our senior citizens can be reintegrated into society by part-time, flexi-time community service stipended opportunities.

It will be greatly reassuring to the young to be sharing a service experience with the old. Therefore, I suggest amendment of H.R. 6868, section 4(a)(1), to require as members of the Commission not less than seven individuals who are aged 60 or over.

Private sector universities and voluntary associations can make major contributions to national service in finding, developing, and administering service opportunities in the communities and in aiding the armed services in shaping their programs.

I would look forward, for example, to 2-year military service opportunities shaped to provide career perspectives and qualifying for 1-year academic credit. The participant would then, at the end of his

2-year service hitch, have obtained 1 year's academic credit and have qualified, perhaps, for 3 years of student aid.

Incidentally, one of the fascinating possibilities is that of the change in the national moral climate resulting from a change in qualification for student aid from a stigmatizing status qualification, poverty, to the affirmative socially integrating one of accepting citizenship responsibility.

In the prospect of that acceptance of responsibility, the poor are equal from the beginning to everyone else. The voluntary associations traditionally in our society have had responsibility for developing community service opportunities. They have the capacity to continue to discharge that responsibility.

They should be directly and immediately involved in the development of citizen service options. I suggest that perhaps not less than seven members of the Commission be required to be representative of voluntary associations, and another seven be representative of higher education institutions.

It is also important that Congress be directly involved in the Commission's work. Any national service program will compel a holistic approach to the delivery of federally funded human services. That restructuring will threaten present jealously guarded special interest delivery systems institutionalized in separate Federal programs.

That prospect will present all kinds of problems to Congress. One direct way to handle them would be to require impact analyses from this Commission. Another politically sensitive way would be to require that the Commission be structured not as a Presidential Commission in which the President appoints all members, but as a Commission in which one-third of the members are appointed by the Speaker of the House, one-third by the President pro tempore of the Senate, and one-third by the President of the United States.

The Panetta bill moves in this direction by requiring the President to appoint three Senators and three Representatives, but the bill should go further. It would also be good to require that the appointments be bipartisan.

I endorse the Commission proposal as the most important legislation now before the Congress. It will shape our future on the one thing that really matters, the development of our sense of social and individual responsibility and purpose.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SIMON. Thank you very much.

So that I understand your specific recommendation on Commission members, you are suggesting how many, and they should be over the age of 60, is that correct?

Mr. HOGAN. A number equal to those required to be in the youth age group.

Mr. SIMON. OK.

Mr. Wofford, you have been through this kind of study. We have this question of how much money might be involved in the study. The bill says such sums as may be necessary, which I think is good legislative language. But our colleagues are going to want to know do such sums mean \$10 or \$10 billion.

What are we talking about? What is needed for an adequate study?

Mr. WOFFORD. In our year plus study—it went on to more like 2-years—on shoestring with one outstanding staff director, Roger

Landrum, who is here, and one secretary, and some consulting and traveling and a lot of meetings of the committee, we spent during that phase of it something under \$100,000.

We just scratched the surface in a lot of areas. I am unhappy to say that I think if it is to be done realistically, you are talking about a budget something on the order of \$1 million as a reasonable minimum.

Mr. SIMON. And the language of the bill now calls for a report 12 months after the first meeting of the Commission. Is that a realistic timeframe or should that be modified in any way?

Mr. WOFFORD. I believe the Senate version of the Presidential Commission bill still has 1½ years as its time. Because the draft seemed to be coming so fast in the Senate hearings there was a kind of agreement that it should be hurried to make it a 1-year study.

I think it would depend upon your judgment of whether the draft decision will come to a head in Congress that fast. If there is time, I would say the 1½ year study is more realistic; but I think it is crucial that this Presidential Commission study take place and Congress get its report before you are faced with a proposal that we have got to turn to the draft.

If you do the other first, you will never have the opportunity to consider the whole voluntary service approach.

Mr. SIMON. Governor Aker, I thought one interesting part of your statement was the unifying impact these kind of programs have on the Nation. You specifically talked about the CCC, I think, at that point.

Mr. AKER. Yes, it so happens that I was a member of the CCC and I was fortunate to be able to set up the national YACC program in the Department of the Interior. It is very heartening to see the response of youth as they attack and feel pride in the work they do insofar as the conservation mission of this Nation is concerned and the need for it.

Our environmental needs are, as you know, going by the wayside. I feel that a real concerted effort should be made to do that. As far as numbers are concerned, we are talking about the possibilities of 1 million or so young people going into these programs. We are talking about the opportunity for all of our youth in this Nation, not just segments but entire areas.

I can see, and we have made studies, as far as the Department of the Interior is concerned, and we can put together a work force in our conservation mission of about 750,000 young people in the Department of Agriculture in the allied programs we are concerned with.

Mr. SIMON. This question perhaps is not pertinent to the immediate question at hand, but you mentioned the Young Adult Conservation Corps. The Senate Budget Committee eliminated it in its figure. We were able to salvage it from the House side now in the budget, at least tentatively. We still don't have a budget yet.

But from your perspective, the Young Adult Conservation Corps contributes significantly to the Nation and should be continued?

Mr. AKER. Yes; I should say so. The young people who work in the Young Adult Conservation Corps have more than paid for the stipend they receive, which is the minimum wage, of course. The work they do is something very much needed, and they respond in such a fashion that they more than pay for their keep in that corps as far as the needs of the Nation are concerned in our conservation effort.

And it is something we have got to do. God blessed this Nation with an abundance of natural resources, and we must keep them up for the future of this country. It has made us strong and it will keep us strong. Those two factors, our youth and our natural resources, are something we must be concerned with continually.

I cannot understand some of the philosophy of the people of the United States when they think about our natural resources and our environment here in the United States. I think it is vital.

Mr. SIMON. Thank you.

Mr. Wofford?

Mr. WOFFORD. May I add to a point Mr. Aker made, a very important one, I think. The benefits from a program designed to ask young people from society to serve others and to serve society may educationally be more powerful and successful than programs which say we are designed to help you, we are going to do this for you.

I think you psychologically turn the whole reaction of young people upside down when you say we believe you can contribute, you can do something together with a variety of young people, then segregate the most lacking in motive and the most disadvantaged students into programs designed to do good to them.

I would hope the Presidential Commission would look at the special educational value of this kind of approach to all our young people, but particularly the young people which so far we have segregated as the least fortunate and the objects of charity, as you might put it.

Mr. AKER. I think Senator Jackson once said that if you take youngsters from homes of despair, you make camps of despair. We have found in the Young Adult Conservation Corps, where we take the disadvantaged, the poor and what have you and put them all together, or the minority groups, that the response is fantastic. They establish a peer group and assist each other.

If you establish targets and label youth, they become then identified as such and they seem to swim along at their own levels, never having a chance at some type of upward mobility as they do in mixed groups.

Mr. SIMON. That has been one of the real puzzles of the Young Adult Conservation Corps as compared to some other programs.

Mr. AKER. That is correct.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Mr. Wofford, I take it from your testimony you are not ruling out a program which has at least some mandatory aspects to it. Do I read that correctly?

Mr. WOFFORD. I would assume the Presidential Commission could not rule it out before it started thinking about it. Our group and I personally rejected that course until a military case is made that a draft is needed, and it hasn't been made satisfactorily yet to me.

I think the voluntary service approach should be tried.

Mr. KRAMER. What do you see as the objective or the focus of this kind of program? Is its focus to uplift the American spirit or to reinstitute feelings of citizenship? Or, is it a new approach to hardcore youth unemployment and problems relating to the disadvantaged sections of our population?

How do you focus in on the objective?

Mr. WOFFORD. I would say both and more. I think the purposes need to be clarified so that they are stated clearly, but I hope the

Presidential Commission does not settle on one purpose. One of the problems of the Peace Corps in the early days was people kept saying you must get your single purpose, and there was a great fight among people who said no, the real purpose is contributing to development overseas.

Others said the real purpose is to contribute to the education of Americans in understanding the rest of the world. Others said the real purpose is to help other people understand and like America more. Those, in effect, became three well-stated purposes.

The fact that the Peace Corps had those three purposes caused a tension. There was always the breadth of those purposes represented, and it was better than a single purpose. But I think the purpose of the Presidential Commission on National Service would be to get the kind of clarity you feel the idea needs in going to the public.

I would not say it would be a single focus clarity, but clarity the Commission needs to get.

Mr. KRAMER. Mr. Chairman, might I make a comment? I have some suggestions, and I am sure that you, and others perhaps, might have other suggestions to offer. I think the overall concept of the bill has great merit. But, I also think that section 3 of the bill, lines 7 through 15, which spell out the duties of the Commission, are not as well-focused as they possibly could be.

Without a clear focus in the Commission's duties I am afraid we might wind up just telling them to go and explore and evaluate only those things they may want to take up.

I don't think we have really pinpointed the kinds of questions we need to have answered if we are going to have meaningful legislation and meaningful results come out of this. I think there is great merit in the idea. Perhaps when we mark the bill up we could consider redefining the Commission's duties in order to clearly delineate what they are expected to accomplish.

Mr. SIMON. If the gentleman would yield.

Mr. KRAMER. Certainly.

Mr. SIMON. This is the reason I suggested earlier to Senator Tsongas, I think it was, the possibility of some kind of preamble outlining not what the Commission should do but what the problems are that need to be focused on. I think we could work something in.

Mr. KRAMER. Thank you.

Mr. SIMON. We thank the members of the panel very much for being here.

Our final panel consists of Mr. Francisco Garza of the National Council of LaRaza; Mr. Henry Norman, the Vice President of the Alliance for Volunteerism; and June Willenz, of the American Veterans Committee.

Mr. SIMON. Is Mr. Garza here?

[There was no response.]

Mr. SIMON. I guess he has not been able to make it.

Mr. Norman, we would be very pleased to hear from you. If you would wish to enter your statement into the record and summarize it, that would be fine, however you would wish to proceed.

**STATEMENT OF HENRY NORMAN, VICE PRESIDENT,
ALLIANCE FOR VOLUNTEERISM**

Mr. NORMAN. I am here representing an organization, and I think I probably ought to read the statement that the organization has approved.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am pleased to have the opportunity to be present at this hearing today in the capacity of volunteer for the Alliance for Volunteerism and to sketch for you the concerns and interests of the alliance—and indeed, those shared by the volunteerism community at large—with regard to national service and the present legislation.

National service has tremendous importance to volunteerism and to our Nation's volunteer community. The concept of national service begins to define citizen responsibility as a commitment to community and society expressed in service to others. In some quarters, national service is seen as the military draft ill disguised. We in the volunteerism community see the 37 million Americans who yearly volunteer their time and talent in community service programs as participants in national service.

Any comprehensive program of national service, more concretely speaking, will structure and fund an array of service opportunities at community, State, and regional and national levels. In doing so, the national service program will affect directly other service programs of both government and private sponsorship which use volunteers in service delivery.

For example, the private volunteer community estimates that more than 30 percent of its funding at the local level derives from federally funded human service delivery programs originating with the Departments of Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Department of Transportation, ACTION, Department of Labor, and others.

Any restructuring of current Federal human service programs into a comprehensive program of national service would have enormous impact upon private volunteerism organizations, both in program and in operations.

The Alliance for Volunteerism commends Congressman Panetta for raising the national service debate in the House and, in fact, on the public's doorstep via the press. We believe that a commission such as that described by Mr. Panetta and by Senator Tsongas in his proposal would catalyze a much-needed dialog on national service throughout the country and should include regional hearings so as to involve as many citizens as possible in the examination of fundamental issues of citizen rights and responsibilities.

The Alliance for Volunteerism, a membership organization of 18 national voluntary associations—of which a member list is attached—is working to develop discussion of national service among volunteers and volunteerism institutions.

Catalyzed by Senator Dave Durenberger's proposal for a National Commission on Volunteerism and with the sponsorship of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, the National Council

of La Raza, the National Center for Citizen Involvement, the National Urban League, and others in the alliance in March of this year convened a forum on a Commission on Volunteerism.

Leaders of volunteerism organizations and representatives from Congress and Federal agencies met in Blacksburg, Va., to identify and discuss present and future issues regarding the relationship between the Federal Government and the private volunteerism sector.

Of paramount concern to participants was the need to develop a greater mutual understanding of decisionmaking processes, program interests, and operational constraints among all quarters. Such an understanding could be helpful in sorting out the present often stifling impacts of Federal funding regulations on private sector organizations, and developing a mutually supportive working relationship.

With regard to national service, participants at the Blacksburg forum were captivated by the concept and expressed eagerness for more information and an opportunity to participate in a dialog on the issue.

In this spirit, the alliance is presently developing plans for bringing our member organizations and the vast community of volunteers and voluntary organizations into a dialog on the national service issue. We are collecting and disseminating information on legislation under current consideration.

We are initiating analyses of models of national service, such as those proposed by Congressman McCloskey and Congressman Cavanaugh and those program outlines drawn by the Potomac Institute-sponsored Committee for the Study of National Service.

Next week we will meet with representatives of the university community to develop two proposals: One, a study of the potential role of private volunteer organizations in a program of national service; and two, an analysis of the impact of a national service program on private volunteerism institutions.

Through conferences in communities around the Nation this fall, we will continue to build an awareness of the idea and the possible structures of national service among our volunteer brethren.

The results of our activities to date have demonstrated a steady awakening of interest by the private voluntary sector in the national service concept. Indeed, the alliance would be pleased to work with a Commission on National Service in any way the Commission would find helpful.

Mr. Chairman, we feel a program of comprehensive national service could meet social needs not now being met by our profitmaking sector. We also know our present manpower capabilities in national defense are inadequate under the current system of military service defined to potential participants as, in essence, a job opportunity.

In our communities, a comprehensive program of national service could relate current Federal supports for social services, such as Meals on Wheels, day care and services for the elderly, to other needs of the Nation. Such a program could recognize on the national level the mosaic of services by some 2 to 3 million volunteers currently working in federally funded human service delivery programs.

A program of comprehensive national service could provide service opportunities for groups not fully integrated into the competitive job market; for example, youth, senior citizens, women, the disadvantaged. Stipended or unstipended, full-time, part-time, flextime

service opportunities in a national yet community-based program of service could provide needed service to the Nation and benefits, both tangible and intangible, to the participant.

These are troubling times for Americans. Inflation, unemployment, social ills, political cynicism combine with other problems to form a litany of vexations and crises which becomes the daily agenda for members of this subcommittee and leaders in all aspects of American life.

Yet in times like these, we must resist the temptation to define ourselves by our problems. We must, rather, work to remind ourselves of what American citizenship really means. National service has the potential for citizens to define what it means to be an American.

It could provide the moral revitalization we all recognize is needed today. A Commission on National Service could provide the occasion for a national dialog on the values of our Nation.

Thank you for your attention.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SIMON. Thank you for your statement.

June Willenz representing the Veterans Committee. We are pleased to have you with us this morning.

STATEMENT OF JUNE WILLENZ, AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

Ms. WILLENZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee.

May I first commend you for holding hearings on this important legislation, and also Congressman Panetta and his cosponsors for sponsoring this bill which is so important to the national life, we feel.

The American Veterans Committee, AVC, appreciates the opportunity to appear before you today in support of H.R. 6868 establishing a Presidential commission to examine existing volunteer service opportunities, et cetera.

AVCers view citizenship as an active force, a commitment to the values of this democracy, an involvement in its future, and a willingness to put aside immediate self-interest for the general good. Our motto, "Citizens First, Veterans Second," can be a model for all citizens, whatever their status, occupations, or special interests.

Our national convention, held this past weekend, opted for its theme, "Citizens First in the 1980's." We hope that this will become the theme of all citizens as we enter the decade of the eighties beset by problems and crises at home and abroad.

AVC has long maintained that the privileges of democracy cannot be maintained without the active participation of its citizenry. If history has taught us anything in our lifetimes, it is that there is no such thing as a free ride in the political life of a people.

A well-known American poet began a poem, "In dreams begin responsibilities * * * ." The dream of democracy, of the freedom we enjoy and cherish, entails not only the famed eternal vigilance, but the responsibility to serve the Nation when needed in a variety of capacities.

Our concept of participatory democracy has motivated AVC's activities for over three decades on behalf of civil rights, equal rights, and the advocacy of the less advantaged in our society.

The idea of national service is not new to AVC. We have been studying this concept and its implementation for many years. In 1977, after extensive debate and discussion, our national convention adopted a platform plank endorsing a voluntary national youth service program. This plank was readopted at our convention this past weekend. I will not read the entire resolution. It appears in the written testimony.

Mr. SIMON. It will appear in the record at this time.

[The prepared statement of June Willenz follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, PRESENTED BY
JUNE A. WILLENZ

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee: The American Veterans Committee appreciates the opportunity to appear before you today in support of H.R. 6868 establishing a Presidential Commission to examine existing volunteer service opportunities, etc. My name is June A. Willenz; I am Executive Director of the American Veterans Committee.

AVCers view citizenship as an active force; a commitment to the values of this democracy, an involvement in its future, and a willingness to put aside immediate self-interest for the general good. Our motto, "Citizens First, Veterans Second," can be a model for all citizens, whatever their status, occupations, or special interests. Our national convention, held this past weekend, opted for its theme, "Citizens First in the 1980's." We hope that this will become the theme of all citizens as we enter the decade of the eighties beset by problems and crisis at home and abroad.

AVC has long maintained that the privileges of democracy cannot be maintained without the active participation of its citizenry. If history has taught us anything in our lifetimes, it is that there is no such thing as a "free ride" in the political life of a people. A well-known American poet began a poem "In dreams begin responsibilities * * *" The dream of democracy, of the freedom we enjoy and cherish, entails not only the famed eternal vigilance, but the responsibility to serve the nation when needed in a variety of capacities. Our concept of participatory democracy has motivated AVC's activities on behalf of civil rights, equal rights, and the advocacy of the less advantaged in our society.

The idea of national service is not new to AVC. We have been studying this concept and its implementation for many years. In 1977, after extensive debate and discussion, our national convention adopted a platform plank endorsing a voluntary national youth service program. This plank was readopted at our 36th annual convention this past weekend. It reads:

RESOLUTION—NATIONAL SERVICE

One of the Nation's greatest natural resources, the idealism, energy, and availability of our youth, is presently wasting away in a sea of governmental inaction and individual drift and purposelessness.

In our crime-filled cities, the children of our working families are mostly idle and growing hopeless because of our stagnant economy.

The children of our middle class are too often being improperly educated, educated to fill non-existent jobs, or simply killing time in pursuit of largely unnecessary college degrees during extended adolescence.

The combination of unemployment for the untrained, the all-too-prevalent practice of making education an end and not the means is a serious problem today and promises to be worse in the future.

We must gather the forces of progress in America and embark on a new national program to combat the ennui in our society.

A starting point would be to redefine the nation's goals, and the purposes and responsibilities of citizenship, to enumerate our unmet needs, and to enlist our youth in the effort to build a better society and bring a sense of responsibility to good citizenship.

Therefore, be it resolved that AVC support:

1. The proposition that sometime between the ages of 18 and 26, each and every young person be offered the opportunity to devote at least one but not more than two years of National Service to the country.

2. Formation of a National Commission, made up of leaders of community organizations, academia, and labor and industry, whose mandate it would be to define the responsibilities of citizenship and our nation's goals, and to list the agenda of jobs and projects where our young people could be put to meaningful work to improve our society.

3. Inclusion in such National Service of jobs not restricted to those in our national forests, parks, hospitals, governments, cities and towns, but extending also to any other areas where pollution, crime, or neglect has reduced the quality of life and the beauty of the environment. Military Service would also be fulfilling of National Service.

4. Remuneration of participants at subsistence level.

Last year, AVC was a participant in the Conference on National Youth Service which was sponsored by the "Committee for the Study of National Service". We have played an active role in the Steering Committee in Support of Voluntary National Youth Service which was formed after the conference to establish a national coalition in support of the program. I was pleased to serve as Co-Chair of that coordinating committee and have continued my active role as a member of the steering committee of the coalition.

The members of AVC are concerned that many needs of the nation are not being met. Projects of great importance to the country are being neglected. Many groups in our communities are suffering from lack of adequate services—the old, the poor, the handicapped, and the sick. Facing dwindling natural resources, our country has turned the corner from plenty to potential scarcity and needs innovation and boldness in the areas of energy and environment. We cannot depend just on experts to meet the challenges of the eighties—every citizen must contribute.

One of the major challenges before this country as we enter the new decade is the question of adequate defense. Without making a judgment on the present system of the "all volunteer" force, there is certainly a lack of agreement on its quality and status. The personnel needs of the armed forces are real and present another important challenge to us.

The youth of the nation provide a major untapped resource for helping meet these challenges. Unhappily, too many of our youth are purposeless and disaffected, a partial legacy of the last decade's national agony. Furthermore, too many are unemployed and forced into prolonged idleness. We believe that the young people of this country are eager to play an active and constructive role in response to the needs of the nation. It is a truism that the answer to the question "why didn't you help" is often "you didn't ask me." Let us not make this mistake when the viability of our democratic nation is at stake.

AVC's national convention this June 1st, cognizant of these problems, and concomitant with its support for a voluntary national youth service program, also called for the registration of all persons between 18 and 24 to identify those available for national service, military or civilian. As Jacqueline Wexler stated in testimony before a senate subcommittee earlier this year, "It (registration) is an assertion of availability of readiness to give service during a portion of one's life if one's talents and the needs of the nation match."

With a national service program, young citizens and the country as a whole take on responsibility for each other. The encouragement of national service offers not only a direct opportunity to contribute to society's improvement, but it will also provide youth with a sense of personal commitment to the nation. Equally important, a national service program makes an implicit statement that this country needs the ideas and energies of its youth.

Our youth have already indicated that they are interested and willing to give service. A Gallup Poll Survey, last August, found that 71 percent of the teenagers queried were in favor of a voluntary national service program. About half of these teenagers indicated that they would be interested in volunteering for a one year period. Only 20 percent actually disapproved of a voluntary program. The Minnesota Youth Poll, an ongoing study of high school students' opinions questioned 400 people from the ages of 14 to 18 in a variety of school settings about their commitment to community service, making constructive change in society, and military service:

* * * many youth believe that they are capable of doing something about community and national problems. They are idealistic in the sense that they strongly believe that the young have some special talents and competence to ameliorate social problems. At the same time, some seem almost immobilized and unable to participate in public affairs because of feelings of powerlessness or their own self-interest.

AVC would like to see the enactment of H.R. 6868, co-sponsored by Congressmen Panetta, McCloskey, and Cavanaugh, which would establish a Presidential Commission on National Service with the duties spelled out in section three. Such a Commission would initiate a national debate and raise public consciousness on the concept and value of national service. A Commission holding hearings around the country would engage the attention of the citizenry and create a framework for evaluating possible approaches and structures for national service. There is no time to lose if we are to successfully meet the challenges of the 1980's. We urge this subcommittee to vote favorably and promptly on H.R. 6868 so that the nation will have the benefit of this important national debate.

Ms. WILLENZ. Thank you.

Last year AVC was a participant in the Conference on National Youth Service which was sponsored by the Committee for the Study of National Service. We have played an active role in the Steering Committee in Support of Voluntary National Youth Service which was formed after the conference to establish a national coalition in support of the program.

I was pleased to serve as co-chair of that coordinating committee and have continued my active role as a member of the steering committee of the coalition.

The members of AVC are concerned that many needs of the Nation are not being met. Projects of great importance to the country are being neglected. Many groups in our communities are suffering from lack of adequate services: the old, the poor, the handicapped, and the sick.

Facing dwindling natural resources, our country has turned the corner from plenty to potential scarcity and needs innovation and boldness in the areas of energy and environment. We cannot depend just on experts to meet the challenges of the eighties, every citizen must contribute.

One of the major challenges before this country as we enter the new decade is the question of adequate defense. Without making a judgment on the present system of the All-Volunteer Force, there is certainly a lack of agreement on its quality and status. The personnel needs of the Armed Forces are real and present another important challenge to us.

The youths of the Nation provide a major untapped resource for helping meet these challenges. Unhappily, too many of our youths are purposeless and disaffected, a partial legacy of the last decade's national agony. Furthermore, too many are unemployed and forced into prolonged idleness. We believe that the young people of this country are eager to play an active and constructive role in response to the needs of the Nation. It is a truism that the answer to the question, why didn't you help, is often, you didn't ask me. Let us not make this mistake when the viability of our democratic Nation is at stake.

AVC's national convention this June 1, cognizant of these problems, and concomitant with its support for a voluntary national youth service program, also called for the registration of all persons between 18 and 24 to identify those available for national service, military or civilian.

As Jacqueline Wexler, a co-chairman of the committee which Harris Wofford was a part of, stated in testimony before a Senate subcommittee earlier this year, "It—registration—is an assertion of availability of readiness to give service during a portion of one's life if one's talents and the needs of the Nation match."

With the national service program, young citizens and the country as a whole take on responsibility for each other. The encouragement of national service offers not only a direct opportunity to contribute to society's improvement, but it will also provide youth with a sense of personal commitment to the Nation. Equally important, a national service program makes an implicit statement that this country needs the ideas and energies of its youth.

Our youths have already indicated that they are interested and willing to give services. A Gallup Poll survey last August found that 71 percent of the teenagers queried were in favor of a voluntary national service program. About half of these teenagers indicated that they would be interested in volunteering for a 1-year period.

Only 20 percent actually disapproved of a voluntary program. The Minnesota Youth Poll, an ongoing study of high school students' opinions, questioned 400 people from the ages of 14 to 18 in a variety of school settings about their commitment to community service, making constructive changes in society and military service.

I quote from that report:

Many youth believe that they are capable of doing something about community and national problems. They are idealistic in the sense that they strongly believe that the young have some special talents and competence to ameliorate social problems. At the same time, some seem almost immobilized and unable to participate in public affairs because of feelings of powerlessness of their own self-interest.

AVC would like to see the enactment of H R. 6868, cosponsored by Congressmen Panetta, McCloskey, and Cavanaugh, which would establish a Presidential Commission on National Service with the duties spelled out in section 3. Such a Commission would initiate a national debate and raise public consciousness on the concept and value of national service.

A commission holding hearings around the country would engage the attention of the citizenry and create a framework for evaluating possible approaches and structures for national service. There is no time to lose if we are to successfully meet the challenges of the 1980's. We urge this subcommittee to vote favorably and promptly on H.R. 6868 so that the nation will have the benefit of this important national debate.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SIMON. Thank you for your statement.

I have followed the American Veterans Committee with approval since Michael Straight, I think, was your chairman some years ago. How many members do you have in the American Veterans Committee at this point?

Mr. WILLENZ. We have a little under 25,000 members around the country.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. Norman, you touched indirectly on one of the problems no one has really referred to, and you don't directly refer to it, although you mentioned meeting with representatives of the university community.

One of the things that will take place if a volunteer program really catches hold is that there is going to be a time gap in which colleges and universities which are already experiencing a declining enrollment are going to, for a very short period, experience a further decline in enrollment;

Has this been looked at at all? Do you know, or is this being looked at? Will anyone be looking at this at the meeting you are going to?

Mr. NORMAN. I presume this subject will be a part of the discussions which take place, Mr. Chairman, but I would like to give you some insight in the experience I had when I was with the Peace Corps back in 1963. Even at that early date, it had become a cliché that voluntary service in the Peace Corps was of more value to the volunteer than to those with whom he was working.

One of the interesting developments that came out of that experience was the literally dozens of Peace Corps volunteers whose career goals were changed dramatically as a result of their volunteer experience. People who had not gone to college decided that they would like to pursue their studies, but others who had completed college changed their career goals to emphasize service more.

To answer your question directly, I think that in the short run that might be the impact, but in the long run, I think educational institutions as well as the society as a whole would gain infinitely from this concept.

Mr. SIMON. I agree, but I do think at some point that this is one of the questions the Commission will have to address because there will be a financial problem for a great many, particularly for the private colleges and universities, for that period.

Ms. Willenz, you state on page 3, and I quote, "too many of our youth are purposeless and disaffected." Is that more true than it was 10 years ago or 20 years ago?

Ms. WILLENZ. My perception is that while it was different 10 or 20 years ago, I think youth today is beginning to get a sense of purpose. I think there is a great deal to overcome in the history of the last 10 years.

I think that youth is trying to find reason and meaning not only in our national institutions, but in their own lives. I think that national service will help enlarge the framework for that search, and I think that it is incumbent upon us to try to meet that need.

I do think that we are coming out of a malaise, but I think the solutions are not yet written clearly. The National Commission in its work would not only enlarge the debate but, as Congressman Panetta said, actually start a process. I think that is one of the most important aspects of creating such a national commission.

In itself it would be a form of education, and the debate would reach out and get the input of youth. As long as individuals take part in the decisionmaking and feel that they are definitely worthy of being asked, What do you think? How shall we do it? It will make a big difference.

I think that the commitment of youth is there; it just needs to be tapped, as so many of our speakers have said.

Mr. SIMON. Thank you.

Mr. Erdahl?

Mr. ERDAHL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I regret another meeting kept me away from this one, but I did have staff members here and I will get a chance to review it. I did get in on the last part of your testimony, ma'am. This seems to me a concept we should not abandon but should pursue. I am reminded, from the concepts you just made, that the hope of every generation really rests on the next one.

One of the great resources of our country and the sources of its main strength is not from our mines, our forests, or our fields but from our people, and I think basically our young people.

I am pleased, Mr. Chairman, you had this hearing today. I hope it is something we will pursue. I understand this concept is embodied in an amendment on the Senate side and will probably come out in the conference committee, and we will have a chance, hopefully, to act positively on it, probably with some modification, but a chance to react on it just the same.

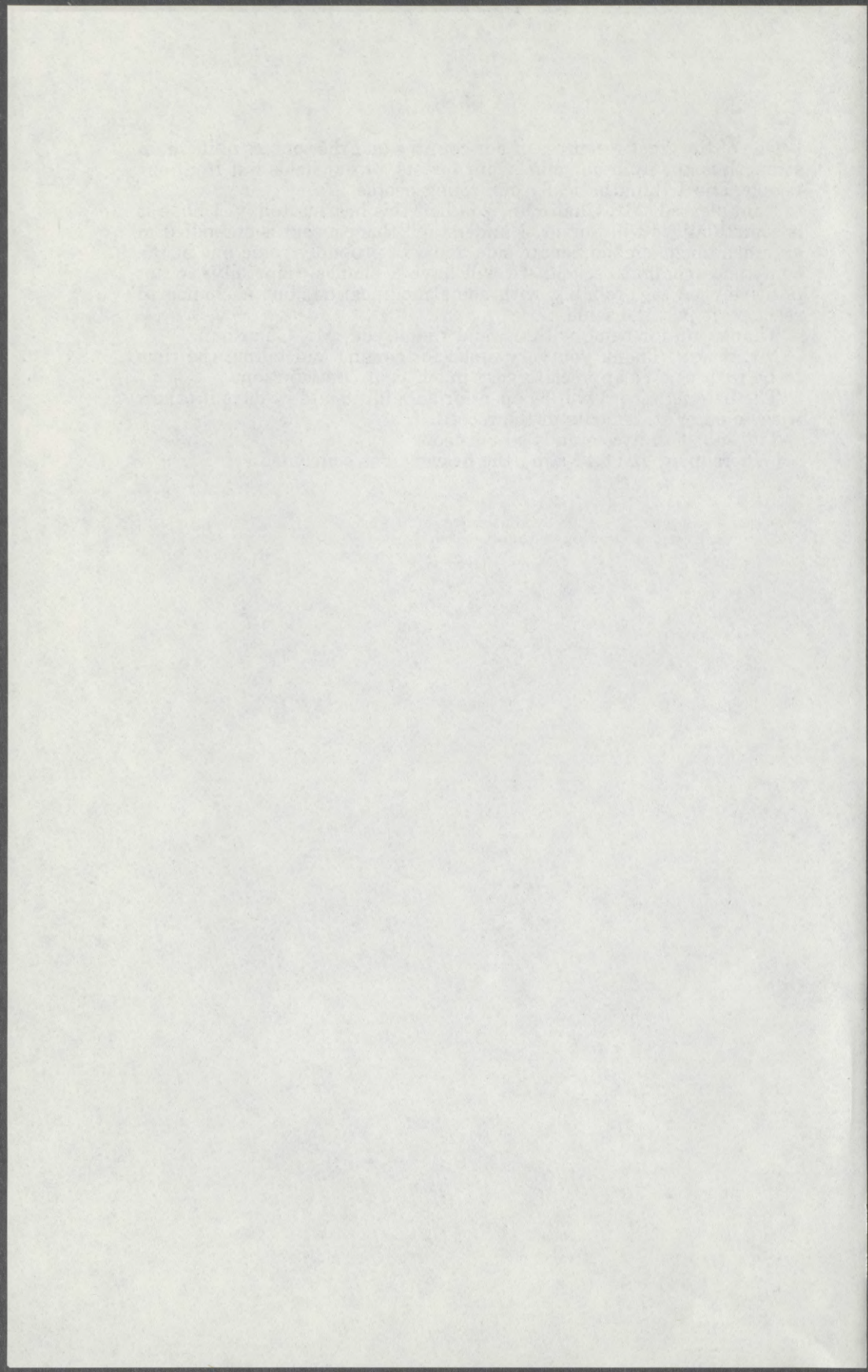
Thank you for being with us, and thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SIMON. Thank you very much for coming and taking the time to be with us. We appreciate very much your contribution.

The hearing record will be open for an additional few days if others wish to enter statements in the record.

The subcommittee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:40 a.m., the hearing was concluded.]



APPENDIX

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CEC HEFTTEL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF HAWAII

Mr. Chairman. I am pleased to submit testimony to express my strong support of H.R. 6868, a bill to establish a Presidential Commission to examine the question of national service and to develop a comprehensive national service program.

The arguments in support of a national service concept are, I believe, overwhelming. Studies have shown that participation in a national service program could fill a gap that exists in the development of many young Americans as they make the transition to adulthood. It would serve to balance off formal education, productive work, and service to the nation. A Commission to review and resolve the questions and alternative models which have been developed as a result of these studies is the first step in establishing a policy for a national service program.

I am testifying in support of this legislation to express my strong belief that any commitment by American youth to participation in a form of national service will send a signal to the rest of the world, both adversaries and allies, that American youth is assuming its responsibility to the Nation. Equally important, it would provide a pool of names that could be called upon in the event of a national emergency.

Many countries around the world require some form of service by young people to their country. In fact, ten of the fifteen democratic states of the NATO alliance including West Germany, France, Holland, Norway, and Denmark, currently maintain some form of conscription. This only strengthens the case for instituting a national service in our own country, as America, also, must be prepared to meet any potential challenge.

I do not believe that the establishment of a national service policy and program would be incompatible with our democratic institutions. Rather, I believe that the spirit of service is a part of our national tradition. Our nation's social, economic, educational, environmental, and military needs, including the need for young people to serve and to be productive, have always been important reasons to encourage the development of national youth service programs. In meeting the challenge of the rest of the twentieth century, it becomes imperative that we recognize the necessity of instituting a formal policy in this area.

The questions that must be answered first are those which will delineate the process and the policy by which we should pursue this goal. Only as we move forward in this area will we be able to meet the challenges that lay before us, including the challenge of meeting our nation's own pressing social needs, and the challenge of meeting a national commitment to assure the rest of the world that America remains a strong and energetic nation.

I appreciate the opportunity to submit my views to the Subcommittee, and urge my colleagues to expedite passage of this important legislation.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL N. MCCLOSKEY, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. Chairman: I am hopeful that your committee can approve and report out H.R. 6868 to establish an immediate study of a National Youth Service (NYS) program as an alternative to the draft.

It seems clear, by the House vote of 219 to 180 on the draft registration issue on April 22, 1980, that a majority of our colleagues have reached the realization that the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) concept is not working. A number of us who voted against renewal of draft registration on April 22 are of the view that the AVF is not working but we are also opposed to renewal of a lottery draft, which would take, at the very most, 400,000 young men (1 out of 5) each year from the 2.1 million young men who turn 18 each year.

The current grave deficiencies in both the Select Reserve units and in the Individual Ready Reserve, the increasingly low quality of new recruits (only 7 out of 450 infantrymen tested in May 1979 in Germany could read, write and do mathematics at the 9th grade level), the increasingly-grave recruiting scandals amongst Army recruiting personnel, a whole series of GAO reports pointing out problems in the AVF . . . all of these facts point to serious consideration by the Congress next year of either a return to the draft or a return to some alternative to the draft.

The need for such a Commission is emphasized by the lackluster response of the Administration in its February 11, 1980 report on the youth service alternative we required under Public Law 96-107. The key language of that reports:

If it became necessary to return to conscription the question is: what does institution of a CLNS (Compulsory Lottery-Based National Service) Cavanaugh model provide that the all-military draft would not?

The CLNS alternative is the most promising of the four models in the context of this report. It should be examined further in contingency planning for any actual military conscription in a national emergency, bearing in mind the serious practical and conceptual problems discussed above.

There is no need for a national civilian service program at this time. The AVF is adequate to meet projected military personnel needs under present assumptions. (p. 58-59, *Presidential Recommendations for Selective Service Reform*, Feb. 11, 1980)

Once the AVF is found inadequate, the National Youth Service obviously becomes worthy of study. Clearly an Administration which is unwilling to admit defeat on the AVF issue is not able or willing to give NYS the study it deserves.

A HIGH-LEVEL PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION CAN

Congressional action on a comprehensive National Youth Service bill, such as H.R. 2206, even with Administration help, will require the coordination and agreement of three committees of the House: Armed Services, Veterans Affairs and Education and Labor. This coordination and argument could be expedited and enhanced by the thorough review and recommendations of the Commission contemplated in the Panetta bill.

The arguments which have thus far done most to discourage NYS are those of cost. Many of our colleagues have stated that while they agree with the concept, they cannot support a plan that the Congressional Budget Office originally stated could run as high as \$28 billion per year.

This figure, however, is totally wrong. The CBO was assuming that 4.3 million 18 year olds would be participating at a minimum wage.

Actually, the NYS could conceivably cost no more than present programs that it could replace or modify. Consider the following line of reasoning:

(1) The original outlay for a National Service plan such as H.R. 2206 would cost approximately \$18 billion and not the \$28 + billion. Although the military will continue to require perhaps 400,000 18 year olds per year for its regular service and 250,000 per year for the reserves, a number of polls reflect that this entire number can be met by high school graduates who volunteer, and that an additional 25 percent may volunteer for civilian service, either for federal government employment or for local charities. If the polls are accurate on a national level, NYS would attract 650,000 military volunteers and perhaps 900,000 civilian service workers, raising the total number of participants to roughly 1½ million volunteers per year. Third, whereas the CBO estimate supposed that volunteers would earn minimum wage, NYS would pay subsistence wage levels. ACTION pays its volunteers less than \$300 per month as a subsistence stipend. Assuming ACTION figures as the cost of both military and civilian volunteers, \$7,200 per year times 1½ million volunteers equals roughly \$10 billion per year.

Of course, NYS guarantees educational benefits to those who serve in the military. The maximum cost, if all 650,000 took advantage of their educational opportunities, would be roughly \$7.4 billion per year (400,000 2 year volunteers times \$16,000 equals \$6.4 billion. Add 250,000 reservists at \$4,000 each, \$1 billion). Already, the new educational benefits program that the House agreed to during the DOD authorization a few weeks ago, introduced by Dick White of Texas, would provide each participant with \$3,900 per year (\$1,200 in educational benefits and \$2,700 as a subsistence allowance) for four years in compensation for two years of military service. During the 1979-80 school year the mean cost for 4 year public institutions was only \$3,258, so either Dick White's plan or the NYS will give a full 4 year education at most of our public institutions.

Since a return to the draft will require the reactivation of the Selective Service System, there should be no additional cost by the creation of a National Service System to perform the administrative functions of the NYS.

(2) By reducing the initial two year wage for military personnel to the subsistence wage paid to volunteers for ACTION, and by reducing the very substantial costs of recruiting now being borne to attract volunteers, we might expect to save \$3.5 billion per year. I base this figure on the GAO's report that the cost of the transition to the AVF had approximated \$3.0 billion per year and William King's statements, in his report to the Senate Armed Services Committee "Achieving America's Goals: National Service or the All-Volunteer Armed Forces," that, "when other personnel-related costs are taken into account, total costs for the AVF of as high as \$5.6 billion per year may be calculated." Thus, from the military standpoint, the cost of NYS, including college benefits, may be no more than the current costs for the AVF.

(3) The Veterans Administration presently pays \$2.2 billion in educational benefits. HEW makes \$4.5 billion available in educational assistance to college students. While the VA benefits should probably continue for professional service personnel who leave the service, it would seem reasonable that one-half of HEW's college expenditures may be assigned to military volunteers leaving half for the ordinary impoverished or handicapped student.

(4) Finally, many CETA programs could be replaced by comparable programs under NYS, targeted to the same age group. In 1979, for example, youth employment and training programs (including YACC, Job Corps, and Youth Conservation Corps) reached approximately 1.5 million youths at an approximate cost of \$2.5 billion (approximately \$1,633 per individual for short periods of time). If 900,000 18 year olds are employed in the civilian component of NYS for one year at ACTION costs of \$7,200, the cost is approximately \$6.5 billion per year instead of the \$2.5 billion for CETA's present program. The entire net cost of NYS would thus come to only \$4 billion over current costs.

In conclusion, the failure of the AVF concept requires that some form of compulsive system be adopted to assure a competent military force.

At the same time, the availability of civilian service and a shared opportunity for the entire youth population of the country is a new and growing concept.

A Presidential Commission such as proposed could well help bring these two parallel concepts into a condition to permit congressional action in the 97th Congress.

PREPARED STATEMENT BY DAVID HORNBECK, STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF
EDUCATION, MARYLAND STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

My name is David Hornbeck and I am the State Superintendent of Education in Maryland.

I wish to testify in support of Bill HR 6868 introduced to create a Presidential Commission to study National Service.

Both personally and in my role as Maryland State Superintendent of Education, I believe that the creation of opportunities for young people to serve is an important dimension in their human growth and should be a part of their educational program.

In my testimony, I will discuss Maryland's philosophical commitment to youth service, the State's policy component of that notion, and the way we have begun to implement that policy.

There are many things that I want for students who graduate from Maryland high schools. I want them to be competent in the basic skills—to be able to read, write, and compute. There are other areas, too, where students need to be competent. They need to know community resources and demonstrate social awareness; they need to know the nature of civic responsibilities in a democratic society; they need to understand the nature, structure, and requirements of the world of work; and they need to understand the importance of giving service to other human beings. There is no better way for young people to learn many of these skills than for them to spend time in their communities. By tutoring younger children, by helping elderly people with their income tax forms, by helping to restore historic buildings, or by registering fellow students to vote before an election, all of these competencies come into play in a way that is uniquely meaningful for the students involved.

In the report "Giving Youth a Better Chance," by the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, that group recommends that we create

diversity in our big comprehensive high schools. One way they recommend doing this is to give our young people work and service opportunities through the facilities of the high schools. We in Maryland recognize that this means giving students opportunities to engage in active learning in the community, and to then provide an opportunity to reflect on that experience, through a variety of methods, back at the school.

Recognizing this need for students to spend part of their educational program in the community, the Maryland State Board of Education, in its policy statement entitled "Mission of Schooling" says, "We reassert that schooling is the responsibility of self, family, neighborhood, church, community, and the many institutions which impact on our lives. It is not the responsibility of the school alone. Neither competency nor the personal qualities to which the schooling process contributed can result from schools alone. They require the support and involvement of many others. But schools can and should provide leadership to others."

In order to provide that "leadership" referred to in this policy statement, the State Board of Education approved a new program in April 1979 called Community-Based Learning and Service. This program is intended to make it possible for high school students in the State of Maryland to participate in community service or learning directly related to their educational program. Community-based learning and service will enhance and stimulate further development of already existing experiential learning programs, as well as create and develop new opportunities for students to gain a broad range of educational skills.

The pilot program is currently operating in two Maryland high schools. Fifty percent or more of the students in these schools will have an opportunity to serve and learn in their communities. In addition, individual schools throughout the State are providing service learning options for students.

As we go about the business of implementing community-based learning and service in Maryland, we will be doing the following:

1. Experimenting with a variety of ways to implement service learning into the school's curriculum;
2. Identifying the issues and concerns that arise on the part of administrative staff, faculty, parents, community sponsors, and students when service learning becomes a regular feature of the school's curriculum;
3. Evaluating the success of the program in terms of student outcomes, program management, and school-community relationships.

Responsibility for the program within my Department has been placed in the Division of Instruction with strong ties at both the county and school staff level.

We know that we all learn best by doing, yet we continue to keep our youth confined within four walls. We also know that there are many in the community with unmet needs; the elderly, the very young, and the poor, to name but a few. We see community-based learning and service as an opportunity for young people to help other people and to impact on their communities and environment.

PREPARED STATEMENT BY THE COALITION FOR A VOLUNTARY NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE

In support of the creation of a Presidential Commission to study national youth service, the Coalition for a Voluntary National Youth Service is submitting the following statement:

The Coalition for a Voluntary National Youth Service is comprised of individuals and organizations committed to the concept of voluntary youth service. Our efforts focus on advancing the concept of service opportunities available to young people on a voluntary basis, identifying and providing information about existing service opportunities for youth, and monitoring governmental action concerning national service.

National youth service is a way for young Americans to make a significant contribution to the well being of their communities and our society while becoming more experienced, better trained, better educated, and more productive citizens. Among the many areas of need where young people can contribute more are services to the elderly, urban rehabilitation, environmental and energy conservation, child care facilities and health care services.

High rates of youth unemployment, the aspirations of many young people to be more involved in finding solutions to the country's problems, and the debate over national defense, have all helped to create a climate of interest in the idea of national service. The idea of national service is not new however. William James first proposed the idea of national service in 1910 in his passionate anti-war essay

entitled "The Moral Equivalent of War". Only recently has the non-military concept been revived in this country. In 1977 the Potomac Institute began a study of national service. Their report, *Youth and the Needs of the Nation*, published in 1979, concluded that "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" while they help define their own limitations and abilities. Later that year, a Gallup Poll taken among young people between the ages of 13 and 18 found that 71 percent favored a voluntary national service program.

In fact young people today are currently providing service to their own communities in every part of the country. Young people are now serving the elderly and the handicapped, providing peer counseling and referral services, working in energy and natural resource conservation that is paid for with federal and private money. No one knows how extensive these programs are or the numbers of people involved. Furthermore, those who are in service work, and young people as a class are not given proper credit for what they are already doing for their society. Young people are willing to do much more if they are only given the right opportunities.

For these reasons alone, a Presidential Commission should be established as it would help to uncover what is already in place and study ways for the expansion of these opportunities for young people to serve. We believe the proposed Commission should represent, as much as possible, the local communities and agencies where youth service is offered. We are hesitant to support the inclusion of six Congressmen on the 25 member Commission for the simple reason that they would not be able to devote the necessary amount of time needed if the Commission is to accomplish its goal of issuing its final report in less than 18 months. We therefore suggest that the six Congressmen be made ex-officio members of the Commission over and above the original 25 members.

Military service is obviously service to the country. What is not clear is what effects the creation of non-military service opportunities will have on the All Volunteer Force. Polls have indicated that if quality service opportunities were made available on a large scale, many more youths would be interested in volunteering. Because of the increased interest in service, the numbers of young people who would think seriously about joining the military also increased. Too often stigmatism has been attached to unemployment programs, counseling services, and today even the military services. These negative stigmatism have only led to a downgrading of the programs and in some instances have led to self fulfilling prophecies. There is no question that the Commission must address the linkages between military service and civilian service but the primary focus must be on community (non-military) youth service. We would like the following to be included as mandates to the Commission in a preamble or a statement of purpose:

1. That the Commission report on options for meaningful youth participation in decision making in local service projects.

Rationale: Over the last ten years, experience in working with young people clearly demonstrates that young people are more effective when they feel some sense of ownership and participation in these projects. Such participation is critical to achieving the sense of volunteerism and community service among young people.

2. That the Commission report on the options for increasing the support of and opportunities for youth community service.

Rationale: Youth are clearly serving their communities in numerous ways, working with the elderly, energy conservation, serving other young people, etc. Youth service already exists, but it needs to be made more visible and the number of opportunities increased. Young people are able and willing to provide even greater services if given the chance. Representative Panetta's testimony spoke to increasing citizen support for the concept. This should be a direct mandate to the Commission.

3. That the Commission include a study on the effects of volunteerism for a national service on the All Volunteer Force.

Rationale: Obviously, there could be effects of a national service on military recruitment efforts. Harris Wofford, a Coalition member, noted in his testimony that it could well increase the rate of volunteers. This is the central question to be examined in the relationship of national service to the military and the Commission should be mandated to address this specifically.

4. That the Commission should report on options for the role of the federal, state and local government.

Rationale: All sectors for government are already heavily involved in providing service opportunities for young people. These include the Young Adult Conservation Corps, VISTA, and others. Perhaps the largest was under CETA's Public Service Employment, Title VI and II, where fully 20 percent of these public service slots were filled by young people under 22. This accounted for over \$600 million per year, and much of this work was done for government as well as community organizations. The role of local government is essential in developing support for this program.

5. That the Commission report on options for involving community based and religious organizations in providing service opportunities.

Rationale: These organizations are already doing this, and no one knows to what extent, or what the costs are. The support of these organizations will be critical to the passage of any legislation.

6. That the Commission undertake a preliminary assessment of existing youth community service programs both publicly and privately funded.

Rationale: There is no reliable information on the extent of the existing programs. Such an inventory would be most helpful in organizing a constituency to support the expansion of youth community service opportunities.

7. That the Commission report on ways to expand and replicate service programs, public and private, which are currently operating successfully.

Rationale: The models of programs that we know are out there. The Commission should be directed to identify some and suggest methods for replicating them. These are funded now without any single national youth service program, and in an era of fiscal austerity, it would be helpful to inform people how to act now.

The Coalition looks forward to supporting the Commission and its work. The time to consider service for young people is now—while they can have a free and positive input—rather than through a mandatory program with limited choices and objectives. Attached is a list of the Coalition's Steering Committee members.

MORALITY, NECESSITY AND THE COMMON GOOD

An Ethical Reflection on Compulsory National Service—By William J. Byron, S.J.

Compulsory national service means enforcement by the state of human service in the interest of the state. Compulsion always involves force. Hence the moral implications of compulsory national service touch upon the use of force. At issue is the right of the state not simply to enforce a law, but to compel human service.

If the common good, not just national convenience or comfort, requires it, the state may compel service and do so morally. If a citizen faced with such compulsion to serve refuses, the moral consideration extends to the means the state employs to compel the service of the many by punishing the refusal of the few. Since, however, the use of compulsion is usually a declaration of defeat for the rule of reason, it should be used sparingly; otherwise, more harm than good will ensue as the force of reason gives way to physical force.

Typically, the means of enforcement available to the state are the denial of property (fines), the denial of residence (exile), the denial of freedom (arrest), and the denial of life (execution). No one of these means is to be employed lightly. Strong arguments can be made against applying the death penalty under any circumstances.

Aside from consideration of the morality of the means the state might choose to employ in compelling service required by the common good, there is a further moral question of the state's respect for freedom of conscience in those cases where refusal to serve rests on a conscientious conviction. Surely the common good requires absolute safeguards for freedom of individual conscience at all times in all circumstances.

The Constitution of the United States offers protection against involuntary servitude to all its citizens. Would compulsory national service, military or otherwise, violate Constitutional rights in this regard? Probably not, but that would be a matter for the Supreme Court to decide. I say "probably not" because I presume there would be provision not only for total objection in conscience to compulsory national service in any form, but for selective conscientious objection to a particular form of service. Within a full range of national service opportunities, each addressed to needs touching directly upon the common good, there would be, presumably, an array of options open to the citizen.

Comprehensive national service includes health, education, social welfare, conservation and other types of service in addition to the military. If sufficiently attractive financial rewards were associated with all these services, there would

be no need for the state to compel its citizens to render them. Hence, the moral consideration of this complicated issue must not ignore the question of the state's willingness and ability to pay a sufficiently high price for these services and thus render compulsion unnecessary. (I am prescinding here from any consideration of the compulsion that money itself exerts and the related moral responsibility of the one who proffers it.)

Just as it is morally inexcusable to use force to take money unjustly, it would be morally wrong to substitute force for the payment of the money it would take to purchase necessary services when such payments can be reasonably made. The presumption stands on the side of the state's inability to pay for all the services it needs at rates prevailing in private labor markets. Apparently, the all-volunteer army experiment of recent years in the United States has yielded neither the quantity nor the quality of personnel judged to be necessary to meet reasonable military requirements. Moreover, this arrangement seems to have shifted the burden of service to the poor whose enlistment may be freely made but whose job satisfaction is reportedly quite low, a function probably of both insufficient pay and challenge.

If the widely-held presumption of the state's inability to pay prevailing market rates for all the services it really needs is incorrect, two questions emerge. Are higher taxes needed to support higher spending for national service? Or, must some spending cease so that available revenues can be applied more generously to higher-priority needs? This is a form of the guns-and-butter debate. A growing appetite for both guns and butter has inflationary consequences on the economy. When expenditure trade-offs are considered within the government sector only, "soft" items like food-stamps and social services appear to be much more vulnerable than military hardware and the personnel needed to tend it.

There are issues here of justice and prudence that can easily be lost in the emotion of national security debates. It is precisely in the national security context that the questions of military and other forms of national service arise.

The case for compulsory national service depends almost entirely on the strength of the argument at any given time that the common good requires it. I think the argument can be made that the United States finds itself now in a condition of national emergency. I do not, however, define that emergency in terms of the presence of an external enemy. The crisis, as I see it, lies within the nation. Specifically, it lies within the youth of the nation. It is a crisis of purposelessness. The temptation is great to say the problem weighs most heavily on the nation's economically and educationally disadvantaged youth, but I am not so sure. The problem of purposelessness is evident in the suburbs and the ghettos, in the protected environment of college campuses as well as on the sandlots and in the slums.

If this purposelessness, with its derivative frustration, non-participation, vandalism, violence and destructive dependencies is in fact a national emergency, then the common good would urge appropriate action by the state.

If the state were to compel its youth, both the purposeless and the purposeful, to devote two years of their young adulthood to meeting basic human needs at home and abroad, needs left unattended by the operations of the private labor markets, might the purposeless find direction for their lives and the purposeful gain further maturity without intolerable delay or deflection from their intended goals? Some delay and inconveniences for the purposeful would be justified by a national emergency of widespread purposelessness.

If the state cannot pay attractive wages for services required by the common good, deferred payment in the form of educational and other benefits would be both fair and in the national interest.

If, in addition to the purposelessness crisis within, the state is confronted with a military emergency, the conscripted citizens, with all due allowance for conscientious objection, might fairly be called upon to bear equal shares of the risk and danger associated with the national defense. The underlying assumption, of course, is that the military emergency would satisfy the moral criteria for a just war.

It should be noted that I am not locating a national emergency in terms of national security, or unmet social welfare needs, or decay of the cities, neglect of the elderly, inadequate child care, needs for conservation and environmental protection, inadequate health care, or deteriorating educational services for the poor. My point is that widespread purposelessness among our youth is a fact and it constitutes a national emergency. Enlisting the young to meet national needs like the ones listed above may or may not be our best way of coming to grips with the real national emergency.

Understandably, we like to have evidence to support assertions of the presence of a national emergency. Such evidence usually presents itself in crisis form. "Remember Pearl Harbor"! was the rallying cry that generated in 1941 a national consensus strong enough to support the mobilization of troops and the alteration of civilian lifestyles. In the face of the evidence, the response seemed quite reasonable.

The nation's present emergency has no focused rallying point. Perhaps Chicago '68 and Woodstock '69 sent up the first signals. Was the "first shot" the one at Kent State in 1970? Jonestown 1979 fired both shots and shocks that unsettled a nation not yet sufficiently unified to face an as yet unrecognized crisis.

Lesser known events—personal tragedies stunting the development or ending the span of precious young lives—have found their way into countless family histories. But those families have not yet come to a consensus on the presence of a crisis that I define as purposelessness episodically evident in bursts of violence, organized outrage, individual and communal withdrawal, self denigration or self destruction. An analysis of the crisis reveals a generally well-educated but undisciplined young, most quite healthy, many affluent virtually all "unnecessary" even redundant from the perspective of production economics, although quite active and "necessary" for the vitality of the consumption side of the economy.

When goals are unclear, anxieties abound. Our young are more than just uneasy about their future.

In looking toward the possibility of compulsory national service, I am not suggesting that the poor, the sick, the elderly, the ill-housed and the unemployed at home or overseas be "used" in an exploitative program designed to enable our young to find themselves. I am suggesting that our young can help with the complex task of meeting these basic human needs. A relatively short two-year engagement of this kind would confront our problem of purposelessness. Some needs of the nation's poor and margined would be served; some significant social problems would be significantly reduced. The conscripted providers of national service would have more than an opportunity to mature and find their way. With actual work experience, they might also develop motivation sufficient to influence subsequent educational decisions and career choices. In all probability some would commit themselves to longer-term engagements with the problems than the two-year service obligation would allow.

The possibility of a two-year service obligation followed by a new or more mature sense of purpose, coupled with an educational benefit, suggests that the common good might be served through compulsory national service. The morality of the compulsion looks first to the seriousness of the national need. It next examines the appropriateness of the means, or avenues of service, employed to meet the need.

I do not now see a military need sufficient to justify conscription. Nor do I assess the seriousness of any single social, environmental, educational or physical resource-need to be great enough to justify conscription. All these needs in combination do, however, present a formidable national challenge. The federal financial ability simply is not there to pay market rates for the services required to meet all these needs. Add to this a condition of national purposelessness which has reached crisis proportions (my claim, subject to the affirmation of a national consensus) and you have within a single although complicated framework the question for moral consideration of compulsory national service in the United States today.

A reasonable state will use force on its citizens only with the greatest care. Otherwise, the rule of reason falls into jeopardy. The consequent harm is likely to be greater than the envisioned good which prompted the use of compulsion. Only widespread agreement on the good to be achieved will reduce the risk of a defeat for reason in a situation where service is compelled. That widespread agreement is not present in the United States today.

There remains the question of registration for national service in the absence of a clear condition of national emergency. This, it seems to me, is a matter of prudential judgment. Given the availability of computers and zip codes together with the prevailing practice of registration by the young for Social Security numbers, I am not persuaded by the argument that peacetime registration is needed to guarantee readiness for a draft in some future military emergency. Neither, however, do I see any great danger of state infringement on individual rights by means of peacetime registration. I see the issue more in terms of a technical judgment concerning the time required to register the young, and a political judgment relating to the possibility of the executive branch of government

inducting and mobilizing the registered for combat without enactment by the legislative branch of a declaration of war.

Unfortunately for the poor, sick, unemployed, hungry and homeless of this nation and elsewhere, we are not accustomed, in our national Congress, to declaring war on the enemies that afflict these very needy people. Nor do we have a psychosocial index calibrated to measure the purposelessness of our young whom we view more wishfully than wisely as the future of our nation. Both wisdom and realism, essential elements in any sound moral judgment, would suggest that voluntary national service on a comprehensive scale should be attempted now, and that plans be laid for development of a consensus-building mechanism for compulsory national service should the common good clearly require it.

PREPARED STATEMENT BY DR. STEVEN MULLER, PRESIDENT, THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

One continues to wonder why universal national youth service programs are not receiving more consideration in modern democratic societies. Perhaps, at first mention, the idea seems to smack too much of compulsory military service, or of the Hitler Youth or the Komsomols. But such a program would respond to so many contemporary problems that at the very least it deserves serious examination.

Looking generally at urbanized industrial democratic societies one sees: bored and restless young people with doubtful prospects for employment, high unemployment combined with needed work that goes undone because it pays too little and is regarded degrading as a career; social services insufficiently performed because the cost of labor involved is too costly; an oversupply of unskilled and an undersupply of skilled labor; universities crowded with young people who at least in part are students because there is nothing else for them to do, and who are being prepared for specialized roles in numbers that exceed foreseeable need.

Within any single country, a universal national youth service program might address these difficulties. Such a program could be voluntary, not compulsory. It need not involve uniforms, nor barracks, nor other aspects of a youth army. Its cost to a national society might even be less than already existing programs of public expenditure. Its social impact would offer some attractions. It could probably be fitted together with either compulsory or voluntary military service.

In most Western democracies, a compulsory universal national youth service program would be rejected as too authoritarian. A purely voluntary program would not in all likelihood be universal unless there were some compelling incentives. Therefore, a voluntary universal program would be founded on two assumptions. For young men and women who would not seek post-secondary education, the program would offer job training. For those seeking post-secondary education, a government stipend and/or free admission to a collegiate, polytechnic or university education would have to be earned by national service and would no longer be available on any other basis.

What would young people do during a period of national service? There would have to be a great variety of options, tailored within any one nation to its own circumstances and needs. In general, most agencies of government would benefit from young men and women serving as interns, at a local and regional as well as at a national level. Such public agency service would also offer excellent job training opportunities in a vast array of tasks, considering the range of activities in which contemporary governments are involved. Another general set of opportunities would exist in the staffing of neighborhood public service facilities—for the day care of children, for health maintenance, for the guidance, counseling and recreation of children, or for other aspects of neighborhood improvement, whether physical or social.

In nations with programs of assistance to less developed societies, international development assistance abroad could be an option for youth service. In countries where urban decay is a problem of major metropolitan areas, slum rehabilitation projects could be staffed with national youth service volunteers. In states which are substantially agricultural, harvesting or other agricultural assistance projects could be created for youth volunteers. The maintenance of public transportation facilities, whether highway, fixed rail, air or waterborne could also offer youth service opportunities. In most of these areas, job training could be combined with service, assuming that the service period would last for two years. Military service would become simply one youth service option among many. Those not physically qualified for military service would elect other options in states with a compulsory

military service obligation, while all young people could choose among military or civilian options in states where military service is voluntary.

Based on the principle of service, the program would pay only a subsistence wage to volunteers while in service. Viewed also as an investment in both the national society at large and the youth of society, the program would on the one hand offer low-cost labor for public service, and on the other hand offer job training and access to post-secondary education to the young. The economics do not appear to be unreasonable, especially because governments already spend so much on access to post-secondary education as an unearned, rather than an earned, benefit. Except for those in military service, it would not be necessary for youth volunteers to wear uniforms, nor would there be a general need to house them collectively. Most could live wherever they wanted to, especially because service within local communities would appear to be the most useful. Supervision should also be localized as much as possible and could in most cases be assigned to individuals already in public agency careers.

Perhaps the most attractive version of a universal national youth service program could be developed with the full participation of commercial and industrial private enterprise. In principle this appears to be possible, and this version would work as follows: A participating private employer would accept and select a stated number of youth service applicants, and would have their services available for the same time and at the same subsistence wage as is universally set for the whole program. In return, the private employer would also have to guarantee job training and, in the case of participants intending to enroll in post-secondary education, would be fully liable for the expenditures which are borne by government for the public sector participants. The latter obligation would be equitable for at least two reasons. These participants talented enough later to qualify for post-secondary education would presumably make the greatest contribution to the profits of the private enterprise in which they fulfilled their public service, and costs to private enterprise beyond such a return would still be an appropriate investment in the education of young people by the private sector of the mixed economies of modern democracy. Private sector participation would in any case be voluntary. Its great attraction lies in the extended options for participants and the reduced cost in public funds.

The greatest benefit of a national universal youth service program would accrue to the youth of democratic societies. Ideally, such a program would offer every young person the opportunity to serve his or her society constructively for a time. Youth unemployment would vastly diminish, if not disappear. Job training would be at least an available option for every participant, and not necessarily confined to training in only a single task. For many participants, subsequent employment might flow directly from the contacts established during national youth service. Young people going on to post-secondary education would have their education constructively interrupted by work experience. Experience indicates that such an interruption has a positive effect on subsequent motivation and performance of students, especially if national service options are available in areas of work related to chosen professions or occupations.

Above all, the universal national service concept could do much to relieve the alienation and frustration of young people in modern democratic national societies. It would make young men and women appear to be useful and needed, and it would allow them to earn the benefits of job training and—in many cases—post-secondary education. There is something corrosive of individual self-esteem and motivation in the conferral of unearned benefits by society, not to mention that an excess of such benefits leads to economic bankruptcy. The disaffection and even despair of the young is not only an evident problem of modern industrial democracies, but also one of their most threatening and—to date—most intractable problems. Universal national youth service may be no panacea, but the argument here is that at least the idea should be injected into the arena of public discussion.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY AND JUNIOR COLLEGES, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF STATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, ASSOCIATION OF JESUIT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, COUNCIL FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SMALL COLLEGES, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES OF THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee. This statement is presented by the American Council on Education on behalf of nine higher education associations in support of H.R. 6868, the "Presidential Commission on National Service Act of 1980," introduced by Cong. Leon Panetta (D-CA). A companion measure introduced by Sen. Paul Tsongas (D-MA), S. 2159, has been reported out of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources as an amendment to S. 1843, the Domestic Violence bill.

H.R. 6868 would establish a Presidential Commission to examine over a period of twelve months the possible expansion of voluntary service opportunities. Upon receipt of the Commission's final report, the President would then have 180 days to present to the Congress the desirability, feasibility, and costs of implementing the Commission's recommendations.

Because many young people have enlisted in volunteer service programs in the past and would likely participate in the future, the higher education community is very interested in being a part of this planning initiative. H.R. 6868 would provide that sectors most affected by a national voluntary service program would be represented on the membership of the Commission. These sectors include higher education, business, organized labor, social service and private voluntary groups, older Americans, minority and ethnic groups, the Armed Forces, and state and local governments. At least seven out of the twenty-five members would be between 17-25 years old.

As part of the Commission's charge, hearings on national service options would be scheduled across the country. The timing seems right for such discussions; a 1979 Gallup poll revealed that more than seven out of ten young people favor a system of voluntary national service programs. Yet, no consensus has been reached concerning the governing structure needed to implement a system of voluntary service opportunities, the nature of the jobs which could best be filled, the size of the volunteer pool likely to join, or the costs to the federal government of alternative plans. We also need to focus on the relationships among plans for an expansion of national service programs, recruiting efforts for the All-Volunteer Force, increased marketing activities within the higher education sector, job training programs designed to reduce youth unemployment rates, and the social needs of the nation that remain unattended.

Labor-intensive occupations are typically suggested as appropriate for national service jobs. Some of the activities which analysts at the Department of Labor believe could be greatly expanded to accommodate up to 3 million volunteers per year include day-care centers; tutoring programs; community health centers; counseling centers for the mentally ill and retarded; programs for the elderly; local, state and national conservation projects; and energy-saving renovation programs. Plans outlining the expected level of compensation and the types of training centers must be developed before expanding national service opportunities would be practical.

The federal government is now annually supporting voluntary service opportunities for approximately 40,000 persons, including participation in VISTA, Peace Corps, University Year for Action, National Health Service Corps, Young Adult Conservation Corps, and National Teacher Corps. Proposals based on expanding these models plus adding new programs have estimated that within 3-5 years as many as 1,000,000-3,500,000 persons might volunteer for one or more years in programs which might collectively cost between \$3-24 billion. Before any plan to increase the federal commitment toward voluntary service programs is accepted by the public and the Congress, the issues should be broadly debated.

Educators have recognized the increasing need among undergraduate students to bridge the worlds of education, service, and work and have developed extensive internship opportunities to permit students to explore career possibilities. In addition, the growth in the Cooperative Education program which permits students to alternate periods of full-time study with employment now encourages students at over 1,000 institutions to formally combine classroom theory with business experience prior to graduation. At least 500,000 high school and college students are also currently serving as part-time volunteers tutoring low achievers, helping handicapped students, and assisting the elderly.

In considering any major expansion of national service opportunities, the proposed study would be useful in generating a broad-based discussion among those groups most directly affected. Higher education representatives would like to participate in that dialogue, and we support H.R. 6868 to establish a Presidential Commission for that purpose.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, my name is Francisco Garza and I am the Legislative Analyst for the National Council of La Raza ("NCLR"). I thank you for the opportunity to appear before your committee to deliver this testimony regarding the establishment of a Presidential Commission on National Service.

By way of introduction, NCLR is a private, nonprofit organization headquartered here in Washington, D.C. The National Council of La Raza was founded in 1968, and exists for the improvement of the economic, social, educational and cultural well-being of the more than 16 million Chicanos and other Hispanic people of the United States. Our Board of Directors includes elected officials, labor union leaders, academicians, agency administrators, attorneys and leaders of community organizations, from throughout the southwestern, midwestern and far western United States. Over one hundred local organizations from those regions are affiliated with and provide the strength of the National Council. Among those organizations are community development corporations, private social service organizations, and local area federations. We appreciate the opportunity to give testimony today on the concept of national service with particular regard to its potential impact on Hispanics, especially Hispanic youth.

The Hispanic population of the United States is relatively young compared to the rest of the population, with a median age of 22 years compared to a median age of 30 for the total population. Of the 16 to 19 million Hispanic in this country, 42 percent are under the age of 18, while only 29 percent of the total population of the U.S. is under 18. Hence, youth policies—whatever their positive or negative impacts—will tend to affect Hispanics overall to a greater extent than the rest of the population.

National youth service is increasingly being viewed as a method of ameliorating problems of youth in American society as well as military recruitment problems. The idea is essentially based upon the notion that what's good for the country today is a revitalized sense of civic spirit and patriotism through service of America's youth to community and country. The goals of national youth service can be briefly stated as follows:

1. To tap the talents and energy of America's youth in fulfilling critical human service needs of the nation; and/or
2. To establish a system whereby the need for military personnel will be met and maintained.

The nature of the appropriate relationship between these goals, civilian vs. military service, is fundamental and perhaps the most difficult issue for consideration, as the literature attests. There is a whole host of other issues involved in the debate on youth service, (eg., mandatory vs. voluntary service, men and/or women, youth or all age groups etc.) which, taken together, complicate the development of this policy and therefore warrants a process of continued deliberation and careful study. Within this context, the National Council of La Raza supports H.R. 6868 which would create a Presidential Commission on National Service to hold hearings and conferences, receive testimony, and develop and recommend a comprehensive national service program. In addition, NCLR recommends that membership to the Commission include Hispanic members, and that hearings be conducted in those regions which will ensure Hispanic participation in the debate on national youth service.

Mr. Chairman, we are all aware of the hard realities behind the thrust in the deliberation on youth service. The apparent ineffectiveness of the All Volunteer Force of military recruitment, coupled with recent geopolitical hostilities, has brought about a call to return to the military draft. On April 22, 1980, the House of Representatives took the first step towards reinstituting the draft by approving the President's draft registration plan for 19-20 year old males. For the record, NCLR is opposed to an unfair draft registration plan which reestablishes the inequities rampant in the draft during the Vietnam War. In that war, Hispanics were disproportionately represented in the number of draftees and casualties compared to our numbers in the population.

With passage of this legislation, the Commission will be charged with examining existing volunteer service opportunities, the role of women, the necessity for drafting individuals into any national service program, and the role of military and civilian service. NCLR recommends that the Commission, (1) search for and recommend a more equitable system specifically for military service by Hispanics and other minorities with or without a national emergency, and (2) devise mechanisms for equitable participation in the non-military alternatives which would be incorporated in a comprehensive national service program.

The above recommendation regarding the issue of equitable participation of groups of youth in service opportunities is raised here largely in response to events presently occurring both in the military and civilian sectors of service.

MILITARY CONSIDERATIONS

As previously mentioned, one of the factors contributing to the growing debate over national service is the failure of the All-Volunteer Force concept of military recruitment. There are two basic problems with the volunteer armed services. First, reserve force levels are rapidly deteriorating, and for the first time in history, military recruitment quotas are becoming more and more difficult to fill for all branches of the military. Second, there is a trend towards more personnel recruited each year from lower-income groups and a steady growth of minorities, especially poor Hispanics and Blacks. Consequently, mental qualification scores for new recruits are declining each year. As a result the Army has had to downgrade its training manuals from the twelfth-grade to the eighth-grade level and institute a basic skills education program to bring illiterate soldiers up to a ninth-grade reading, language, and math level.

For young minorities, especially Hispanics and Blacks, enlistment is often the only alternative to unemployment. But the promises of training, travel, and experience in some instances are deceptive, and this is causing dissatisfaction among enlisted personnel. In 1968, the military forces were approximately 12 percent minority. Today the military is more than 25 percent minority, with the Army alone composed of 32 percent minority. In the event of a national emergency today with a resumption of the draft, the disproportionate number of minority casualties would be twice as severe as that which occurred during Vietnam.

NATIONAL SERVICE DEMONSTRATION

On the civilian side, ACTION is currently conducting two service demonstration programs in Spokane, Washington, and Syracuse, New York. In Syracuse, in the Youth Community Service Demonstration Project, funds are used to pay stipends (\$78 per week) to youth aged 16-21, out of school and unemployed, who perform volunteer tasks in needed areas as identified by various organizations and community groups. The project has produced some important findings, summarized as follows:

That the community is highly receptive to the program;

That youth want to be involved in productive activities and will work for less than the minimum wage;

That agencies in the non-profit sector are in need of staff to carry out their activities and initiate new ones, and are willing to invest the time and energy to train and supervise young people to do this.

The YCS project appears to be a successful test of the model of national service. However, one problem which surfaced in the project is the difficulty of "matching" truly hard-core, low-skilled youth with service slots. In spite of their desire to serve, these youth in many instances could not fill slots which required basic reading and computational skills. The potential for "creaming" was evident, and

a component was introduced to increase volunteer readiness by developing basic skills.

The findings from the civilian service demonstration program, combined with the current military personnel situation point to one common fundamental problem: the growing rate of deficiency in basic educational skills among this nation's youth, especially Hispanic and other minority youth.

Advocates of youth service stress the psychological rewards of having served, but this is highly presumptuous for Hispanic youth given their social and economic disadvantages. Hispanic youth aged 16 to 19 experience unemployment at an average rate of 20 percent. Hispanic youth are almost twice as likely as white youth to be high school dropouts. The results of studies on national service all point to the need for a program which provides certain benefits and forms of compensation to youth. At a minimum, Hispanic youth should be afforded opportunities to improve their educational and employability levels. National service should be designed to improve the condition of youth as well as the society in which they live and work.

The implications from research and demonstration projects are that, for national service, a highly decentralized system is desirable, one in which community-based organizations would act as sponsors in the implementation of the program. In carrying out its duties, NCLR recommends that the Commission examine the feasibility of conducting a national Hispanic youth service demonstration project which would provide a test of the concept and measure the advantages and disadvantages of Hispanic youth participation in a national youth service system.

In conclusion, NCLR is supportive of a voluntary national service system on a limited scale providing perhaps a million or more youths with opportunities for service. The system should be designed to attempt to enlist representative segments of groups of American youth. The system should incorporate incentives for participants such as post-service educational and employment benefits along the lines of the G.I. Bill of Rights and the Peace Corps readjustment allowance. While engaged in national service, participants should maintain the right to continue their education. Civilian service should incorporate innovative strategies of maximum utility such as youth peer tutors. Finally, in the event of a national emergency and restoration of the draft, the case for universal youth service would be very strong and non-military service options should be made available to youth.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the National Council of La Raza, we appreciate the opportunity to express our views on this subject and look forward to working in this area in the future.

IMPACT ON YOUTH AND COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS

By Donald J. Eberly

Donald J. Eberly is a Senior Policy Analyst with ACTION and Executive Director of the National Service Secretariat. He also served on the Committee for the Study of National Service.

In 1971, I speculated for the Teacher's College Record on the likely educational profile of participants in a national-service pilot project. Two years later, I was involved in an ACTION-sponsored test of national service in the Seattle area and noted with interest the actual profile, by highest level of education attained. The two sets of figures compare as follows:

[In percent]

Level of education	Estimated	Actual
School dropout.....	25	15
High school graduate.....	40	24
Some college.....	20	43
College graduate.....	15	18

The significance of the Seattle results for higher education is heightened with the additional finding that it was not an elitist group. Compared with norms for that area, participants tended to be poor, unemployed, and members of minority groups.

Whether one examines the Seattle results, asks young college students what they would prefer to be doing, or reads the August 1979 Gallup poll showing voluntary national service favored by teenagers by 71 percent to 20 percent, it is hard to escape the conclusion that postsecondary education would be seriously affected by a program of National Youth Service (NYS). The questions are how, and how much.

The draft, or the threat of the draft, introduces an element of tension that leads to the most realistic scenario for NYS. This is expressed in the McCloskey bill (H.R. 2206) which would offer to 18-24-year-olds the option of volunteering for military service or nonmilitary service. If the military services needed more people than volunteered for them, those who volunteered for no form of service would be the first to be drafted. No one would be drafted for civilian service.

EFFECT ON ENROLLMENTS

If such a form of NYS were adopted and phased in gradually over time, I estimate that one million people would be in non-military service in five years time. The qualitative effects on higher education would, I believe, be as follows:

Short-term effect on enrollments; Bad.

Long-term effect on enrollments; Depends on GI Bill.

Effect on students; Very Good.

Enrollments would dip in the short run as students and would-be students chose the civilian-service option. (I assume the composition of the military would be altered by NYS, although not its total strength.) The size of the dip would depend on the rate of growth of NYS and whether a National-Service GI Bill, awarding one year of further education for each year of service, were made a part of the NYS plan. (It is not now in the McCloskey bill.) Given a five-year build-up together with a National-Service GI Bill, the enrollment shortfall in the first year would be about 25,000 and would rise to some 150,000 in the fourth and fifth years. Thus, the enrollment loss due to NYS would be under 2 percent, although if NYS is introduced in the next few years, it would tend to compound the expected decline in college attendance by young people.

Assuming NYS reaches its plateau of one million participants in five years, it should then become a net producer of students in higher education. This would happen not only as a consequence of the financial support available from the GI Bill. It would also happen as a combined result of the need for education that would become apparent from one's NYS experience and of the increased self-confidence that many NYS participants would acquire from their experience. Thus, NYS would lead eventually to an increase in higher education enrollments.

EFFECT ON STUDENTS

NYS would have a positive effect on students in several respects. First, they would not be able to play the old student deferment game, with the resulting harm to their psyches and to society at large. Under the McCloskey bill, they would make their own decisions on when to serve. They could serve for a year or two right after high school, then use their GI Bill for higher education. Alternatively, they could pledge to serve in NYS at age 20 or 22 or 24, after a year or more of further studies. Those who made no choice would face a degree of uncertainty as to whether they would be called up for military service during their six years of vulnerability.

It may turn out, as Father Hesburgh has predicted, that NYS will restore a sense of service among young people that will obviate the need for any military draft. If this theory is borne out, it means that the return of conscription, which now seems imminent, will have been at least delayed by the introduction of NYS.

Students will also benefit greatly from their total NYS experience. For some, it will be a time to explore possible careers. For others, NYS will provide the first sustained work experience. Especially for those who maintain educational connections through service-learning arrangements with schools and colleges, it will provide opportunities to test academic theories in the real world and to inform the educational process in the classroom.

