

NATIONAL SERVICE

A Report of a Conference

Donald J. Eberly, Editor

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Edited by

Donald J. Eberly

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FOREWORD

Congressional debates on the extension of Selective Service legislation occasioned wide public discussion of the desirability of providing an opportunity for--or even requiring--all young people to devote some period of time to useful service to the nation. Many public leaders including the President and the Secretary of Defense gave strong endorsement to the general concept. With the Congressional decision to continue the draft, public discussion of the merits of national service has subsided. But the issues raised in this discussion are still far from clarified, much less settled. Certainly they are not dead, and there can be no doubt that they will be with us in increasingly acute form for some time to come.

One overarching fact that gives convincing firmness to this prediction is the presence of nineteen and a quarter million young people of widely varying backgrounds, talents, and education who are giving our society an acute case of economic, social, political, and moral indigestion. Each year a new cohort of over three and a half million eighteen-year-olds move into this critical period of assimilation--ten thousand every day. And the rate is increasing. A fraction is absorbed in the military service; another portion enters the various governmental and private programs offering service and training opportunities. Many move through the "normal" schedule of completing their schooling and entering, through the job market, the existing occupational system. But an ominously increasing number is adrift and unassimilated.

A second condition that renders more acute the problems posed by the demographic facts is the efflorescence of the ideology of participantism. The

rising demand for a more significant role in decision-making in our society is of course not peculiar to our youth. It is a groundswell touching all major segments of the social system. But it has a special poignancy and a profoundly revolutionary significance as it emerges in the age groups we are here considering. We have long regarded as the central concerns of a young person his completing his schooling, getting a job, and establishing a home. These are still basic concerns, but they are now heavily intertwined with demands for a more active role in determining direction and policy in the political, economic, and moral order. This thrust for early entry into significant participation in the society will take many forms, but it is not likely to diminish.

A third condition that insures continued concern with the issues, problems, and possibilities of national service is the fact that we are already engaged in a range of public and private programs that pose these very problems. Clearly the current programs display all the errors, failures, and distortions delineated in John Naisbitt's paper. Moreover, there is little doubt that national service will be naively regarded by many as a panacea. There is also the danger that it would be used as a means of evading more fundamental attacks on basic ills, as Michael Katz has shown in the parallel he draws between the movements for universal education and national service. To these hazards we must add the risk that a national service program could be so restricted to innocuous and make-work activities that it would become self-defeating, with the consequent further alienation of youth.

The fact that, notwithstanding these hazards, there is a strong drive to test the positive potentialities of a national service program suggests the force of the need felt for some such institutional machinery, whatever the components of that need may be. But it also makes obvious the necessity for

mobilizing the best knowledge and competence we have to clarify the objectives and issues, to anticipate the problems, and to plan appropriate strategies of experimentation and development.

It was to assist in meeting these requirements that the Russell Sage Foundation provided support for the preparation of working papers representing a broad spectrum of informed opinion on the issues of national service, as well as papers representing analyses by professional experts of the problems posed by such a program. It is worthy of special note that the strongly pro-national service orientation of the National Service Secretariat, responsible for organizing and conducting the project, did not prevent it from recruiting experts and opinion leaders who were strongly critical of the concept. These papers and summaries of the discussions at a working conference held in Washington, D.C., in April, 1967, are presented here in the hope that they will serve to promote further sober reflection and discussion as well as more systematic research on the problems to which this volume is addressed.

All citizens, the young as well as their elders, who are concerned with the matters dealt with here are indeed indebted to the Foundation, to the National Service Secretariat, and to the authors of the working papers for so important a service so well performed.

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University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
June, 1968

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INTRODUCTION

National service already exists. It can be seen in the armed forces. It can be seen in such federal programs as the Peace Corps, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Teacher Corps, and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). It can be seen in private agencies such as the American Friends Service Committee, International Voluntary Services, the American Red Cross, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It can be seen in the churches, schools, and hospitals. In the United States alone, millions of persons put their dedicated energies into serving their society.

If national service is already pervasive, why the concern? Why not pat ourselves on the back and continue our good work? Clearly, there is more to do. So long as more can be done in the fight against poverty, disease, ignorance, and hunger, people are needed to join the battle. So long as there are people on the outside prepared to serve, we must make it possible for them to enlist.

The ideal of service is an integral part of our heritage, dating at least as far back as the Bible, which spoke of the nobility of the service ethic. Since early in the twentieth century, when the American philosopher William James called for constructive outlets for young people that would constitute a moral equivalent of war,¹ implementations of this ethic have appeared in numerous forms. In 1920 Pierre Ceresole of Switzerland founded Service Civile Internationale, which gave youth from many nations opportunities to work together while providing needed community benefits through a variety of service projects. In the Depression period of the 1930's the United States established the Civilian Conservation Corps primarily to give work to the

unemployed, but the CCC served also to accomplish tasks necessary to the preservation of natural resources and to provide the kinds of opportunities called for by James.

An even more dramatic example of the relationship of a service experience to individual and societal improvement occurred in the 1940's when veterans of World War II returned to university campuses under the GI Bill to distinguish themselves as more mature, dedicated students than their colleagues who had not been exposed to a comparable experience. In the 1960's the opportunities for a service experience have increased, particularly for the college youth as an interlude in his formal educational career. He can choose from among the Peace Corps, VISTA, and the many private domestic and international service programs.

In spite of this expansion of opportunities, participation is by no means universally available. The armed forces' mental and physical tests disqualify one-third of all young men and an even larger percentage of the underprivileged. The Peace Corps relies almost exclusively on college graduates. Many private programs do not provide financial remuneration to their nonprofessional staff, thus automatically excluding the needy. Rehabilitative and training programs like the Job Corps tend to be stigmatized as "programs for the poor."

The image of VISTA as an agency that exists only to aid the poor must be supplemented by a recognition of its educational value to the person serving. The image of the Job Corps as an agency that exists only to train and rehabilitate "poor kids" must be replaced by a wider appreciation of the services it renders. By early 1967 Job Corps trainees in conservation centers had given service to the nation valued at \$28,000,000.

ENDORSEMENTS OF NATIONAL SERVICE

In recent years, the strong endorsement of the national service concept by world leaders has constituted a virtual mandate for serious consideration of national service.

On November 2, 1960, Senator John F. Kennedy said:

I propose that our inadequate efforts in this area [helping underdeveloped countries to help themselves] be supplemented by a "peace corps" of talented young men willing and able to serve their country in this fashion for three years as an alternative to peace-time Selective Service. . . . We cannot discontinue training our young men as soldiers of war--but we also need them as ambassadors of peace.²

On July 5, 1965, Secretary General U Thant said:

I am looking forward to the day when the average youngster--and parent or employer--will consider that one or two years of work for the cause of development either in a faraway country or in a depressed area of his own community is a normal part of one's education.³

On May 11, 1966, President Johnson said:

The call for public service cannot be met by professionals alone. We must revive the ancient ideal of citizen soldiers who answer their nation's call in time of peril. We need them on battlefronts where no guns are heard but freedom is no less tested.⁴

On May 17, 1966, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara said:

It seems to me that we could move toward remedying [the draft] inequity by asking every young person in the United States to give two years of service to his country--whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad. . . . It would make meaningful the central concept of security: a world of decency and development--where every man can feel that his personal horizon is rimmed with hope.⁵

On March 28, 1967, Pope Paul said in his Fifth Encyclical:

We are pleased to learn that in certain nations "military service" can be partially accomplished by doing "social service," a "service pure and simple." We bless these undertakings and the goodwill which inspires them.⁶

THE NEED FOR SERVICE

A glimpse of domestic manpower needs is given in the February, 1966, report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress. The table reveals potential openings for 5,300,000 persons at the sub-professional level.

DOMESTIC MANPOWER NEEDS

<u>Source of Employment</u>	<u>Job Potential</u> (in millions)
Medical institutions and health services	1.20
Educational institutions	1.10
National beautification	1.30
Welfare and home care	0.70
Public protection	0.35
Urban renewal and sanitation	<u>0.65</u>
TOTAL	5.30

While many of these positions could be filled by the action of the open market and by public employment programs, a significant number could be met by national service participants. A contractual two-year national service "hitch" could be the answer to young men rejected for military service, to young people wishing to break the "lock-step" of contemporary education, to young women not yet ready to marry, to unemployed youth, and to dropouts from school and society.

While national service participants would contribute to society by teaching and helping others, they would also contribute to society by better

equipping themselves as individual members of society. Examples of the merits of national service to the individual may be seen in the increasing recognition given to the value of experiential education and the need for career and geographic mobility. The knowledge that one million people starved to death in an epidemic is less forceful than the confrontation with a starving person. Experience as a member of a racial or religious minority can provide a greater depth of understanding of certain national and world problems than can the ivory tower study of sociology. Thus, the enlarging of a person's environmental and social experience can play an educative role in his development as a mature citizen.

With the advent of automation and the accelerated pace at which new discoveries are made and new skills demanded by new needs, there is an increasing need for greater career mobility. A few generations ago the son followed almost inevitably in the vocational footsteps of his father. A few decades ago, a youth selected a career as a life-long occupation, perhaps changing only the location of employment. Today, a youth can expect to change not only jobs several times, but careers as well. To equip the youth for this mobility, early exposure to occupational diversity and flexibility is essential in enabling him to face the uncertain future with confidence.

The willingness of young people to serve seems clear from the fact that the Peace Corps, VISTA, and the Job Corps have each had several times the number of applicants they have been able to accept. For these three programs alone, the cumulative total of applicants numbered about one million by 1967.

DEFINITION AND OBJECTIVES OF NATIONAL SERVICE

While national service should be seen whole, it must never be inflexibly defined or compartmentalized. The following definition of the concept emerged from the National Service Conference held on May 7, 1966.

National service as a concept embraces the belief that an opportunity should be given every young person to serve his country in a manner consistent with the needs of the nation--recognizing national defense as the first priority--and consistent with the education and interests of those participating, without infringing on the personal or economic welfare of others but contributing to the liberty and well-being of all.⁷

The importance of its several objectives, including training and education in its broadest sense, expression of the energies and aspirations of youth, encouragement of a sense of self-worth and civic pride, cross-cultural exposure, universal opportunities for service, fulfillment of unmet societal needs, and expansion of individual choices, will vary for each individual and with each project. Those who enter national service with many talents will be asked to share them with others; those who enter with few talents will be given an opportunity to gain some, for example, to learn how to read and write, but they will also be asked to serve.

It is essential to the implementation of the national service concept that its several objectives be considered in proportion to their contributions to the welfare of society at large and to the individual citizen. If viewed only as an instrument of the state, national service could degenerate into a tool for political indoctrination. If viewed only as a plan to consume the energies of the young--"to get them off the streets"--it could degenerate into a make-work program at a great waste of time, money, and manpower. If viewed only for its educational value, it could be replaced by subsidies to

schools and colleges. If viewed only as an answer to draft inequities, its justification would be eliminated if and when the draft is no longer needed.

In its 1966 report to the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, the National Service Secretariat suggested certain guidelines for a program of national service:

Military manpower needs must have top priority.

No one should be compelled to serve except in the Armed Forces.

Recognition should be given to persons who serve satisfactorily in approved nonmilitary programs as well as in military activities.

Any program of national service should be structured so that the social, economic, and educational backgrounds of the young men in approved nonmilitary programs should correspond to the backgrounds of young men in society.

The tasks undertaken in nonmilitary service must serve the human and natural resources of the nation, and nonmilitary service must grow no faster than useful jobs are available.

These guidelines are not immutable. Some day, the needs of the individual and of society may dictate that nonmilitary manpower needs take precedence over the military. For the moment, a program of large-scale voluntary national service of the kind outlined in Appendix A appears to strike the right kind of balance among the overall objectives and guidelines.

The challenge of national service is to encourage the development of a

maximum of meaningful service opportunities which would appeal to, and be available to, all citizens. National service is in large measure an attempt to broaden the traditional concept of voluntary service by creating a viable institution that will respond more fully to the needs of the society and its citizens. The word "national" simply reflects the belief that the suggested nonmilitary service activities would improve the quality of life within a nation and therefore should be given recognition and financial support by that nation. It is not meant to exclude international service; in fact, many of the activities included in a national service program would be carried on outside the country's boundaries under the aegis of international agencies. This overseas dimension does not negate the basic responsibility of citizens of the United States to review their values, goals, and priorities, and to judge what place national service should have in meeting those objectives.

Margaret Mead, in her keynote address to the 1967 National Service Conference, pointed to two common habits that should be guarded against in the exploration of national service. She said:

To examine national service properly, we must discard faulty historical analogies and examine the need of young people in contemporary and future terms. . . . There is a danger in discussing national service as a continuation of compulsory secondary education, for it may mean a continuation of treating students as children. In national service, we must give participants the kind of autonomy and responsibility that is appropriate for them as young adults who wish to participate in society.

History contains important lessons, but only by experimentation can we determine what kind of national service program, if any, should be introduced.

Many participants agreed that demonstration national service pilot projects were the next logical step. By thoroughly studying pilot programs and by debating the range of issues, it may be possible to make decisions about national service on its own merits. Too often decisions are made

because of crises: the Depression gave birth to the CCC, and the launching of Sputnik produced legislation for massive federal aid to education. The 1966 debate on national service was touched off by the imminent expiration of the draft law. Perhaps another crisis--riots, a natural disaster, large-scale unemployment--will suddenly necessitate a national service program. But a society approaching its two-hundredth year should no longer be dependent on crises in anticipating future needs and in creating the institutions to meet them.

The diversity of viewpoints on national service so clearly revealed in the conference papers and discussion summaries that follow might suggest there were no areas of common agreement. There was one. Whether conference participants advocated compulsory service or voluntary service, government sponsorship or private sponsorship, a draft alternative or none, they agreed on the value of a service experience. They were insistent on the right to serve.

While the conference--and this book--has divided the subject of national service into discrete parts, the subject does not easily lend itself to such splitting up. Several themes were recurrent in many of the conference sessions.

Should national service be voluntary or compulsory? The issue of voluntary versus compulsory had a workshop all to itself but it arose in each group. David Dichter, in setting forth basic guidelines for national service placement centers, feels that a service period should be required of all young people and bases his paper on this premise. On the other hand, Leon Bramson, in his examination of the social impact of national service, bases his paper on a voluntary program of the kind outlined in Appendix A. Michael Katz discerns elements of compulsion in this plan and places himself squarely

against it, drawing on analogies with the development of universal education in the last century.

Will national service discriminate against the poor and disadvantaged?

Edward Hall and some other advocates of compulsory service feel that any voluntary program will fail to reach large numbers of poor youth and this argument is a major reason for their advocacy of a compulsory program. On the other hand, Leon Bramson sees a "complementarity of need" among disadvantaged groups so that national service would not be a paternalistic enterprise but would be a situation in which one person in need helps another person in need, and both benefit.

John Naisbitt takes up the challenge in the first sentence of his paper and goes on to describe relevant characteristics of present nonmilitary and military service programs and concludes with a step-by-step account of how to construct national service so it will not discriminate against the poor and the disadvantaged.

How much of a role should the federal government have in national service? The workshop on "National Service and Society" (Chapter 3) quite early reached agreement on the value to society of a program of national service. Then they turned to its organization and found themselves in disagreement. Where should major responsibility lie--with the university, the voluntary agency, the federal, state, or local government, or the individual? Eli Ginzberg's concluding point against large-scale national service rests on his experience with the federal government in managing large numbers of persons during World War II.

Is national service intended to help the participants or to make it possible for national service participants to help others? This question was

a vexing one for several of the sessions. Interestingly, the conclusions reached at the separate groups boiled down to "any way you look at it, one will be a byproduct of the other." Dorothy Knoell's paper was originally entitled "National Service as an Educational Interlude." "But it's not that at all," she protested, "an interlude from the formal classroom education--yes, but not from education in its full sense."

Peace Corps service, in which the motivation properly contains a high degree of altruism, is given academic credit at some institutions of higher education. Why? The only justification is that it is a learning experience. The national service programs in other countries described in Terrence Cullinan's paper draw participants from the full range of educational levels--from teachers to illiterates. All serve and all learn, but those with the most formal education behind them receive the least amount of formal education while in service, and conversely, those entering service with little formal education receive more of it.

Should national service count as fulfillment of one's military obligation? When the issue arose in this form, the answer was generally, "No, don't confuse matters." If the question arose in another form, "Should a young man who has completed two years of Peace Corps service in the heart of Africa be given some kind of recognition against his military service obligation?" the answer tended to be, "Of course, it's only fair."

Some feel with Robert Bird that nonmilitary service should be kept as pure as possible, that deferment or exemption from military service would constitute the wrong kind of incentive by attracting persons who would be choosing the lesser of two evils. Thus, a low-quality performance could be expected. Others, with Edward Hall, recognize the continual pressures that bear

on virtually all decisions people make and feel that the balance of incentives and pressures in a large-scale program of voluntary national service would represent a significant improvement over the present balance of competing pressures on young people--such as marriage, the draft, higher education, jobs, careers, and the family.

2

NATIONAL SERVICE AND MANPOWERManpower Implications and Costs

The papers in this chapter take a critical look at national service in terms of manpower, as seen through the eyes of educational economist Charles Benson, industrialist Roland Bixler, trade unionist Jacob Clayman, and manpower experts Eli Ginzberg and Curtis Aller. As a first step in the consideration of this topic, Mr. Benson translates national service into dollar terms and then poses the more philosophical questions: to what does society attach the greatest values and how should these values be measured? He asks: Is the traditional national-income, cost-benefit accounting framework adequate for determining the overall costs and benefits of a national service program? Can the objectives of national service, if they should become national goals, be looked upon as goods in themselves, thereby forming a basis for measuring the value of national service?

In a more skeptical mood, some of the authors and panelists raise questions regarding manpower realities and the basic guidelines for national service: Shouldn't the market mechanism be permitted to determine social priorities, as manipulation of this mechanism can be dangerous? Can there possibly be enough jobs for a large-scale program, or will national service degenerate into a make-work operation? Under a voluntary program, isn't it doubtful that even one youth in one hundred will join? Will not national service mean cheap labor and result in a restricted economy and depressed wages? What will be the source of the thousands of supervisory personnel needed for a large-scale program?

The final section of this chapter deals with national service in its relationship to military manpower procurement. Because the draft was a prime issue at the time of the conference, a complete workshop was devoted to this topic. From the long-range viewpoint, however, it is more properly included in this chapter as a part of the overall manpower issue.

THE REAL COSTS OF NATIONAL SERVICE

Charles S. Benson

The economic structure of the proposed national service program (Appendix A) is relatively simple. An opportunity would be offered to young men and women in their late teens and early twenties to engage in a variety of socially useful tasks for a period of approximately two years. During this time these young people would be free of those materialistic and competitive pressures about which some college students so bitterly complain. National service would be sponsored by federal, state, and local agencies, public and nonpublic. More specifically, the national service volunteers would perform useful tasks in such fields as health care, education, conservation, public welfare, libraries, prisons, and recreation; they would also, themselves, receive a certain amount of further education, mainly of an on-the-job-training type. National service volunteers would receive a subsistence allowance of an amount approximately equal to enlisted pay in the Armed Services. They would also receive a more or less standard amount of fringe benefits. Sponsoring agencies would be granted financial assistance for supervising the volunteers' duties.

Let us translate these statements into dollar terms. The figures to follow, let me note, are strictly my own and should not be taken to represent the thinking of the National Service Secretariat. I assume that the subsistence allowance would be \$2,400 per year and fringe benefits an estimated 20

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per cent of "salary" (a common figure in local public service) or \$480. Administration costs at the employer's level might be \$500 per volunteer. This would assume that a full-time supervisor to direct the work of 20 volunteers could be hired at a salary plus benefits of \$10,000. I estimate training costs at \$600 per year per volunteer. This is approximately the operating costs of California junior colleges per full-time student. It could be objected that volunteers would not be full-time students, but then formal educational institutions achieve economies of scale in instruction that would be impossible for the sponsoring agencies. The sum of subsistence, fringe benefits, supervision, and instruction costs would amount to \$3,980 annually per volunteer. Let us round the figure off to \$4,000.¹

If there were 10,000 volunteers, and if the federal government alone met the cost as estimated above, the charge to the Treasury would be \$40 million per year. For 500,000 volunteers, the cost would be \$2 billion. Even the latter figure is not large in terms of our Gross National Product--less than one-half per cent. But the point we want to consider here is whether these cash outlays are reasonable approximations of the real cost of national service.

THE COST-BENEFIT APPROACH

The question is raised at a time when cost-benefit analysis and program budgeting (broadly defined) are popular analytical tools, both in industry and in government. Both terms mean many different things to different people, and I am not prepared to go into details about the concepts. A few brief comments will suffice. Let us recognize that an economic activity may yield returns or benefits over a period of years. A dam, for example, will provide

water for household and industrial uses and for crop irrigation, and it will create recreational facilities. Possibly the dam will reduce harmful flooding. A series of dollar values of these benefits can be estimated, using ordinary market criteria. By choosing a suitable rate of interest, not always an easy task, it is possible to compute a present discounted value of the benefits. The building of the dam will normally take several years to accomplish, and a present discounted value of the costs can be computed. A state government might have several such water-resource projects under consideration at a point in time. By comparing these projects in cost-benefit terms, it could choose that particular project (or set of projects) in which the ratio of benefits to costs was highest. Or it might then weigh the relative merits of building a dam versus creating, for example, desalinization plants.

Program budgeting includes the essential elements of cost-benefit analysis, for example, the comparison of alternative activities, but it also gives attention to the planning function. Any economic agency has established operational objectives, extending normally over a five- or ten-year period. These operational objectives are then translated into a fiscal plan under efficiency criteria. An example can be drawn from the educational services. Suppose the operational objective is established of extending the length of school life by two years for youth not expected to attend a four-year college. (This objective itself might have been decided upon by comparing the differential yields, relative to cost, of various alternative public investments.) The task is to choose the means of meeting the objective that is most efficient. One can make the choice by comparing incremental lifetime earnings of students who attend two years of junior college, two years of technical institute, and so on, to costs per student in the various types of institutions.

In carrying out this type of analysis, Hirsch and Marcus recently reached the conclusion that the economically best alternative was to provide the equivalent of two years' extra schooling through extending the length of the school year in secondary school.²

For our purposes there are two important points to note. In analyzing the effectiveness of anything, economists are wont to make comparisons: specifically, comparisons of what one gets from a particular activity with what one gives up. It is assumed that there are always alternative uses of resources. Thus, it follows that the costs of national service are the values of outputs the volunteers would have created in alternative employments. In a full-employment economy the "opportunity" exists for volunteers to create alternative outputs, and hence the cost of national service is that "opportunity cost" of these alternative outputs.

Second, in estimating benefits and costs, economists rely heavily on the pricing mechanism of the private economy. For example, in analyzing the economic consequences of the military draft, Burton A. Weisbrod and W. Lee Hansen make comparisons of military pay with civilian incomes, which is to say with incomes in the private economy, and they consider the effects of postponed education and training on the future civilian marginal productivities of draftees.³ What something costs, then, is what it is worth in the market economy.

Using these principles to determine the real costs of national service, we could proceed as follows. First, we would determine the annual pay of a college graduate in his first two years of employment. Considering men and women together, the average annual pay over the two-year period would be roughly \$7,250. The national service volunteer would receive a subsistence

allowance of, say, \$2,400. If we assume that the \$2,400 is a fair measure of the economic output of the national service volunteer, we could hold that for each college graduate serving as a volunteer, the society is exchanging an output worth \$7,250 (in the private market) for one worth \$2,400 (in national service). The real cost to society is the difference between these two figures, or \$4,850. This estimate is based on the notion that one man's income is another man's price. Society is willing to pay \$7,250 for the services of a recent college graduate and that figure is the most readily available measure of what society foregoes when it dispenses with the service of the graduate. Under national service society does not dispense entirely with the graduate; instead, it shifts him temporarily from ordinary private employment into that range of activities covered in the national service program. These activities are measured at a rate of pay of \$2,400 and, once again assuming that the allowance represents the value to society of national service activities, the cost per college graduate becomes the difference between what he could get on the "outside" and what he gets in national service. Real cost, then, is foregone earnings.

For high school graduates, the real cost is less. A high school graduate would earn, on the average, about \$4,900 annually in his first two years of employment. In his case, foregone earnings amount to \$2,500. The use of the foregone-earnings concept, subject to the limitations to be discussed below, shows that it costs about twice as much to engage college graduates in national service as high school graduates, that is, a "real cost" of \$4,850 for the college graduate as compared with \$2,500 for the high school person.

So far, we have said nothing about fringe benefits, supervisory costs, and training costs. Does the existence of these outlays enter into the

calculation of the real costs of national service? Except for a special case to be mentioned below, I am inclined to think that they do not in any measurable way. In practically all employment nowadays, fringe benefits and supervisory costs are substantial. These are unlikely to show any large change between a person in private employment and one in national service. Similarly, almost all employment involves a certain amount of on-the-job training for newly hired persons. National service would not alter the costs in this regard either. For the college graduate in national service, the training received might be less relevant to his future employment than the equivalent amount of on-the-job training he would receive in private employment, but the difference is probably minimal. Possibly the training offered in national service would be especially powerful in lifting the academic work motivation of volunteers, but this is not measurable at this time.

THE CASE OF UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

The exception I mentioned has to do with the effects of national service --and its on-the-job-training component--on volunteers who would otherwise be unemployed. If a group of young people is subject to chronic unemployment, and if national service provides them an opportunity to render economic benefits to society equal in value to their subsistence allowance, then the \$2,400 paid them is not a real cost to society but a real net gain in national income. But the training aspects of national service may be particularly important in the case of youth subject to chronic unemployment, for it may open the door for them to jobs in the open market.

During the last year and a half we have been approaching a condition of full employment. Yet, unemployment of youth remains very much a problem. The

January, 1967, issue of the Survey of Current Business reported: "In 1962, one-fifth of all unemployed were teenagers. By 1966, one out of every three unemployed persons was a teenager even though teenagers accounted for only ten per cent of the labor force. This trend points up the difficulty teenagers are experiencing in securing employment in our expanding economy where a premium is placed on skill and experience."⁴

With respect to the point about youth needing skill and experience to get a job, it should be noted that employers are becoming more adept at screening applicants and are increasingly making use of standardized tests. For example, the Southern California Industry-Education Council reported that more than 70 per cent of the manufacturing firms in the south of the state use general intelligence tests as a standard part of the hiring procedure.⁵ It can also be reported that, in the present tight labor market, employers are placing less reliance on high school graduation as evidence of employability. This might appear to give a better break to the high school dropout. However, employers apparently find it cost-effective to use their own rigorous screening devices in selecting new help, hopefully to avoid the ever-rising psychic and financial costs of discharge and separation (grievance proceedings, severance pay, and the like). When employment standards are relaxed on the matter of high school graduation, the youth with a juvenile delinquency record or the youth who has difficulty with pencil and paper tests is just as firmly out of a job as ever. And possibly more so, because practically anyone can get a high school diploma eventually, by means of correspondence courses and the like.

Let us recall our cash estimate of \$4,000 annual outlay per national service volunteer, which is made up of a subsistence allowance of \$2,400 and

an expenditure of \$1,600 for fringe benefits, supervisory costs, and training. In the case of chronically unemployed youth, the gross opportunity cost of their private employment is zero; hence, the \$2,400 paid them in subsistence allowance is a net contribution made by them to society. On the other hand, since they would otherwise have been unemployed, there would have been no expenditures made on their behalf for fringe benefits, supervisory costs, or training. The net cost of a year's national service for an otherwise unemployed youth is then \$1,600 and for two years, \$3,200.

Suppose an unemployed youth enters neither the military service nor national service and, finally, spends his entire life in chronic unemployment. Suppose that had the same youth entered national service he would have become equipped to lead a productive life (through work experience and on-the-job training). The present discounted value of his lifetime earnings in the second case might approximate \$140,000. This is a handsome return for an investment of \$3,200!

Let us return to the general case. I have suggested that the real cost of national service can be determined by comparing the expected earned income of volunteers in the private economy with their subsistence allowance. The difference in these two figures--and except for the unemployed the former figure would almost always be greater than the latter--is what in the national accounting sense the society gives up in real goods and services per volunteer. Hence, the aggregate of the figures per volunteer indicates the total real cost of national service. We have assumed, however, that the dollar value of the subsistence allowance is a measure of the economic contribution of volunteers. It is now time to examine this assumption. If we want a net cost estimate for national service, it is indeed necessary to make judgments about the worth of

the activities of the volunteers to society.

A REAPPRAISAL OF VALUES

Obviously, in the national accounting sense, the value of the volunteers' activities are less than market rates of pay; otherwise, the activities specified for national service would be fully performed by private and public agencies. Moreover, one could argue that the economic value of national service is even less than the \$2,400 subsistence allowance; otherwise, no federal underwriting of subsistence allowances and no federal subsidy of costs of supervision would be necessary.

The statements are made in the "national accounting sense." I suggest that the process of economic accounting is unable to accommodate, or properly deal with, such activities as national service. In national income accounts the worth of a man's activity is measured by his income. Take two individuals, one a fashionable interior decorator and the other a competent and dedicated mathematics teacher in secondary school. Let the interior decorator's earned income be \$100,000 and that of the teacher, \$10,000. Suppose both men die tomorrow. Since national income is the sum of salary, wages, interest, dividends, and the like, with wages and salaries the most important component, the loss to national income brought about by the death of the decorator is ten times as great as the loss due to the death of the teacher. But can we say in honesty that the contribution of the decorator to our society was ten times that of the teacher?

Of course, it can be put in rejoinder that national income accounts measure what they measure and that they are not conceived of as precise barometers of human welfare, which is itself unmeasurable anyway. The same defense

--and it is a good one--can be made of other widely used economic measurements: productivity indexes, price indexes, labor force participation rates, and so forth. This still leaves us with the problem of making judgments about the real costs of national service.

Tentatively, I suggest that the problem could be considered as one having to do with alternative uses of time. Suppose in a given town there is a young college graduate who goes to work as a trainee in a local bank and expects to move up fairly rapidly to the post of assistant branch manager. Suppose at this same time there is a senior clerk in the local utility company who loses sight in both eyes. By an act of will and perseverance, the clerk manages to retain a job in the utility company and suffers no loss in pay. Let us assume further that the clerk in former years received great enjoyment and fulfillment from playing the violin in a semiprofessional capacity. Assume that the strain of keeping his job after his loss of sight has led the man to give up the violin. The clerk has, as stated, suffered no loss in income, but he has, one would surely think, suffered a loss in the capacity to enjoy life. In economists' terminology he is making his consumptive choices on a lower indifference curve (in the real sense). Through physical incapacity he has lost a measure of utility (in the sense of personal satisfaction, not in the sense of work capacity).

Now, suppose the young bank trainee we mentioned earlier had gone into national service instead of into private employment. Assume that one of his activities on a particular day was to meet with the blind clerk and help him take the initial steps in reading musical scores in braille. (Suppose further that his volunteer work was comprised of a whole series of such activities.) The contact between the clerk and the trainee might rekindle the clerk's

interest in music--or rekindle it sooner than it would otherwise have occurred. This act in itself represents an increase in the sum total of utilities in the society. Presumably, some young men would find--for a while at least--a greater measure of satisfaction in providing these kinds of services to their fellow man than in private employment in the conventional sense; hence, on their part the total of satisfactions in the society is increased.

What is the effect on the ordinary citizen when the bank trainee chooses national service against private employment? He, of course, suffers some measure of loss in utilities, presumably, by the fact that he has to queue up a bit longer for services at the bank. It is patently difficult to place a net monetary value on the satisfaction accruing to the clerk and to the volunteer as against the loss of services suffered by the ordinary citizen.

In my value scheme, we are now rich enough as a country that we face a trade-off of a small amount of public convenience (equivalent in national accounting terms to a slight diminution in the rate of advance in gross national product) for the application of strategic and crucial amounts of human time in compassionate and socially creative activities. Many people in our society have unusual needs for the time of other people. Many of the persons who have these needs lack the great wealth now required to buy such services on the open market. Public and private agencies have difficulty in paying for the costs of such services from their own fragmented revenue structures. Technological advances in the public sector are relatively slow but wages of regular public employees rise nonetheless. The work week shrinks and union-imposed rules on the regulation of overtime increase in number. There needs to be a better mechanism under which a shift in the allocation of human energies can occur.

I therefore conclude that the efforts to calculate the real costs of national service in the conventional accounting framework are probably not worth serious effort. This is not to deny, of course, that one should compute cash costs of the federal government and participating agencies. Politically speaking, budgets are finite and one needs to know the financial implications of national service programs of various sizes.

A NEW ACCOUNTING SYSTEM

Beyond this, I think we need to shift to a nonconventional accounting system. It would be good if we could establish targets, expressed in man-years, for the allocation of human time to needs not served adequately under existing allocations in the private and public economies. Hopefully, this program, call it national service, could have priority of attention with the space program, in which, of course, broad objectives are not set by cost-benefit analysis either. Volunteers could see that their service contributed directly to meeting national objectives. Meeting the goals would be considered goods in themselves, just as is placing a man on the moon.

Would cost-benefit analysis have no place in the administration of national service? Very little in the choice of broad objectives in the allocation of human time, possibly a great deal in the choice among alternative activities to meet stated ends. For example, one might use cost-benefit analysis to decide upon the efficient size of national service placement centers, taking account of differences, one place to another, in boarding cost, transportation costs, and the like.

More broadly, we would be aiming toward guiding our social policies in terms of a series of human resources accounts that might come to stand on a

par with the national income accounts, though reflecting more closely social priorities. Social priorities must be decided upon; they are not generated automatically by the operation of the invisible hand in the market economy. We as a people have long been engaged in choosing social priorities, but we have often been distracted by problems of economic growth and defense. National service may offer the means to be both more thorough and more consistent in realizing our national ideals.

AN INDUSTRIALIST LOOKS AT NATIONAL SERVICE

Roland M. Bixler

In this paper I approach the concept of national service as a parent, a citizen who is active as a volunteer in numerous community, civic, and educational projects, and as an industrialist who is familiar with business and the private sector. I am not authorized to, nor do I presume to, act as the spokesman of industry.

At the outset, let me make clear that my viewpoint does not support the concept of national service, voluntary or prescribed, either in theory or as specifically suggested in A Plan for National Service.¹ I offer three premises for this viewpoint:

1. But for the historic need to supply military manpower, there would perhaps be no occasion for these comments. Military conscription has been an inevitable compromise in a society that abhors abridgment of personal freedom. There may be means of supplying military needs superior to those now in existence, but the concept of national service seems to complicate the issue.

2. Whatever the particulars, national service might in some cases replace military service. The prospect of such an alternative weakens the system of military selection, already a difficult process, and introduces irrelevant new issues.

This is not to suggest any more comprehensive military draft than is necessary for the defense of our country, nor is it to downgrade positive efforts to encourage the best use of human resources in nonmilitary activities.

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The two cannot be contingent, however, without introducing immeasurable problems. Such a contingency is suggested in A Plan for National Service:

Accomplishment of needed tasks in nonmilitary service would be in the national interest; therefore, recognition should be given to persons who serve satisfactorily in approved nonmilitary programs as well as in military activities.²

Under the "option plan" persons who had satisfactorily completed nonmilitary service would not be exempt from military duty. Instead, their names would be placed toward the end of the draft queue in a selective system or at the "bottom of the bowl" in a lottery system and probably would be called only in the case of a national emergency.³

It is my opinion that designation as a Conscientious Objector is legitimate for people who have long demonstrated a religious philosophy opposed to war and to combat services. Many of these people can be used in noncombat work connected with the military, as was provided during World War II.

3. A formalized structure of nonmilitary "universal" and "voluntary" national service has these objections:

(a) It seems to me contrary to our national traditions, and may be unconstitutional.⁴

(b) It runs counter to my concept of a society that will flourish only as we encourage freedom of choice, initiative, and personal responsibility and as we reward positive motivation and incentive.

(c) It confounds the notion of volunteer service. The individual who volunteers does so for a variety of motives, including altruism, compassion, and dedication to a particular cause. To volunteer suggests the equally justifiable alternative--not to volunteer--and that second alternative must be present without the implied threat of negative sanction. Such sanction is implied in the following citation from A Plan for National Service:

So long as the will to serve was manifested by the volunteer, he would remain as a national service volunteer. Servicemen not accepted by a particular agency could return to Placement Centers for further guidance and reassignment. A person would thus not be dismissed solely through inability to perform a task but could be dismissed for misbehavior or unwillingness to perform a reasonable task. The latter might occur if a person entered nonmilitary service solely to avoid military duty. This evasion mentality could be deterred by placing at the top of the military draft pool a young man not satisfactorily completing nonmilitary service.⁵

In a New York Times Magazine article, Hanson Baldwin wrote the following concerning national service:

National Service would not be a help in remedying the present inequality of sacrifice. Any form of compulsory service which put some men into uniform and kept others in civilian clothes, which subjected some to the hazards of death or maiming, and others of the same generation to government desk jobs would be bound to cause invidious comparisons and lowered morale.

And compulsion would destroy the idealistic concept of volunteer service--which is the bone and marrow of the present Peace Corps. Draft exemptions for such nonmilitary service might well have produced the same results.

Finally, the attempt to find places, niches, for all of the youths achieving 18 each year could lead to enormous waste--even a national boondoggle.⁶

Just as an aside it is worth mentioning that service in the Peace Corps as a volunteer cannot be considered as discharging one's obligation under the Selective Service Act.⁷

Having set out the basic premises for my comments, I should now like to discuss some of the problems that would seem implicit in a system of national service. They occur to me as a series of general questions with more specific associated remarks.

How can a plan that abridges the Selective Service System hope to be any more clear-cut and equitable than such a system? This paper is not designed to deal with the problems of Selective Service, but some of the colleagues I

queried on their views of national and Selective Service have been critical of suggested changes even in the present draft law. For example, many have had reasonable treatment from draft boards with which they deal, and feel that draft by lottery does not reasonably account for the best use of the nation's manpower--in supplying skilled workers, for example. Whatever inequities are created by Selective Service would be compounded if (a) a national service system were added to Selective Service, and (b) if an 18-year-old were able to opt for nonmilitary service.

United States corporations in all varying degrees devote time, effort, and money to problems of Selective Service. Some major companies have departments that devote full time to handling selective service matters. I can only imagine the cost and increased time and effort necessary to handle national service details.

My business colleagues were less than warm in their support of a plan that might seem to be an evasion of military service. They felt certain their recruiters would look unfavorably on candidates with such experience.

In what way will national service answer the recruitment needs of volunteer agencies any more efficiently than their present structure or some variation of that structure? From personal experience, and from having read the "Conclusions" offered concerning volunteer agencies in A Plan for National Service, I doubt very much that most such agencies could justify the costs of national service.⁸ That cost to the agencies could be high, for the brief states: "Local administrative expenditures and added costs of personnel would be part of the contribution of the agency receiving the volunteer."⁹

With the variety of organizations noted as prospects for volunteer help, how difficult would it be to set criteria for qualification of an agency, and

to manage staff requirements for such selection? I have no exact count of the number of volunteer or public service agencies and institutions that might qualify under a plan for national service, but there are many thousands. The structure necessary to screen those organizations numerically would be enormous.

In addition, most of those agencies are individual in nature. The assembling of a government staff with the specialized knowledge and the experience required to make necessary value judgments as to each agency's qualifications could be a serious drain on the limited staffs of the very agencies that the voluntary service would hope to assist.

What are the realistic requirements for supervisory and leadership personnel at all levels to manage the tasks that such a plan would put upon each agency? To reiterate, if personnel choice for draft boards has come under fire, what are the prospects for intelligent and equitable placement under so diffuse a plan as this extension of Selective Service?

Most volunteer and public service agencies have no mechanism for either training or supervising the personnel this plan proposes. I suggest that the cost and man-hours required to train and install such personnel make its use impractical in many situations.

Qualifications for training and supervisory personnel are a serious question. At one point A Plan for National Service says:

Over a period of time, a dialogue should be developed between National Service Boards, clerical assistants, and registrants concerning the most appropriate way in which the registrant could fulfill his service obligation.¹⁰

I suggest that allowing clerical assistants to counsel registrants is an irresponsible proposal but probably a realistic one.

How can we reconcile the manpower needs of other sectors of our society if we drain off the nation's young men and women into national service? Returning to Hanson Baldwin's discussion of the draft, we find that he provides us with some interesting manpower statistics.

The Defense Department summary of its draft study presented to Congress last June [1966] predicted a need during the next decade of a minimum armed forces strength of about 2,700,000 men--the pre-Vietnam level. This is a conservative figure. A more realistic assessment of manpower needs in the decade to come must start with a figure of about 3,000,000 for all the armed services, a base level about 230,000 under the current strength. The maintenance of an armed force of 3,000,000 men will require--if past experience is a guide--an annual average input of more than 700,000 men.

However, the population explosion has greatly increased the potential pool of military manpower; the number of men reaching 18 in 1965 was 50 per cent higher (1,720,000) than it was in 1955 (1,150,000). By 1974, this figure will have reached 2,120,000, an 84 per cent increase in less than 20 years. The nation's total military age manpower pool is now about 33,000,000 men (aged 18 to 44) as compared to only 28,000,000 at the end of World War II.

These, then, are the needs--the prospective requirements for military manpower in the next decade--set against the nation's human resources: armed forces of about 3,000,000 men out of a total military age population of more than 33,000,000; 700,000 young men needed each year out of about 2,000,000 annually coming of age.¹¹

However, a system of so-called volunteer service that would tie up so much more of the nation's manpower, ages 18-25, could well be an excessive drain on the work force needed now for a growing economy. Available, useful individuals not involved in the military programs could be of more value to themselves and to society if they proceeded directly from school or college into gainful occupations. They would thus be in a better position to improve the economic equilibrium of the nation and could better support both volunteer activities and a healthy tax structure.

This point is made in a somewhat different way by Hanson Baldwin.

National Service, like U.M.T. (Universal Military Training) would imply the enlistment in some form of government service or program of a great many more youths than any present program can usefully employ.

The Peace Corps has only 14,000 volunteers; all of the rest of the other high-minded, but often ineffective, government programs--such as VISTA, the Job Corps, the Teachers Corps, etc.--can usefully employ only a fraction of the 2,000,000 men coming of age every year. More important, most of these endeavors require trained and mature men of judgment; high ideals are not enough. To utilize in such programs the one-third or more of the recruits who are rejected each year by the military services--many of whom are from the low-income, depressed groups which the Job Corps, and similar ventures, are intended to help--would be like assigning the halt to lead the blind.¹²

Whom would a system of national service benefit--other than those excluded from the military? Not the college graduate, unless service reinforced the skills for which he was trained, and that is unlikely in the system described. Not the high school graduate who has any notion of direction, unless it happens to correspond with the goals of a national service agency. Those who might gain are the disadvantaged, those who are really too impoverished to be a part of the fabric of society. But in order to gain from such a program, they must first be shown that productive goals in life are possible. Everyone has potential motivation, but he must have some means of measuring his chances against real considerations, and he must gain an ongoing sense of belonging. National service would not seem to offer this kind of direction, especially since it does not train for the work force outside volunteer or public service agencies. It would seem in many instances to reinforce or institutionalize dependency on welfare-type activities.

Examining the hiring practices and recruiting programs of the nation's industries points to a positive alternative for more efficient utilization of

the work force than that offered by National Service. An example related by one company representative takes us to the root of the issue: this corporation manufactures ceramic products; they train all their personnel; they hire unskilled labor with a high school certificate or equivalent and begin training by having the learner watch the specialists in this craft. Meanwhile, the learner does general work in the department, assisting in the process. He may do this for a couple of years. Finally, in three to five years, he becomes a full-fledged craftsman with the potential of excellent earnings.

The same corporation maintains other kinds of apprentice and training programs in cooperation with their unions, management programs, cooperative programs with state agencies in vocational guidance, and the like. They are not unique in this. The same story is repeated across the nation.

Innumerable manpower statistics that point the need for more trained personnel also deserve attention. Here are merely a few.

The U.S. Department of Labor foresees a need for four and a half million more people in professional and technical occupations within the next ten years. Jobs for office-machine operators are expected to increase 106 per cent, for chemists--61 per cent, engineering and science technicians--56 per cent, draftsmen--42 per cent, and engineers--40 per cent.

The U.S. Department of Labor reports that 10,000 new workers in the health services will be needed each month over the next ten years to meet manpower needs. Annual output for occupational and physical therapists must increase ten times, medical record librarians five times, dental hygienists triple, and medical technologists and X-ray technicians double. Measures to alleviate shortages will take into account geographic and urban-rural differences. Additional data is presented in Employment Service Review, November, 1966.

Approximately 94,000 active nurses will be required in the State [New York] by 1970 to meet the recommended goal of 500 per 100,000 population. The Division of Professional Education reports 65,000 nurses presently active represent half of those registered.¹³

To fill such needs, training for national service cannot, in my opinion, equate with training done in vocational and technical courses in schools, colleges, and universities, or in employer-directed training programs on which there is the expectation of permanence in direct employment.

Tying up a large portion of our population--not only the 18- to 25-year-olds but also many of the more mature people needed to staff national service inside and outside government would seriously slight our nation's primary needs. If there were a full emergency, such as the conditions that existed during World War II, national service would seem to complicate hopelessly the efforts to utilize available manpower most efficiently.

Even without such an emergency, no convincing explanation in A Plan for National Service precludes the possibility that, given a choice, a draft-age youth will not choose national service over military service. Taking into account the fact that the plan calls for automatic filling of military ranks should a shortage occur, such a choice is then futile, and the plan of little value if a good part of its intent is to offer alternatives to the draft. And there is still the added necessity on the part of the military of doing extra work required to transfer people into military service. There is also a contingent negative morale factor.

We cannot justify within our national philosophy taking two to three years of some part of the lives of so many young people in a certain chronological segment of society to place them in national service. We might as well recruit all men above draft age and prior to retirement who by chance missed a draft call in their lifetimes.

The years for national service are crucial years in the development of the individual. Though some of my younger informants seek a breathing spell

from studies or work so that they can take a look at their goals, these same people and others might be impaired by time spent in activities that would not demonstrate alternative directions for a future course, and might stifle budding incentive.

Can we justify the costs of national service as against alternative choices that might be superior on other bases? What follows is a cost digest paraphrased from the brief of the National Service Secretariat, in which national service is envisioned as a gradually evolving process. The first steps recommended toward its implementation are:

- a) Establish universal volunteer service as a national goal.
- b) Rename the Selective Service System the National Service System and the Selective Service Boards the National Service Boards.
- c) Create a National Foundation for Volunteer Service.¹⁴

Of the Foundation, the brief states:

The National Foundation, within the framework of the guidelines and criteria specified by law or executive order, would determine which service activities were to be approved as consistent with the objectives of national service. It would underwrite subsistence allowances to national service volunteers serving in approved activities. The Foundation would carry out its funding responsibilities independent of the system of military draft.¹⁵

Costs of operating the Foundation are treated as a part of the annual unit cost of maintaining a volunteer assigned to an approved project. They total \$710.00 per volunteer, and this does not include administrative costs of a sponsoring agency.¹⁶ Neither is there an explanation of how monies will be raised to "carry out its funding responsibilities. . . ."

The brief mentions the importance of the Peace Corps, the Job Corps, "and other qualifying programs" as potential users of National Service recruits,

but it explains that as they "would probably be financed separately from non-federal national service activities, they are omitted" from the estimate of a build-up of national service over the first three years.¹⁷

Leaving aside the qualifying programs, a tabulation of the cost of non-military National Service for the first three years is projected in the brief. Presumably these figures would affect contingent costs of military service, though this fact and its consequences are not estimated.¹⁸

I cannot agree that the nearly two-billion-dollar estimate projected for national service in the third year of operation would be the maximum. For instance, existing volunteer agencies such as VISTA and the Peace Corps are dismissed as having their cost accounting elsewhere in government expenditures. Costs for these would be increased under a plan for national service, merely because of the necessity for bringing them into the system and paying for the changeover.

Costs of altering the existing Selective Service System are nowhere accounted for, yet paying for a changeover would call for more federal expenditures.

Similarly, costs to volunteer agencies such as the Red Cross and the Salvation Army would be considerable if they were added to national service. According to A Plan for National Service, these agencies agreed that such changes would have to come from federal subsidy.¹⁹ And would not state and local government agencies expect federal subsidies for their participation also?

Budgeted costs also do not take into account the high loss in potential gross national product that could result from draining off a goodly portion of the younger work force.

There is nothing in our recent national history to suggest that a federal program of this magnitude, once underway, would diminish in cost. More likely, it would build its own pressures for more costly variations and expansions.

As a gauge of expenditures in other areas, even a two-billion-dollar figure invites interesting comparisons with other parts of the federal budget. For example:

(a) For all nonmilitary economic assistance to foreign countries the funds requested for fiscal 1968 are 2.5 billion dollars.²⁰

(b) The Office of Economic Opportunity is requesting just over 2 billion dollars for the new fiscal year, and expects to spend just under 2 billion. That's for the expansion of the poverty program, financing rural and urban community action programs for training, education, and rehabilitation of the nation's poor.²¹

(c) The Department of Agriculture is asking not quite 1.5 billion dollars for price supports for the nation's farmers in 1968.²²

(d) The Department of Agriculture is asking 1.8 billion dollars for foreign assistance programs for 1968. These are the Public Law 480 Food for Peace programs.²³

(e) Less than 1.5 billion dollars is requested for the entire new Department of Transportation for fiscal 1968.²⁴

(f) For fiscal 1968 the Department of the Interior has requested 1.9 billion dollars, of which it is expected 1.7 billion will be spent in the coming year. The Interior Department handles these responsibilities: Public Land Management, Mineral Resources, Fish and Wildlife and Parks, Water and Power Development, and Water Pollution Control. It contains such vital

government offices as the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, the Office of Territories, the Geological Survey, the Bureau of Mines, the Office of Coal Research, the Office of Oil and Gas, and the National Park Service. Additionally, the majority of environmental service programs for the government come under its jurisdiction--the development of the oceans, and the improved use of the nation's water supplies.²⁵

(g) For new programs for federal aid to public schools and colleges the budget request is for three billion dollars for fiscal 1968, with an expected expenditure of two billion.²⁶

In summary, a plan of national service seems to be an unworkable concept on the basis of the several points detailed in this paper. It would weaken the system of military selection; it would be an inefficient use of a vitally important segment of our society; it cannot justify its costs, either in dollars or in human resources. Most of all, as a moral concept it is inconsistent within a society that seeks to promote freedom and initiative.

A TRADE UNIONIST LOOKS AT NATIONAL SERVICE

Jacob Clayman

This statement does not pretend to represent the views of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, or the American labor movement. It simply represents brief and personal ruminations of an ordinary citizen who comes from a trade union background.

In the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting held on February 27, 1967, the labor-policy-determining committee declared its most definitive and comprehensive policy on the draft since World War II. Generally, the AFL-CIO statement pertains to draft policies; however, the statement does comment specifically on the national service concept, and the more critical observations are as follows:

The national service concept raises serious problems from a practical viewpoint. If the idea is to be explored, it requires detailed further study, not immediate enactment. In addition to the tremendous cost increase required by all of the present national service proposals, an artificially low pay rate will result in the emergence of a large manpower pool unfairly competing with the remainder of the labor force. With the military taking 700,000 youths annually and an estimated 2.1 million boys reaching age 18 by 1974, there is a real question whether 1.4 million "national service" jobs can be created annually. Further complicating the problem is the educational background and training required to perform useful functions for such organizations as the Peace Corps, Teacher Corps and VISTA.¹

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I share the view of the AFL-CIO Executive Council that immediate enactment of a full-scale national service program is not feasible. Psychologically, politically, and logistically the country is not prepared for immediate or quick acceptance of the drastic changeover involved in the national service idea. First, compulsion, as advocated by some national service proponents, has always been anathema in our culture. We have countenanced enforced service in the past only when there has been a threat to national safety and then only for the purpose of bearing arms. Except in grave emergencies, there is no tradition in our society for requiring citizens--young men and perhaps even young women--to give two years of their lives in service to the nation. Second, where would we place in socially and personally meaningful jobs the 1,800,000 young men who would be available this year and the 2,000,000 who are expected to be available by 1972? As we examine our experience with the nation's antipoverty programs, it is clear that planning and gearing for massive action to utilize 1,800,000 to 2,000,000 youngsters each year in effective public service will take more than "off the cuff" spontaneous doing. Certainly, thinking of the short term, there is something to be said of Harvard President Nathan Pusey's appraisal of such a program:

I cannot believe our government could possibly provide a demanding and meaningful experience...for the millions of young people who would be involved. Nor can I think of anything worse for young people eager to get on in the world than to stand by marking time.²

While these are valid objections, national service is not so wild a dream as to be discarded as utopian, worthless, totalitarian, or unworkable. It will, however, require study and thought, and the starting premise should be "let's take a long, hard look."

The AFL-CIO statement also warns that "an artificially low pay rate will result in the emergence of a large manpower pool unfairly competing with the remainder of the labor force." This is a caveat which needs to be heeded because if such unfair competition were indeed the result of a national service program, its entire worth would be vitiated. If, in the process of providing socially valuable goods and services as well as wholesome training for youth, we destroy the economic standards of their elders, we indeed would be jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

I am of the opinion that a national service program could be created which would avoid the dangers of competition suggested by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. These dangers cannot be ignored and must be guarded against meticulously, but I assume that national service proponents are contemplating areas of activities such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, conservation, beautification, and community action, which normally are not in competition with the private sector of the economy. If so planned and directed, as it must be, I foresee no serious threat to private jobs. Indeed, as the nation makes a sustained assault in these areas, the likelihood is that more jobs will be created in certain private industries such as the manufacture of machinery, transportation, and so forth.

I can conceive that the national service objective of giving every young man (and perhaps young woman) a specific assignment in the service of the nation could generate a moral and psychological force to provide the feeling of identification and association that today's youth so urgently seeks. This task constitutes a personal and a public imperative. One of the hallmarks of our time is the depersonalization of associations. The population has shot up with mercurial speed as we approach 200 million. The cities grow larger

and larger as the rural population continues to contract. Next-door neighbors in the high-rise apartment houses reaching to the clouds hardly know each other. With automation, high-speed assembly lines, and push-button operation, work becomes an automatic function that elicits neither pride of purpose nor contentment of achievement. As this depersonalization may be the wave of the future, it is desperately important that the nation strive mightily to involve the individual in association with the total society; that is, to ensure that at some point in his life he will have an opportunity to experience meaningful service within the totality of the group and to find the sense of belonging that is so difficult to come by for too many.

I genuinely believe that there is sufficient promise in national service to buoy the hope that it can be a factor in washing out the feeling of alienation and frustration that oppresses the hearts and minds of so many young people. I am not unaware of the argument that compulsory national service can lead to individual regimentation, state-discipline-oriented attitudes, and authoritarian goose-step mentality. While this is a danger of which we must be wary, we must also recognize that national service programs can be managed in the atmosphere and style of democracy and need not be administered in a paramilitary or dictatorial manner. The Peace Corps has not militarized or handcuffed individual personality. In fact, a goodly number of Peace Corps acquaintances indicate that their experience has sharpened their allegiance to the democratic practice and ideal.

National service could make possible a national inventory of human needs such as we have never had before. The military draft supplies some idea of basic mental and physical fitness, but of necessity this is rather superficial. Its primary concern is to obtain men for the military; its social concerns are

incidental and minimal. The civil rights revolution and the War on Poverty have laid bare to public view the general dimensions of deprivation and poverty in our midst. In the meat-packing industry, for example, a landmark contract between labor and management several years ago recognized the need for being armed against automation, and a variety of actions were contemplated to ease the impact of technological innovations. Since the low-skilled jobs were likely to be eliminated first, the union and the employer undertook the re-training of the unskilled-made-jobless to enable them to perform more advanced skills that could be utilized by the industry. To the consternation of both the union and management, it was discovered that many of the unskilled employees were so disadvantaged in their early education that they were literally untrainable for better and more skilled tasks. The fact is that no one previously knew in detail the shortcomings of these unskilled workers. Of course, there was a vague and general awareness that the workers were short on education, but the answers to what their exact deficiencies were, whether or not they were trainable, and what could or should be done to help them were not sought until catastrophe struck.

The country could know with precision the problems of its youth. National service, because its objectives go far beyond the range of military requirements, could be geared to assay individual defects and needs in detail, and even more importantly, to do something about it. Armed with such a human inventory, a national service program could become a training ground aimed at correcting individual educational deficiencies, retraining for individual achievement of higher skills, developing aptitudes, and helping to alter and adjust physical and emotional difficulties. In short, national service could constitute for young people a continuation of education aimed

at meeting their specific needs and interests as well as the nation's requirements--a mature experience in learning and labor. The opportunity for taking personalized remedial action could and should surpass any approach now available.

In essence, a carefully conceived plan for national service might fulfill the following national imperatives: (1) initiate a massive assault on the great shortages in the public sector, (2) develop a mood of social service and dissipate the spirit of alienation and disaffection, (3) provide an exact inventory of human assets and liabilities and create machinery to sharpen the assets and thereby reduce the stockpile of liabilities, (4) provide a form of continuing education and experience for youth.

I have observed that the country is not now ready for a large-scale program of national service and that national service is not ready for the country, but we can take a mincing beginning step in the direction of national service. I propose initially that volunteers in programs of a nonmilitary nature, such as the Peace Corps, should be granted immunity from military conscription. One of the success stories in recent United States history is the performance of the Peace Corps in many underdeveloped areas of the world. The presence of Peace Corpsmen is our country's symbol and token to the people of those lands that our national purpose is peace and assistance; by performing this function, corpsmen may be worth many divisions of soldiers. There are stories of local draft boards peremptorily pulling Peace Corps volunteers out of sensitive and urgent foreign assignments for induction into the military. In many cases this is a tragic waste of manpower and contrary to the national interest. Corpsmen who perform well should be retained at their posts to insure the integrity and continuity of the Peace Corps operation. The Peace

Corps is suggested as a happy example of service to both the nation and international communities. It is entirely possible, indeed often likely, that the work contribution generally, of service volunteers in nonmilitary programs is sufficiently valuable to warrant freedom from military conscription. The nation is not necessarily served best by service in the military.

When one considers compulsory service of any kind, when human freedom is at stake, conclusions come with difficulty. However, I am inclined to the belief that a national service program that permits considerable range of personal choice within the overall mandate of service to the nation can preserve the spirit of a free and open society. I stand reasonably convinced that national service makes a prima facie case sufficient to deserve a closer look on the part of the American people. We have an individual and national responsibility to heed the advice of Marcus Aurelius:

Look beneath the surface; let not the several qualities
of a thing nor its worth escape thee.

Let the search commence!

MANPOWER DIMENSIONS OF NATIONAL SERVICE

Eli Ginzberg

I am going to do five things. I am going to delineate the problems to which national service seems to be attentive. I am going to take a closer look at national service from the point of view of manpower development and from the viewpoint of manpower utilization. Then I want to make explicit some of its broader implications, and, finally, to indicate my own conclusions about the plans as I understand them.

I am quite sympathetic to Mr. Clayman's point that we have a large number of problems in the country. I have listed ten that I think national service tries to deal with in some form or another:

1. In our country a man's transition from school to work leaves much to be desired.
2. We are a country in which youth unemployment is disgracefully high; this point is not unconnected with the first.
3. There is very little doubt that a large number of youth, particularly, but by no means exclusively, minority youth, have severe degrees of alienation in terms of the country's history, its present position, and its future prospects. I think the impact of the war in Vietnam on the youth of the country has not been fully understood.

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4. We would like to duplicate some of the positive values of the Peace Corps without knowing how to do so. We have a feeling, as Mr. Clayman said, that these are positive and should be extended.

5. We recognize that there seems to be something wrong with the marketplace, at least with regard to its ability to attract and retain adequate manpower supplies for what seem to be, in Professor Benson's terms, not high-priority situations for the market, but perhaps for the society.

6. We ought to do more experimenting than we have yet done in an attempt to establish and expand subprofessional fields to help meet the manpower requirements of high-priority sectors and also, perhaps, to fit in better those people who are not likely to become professionals.

7. As mentioned by several of the panelists, we face a situation, which we will continue to face in the absence of full mobilization, whereby we simply do not have a military demand for all the available male manpower, and certainly not for the female manpower.

8. There is the belief, expressed in Donald J. Eberly's paper (Appendix A) and elsewhere, that it is desirable in a democratic society to have an entire generation share certain experiences. This is not the case at the present time by virtue of the fact that only certain numbers are used by the military.

9. There is continued recognition of the fact that many people are very poorly prepared for adult work and that they need a second chance.

10. Not explicit but still quite important in my opinion, is the fact that a large number of young people will have to be relocated--from farm to city, from small cities to larger cities--in order to make a living. And there is a suggestion, at least, within the context of this proposal that their problems would be solved in part by national service.

I have simply called to your attention ten critical problems in and around youth manpower and its development that, it is hoped, could be attended to, some extent, perhaps to a great extent, by national service.

Now I want to look a little more critically at the problems of manpower development and national service and to follow that with some considerations of manpower utilization. It is an artificial break, but it gives us some advantages of structure. The first point is that there is not a sufficiently sharp delineation in the national service proposal between young people who are on the track and those who have fallen off the track. There are a large number of people who should not be interrupted and delayed unnecessarily. I am impressed with the tremendous infantilization of American youth; after all, Mr. Pitt was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the age of 21. But we even permit certain people to enter work for the first time at the age of 35. The question of why it is necessary to derail people who are not in trouble is important.

The second point has to do with those who are off the track. What do they need? They need remedial education; they need training; but above all, they need a job, income, and integration into the adult world. The last thing in the world they need is more make-believe society, such as in the schools. Incidentally, we are the only country in the world that apparently cannot digest effectively young people at ages 17, 18, and 19. The Russians may be getting there, but at the moment we are the only one already there.

The next point is that the jobs that are "going begging" are poorly paid service jobs. There was a young man at Watts after the riots who said he would only take a job at two dollars an hour. To place hard-to-employ youngsters in poor-paying service jobs with no opportunities for career progression

is to add insult to injury.

The next question relates to what the market needs to do to structure and develop career lines for service jobs so that we would have a duplication in the service area of what we used to have in manufacturing. That is, a man started in a steel yard and had 22 progressions up the line as long as he was willing to do his work. He didn't have to have fancy degrees; he just moved up the skill and income scale. I noticed, incidentally, that Inland Steel has an average wage this year of \$8,300. Most of its work force are hard-to-employ people in present-day language. They are high school dropouts. Yet they are earning on the average \$8,300 because of the occupational and career structure. And that is what we need in the service field.

The next point is that the better subprofessional jobs in the voluntary agencies will go to college students; and even they will find it difficult to get them. I am trying to help some Columbia seniors to contribute service in the New York City prisons. They have the education, but they are not old enough according to the prison authorities. It is perfectly clear that the youngsters who are most in need of being assisted, namely those who have fallen off the track, are those who do not have the qualifications for the better jobs.

The next point is one that Roland M. Bixler made, and one which I'd like to stress again: effective development requires effective supervision. That is the most difficult and most costly challenge to any organization, and voluntary agencies are particularly short of such skills. A very large part of the troubles from which hospitals suffer stems from a weakness of the supervisory structure.

The next point is that whenever there is a conflict between getting work

done and training, it almost always follows that the training goes by the way-side and the work gets done. With cheap volunteer labor available, I don't think much training would get done.

As I know from my background in the Pentagon, it is naive to think, as many apparently do, that it is easy to deal with large numbers of people and to work out balances between their aptitudes, their locations, the times they become available, and the jobs that need doing. The balance between jobs and people represents the most complex kind of challenge even to a military organization. This problem should not be minimized.

Finally, one of the biggest handicaps of short-term jobs is the fact that the worker is not really motivated to do his best because there are no opportunities for promotion. Instead of the advancement possibilities in the manufacturing plant, participants would move in and out again after a couple of years. I have serious questions about considering manpower development as a result of national service.

Now I come to manpower utilization considerations. I have a simple formula based upon my experience and that is that the more manpower there is, and particularly the more manpower there is paid for by somebody else, the less effectively it will be utilized. I've been using all my persuasive powers for many years to encourage the Department of Defense to lower entrance requirements in the hope that they would use their manpower better. If you offer an organization a lot of manpower, and especially if it pays little or nothing for it, you create problems.

The next point is that I am sympathetic with Charles S. Benson's notion that the market is a very imperfect instrument for indicating social values. Nevertheless, the things we want to accomplish in this world exceed the amount

of manpower or any other scarce resource we have available to do them. Hence we face a problem of allocations, and I do want to make sure that an alternative to a monetary system exists. Now, we do have an alternative in our society. We have a political arena: we argue out a lot of matters in Congress, and that is our democratic answer to the shortcomings of the marketplace. We can even decide to go to the moon, right, wrong, or indifferent, and if we get enough votes, we can go to the moon. The question here is who is going to determine the criteria that will decide who gets the available manpower.

A third point is that the AFL-CIO has historically and, I think correctly, argued that one of the ways to improve manpower utilization is to keep manpower in taut supply. The best way to attract attention to a scarce resource is to make it more expensive, not less expensive. For years, for example, hospitals were sloppy, poorly run organizations because nurses and other personnel were too cheap.

The next point is that the whole history of trade unionism has been an attempt to improve wages and working conditions. It will be very difficult to continue this if parallel sources of supply are available for nothing or below cost. It can be worked out, but the whole history of learners' permits and minimum wage and youth allowances suggest that it will be very difficult to resolve the relationship of volunteers to regular workers.

Another point is that, important as young people are, there are other vulnerable groups of which a manpower program must take cognizance. Older persons, unskilled women, and other groups in the society are also entitled to consideration. They should at least be brought into purview before we decide to put billions of dollars into a new volunteer program for young people.

We are considering primarily jobs in the not-for-profit sectors of the economy. The way to get a better adjustment between the profit and not-for-profit sectors of the economy is not to distort manpower flows. I would much prefer to improve pricing and income flows through the two parts of the economy so that the not-for-profit sector could be a legitimate claimant on whatever resources the society decides it is entitled to. I disagree with the Ford Foundation's general philosophy that the way to solve a teacher shortage in this country is to bribe a lot of young people to go into teaching. We have always trained enough teachers in this country, but the conditions of work are too unsatisfactory to hold them. I don't like the idea of using backward devices to cope with unsatisfactory market conditions.

Also, as the former Commissioner of Hospitals in New York will tell you, if you get a large number of assistants to work with a limited number of professionals, you can go backward instead of forward. Dr. Kogel found that it was not necessarily an effective system in New York City hospitals. This has to do with the thinness of the supervision. When people offer to work for me as volunteers in the summertime, I don't take them. I can't afford the supervisory cost.

The next point is that if you have regular workers and volunteer workers, you will slough off the dirty, unpleasant part of the work on the volunteers. After all, your responsibilities as manager of a labor force are to treat your regular workers better, so you will almost inevitably use the volunteers in the opposite way from the way they ought to be used. And, finally, the question of what comes after years of service, especially for the hard-to-employ, raises the whole problem over again--how do they fit in?

These are some of the implications of the preceding discussion. As far as I can judge, these problems are not going to be resolved from the viewpoint of manpower development or utilization. I agree that we do have problems relating to the draft. I have argued for a very long time that the draft is a public disgrace. I want to fix up the draft by means of a lottery. I don't want to compound the difficulty by introducing new ones.

Now about the Peace Corps, I speak with some feeling. I've had the privilege of being a consultant to the Director during my last three trips overseas. The Peace Corps has a very specialized program, which, in my opinion, has little if any relevance to what we're discussing here. In any case, they are finding it increasingly difficult to use generalists overseas. They really need experts who know about agronomy, about public health, about the teaching of English to foreigners. The Peace Corps is a highly expensive, manicured program that has little relevance to the matters we are considering.

On the whole, we should not overlook the general role of the volunteer in American society, although it has been relegated to lesser significance, except in the cases of money raising and board membership. The dominant trend is for professionals to take over the running of social welfare organizations with volunteers going along for the ride. This is my understanding of the recent drift of voluntary efforts in this country.

The discussion of women and national service has been a little too loose. Women have been an important manpower supply in many of the fields that we are now talking about in terms of national service. In the last several years more women have been added to the labor force than men. I'd like to remind you that one-quarter of all the girls marry at or before they are eighteen, and one-half of all the girls are married by twenty. So, before we decide to bring girls into this discussion we had better think about it twice.

At \$4,000 per volunteer, which is Professor Benson's figure, and at a higher figure, which Mr. Bixler and I would opt for, you could create quite a few good jobs. For \$80 a week, \$85 or \$90 a week for some of these youths, I'd like to create some jobs and fit them into a regular career system of promotion rather than using make-believe jobs or at best ad hoc jobs.

I also have great distaste for mixing up this affair with the draft. To say that a volunteer goes to the end of the order of call is to compound difficulties that I would like to handle in other ways. Moreover, the whole question of what jobs are available has not been researched; not enough attention has been paid to what happens when a person finishes his service.

I have five conclusions:

1. I believe our private market is not an ideal instrument for allocating manpower any more than for allocating something else. I am willing and anxious to use social mechanisms to modify that market where it is faulty, but I want to intervene quite specifically and restrictively rather than broadly. I don't want to move to establish competing social mechanisms for the marketplace if it can be avoided.

2. Although the American public may not be as astute as some professors think it ought to be about priority of social needs, we ought to recognize that securing consensus in a democracy is difficult, but the effort should not be shirked.

3. I want to put up a major warning about getting involved in the manipulation of youth per se. I lived in Europe before the Nazis came to power. I read in the newspapers about China's youth. I know something about how the Russians exploited large numbers of young people under Mr. Khrushchev by making them serve for two years on hard-to-fill labor jobs before they were

admitted to the university. It is hard to imagine anything more antagonistic to the whole of our tradition than to start to manipulate large classes of youths for "patriotic ends." I am reminded of Samuel Johnson's remark that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." Well-meaning people can make the errors just as do people who are not well-meaning.

4. Proponents of national service have made the same error that industrial psychologists have made about the attitudes of workers. They have taken the middle-class world, a Peace Corps world, a college world, and have made assumptions about the hard-to-employ that are projections of themselves. These young people need the chance to get into the labor market, increase their skills, earn money, and become rooted in an adult world. Just as professors have been confusing matters for years by talking about what workers want and don't want, by projecting their own images on the workers, so the same fallacy is present here.

5. If you will permit me, I shall make reference to my Pentagon days. In World War II, I was an advisor to the largest organization America ever created--the Army Service Forces. I was General Somervell's advisor on manpower and personnel. One day we realized that although Congress had allowed us 7,700,000 soldiers, we actually had 8,300,000 on board at that time. I submit that if a centralized military organization can make a mistake of 600,000 in controlling its personnel, I would not like to have a large number of volunteer organizations in the middle of this most critical of all our human resources.

MANPOWER NEEDS FOR NATIONAL OBJECTIVES IN THE 1970's

Curtis Aller

It is not difficult to estimate the number of young men and, if we include them, women who would be eligible for national service. Almost four million young men and women will be reaching age 19 annually in the next 20 years, and the number is expected to become larger after that period of time. Although only about 70 per cent of this country's young men are considered acceptable by the current standards of the Armed Forces, the acceptance rate of a national service corps could be much higher--perhaps 90 per cent or more. At the present time, well over 95 per cent of all men in their prime working years are in the labor force; that is, they are working or looking for work. Under present conditions and allowing for some increase in school enrollment, particularly at the college level, we might expect that of the nearly two million men now reaching age 19, about 400,000 will obtain bachelor's degrees, almost a million will obtain high school diplomas, and about 600,000 will have less than a completed high school education. This suggests that the number of persons in a position to help others and the number of persons who are in need of help--the extremes of the educational range--are about in balance. Thus, manpower considerations would dictate that a national service program include every possible candidate because youth who are rejected by

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the Armed Forces and who are outside the work force are in need of rehabilitative services--physical, educational, and emotional--which, if properly developed, could be provided by the more experienced and educated national service participants.

A major researchable problem would be how to build into a national service program work that is useful in a civilian economy, opportunities to develop good work habits and a sense of personal worth and dignity, and very importantly, a bridge between the world of education and the world of work. The following suggestions have been made: state and local government internships; urban renewal programs; Peace Corps and related programs; health, medical, and educational services. Such programs are needed throughout the nation.

Research questions dealing with the qualitative aspect of national service activities would be as follows:

1. How much effort is needed in each of the above mentioned areas?
2. What techniques will effectively train young men and women in the least amount of time so that they can direct the greater part of their service time toward a constructive effort?
3. What supplementary training, experience, and government service will help the corpsmen move smoothly into civilian jobs when they complete a period of service?

Although I would have some reservations about the use of military training and facilities as social agencies, I can think of no other agency that could so readily fulfill such a function. I would, however, strongly hold to the notion that training programs must be geared to civilian convertibility, that the philosophy of training clearly be nonmilitary, and that the Department

of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of Labor, and other agencies be given strong roles in developing training and work programs. During World War II and the Korean War, as well as in Vietnam, military men have been used in nonmilitary functions. They have been trained in agriculture, industry, politics, language, and related fields and their duties involved pacification and redevelopment of stricken areas.

A useful target to keep in mind is the list of manpower requirements for achieving an illustrative set of national objectives in the 1970's. This study represents an extension of earlier research conducted by the National Planning Association in estimating the dollar costs of achieving national goals.¹

In "pricing out" national goals in dollar terms, the National Planning Association estimated the private and public expenditures necessary to achieve goals in areas that affect all aspects of American life accounting for the total output of goods and services. The goal areas distinguished in the system are as follows:

Agriculture	National defense
Area redevelopment	Natural resources
Consumer expenditures and savings	Private plant and equipment
Education	Research and development
Health	Social welfare
Housing	Space
International aid	Transportation
Manpower retraining	Urban development

Needs in each of these areas and standards for their achievement were formulated by the National Planning Association from special studies, legislative hearings, legislation, and general national policy. The standards for the goals reflect current developments in each area, and they represent levels of achievement regarded as reasonable and within reach on the basis of present

knowledge and in a free enterprise system.

By 1975 the gross national product is expected to reach a trillion dollars (in 1964 dollars). At a very broad level, comparison of the dollar cost of the goals and the expected gross national product indicates the capacity of the economy (GNP) to meet the demands placed on it (goals expenditures). On this basis, with a trillion-dollar GNP in 1975, our society's productive capacity would be about 15 per cent less than the resources required to achieve simultaneously all the goals in the next decade.

Although the dollar estimates are useful in underscoring the problem of priorities in an affluent society, they do not pinpoint the specific types of manpower resources required for achieving particular objectives. In many areas, the limits to our ability to achieve objectives are more likely to arise from bottlenecks created by shortages of adequately trained personnel than from shortages of dollars, for example, doctors for the health goal, engineers and scientists for the research and development goal, building trades craftsmen for the urban development goal. Aside from indicating manpower requirements and prospective shortages, the manpower estimates can also point to areas in which pursuit of national objectives could expand employment opportunities for the unskilled and poorly educated workers in the occupations that have been especially unemployment-prone in the past decade. These are also the occupations in which nonwhites are typically overrepresented.

The technique used in arriving at the manpower projections consists basically in translating the dollar estimates for the goals into expenditures for the output of the industries which contribute to their pursuit. The estimates of output then provide a basis for projecting the employment needed in each industry to produce the anticipated level of output. The industry employment then was distributed into specific occupations that reflect changes

in the composition of employment by industry in the 1950 to 1964 period, and judgments based on the available evidence concerning the probable impact of technological advances, such as the use of modern data processing equipment, for employment in the occupations likely to be affected by these changes. The National Planning Association's projections of GNP, labor force, hours of work, productivity changes by industry, and similar economic variables have provided the economic framework for the manpower estimates.

The manpower study indicates manpower needs in the 1970's for achieving all goals along with similar estimates for each of the goals for which it has been possible to prepare separate estimates utilizing the input-output matrix published by the U.S. Department of Commerce. It has been possible to prepare the separate estimates for eleven goals. They account for approximately 95 per cent of the total projected employment. The projections for the individual goals refer to both direct and indirect employment, that is, the estimates for the housing goal refer to employment in the construction industry and they also refer to employment in industries supplying materials for the construction industry such as the cement and steel.

ESTIMATED MANPOWER NEEDS TO MEET INDIVIDUAL GOALS,
1962 AND PROJECTED 1975
(in thousands of workers)

Goal ^a	Actual	Projected Employment, 1975	
	Employment 1962	Benchmark Estimate ^b	For Aspiration Standards ^c
<u>Net total, all goals</u>	<u>67,846</u>	<u>87,654</u>	<u>101,206</u>
Consumer expenditures and savings	42,489	53,651	58,649
Health and education	9,069	12,878	17,140
Housing	3,424	5,210	5,422
International aid	509	642	812
National defense ^d	3,457	3,264	3,264
Natural resources	652	855	1,201
Private plant and equipment	5,586	8,453	11,250
Research and development ^e	2,259	3,351	4,295
Social welfare	4,594	6,454	8,395
Transportation	3,961	4,974	5,972
Urban development	6,336	8,427	10,160
Minus double counting and transfer adjustments	-14,490	20,504	25,354

^aData refer to goals for which individual estimates can be prepared through use of the input-output matrix. If each of the goals shown were corrected for double counting and transfer adjustments, their total net employment would be approximately 95 per cent of the net total for all goals. The goals for which individual gross totals are not shown in the table are: Agriculture, Area Redevelopment, and Manpower Retraining.

^bAssumes level of expenditure for each goal consistent with 4.5 per cent average annual rate of real GNP growth between 1964 and 1975.

^cAssumes full achievement of goals. Implies annual rate of GNP growth of 5.8 per cent in 1964 to 1975 period.

^dEmployment estimates refer to civilian employment in private industry resulting from government purchases of goods and services for defense.

^eIncludes research and development for space programs.

Source: Study on manpower requirements being conducted by the National Planning Association for the Department of Labor.

The goals refer to activities in areas in which our society has been actively engaged in the past decade, and in which public programs or private activities are likely to expand in the next five or ten years. The data prepared for the individual goals can indicate both the needs and the areas of expanding employment opportunity if our society were to assign a high priority to particular goals, for example, to rebuilding cities. They can also help to indicate areas in which it is important to expand facilities for education and training in the next few years if we are to avoid manpower bottlenecks in the next decade, for example, the construction of more medical schools to avoid shortages of doctors.

Aside from these uses, the study of manpower requirements for national goals can offer an important consideration to be taken into account by persons who fear that rapid technological change is likely to create mass unemployment in the next ten or fifteen years. The projections for the goals indicate that, if our society actively pursues these or similar objectives, our manpower problem is more likely to be an insufficiency rather than a surplus of manpower.

NATIONAL SERVICE, MANPOWER, AND THE ECONOMY

Workshop Discussion Summary

Chairman: Herbert Striner, Director of Program Development,
W. E. Upjohn Institute

Panelists: Charles S. Benson; Roland M. Bixler; Eli Ginzberg; Curtis
Aller; and Terrence Cullinan, Manpower Economist,
Stanford Research Institute

In examining the manpower implications of a large-scale program of national service, the panel of economists, manpower experts, and industrialists that led the workshop were inevitably confronted with the full spectrum of social, educational, and personal consequences of such a program. Mr. Striner commented on the multiplicity of objectives which he saw motivating discussion on national service:

I suspect that we are trying to put everything we all have seen as hidden agendas into a program we call national service. The multiplicity of objectives, social as well as personal, impresses me. I have the feeling that among those interested in this program are persons who seriously feel that the youth of the nation should serve the needs of the society in something other than a military manner. There are others who couldn't care less about that, but see national service as an instrument for achieving goals which presumably have not been achieved yet under various Great Society programs and who hope that maybe this is the vehicle to make a "go" of it. There are others who, of course, oppose it as another infringement by the federal government of the private sector.

A similar diversity was revealed in the panelists' approaches to the relationship of national service and manpower. While areas of agreement on the major issues were few, additional light was shed on a number of questions. In this chapter the workshop discussion is supplemented with remarks by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz on national service.

THE MANPOWER NEED

Is there a need for the kind and quantity of manpower which national service might provide? The question can be approached from several perspectives. Secretary Wirtz approached it from the viewpoints of both the individual and society:

There are no limiting factors in terms of need. The limiting factors are financing and organization.

The basic "demand" is the need of the approximately two million young Americans for the opportunity to do something because it is worthwhile and for some reason other than financial remuneration.

We have asked for too long about the needs of the system of things for "manpower" and "womanpower." (Both of these terms derive from "horsepower.") The question, in a society oriented around the concept of the exclusive importance of the individual, is what opportunities individuals ought to have.

I would list the domestic priorities in roughly this order: state and local government internships; medical and health services; welfare services; educational programs; conservation and beautification programs; urban renewal programs.¹

The National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress approached the question by examining the total need for subprofessional jobs in the public service area and came up with a job potential of 5,300,000 (see Chapter 1).

Another approach is to analyze the influence of a service experience on career decisions. A Peace Corps survey in 1966 reported that "only one-third of the volunteer teachers overseas had a classroom career in mind when they signed up for the Corps. After returning, two-thirds listed teaching as their career preference."² If this shift holds true generally in service programs, it could have a major impact on the goals laid down by the Eisenhower Commission on National Goals. The need for much larger proportionate increases in manpower in such fields as education and health than in defense and consumer

products is illustrated in the table on page 66.

Still another dimension of the manpower need was stressed by Angelo P. Angelides, who spoke of the need for a somewhat more contractual form of assistance than that provided by volunteers who serve only at their convenience:

We have had a lot of experience with voluntarism. It doesn't work, really. It's very nice for the middle-class and upper-society level. But their affluence doesn't make them effective because the hospital operates 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and if it rains or snows, or if there is a problem at home, they don't appear. Life goes on in a hospital, and we just can't stop because the volunteers don't show up.

THE MANPOWER RESERVOIR

Statistics indicate that there are at present about three and a half million young people in each 18-year-old cohort and that this figure will rise gradually to a plateau of around four and a quarter million in 1976. Under a program of compulsory national service, all would serve. Estimates of the number of young people who would participate in a voluntary national service program differ greatly. Mr. Aller referred to a state college of 15,000 students at which he said there were probably less than 100 students volunteering for service. This figure contrasts with the seven million man-hours of service performed by campus volunteers in a recent school year and with the statistics that nearly one million young people have expressed an interest in joining the Peace Corps, VISTA, and the Job Corps, and with the Gallup poll conducted in April, 1967, which found that nearly 3,500,000 of the nation's 6,500,000 college students were interested in working in the VISTA program.³

RELIANCE ON THE MARKET ECONOMY

Workshop participants expressed strong doubts about the ability of the market economy to resolve the incongruity of the pressing needs for personnel in the human services fields and the size of the relatively untapped reserve of young manpower. There was strong disagreement over whether the needs are of sufficient priority to justify federal initiative and financial support (as in space exploration) or whether they are important only to the extent that the market economy provides for them.

Mr. Striner differed with advocates of total dependence on an open market.

Professor Ginzberg was concerned with distortion of the manpower situation by artificial structures. He said that we have to discover how to improve the nature of demand so that the social services that are needed and into which we would put unemployed adults and young people can be structured naturally. Well, I find this difficult to accept because anyone who believes in the market system operating in some sort of a vacuum, or a market system that operates according to the invisible hand of Adam Smith, should appreciate that since the 1930's this nation has become committed to intervention and distortion in the market in such a way that it responds to the values of the society. The Employment Act of 1946 and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 are good examples of this commitment.

Also, having spent some time in the Bureau of Mines, I never found the business community terribly exercised about the involvement of federal legislation when, for example, it had to do with depletion allowances for petroleum exploration. Few people are aware of how few taxes are paid by Standard Oil of New Jersey or Texas Company and there may be some people in this room who pay more personal income taxes than some corporations--large ones--pay corporate income taxes. As a matter of fact, there is real opposition, every time this is raised, to transfer the whole idea of depletion to actually increasing the price per gallon of gasoline and letting the private market that we all like to talk about to absorb the exploration costs. This is never seriously considered. I recall having heard Eddie Rickenbacker on a Friday afternoon in New York very vigorously taking the position that the federal government has just got to get out of business and then Monday appearing before a Committee hearing in Washington indicating the need for additional subsidies for the airlines.

As a measure of the magnitude and quality of service performed in such fields as health and education, Mr. Benson said that traditional national income accounting and cost-benefit analysis were inadequate. He suggested that it might be necessary to consider as commodities the goals of organizations in these fields so that the value of service rendered would be evaluated by the degree to which their objectives were achieved, rather than by the amount of cash outlay necessary for their attainment.

Mr. Striner, though, would not throw out cost-benefit analysis entirely.

My own reaction is that we have in so many instances begun to see the real need to get even first approximations of cost and benefits so that although the physician can't cure the common cold, I am told he does much better than ordinary witchcraft. At least in most instances I would choose to accept the credentials, limited though they are, of this sort of new methodology than just going on the basis of sheer hunch and political intrigue. It gives us a somewhat better basis than we now have for making estimates of how costly one alternative is compared to another. I also think we have to understand that as society becomes more complex, we develop more alternatives, which make it even more difficult to choose on the basis of intuition alone which of these alternatives would be the optimal one.

PROVISION OF MANPOWER THROUGH NATIONAL SERVICE

Is national service the best mechanism for providing needed manpower?

There was wide disagreement on this point. On the one hand there was the feeling that the present educational system is the appropriate mechanism for developing manpower in these fields. Mr. Bixler called for a closer examination of the problems of the transition from formal education to adult roles, and Mr. Aller said that we should explore the possibility of extending our present compulsory education to the age of 18 and build into it more innovative methods for accomplishing the transition from education to work. Also, he cited current government programs related to the kinds of tasks indicated for

national service participants and suggested that the present programs be given more time to improve. On the other hand, Mr. Benson said that present programs, such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Job Corps, tend to be organized along class lines; for example, there is a ceiling on the income a family may have for a member to join the Neighborhood Youth Corps or the Job Corps. That national service would bring together persons from highly differentiated backgrounds for a common work experience would be a value in itself, he said.

Mr. Striner was not optimistic over the likelihood that an extension of the educational system would adequately respond to new needs.

Now, one point made today is very intriguing to me. It comes back to this problem of let's see if we can't make national service do what we couldn't do in other ways. We talked about education. Why not extend education--why not use our educational institutions? One of the problems we have, of course, in terms of job training and vocational educators is that in many instances the educational establishment itself has not been up to the needs of the labor markets. Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, having been Chairman of the Review Panel of the President's Juvenile Delinquency Committee, knows very well (and for a while I was on that panel) that not more than 10 per cent of the superintendents of schools and assistant superintendents of Vocational Training Programs were ever open to any real acceptance of new ways of gearing their vocational systems to local job needs. We often found the educational institutions to be more delinquent than the juvenile delinquents. They saw this as a threat to and infringement on their own bailiwick.

As to the quality of service performed by young people, Dr. Angelides said, "There is no one in the work force among women who has more responsibility than an 18-year-old high school graduate who has completed one year of nursing training and is working as a student nurse at a hospital. I assure you, she does a good job and has a great deal of responsibility." At the same time, he implied that eligibility for national service be broadened or that other

mechanisms be employed to engage already existing manpower resources in needed tasks. He stated that there is much talk about "the critical nursing shortage in Pennsylvania, and yet there are 28,000 nurses that have been trained as nurses, that aren't working as nurses but are usually mothers or wives, and if 10 per cent of these people could return to work, this would stop our nursing shortage in the state of Pennsylvania once and for all."

It appeared that, as a producer of needed manpower, national service should not be looked upon as a panacea for the nation's ills, but as one of several ideas worthy of further exploration and testing.

COMPETITION WITH ORGANIZED LABOR

In considering whether a national service program would become a source of cheap labor and thus become competitive with labor unions, Stuart Altman, Assistant Professor of Economics at Brown University, said that as a large-scale program it would sharply cut into the normal labor force. If national service recruits can perform effectively, city administrators will very quickly start pushing for more and more of these people because they can be secured at less than competitive rates, he said.

Secretary of Labor Wirtz in his 1966 statement recognized the seriousness of possible problems of job competition but suggested that facing them early and doing so in cooperation with labor unions would result in more effective national service programs. He said:

I am confident that a national service system (a) would not create "manpower shortages" which would have adverse effects on the economy, and (b) would so improve the "quality" of people that it would result in a more efficient "work force."

There are today over three-quarters of a million unemployed (and out-of-school) boys and girls in the 18-to-25 year age group, and probably as many more that we would presently describe as "nonparticipants in the work force."

The provision for useful, if low-paid, service functions for young men and women would undoubtedly reduce their high unemployment rate and enable many disadvantaged youths to obtain hitherto unavailable opportunities to shape normal work careers.

This problem [of competition with employment on the open market] has been faced in the administration of several of the recently established federal work-training programs. Clear statutory injunctions and thoughtful administration has resulted in no real problem developing. The participation of organized labor in administering these programs has been helpful in this connection....

Labor unions and corporations have jointly contracted with the Department of Labor to support on-the-job training programs. Other unions have successfully operated Neighborhood Youth Corps programs....

There is plenty of service not presently being performed, and most of it could not be paid for adequately on a for-profit basis....

If a national service program is developed as a human opportunity program, labor unions will be among its most effective proponents. Their interest is infinitely broader than "bread-winning manpower."

SUPERVISORS FOR NATIONAL SERVICE

Several persons suggested that a large-scale program of national service would collapse because of insufficient supervisory personnel; or, conversely, if adequate care were not taken to provide sufficient numbers of supervisors, the program would never get off the ground. Robert Terry, Legislative Assistant to Congressman Henry Reuss and formerly leader of a Peace Corps program overseas, noted that the Peace Corps had difficulty in the early years finding enough properly qualified supervisory personnel, but today finds that returned Peace Corps volunteers make the best kind of supervisors and trainers. Similarly, a national service program could be expected, given enough time, to train many of its own supervisors. Mr. Cullinan, while calling proper

supervision the critical element for successful national service, noted that national service would not be limited to 18- and 19-year-olds, but would include large numbers of both college graduates and young people with work experience who could comprise the "middle management" of national service. No one suggested that the size of national service should expand more rapidly than the availability of adequate supervisory and training staff.

THE NEED FOR EXPERIMENTATION

Mr. Cullinan pointed out that discussions such as the present one would always lack hard evidence until there is at least some experimentation with pilot programs. That experimentation, he said, seems appropriate now.

There shouldn't be too much more delay. The interest is here; the people who are ready to give leadership and to participate are available. The cost would be reasonable if existing public and private organizations were utilized. And several pilot experimental programs would provide some basic factual data from which larger projections for a more comprehensive national service could be drawn in the future.

Mr. Striner agreed with Mr. Cullinan and spoke of the relationship between research and action.

I'm afraid that if we're talking about doing more research, this will probably be nothing more than a continued substitute for action. Certainly as the director of a program for a research institute, I'm not opposed to research, but I do feel that in many of the areas that we're talking about, in terms of aiding the underprivileged and the ill-equipped, we probably don't need very much more research. Once we have begun actually to provide the help which I think is necessary, we can start to do more research into how we can improve our programs.

What role does this conference have, what can this group do? I think probably all that this sort of a group can do is to keep a burr under the saddle of the rest of society and have knowledge handy, so that when and if a crisis of sufficient severity does develop

where there seems to be no reasonable way out to avoid taking real action, we will then be in a position to provide the policy makers with the means of undertaking a fairly rational program.

Military Manpower Needs: A Special Case

The combination of the Secretary of Defense's public advocacy in May, 1966 of the national service concept and President Johnson's mandate to the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service to evaluate national service proposals had the effect of linking national service, in the public mind, to the draft. Certainly there is a relationship between the two, as there is between national service and any program involving young people in a service or educational capacity, but it should not be overstated. The Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's, a kind of national service program itself, was more concerned with poverty and unemployment than with the Armed Forces. The Department of Labor had the responsibility for selecting young men for the CCC; the Departments of Agriculture and Interior had responsibility for project selection and supervision; the Office of Education advised on educational matters; and the War Department, predecessor to the Defense Department, was responsible for camp supervision apart from the work project itself.

In order to cast national service in its proper relationship to military manpower procurement, this section will consider the relationship between military and nonmilitary service within the overall manpower framework.

The background paper prepared by military sociologist Roger Little explores the degree of competition for personnel that might develop under a large-scale national service program between the military and nonmilitary branches. His conclusion that manpower competition would be minimal was

contested by some members of the panel on "National Service and the Military." There was general agreement that some kind of draft will be required for the foreseeable future, although panelists did not agree on the balance between military and civilian responsibility for the administration of education and training programs not directly linked to military needs.

THE ARMED FORCES AND NATIONAL SERVICE

Roger W. Little

My task is to identify and consider the effects of a large-scale voluntary national service program on the Armed Forces generally, assuming the country is not fighting a major war. I would also assume the conditions, stated in the "Plan for National Service" (Appendix A), that the draft for military service will continue, that military manpower needs will have priority, and that the major goal of national service is to enlarge the opportunities for some form of service by those now excluded or not required by the military. Three crucial factors appear to be involved: first, the impact on procurement; second, qualitative differences between roles in military organizations and national service activities; and third, ideological differences between members of military organizations and national service advocates.

As evidence I have used selected studies conducted by the separate services directly and through contracts. I have tried to locate the most recent studies available. However, I have not used what has become identified as the Department of Defense "Draft Study" for several reasons.¹ First, that document is not a "study" in the sense that all of the facts for and against an hypothesis are admitted to evidence and evaluated. Rather, only the

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evidence supporting existing methods of procurement is considered or even mentioned. Second, the methods by which the data were obtained are not fully stated, and the limitations in the data are not candidly identified.² Third, I think that the dialogue on these issues should not be closed off by reference to a single study, but should generate additional research and provoke a critical re-examination of all underlying assumptions of contemporary military manpower policy.

MANPOWER PROCUREMENT

The first issue is how competitive a national service program would be with the recruitment efforts of the Armed Forces. This is a question of what the motivational characteristics are of men who now enlist in the Armed Forces and whether alternative forms of service would be viewed by prospective recruits and officer candidates as superior opportunities to satisfy those motives. The answer may well depend on the extent to which national service activities can provide equal opportunities for training in advanced technical skills, combined with tasks involving operational responsibilities, and the length of the minimum term of service.

All of the available evidence indicates that the Armed Forces are perceived by potential recruits as primarily an educational institution, providing opportunities for learning advanced technical skills, combined with apprenticeship experience, in a context of highly valued service. Not only is the educational objective the primary motive for enlistment, but it is also the principal criterion for differentiating among the services. Those providing the greatest opportunities for training have the greatest attractiveness for enlistment or commissions.

For example, a sample of 539 high school seniors in 10 high schools in 4 northeastern states were asked the most important factors in choosing a military program. "Opportunities for training" was the most frequent first choice, followed by "choice of career field," and "opportunity for advancement." Most of these students felt that their friends would either wait to be drafted or would enlist in the Air Force. In judging the attractiveness of the various branches, the Air Force was first, followed successively by Navy, Army, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and National Guard.³ Clearly the major value perceived by these students was the long-range educational potential of military service rather than immediate monetary rewards.

A comparison of high school seniors and Navy recruits, using Project TALENT data from 1962, provides a useful profile of enlistment-bound youths. The prospect of training was the prime inducement for 43 per cent of the recruits, five times as great as the next most popular reason, travel and adventure. (Training was also the primary factor in the choice of a specific service for the seniors.) Navy recruits expressed relatively greater interest in occupations and activities related to mechanical and technical occupations, office occupations, skilled trades, outdoor activities, and unskilled labor. In aptitude tests, the Navy recruit group most closely resembled the profile of high school graduates one year out of high school who were in the structural trades or in agricultural occupations. Only about 10 per cent of Navy recruits were high enough in scholastic aptitude to do well in most public universities.⁴

A sample survey of Air Force enlisted men in April, 1964, presents the same picture. A 5 per cent sample of men with one year of service indicated that the most favorable feature of an Air Force career was first, "opportunities for more training and education" (57 per cent); second, "adventure, travel,

and new experience" (28.5 per cent). Among the officers with only one year of service, "opportunities for training and education" ranked first with 26.5 per cent, followed by "adventure, travel, and new experience," 23.4 per cent. It is interesting to note that such negative features of military life as discipline and regimentation appear to have little significance as deterrents to recruitment.⁵

So far as I know, no one has attempted to construct a similar profile of the population to whom national service would be most appealing. We might begin by speculating that it would at least include most of the current enthusiastic supporters of the "voluntary army" concept. These appear to be predominantly youth who are now attending college and are on the way to the achievement of their occupational goals. They would also be predominantly urban youth, with college facilities more readily accessible, either by money or geography, than rural youths engaged in agricultural occupations. Further, they would include conscientious and political objectors to military service. Enrollees in such activities as the Job Corps would probably be predominantly persons who had been rejected for military service. Clearly, this hypothetical population is simply not in the military recruitment market.

Retention of personnel is another problem. The available evidence suggests that after about 18 months of service most military personnel, both officer and enlisted, have decided against a military career. In many cases this is because the expectation of advanced training was not fulfilled, often because the contingency clause about aptitude test scores was in fine print or the subdued voice of the recruiter. The chances of training are less than expected because of rigid entry requirements, which consider course attrition in excess of 10 per cent as intolerable. Civilian colleges would be hard put for students if they adopted equally stringent requirements. A sample of Army

enlisted men in 1962 indicated that only 49.5 per cent of all enlisted men had completed any service school course. However, many such courses are very short in duration and only of relevance to military subjects. A better criterion is attendance at complex service schools with a duration of 20 weeks or more. Only 6.8 per cent of enlisted men in Grade 4 and 5.1 per cent in Grade 3 had attended such courses. In the second enlistment career grades of E-5, 6, and 7, completion of such service schools increases to 13.8 per cent, 18.6 per cent, and 20.4 per cent respectively.⁶ Thus, contrary to the recruit's expectations, advanced technical training is rarely achieved in the first enlistment.

However, even those who have had the opportunity to attend service schools and acquire skills decline continued service in disproportionate numbers. No doubt "higher pay on the outside" has much to do with this, but other factors are also at work. One is the tendency of military organizations to overtrain for contingencies, and consequently underutilize the skills obtained. In the sample referred to above, more than a third of men in enlisted grades E-3 and E-4 reported that service school skills were not utilized in their present duties (34.9 per cent and 34.4 per cent respectively).⁷ In a sample of officers (1961), using four levels of utilization, only 21 per cent of all second lieutenants felt that the Army had utilized their skills and abilities "a great deal," 51.7 per cent "somewhat," 20.9 per cent "very little," and 5.8 per cent "not at all."⁸

It would appear that once advanced skills have been acquired, levels of aspiration are raised beyond the capacity of the Armed Forces to satisfy them. Expectations of increased responsibility, pay, and personal freedom are not fulfilled within military organization. Such values are sought elsewhere and consequently their skills are lost to the Armed Forces.

Thus, national service may be a greater threat to the retention of Armed Forces personnel than to recruitment. National service activities will be especially attractive to many of those who are ambivalent about abandoning military service. It offers an opportunity to use their developed skills. Many might view it as a transitional form of socialization in the return to civilian life. Some activities like the Peace Corps suggest the "travel and adventure" found in the Armed Forces without the limitations imposed by the organization.

Although the national service plan does propose trainee-type activities such as the Job Corps, these would probably not be viewed by prospective recruits as equivalent to training in the Armed Forces. Assuming continuation of present entry requirements for military service, few Job Corps trainees would qualify, and the Job Corps experience would not provide opportunities for achieving the same skill levels. It is more probable that programs like the Job Corps will foster Armed Forces recruitment by enabling youths to meet the entry requirements.

One final factor is involved in competitive recruitment: the contractual term. In the study comparing male high school students with navy recruits, using Project TALENT data, high school seniors were asked: "What is the longest period of active duty time for which you would consider enlisting in each branch of service?" In all five services (including the Coast Guard) the two-year term was preferred by a wide margin over alternative periods of six months, three, four, and six years (see the table). The six-month term is less than half as popular, and in the case of the Air Force, the four-year term is almost twice as popular a choice as the six-month term. One possible interpretation of these data is that the required period of service under Selective Service has acquired conventional meaning as the modal military term.

COMPARISON OF LENGTH OF SERVICE PREFERENCES OF HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

What is the longest period of active duty time for which you would consider enlisting in each branch of the service?

	Army		Navy		Air Force		Marine Corps		Coast Guard	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
I would not consider enlisting in this branch	902	31.7	753	26.4	694	24.4	1035	36.3	1123	39.5
Six months	342	12.0	283	10.0	213	7.5	271	9.5	303	10.7
Two years	609	21.4	562	19.8	510	17.9	435	15.3	436	15.3
Three years	230	8.1	267	9.4	289	10.2	218	7.7	175	6.2
Four years	170	6.0	304	10.7	406	14.3	214	7.5	168	5.9
Six years	60	2.1	119	4.2	180	6.3	109	3.9	81	2.8
Item omitted	531	18.7	556	19.5	552	19.4	562	19.8	558	19.6
Total	2844	100.0	2844	100.0	2844	100.0	2844	100.0	2844	100.0

Source: Marion F. Shaycroft, Clinton A. Neyman, Jr., and John T. Dailey, Comparison of Navy Recruits with Male High School Students on the Basis of PROJECT TALENT Data (Washington, D.C.: American Institute for Research, June, 1962), p. D-23.

However, it is also possible to interpret the preference for the two-year term as a more realistic conception of the maximum acceptable contractual obligation of this age group. It is well established that younger workers have extremely high job instability in what has been called the "trial work period." Job obligations are viewed as contingent upon the lack of "a better deal," and experiences in the labor force are seen as exploratory in nature.⁹ Consequently, long-term commitments are either rejected outright, violated recklessly, or endured with greatly reduced efficiency. Studies of delinquency in military service consistently indicate a disproportionate number of enlistees as compared to draftees.¹⁰ These studies do not control for length of service, but they do suggest that the initially more highly motivated enlistee becomes increasingly cynical when his enlistment expectations are not fulfilled, although he is compelled to serve a longer period than the draftee.

Consequently, a two-year contractual obligation for national service activities would be seriously competitive with military organization. It cannot be extended to avoid such competition without incurring the same liabilities now incurred in military service. The term of service is not negotiable. However, a two-year national service term might have the positive effect of encouraging changes in military manpower policies to provide for a similar term with some promise of technical training. Draftees now receive such training when qualified and required. Enlistees are eligible only when they commit themselves to a longer period. Since only a small percentage of enlistees ever receive advanced technical training in their initial terms, a two-year commitment would imply no great loss of skills. Indeed, the great gain would be that recruitment promises would be more credible.

ROLE DIFFERENTIATION

My second issue is the qualitative difference between roles in military

organization and in nonmilitary service activities. In the latter instance, volunteers will perform roles that are by definition so marginal that they are not regularly provided for by the sponsoring organization. The relationship of the volunteer and his organizationally committed counterpart will typically result in the volunteer assuming a subordinate, persuasive role. Such a role implicitly assumes that the volunteer's commitment to the organization is less than the regular member's; that he will not be around very long; and that consequently he need not, and should not, be entrusted with the secrets of the organization and its important tasks.¹¹ Volunteers would thus constitute a permanent "second team," with few opportunities to learn more than the simple skills they must know to perform their marginal tasks. There is nothing wrong with this. There are many people who like to do such things. My point is that they are unlikely to be the kind of people attracted to the Armed Forces as a form of service.

The prime virtue of roles in military organization is that they all carry operational responsibilities. The recruit performing interior guard duty is as crucial to the organization as the base commander. There is no second team in military organization, no category of participants who wait wistfully in the wings for permission to participate in the central dramas of the organization's life. This complete involvement and immediate responsibility is part of the image of military organization to which enlistees and officer candidates are responding. It may also be one of the reasons military personnel so often mention the monetary value of the equipment in their charge--rifles, tanks, trucks, planes--as a measure of their responsibility in the organization.

Military organization also makes a contribution to completing the socialization process for youths that other institutions in our society cannot provide.

Margaret Mead has pointed out the problems of American boys caused by the discontinuity between the heroic, irresponsible roles they play in childhood and the subordinate organizationally constraining roles of early adulthood.¹² In military service, however, youths have opportunities to play heroic roles within the limits of an organization. Adolescent fantasies of power and adventure are socialized in the primitive aggression of the bayonet course and in identification with the vast technology of warfare in which they are continuously involved. The opportunity for this kind of a socialization experience is also an inducement to military service, qualitatively different from what we have projected the model role of the volunteer to be.

IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

My third point is the problem of integrating national service and military service activities, when leaders of both appear to be separated by significant ideological differences. Here we tread on very dangerous ground because ideological differences are less easily demonstrated than identified. The value system of the national service movement is largely that of the Peace Corps, whose posture is generally that their manipulative techniques are superior in effectiveness as well as morality to the domination techniques used by the Armed Forces. There is some evidence that this viewpoint is less prevalent at the operational level than at the leadership level. In any case, the adverse effects of such a viewpoint on collaboration in the national interest should be recognized and attempts made to eliminate or at least mitigate it.

What is obscured in this dialogue is the relationship between the increasing activism of American youth in relation to domestic and international problems, and the declining rates of participation in military organization.

Preceding generations have been "fully employed" in fighting wars. However, institutions that contained the voluntarism of their fathers are not now as readily available to youth. Consequently other outlets are sought, sometimes in the form of protest against the adult world. A more constructive response, however, has been a search for opportunities for service comparable to those available to their fathers. Thus the Peace Corps, and more generally, the national service movement, may have originated as a substitute or replacement for military service rather than an evasive alternative to it. In this generation and those to come, the opportunities for military service will be open to a dwindling fraction. Neither the lottery nor the voluntary army would change this trend. What is more important is that the spirit of national service be kept alive, when so few have an established opportunity to provide it.

Programs can be developed that might tend to mitigate the differences between national service and military service activities. Exchange tours might be arranged, with provisions for satisfying a portion of the military obligation or national service contract in the opposite form of service. Military facilities could be used for national service trainees in motor mechanics, carpentry, bridge-building, and medical aid. Similarly, Peace Corps training sites could be used for the training of Special Forces and Civic Action units of the armed forces.

A SPECTRUM OF SERVICE

The ideal solution would be a conception of a "spectrum" of service activities ranging from combat readiness to purely nonmilitary activities. Such a conception would require a national manpower policy in which military contingency needs would be primary but not dominant. Once the manpower allocation problem is solved, the remaining questions are operational.

One unfortunate aspect of the present state of the national service movement is its preoccupation with individual needs and motives, rather than with the institutions to which the volunteers must be related. It would be useful to shift the argument from whether the eligible men will choose one or the other to what kinds of activities military organization does relatively well and not so well. Those done poorly by military organization might be replaced by civilian service units. The experience of military organization and civilian service activities in emerging countries provides an opportunity to make such a differentiation.¹³

For example, military organization is not easily adapted to dealing with civilian communities in the bargaining type relationships that might be expected to develop in reconstruction or in emerging nations. It is true that our operations in Vietnam have provided many military personnel with experiences of this nature, but they have been restitutive rather than creative, and have not transformed the nature of military organization. The same organizational skills that enable them to employ vast amounts of machinery and men with precision are not easily translated into methods of dealing with individuals or institutions, with the host society or their own society.

Several factors contribute to this occupational handicap. One is lack of experience. Local political issues are resolved before military institutions are committed to a task. Success in the socialization of recruits tends to foster the illusion that individuals of other societies can be similarly manipulated and converted to the organization's objectives. The availability of alternative resources of compulsion implicitly suggests that such manipulative techniques as may be employed are only preliminary in nature. In reconstruction, especially, representatives of military organization would be handicapped by

a heritage of destruction and violence--however necessary it might have been in the combat phase.

The developed skills of armed forces personnel might be more effectively utilized outside the constraints of military organization. Many such skills are especially crucial to reconstruction or community development. The same skills are unlikely to be found among volunteers from the larger society: for example, medical technicians, carpenters, and motor mechanics. Furthermore, many men with these skills have a special advantage over the middle-class youth who learned them in a brief indoctrination experience--they will have started from the same point in the larger society as their native counterparts.¹⁴ The end of warfare--for example, in Vietnam--leaves military organization not only with a vast training establishment but also with a large number of men trained in skills useful for reconstruction and committed to the people of the host society. Many of these men as individuals develop strong commitments to the indigenous population. Military organization itself is an inappropriate instrument to effect postcombat reconstruction, but large numbers of its personnel could be so utilized. Perhaps one way of inaugurating national service would be to have them transferred to such activities to complete their obligated terms of service, as civilians rather than as soldiers.

In summary and conclusion, a large-scale voluntary national service program would not be seriously competitive with Armed Forces recruitment. The primary inducement for enlistment in the Armed Forces appears to be the opportunity for training and education in skills with high value in the larger society. Military roles also involve a higher degree of operational responsibility than potential voluntary service roles. Collaboration between defenders of military service, and advocates of national service would be enhanced by

exchange of personnel and the joint use of military training facilities. The criterion for allocating activities respectively to military organization or national service should be the need for developed skills and competence in dealing with emergent problems in the community. Reconstruction of a war-devastated country such as Vietnam would be an ideal opportunity to inaugurate a national service program.

NATIONAL SERVICE AND THE MILITARY

Workshop Discussion Summary

Chairman: Lucien N. Nedzi (D., Mich.), Member of the House Armed Services Committee

Panelists: Albert D. Biderman, Bureau of Social Science Research; Roger W. Little; Paul Weinstein, Department of Economics, University of Maryland; and Harold Wool, Director for Procurement Policy and General Research, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower), Department of Defense

In a discussion of national service and the military, it is easy to be diverted by the emotional question of whether deferment or exemption from military service should be allowed persons who, under an expanded concept of national service, choose to meet their service responsibility in nonmilitary activities. While not overlooking this controversy, the workshop participants concentrated on the issues that will have to be faced even when the problem of alternative service is resolved or eliminated, as would be the case if the draft were ended, a possibility considered rather remote by the panelists.

LIKELIHOOD OF A CONTINUED DRAFT

While the debate between advocates of an all volunteer military force and proponents of a system of conscription was acknowledged, Mr. Nedzi said there was essential agreement with the basic assumption stated by Mr. Wool:

Professor Little assumed in his presentation that there would be a continued draft system operating. Another set of remarks has been expressed that implied we might be moving toward something like an all-professional service, which would result in no draft. It is important to consider this fundamental difference in approach to the concept of national service because much of the current interest

in national service is as an alternative to military service. Advocacy of the alternative concept has come from people who would rather do something other than military service and from those who feel many other activities are at least as demanding and challenging for youth as the military and should therefore be valid service components even if military service were no longer obligated.

It is important for an intelligent discussion of this issue to ask a speaker to state the assumptions he is using as a point of departure. Let me begin by presenting my own premises: First of all, I believe we are talking about a situation where there will be some form of draft system and some form of draft obligation for a period of years ahead. I am speaking, however, in the context of the philosophy which the Department of Defense has expressed, namely, minimizing the use of compulsion and maximizing the number of people who will be attracted to service on a voluntary basis within certain limits. These include limits on attempting to pay amounts of money grossly incompatible with existing wage levels in the economy as a whole, limits imposed by the question as to what kind of a force excessive financial incentive would create, and so forth. But within these limits of a relatively equitable or comparable system of compensation, we are assuming a maximum emphasis on voluntarism.

MILITARY AND CIVILIAN COMPETITION FOR MANPOWER

Mr. Little was most strongly challenged by the panelists on the degree of competition between military and nonmilitary components that would result from a wholly voluntary national service system. Mr. Wool noted that Defense Department studies reveal that the effect of draft-motivated enlistments was much higher among the well-educated than among high school dropouts. Thus, a sudden cancellation of the draft would lead to a sharp decline in the number of enlistments by men with a college background. Referring to them as "marginal men" from the standpoint of voluntary enlistment, Mr. Wool said:

You need the draft because you need men with this background; the shortages of the Armed Services in the absence of a draft would be greatest in the technical and professional fields, for these men are just the ones who would most likely be attracted to alternative forms of service.

According to the studies outlined by Mr. Little, opportunity for advanced training is the major reason for enlistment. Chairman Nedzi pointed out, however, that those studies were made early in the decade:

The people wanting to get into the Air Force and the Navy today are not thinking about training. All they are thinking about is Vietnam. One now rarely sees the individual who looks to the Air Force or Navy as a means of bettering himself. He ponders instead the old notion that the infantry is sleeping in the mud, while the Navy is on board ship and the Air Force, with all due respect, has dry barracks on an airfield someplace.

Stressing motivation for enlistment, Mr. Weinstein disagreed with Mr. Little's assertion that national service might prove to be a greater threat to the retention than to the recruitment of soldiers. Mr. Weinstein saw little effect of national service on re-enlistment rates, since those who now re-enlist are "the true volunteers, the true professional military who would be insensitive to opportunities in alternative services."

The outcome of this discussion was the conclusion that competition between military and nonmilitary organizations would depend heavily on contemporary motives for enlistment. Few young men will voluntarily enter a high-risk situation such as the infantry during times of combat but will instead seek avenues of lesser risk, whether in the Peace Corps or the Air Force. In times of low risk in the military, the primary motivation for enlistment is, as Mr. Little stated, the opportunity for training. This implies that if significant training opportunities were available in nonmilitary branches of national service, as suggested in the National Service Secretariat model (Appendix A), the latter would compete with the Armed Forces in the recruitment of young men. This competition might have a dual effect: It might prove an incentive to the military to offer more attractive training programs of its own; and it might mean that, in order to ensure an adequate supply of military

manpower, arbitrary restrictions (such as minimum length of enrollment or lower pay scales) would have to be imposed on nonmilitary programs.

RESTRICTION OF THE ARMED SERVICES TO EXCLUSIVELY MILITARY ROLES

Responding to Mr. Little's suggestion that activities ineffectively administered by military organizations be given to civilian service units, Mr. Biderman warned of the possible negative effects of such an action:

One of the consequences that would follow from a strong institutionalization of a national service system and the programs that develop around it would be a further constriction of the social roles of the Armed Forces to what is crudely termed "the people-killing business." The Armed Forces already perform much broader roles, whether or not they are specifically planned and allocated as nonmilitary in nature. The Armed Services probably perform fewer of these functions in American society than in most others, perhaps than in any other major nation. This fact is an outgrowth of our particular social and political norms requiring the separation of the military from the civilian society, although we do, in cases of major natural disasters, call on the Army engineers, the uniformed Coast Guard, the Public Health service, and the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The stripping from the Armed Services of all responsibilities other than those peculiar to the military has already had important ramifications. Where institutions with strong political biases have assumed functions previously relegated to the military, a corresponding change in the nature of the military--a constriction to "the people-killing business"--has occurred. While the military has a major role in space exploration efforts, supervision of these projects rests with a civilian agency. Traditionally in world affairs, the military has performed many activities that now are considered the province of agencies such as the American Red Cross, although when you get down to the actual operational level, military personnel and military hardware are still doing the largest share of this work. The Armed Services are the only ones who have the logistic capabilities to perform these tasks.

If only the military activities can command a substantial national consensus for public value allocations, the question arises as to whether this kind of measure will further narrow the national ethic in the direction of an individual, hedonistic orientation rather than a public, national, societal one. We want to preserve the right of individual pursuit of happiness with a maximum of liberty. However, we must also confront the question of the extent to which we can continue a personal value system while developing the qualities of individual subordination to broad social values that must become a part of our social ethic.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING--A MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY?

Another major concern of the workshop was the relevance of military education and training to the civilian sector. As noted earlier, Mr. Little found that opportunities for education and training are normally the primary motivations for enlistment. However, Mr. Little's observation that the non-military components of national service could not be expected to offer training as attractive as that in the military was contested by the other panelists. Mr. Wool pointed to the need for medical aides, teacher assistants, and conservation workers, suggesting that "the more effective you want to make these kinds of service, the more effective your training has to be."

Mr. Biderman pointed to the demonstrable benefits to the civilian sector of military educative efforts, emphasizing that the military often had to provide training that civilian schools had failed to render effectively:

The training functions of the military, which Professor Weinstein is studying, are exceedingly important to the national economy. It seems very possible that much of our economic organization currently is based on the ability of the Armed Forces to provide the training that our school systems fail to supply. The military is an institution in which training, while done to and by individuals, has its fundamental justification in nonindividual, nondistributive economic terms. In the Armed Forces training is very centrally, very clearly conceived of as being in the institution's rather than the individual's interest. Ironically, today there appears to be a precisely opposite philosophical trend in the civilian sector. For example, the view that the benefits of higher education accrue to the individual rather than to the society is behind current advocacy of greater student economic responsibility. California Governor Ronald Reagan's proposed institution of tuition fees is a case in point. There would seem to be value in a general reorientation of social value perspectives in the society to parallel more closely the values inherent in the military community in which education and training are considered in terms other than their marketable worth to the individual.

The transferability of skills acquired while in military service to the civilian sector was debated by Mr. Weinstein and Mr. Wool.

Mr. Weinstein:

A rather shocking result of a study I am running has been that the people most apt to transfer skills learned in the military to civilian tasks are the draftees, who did not have an interest in training when they went into the service. The real correlation may be that this group is better able to capitalize on the investment that has been made in them than are the people beguiled by posters urging them to "come in and learn a skill." The latter may not, in fact, have the ability to transfer their skills between what their military experience is and what their jobs may be. It is interesting that a group for which there is supposedly no related civilian occupation to their military function--for example, people who work on hardware receive a fair amount of esoteric training, since aircraft turrets do not exist in the civilian economy--this group is able to transfer their skills to jobs that they feel are highly related to their military training. These people tend to be the very highly educated draftees; however, the point is that they are not the enlistees. If my results ultimately show that the people who volunteer do not do well, the negative effect on future enlistment probabilities could be significant.

Mr. Wool:

I feel constrained to say that our own survey results don't show that. Our survey of a representative cross section of veterans shows that the percentage of men originally drafted who utilize their skills learned while in service is significantly smaller than the case of men who enlist. There are many reasons for this. A significant proportion of enlistees join with a commitment for a particular kind of training program. Those who enter under the commitment, typically high school graduates, see it fulfilled initially, although they may not all stay in that specific program. Some may drop out or be transferred, but they are able to enter on a fairly firm contractual basis.

There was strong support for Mr. Little's recommendation for greater mobility between the two sectors of society. Several participants recommended that military personnel be given some of their training in civilian institutions and, similarly, that the military establishment provide some training for persons in nonmilitary service. Noting that about 80,000 enlisted men earn high school diplomas annually, a participant with a military

background remarked that military education and training is directed only to a person's role in the Armed Services and is not consciously related to his ability to re-enter or succeed in the civilian community.

The degree to which the Armed Services should assume educational responsibilities remained an open issue at the conclusion of the workshop. It was recognized that first priority must be given to the accomplishment of military duties. On the other hand, while no one denied a serviceman's right to earn academic credits on his off-duty hours, several participants did question the spending of taxpayers' money by the Armed Forces in skill-training unrelated to specifically military needs. Even if society agrees to allocate funds for certain training programs, the question remains as to whether these civilian-oriented rehabilitative and educational activities should be conducted within the military structure.

NONMILITARY SERVICE--AN ALTERNATIVE?

Given the overseas military commitments of the United States at the time of the conference, little support was expressed for granting total exemption from the military obligation for nonmilitary service. This conclusion was viewed by some as a politically realistic approach and by others as a morally essential one because of the varying physical dangers inherent in the two services. In response to the latter reasoning, Mr. Biderman stressed the relative degree of sacrifice--safety, money, freedom--that each service demands and concluded that difficult and important societal value judgments will have to be made before the question of alternative service can be resolved.

Appearing only a few days after the conference, a Saturday Review editorial of April 15, 1967, reiterated this need for a determination of social

priorities:

Traditionally, we have conceived of military service as a duty that, because of its importance, took precedence over all others. Yet, if we were to make an objective reassessment of the respective importance of military and nonmilitary service in today's world, our perspective might change. Clearly, the military security of the nation must be protected. But equally demanding is the nation's great unfinished business of providing equal opportunity for all its citizens. And in the long run, solution of our human problems at home will prove just as crucial to the cause of freedom as meeting our military commitments abroad.

3

WHO NEEDS NATIONAL SERVICE?

An emergency exists domestically in our nation at least as serious as the one in which we are involved overseas. We urgently need, now, to explore and embrace the concept of national service as a means of achieving peacetime social goals and of expanding the opportunities and experiences of all our citizens.

This statement by one of the panelists summarizes the concern expressed at the workshop on "National Service and Society" for the groups in contemporary society that live in relatively deprived environments. These components of the social structure are most in evidence among the youth and among female and elderly populations. The potential social impact of national service on these elements of the community is examined in papers by sociologist Leon Bramson and youth leader Reed Martin, and in a report on an all-women's conference on national service delivered by Mrs. Mildred Robbins, President of the National Council of Women of the United States.

Within the younger populace there are two distinct divisions--the educationally and economically elite and the underprivileged. The need of the latter for vocational and educational training and the desire of the former for a more active role in society could be linked through a program that provides each with opportunities for learning and serving together in projects of social import.

The pressures of a selective military draft have severely limited the abilities and willingness of both youth groups to participate in some form of service. The ghetto youth is frequently unable to qualify for the armed services because of mental or physical disabilities, yet this young man is often the most anxious to receive the educational, economic, and prestige

benefits of the military. The college youth, on the other hand, is faced not only with the fact of his discriminatory privilege of a deferred classification, but increasingly is seeking service opportunities outside the military structure whose value is recognized as on a par with duty in the Armed Forces. The needs of the two youth groups are interrelated and, under an effectively administered program of national service, their complementary resolution could be achieved--for example, through tutorial projects involving the college youth as teacher and the disadvantaged youth as learner. Similar programs could be devised for working-class wives, suburban mothers and retired professionals, many of whom experience a corresponding sense of isolation and lack of social worth.

An effective program of national service requires cooperation between the private and public sectors in the development, administration, and support of a wide variety of service activities. Universities, existing private community service agencies, and federally sponsored poverty and service agencies are established programs that would play vital roles in a nationwide program of service opportunities.

THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF VOLUNTARY NATIONAL SERVICE

Leon Bramson

The traditional approach of sociologists to the study of modern society has emphasized the problem of social solidarity. Their ideas have tended to stress the negative effects of urbanism and industrialization and the breakdown of traditional ways of thinking and acting in the transition of peasant cultures of Western Europe to modern societies. The later work of Durkheim, the work of Tönnies, Marx, Weber, and many other theorists has thus been seen as constituting a critique of the new industrial society, of unlimited individualism and of the erosion of social, economic, political, and religious ties. Students of their work have seen in it a convergence of emphasis on the impersonality, insecurity, instability and alienation of modern life, and have labeled this convergence "the theory of mass society." What was to provide the social cement in an industrial society? What were to be the sources of social cohesion and integration?¹ I propose to discuss voluntary national service within the framework of theory provided on such questions by the fathers of sociology.

The nineteenth-century image of the modern society has been the object of criticism by contemporary sociologists who have questioned its premises and its empirical validity.² What has emerged out of their research is evidence that the theory of mass society represents an inadequate generalization on the

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nature of the modern industrial order. Nevertheless, this research also reveals that there are a few sectors of the society in which the negative and alienated image of the industrial society seems to reflect the actual life conditions of large groups of people. This also seems to hold true with regard to conditions in the newly developing countries of the "third world." These considerations are important for the present discussion, because they underline the fact that we are talking here not only about the social significance of voluntary national service in American society, but in all contemporary societies in various stages of industrialization. They are also meant to be relevant to a new international society that is emerging, though still embryonic, and in which voluntary service could be of immense importance.

Without accepting the ideological critique of modern society that is implicit in the theory of mass society, it is possible to try to locate those groups within our own society who typically experience the greatest degree of relative deprivation. Relative deprivation has both subjective and objective components. The subjective element consists in a feeling of unfulfilled expectations on the part of individuals; the objective element is more easily demonstrable as a result of partial isolation and lack of opportunity for meaningful participation in the larger society. A number of key structural concepts help to reveal those groups in the society which suffer the greatest deprivation. These concepts are: stage of life cycle, race, socio-economic class, ethnic group, and sex role.

The application of these concepts to the analysis of social realities indicates a number of specific groups that then become the focus for the study of social problems. These groups are: the elderly, the adolescent, the nonwhite, the very poor, and some subgroups among the female.

Some, though not all, members of these groups can be shown to suffer relative deprivation as a result of partial isolation and lack of meaningful participation in the society. Specific social problems that emerge among those who do suffer such deprivation include such traditionally defined instances of social pathology as alcoholism, crime, drug addiction, delinquency, and also the more subtle subjective states such as apathy, self-hatred, boredom and acute feelings of frustration, loneliness, and meaninglessness.

For many members of these groups, there is a crisis of integration with the larger society. The experience of voluntary national service could have a powerful impact on the feelings of deprivation and the participation of members of these groups, although different programs would have to be developed to fit their various characteristics and needs. This last point is quite important, for I am not implying that all these groups have the same needs, or that they all share a need to participate in voluntary service. That is very far from being the case. I would emphasize, however, that in some instances these groups have needs that are highly complementary. Where complementarity of needs exists, volunteers could be brought into contact with other relatively deprived groups and with other segments of the society to the mutual satisfaction of both. The idea of complementarity of needs among the relatively disadvantaged has important implications for voluntary national and international service programs. Brief examples may be seen in the needs of many college adolescents for meaningful new experience and for cross-class and cross-cultural contact, and the similar needs of disadvantaged elements of the lower classes in the urban ghetto. Another example is the complementarity of needs among professional, technical, and middle-management personnel who have become overspecialized and routinized (with attendant feelings of uselessness and boredom) with

the needs of newly developing countries for the temporary assistance of such trained people.

The possibilities of voluntary national service can best be explored with reference to a number of case studies of actual or potential programs, as well as through an analysis of major trends in the society itself.

It is possible to distinguish analytically between at least three functions of volunteer service: (1) functions for the social system, (2) functions for the economic system, (3) functions for the individual. While references to all these perspectives may be found in the following pages, I have tried to focus on instances in which multiple functions of volunteer service occur that will serve the needs of individuals who are members of relatively deprived subgroups. The emphasis on societal integration represents only one of several social functions of voluntary service.³

The definition of "volunteer" and of voluntary service is in point. Most of the alternatives discussed in this paper involve financial compensation, but almost always at less than the market value of the services contemplated. In many instances what is involved is a part-time commitment; in others, mere subsistence--food and housing--during the period of service represents the total compensation. In a few instances there is no financial reward at all; these cases are then similar to the workers in ordinary formal voluntary organizations, such as the Boy Scout leader.

But for the most part we are dealing here with a new sociological and economic category, which will become increasingly important in modern societies. This is a category of individuals who are willing to perform services at less than the market value, in the interests of educational, political, social, economic, and personal goals. It could easily become part of the normal

experience of a young man or woman to have a year or more of nonmilitary volunteer service. It could also become part of the normal experience of people in middle life, and of the elderly.

The Elderly

Increased life expectancy and rapid social change have resulted in the creation of a new social problem, the increasing isolation of older people. Gaps between the generations and a decline in the viability of the one-household extended family have resulted in the creation of entire communities of elderly people, the so-called "retirement communities," and also of the aged institutional isolation in special residential centers. Forced retirement, particularly for still vigorous males, and the "empty nest" syndrome of the mother whose grown children have departed, lead to widespread feelings of uselessness and meaninglessness. Without reviewing the extensive literature on the problems of elderly people in the industrial society, it is appropriate to mention one extremely promising volunteer program sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, Foster Grandparents.

In this program, unemployed people over 60 who are fond of children are recruited to work with small children in orphanages and hospitals. After a brief initial training period, they are assigned to one or two specific children with whom they spend twenty hours a week. They are compensated at between \$1.25 and \$1.50 per hour, though they are not eligible if they are earning more than \$1,500 per year. Their activities with the children include reading stories, shopping trips, games, and walks in the park. Twenty-five hundred foster grandparents worked in foster homes, orphanages, foundling homes, and hospitals all over the United States during the first year of this program's existence.

The Foster Grandparents program of the OEO is an ideal example of the notion of complementarity of needs. A meaningful purpose for interested elderly people and a way of participating in the larger society is meshed with the obvious needs of abandoned and orphaned children for close contact with an individual adult who is interested in them and is willing to devote time and attention to their activities and welfare. It is possible to visualize an expansion of the Foster Grandparents concept to include a number of different kinds of apprenticeship and rehabilitation programs. The needs for apprenticeship programs in manual skills and the compulsory retirement of skilled workers means that there will be a group of adolescents and a group of older workers with complementary needs. This assumes that the latter possess skills that are of potential use to the young. Such a program could be run on a decentralized basis with its focus in a particular neighborhood or community or on a non-residential basis (by contrast with Job Corps). It would be relatively easy to organize and minimal in actual cost. It is even possible that such programs could be run through the schools, if the schools were to function as a community center as in the New Haven concept.

In the rehabilitation field, recent experiments in the use of citizens as parole sponsors and citizen-volunteers in the juvenile court probation programs seem to indicate similar possibilities. Here the emphasis is on the personal relationship of a juvenile offender on probation or parole and an adult volunteer who tries to help him.⁴ The effect on adult volunteers in such programs is as dramatic as the effect on the youth on probation--a principle that has implications for completely different programs as well.

Professional and Institutional Malaise

Sociological theorists like Durkheim pointed to the intensified division of labor as the prime structural source of social solidarity in modern society. He emphasized the fact that voluntary choice of occupation or profession generated solidarity, and that unlike traditional societies, the industrial society tended to foster "the career open to talent." The son of a shoemaker must no longer become a shoemaker, and the educational system plays a key role in encouraging individual social mobility. The increasing demands for extensive professional training, however, have had a number of undesirable by-products. It is possible for an individual to pass through the academic "pipeline" in a particular profession without ever having had a chance to pause and consider a range of alternatives. Many have not had the experience of what the psychologist Erik Erikson calls "the moratorium," in which an adolescent is able to reflect on the present and future meaning of his life and personal identity without meeting outside demands and pressures for performance, competence, and commitment. This problem has been intensified recently because of the necessity to remain enrolled in college or graduate school in order to avoid military service.

The premature foreclosure of a professional or occupational identity leads to what I call "the Charley Gray syndrome," after the hero of John P. Marquand's novel, Point of No Return. The protagonist suddenly finds himself trapped as he approaches middle age and conventional success as vice president of a bank. He realizes that not only does he find his job meaningless, but that he is estranged from his wife and children and there is no meshing of their inner lives. The more general point about such a crisis is that we have been incredibly unthinking and unfeeling about the possibilities of the human

career. We have made it virtually impossible for people to try different kinds of careers in middle life without extraordinary risks. The malaise of which I speak is a malady of early middle age, and is related to a number of other features of our occupational and professional life. The rise of large organizations, and the role of organization men within them, has given rise to a particular kind of boredom or ennui that afflicts even the most contented professionals in many fields. As a way of enriching their lives we should enable them to explore new possibilities for volunteer service.

The complementarity of needs here is between the great demand of newly developing countries for middle-level management, professional, and technical people and the needs of many of these individuals to widen their horizons and accept new challenges. Thousands of people in these categories express an interest in doing such work abroad, but they are stopped by an unimaginative company and government policy. For they stand to lose their job rights, job seniority, career advancement, and job benefits if they do so. They would jeopardize their standing in society, their future income, and their families' future.

One way of dealing with the problem has been proposed by Richard K. Manoff in a letter to the New York Times.⁵ It calls for collaboration between business and government.

The government could certify certain technical and professional skills as having an international priority and would then seek volunteers. It could then establish a new expert tax credit for business enterprises that release these experts, provided they guarantee salaries, job rights, pension contributions, seniority, etc. The tax credit should include a tax incentive over and above the reimbursement for actual loss and expense.

The advantages of such a scheme both to the professionals involved and to the developing countries are obvious. The field of agricultural organization alone demands increasing self-sufficiency of developing countries, or, as Mr. Manoff points out, "by 1985 not all the goodwill in the world will be able to save millions from certain starvation."

Such a program would help to foster an international society, and would forge links among professionals that would go far toward implementing Durkheim's prediction that the professional groups would become the new loci of solidarity in the industrial society. Their mutual interests would cross and transcend national boundaries. Mr. Manoff notes that a similar program was carried out domestically in the United States during World War II and was successful.⁶ A similar opportunity for volunteer workers in the field of population control was noted at the eighth meeting of the World Planned Parenthood Assembly in Santiago, Chile. Delegates of 87 countries were told by Sir Colville Deverell, Secretary General of the Federation, that control of the population explosion was possible "only if governments and volunteer agencies greatly increase present efforts to make contraception and maternal services available to the public in the developing countries, where population is growing fastest."⁷

The recent recognition of needs for volunteers in the international field has been astonishing. William Delano reports that between 1961 and 1966 the worldwide total of volunteers in government-supported programs grew from 950 to over 100,000.⁸ An important feature of the new volunteer programs is reciprocity. This is maximized in the "reverse Peace Corps" (Volunteers to America) in which the United States brought one hundred volunteers from Peace Corps "host countries" in 1967 to work in American community action programs,

schools, and neighborhood centers as teachers and social workers. The element of reciprocity helps to remove the possibility of contamination of aid programs through patronizing attitudes by demonstrating that assistance can be a two-way street.

Two facts, however, seem to stand in the way of reciprocity and appear to guarantee an imbalance in volunteer programs in the near future. The needs of newly developing countries for trained specialists are generally greater than the needs of the industrialized nations, and the "brain drain" of such specialists from their home countries toward the more affluent nations seems to be a persistent feature of exchange programs at the present time. Lest one is tempted to imagine that there would be nothing for foreign volunteers to do in the United States, however, it is worth recalling the recommendations of the National Commission on Automation and Technology regarding the availability of 5.3 million jobs as medical aides, teacher aides, welfare workers, conservation workers, and other specialties that were not being filled at the present time through the market mechanism.⁹

Finally, a proposal of Dr. John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, is quite relevant to the problem of vacancies in the service fields and to an expansion of volunteer work. He advocates the establishment of "mid-career" clinics to prepare middle-aged members of the labor force for a meaningful and increasingly long retirement. The alternative is seen as a longer period of useless boredom as life expectancy increases. Senator Walter Mondale, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Retirement of the Committee on Aging, said that it was "not unreasonable to assume that the average person will soon be spending from 20 to 25 years in retirement."

Secretary Gardner testified that although the American society had moved to help solve the problems of income, housing and health that face many old people, it had done almost nothing toward giving them interest and purpose in life. "Our society is now designed to put most older people on the shelf. Our society is now designed to deal them out of the game," he said. The Secretary pointed out that the typical man retiring at 65 could expect at least 25,000 hours of "extra time" for the balance of his life--"a vast amount of time either for constructive use or aimless boredom." One of his possible solutions was the mid-career clinics where men and women could go "to re-examine the goals of their working life and consider changes of direction." All too often the man reaching age 65 has spent much of his work career in a routine or blind-alley job, has been denied the opportunity to think actively and constructively about the use of his abilities and has learned no new skills or interests for years....Then we plunge him into one of life's toughest adjustments and expect him to make it easily." Mr. Gardner suggested that such clinics be aimed at helping those who were 10 or 15 years away from normal retirement, instead of those on the verge of it, and that they be conducted by "mature or retired persons themselves." He also suggested other solutions such as recruitment of older persons as aides by hospitals and social agencies.¹⁰

The Adolescent

Because adolescents are currently liable to compulsory military service, the question of their voluntary service has been hopelessly muddled. Among those arguments that contributed to the muddle was one that I advanced myself.¹¹ This argument boiled down to the notion that if a military draft is absolutely essential, then nonmilitary national service alternatives should be legitimized. Instead of the system of deferments that encouraged de facto exemptions and attitudes of evasion and cynicism regarding national service, it was suggested that men be given the alternative of volunteering to participate in the important tasks of economic and educational development at home and abroad.

What I propose now is that discussion of voluntary service by adolescents in the United States be carried out independently of a discussion of their liability to military conscription. If the program of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service had been carried out, then the reversal of

the order of call and the lottery would have left men free to choose voluntary service at any time after the age of 19, when they would have discovered whether or not they would be drafted. This would have encouraged the development of a tradition of nonmilitary volunteer service as part of the normal experience of a young man in our society. In the meantime, I look forward to a process of inquiry and legislation that will ultimately end the anachronistic and wasteful system of peacetime conscription in which from 90 to 97 per cent of draftees flee back to civilian life after two years of involuntary servitude. Hopefully, we will see substituted for it an incentive system (including substantial opportunities for education and training) that is in accord with the proudest traditions of a truly professional armed force.

The potentialities of voluntary national service programs for adolescents are great. Erik Erikson, in trying to define the developmental tasks of adolescents, speaks of a crisis of identity and breaks down the creation of an identity into four components: occupational role, sex role, competition with peers, and ideology or philosophy of life.¹² The difficulties attending the creation of a viable self-conception in modern industrial societies have led some students of the subject to the conclusion that the distinctive character of modern "youth movements," "youth cultures," and "adolescent societies" is itself a result of the industrial society and a response by adolescents to the special conditions under which they live. These conditions increasingly emphasize the inadequacy of traditional social roles, particularly in newly developing countries in which youth are unable to find meaning in older roles and statuses because of the effects of rapid social and economic change.

Now although it makes sense to speak of isolation and relative deprivation in both the case of the middle-class adolescent group and the lower-class

youth, these groups have such widely varying needs that it might be difficult to imagine a single program that could encompass them. It is far easier to imagine ways in which middle-class adolescents might be encouraged to perform national or international service--the examples of the Peace Corps and VISTA are clearly at hand. It should be remembered, however, that the number of volunteers involved in Peace Corps programs over the past five years has been very small. Though almost fifty thousand people will have served abroad, there are millions of middle-class adolescents who are not moved by the Peace Corps ideal. Yet the Peace Corps example has had an impact out of all proportion to its actual numbers. It is reasonable to expect that after certain reforms of the Selective Service System--the reversal of the order of call, the lottery, and the gradual elimination of student deferments--there will be a gradual increase in the number of middle-class adolescent volunteers.

As an age group, adolescents constitute an increasingly large element of the population of the United States and other countries as well. Some students have commented on the fact that the creation of a distinct "youth culture" in the industrialized societies has fostered a concomitant sense of separation and isolation from the rest of society. This isolation is exacerbated for middle-class adolescents by an artificial prolongation of the time in which they are prevented or discouraged from assuming the responsibilities and privileges of adults. This is also a feature of the industrial society, which demands more and more formal education as a prerequisite for entry into the occupational structure, whether or not that formal education is actually relevant to the work performed. Training is characteristically prolonged over time so that in the extreme case of medicine, individual practitioners may be in their thirties or even forties before they are able to work as full-fledged

professionals. This situation has its analogies in other instances of professional socialization.

A growing tradition of volunteer service could also have long-term effects on the colleges and universities. It would allow students the valuable option of interrupting their studies for a period of time without the threat of conscription. It could encourage badly needed curricular reform in undergraduate institutions and break down the isolation of students from social realities at the same time that it encouraged engagement in the curriculum. This would be particularly true in the social sciences and the humanities.

Attending this "stretch-out" of middle-class adolescence is another kind of isolation that has serious implications for the society as a whole. That is the fact that such adolescents are, to an increasing extent, growing up in one-class, one-race communities where they have little or no contact with other elements of the society.¹³ This isolation is also reflected in the Selective Service figures, which show the number of draftees by educational attainment. The Army is an institution in which cross-class and cross-cultural experience is maximized for many individuals in all social classes. Yet participation here is constrained at one extreme by inadequate schooling and at the other extreme by graduate school deferments that become de facto exemptions. Only 25 per cent of those who finish college and go on to graduate school serve in the military. Only 30 per cent of those with less than 8 years of education serve. This contrasts with about 70 per cent participation for all others.¹⁴

Isolation is characteristic of students in the newly developing countries as well as in the more highly industrialized nations. For the first time in history, with the expansion of higher education, vast numbers of students are being brought together in enormous university complexes. "In Tokyo there are

over 200,000 students on the various campuses in the city; the comparable figures for Peiping and Calcutta are about 100,000; in Mexico City there are over 65,000; and in Buenos Aires...close to 70,000 students in the university."¹⁵

A recent survey indicates a wide range of practices in attempting to foster service programs, both voluntary and compulsory, that might mitigate this isolation.¹⁶ Seven "industrialized," nine "semi-industrialized," and two "developing" nations, a total of 18, have established voluntary service programs for their adolescents. This contrasts with a total of 44 nations that have established some kind of compulsory service, military or nonmilitary. Twenty of those 44 nations have an alternative or nonmilitary service program running parallel with military conscription.

The combination of isolation from the concerns of the rest of the society, when combined with the presumption of elite status, frequently results in a growing indifference to the problems of other sectors of the society. This has been a problem in the Communist countries as well as in the West; the Soviets and Chinese have been more eager to promote "domestic Peace Corps" activities than has the United States.¹⁷ They have also been more willing to use compulsion to do so. A recent United Nations report documents the general problem by pointing out that

...the youth of a country constitute a reservoir of talent and energy which relatively few countries have, as yet, managed to associate in an effective, practical manner with the cause of economic and social change. In this regard there is wide-spread need for educational reform, particularly where the educational system is oriented toward tradition and the status quo rather than towards change and development, and serve more to confer an elite status than to inspire a commitment to development. Much benefit could be gained from a closer identification of university students with the tasks and purposes of development....¹⁸

Such an identification can be fostered without compulsion by expanding the range of alternatives available to college and university men and women and by improving the channels of information regarding such alternatives. One important contribution would be a national and international roster of volunteer programs in a format readily available to young people (as well as people at other stages of the life cycle), for example, in paperback books. No central clearinghouse of information regarding volunteer services exists at the time this is written, though there are special agencies that perform this function for international, national, government-sponsored, and private programs. Such paperback books in looseleaf format, revised periodically and kept up to date, should be available directly to adolescents as well as to libraries, guidance counselors in high schools, and vocational placement officers in colleges and universities. It is not too difficult to conceive of a computerized clearinghouse in which volunteers were matched to agencies as suggested by the memorandum of the National Service Secretariat submitted to the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service (Appendix A). Many college and university students are willing to work as volunteers during the summer for subsistence wages and eagerly seek out such opportunities.

At the other extreme from the university students is the situation of lower-class youth in the urban and rural ghettos. It is a larger problem, both in terms of absolute numbers and degree of relative deprivation, as we are becoming increasingly aware through studying the results of testing for Selective Service. The recent study of 383,000 18-year-olds examined from June, 1964 to December, 1965 for Selective Service¹⁹ shows that:

Failure rates on the AFQT and related tests ranged from a low of 6 per cent in the state of Washington to a high of 55 per cent in the District of Columbia. (National average was 25 per cent.) These rejection rates based on the mental tests are lowest in the midwestern and western states, highest in the south. Southern whites are behind whites in all other regions of the country; southern Negroes are behind Negroes in all other regions of the country. In every state, test performance is significantly higher for whites than for Negroes. Nationally, only 19 per cent of the whites fail the mental tests, compared to a failure rate of 68 per cent for Negroes....The majority of young men failing the AFQT, white and Negro alike, were the products of poverty. Forty per cent of them had never gone beyond grammar school, four out of five didn't finish high school, almost one-third came from broken homes, and one-fifth came from families that have needed public assistance.²⁰

Here it would seem that programs of the Job Corps type are clearly indicated, though they must continue to be voluntary. The suggestion of Sargent Shriver that Selective Service testing be carried out at the age of 16 in order that remedial work be undertaken earlier gives an indication of the potentialities of diagnostic tests in evaluating the effectiveness of state educational systems as well as in counselling individuals.²¹ Why wait until age 16 for such evaluation?

Close scrutiny of Job Corps statistics is not too encouraging.²² The official Job Corps dropout rate of 25 per cent is really close to 50 per cent because of the definition of a dropout as a volunteer who leaves after the first thirty days. Twenty-five per cent drop out before the end of the first thirty days. The typical Job Corps man has had only seven years of school and reads at the 4.7 grade level. Forty-seven per cent of those who are old enough to have taken the AFQT (perhaps one out of four?) were rejected by the Army through physical (17 per cent) or mental (30 per cent) testing. Job Corps figures show this typical volunteer as seven pounds underweight, with 45 per cent coming from home environments described as "deficient or

disruptive." Sixty-five per cent are described as coming from families in which the head of the household is unemployed, 50 per cent from families on relief. Twenty-five per cent had never been employed prior to induction into Job Corps. Thirty-seven per cent had a previous police record, 10 per cent with a serious conviction.

The Job Corps says that after nine months in the Corps, reading has improved to the 7.2 grade level. It is estimated that those at rural conservation centers do 650 hours of work, worth \$2800 in labor and materials.

The Job Corps claims a re-entry wage of \$1.68 per hour, though the job placement as handled by the United States Employment Service is very weak, and some Job Corps centers are now running their own job placement. The typical Job Corps volunteer has a ten-pound weight gain, 35 per cent are fitted for eyeglasses and are administered 1.3 tooth extractions and six dental fillings. There seems little doubt, in spite of the high cost of many Job Corps programs, that many individuals will find a greater sense of self-esteem as a result of such experiences.

On the other hand, the Job Corps has had difficulty filling the available places recently in some centers; this is partly due to the reputation of the Job Corps among lower-class youth, which seems to carry some social stigma, and partly due to an ineffective recruiting effort on the part of the United States Employment Service. The problem of stigma associated with a lower-class program is a serious one and must be faced by measures that promote a breakdown of social class segregation in the Job Corps. It is not yet clear what the appropriate measures are to guarantee such a result. It should be kept in mind that when the Job Corps was first announced, and applications were invited, 400,000 people sent in applications. There were only 30,000 places for the

initial group of almost half a million. Less than 10 per cent were ever followed up.

Considering what it takes to fill out an application, it is possible that the Job Corps applicant group represents only the tip of the iceberg. The lower-class youth of very large cities like Chicago and New York have hardly been tapped by Job Corps recruiters. Yet the rate of unemployment for youth between 16 and 21 years of age is about 15 per cent, three times the national average of 5.7 per cent. There were 1.2 million youths without jobs in 1963, not counting those who were enrolled in schools. For nonwhite youth the figure is 27 per cent unemployment within the same age range. Not only is this double the rate for whites, but when years of education are controlled and high school graduates in both groups are compared, the nonwhite unemployment rate is still double the white.

There is increasing evidence that this group will simply not respond to conventional methods of vocational guidance appropriate for middle-class groups. The evidence from the Selective Service Rehabilitant Program is a case in point.

The program was started last February 17th [1965] to help disadvantaged youth, mostly school dropouts and unemployed, to find employment and a place in society. The program hoped to do this by guiding draft rejectees into state employment offices for interviews, counseling, and job placement, in the traditional model of vocational counseling.

Underemployed and unemployed rejectees are invited by letter to visit unemployment service counselors in their offices to talk about jobs and career planning. Of the 234,000 rejectees so invited, of whom 78,000 were unemployed, only 42,000 showed up for interviews, and of these, 32,000 were unemployed or underemployed. Thus the majority--46,000--failed to respond. And of the 42,000 who did respond, fewer than 13,000 were referred to jobs; fewer than 7,000 of these hired, and some only for a few days. One-third of these invited Selected Service rejectees had less than an elementary school education; 80 per cent were school dropouts. It is

apparent from this experience that arranging for an office appointment for counseling services is an unsuccessful way of making counseling services available to these youth, and that the services available for those who do respond are inappropriate and relatively nonproductive. The United States Employment Service recognizes this now, and has begun a program of stationing Employment Service personnel in the induction centers themselves; they are going to where the clients are instead of waiting for these unemployed to come to them.²³

An expansion of programs of the Job Corps type, however, means an expansion of the needs for administrative people and trained staff members. Here it is possible that there might be a case of complementarity of need, since it is possible that college students and people in middle-life might respond to the prospect of a break in their routine offered by such a setting.

Nevertheless, the prospects of programs based on complementarity of need may be somewhat more difficult in considering adolescent members of different social classes and racial groups in the United States. The recent literature on the "indigenous sub-professional" is, of course, relevant to this question.²⁴ It is relatively easy to see how some young men and women at colleges and universities would find a year of work as teacher aides in slum schools an exceptionally creative and rewarding experience.²⁵ It is less easy to see how the Puerto Rican dropout might serve as a tutor of Spanish in the elementary grades of a school in the suburbs of New York or in California or Texas. The increment of self-esteem that such work might provide and the increased motivation to study and learn, which work with small children might foster in a rebellious adolescent, have scarcely been realized or tested. Yet both of these instances suggest that the principle of complementarity of need might be applicable to all elements of the adolescent group in this country in voluntary national service.

The Female

(With the assistance of Mary Elizabeth Bramson)

Although it is well known that the woman's role has undergone dramatic changes in our society in the past few generations, the problems of women as a uniquely disadvantaged group have received relatively little attention from social scientists.²⁶ A revolution is taking place in the self-conception of women in newly developing countries, but the social science literature on these changes in modernizing societies and in our own remains thin. Whatever the reasons for this neglect, a conference on national service offers the possibility for serious consideration of new alternatives for women in our society, which has relevance for women all over the world, as traditional life cycles are transformed by industrialism.

The present proposal is particularly relevant to the problems of two very large groups of women--"working-class wives" and "suburban graduates." The first group has received a minimum of formal education; the latter group has finished college and perhaps even graduate or professional school. Available evidence, while fragmentary, indicates that dissatisfaction with their situations is quite common. This dissatisfaction seems especially sharp during the child-bearing years, but is frequently even more painful during the time after children have grown up and departed, the era of the "empty nest." Our vocabulary seems unduly impoverished by our lack of a better term for this stage of the female life cycle. In the United States, many mothers enter the initial stage of the "empty nest" when their children are all attending school, so that five hours per day are freed for part-time work or leisure. This stage ends when children depart for college or for the labor force between eight and twelve years later. Thus the mother's role contains within it

a number of severe discontinuities, and these serve to exacerbate a cultural pattern of discontinuities that characterize the socialization of girls in American culture. Consider the following quotations:

Ye Gods, what do I do? Well, I get up and out of bed at 6:00 A.M. I get my son dressed and then get my breakfast. After breakfast I wash dishes, then bathe and feed my baby. She's three months old. Then I start the procedure of house-cleaning. I make beds--dust, mop, sweep, vacuum. Then I do my baby's wash. Then I get lunch for the three of us. Then I put my baby to bed, and the little boy to bed for his nap. Then I usually sew or mend or wash windows or iron and do the things I can't possibly get done before noon. Then I cook supper for my family. After supper my husband usually watches TV while I wash dishes. I get the children to bed. Then--if I'm lucky I'm able to sit down, watch TV or read a magazine. Then I set my hair and go to bed.²⁷

I don't think I anticipated how my skills would deteriorate. I used to be employed as a writer; I've had about five years experience, both in New York and here in Cambridge. But when I started grading English papers at the high school, the first six months were really dreadful. Yet it was easier by far than what I had been doing only four years before. When I realized what had happened to my skills, I was shocked. I think some women think you can just sit around and then come back to school or work whenever you are ready. They don't realize how much you lose and how difficult it is to get back. I certainly didn't anticipate it. It was really quite a surprise: I couldn't believe it. I like being a reader for the high school because I feel I'm at least keeping myself from backsliding.²⁸

For the first time in the history of any known society, motherhood has become a full-time occupation for women.²⁹

It is ironic that so many women fail to realize their potentialities and lead full lives in a society in which infant mortality has become rare, in which women see their last child to school by their mid-thirties, and in which their life span has been stretched to age 73. What we have lacked is a systematic analysis of the typical life cycles of women in different social classes, with attention to what kinds of special arrangements might be made to enable them to enrich their lives. This proposal is intended only to raise

the question of how a voluntary woman's career development program might function for them. It is not devoted exclusively to the needs of working-class wives, or of urban or suburban graduates, or indeed any particular group of women within the society. It does try to offer a partial solution to the difficulties that all of these women face as mothers.

The working-class wife suffers from inadequate formal education, a passive orientation, and a fatalistic attitude regarding her situation. Like many other women in modern society, she is frequently inadequately prepared for the understanding and enjoyment of her function as a mother. Such mothers who emerge from the contemporary psychological literature on working-class authoritarianism seem to have little or no understanding of what makes for self-confidence among their children, or how to foster emotional and intellectual growth. They seldom know their own rights as individuals, have no idea as to the alternatives available to them as part-time workers, and have an impoverished and stereotyped conception of what constitutes leisure activity. It is their career as women that remains unrealized, not necessarily their roles as potential members of the labor force alone.

The suburban graduate suffers from an inability to link her college education with her child-rearing responsibilities and from the "suburban isolation" that results from her dependence on "labor-saving" devices combined with the current residential patterns regarded as most advantageous in early child-bearing years.³⁰ She is faced with severe discontinuities even in the "interrupted-career" pattern, for the mores seem to require 24-hour responsibility for children until they enter school. She is keenly aware of the possibility that she might be a better mother if she could get away from her children for a few hours a day, either at a job or in pursuit of further

education or leisure, but is baffled as to how to arrange it on a middle-class budget.

There is no question but that the greatest need of young mothers with preschool children in all social classes is for part-time assistance with domestic duties. Everyone agrees that there is a tremendous need for a reversal of the downward trend in the number of people interested in employment as domestic helpers.³¹ That such services are available to the affluent is no consolation to the middle- and lower-class mothers who are unable to afford them. Yet it may be not enough to call for the expansion of nursery schools, day schools, and care centers where preschool children might get more individualized attention, or for the coordination of baby-sitter services in communities where willing teen-agers might be better matched with families needing assistance. What is perhaps called for is the encouragement of new kinds of sub-professionals similar to the nurse's aides programs that have resulted in a division of labor in the hospitals.

The principle of complementarity of needs suggests one idea that emphasizes voluntarism and an orientation toward the future. This idea encompasses a program in which young girls could serve in a supervised program of child-care (including training in the initiating of activity for children), for which they would be compensated with minimal wages. Each hour of work, however, would lead to the accumulation of credits on which they could draw for free child care when they were themselves mothers. Though it might involve a somewhat cumbersome system of bookkeeping, it would encourage both part-time (as in the case of high school or college students) and full-time (as in the case of school dropouts) participation. Veterans of the program might also be eligible for special loan funds on which they could draw to continue their

education during and after child-bearing years.

Mere expansion of child-care centers would not result in the kind of individualized child care and one-to-one relationships that could develop between mothers and their helpers and between helpers and supervisors, though it would help alleviate part of the mother's problems. Programs of either type would speak to the enlightened self-interest of the adolescent girl, orienting her toward future time when she will herself have family responsibilities, and alerting her for the need to prepare for them. She would prepare for them through the instruction in child care and supervision exercised in the program and by accumulating credits of free time that she will be able to use for her own purposes when she is a mother.

Such programs have a number of interesting features that could make them an important adjunct to current educational efforts. They are specifically focused on child care, involve training and supervision, and encourage a realistic approach to a woman's future experience and the possibilities of her own life cycle. Mothers are freed, in their turn, for further education, part-time employment, or leisure. Associated with such programs it would be easy to visualize career guidance and other services that would realistically attempt to cope with the difficulties of the young mother in an industrial society. They might also foster societal integration by promoting understanding across the generations, and enable women to plan for the future both as mothers and as participants in a wider cultural setting. Without some effort in this direction, we will have to ask what it is we are educating our women for, if we deny them the opportunity for self-realization and self-transcendence implied in their (compulsory) education.

The concept of service, taken by itself, has appeal only for a small part of the population: those lineal descendants of the bearers of the service ethic whose self-definition is posed in terms of work and stewardship. While the potential impact of voluntary national service in any modern industrial society is great, the concept must be translated into ideas that will be meaningful to members of relatively deprived groups who will need to define the experience in terms of enlightened self-interest. The Job Corps, in spite of its difficulties, remains a case in point. We can be still more ingenious.

It will also be necessary to inquire as to whether or not isolation serves any positive functions for group members, to determine what they are, and to guarantee their continuity. Not to do so would be to fall into the ideological mode of the theorist of mass society. The implications of voluntary national service for the educational system, the occupational structure, the concept of the career, and the use of leisure time are extremely important. Its latent functions in providing new sources of integration within the larger society among alienated and deprived groups are potentially significant. It may also be seen, however, as a way of enhancing the quality of life in a democratic, industrial society and of fostering a sense of relatedness and meaningful participation for individuals in that society. It serves the needs of the social system by serving the individual, and rests on concern for the individual, which is our greatest contribution to world culture.

YOUTH AND NATIONAL SERVICE

Reed Martin

That the call to "ask what you can do for your country" is being listened to with increased attentiveness and enthusiasm by the nation's young citizens was revealed by a survey of youth opinion conducted in November, 1966, by the United States Youth Council at the request of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service. At the same time, however, a parallel sense of discouragement and frustration with the present offering of service opportunities was expressed by those polled. The existing Selective Service System recognizes that the military obligation is paramount. No other form of service, unless performed in the context of conscientious objection, is deemed an honorable substitute. The youth of today respect, and even insist upon, the desirability of every young citizen serving society in some capacity, but many are unwilling to accept military service as the only alternative.

Any obligation to serve, they feel, should be an obligation to society, and all forms of service should be seen as equally valid. Instead, there is a black-and-white written statement to this generation that two years in uniform, even if one spends his days behind a desk and his nights in the officers' club, is more worthy than any number of years in the National Teacher Corps or in a private tutorial program.

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The most discouraging feature of paramount military obligation is the perpetuation of the belief that one need serve his country only if formally called upon by the chance selection of the draft. Any system based on service that is the product of fate rather than individual choice is a system that will produce no volunteers. Any new system, if it is to be respected by this generation, must place the military in its proper perspective under a comprehensive plan of equally honorable service alternatives. The service capacity of this nation need not be solely the sum total of its nineteen-year-olds; it can be every citizen working in his own way. Any new system must develop this ideal.

The poll conducted by the Youth Council surveyed the membership of 38 national youth organizations in all 50 states, reaching citizens from every type of draft status, including some currently in active service and some veterans of other wars, from both sexes, and from varied occupational and employment statuses, including part-time, employed, and unemployed. Its purpose was "to reach as broad a spectrum of youth as possible on the full issues involved--selective service, alternative service, national service, and the basic problems of government service in a democracy. The objections of those polled to the present service system focused overwhelmingly on five defects: inequity of the structure and administration of the system; uncertainty of whether a youth would be called; existence of privilege through education; discrimination against the socially and economically disadvantaged; and interference by government in the lives of its young citizens.

PRESENT INEQUITIES IN "THE SYSTEM"

Less than a fourth of those [polled] (22.4 per cent of the males and 24 per cent of the women) felt they could support the present system as it currently operates. Sixty-eight per cent felt that there should be uniform national guidelines allowing the local boards little flexibility.¹

The first criticism, the question of inequity, is related largely to the mechanics of the system. There is highly visible inequity of classifications for persons in similar circumstances. Every young man from the ages of 18 to 35 years must be registered with his local draft board. However, since young people, and students in particular, are increasingly mobile in contemporary society, it is very possible that the board will be located in a place other than where a young man currently resides. Each board has its own quotas, receives differing manpower pressures, and therefore responds with its particular treatment of registrants. The result is that roommates at the same college, taking the same courses and performing similarly in school, but registered in different local draft boards, may receive different treatment, with one student being granted a II-S deferment and the other being drafted. The only answer would seem to be a restructured system with uniform and binding national guidelines, a national manpower pool, an appeals procedure to insure consistency in lower board decisions, a mechanism to communicate new standards to the lower boards, and a procedure to standardize lower board interpretations of pertinent rulings of the courts.

UNCERTAINTIES IN "THE SYSTEM"

Sixty-two per cent of the males stated that uncertainty as to their status had caused them difficulty in planning their future career, schooling, and personal life.²

Not only would this revised system eliminate many of the current inequities, but it would substantially alleviate the uncertainty that now confronts individuals between the ages of 18 and 26. The tension of not knowing when or if a person will be drafted is aggravated by ignorance of how to work within a legal framework to better one's position. Young men are afraid to make contact

with their board to solicit information; it is a common fear that this will bring the registrant to the attention of the board, only to increase his chance of being called up or processed. The effect is to encourage a basic mistrust in the present system which pervades all functions. It is a cynicism so deeply rooted that it cannot be eroded by a few token changes in the current operation. It is critical to the workability and success of any new system that the person be dealt with respectfully, that he be able to plan with as much certainty as possible the way in which he would, in the future, relate to the system, and that he choose freely to involve himself in it. If he is tricked or scared or caught up in it, there should be no surprise at his disgust. Any new plan that makes decisions on so-called national needs without regard to individual choices will not be welcomed.

Another weakness of the current system is the widespread misinformation and misunderstanding of the selection procedure--confusion about what to do after registration with the draft board, about how to appeal an adverse decision, about how to plan in regard to the board. Only 54.8 per cent of the males felt they understood the appellate system by which they might change their status after being classified 1-A. Since persons going before the board are not allowed to bring counsel with them, for example to give advice on pertinent constitutional rights of the registrant, the distinct impression is given that the board needs a special advantage in dealing with the individual and that this would be threatened by the presence of an outsider. There is a feeling that once a decision is made regarding a registrant's status, the question is closed and that, in fact, to attempt an appeal would only prejudice the board against the registrant and increase his chance of being called up. Because of this fear, only 27.2 per cent of the men polled indicated that they would use

the system "even if they understood it."

EDUCATIONAL PRIVILEGE

Eighty-six and three-tenths per cent of the respondents favor student deferments but bitterly condemn the way in which they are given.³

The third prominent objection to the present system of service obligation is related to the educational sector in general and to students in particular. The initial definition of "student" for classification purposes is based on the requirement, with variations among local boards, that one be enrolled in 10 to 14 hours of formal instruction per semester. Often, a youth may be enrolled for less because he must work part time to support himself or because he wishes to participate in a community action program and consequently must lower his course load. Either situation may result in the loss of his II-S deferment. The requirement that these 10 to 14 hours be spent in formal instruction, by denying that anything can be learned outside the classroom, contradicts current educational theory. It jeopardizes the deferment of those persons who are in an experiential rather than formal educational experience or are interested in being involved in community service. Even more significant, it may curb the increasing trend of colleges to recognize not only formal instruction inside the classroom but experiences in the larger community as well. Some colleges are encouraging students to move away from the restricting concept of pursuing a single discipline for a four-year period to spend more time in interdisciplinary studies. The advances in education that are now developing in experimental colleges may be wasted if the current system remains unchanged.

A second aspect of the student deferment issue is the partial reliance upon the Selective Service exam and on class rank. The examination, commonly referred to as the "War Boards," meets with little respect and engenders considerable hostility. Tests are increasingly being seen as unreliable indices by which to judge future performance, particularly when given only once, so that a person succeeds or fails on a single morning's performance. No one has yet clearly defined what the Selective Service test is supposed to measure. The culmination of objections to test ratings has been the refusal by some to take the test--and some local boards have reacted by automatically classifying the student 1-A.

Judgments about students on the basis of grades and class ranking distort the basis for rating students at all. Many schools, in fact, have eliminated both, vis-à-vis "student" status. It is indeed meaningless to compare a student who is only in the top half of his class at Harvard with a student in the top quarter of a much less demanding educational institution.

Another means for differentiating between students that has been used by some local boards is to give II-S deferments to persons pursuing studies in areas of "national interest." This has an obvious potential for distorting study patterns, since a student might choose to go into physics rather than follow his natural inclination toward philosophy simply because the former is deferrable.

Under the present system of allowing preferential treatment for the educationally privileged, the universities have been forced to play a negative role in the service syndrome. The campus has become an alternative to, an escape from, service responsibility. The result has been to create a nonservice ideal among students. They feel that if they play the game and win, they will never have to enter any type of service. Our college students, the part of

our generation most equipped to serve our country, have been "turned off" by a system that evokes a nonservice attitude--and suggests that the only way to serve is by wearing a uniform and that one should simply wait to see if the nation will require that specific service. The system does not ask for personal involvement or commitment. The impact of this has been to produce the passive generation.

One either allows student deferments or one does not; if there are student deferments, either all students are automatically deferred or else one has to make distinctions among students. But if all students are given deferments, another set of problems arises. Colleges may well become a haven of "draft dodgers," as many people fear. There will be a certain economic distinction as to who is deferred and who is not, because anyone who can afford to stay in college could therefore afford to "purchase" a deferment for as long as he wishes. And there would still be the basic problem of making a distinction among human beings who are chosen to fight the war and those who are allowed to continue unaffected, in this case at educational institutions.

The university environment should not be a place in which people seek insulation from the traditional demands of society or even the specific demands of our country in times of national peril. Students should not be placed in a position where they view the university as a haven not only for draft dodging but for dodging all of the responsibilities of being active citizens. What is needed is not a negative system of deferments in which students may seek to avoid military service, but rather a positive system of opportunities through which they find the ways they can be of most service to their society and country.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION

. . . the System seems to be structured to accommodate the weaknesses in our society in such a way that the "opportunities" of the service provide a trap for the disadvantaged.⁴

Not only are there discrepancies in the application of student deferments, but the very existence of deferments discriminates against the educationally and economically deprived. The Youth Council's poll indicated that 64 per cent of the respondents saw discriminatory features in the present system. "Most felt that the poor, particularly the Negro, had a greater chance of being required to serve because he was unlikely to be in a deferrable category from 18 to 26."

All participants in service must be treated as equal. If they choose to serve, they should be expected only to contribute to the best of their ability, and that ability should be increased through training and rehabilitation. Of those polled by the Youth Council, 95 per cent felt that some degree of training should be made available to the less educated or economically disadvantaged. "Those who wish to serve in an alternative capacity [to the military] but do not qualify by virtue of lack of educational background should be trained to work in alternative services set up to meet national needs."

If we judge the extent to which persons can contribute on the basis of their present level of achievement or on background, we only reinforce existing disparities and overlook a unique opportunity for individual social development. Under the Selective Service System, persons of lower socio-economic status will not only have less chance of being in a deferrable category but, if drafted, they have less chance of qualifying, through tests, for a noncombat job or for advancement through training. In the military, the needs of the service rather than the potential of the individual are considered first, and

the immediate needs of the military rather than the long-term interests of the nation are given priority.

The result is that often persons are employed in the military service in capacities that may not draw on their abilities nor train them for tasks that can be usefully performed after returning to civilian life. A more acceptable program would not only train people to perform functions that meet the needs of the nation but would simultaneously give them skills to ensure their continued employment and provide them with a sense of involvement in the society. This would be a service not only to the country because important tasks were being performed, but also to the people directly involved who would feel they were making a greater contribution to the society than they might have before their training.

GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE IN YOUTHS' LIVES

Eighty per cent of the respondents felt that those persons who refuse to bear arms for their country, for varying reasons ... should be allowed to satisfy their obligation in another way.⁵

The final major objection of the young generation to the presently functioning Selective Service System is the fact of government intervention in one's life to compel a particular activity for a period of years.⁶ This generation, whose horizons have been broadened by the Peace Corps and whose abilities have been proved in the civil rights struggle, wants to serve--but it will contribute most if it makes its own choice of how to serve. Any system, even if it deals exclusively with nonmilitary objectives, will not be successful if it is based on coercion. Certainly even a free society has many pressures and limitations on activity, but any system that blatantly requires several years of activity in an assigned task will stifle the ideal of service.

The main justification offered in defense of the military's prerogative in conscripting manpower is that service in the Armed Forces has basically constructive aspects. But these productive qualities exist independent of the fact of coercion. For a certain segment of our society--those in the lower educational or lower socio-economic levels--the military offers employment, income, training in basic or sometimes advanced skills, discipline, and the possibility of equal opportunity. All of these constructive aspects could be gained in nonmilitary activity. A youth in the Job Corps, for example, receives employment, income, training in basic skills, discipline, and equal opportunity. If he were in the Armed Services, he would also learn how to shoot a gun, march, or sit behind a desk. In a civilian activity he is contributing his time in service at least as valuable to his country and to himself, performing needed tasks, and at the same time increasing through training his educational background and potential for further service. There is an important difference between a person sitting bored behind an army desk or griping in the front lines and another enthusiastically working fifteen hours a day in the Peace Corps or studying electronics in the Job Corps. The latter is not being paid better nor is he in a more pleasant locale or necessarily in less physical danger; but he is contributing more--and he will continue to contribute more for the rest of his life as a citizen--because he chose to offer voluntarily a service which is meaningful to himself and beneficial to the society.⁷

The nature of the opposition to the Selective Service System indicates that it is not based merely on a passing antiwar mood, but reflects rather the desire to make personal choices about the quality of one's service to his country. And when one totals up the objections, he discovers that only a

comprehensive plan of alternative services to the nation will be acceptable.

The current controversy regarding government intervention arises from the compulsory system of recruitment for the military among people who might otherwise not choose that form of service. When one is drafted, he will enter either combat or noncombat duties. If he is drafted for noncombat activity, assigned perhaps to clerical tasks, a very great waste of manpower results. Many people already trained in specific skills needed by our society are occupying these kinds of positions in the military, while at the same time fundamental social needs go unmet because no one is assigned to them or trained to fill them. If, on the other hand, one is selected for combat activities, and if he feels that morally he cannot bear arms, he finds himself in the position of either compromising his integrity as an individual citizen or refusing the call to serve. The present "solution" of jail is hardly satisfactory.

The conclusion must be that the general area of conscientious objection needs to be reworked. The conscientious objector status now applies only to religious objectors but should be broadened at least to include objection on moral grounds. The suggestion has also been made to allow a type of political objection whereby one can selectively decline to participate in a particular conflict. Under the present selective system of no service alternatives unrelated to military conscription, this would create a real problem in defining who properly belongs in this category. Under a new system in which there was a wide scope of nonmilitary and therefore noncombat opportunities independent of the military structure open to everyone, it would be possible for persons who have legitimate objections to combat to find positive ways in which they could serve their country, a more constructive option than having to refuse to

obey military orders and be thrown into jail.

SERVICE ROLE FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR

A society will be judged by the value it places on service to itself, and the way it ranks those services.⁸

Experience under the present system has shown that a spirit of voluntarism is essential to keeping the ideal of service alive--that youth will contribute most when it chooses how it will serve. The initiative in choosing the tasks that are to be on our agenda, in furnishing the manpower for those jobs, and in challenging the public conscience and effort must therefore come from the private sector. The private sector can choose tasks to which the public sector is not ready to commit itself. For example, private groups attacked civil rights problems while the country publicly dragged its feet.

In the late 1950's several hundred thousand volunteers committed themselves to advancing civil rights at a time when the public sector debated whether to recognize the existence of the Negro. Private organizations experimented with and developed tutorial programs long before the government instituted Project Head Start. Now volunteers would like to go into the politically explosive areas of organizing minority groups at a time when the government would probably assign persons to more "constructive" educational tasks. Both need to be done, but only if the private sector keeps the initiative can the first be attempted.

There is sufficient manpower within the private sector of the society to go where it is most needed. We have more than six million persons in the nation's colleges and universities alone who could contribute. An integral part of any education should be an attempt at an independent analysis of reality, and that can only come through contact with the "real world." Every

school should encourage, if not require, its students to participate in the outside community to see what is going on and to see what they can contribute. With even partial success we could increase the man hours of voluntary service in this country a hundred fold. Yet more important, an entire generation could be shown how to serve their fellow countrymen's needs.

Our universities must be the fount of voluntary activity in any significant program of national service. Youth organizations can begin to coordinate campus chapters to develop skills needed by volunteers. With the campus as a base, these chapters can reach out to the noncollege youth and the educationally deprived to offer them training as well as encourage their cooperation. During the summer, intensive programs could be undertaken that would provide significant employment for college age youth. While these local groups would assess local needs and develop their own programs, some nationwide means of matching volunteers with service opportunities would provide an invaluable exchange during the summer so that young Americans could be exposed to all of our country's needs. There could be cooperation at a national level for exchange of information and stimulation, but basically the program would be local, not federal, and coordinated rather than controlled.

Universities should begin to occupy the central role in developing the ideal of service--of giving service not only after the student leaves the university but, in fact, while he is still on the campus. It is this ideal of service, being curbed to some extent by the existing Selective Service laws, that must be recognized as a national goal in order to counteract the current passive, nonservice sentiment that pervades the campuses. We should develop the ideal of voluntarism to the point that all citizens at all times are considering what they in their current capacity may do in service to society.

We ought never to allow a person to feel he has finished giving service, that he has nothing more to offer. The essential task is to provide people with a maximum of opportunities for service. Today's student generation, which resists the concept of conscripted military service, would respond enthusiastically to the call for more service if it were permitted the option of volunteering and the choice of service activity.

Thus, it is imperative that the private sector continue to challenge the public conscience. Although a comprehensive national program with federal financial support could perform valuable tasks and usefully coordinate many existing programs, we must maintain a strong private effort to counterbalance the Establishment. The private and public programs should cooperate, but we should never forego the right to dissent in an attempt to get a better coordinated program. We should not have a wholly governmental operation or we will find the public sector debating for years the politics rather than the merits of programs. Even if Congress were to appropriate funds for an unpopular program like civil rights, a southern governor might veto the proposal. The business of this country is too important to wait. The private sector should begin now to develop tasks that need to be performed to make any needed training available, and then to expose America's agenda of unfinished business to its youth and let them make their choice.

SOLUTION: REVISION OF "THE SYSTEM"

We should strive to develop a system in which a man can feel that he has served his country by contributing as a citizen, whether he has worn a uniform or not.⁹

A new system of service opportunities will be workable only if it provides free choice of service in an activity that challenges and expands each

individual in such a way that society is benefitted even after the period of formal service is completed. When this generation is trained to serve and a spirit of voluntarism is developed, then service will continue after one's youth. We must instill in our young people an ideal of service that will involve them part time as students and job holders and full time, the rest of their lives, as citizens. Our goal should be a voluntary society, beginning with concentration on youth but emphasizing every citizen's capacity to serve without waiting for the government to initiate a formal program.

All citizens must in some way confront our nation's problems for there to be any real effect, because the problems are a result of the system by which this country orders itself. Majority rule is fine, but if all the benefits of ruling are retained by the majority rather than shared by all, then majority rule means minority subjugation. The goal of social programs must be to equip minority citizens to know their full rights--as workers, consumers, voters, borrowers, homeowners--and to know how to obtain them.

Thus, the biggest gap is not between white and Negro, rich and poor, employed and unemployable--it is between those who understand the system and those who do not. Giving a person employable skills or more income will not increase the quality of his life or his degree of participation in the services offered by the American system. The average Negro cannot buy with an additional dollar of income what the average white can buy with his; as a consumer he will not be protected by the system in the same way as the white. Triple a migrant worker's income and he will still be semiliterate, in poor health, unable to vote, and someone will surely devise a scheme to absorb the additional income. It is possible that the current phenomenon of "black power" reflects a decision by some that there is no longer any reason to fight the white-controlled

system, that there is more dignity in living under a black system that is comprehensible to them.

Obviously these problems cannot be solved if their symptoms are attacked by youthful volunteers using sociological band-aids. The only solution is to reform the system by giving all citizens enough information so that they can be effective participants in the society. A middle-class white is born with a road map of the system in his hand. Persons in lower socioeconomic levels may never discover the inside information, and to them it will appear that a main goal of the system is to keep them outside. Even constructive moves by the majority may be rejected. Why, for example, should the disadvantaged expect a Legal Services for the Poor project to do anything when it is the system's discriminatory laws that have caused the trouble over interest rates, housing, and education?

In attempting to cross the information gap, three misconceptions will have to be avoided. First, the poor cannot be expected to lift themselves up in self-help programs, because the help needed is equal benefits and protection by the system--which can only be granted by (or forced from) the majority. Those advocates of self-help should realize that the logical extension of self-help into politics is "black power," or into consumer problems is boycotts. Second, if a national service program is instituted, the deprived should not be expected to be early enrollees, for many feel no obligation to give to something that has taken from them all their lives. Third, the program must be openly political. If it claims to eschew politics, then it will be seeking the political goal of keeping the status quo, which is unsatisfactory. The program should be politically motivated to increase the political participation of all citizens.

The preceding paragraphs need not imply that all who participate in the majority system consciously subjugate the minority. But it should be inferred that the biggest problem is lack of simple information about how to conduct one's day-to-day activities with the best possible results. Without such information, the patterns are clear: the minority's attempt to work outside the majority's system will lead to "lawless" acts, further separatism, and distrust, futility, and despair. A great impact can be made in volunteer, part-time, informal programs without waiting for a formal program or a formal period of service. The result will be truly national service, for the greatest kind of service an individual can offer his country is ensuring that the nation serves all its citizens.

A federal program, a nationwide system, a period of full-time service--these must be developed as soon as possible. While the debate commences in the public sector, the youth of this country can press ahead with their own plans for service. They need not wait to be told what needs to be done or when to begin. The youth organizations of this country have the resources. With imaginative coordination of existing programs and with study of the total needs of this nation, we can apply our ever-increasing manpower and knowledge to the ever-worsening needs of our fellow men. The private sector need no longer "ask what you can do for your country." We can decide now what to do and carry it out. The jobs need to be done. We are willing to contribute. We can make a difference, and we should try.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN NATIONAL SERVICE

Mildred Robbins

The first conference in America to give primary attention to the role of women in national service was convened by the National Council of Women of the United States in Norwich, Connecticut, in March, 1967. Seventy-five women, drawn from all over the United States, from diverse vocational, disciplinary, and socio-economic backgrounds and from all age groups, participated in the three-day conference. Many women had served or are serving now in such public agencies as the Peace Corps, VISTA, Job Corps, Teacher Corps, and the armed services, and in such private programs as Women's Talent Corps, Red Cross, and the Junior League.

In five workshop groups of fifteen women each, deliberately assorted in age, experience, and background, vigorous and spirited discussions were conducted on the pressing social needs facing America at community, state, and national levels--needs that might be met at least in part by national service. Participants discussed the advantages of voluntary versus compulsory service, the age at which a cross-cultural experience would be most beneficial to the individual and to the community, the possibility of national service as a response to women's need to be needed, to feel useful, and the methods by which the goal of national service could be realized.

Mrs. Robbins is President of the National Council of Women of the United States.

Our educators considered the possibility of national service as an extension or integral element of the educational system, recognizing that, if a participant were to emerge as a more effectively functioning citizen, training in basic skills itself would be a form of national service. They viewed national service not only as a privilege and growth experience for all young people, but as a unique opportunity for the economically and educationally deprived. The pacifists among us emphasized the necessity for keeping a clear distinction between combatant and noncombatant service. The civil libertarians were insistent that compulsory service is a serious infringement of civil liberties, although a voluntary program might expand freedom of choice. The young were concerned with personal goals, challenge, and commitment. Many of the older women, themselves involved in areas of special and pressing social needs, expressed concern over the growing shortages of facilities and staff in hospitals, schools, mental health clinics, and recreation centers.

After three days of exchange and interchange, action and reaction, 75 women who had started from widely varying positions, many of them opposed to or disinterested in the concept of national service, came together in a plenary session and found themselves in major agreement on three points regarding the potential significance of national service not only for women, but for all the citizenry.

1. It was agreed that some form of national service for men and women would be of benefit to the nation; would have special values for the individual; would strengthen rather than weaken family structures; and, in sum, would be a desirable national goal.

2. It was agreed that, while compulsory national service might be a necessity in a wartime emergency, the development of peacetime national

service should be a voluntary privilege and opportunity offered to all citizens.

3. It was agreed that the President and Congress should be urged to establish a commission to study in depth the desirability of national service as a means of meeting community, national, and individual needs and as an equal opportunity and responsibility for all men and women.

These conclusions were not compromises but overall recommendations by unanimous vote--expressions of joint, affirmative conviction arrived at after serious and thoughtful consideration. It was the searching quality of the discussion that heightened our feeling that we need in America, now, to accept the concept of national service as a means of achieving significant peacetime goals and as an answer to immediate and urgent community and national needs. It became our conviction that through the experience of such service, the attitudes and lives of our people can be enlarged and enriched for the benefit of all.

NATIONAL SERVICE AND SOCIETY

Workshop Discussion Summary

Chairman: Samuel D. Proctor
President, Institute for Services to Education,
Washington, D.C.

Panelists: Robert Adams, Executive Director, Friendship House,
Washington, D.C.; Leon Bramson; Reed Martin;
Mildred Robbins

Mr. Martin's identification of discriminatory effects of the draft system and Mr. Bramson's formulation of a theory of complementarity of needs among various disadvantaged groups within the social structure served as integrating threads throughout the workshop discussion. Mr. Bramson cited recently published statistics in support of Mr. Martin's thesis of draft discrimination and as a further example of complementarity of needs. The figures, reported in the New York Times of December 25, 1966, showed the variation in rates of military service by educational levels: only 25 per cent of those who finish college and go on to graduate school serve in the military; only 30 per cent of those with less than eight years of education serve. This contrasts with about 70 per cent participation for all others.

Mr. Bramson suggested that these statistics might indicate two highly complementary states of mind within the youth population that affect the possibility of their involvement in voluntary activities.

One is the psychology of the college student who is looking for a chance to take off for a year, perhaps to be a teacher aide in a slum school. The other is the psychology of the youth who is without a sense of having been counted yet, of having been reached or noticed, without a sense of himself. It may be that

we can assimilate both of these examples in the notion of complementarity of need.

Mr. Martin added that deferments that place value on formal but not experiential education discourage young men from trying an interlude in their academic careers during which they could contribute some form of community service, working alongside young people of diverse backgrounds, skill levels, and interests.

Mr. Bramson concurred on the need of many restless college youth for a cross-cultural moratorium experience in the "real world."

Isolation is characteristic of students in the newly developing countries as well as in the more highly industrialized nations. What I suggest is that the social-structural category of "student" is taking on new meaning. Students are interested in social action, largely as an expression of their sense of isolation and lack of actual involvement in the world around them. They enter the academic pipeline, and then they crawl through it, emerging only after a long period of academic, technical, or professional training. They are committed all that time to moving through the pipe. They don't have a chance to look around, to be uncommitted to a particular occupational goal, a particular identity. It is unfortunate that this kind of moratorium experience is now being denied our youth by the pressures of the Selective Service System. Before the Vietnam escalation, 25 per cent of the Harvard student body were taking leaves of a year or longer. If our best young people are choosing to interrupt their formal education to seek a noninstitutional experience, then we should be responding to this expressed need.

It was noted that the academic community is increasingly recognizing the social impact and value of this experiential interlude for students.

The benefits and effect of participation in a nationally valued service activity for disadvantaged youth was also debated among the panelists. Mr. Bramson pointed out that many ghetto dwellers "not only define themselves as having nothing but as being nothing." He said the question is how to affect

people who have that kind of self-concept and suggested that one answer is to provide opportunities "to do something for somebody else; it is only in this way that they will realize they must learn something themselves in order to fulfill their individual potentialities."

Mr. Adams responded that something has to be tied in that will enable a person to return from a national service experience not only saying "I am somebody" but "I've got some increased skills that I can sell, and in terms of my society I'm not going to fall flat on my back."

To date one of the major attempts at promoting a new, positive self-conception for the underprivileged youth has been the Job Corps. A fundamental failure of this program, however, has been its quantitative limitations; upon the initial call for applicants, over one half million forms were received for the 30,000 available places. Mr. Proctor also pointed out that until only recently the Job Corps centers had been established in nonurban settings, thus further isolating disadvantaged youths from the rest of the society; this is in conflict with the Job Corps objective to train these young people in social and vocational skills that will enable them to participate as contributing members of their communities.

Mr. Adams agreed that the poor can learn many things in national service, but he questioned whether the kinds of things were offered that are useful in the marketplace in yielding a respectable income. He stressed that "if a fellow comes out of the Job Corps as a printer, his experience will lead him to bread, to dollars," and said this is essential in viewing the potentials of national service from the perspective of the poor. He told of a special recruitment drive conducted in Friendship House to seek out poor people who might be interested in joining VISTA. The lack of success in finding

interested persons suggested that, although VISTA has very broad selection standards, the requirements excluded enough of this socio-economic group so that the poor, in turn, excluded themselves. Mr. Adams summarized:

Just as a quarter of the Harvard student body welcomes an interlude in their lives, so the poor crave a moratorium experience. They might well crave it almost as much as they crave an income and a steady job or a wall-to-wall mortgage in the suburbs. If a national service experience could offer this moratorium--away from the drudgery they hate and to which they see no end--and could tie in with their basic needs and long-range goals in terms of enhancing and making economically viable their skills, its social impact would be inestimable.

Mr. Proctor responded with a question as to whether, in addition to marketable skills, "some kind of service program might not give a person an opportunity for reidentification, for a new sense of being, of continuity with society." He said experience has already shown that this is possible:

Some men did achieve just this in the Air Force and returned virtually salvaged--not so much with marketable skills but with a certain zest for living. That uniform and even that number was the first time some kids had really been counted significantly, and the contact with others who were more self-directed gave them new insight and self-awareness. I don't like to say that man is just a depraved beast, but I say he needs an awful lot of help. He can perform with a little bit of encouragement.

Mr. Martin agreed and cited as another example the VISTA Volunteers and residents in Appalachia who "may not gain specifically marketable skills or means of increasing their income, but they both have increased their quality of life as a result of the cross-cultural, cooperative experience." Roderick MacRae of International Voluntary Services interposed that even the nebulous "lesson" of being exposed to the language of and the type of people involved in the business world in a sense teaches a marketable skill. This kind of exposure may be important in leading a ghetto youth to a greater income. But,

as Mr. MacRae phrased it, "The enrichment this broadening experience offers, or the effect it may have on the youth's own frame of mind and self-conception, is difficult to assess in a specifically economic value scheme."

Difficult a task as this evaluative procedure may be, the workshop was in general agreement that a period of voluntary national service might offer one means of synthesizing the needs of all elements of the youth population with those of the nation, responding in the fullest sense to the notion of complementarity of need.

RESPONSIBILITY OF INITIATIVE

While the workshop reached an early consensus on the positive social values of national service, each of the panelists had a different approach as to the essential characteristics of national service and to where responsibility for its launching should rest.

Mr. Adams stressed the necessity of revising our traditional attitudes toward responsibilities of citizenship, roles, and abilities of the disadvantaged, and socio-economic priorities at the national as well as local levels. He proposed that every man, child, and corporation in this country, in every position, participate "in a period of expected service, of being personally helpful in a way other than one's daily capacity." He said this would enable us to see in a clearer perspective "the invisible Americans" who need help. Without dealing directly with the issue of compulsion, he expressed the hope that national service would be presented in a way that people would "internally feel it is expected of a human being, that it is part of earning one's citizenship papers to float around in this world." He concluded:

This kind of requiring is good and historically appropriate. When I think back to when I was eight years old and was sent by my mother to take a bowl of beans to an elderly blind lady down the street, I went not because I wanted to but because my mother wanted me to and because this was expected of me. I think these are the earliest roots of "voluntary service" for me.

Mr. Adams cited our socially accepted requirement of gym in high school as a coerced activity that has become "part of the American way" and expressed the hope that "to spend time in service to one another--at the high school level, the college level, the business and mercantile levels--will some day be a similar expectation."

Mr. Bramson felt equally strongly that no element of compulsion should be included in the national service concept. He stated that the "only benefits accruing from national service that are really supercharged will come when such service is meshed with an individual's wish to do something." Mr. Bramson supported the National Service Secretariat's proposal (Appendix A) for a National Foundation for Volunteer Service, he said, to "dramatically broaden the opportunities for voluntary service by individuals of all socio-economic backgrounds." He anticipated that, although started under federal initiative and guidance, a voluntary program of national service would require considerable cooperation between public and private groups within the society.

As an example of the kind of relationship and project that might be developed, he referred to an independent school-college program in Philadelphia in which the Board of Education permits an independent nonprofit corporation to help operate a school in a ghetto area. The Board provides the funds while the corporation supplies some of the talent--administration, teachers, curriculum, philosophy, and instruction. Mr. Bramson stated that the corporation's objective is

. . . collaboration at the level of public education right in the heart of the ghetto. They propose to recruit staff from within the public school system and from private schools to set up co-operative houses, and to bring in students from neighboring colleges to work as teacher aides in slum schools and to live with the local residents.

While concurring in the desirability of a cooperative effort between government and nongovernment institutions, Mr. Martin stressed the responsibility of the private sector to provoke the public conscience, to force the government "to commit itself to meeting fully its present responsibilities and at the same time to lead it into other areas that, by itself, government would not enter." He pointed out that work with people in ghettos or migrant labor camps becomes almost political activity, for it teaches them their right to expect and demand certain services and opportunities. He said the private sector must keep the initiative "in drawing up the agenda of the nation, in identifying the tasks that need to be performed." He suggested these tasks were "basically nonmilitary, very long-range needs, instead of needs that go day to day or just year to year."

In reaction to the strong criticism of federal intervention that was either expressed or implied in the workshop discussion, Mr. Proctor pointed to the failures of private institutions, particularly Negro and white colleges, to initiate social action programs.

The only things that ever happen, happen when the United States Government gets involved, when a program has political sponsorship; then churches, universities, corporations--everybody--joins in. And even then, as in the case of Job Corps contracts, a corporation may assign a less essential staff member to devote part of his time to the Job Corps commitment. The result is that you have about a 30-percent-a-week man focusing on a kid who joined with high expectations about what's going to happen to him. Or the company may hire a fellow between jobs at \$12,000 for 12 months with no promotion

guarantee, no tenure, no pension. In either case you're asking for weak personnel. The inestimable value of a national service program would be to provide a pool of administrative personnel, thereby guaranteeing some stability and quality control. All in all, the great slush of this country doesn't move until the government says move.

Mr. Proctor did not discount the past and potential contributions of the private sector. While he acknowledged that many federal programs have developed from initial private instigation, "such as the Peace Corps from James Robinson's work in Crossroads Africa," he wondered "how long it would have taken a privately supported and administered program to reach an operating scope of 42 nations and 15,000 volunteers?" At the same time he said, "I would hate to see the Mennonite Church be subsidized by the Office of Economic Opportunity. You've got to have some agencies with their own life, free to pursue their own convictions, which serve as reflectors, a kind of litmus test for the government's operations."

Mrs. Robbins suggested that the private sector might find a way other than political means--which society tends to view as "dirty"--to participate actively in government programs, sharing responsibility for planning and administration:

Perhaps with the creation of a national service program, private and government agencies will be encouraged to work together, and citizens will awaken to the possibilities of involving themselves in combating the problems of their neighbors. This kind of involvement would carry with it a sense of prestige rather than dirtiness; it would prove far more satisfying than lambasting those in power from the sidelines. It seems possible that national service could provide an effective framework to permit the public and private sectors to work together for the betterment of the society as a whole.

Mr. Adams predicted that "the key to the public or private issue is, who's going to have the dominating socio-political philosophy to attract people into a system and get them in gear, that is, in service?" He saw a vacuum in the philosophical substance of existing private and public programs. As an illustration he suggested that "somewhere along the line the VISTA volunteers have been instilled with a belief that they are to be the salvation of the world, a sort of combination Saul Alinsky-Jesus Christ. I understand that their training now has become much more realistic, which makes it easier on the volunteer and of more help to the community."

Mr. Martin foresaw "university centers" as the natural place to try to provoke the private initiative. He felt they could easily provide the manpower, facilities, and experience necessary to launch a program of national service. Opportunities could be developed to enable young professionals or college students to volunteer their services, for example in legal aid programs; it is less likely that a practicing attorney at age 40 could take off for two years in a formal service assignment. Thus, he said that the universities must serve as a "training ground to perpetuate the ideal of service," that we must work from this precareer stage upward in promoting a sense of individual social responsibility. He summarized his wish to focus on the university as a starting point for the service concept.

Whereas now youths spend hours learning how to evade the draft, they might respond by spending at least equal time learning how to help their fellow citizens, how to relate what they are learning in their educational process to the realities of the outside world and how to help both themselves and the less educationally advantaged.

Mr. Bramson pointed out that educational institutions traditionally are jealous of their prerogatives in crediting "academic" work, although work-study programs and cooperative relationships with the Peace Corps and VISTA have been instituted at some schools, such as Antioch College, Western Michigan University, and Franconia College in New Hampshire. While this issue might create some difficulties in linking national service to established educational systems, Mr. Martin remarked that many undergraduate and graduate professional schools already require research or experiential activities and said that by use of actual situations near the university for case studies--whether with migrant workers or ghetto dwellers--students could be "armed" with the information needed to initiate service projects.

While not dissenting in theory with Mr. Martin's statement on the potential of universities, Mr. Proctor did note that "private schools, whose tuitions keep increasing to retain a good faculty, are pricing themselves out of the lower-class markets and are drawing only students from very high-middle-class backgrounds." Reiterating his belief that the private sector has too often relinquished the initiative in confronting societal crises, Mr. Proctor concluded:

The federal government has the implementality, the political machinery, for catching the American public when it is standing on tiptoe--at the moment of its highest moral resolve--to make it commit itself in legislation and financially to socially beneficial programs. It can forego the vacillations of moral fatigue that afflict private agencies.

NATIONAL SERVICE--A NATIONAL GOAL

The consensus of the workshop was that national service might offer at least a partial response to the needs and expectations of a variety of groups

within the social structure. Mr. Bramson suggested that "the implications of voluntary national service for the educational system, the occupational structure, the idea of career, and the use of leisure time could be significant. It could provide new sources of integration in the society. I see it not merely as serving the system but as serving the needs of the system by serving the individual." Mr. Martin saw as a national goal the encouragement of "a volunteer society" without a restricted concept of length of service. He placed particular emphasis on the work that could be performed through service and defined the "sum total of what this nation can do in volunteer activity as the sum capacity of our citizens to contribute service," and foresaw the "passive" generation becoming the "productive" generation. It was generally agreed that the fear of "long, hot summers" which yearly plagues the urban centers of the nation might be alleviated if opportunities were provided for all citizens to become involved in and to contribute to the well-being of the national and international communities.

In summary, the workshop saw national service as having the greatest impact on society through the process of service itself. The interaction of persons from different cultural, economic, and educational levels and the synthesizing of complementary needs of disadvantaged groups within the social structure were viewed as the most important potential offerings of national service. Significantly, less attention was given to the positive effects of particular service activities--emphasis was placed instead on the relationships among the people involved. No suggestion was made, however, to create artificial cross-cultural situations that would force such relationships.

The young people of today who will bear responsibility for the world tomorrow are seeking to confront reality, not to disguise or avoid it. Thus,

the kinds of experiences, relationships, and understanding that the panelists considered of greatest value to the society and its citizens can be achieved only through the identification of real needs and participation in real tasks.

4

TO SERVE AND TO LEARN

In this chapter, two educational researchers undertake a close examination of the national service concept and reach quite different conclusions. Michael Katz finds reasons for pessimism in the analogies between today's proponents of national service and the advocates of universal education in the nineteenth century. Dorothy Knoell views the present educational structure as failing to meet the needs of large numbers of young people and sees a national service experience as possibly a better learning situation for many people than is the kind of education offered in secondary schools or in college. High school superintendent Leon Lessinger considers national service in terms of its potential for restoring a greater sense of responsibility in the nation's youth.

At the workshop session, there was a split between those who saw national service primarily as an educational benefit and others who viewed it as a way to accomplish needed jobs. At the later plenary session, this split was labeled a false dichotomy by several persons who said the two objectives were inseparable: experiential education and accomplishment of socially useful tasks would be by-products of each other.

While there was an expression of widespread dissatisfaction with present-day offerings in education, some participants suggested that the school system could be improved by giving responsibility for national service to educational institutions. Others felt the "lethargy" present in much of the educational system disqualified it from assuming administrative direction of national service.

NATIONAL SERVICE AS POPULAR EDUCATION:

HISTORICAL REASONS FOR PESSIMISM

Michael B. Katz

The smashing success of mass popular education, an article of American faith, has been one source of inspiration to many advocates of national service. Throughout the proposals for national service are woven a list of vaguely defined objectives that represent much of what Americans, of any political persuasion, must consider worthy and desirable. The scarlet and most ill-defined thread in this pattern is "opportunities for . . . education in the broadest sense of the word."¹ We are told that, in the final analysis, national service is justified because it will provide young people with a new and rich mode of education; national service is acceptable because it is merely an extension of universal compulsory education. And the doubts about that--ethical, legal, and pragmatic--have long been dispelled. This is true: universal compulsory education is accepted and its few critics are considered rather queer eccentrics. No better illustration of this acceptance exists than a situation that happened not too long ago in Massachusetts. The legislature of the state passed a new comprehensive school act, which superseded and repealed most former educational legislation. But the drafters of the act inadvertently repealed compulsory education and forgot to write it into their bill. About a day after the act was passed, the oversight was noticed.

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Immediately the governor submitted a compulsory education bill; it passed at once and without question or debate. Such is the centrality in our assumptions about social policy to which a once radical idea has now permeated.

It is dangerous when anything so important as universal compulsory education becomes complacently accepted and when any institutionalized policy committing all the youth of a country to a particular experience for ten or so years becomes such a reflex action that it can unquestioningly be made the basis for radical new legislation cutting even more deeply into the lives of young people. Therefore, to look briefly but critically at the origins and experience of universal compulsory education in terms of the expectations for national service is an especially important task. For an historian it is a particularly intriguing one because the parallels between the founding of mass popular education and the proposals for national service are striking. To look at some of these similarities in context, assumptions, and style is the goal of this paper. It will be the argument of this paper that the proposals for national service echo, with an eerie and ghostlike fidelity, some of the intellectual and sociological weaknesses that have prevented universal compulsory education from reaching its goals and that have made our image of it as much myth as reality.

In much of the discussion that follows the experience of Massachusetts will be used as an example for a variety of reasons. My own knowledge of developments in that state are of a more detailed and deeper nature than of developments elsewhere. More than that, the pattern of the Massachusetts experience, in general terms, was not atypical of other urbanized areas, except that it was often first as with high schools, reform schools, and compulsory education. Because it was first, because the commitment of the state

to mass education was considered so great, because mass education was often developed there with such care, such painful consideration of what was best in theory and practice: for these reasons the state served as a model and inspiration to many areas across the country and even abroad. To look at Massachusetts in the nineteenth century, especially between 1840 and 1870, which was the critical period, is to look at what was probably the most enlightened example of mass education in the English-speaking world.

In most histories, universal compulsory education is usually traced to the Puritans, who, for their time, showed a remarkable concern with passing educational legislation and establishing formal institutions for schooling. But the educational efforts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were rather unsystematic, the results spotty, and the extent of commitment by the state and populace questionable at best. Indeed, it was only in the nineteenth century, particularly in the years after 1830, that the groundswell for mass popular education, in our modern sense, became noticeable, and the term "revival" of education, usually applied to the years between 1830 and the Civil War, hardly does justice to the new directions and importance that public education assumed.

It was during these years that the first public high schools were established, the first state Board of Education created, the first state reform schools built, and the first compulsory education law passed. It was also in these years that the teaching force became predominantly female and that state normal schools were established to train the young girls who, in increasing numbers, were staffing the expanding schools. It was in these years that the local superintendency of schools was created and career lines within education developed. Accompanying these structural changes were new

ideas about pedagogy and the nature of the curriculum, and these ideas became translated into practice in local schools throughout Massachusetts. Even less easy to measure than pedagogical change, but of perhaps greater significance, was the campaign, the attempt spurred by communal and state leaders, to convince the populace of the glories of public education. With the fervor of evangelists, education promoters sought to convert the people to their cause.²

To grasp the importance of this period--its definition as the time of the origin of mass popular education--is critical, because the context of these developments is so strikingly similar to the context in which a new form of mass education, national service, is being proposed.

Implicit in the proposals for national service are the concerns of a generation that is trying to confront more realistically than most of its predecessors the dilemmas of modern urban society. The spirit of the national service proposals is a manifestation of the spirit of the War on Poverty and although it is addressed to all social groups, national service is in fact an extension of the poverty program. National service proponents hope, for one thing, to improve upon some existing programs, like the Job Corps, by adding to them a dimension of cultural pluralism that will foster goals broader than the ones now sought. Proponents hope, too, to provide worthwhile poverty programs with the additional manpower that will help them function more effectively. Underlying the proposals, moreover, are broad social questions being asked as well by those concerned with the poverty program, questions like: How can we tackle the problem of teen-age unemployment? How can we eradicate illiteracy? How can we lessen the estrangement between social groups in an economically stratified society? Proposals for national service exude the sense of urgency and crisis that comes from a sense that we are

faced with a new and, if left uncontrolled, potentially chaotic and disastrous kind of society that forces us to think in new terms and to discard older methods and concepts. It is the sense of the need for immediate measures to cope with a setting for human experience whose growing discontinuity with the past is ever more apparent that infuses writings on national service with a sense of mission and zeal.

Like national service, mass popular education began as a strategy for coping with problems of a society beset by rapid urbanization and technological change that, within the lifetime of individuals, created a setting for human experience dramatically discontinuous with the past. Early mass popular education was an integral part of a mid-nineteenth-century War on Poverty. Predictably, the rapid and unplanned industrialization and urbanization in antebellum Massachusetts brought social problems of great magnitude, such as a frightening increase in juvenile delinquency, youthful prostitution, and drunkenness. Underlying all this was poverty--often stark and terrible. Besides the spectacle of mass human misery, immorality, and social disorder, the public expenditure for pauperism and crime increased alarmingly, especially in the cities. Clearly the situation was urgent; something had to be done, not only to alleviate immediate distress and reduce public expenditure for prisons and paupers, but also to restore some sort of harmony to communities splintered by the stratifying force of urban-industrial development, and to commit the young to a life of virtue and honest toil. In short, it was urgent that some effective means be found of insuring that the new society would be, as had been the old at least in memory, civilized, decent, and humane.

The problem was immediate and novel. Society had at its disposal no administrative apparatus or effective means of discipline capable of handling its problems. In fact, educational reform and innovation were aspects of the widespread effort of government, both state and local, and private philanthropy to create a network of institutions capable of coping with the onset of large-scale manufacturing and increasing urbanism. Between the 1830's and 1865 the state established a reform school (I shall have more to say about this and other educational innovations presently); altered its poor laws; established state almshouses; built hospitals and prisons for different classes of paupers and criminals; passed labor laws; and, more dramatically, created a central agency, the Board of State Charities, to coordinate and intensify its mid-nineteenth-century war on poverty and crime.

Thus, the first point of importance in a discussion of national service in terms of the experience of universal education is the similarity in context and spirit between both innovations, despite the more than a century that intervenes. Because of this similarity it is particularly instructive to look more precisely at the parallels in goals between proponents of national service and nineteenth-century educational reformers and to see how the goals of the earlier men fared when confronted with the harsh reality of social life.

One of the goals of national service is the provision of "cross-cultural knowledge and experience."³ Although nowhere defined precisely, the meaning of cross-cultural experiences emerged reasonably clearly from the National Service Conference of May 7, 1966. Take the statement, for instance, by Donald J. Eberly: "Draftees would be assigned to the nonmilitary training programs at random, since one of the purposes of national service would be a

democratizing one, where the rich and the poor, the black and the white, the brain and the dunce, the strong and the weak would work, sleep, and eat alongside one another."⁴ Elsewhere, speaking of the increasing stratification in American education, Mr. Preiss suggested, "One of the values of this kind of program [national service] would be to start breaking down these ever-widening delineations."⁵ Cross-cultural experience, it would seem, implies the reduction of distrust and distance between social groups. In short, "cross-cultural experiences" are seen as a way of attaining greater social harmony. National service, it is expected, will have a much needed centripetal and integrating effect upon American society.

Social harmony was also one of the explicit goals of the nineteenth-century educational reformers. Compare, for instance, the statement by Mr. Eberly cited above with the following argument of Joseph White, fourth secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. Of high schools White wrote:

The children of the rich and the poor, of the honoured and the unknown, meet together on common ground. Their pursuits, their aims and aspirations are one. No distinctions find place, but such as talent and industry and good conduct create. In the competitions, the defeats, and the successes of the schoolroom, they meet each other as they are to meet in the broader fields of life before them. . . . No foundation will be laid in our social life for the brazen walls of caste; and our political life, which is but the outgrowth of the social, will pulsate in harmony with it. . . .⁶

Thus, the high school in theory catered to the poor as well as the rich and was a vital antidote to the stratification, strife, and social disintegration that educators thought they saw around them. The Winchendon School Committee claimed that the influence of the high school "in binding the population together, and promoting good feeling and harmony, must be obvious to

everyone."⁷ To many Massachusetts educators an ideal society was free of rigid stratification, harmonious, and without acrimony. To achieve this harmony, to recreate the alleged social unity of preindustrial civilization, high schools were a necessity.

An important question therefore becomes: Did the high schools have this result? Did educational innovation succeed in creating social harmony? Obviously, if high schools were to achieve their goal of harmony they would have to be attended by students of all social classes so that the mix White rhapsodized about could take place. The presence of all social groups in high schools would be necessary for them to achieve another of their explicit goals: the promotion of social mobility. Offering to the poor boy a chance to rise was one reason given over and over again for justifying the use of public money on secondary education. The facts, unfortunately, do not support the expectations.

As an example take Somerville, Massachusetts, an industrial community. Between 1856 and 1861 about 57 per cent of the fathers of high school children were "upper-middle class" and the rest of the parents (with the exception of a few widows whose status could not be determined) were middle class. Similarly, of the parents of graduates of Chelsea High School between 1858 and 1864, 29 out of 43 were "upper-middle class," 11 were artisans, and 3 had no occupation listed. There were over 1,500 Irish immigrants in Somerville and a large number in Chelsea as well, but none of their children attended high school in these cities--nor did the children of any operatives or ordinary laborers attend. In both cities those people in the lowest occupational categories made up between 40 and 50 per cent of the population. Truly, the high school was a strictly middle-class institution.

Quite obviously the high school could not attain its goal. It could not produce social harmony; the formula was prepared but the ingredients were lacking. High school proponents overlooked the fact that the poorest children would probably be economically unable to spend three or four additional years in school; they were insensitive to the fact that an institution representing the aspirations and the culture of the middle classes might be an uncomfortable place for the son of an Irish immigrant laborer. They never found a way, in this period, of overcoming the apathy and hostility to education of parents from the lowest social groups.

Another way in which high schools were supposed to create social harmony was by equalizing opportunity and mitigating the effects of academies and other private schools. No longer was secondary education to be the prerogative of wealth; no longer were the rich to be educated in one institution, the poor in another. Actually, high schools did not entirely replace academies by any means, but in the communities where private schools of lesser grade and more tenuous position existed in 1840, there was often a high school instead by 1865. Probably, however, the clientele of the new high schools was not, as we have seen, socially broader than that of the private schools.⁸ What the establishment of the high schools did, in a very real sense, was to give a minority of the citizens in a town the opportunity to spread the burden of educating their children among the populace at large.

In later years, of course, the goal of social harmony retreated before the reality of vocational specialization within the high school. It is a commonplace assertion that the composition of the various "tracks" within high schools represent social as much as intellectual stratification in areas where the students of the school do in fact come from varied social

backgrounds. With urban lower schools, of course, the pattern of residential segregation was reflected in their social composition by the third quarter of the nineteenth century at the latest. The neighborhood school concept effectively barred the attainment of social integration through education.

But the schoolmen defeated their own end of social harmony in a much more subtle way. The style of reform in the mid-nineteenth century was pure imposition. Promoters believed educational innovation was the key to solving many urgent social problems. So they tried fast and hard to force innovations upon reluctant and sometimes hostile communities. The polarization around innovation was shown in one instance in Beverly, Massachusetts, where the people of least wealth and social position outvoted the wealthiest and most prestigious at the 1860 town meeting and actually managed to abolish the high school, which was the favorite innovation of communal leaders deeply concerned with reuniting what they took to be the splintered fragments of their industrializing town. Ironically, the high school proponents in Beverly, unaware of the cultural divide that separated social groups within the community, had defeated themselves by advancing arguments for a high school that were exactly wrong in terms of the concerns of the mass of working-class people. In other towns and cities, however, education promoters were more successful.

In Lawrence, a new industrial city, for example, promoters contended that if they could establish the finest school system in the state, they could prevent the onset of social strife, immorality, poverty, and other urban maladies. They did establish a fine school system, but Lawrence still developed all the diseases of urban life. And the population was singularly uncooperative. The Lawrence school committee, like its counterparts around

the state, harangued the people with a condescending tone of moral superiority. Committee members told the people that their children should be educated, and as they, the promoters, saw fit. They told the people that they were, in fact, inferior and incompetent. With remarkable lack of common sense, school promoters approached reform with a paternalistic tone that never overcame the apathy and resistance about which they continually moaned in print. In fact, by their hard and fast imposition of reform upon reluctant and sometimes hostile communities, education promoters helped to foster that estrangement between the school and the life of the working-class community that has persisted to become one of the greatest educational problems of our time.

To a striking degree national service, as proposed, reflects the same structural and stylistic inadequacies as earlier attempts to attain social integration through mass popular education. In fact, national service may well have the same ironic result of alienating the very people it seeks to embrace. In the first place, probably little actual sustained contact between corpsmen from different social strata will occur. If the best use of each recruit's talents is to be made and a degree of voluntarism in choice of service is to be preserved, then social difference, as reflected in educational attainment and vocational aspiration, will result in quite as much social separation as the "tracking" system in public schools. The integrative effect of lumping raw recruits from widely different social backgrounds together for two or three months in a summer program, moreover, can be minimal at best.

Like the earliest high schools, and despite the rhetoric of promoters, many national service agencies will not be socially heterogeneous; others, like later high schools, and again despite promoters' rhetoric, will be internally stratified.

The campaign for national service, like the campaign for mass popular and compulsory education, reflects a distinctly upper-middle-class point of view. Motivation to enlist in voluntary service, as the proponents of national service have rightly recognized, is no more a characteristic of the working class today than was motivation to send children to school regularly, promptly, and for an extended period a characteristic of the working class in the mid-nineteenth century.⁹ The writings of both nineteenth-century education promoters and twentieth-century national service promoters reflect a desire to work a transformation in the values of the poor, the one toward schooling, the other toward social service. The aim is to have the poor adopt a characteristic value of their social and economic betters. This is not an approach to either social harmony or amelioration that has had striking success.

For years the poor have had the perversity to resist and sabotage innovations that would allegedly promote their own good but that rested on alien values and alien styles of life. The working class of Beverly, as we have seen, rejected the high school that was supposed to offer so much to their children; the working class of other urban areas, as we have likewise noted, remained apathetic for a long time to the work of educational reformers and, if the complaints of schoolmen are at all creditable, frustrated the work of schools by their lack of cooperation. Social work has had much the same experience because it has contained the same flaws, as Jane Addams early in its history pointed out. Between the poor and those nice college girls who came to do them good existed an almost impassable gulf, and the poor often rejected with hostility the proffered help based on late Victorian conceptions of morality and social behavior. The problem, as Jane Addams so rightly said, was the failure to incorporate the values of the poor themselves into the process of amelioration

and the failure to allow the poor a meaningful initiative in the task of social reform.¹⁰

For the most part Jane Addams' message was lost, but its import was, surprisingly and encouragingly, written into the Poverty Act in the controversial provision that programs include the "maximum feasible participation" of their clientele.¹¹ It is this message, at long last given at least token recognition, that national service is ignoring. For, like popular education in the nineteenth century, national service in the twentieth is an imposition and institutionalization of the values of one particular segment of society upon all the rest. And for this reason, historical experience as well as common sense suggests that it will arouse little enthusiasm among the mass of the population. It will be one more requirement that has been handed down--one more aspect of officialdom to be evaded or grudgingly acquiesced in--and as such national service can never reach its goals. It will become a source of cheap conscripted labor rather than an induction into social commitment.

The problem of imposition will be exacerbated, as it was in the case of early mass education, by the tone of much of the writing. It takes little imagination to empathize with working-class parents who were continually excoriated by schoolmen and reformers as shortsighted, stupid, immoral, incompetent, and unaffectionate. Certainly, the rhetoric of criticism and superiority must have done much to foster the estrangement between the school and working-class community and to predispose parents to uncooperative attitudes toward novel institutions and legal requirements. The same tone, though in less strident and blatant accents, is also present in the proposals for national service. The lower classes are being told that their apathy toward voluntary social service is wrong and that it implies a moral flaw in them that does not

scar the character of their social superiors. The poor are being told, in effect, that because their children are reluctant to volunteer for service, they must be made to do so. Although criticism of the lower class in national service proposals is masked in language more suave than that of nineteenth-century education promoters, it still comes through clearly, and the poor, sensitive to slights of this sort, are sure to pick it up. When they do, their resentment of national service can only be reinforced and the social antagonisms that pervade American society can only be intensified. National service will not contribute to social integration and good feeling any more than did popular education at the time of its founding. It will, like the earlier innovation, increase the severity of one of the very problems it is created to lessen.

National service, like popular education, reflects a characteristic American method of trying to solve social problems. That method is evasion. Reformers in the mid-nineteenth century, like reformers today, searched earnestly for innovations that would lessen crime, eliminate juvenile delinquency, abolish drunkenness, diminish pauperism, and remove grinding poverty. In this quest they turned chiefly to education. Take as an example the background and founding of the state reform school in Massachusetts in 1848. School promoters had been arguing for some time that crime and poverty were causally related to ignorance. Education, they said, by removing ignorance and infusing into the whole population useful skills and sound morals, would virtually eliminate the need and expense for prisons and public charity. Because education created wealth and honest moral citizens, universal schooling would be the cure for the crying evils of urban society.

The campaign for universal education was a campaign for social reform. The underlying strategy was to concentrate social resources on the young with

the assumption that children were pliable enough to be molded into socially desirable and permanent shapes. In time, when all adults would be the products of universal education, society would assume a more moral and equitable form. Horace Mann wrote in 1848:

Without undervaluing any other human agency, it may be safely affirmed that the Common School, improved and energized, as it can easily be, may become the most effective and benignant of all the forces of civilization. . . when it shall be trained to wield its mighty energies for the protection of society against the giant vices which now invade and torment it;--against intemperance, avarice, war, slavery, bigotry, the woes of want and the wickedness of waste,--then, there will not be a height to which these enemies of the race can escape, which it will not scale, nor a Titan among them all, whom it will not slay.¹²

Among the many problems school promoters faced was that all children did not attend the institutions being created. Despite the vigor with which educational reform and innovation were prosecuted, there remained children who were unaffected by the new and still voluntary institutions. Despite the increased attendance at improved schools, juvenile delinquency was rising at an alarming rate. It seemed, then, logical to create a special institution to cope with the recalcitrant element. And because this element was, in the phrase of one group of influential reformers, "blind to their own interests," it was necessary to make the new institution compulsory.¹³ To handle delinquents, the Massachusetts legislature in 1848 created the first state reform school in either America or Britain, and this school was explicitly recognized as the first form of compulsory education in either country. Four years later, when the state recognized that the reform school was insufficient, that there were more than a handful of youths "blind to their own interests," it extended compulsory education in the form of statewide laws.

That the reform school was intended to work a moral transformation, that it was regarded with high hopes, even extravagant optimism, is revealed by this memorable sentence penned by a legislative committee advocating its establishment. The sentence, incidentally, tells much about the assumptions of nineteenth-century reform.

Of the many and valuable institutions sustained, in whole or in part, from the public treasury, we may safely say that none is of more importance, or holds a more intimate connection with the future prosperity and moral integrity of the community, than one which promises to take neglected, wayward, wandering, idle and vicious boys, with perverse minds and corrupted hearts, and cleanse and purify and reform them and thus send them forth, in the erectness of manhood and the beauty of virtue, educated and prepared to be industrious, useful and virtuous citizens.¹⁴

The purpose of the school was not to punish; it was to reform. Most of the boys, it was argued (and indeed it proved to be the case), would come from urban areas. In these areas it was assumed they had been raised by corrupt and sometimes vicious parents who neglected their children's moral growth and provided models of depravity to their susceptible youthful minds. The children wandered the streets, fell in with bad companions, neglected to go to school, and so embarked on a career of juvenile crime. The cause of their crime was, then, very much the environment in which the delinquents had been reared. Their ineffectual parents were, in turn, the result of poverty, which bred immorality and criminality. Poverty itself was related to cities. The nature of causal connections and the origin of the vicious cycle were unclear, but it was clear that somehow the cycle had to be broken. This was to be the mission of the reform school, which would provide boys with a combination home and school and so return them to society as "industrious, useful and virtuous citizens." Thus would crime, intemperance, and poverty be removed from the face of the Commonwealth.

It has been necessary to point out the mission of the reform school and the expectations held for it in some detail in order to underline a few very important points. First of all, in spite of the reform school and all the manifold variety of educational innovation, crime did not decrease. It increased and so, as we all know, did the problems of urban society. It is a sobering thought to realize that the problems of urban-industrial society, including those of poverty and juvenile delinquency, have been the subject of serious attack, although an attack unevenly paced, for over 125 years.

If we ponder this alarming fact and seek its explanation, the experience of the reform school and indeed of the whole reform movement is instructive. Two or three decades of mounting social problems, reflected in increased rates of pauperization and crime, had given reformers a heightened perception of the evils they needed to combat. However, the assumptions they brought to the task of reform limited their effectiveness; all problems became essentially problems of education. In its broadest sense, reformers equated education with all learning and hence with home as well as school. But their writings clearly implied and often stated that the home was the scene of the wrong sort of learning, and the problem of education became the marshalling of social resources other than the family for the inculcation of a commitment to virtue. Only in the educational area, in fact, in the reform of human nature rather than in the reform of social systems, were reformers willing to apply coercion or conceive radically new solutions. Unfortunately, education by itself was inadequate. More than that, the diffusion of an utopian and essentially unrealistic ideology that stressed education as the key to social salvation created a smokescreen that actually obscured the depth of the social problems it proposed to blow away and prevented the realistic formulation of strategies

of social reform.

In essence reformers did not attack the problems about which they complained; they evaded them. A realistic attack would surely have included education, but it would also have included a radical recasting of the economic and social systems. But reformers, themselves involved with industrial growth and possessing a stake in existing social and economic relations, were unable even to imagine the dimensions of a true solution to the problems they lamented. Education was a convenient answer for them. They could feel that they were really doing something about a problem that troubled them. They could act, moreover, without jeopardizing their more temporal concerns. This pattern of response has been repeated; education has continued to be a smokescreen, an essentially conservative response to social problems that evades confronting the logic or the implications of the dilemmas it is supposed to attack.

National service, which is defined as largely an educational innovation, repeats the familiar pattern of evasion. That is, national service advocates identify serious and real social problems, which they hope to attack. Yet they fail to analyze either the true dimensions and sources of the problems or the extent to which their proposed solutions will actually have an impact upon these underlying factors. Consequently, the national service proposals reflect an ill-defined, shallow, and evasive mixture of often naive optimism and timidity about tampering with the status quo, as the following examples should make clear. For one, national service proposes to eliminate a serious inequity. On the surface this inequity is that the affluent have many ways of seeing that their children avoid military service, and consequently the less economically fortunate have to fight and die for the rest of us. The national service solution is, in effect, draft everybody into some sort of service to

their country. (The national service proposal does not in fact require everybody to choose either military or nonmilitary service. But by vastly increasing the chance of conscription for those who do not indicate a choice, it introduces a more subtle and insidious form of coercion.) However, national service advocates do not explore the deeper dimensions of the problem. Is conscription itself, except in cases of grave national emergency, justified or necessary? Is not one alternative to abolish the draft? Perhaps the most equitable thing to do is to make service in the armed forces attractive. Pay a high wage, for instance. The figures cited by Donald Eberly from his small survey indicate that young people are highly responsive to financial inducements.¹⁵ Surely it is more than pandering to low motives to suggest that those who defend their country deserve a higher wage than those who choose to remain at easier and less dangerous jobs. As it is now, a young man may take a serious financial loss by serving in the armed forces.

This approach, of course, does not consider another and even more fundamental question. If young men are unwilling to serve their country in its armed forces, does not this imply that they at least in part fail to see the justice of their country's cause? To expect or ask for a less ambiguous national cause is, however, probably utopian. But this is a relevant issue because it is partly the hope of national service to raise the status of the military and of service in general. At one point the fact that the military no longer has the high status it did in World War II is lamented.¹⁶ Will compelling youths to serve increase that status? Is not the essential and overlooked point that in the 1940's the country had been attacked and was, in fact, engaged in one of the very few unambiguously justified wars in human history? The failure of the national service plan to ask this question is an

excellent instance of the evasive shallowness that generally permeates the proposals.

The same criterion of evasiveness applies to discussions of nonmilitary service. Is not part of the reluctance of the poor to serve a product of their inability to see any reason for giving of themselves to a society that apparently cares little about their welfare? How can we decently expect youths subjugated to the experiences of racial animosity, segregation, and poverty to feel enthusiastic about volunteering their services to their country? To say that a commitment to service can be inculcated and that it should be expected is to evade the fundamental realities of American society just as much as did nineteenth-century educational reformers; it is to evade the painful awareness that before we can expect people to want to serve and before we should ask them to serve, we must radically restructure their conditions of life so that they will have reason for serving. Like educational reform in an earlier era, national service is the comfortable way out, an outlet that will keep us occupied while we avoid confronting the issues that truly underlie the problems we are ineffectually proposing to solve.

The essential evasiveness of national service is seen in another way as well. It is proposed not to place national service recruits in any jobs that have political overtones. They are to go only into safe and noncontroversial positions. If this becomes policy, will the armies of conscripted manpower really be used in the most effective way: are not the jobs that need doing, that represent the most effective use of manpower, not emptying bedpans or planting trees but regenerating urban life and attacking the political and economic roots of poverty and social inequity? If we really want to provide a worthwhile cross-cultural experience, we should send our youths to help

integrate schools and restaurants or to register voters in the South. If we want to provide effective help for the War on Poverty, we should train poor boys in community organization and social action so that they can lead their neighbors in a reform campaign that expresses indigenous goals and aspirations. But these are forms of service that involve politics; they are modes of action that shake the status quo. And to shake the status quo is something that national service is manifestly designed not to do. Like education promoters, promoters of national service are proposing a form of activity that will not accomplish their goals.

Surely bedpans need to be emptied, libraries need aides, social work agencies need drivers. But, again, by offering decent conditions and remuneration these jobs can be filled. They are not so essential that they can justify the conscription of youth. If social services are essential and the means of existing private agencies inadequate, let us give up the fiction that privatism and voluntarism are adequate responses to social problems. Voluntarism is, next to education, the most characteristic American way of meeting social problems. Like education it, too, has proved itself inadequate. We need new approaches, not an infusion into the Salvation Army and Red Cross of school dropouts who will provide unskilled labor to reinforce and bolster existing inadequate approaches. We can impose national service upon society, just as universal compulsory education was imposed, but our essential problems--poverty, crime, inequity, and urban blight--will continue to grow, just as they have grown despite the prophecies of those who created mass education a century ago.

In its development, universal education has paralleled the experience of other social movements in an important way, and this aspect of the history of social movements gives cause for still more doubt about the possibility of

sustained success for national service. The pacing of educational development since the nineteenth century has revealed a peculiar rhythm. In the late 1830's in Massachusetts, for instance, educational reform started with a passionate zeal sustained by the lay communal leaders who promoted the movement. Until the mid-to-late 1850's, when its evangelistic style was gradually replaced, lay enthusiasm and involvement characterized the movement, which was not dissimilar to a mass religious revival. Lay involvement declined as professionals increasingly took control of education by occupying the positions in the systems that the lay reformers had created. For about twenty years there followed a period of unexciting consolidation marked by the development of bureaucratic styles of administration. In the process educational administration and the conduct of schools became increasingly rigid and educational practice and discourse increasingly sterile and routine.¹⁷

By the early 1870's intellectuals, especially, had begun to show alarm at the changes that had overtaken public education, and there commenced a new spurt of lay reform, now directed in large part at the bureaucratic habits of educators.¹⁸ This was a short-lived spurt, and backsliding was evident by the very early 1880's, as, in some crucial contests, the professionals triumphed over the reformers and gained even firmer control of the educational system. What we call progressivism and usually date from the 1890's, in fact, may be an example of another and more prolonged resurgence of zealous lay reform endeavor. It would appear that this movement lost much of its momentum in the years between the end of World War I and the 1950's. Indeed, the surge of lay concern with schools and urban problems that we are witnessing today is both a manifestation of this renewed involvement and a recurrence of one phase of the reform process that has proceeded in a somewhat cyclical fashion since the

second quarter of the nineteenth century.

That this kind of phasing has marked the development of universal education is not surprising; it is an instance of a sort of phasing common to many social movements. It is the phenomenon referred to, for one, by Max Weber as the "routinization of charisma." Another illustration is provided by the example of social work between 1880 and 1930 as lucidly described by Roy Lubove in his book, The Professional Altruist. Lubove describes and analyzes the alteration in the conduct of social work from enthusiastic amateurs treating their tasks as a "cause" to dispassionate professionals, circumscribed by red tape, performing "functions." This sort of transition also marked the course of prison development between roughly 1840 and 1860; it marked the course of the state reform school in the same period and that of mental hospitals as well.²⁰

Now national service depends for its very success upon the spirit in which it is approached. It rests in part on the premise that the enthusiastic spirit of voluntary service can be diffused much more widely. The spirit of routine and requirement is antithetical to the whole ethos of national service proposals. If national service programs were started and, after a time, lost the element of enthusiasm, the whole intent of the program would be unwittingly altered and its purposes would become impossible of fulfillment. When the lay reform enthusiasm that now sustains the proposals dwindles--as it will--and the program falls more and more under the influence of bureaucracy--as it must--any hope of diffusing a spirit of voluntarist zeal will be lost. There is no reason to believe that national service can escape from the routinization of charisma, from the transition from cause to function, and when this happens, national service will become a requirement, something of a drudge. Inevitably

the attempt to institutionalize in permanent form an ethos, an ardor, will create a large and powerful organization whose original goals will in a short time become displaced by the aim of maintaining, defending, and perpetuating the organization itself.²¹ As the initial novelty and excitement about the idea wanes, the transformation in ethos that will overtake national service will change its goals and remove the justification, such as it is, for making this additional inroad into the lives of young people. National service involves a radical invasion of the lives of people, and only if we are very sure that such an invasion will be justified in terms of its outcome can we in good conscience go forward with it. We have good reason to doubt the eventual success of national service; among the reasons, some of which have been put forth so far, the characteristic change in spirit that overtakes social movements is alone enough to give us serious concern.

National service has been defended, this paper has repeatedly noted, as education, but education is by no means a term whose definition is self-evident. It is indeed a very tricky term, which a good deal of philosophical analysis has tried to explain with singular lack of unanimity. In no proposals I have seen has a definition of education been offered. This is a serious omission because we should know exactly what proponents think national service will accomplish. The use of the word education, however, is extremely useful for advocates of national service even if they employ it with a looseness that would horrify a philosopher. It is useful precisely because education is accepted as an unimpeachable good in American society. National service is, in effect, proposing to extend the time of compulsory education now forced on children. Implicit in the proposals is the contention that because the current term of required schooling does not accomplish all that is necessary, the

solution is to extend that period of schooling. If education has not produced the kind of people we want, then let us give them more education. This is a characteristic argument of educators and, I think, of many professional groups. The argument is evident now, as it has been before in both the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, in proposals to extend compulsory education from age sixteen to eighteen.

The argument for extension implies that if a particular operation has not reached its goals, be that operation schooling or psychotherapy, the solution is to provide more of the same. This is the easy way out. It is again an evasion. The question to confront is: Are the theory and conduct on which the treatment already has been received sound? If compulsory education has not done what we have hoped, the answer is not to extend it but to radically recast the whole process of formal schooling. What we desperately need, in fact, are radical new conceptions of education and formal schooling. These new conceptions must not just tinker with the system but shake it to its very roots in order to produce fundamental alterations. Perhaps this is the task to which we should be directing our attention. For the successful redefinition of formal schooling and its fundamental reorganization might well eliminate the need for the kind of remedial operation represented by national service and other proposals to extend compulsory education, proposals that in fact obscure the basic problem.

To proponents of national service young people seem, distressingly, to be "human resources," material that needs developing and exploiting for the good of that abstract entity, society.²² Such an approach is not new or surprising. Although economists may sometimes think that there is some novelty in their consideration of education as human resource development, this idea

is very old. Many of the justifications for schooling given in the nineteenth century were couched almost precisely in these terms. The other justifications, while noneconomic, were nearly all put forth in terms of other needs of society; society needed more skilled individuals to utilize and further develop the new technological basis of industry; it needed moral individuals to reduce crime and poverty. Investment in education was considered a primary means of developing the wealth of the nation, of a state, or of an individual community. In all these discussions the actual feelings and aspirations of the individual were, with a few notable exceptions, neglected. This neglect was partly justifiable at a time when American society was still in the developing stage. But the time has come for a movement for reform and innovation based upon the desire to enrich the experience of individuals and to bring to their lives more joy and loveliness.

Surely, in a society as affluent as America, it represents a wrong scale of priorities to continue, as national service proposals do, to conceive of educational tasks in terms of an overriding sense of urgency about developing "human resources" and fulfilling social needs. Surely, there are other values that should encourage us finally to break with tradition and enjoy the luxury we possess for the first time in history. That luxury is the ability to enact into social policy a concern that each unique individual be assured the chance to lead a life that, in its own unique way, offers him dignity and satisfaction. To bring this about is a major problem that too few people are thinking about. It is partly an educational problem of the first magnitude that will require redefining and restructuring schooling from the bottom up and not just tinkering or extending it as national service proposes. It is a major problem that also will require us to change those aspects of our society

that are unjust, and this involves radical political action of a sort that national service, as we have seen, deliberately proposes to avoid. In short, national service is avoiding confrontation with the real problems of our time.

Like universal education, national service is being proposed in a period of fundamental social change as part of a war on social maladies and inequities. Like universal education, again, national service aims to promote social harmony, alter the values of the poor, and provide an effective strategy for overcoming some of the most important problems of its time. Yet national service proposals reflect the style of imposition, the insensitivity to the feelings of the poor, the intellectual weakness and political timidity that have plagued universal education since its origins. The experience of universal education, this essay has tried to show, makes one pessimistic about the success of national service. For, like much of educational history, national service represents an evasive nonsolution of social problems in the best American tradition.

NATIONAL SERVICE--INTERLUDE OR TRANSITION?

Dorothy M. Knoell

The mid-1960's are characterized by high employment levels and good wages; rapidly increasing opportunities for college attendance in low-cost public colleges or under liberal financial aid programs; a war that stops short of being a national emergency but that does claim a fair share of the high school graduates; and many federally financed programs for the educational and vocational rehabilitation of young people who remain without some gainful pursuit. Nevertheless, equality of opportunity for individual development for the 18-year-old simply does not now exist, notwithstanding compensatory programs and federal support. Thus, the potential value of national service as still another type of post-high school activity for large numbers of young people seems worthy of speculation. There is little likelihood that equality can be achieved without fairly radical changes in the socio-economic structure. National service, however, might be an effective catalyst in the equalization of post-secondary educational opportunity as well as an agent for enhancing opportunity for those in the collegiate structure.

A national commitment to the provision of free public education at the post-secondary level has been developed in recent years and is being implemented at state and local levels. College facilities are being rapidly expanded in

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anticipation of increased demand for higher education; new types of institutes and programs are being experimented with; and funds are being appropriated by Congress and other groups to insure that no young man or woman is denied opportunity for a college education solely because of his inability to pay for it. Some observers would equate expanded opportunity for post-secondary education with a mere extension of the high school. Others view it with alarm as a portent of increased federal control bordering on a national system of education. There is still little prospect that young people will be compelled to continue their education after high school graduation, although efforts to reduce the ranks of high school dropouts have been intensified.

Speculation about the need for continuing education (after high school and throughout adult life) and projections of expected collegiate enrollments leave little room for national service proposals unless such service is viewed as an educational interlude. Inferences about the positive educational value of national service may be made from two major sources of information about the pursuits of young people under 21 years of age. The first is the body of studies of characteristics of students who now attend college compared with those who do not. The second source is what might be called change data from longitudinal studies of young adults who go to college, seek employment, enter the armed services, marry and have children, or do all of these things.¹

AFTER HIGH SCHOOL, WHAT?

The existing body of research on patterns of development of young people is far from adequate, since some of the most promising studies are still incomplete. War has changed the lives of many generations of young people and now once more threatens to interfere with individual development and longitudinal studies thereof. As it is, we know much more about the college

student than about those who discontinue school after the secondary level, about the talented than those with only modest ability, about middle- and upper-class youth than those in the lower classes (particularly the urban disadvantaged). A disproportionate amount of effort is currently devoted to studying the persisters--whether in high school and college, in military service, or in jobs that become careers. Studies now in progress at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education at the University of California at Berkeley should illuminate both student and nonstudent development, however. Meanwhile, studies done under various other auspices will have to be used for the construction of baseline data on the pursuits of young people.

A national sample of 1,000 youth aged 17 produces about 710 high school graduates, 376 of whom will enroll in college in degree programs, among whom 207 will receive baccalaureate or first professional degrees, 50 a master's degree, and 8 an earned doctorate.² In other words, nearly three young people in ten do not complete high school, with the proportion of noncompleters among disadvantaged youth doubled (or more) in the major cities. Further, little satisfaction can be found in the statistic that about half the nation's high school graduates go to college, for only 60 per cent of those who start (one-third of the high school graduates or one-fifth of all young people) are believed to earn a bachelor's degree.

About half the incidence of college dropout occurs during or at the end of the first year and most of the remainder before the beginning of the junior year. The attrition rate is higher in community and junior colleges and often occurs early in the first year. Only half the entering freshmen who say that they plan to transfer to four-year institutions to pursue baccalaureate degrees do in fact continue.³ The exact percentage of young adults

who eventually earn college degrees can only be guessed, for some do so after delayed college attendance, others after transfer, and still others after dropout and later enrollment at the same or another institution. The mass of literature on the college dropout is best summed up in two recent volumes--one, the report of a conference on needed research on the college dropout,⁴ and the second, a conference report on The College Dropout and the Utilization of Talent.⁵

At least one-third of the young people are working full time following high school graduation, including a sizable number who are simultaneously attending college. An additional 15 per cent work at part-time jobs, many of them while in school or college. Under present conditions of near full employment and some labor shortages, few out-of-school males between the ages of 16 and 21 are unemployed. A labor force survey of January, 1963, showed that only 8 per cent were not working and only one-third of this unemployed group was looking for jobs while out of work.⁶ However, in the cities and among some minority groups, unemployment figures for disadvantaged youth without a high school diploma are dramatically higher than this survey indicates.

Project TALENT is undoubtedly the most comprehensive of the many longitudinal studies of national samples of high school students.⁷ Data collection was begun in 1960 for some 400,000 students in grades 9 through 12 in a randomly selected sample of schools. Follow-up data were obtained for successive classes approximately one year after graduation. Additional data are being collected relating to activities five years after high school graduation, and 10- and 20-year follow-ups are planned. Published reports are available for only the first-year follow-up at the present time, however. A few of the most important findings with implications for the study of a national service

program are the following:

1. The percentage of young people who continued their education after high school increased markedly from the class of 1960 through the class of 1963--from 57 to 68 per cent. The percentage attending college increased from 40 to 49, while the percentage enrolled in noncollegiate programs or institutions increased from 17 to 21 but decreased to 19 for the last class studied.
2. The percentage of college freshmen working in full-time jobs increased from 16 per cent in the first class studied to 20 in the third follow-up, with more than one-third of all college freshmen working at least part time. This includes nearly 40 per cent of the male freshmen. A follow-up made in the summer found 78 per cent of the male freshmen and 61 per cent of the women employed in what were probably summer jobs.
3. Among the high school graduates who did not go to college, the percentage who were employed at the time of the first year follow-up rose from 68.5 (74.5 per cent for males) to 77 (90 per cent for males). Part-time employment decreased during this period, particularly among the males.
4. About 20 per cent of the male high school graduates were or had been on active duty in the armed forces at the time of the first year follow-up. The proportion of male dropouts serving was much higher, or about one-third.
5. Within a year after high school graduation, about 10 per cent of the males and at least 25 per cent of the women were married. Among the non-college goers, the rates were considerably higher--nearly 20 per cent of the men and 40 per cent of the women. Percentages of dropouts who reported that they were married during this same period of time were still higher.
6. There was a high degree of instability in the career plans made by high school students during grades 9 through 12, as evidenced by plans and

activities reported one year after graduation. Similarity in plans was reported by less than one-third of the males who were queried as seniors, and by less than 20 per cent of those queried in the ninth grade. Percentages were somewhat higher for women and ranged from 41 per cent for seniors down to 26 per cent for those queried in the ninth grade. Among the employed graduates, stability of interest was positively related to amount of training required for the job, with the least stability reported among those holding unskilled jobs such as general clerical workers, waiters, and assembly-line workers. About half the group queried in the ninth grade made rather radical changes in their career plans during the first year after graduation.

From the results of this and other studies we can speculate about the educational, career, and personal development of the young people who might be called upon to perform national service. Although rates of college attendance, unemployment, induction into military service, marriage and divorce, and institutionalization (in prisons and mental hospitals) will vary from decade to decade with the state of the economy, overseas military commitments, and changes in the values and stresses of society in general, we might expect the following trends in the activities of the nation's young people:

1. An increasing percentage of high school graduates will attend college for at least two years, and a larger percentage of college graduates will continue for advanced degrees.
2. An increasing percentage of people of all ages who are not in college will seek some type of continuing education for advancement in employment, personal development or both.
3. More young people will marry before they are 21 years old but both husband and wife will continue their education and/or seek full-time employment

before starting families, and women will seek work or study outside the home after (and between) the birth of children.

4. Geographical mobility will increase--across state lines, to different parts of the country, and to other countries--for education, employment, and opportunity for fuller self-realization.

With the indications strong that education will be increasingly important in the lives of young people during the coming decades, the nation has committed itself to the extension of educational opportunity. This goal was formalized in the report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress of 1966, which took the position that opportunity for free public education at least through grade 14 should be made universally available. Since education in the United States has traditionally and constitutionally been left to the individual states and local governments, the fulfillment of this goal is less than complete in many areas.

The comprehensive community college--both theoretically and increasingly in practice--offers a good model for the expansion of opportunity. It is seen by some as an expansion of the high school (with students living at home, teachers who may not be scholars, little or no tuition and fees), but giving a new kind and quality of opportunity to a large, almost random segment of the local high school graduates. To others, the community college is the first, very broad level of the higher education system, preparing some for employment and others for further higher education. At best, the community college is a bridge between high school and career (occupational, education, family), between adolescence and adulthood, between home and family and life in a university residence hall or as head of household. In contrast with the traditional university, the community college is student-oriented, offers a wide range of

programs suited to the needs of the individual students, and values counseling and other student services as an integral part of the educational system.

The percentage of youth attending college in a given area has been demonstrably raised through the establishment of local public colleges, usually two-year institutions. For example, in the Los Angeles area, where there is an ever increasing abundance of opportunity for free post-secondary education (seven public junior colleges in the city system, a local campus of the University of California, several state colleges within commuting distance, and an assortment of local private colleges and universities), two-thirds of the 1963 high school graduates entered college, while the national average is about one-third.⁸

A formal academic education, even as it is being administered by the community colleges, however, is not necessarily relevant to every young person, nor should it be regarded as the only possibility of continuing education. Findings from a study that involved interviews with about 700 male and female urban high school seniors in New York State who had no plans and very little demonstrated potential for college revealed that these young people, whom most colleges and universities would automatically reject if they were to apply for admission, showed a strong tendency themselves to reject the traditional forms and patterns of higher education.⁹ Most of these seniors expressed a strong desire to find a new way of life and to escape from their unrewarding, unpromising world as high school students, but not through college or vocational programs leading to skilled employment. The adult world of work--even in mundane, low-paying jobs--appeared more attractive to most than continued schooling, even in a new situation and at no cost to the student or his parents. If offered an entirely free choice of post-high school activity, a surprising

number indicated that they would escape home, school, and employment by traveling to far parts of the country or the world. The military represented this opportunity to some of the male seniors, but countless others said they would seek another outlet for exploration. Although most responses were unimaginative, no doubt reflecting the dull and confined lives of this disadvantaged group, still from this mass of interview data can be interpolated a strong motivation on the part of this group to find a new life, not just beyond the boundaries of the ghetto but in a different part of the country; a new line of development, not just a step or two up the occupational ladder but in a new level of service to society; and a new educational experience, not necessarily in schools or colleges but in new and exciting environments.

Furthermore, the community colleges may not be able to reach all of those students who have the potential for doing college work because of the environmental situations of these young people. Findings can now be reported from the first phases of a major follow-up study of 10,000 high school graduates being conducted at the University of California Research and Development Center in Higher Education in Berkeley.¹⁰ Among the students who would generally be regarded as having college potential, nearly 40 per cent did not enter college after high school. Among those who did go, more than half later withdrew and did not return during the four-year follow-up. The researchers found that the ability of the high school seniors had less to do with their going to college than did the occupation of their fathers. If the student's father worked at a high occupational level, his chances of attending college ranged from 84 per cent if he ranked in the upper two-fifths of his class, to 57 per cent if he was in the lower two-fifths. Among students whose fathers had low occupational status, bright graduates had only a 41 per cent chance of going to college and

those with less ability had only a 20 per cent chance. Furthermore, students from families with low socio-economic status had lower rates of persistence once in college, although they appeared to have no greater academic or financial difficulty than their college classmates from the middle and upper classes. Motivation, including that fostered by parents, was a major distinguishing characteristic of the two groups.

Many more who could profit from further education are kept from doing so by poor information or guidance, lack of money (or information about sources of financial aid), family pressure to work, inadequate or inappropriate preparation in high school, sheer inertia resulting from generations of poverty of the spirit as well as the pocketbook, or, more likely, some or all of these factors.

Thus, universal opportunity for education should not mean that all participants will have access to precisely the same kind of program or in the same type of school or college, or necessarily at the same age. The professional educator has too often equated universal opportunity for continuing education solely with the development of local community colleges within commuting distance of all students, the establishment of well-equipped and staffed area vocational schools open to young men and women still in high school and beyond, with the expansion of state university systems featuring large campuses and local branches, and with the development of more comprehensive programs of continuing education for occupational competency. Only recently have government officials (notably Secretary of Labor Wirtz and Secretary of Defense McNamara) and others not usually regarded as members of the educational establishment suggested that development of universal opportunity for education beyond high school need not be thought of strictly in terms of in-school

or in-college programs.

The contrasting approaches might be characterized by (1) a gross expansion of present patterns and forms of post-secondary education, and (2) a greatly sharpened focus on meeting the needs of individual young people with a wide variety of talents, experiences, family socio-economic characteristics, interests, and motivations. From these needs, then, would be derived a comprehensive educational program that would include but not be limited to the formal educational establishment.

Actually, there are many educational opportunities other than college available to young people today, but as was noted earlier in the Project TALENT survey, the number of youths who are participating in these noncollegiate programs is remaining static or at best increasing very slowly. Proprietary schools, for example, particularly for business occupations but also for the trades, attract hundreds of thousands of enrollees each year, many of them young adults who want to work and study at the same time. Correspondence or home-study courses are still another resource for those who reject (or are rejected by) the collegiate establishment. Many finish high school programs by correspondence, while others obtain advanced training and continuing education at home. The public schools in many states attempt to serve out-of-school youth and adults in at least two ways. Some students are afforded an opportunity for what is called postgraduate work, to make up deficiencies in college preparation in some cases and to obtain specialized occupational education in others, for example, the thirteenth-year program in New York City high schools in the several trades. A larger number are served in adult or continuing education programs, usually scheduled during the evening hours and regarded as post-secondary school only in the sense that participants are beyond the normal

high school age. Courses range from basic literacy through hobbies to occupational training in specialized areas.

Federally financed programs of manpower training offer what would appear to be attractive opportunities for the disadvantaged with serious educational deficiencies that block them from obtaining regular employment. Programs range from the Neighborhood Youth Corps through the Job Corps to the several types of manpower development and training programs, which may include basic education, occupational training at several levels, counseling, and job placement. Programs such as these for out-of-school youth would inevitably be encompassed by a comprehensive program of national service, perhaps including broadened opportunities for the Job Corps graduates. As such they might be regarded as one more bridge between the troubled world of the disadvantaged adolescent and the working world of the adult.

Another major source of educational opportunity currently available to some out-of-school youth is the military, with its vast educational system for producing its own specialized manpower and for facilitating the educational development of others in off-duty study programs. According to the Project TALENT survey, however, only one-third of male high school dropouts were serving in the military. Expectations on the part of young adults about opportunity in the military appear to vary inversely with social class and educational attainment.¹¹ Disadvantaged urban youth who stay in school through the senior year but achieve barely satisfactory grades in either general or vocational programs expect to find new opportunities in service--for specialized training in electronics, computer programming, jet aircraft maintenance, and other highly technical fields for which they would never qualify in civilian life. In many cases, however, these youth are the ones who do not pass the mental screening

tests for any kind of military service, nor is it likely that military training is of the sort that would lead them to better civilian employment, further education, or advancement in the military. A major study of the contribution of military training to meeting civilian manpower needs is now being conducted by Paul Weinstein at the University of Maryland. The findings should yield valuable insights concerning this sphere of perceived opportunity for post-high school educational experience. Again, the military as a source of educational opportunity in a time of nonemergency must be reckoned with in any comprehensive plan for national service.

It becomes evident, then, from an examination of these surveys and trends that our present formal educational system is not adequately fulfilling the needs of many of our young people and that alternative programs are not well organized or comprehensive enough. America cannot long afford the loss of talent that is resulting from the failure of many of its young people to reach their highest levels of self-development and realization. We have been perhaps too much concerned with the offering of opportunity for educational development at the post-high school level and too little concerned with the fact that the immature and the disadvantaged are unable to utilize this opportunity. We pride ourselves on the establishment of public college systems to serve increasing numbers of high school graduates, but we have ignored the heavy attrition rate and failed to consider its possible causes and to correct them. We rejoice over the decreasing rate of unemployment but ignore the instability and uncertainty of young people in their first attempts to find their place in the labor force. The loss of talent is serious among young people of both sexes, with varying talents and abilities, in college and in the labor force, in the several socio-economic classes, but particularly among the poor both

in the cities and the country, especially among urban youth because of their large numbers and severe economic disadvantage.

A program of national service might be an important factor in correcting some of these problems and in helping more young people to develop their talents to a greater degree. It might in some cases prevent or postpone that first tempting jump into employment from which there is often no escape to college or other educational programs. Easy access to employment at relatively good wages now deters many from college attendance and encourages them to behave irresponsibly in their work experience. Job training is postponed indefinitely in favor of an immediate salary. As a result there is a kind of apathy among young people not going to college that is at the same time a resultant of the forces that kept them out of college and the cause of their continuing socio-economic disadvantage. If such youths were to spend two years working in a program of national service, many of them might reconsider their immediate leap into the labor market in favor of increasing their skills first to attain a better position.

A period of time in a national service program before entering college might reduce the attrition rates, since students would have a better idea of why they were going to college and what they wanted to study. They would also have gained in maturity and thus be able to handle both the academic and social situation better. Reasons for going to college among those who have a real choice have often been more negative than positive. It can neither be easily documented nor denied that there are large numbers of high school graduates who go to college as a means of avoiding military service in what would probably be enlisted status in Vietnam. Before the present emergency there were large groups of freshmen who chose college because of (not in spite of) an absence

of clearly defined academic or occupational interests. It might be said, only partly facetiously, that those with developed interests pursue them after high school, and the remainder go to college. Parental pressure to attend college in the absence of strong student motivation to do so is decreasing but still present in some groups. And so it is scarcely surprising that attrition during the early terms (or years) of college is high for reasons of flagging motivation as well as poor performance. It might be contended that a majority of the students who drop out are simply not ready to take full advantage of the opportunity for educational development that college offers. Yet the extension of high school is no real answer to the problem of needed maturity as a condition for profiting from the college experience.

National service is obviously no panacea for the problem of heavy attrition in the colleges. Still, two well-planned years of noncollegiate, intergroup experience might serve to develop more mature interests, stronger motivation, and better insight into self on the part of the college goers. Most professors and every admissions officer can testify to the superiority of performance of the "mature" student who competes for grades with the 18-year-old freshman straight from high school. Veterans after World War II and wives and mothers in subsequent classes further the academic reputation of the mature student. It is entirely possible that national service could become a needed equalizer of educational opportunity at the post-secondary level. Young men and women attending college for negative reasons might be expected either to eliminate themselves from the ranks of the college applicants in the course of performing their service or, more probably, to develop more mature and sustaining interests in further education while performing national service.

The very bright who are destined for the professions tend to graduate from high school at an early age, often before they are emotionally or socially mature enough to go to college. Although programs of professional training are long and ever increasing in their demands, it still seems reasonable that students in these programs might take time at age 18 for national service with their less gifted classmates in other fields. Educators have long been concerned with the need for humanizing education for engineers, physicians, and business administration majors. At its best, national service would appear to offer a nearly optimum humanizing experience for future professionals and non-professionals alike through intergroup, cross-cultural programs of training and service.

Talent loss among women is more prevalent than among men in our society. Women as a group make better high school records and thus would seem better candidates for college attendance, but for many reasons they are less inclined to avail themselves of the opportunity for college. Many simply cannot (or will not) take time for collegiate programs, preferring instead to enroll in short-term secretarial courses leading to immediate employment. Still other talented women simply are not challenged by the college programs they pursue, and many of the creative women drop out of college in favor of more rewarding careers as artists, writers, or performers.

Marriage is often the escape that young women who lack the means or motivation for continued schooling choose. Many women with potential for further educational programs marry and drop out before completing high school. Still more drop out of education when they finish high school and marry soon afterwards while employed in time-passing jobs. Statistics on divorce and desertion among the early-married youngsters are well known. Again, national

service would provide no overall solution to this problem of society but it is entirely possible that young people who now marry out of boredom or loneliness or to escape a miserable environment might delay the step as a result of a service experience. It is not too much to hope that many would find new interests in education and career development that would bring more than a mere postponement of marriage for two years.

Attitudes of educators toward temporary dropping out of college are changing markedly, with an assist from psychologists, anthropologists, and others. In earlier decades the student who decided to drop out of a prestige college was looked upon as a likely candidate for psychoanalysis or as a failure by his family. Now the more elite colleges in particular are taking an accepting attitude toward the student who wants to leave for a year or two midway in his program and welcome him back after his "interlude." Small private colleges are better able to deal with this phenomenon than the gigantic public institutions whose computers fail to cope with variant attendance patterns and resulting enrollment projections. One may be optimistic that the university leaders, however, as well as the small college leadership, will find ways to work with a national service movement.

The ultimate effect of national service on higher education cannot be foreseen with any certainty beyond the prediction that individual self-realization or fulfillment of potential will be enhanced through service. Demand for post-secondary education may be reduced if the currently disinterested students who enroll are diverted to more rewarding activities. On the other hand, service should awaken new interests and motivation among the very many who now have no real opportunity for educational development after high school. Research supports but falls far short of verifying this possibility.

Still, the creation of a national service program to provide a variety of educational experiences and an incentive for personal development is a gamble worth taking.

A ROLE FOR SOCIALLY VALUED SERVICE IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

Leon M. Lessinger

The place of youth in our modern society is undefined; the transition from youth to adulthood is unclear. Up to the modern period, every society has had its rites de passage--its ceremonies and rituals through which youth must go in order to become adults. These rituals were dramatic, and often painful. When they were over, the participant gave up his childish ways and became an adult. In this sense, we have no rites de passage. We don't know when to end childhood and become adults, and this has had grave consequences for us as a society. Instead, we have a "no-man's land" of quasichildren and semiadults. Those who dwell in this land have the names with which we are all familiar: subteens, teens, adolescents, teeny-boppers, and hippies. And there are many more. Some are the creation of an irresponsible and sensation-seeking press; all are economically exploited by middle-aged and older men and women who produce clothes, movies, music, and the like to meet the demands they help create. The accent is on youth. The definition of youth is lost, while fat women struggle into stretch pants. Our adults act toward youth in a manner consistent with their own projections upon them. It is thought that we now have two clear embarkation points between youth and adulthood: (1) when the young person can vote and/or (2) when the young person can legally buy a can of beer.

Everywhere the word is change! Change in business, in clothes, in morals, in science, in religion, and in education. The change is abrasive,

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anxiety-arousing, relentless, and pervasive. Youth echoes the Angel Gabriel in Green Pastures, "Everything nailed down is coming loose." With this change there is an undermining of authority. Established authorities are losing their persuasiveness and perhaps even their relevance. The questioning of authority is widespread with attacks on the "Establishment" and the frequent question "Can we trust anybody over thirty?"

Serious questions of identity are raised by the ubiquitous change. In a stable society personal identity is conferred upon the individual. In a changing society, identity is no longer conferred; it must be discovered or created. The question "Who am I?" is constantly asked. The youth subculture, which once sought to submerge its identity in an eagerness to become adult, now asserts its identity in protest against adult culture.

Closely related to identity is the issue of alienation--one of the most persistent words in the vocabulary of youth. This alienation takes many forms, appearing for example in the impatience with the normal social processes and in an increase of delinquency.

Of course it is difficult to see our youth with objectivity and clarity. Our present students have lived only during prosperity. They do not remember "the War," President Roosevelt, Prohibition, the Depression, or Winston Churchill. Their war is Vietnam, their music is rock and roll, their political identity has yet to be established.

Moreover, the present students have been raised differently. By comparison with the past, their parents have been permissive; their families have been on the move and many come from broken families. Their relationships with their parents and their peers bear the impact of psychology and psychiatry. They have been influenced by the increased freedom of expression in the public

schools and the increased freedom from taboos and restraints of the press, the movies, and television. They have been encouraged and permitted to form their own subcultures, and the resultant gap between these subcultures and The Culture has grown ever larger. The most striking result of this phenomenon has been the rejection by many youth of the values, experience, and advice of adults, and the misunderstanding of youth by adults who have grown unable and unwilling to establish a meaningful dialogue with them. One college freshman wrote recently:

Our morals, or lack of morals, show our increasing conviction that there is nothing absolute or dependable in this world, that nothing is real and no purpose is valid unless we make it so and believe in it. There is no God, or if there is, the code that people attribute to him is only an invention of man. There is no country in itself worthy of patriotism, unless its ideals coincide with what we personally feel is just.¹

Many of our youth are turning inward--inward to that "inner reality." Historically we have been an outward-turning nation, a pragmatic, aggressive, dynamic nation of builders and doers. But today, many young people talk about "turning on" and "tuning out," about exploring that far-out frontier of inner space. With marijuana and LSD readily available, the "trip" is being made by increasing numbers of college, high school, and even junior high school children.

Schools inevitably communicate much in addition to the knowledge taught. What have schools contributed to students in the form of knowledge, attitudes, and values with which to deal with the changes described?

In the decade following Sputnik, whole subject-matter areas have been revised. We now have new math, new physics, new biology, new chemistry, and a start on new English, new geography, and the like. Every curriculum change

has been in the direction of increased analysis and critical thinking. Everywhere the student is advised to "be critical," "question," "accept no authority but that of the truth you discover." Values are out--they are unscientific and untreatable. Relativism is in--it is describable and lends itself to analysis and classification. Nor is this the sole legacy of the educational institution.

The present students have labored under considerable pressure to do well in school, to get good grades, to get into college, to get into graduate school. The pressures for grades begins in the elementary school. By the time the students have entered college, grades have become the basic currency. Along with the paramount worship of grading has been the education profession's love affair with the normal curve of probability. As the cross is the symbol of Christianity, so the bell-shaped curve has come to symbolize education. Always one-fourth to one-third are consigned to being below average and only one-fourth can attain status as good students.

The greater part of our youth, after completing their studies in the typical secondary school aimed primarily at college preparation, prove to be unprepared for life and do not know what to do next or what is expected of them. They have no training for, knowledge of, or experience in the world outside the school and, what is worse, society does not seem to know how to utilize these young men and women to best advantage.

An examination of the educational progress of the babies born in 1944 lends substance to the argument. This is the group that made up the high school class of 1962 and the college graduates of 1966. Nineteen per cent left school before the eleventh grade; 30 per cent didn't finish high school. Thirty-five per cent entered college but only 20 per cent graduated with a bachelor's degree. Thus 8 out of 10 of these students were

candidates for jobs requiring less than a college degree, yet only one of these eight received any kind of occupational training in the public schools.

The situation is not as bleak as this recital might indicate. One can still paint an optimistic and hopeful picture but the storm warnings are everywhere. Unless we are willing to trade in the "Miracle of Philadelphia" for the American Dream of Norman Mailer and Edward Albee, we must all seriously study the present situation and get down to work to help shape the future.

The most significant action we can take is to provide an opportunity at some time during the period of formal schooling for every boy and girl to do honest work through valued service. Much of the present behavior of youth and adults can be truthfully described as irresponsible. A great deal of the cause of this irresponsibility stems from the failure of adult society to demand, to use, and to value the honest labor and service of our youth. It is impossible to overstress the place of work and service in the development of responsible and wholesome youth. Whatever work or service is or is thought to be, it is essential to each of us. We need to work and to serve to absorb our mental and physical energies. Certainly there is a need for formal classroom learning and study, but it is not good to have too much classroom work or too much study and homework or too much grappling with words and thoughts in a formal setting. Nor is the one period per day of physical education enough of a balance. There is much to learn in the world outside of school and a need to serve those who should be served. There can be excesses of schooling as well as of work. We have eradicated the burden of child labor, but we have removed youth too far from the strengthening fires of work and service alongside adults engaged in the reality of earning a living or going about the actual processes of life.

The sine qua non of a free society is a responsible and accountable citizenry. Responsibility can be learned. It consists of a direct awareness of the consequences of action. This can be learned in the laboratory of work and service a great deal more effectively than by studying books or taking tests or sitting in classrooms.

The experience of work and service requires involvement. Those who require, organize, or serve in such a program are advised to be responsible adults. Our youth need models--living standards to emulate. Many of our youth have rarely talked with or been around a responsible adult. Through work and service, adults can set up a meaningful dialogue with youth, can talk about values, interests, hopes, and fears. The work and service experience can open up their lives, reveal their promise and potentiality, and correct any false position on a bell-shaped curve.

It would be very instructive for adults to attend a high school for one day, starting and ending just as though they were enrolled. They would be impressed with the length of time one must be passive to absorb and write down information. In many high schools they would discover how little each class is tied to all the rest. After a fragmented, passive day, relieved only by a physical education period and a short time for lunch, they would soon learn why formal schooling as we practice it today carries so little adventure, so little excitement for so many youth.

Youth is a time of thrust, of curiosity, of arms and feet in motion. It may be convenient, even necessary, to set up longer and longer periods of formal learning in classrooms, but it will not meet the human needs of young, vigorous, adventure-seeking "human animals."

Every boy and girl living in our free dynamic society must be given

opportunities to pioneer, to contribute a fair share to the building and developing of our land while he is young. The counsel of delay, of the pot at the end of the formal-education, degree-strewn rainbow, will not do. So many of our youth are bored, restless, well fed, and eager to "do something." We have no place for them in our towns and cities. Even the drive-ins are becoming off-limits, and the police are getting very adept at stopping drag races. Shall the sole alternative for "kicks" be the exploration of the inner frontier?

The system of bringing up our youth via classrooms must be decisively reorganized. Honest work through valued service can create the disciplines necessary for our survival and development as a free nation. Such service can yield an equivalent of the three R's, namely Reality. Youth shares the basic need for relatedness and respect. These needs can be fully satisfied by honest work through valued service with responsible adults.

There would be many by-products of a period of service for all youth. Acquainting youth with responsible (non-TV, nonmass communications) life in all facets of our national life would give them a deep respect for our society. The service period could serve as a bridge between public schooling and work or further schooling. Young people need adequate information and actual experience to do satisfactory career planning. The paths to careers are not well marked save for those graduating from colleges. Since this still represents but one youth in eight, even the best path, under ideal conditions, is not enough. The traditional paths are haphazard and accidental. We ought to study and invent combinations of work, study, and service for youth and adults to interact. Entry into careers and the work force ought not be the casual trial-and-error process that it is.

A prerequisite of a free society is responsibility and accountability. Responsibility and accountability can be learned. The best way they can be learned is through emulation and service. The teaching and learning of responsibility and accountability are the most fundamental and most important tasks of our entire educational system. The primary medium for learning is the family and the laboratory of life. Children learn to behave better through parental care and service for them, followed by increasing demands and opportunities to serve their parents. The nation has shown its care and rendered service to youth but has not demanded nor valued service in return, save for those in the military and recently in the Peace Corps. It is interesting that in these "laboratories" morale is high and love for the nation strong.

Those who would set up opportunities for youth to serve would be well advised to study the Outward Bound program. At a time when there is so much attention given to the psychedelic set, the hippies, and the fake excitement of the Halloween fringes of our society, it would be a veritable breath of fresh air to watch a group of real adventurers on a different sort of "trip" that requires, demands, and rewards discipline, skill, and courage.

In summary, I believe the following factors about youth can be postulated. If these postulates are true, the opportunity for honest work through valued service is indispensable.

1. Youth can be trusted.
2. Youth want to know the world that surrounds them.
3. Knowing the world and its human agents (adults) is good for youth.
4. Working with responsible adults in a serving, participating relationship leads to growth and responsible behavior for youth.

5. Youth enjoys good teamwork, friendship, and a place to belong.
6. Youth is tough and able to "take it."
7. Youth wants to feel important, to be needed, and to be useful.
8. Youth does not now feel important, needed, or useful.
9. Youth would rather work than be idle.
10. Youth prefers meaningful, socially valued work to meaningless make-work.
11. Youth likes to be publicly appreciated.
12. Youth prefers active responsibility to passive dependency most of the time.
13. Youth would rather be interested than bored.
14. Youth needs adventure.

NATIONAL SERVICE AND EDUCATION

Workshop Discussion Summary

Chairman: Harris Wofford
President, State University College at Old Westbury,
New York

Panelists: William Cannon, Chief, Education, Manpower and Science
Division Bureau of the Budget; Michael B. Katz;
Dorothy M. Knoell; Mark C. Rosenman, Director of
Youth and College Division, N.A.A.C.P.

The primary objective for national service set forth at the first National Service Conference in May of 1966 was "the provision of opportunities for development, training, and education in the broadest sense of the word." Participants in the 1967 workshop session "National Service and Education" met to delineate this goal further and to clarify the kinds of educational values and stimuli to individual development that might be woven into the fabric of a national service program. Varying approaches to the definition of education in the context of its relationship to national service were expressed. Mr. Katz warned the group against an automatic equation of national service and education.

Education is certainly a term that is very difficult to define. The philosophers have a great deal of difficulty with it. I think that, unfortunately, too often education is equated with a particular form of schooling in the public mind. I hope that we have not become so trapped in that fallacy that national service will be equated with education.

One participant wished to restrict use of the word "education" to only those activities which take place in institutions of learning. Education

seemed to be more broadly interpreted by most conferees, however, as the preparation of an individual to confront the challenges of daily living and to fulfill his responsibility to his community, nation, and world. This wider definition became the basis of most of the subsequent discussion, which sought to relate the various components of education to the national service concept.

THE EDUCATIONAL ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL SERVICE

Opportunities for problem-solving or the application of knowledge to real situations was regarded by many as one of the most valuable educational experiences that a program of national service could offer. Concern was voiced over the lack of opportunity for today's student to transfer his learning to life situations and the failure of the educational system to equip young people to meet everyday problems. Robert Greenway of the Peace Corps called problem-solving "the most efficient kind of education known." He added:

The point where national service does overlap with education has to do with problem-solving. Our country has a very exciting variety of problems which now seem insolvable. Education is greatly enhanced if centered on problems. This could mean any kind of problem--simple, mundane, esoteric. For example, we're living in a time when various cultures are being jammed closer and closer together, if not overlapping, in greater conflicts. Attempts at solving resulting problems could be a great basis for education--and a great framework for national service.

Many educators present spoke of the urgent need for a movement away from the traditional one-sided emphasis on the academic and intellectual aspects of education. The large group of young people that is condemned and then eliminated by the educational system because they cannot succeed in certain kinds of testing situations was cited as evidence of the need for new approaches to education that would include persons who learn in different ways.

Richard Ruopp, President of Franconia College, said that 1980 is "an alien land" for both teachers and students. "Society is changing so rapidly that educators can no longer be certain what a student will need to know in the future." Rather, they must encourage young people to apply their abilities to the solution of new problems and to develop their own methods for obtaining knowledge.

Another educative experience for youth that conferees felt should be an integral part of a national service program was the interaction of young people from varying financial, social, racial, and regional backgrounds. It was suggested that not only is youth most open to learning from other young people, especially those from heritages and environments different from their own, but also that human beings are most flexible when they are young and thus more likely to respond openly and to adapt their attitudes to different races, religions, and outlooks. The earlier in life they are involved with a large cross-section of persons, the deeper and more lasting effects such contact will have.

While this cross-cultural mix was nearly unanimously regarded as one of the fundamental educational objectives for national service, Mr. Katz expressed the fear that "little actual sustained contact between corpsmen from different social strata will occur; they would continue to be separated by differences in choice of activities that would be produced by their previous environments." He also speculated that an efficient use of each volunteer's talents would preclude participation of those with widely disparate abilities and education in the same service activity. The team concept, as proposed by Mr. Greenway, provided a partial answer to Mr. Katz's objection, for young people with varying talents could perform different functions within the

framework of a given project, and each would contribute to the completion of the whole.

Many workshop participants felt that involvement in national service situations could stimulate the kinds of natural relationships of youth and adults that might contribute to greater understanding between members of different age groups. They expressed concern that many young people, particularly those from disadvantaged areas, rarely have opportunities for working with and relating to adults. Mr. Lessinger points out in his paper that young people have created their own subculture in an attempt to make their presence felt in the adult world and that, rather than responding with efforts to integrate youth into society in stages consistent with increases in maturity, adults have either excluded them until the magical age of 21 or reverted to an imitation of the teen-age culture.

The acquisition of skills and experience in the performance of particular tasks was likewise regarded as an educational facet of national service. Miss Knoell showed that only 20 per cent of the nation's young people currently complete a four-year college program. Thus, the remaining 80 per cent are potential recipients of vocational education, but, according to Mr. Lessinger, only one in eight receives any kind of occupational training in the public schools. Sister Francetta Barberis, Special Consultant to the Job Corps, remarked that vocational education and work with the hands have been devalued and stigmatized by our society. This phenomenon further degrades those who are forced out of the academic educational system, which is in reality the only recognized avenue to desirable positions and income. It was concluded that not only would the non-college-bound youth benefit from a socially valued period of service, but that even the academically inclined student can suffer

from an overdose of book work and that a period of work and service can create a desirable equilibrium in the lives of young people.

Knowledge of self, which would perhaps be stimulated and challenged more intensely during a period of national service than at any other time in a young person's life, was also regarded as an educational element that could be derived from national service. It was felt that young people are often evaluated by society solely in academic competition, while other skills and personal qualities are either stifled or unrewarded. Many youths have misconceptions about themselves that sometimes hinder their achievement. Thus, the opportunities that service programs have been shown to provide for re-evaluation of one's capabilities were considered among the most important educational elements of national service. This feeling of workshop participants was reminiscent of David Riesman's remarks at the Returned Volunteers Conference of the Peace Corps in March, 1965, when he said, "Being abroad for many volunteers has liberated them from their earlier definition of what they were capable of."¹ This redefinition of self is not confined to participants in international programs. Volunteers in domestic programs have testified to the increase of knowledge of their own personal qualities. A VISTA volunteer living in a poverty neighborhood described the expansion of her own ability to endure hardships and to empathize with those less fortunate.

I never knew what it was like to be hungry before. But now before our VISTA checks come in we often run out of money-- don't have much food except crackers and apricots. Six months ago, boy, would I have complained! But now I think about what the people next door have for supper--or do they have supper, and so I stop.

A Job Corps girl who was present at the workshop stated that her self-concept had changed considerably through her experience in the program. She had dropped out of school in the ninth grade and entered the Job Corps at age 17. She then finished her high school equivalency certificate in one year and now has aspirations to attend college, while she previously had never hoped to finish secondary school.

With more realistic evaluations of themselves and their capabilities resulting from participation in national service programs, many believed that young people would be able to make wiser decisions on marriage, political and religious affiliations, and career choice. While this area of personal progress may not properly be included in a strict definition of education, many conferees felt that a national service experience would lead most young people toward some form of further education that would be more consistent with their personal inclination than the alternative they might have chosen without the benefit of increased insight and maturity.

Workshop participants did not describe these educative elements as unique to national service, and indeed there was some sentiment that national service may not necessarily be the appropriate interlude for every individual. Military training, meaningful employment, college study, or travel experience would have many of the same educational ingredients and perhaps be more pertinent to the lives of some individuals. As the studies indicated, however, these alternatives are at present available to a limited segment of the population. Miss Knoell pointed out that nearly one-third of the young men examined for entrance to the military are rejected for physical or mental deficiencies. This percentage of rejection is even higher among the disadvantaged, the very group that is most anxious to receive military training

and which could profit most from GI benefits and increased societal status. A period of meaningful employment might well have the same "stretching" effects for the individual as would national service, but again these experiences are less accessible to the disadvantaged. Most high school dropouts and even graduates who do not continue their education are usually unable to find challenging and rewarding jobs. They are lured into routine jobs by a relatively good starting wage and then very often are caught in the same niche for life. Uninterrupted college study might be the most fruitful alternative in the development of some individuals, but again, college attendance is not a real alternative for the majority of young people either for financial or intellectual reasons. While foreign travel and study also offer educational benefits, these opportunities are likewise usually restricted to the group that is able to pay for them.

Thus, the alternatives for self-development that are currently available to young people are actually limited to a minority of the population. The cross-cultural mix that was stressed as an educative value is therefore heavily diluted in these experiences. Moreover, many of these activities lack the service component regarded as being essential to the development of mature and responsible citizens. For example, the college student's focus must be primarily on the increase of his own knowledge, for he is forced to pass examination on his personal achievement. A period of service would help to reorient these individuals toward the needs of others. A national service program would then combine and intensify many kinds of "educational" experiences as well as make them available to the young people without other opportunities.

The question was raised as to who would decide which activities were educational for each individual. David Squire, former Deputy Director of the

Job Corps, stated that education was not the primary aim of national service and thus that the jobs that needed doing would be the most important issue in the placement of national service participants.

We're talking about the educational system and whether national service is a good educational experience. Now that is not the aim in my view. National service has the purpose of getting people to do the jobs that require doing in this world.

Michael Goldstein, Executive Director of the New York City Urban Corps, interjected that the service performed must be relevant not only to national goals, but to the goals of each individual. "I think it's very important to give each student something to do that he is interested in." This issue was picked up by Mr. Ruopp, who felt that "relevancy can be taught as well as discovered. It may not be clear to the student a priori what is relevant." Mr. Goldstein answered that until we have evidence to show that an institution is more capable of selecting a service activity than the individual, the choice should be left to the student himself.

THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL SERVICE ON EDUCATION

The urgent need for the reform and upgrading of many aspects of all levels of the educational system was stressed by participants. Mr. Katz articulated the "tragic assumption" that "after 12 years in American public education, young people have not had an opportunity to solve problems, to do something real, to get out into the world, to feel that they were needed and relevant, to discover themselves and something about their world." Higher education was equally as harshly indicted. Mr. Ruopp stated that too many colleges are "out of joint with the times" and are not preparing students to deal with

society's constantly changing demands. Mr. Wofford pointed out that, while Miss Knoell's statistics showed that only one young person in 47 who enter college now receives a doctor's degree, "most higher education is geared primarily to the production of higher degrees and the replenishment of the academic stream."

In the light of such widespread dissatisfaction with the educational system, some participants felt that the discussion of a national service program should concentrate on attempts to change the institutions of education themselves. Mr. Katz expressed this viewpoint as follows:

If you accept the problem, I think that you accept the fact that our educational and social institutions have not worked out too well somewhere along the line. They have muffed the job with the young. Instead of asking for a remedial operation to make up for the failure of other institutions, I wonder if it wouldn't be profitable to ask what is the source of the sort of problem that Dr. Knoell defined. What are the alternative ways of approaching this problem? Why is national service the best of these ways?

Other conferees wished to concentrate on the influence that national service might be able to exert on educational reform to determine if it might be one of the most effective stimuli to changing the existing structure. Some felt that a program of national service might affect higher education indirectly by increasing the maturity and motivations of the students. Mr. Wofford felt that after a period of work in a national service program perhaps young people would no longer be satisfied with irrelevant courses, stale curricula, and uninspired teaching, and would challenge higher education to meet their needs and fulfill their expectations. He said:

The best way of changing education through national service would be having the great body of young people going into higher education with some experience of work or service in the world.

Many conferees agreed that the placement of national service volunteers in the field of education would contribute directly to the improvement of education at the lower levels. The positive values of tutoring and teachers' aide programs (such as the National Teacher Corps, a force of young men and women who spend two years supplementing the teaching staffs of rural and urban slum schools) have been widely recognized.³ New York City, which had hoped for several hundred, has only 92 corpsmen in 16 of its 860 schools. These teachers' aides have been effective chiefly because they have the time and opportunity to work with small groups and thus to reach many more youngsters personally, a luxury which most regular teachers cannot afford. Thus, many conferees agreed that national service volunteers working in education could directly affect the quality of teaching, especially for the disadvantaged children who most need individual contact and inspiration.

RELATIONSHIP OF NATIONAL SERVICE TO THE FORMAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Since national service has educative elements and thus might overlap with the functions of the present structure of education, many workshop participants felt it was necessary to determine what kind of relationship would be desirable. Mr. Goldstein asked, Should national service be administered by some branch of the education system and considered a part of it, or should it be controlled by the government and regarded as an augmentation of education?

Some participants saw national service as an extension of compulsory high school education. One educator proposed that the last year of high school

and the first year of college could be eliminated and replaced by a period of national service, for these two particular years of school are often underutilized. The high school senior is often marking time and waiting to go to college, while the college freshman often sacrifices his academic learning because of adjustment problems to his sudden freedom and the accompanying responsibility.

Others would link national service programs to the colleges and universities. Models suggested were Antioch College, where a period of work is considered an integral part of the curriculum and required for graduation, and Franconia College, which has a five-year B.A. program including two years of Peace Corps service.

The possible role of the community colleges in a program of national service was an issue among some conferees. Miss Knoell had stressed the potential of the public junior colleges for the extension of educational opportunity in her paper. Harry Marmion of the American Council on Education said:

In my opinion, the junior college movement in America is so new that it would be a mistake to complicate their groping for institutional identity by adding significant programs of national service. I think that any national service program would have to begin and exist outside any formal structure of American higher education if it is to be successful.

Responding to this position in a letter to Mr. Wofford, John P. Mallan, Director of Governmental Relations of the American Association of Junior Colleges, suggested that junior colleges could be involved in the structuring and administration of national service programs. He wrote:

Our institutions now enroll about 1,500,000 students--a growth rate of about 200,000 per year--and are very concerned about the education of people of lower income in the central cities. We are especially hopeful that we may be able to participate in the Scheuer-Nelson Act and help to train sub-professionals for work in the inner city.

Other participants in the education workshop felt that national service should exist outside the formal educational structure for various other reasons. It was thought that administration of national service by the colleges would discourage participation of young people hostile to the system and exclude those unable to succeed in the academic structure of higher education as well as the educationally disadvantaged group. Mr. Wofford expressed that viewpoint in his workshop summary, saying: "The heavy hand of formal education is exactly that which most young people want to get away from when they consider going into a period of national service Credit requirements and all the paraphernalia of the colleges would kill the program." Samuel Proctor, President of the Institute for Services to Education, offered another argument for divorcing national service from the education structure:

Someone suggested that the universities should be the base of national service programs. I demerit that proposal on the grounds that universities have not shown that kind of initiative. The private universities have sat still and silently watched while communities have turned into slums right around the universities. And the latter have shown little concern, except when a project funded by government or a foundation made it attractive.

He advocated government sponsorship because "only the federal government has been able to seize a moment of moral resolution in the American people and put enough money behind it to make it permanent."

A possible resolution of this controversy was offered by panel chairman Wofford in his summary remarks. He suggested "a kind of GI Bill of Rights

sponsored by the federal government which would provide a living allowance and fringe benefits to any young person who wishes to contract for a period of service in any approved program, whether connected with the colleges and universities, the lower educational system, private organizations, or government projects." Both the colleges and high schools might be asked to invent programs to meet the needs of the young people in their particular institutions. Existing programs such as VISTA, the Peace Corps, and the Job Corps could be expanded by the government. This kind of financing would allow the individual freedom to choose the organization with which he would serve.

5

NATIONAL SERVICE ACTIVITIES: CONTENT AND CRITERIA

"National service sounds great, but what will they do?" is a question frequently posed to national service proponents. This chapter begins with a description of some of the needs and problems in the fields of education, health, conservation, and community service that might be met by the nation's youth. (Supplementary data, including numerical estimates of manpower requirements in these and other areas, are given in Appendices A and B.)

As a response to currently unmet needs in the field of education, Harold Taylor calls for the formation of a student teacher corps. John Naisbitt responds in his paper to those who suggest that national service would become a refuge for the elite.

The workshop, "National Service: Activities and Criteria" conceded the needs of society and individuals for a wide variety of service activities and moved on to consider the guiding principles to be used in establishing eligibility requirements. The formulation and interpretation of such principles is never an easy task. There will always be marginal cases. The United States Constitution is constantly subject to reinterpretation, often by the margin of one vote in the Supreme Court. Similarly, criteria for national service activities should not be regarded as rigid rules, but rather as guidelines that are sufficiently flexible to meet changing needs.

The workshop showed a strong bias for giving maximum freedom of choice to those who come forward to serve and called for a socially useful service, further education and cross-cultural experience as essential criteria for all national service activities.

ISSUES AND NEEDS IN MAJOR SERVICE AREAS

EDUCATION

Hyman Frankel

I believe that a case for national service can be made apart from its relation to the Selective Service System and notwithstanding the voluntary-compulsory debate, almost solely in terms of its potential for strategically helping to meet the educational needs of the inner city. I stress the term "strategically," because I do not mean simply the saturation of communities and schools with men and women of good will who are out to help themselves by helping others. Obviously, this approach would not be the intent of a national service program.

The advent of the antipoverty programs such as those administered through the Office of Economic Opportunity and Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has helped to strip the cover from the problems that had been concealed until the sudden launching of Sputnik--precisely that the public school system is far from having either adequate resources or sufficient teaching personnel to educate the nation's youth properly. The violence that has erupted in many inner-city areas has highlighted the growing tensions in urban America, and the public has finally become aware of the crisis in the ability of this country's educational institutions to teach low-income youth. The schools have proved to be unable to reduce that tension and in fact are contributing to it by failing to educate adequately the nearly one-half million people from the ghetto who reach age 18 annually, many of whom are rejected

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by the military mainly for educational reasons. The need for better-trained and additional types of personnel to staff the educational activities of this nation has been demonstrated. The need for new types of educational resources in the school system and in the development of new educational agencies and institutions has become clear.

Let me focus first on the personnel need because it seems to relate to the ideas of experimentation and innovation for effective use of human resources. We have felt deeply the widespread personnel repercussions that have resulted from the expansion of educational programs for the disadvantaged in the last three years--preschool programs, Head Start, literacy training, tutorial programs, Job Corps, Peace Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and the like. It was, for example, estimated by the Office of Education that in 1966 some five million disadvantaged and deprived children needed to be included in special programs (such as Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) to begin to modify the effects of economic deprivation and poor schools. At the same time, there was an estimated need to train some 167,000 teachers to cope with and understand the problems of educating disadvantaged youths. This figure was based on a ratio of 30 students to one teacher. Lowering that ratio to one to 20 (which we all agree is probably more appropriate), the number to be trained would be 250,000. In the summer of 1966, however, fewer than 3,000 teachers were trained in National Defense Education Act summer institutes. Similar figures can be cited for needs for counselors. It was estimated by the Office of Education that some 50,000 would be needed just to handle the ESEA Title I programs, under which there would be one counselor for every 100 children. Also, there is need for an additional 35,000 social workers in the schools, with a ratio of one to 150 children from economically deprived

areas. There are at present fewer than 4,000 social workers in the nation's schools, and nobody is quite sure how many counselors. In short, it is generally conceded that we face overwhelming problems in the recruitment and training of large numbers of teaching personnel for the public schools, especially in the inner-city areas. We also know that the present policies of the educational system help make it impossible to increase the supply of teaching personnel to deal with slum youths. It is obvious, then that these policies must be altered in some way.

I am suggesting that a national service program could be of enormous help in the alteration of some of these conventional policies and practices that now hinder effective education for the economically disadvantaged. It could help, for example, by increasing the manpower pool of able college graduates who might be recruited into teacher service by reinforcing and expanding the trend of using more personnel with general liberal arts backgrounds. This has already been successfully accomplished through special summer training sessions and internship programs in the slum schools. Through properly developed programs, thousands of able and intelligent persons could be recruited through national service to provide valuable teaching services. Also, instead of providing a larger professional manpower pool for the schools, the national service program could explore and expand the use of the valuable semiprofessional and paraprofessional personnel in educational services. The climate seems to be just about right for this kind of movement. The idea of new careers in human service is a rapidly growing reality. It is fraught at this stage with problems of role definition, development of effective training, and maintaining stability of entry jobs and mobility for upward and horizontal movement. But there are currently more than 100,000 persons in newly created paraprofessional.

jobs requiring different degrees of knowledge, skills, and training. There are at least some 50,000 so-called paraprofessionals in preschool programs and 20,000 neighborhood workers helping in health and recreation agencies.

It is important to note that this is only the first stage in the evolution of this new-careers movement in human services. It may be said to have won de facto recognition, to have established a beachhead, however nominal in numbers and tenuous in status. But the case has been made. Some schools, welfare institutions, health agencies, and a number of states and cities are involved in the process of drafting legislation to incorporate such positions into the Civil Service System on the state and national levels. Universities and private corporations have instituted efforts to develop training programs for new career roles of different kinds and to publish curriculum material so that a body of literature on pilot-project experiences is rapidly emerging. Unions have been formed for nonprofessionals, and more are on the verge of formation. The movement is gathering growing numbers of advocates with professional status and prestige. And finally and most importantly, increased funds are becoming available for the development of this new-careers movement. The Scheuer Amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act was passed in late 1966, and some 19 cities launched major pilot demonstrations in 1967 to shape, define, evaluate, and push forth the establishment of stable new career opportunities in human service.

But the new-careers movement now faces its second and probably most critical stage--reappraisal, consolidation, and legitimation. The movement now must spend more effort for the identification of meaningful and stable jobs and the more specific definition of required entry skills in order to develop effective and continuous training programs. It needs to establish

and support opportunities for mobility, again both horizontal and vertical, all the way from entry positions to paraprofessional jobs to semiprofessional to professional roles. The successful weathering of this second stage is contingent on a number of factors, not the least of which and perhaps the most difficult to cope with is winning the support and direct involvement of professionals--bringing them to the conference table to join in planning and revising their own policies to accommodate this movement.

A program of national service could be a powerful force in promoting the advance of this second stage, especially in the development of careers in education of the disadvantaged. Both the need and the resources are there. Through national service, people with college and some without could be trained to provide assistance to teachers, to manage certain aspects of remedial reading programs, and to direct some instructional programs. With careful planning and phasing, it seems to me that national service programs could provide an ever-growing cadre of personnel to define and evaluate the development of teaching assistant and aide roles. Such a cadre would necessarily be a socially heterogeneous population in terms of class, ethnic characteristics, and educational achievement and would thus make national service an experiment in education both for the participants and the disadvantaged children to be served. Most importantly, however, it would be a force to help create and maintain a climate in the public schools that is conducive to the experimentation and devotion to teaching that is needed to educate our students effectively.

In closing, it seems to me that we are seeing the unfolding of a minor miracle among our professional educators as they discard the old notions about the economically deprived ghetto youth being a nonlearner, nonmotivated, or lacking in native ability. I'd like to see the same changes in our conceptions

of the role of the teacher--those who are not motivated to teach or who are unable to teach effectively should be discarded in favor of those who can function in a climate that calls for experimentation and coping with the special problems of low-income areas.

ISSUES AND NEEDS IN MAJOR SERVICE AREAS

HEALTH

A. P. Angelides, M.D.

There are approximately 2.8 million persons working in the health field --the third largest employer in the United States, exceeded only by agriculture and the building crafts. There are personnel shortages in all the various elements that comprise medical care and health services today. The public and the private aim to provide "comprehensive medical care for all individuals regardless of ability to pay" is going to aggravate and perpetuate the shortages far into the future. The numbers that are needed and will be needed are in direct proportion to the level of quality of medical care and health services that is desired.

Traditionally, with the exception of the physician and some of the administrative personnel, most of the labor force is composed of women. Unless national service includes young women there will have to be important changes in both the organization and thinking in order to use and train young men to cope with the shortages. As an important aside, practically all graduate nurse shortages could be eliminated today if there were enough baby-sitters or homemakers to release the women trained as graduate nurses to return to work either full or part time. There are approximately twice as many nonworking nurses as there are working.

The skill mix in hospitals--the core facility of all medical care and

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health services--varies from those performing the simple tasks requiring little training to a leader of a highly complicated professional team for organ transplant surgery. There is work for all levels of education and training. Unfortunately, there is a great deal of overlapping of duties--particularly in the nursing service field--between the higher- and lower-educated and trained personnel, plus the assumption of duties for which the present personnel have no in-depth training, a lack that detracts from doing that which they are trained to do. For example, in a study of approximately 100 direct patient-care services rendered on the typical nursing floor, it was found that in the nurses' opinion, a registered nurse was needed to perform only 5 per cent of those tasks. Fourteen per cent of these tasks could be performed by the group that had a high school education plus a year of practical nursing training, and 76 per cent of the jobs could be done by someone with less than a high school education and less than six months on-the-job training.

All this has led to poor utilization of personnel and of low-cost benefits. The budget, however, reflected that of the total nursing personnel available, 56 per cent were in the registered-nurse category. It doesn't take much imagination or mathematics to suspect that there is a marked imbalance between the expenditures for educating personnel and the actual training levels necessary to perform their jobs. This is mentioned because it is relevant for the education and training of national service personnel if they are to function effectively in hospitals and in the medical care field.

How can a program of national service be shaped to best serve the hospital area?

1. Conduct a detailed analysis of the health services performed in the hospital and determine the level of education and training needed to perform

these tasks. Cluster the various tasks by level of education and training needed, leading to stratification on educational and training levels rather than on what is traditional. Develop basic core instruction with continuing education adjuncts so that as experience is gained and motivation for more education arises the means to progress upward are available. Instruction should be programed so that it is equivalent to and acceptable for high school or college credit in the health service field. Organize educational requirements so that there is little or no conflict with present licensing agencies or at least until there is time to modify, alter, or establish new training requisites.

2. Use present educational facilities and personnel of the hospital--nursing schools, schools of laboratory and x-ray technology, anesthesiology, practical nursing, and others. Establish on-the-job training programs for fields other than direct patient care, for example, pharmacy technicians, central supply, housekeeping, laundry, and other departments. Add to existing schools the elements necessary to educate the candidates up to the starting level of their jobs.

3. Incorporate the individuals after their training period directly into the work force at whatever is the starting salary level for the job and allow them to progress according to their abilities. If they wish to stay at the hospital after their period of national service is concluded they will be treated as any other employee as far as tenure and experience is concerned.

There is little conflict with such a scheme with the present labor situation because of the large number of vacancies that exist and the rapidly increasing need for more personnel. The above proposal is organized so as to be able to keep as many of the trained individuals as possible. However,

the hospital is accustomed to operating with a relatively rapid turnover of personnel at all levels--interns, residents, nurses, technicians, and others--so that the effect will not be as disruptive as in other areas. Furthermore, the knowledge and experience gained regarding health will be of value to themselves, their families, and their communities in the preservation and maintenance of health.

ISSUES AND NEEDS IN MAJOR SERVICE AREAS

CONSERVATION

Sydney Howe

As a spokesman for conservation, I am often called upon to eulogize nature and the out-of-doors as vital elements of every American's birthright, as special virtues that every youth must appreciate and share in order to mature as a responsible protector of our great heritage.

In this paper, however, I should like to focus on some of the specific conservation activities that youth in national service might undertake and to suggest some of the issues and questions that I foresee arising as national service enters into conservation.

You will find various appraisals of conservation work opportunities for youth in the legislative history of the Job Corps and other programs. One of these estimates resulted from inquiries that Senator Gaylord Nelson mailed to state, county, and city conservation and recreation officials in 1964. From only 450 responses, the Senator totaled up estimates of 425,700 man-years of work to be done at subprofessional levels. One important factor here is that these represent only those potential employing agencies that responded to the Senator.

In 1960, Charles H. Stoddard, then of Resources for the Future, now Executive Director of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty, estimated that there existed a backlog of neglected conservation manual labor that would cost \$12 billion to complete at wages of \$1 per

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hour. This would mean three million man-years of work. These estimates apply to such endeavors as the following: watershed renovation, including soil stabilization, reforestation, and stream improvement; forest and range management programs of pruning and thinning, fire control, disease and pest control, and logging-access development; fish and wildlife management through food-shrub planting, marshland water-level controls, and fish-habitat enhancement; and recreation development by construction of user facilities, trails, and water-access points.

Some special kinds of activities for youth in national service might be generated by certain proposals and situations now looming on the conservation scene. All of these could absorb vast amounts of manual labor and many would offer training in job skills.

The federal government and some states are moving toward aggressive and costly efforts to heal the terrible scars left on once beautiful landscapes by surface strip-mining for fossil fuels and minerals. Also, rising public indignation over polluted water may actually produce a cleansing of some fouled waters that will permit heretofore pointless recreation development. In fact, the concept of "stream renewal" has been advanced with analogies to urban renewal, suggesting the overhaul of entire stream systems on a watershed-by-watershed basis. Pollution abatement will call for expanded air- and water-sampling networks, which could be manned partially by semiskilled young men and women. Meaningful efforts to end the blight along America's roadsides are just beginning, but there is vast work to be done in establishing and managing roadside vegetation, providing turnout rest and recreation spots, and in opening scenic vistas.

What is perhaps the most important conservation work for tomorrow must be done in the urban places where most of us live. Neglected city waterfronts

should be made attractive, whether water is safe for swimming or not. Municipal parks become neglected wastelands in part because they cannot be secured against some of the youths whom national service might help. National service youths maintaining and patrolling city parks could constitute a two-pronged attack on this problem.

All these, then--strip-mine reclamation, stream renewal, highway beautification, and in-town and in-city conservation projects--hold expanding work opportunities for youth in the very near future.

As one envisions preparation for such youth programs under national service, some issues arise. I shall state them without attempting definitive answers.

To what extent would national service youths supplant contractors and career employees now performing conservation tasks? This question might be answered by sticking to the backlog, the beneficial jobs that are simply being left undone. So much needs to be done, so much that normal budgeting is not even approaching, that no one should be put out of work.

Why should subsidized youth plant trees when a machine can do the job more cheaply? Why perform any manual labor that cannot compete in the marketplace? In conservation there are many tasks that must be done manually. Tree-planting machines, for instance, can operate only on relatively smooth, flat ground. Heavy equipment may do more harm than good in a stream bed. But efficiency questions will arise if seemingly "cheap" manual labor enters the conservation field in large supply. I would submit that, to some extent, relative economic inefficiency may prove quite tolerable as social factors discussed by many others in this conference enter the evaluation mix.

And conservation work does offer some of those American-heritage-of-nature-and-the-great-outdoors values I mentioned at the outset. A tree-planting machine won't go back to a career in Brooklyn with a new appreciation of what soil and water have to do with urban living, nor with a sense of what the American continent is all about.

Another issue that I think would arise stems from the fact that conservation for public benefit often must be undertaken on private lands. Conserving the watershed of a stream may mean controlling soil erosion on many holdings. Publicly owned fish and wildlife occupy private territory. In fact, the federal government's Agricultural Conservation Program now compensates landowners for applying conservation practices that produce off-site benefits. Perhaps the obvious suggestion here is that the government might just as well provide the labor as the cash. There could well be requirements for public recreation access to private lands benefiting from subsidized conservation assistance. Easements prohibiting destruction of such land by development would certainly be appropriate.

I know that these have been only a suggestion of some of the issues and a few of the opportunities that would appear if a large number of youths in national service became available for conservation work. I have been asked to discuss the training required for such work, but actually very little training would be required. Assuming that participating agencies of government, including federal, state, and local governments, would find efficiency in having their career employees supervise national service workers, training could be minimal.

On the other hand, every bit of training laced into a conservation service program would make it more meaningful for participants. Much would be learned simply by doing. More would be learned through instruction on the basics of

soil, water, and plant processes, in basic surveying, forestry, and wildlife management, and in the operation of essential conservation equipment. This instruction might be accomplished through summer assignment of senior and graduate students studying for professional conservation careers, who, in turn, could be working off national service commitments in the process.

If appreciable time and attention were given to training, considerable semitechnical conservation skill could be developed and applied. Personally, I think that one of the greatest assets of national service in my chosen field would be the exposure of many young Americans to the challenges of conservation careers. We are today a racially segregated profession, heavily populated by so-called rugged outdoorsmen. Conservation must now be of and for increasingly urban environments and their people.

Much more could be said about this, but I shall close with one additional point. What I've been saying has related to domestic problems and opportunities, but we may find that the international scene calls for far greater commitments of American youth in conservation than does the home front. Much of the world has surpassed us in resource depletion, and commonly with more desperate results.

Without attempting to appraise the feasibility of national service as a whole, I believe that it would advance the cause of conservation immensely.

ISSUES AND NEEDS IN MAJOR SERVICE AREAS

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Ruth Hagy Brod

I wonder if perhaps the experience we've had in bringing the Volunteer Coordinating Council of New York City into being may not have a special relevance to the subject of national service. For the last three and a half years I have been involved in starting one new program after another in New York. The first was Join (Job Orientation in Neighborhoods), and then Head Start, the Job Corps, and innumerable others. Among the tasks that were tossed my way during the period while I was assistant to the Director of the Poverty Program was that of seeing people who came in and said they wanted to help. National, state, and city organizations as well as individuals with great credentials and abilities asked how they could help win the War on Poverty. We were not able to answer these questions, so someone asked me to investigate the kinds of roles the volunteer can play in the Poverty Program. We found that the poverty agencies were in such a state of chaos from the birth pangs of coming into being that the last item on their agenda was the use of the volunteer or even an awareness of the volunteer resources that were available to them.

So we undertook a research study on voluntarism. We learned that last year the income tax bureau reported that 40 billion dollars was deducted for charitable contributions and that there were almost 40 million people working as volunteers in the United States. In New York City, we had more than

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one million volunteers, who were divided roughly as follows: less than one-third were administrative volunteers (those who serve on boards and committees); one-third were fund-raising volunteers (with some overlap between administration and fund-raising); and 250,000 were service volunteers who were actually giving time, skill, and emotional commitment to some task. These people were primarily serving in private agencies, and I found that in the public sector there were only 13,000 volunteers in New York City, largely in municipal hospitals and schools. In the municipal hospitals, however, the ratio of volunteers to beds was exactly the same as in the voluntary sector. In the schools where there was a director of volunteers who channeled citizens into the school system, a good deal of success was enjoyed in recruiting volunteers, but there was great resistance on the part of principals, superintendents, and the establishment in general to receiving volunteers.

We were fortunate in New York City to have the first VISTA volunteers. Agencies that did not want volunteers (poverty agencies, incidentally, had accepted a few VISTA volunteers and discovered that they did not steal the professionals' jobs) found that they were useful and immediately began to request more. Shortly thereafter we had another experience, which contributed to the formation of the Coordinating Council. The Urban Corps was founded as an interim program for college students in work-study programs and higher education programs. Through that program, we placed large numbers of college students in public and private agencies.

We have also had a few experiences that have brought us up short. For example, in the first summer of the Poverty Program there were 7,000 volunteers in the New York Head Start program. By fall, money had come through from the Office of Economic Opportunity to introduce nonprofessionals into the class-

room. No one was prepared for this sudden switch--the students, the principals, the volunteers, the teachers did not know how to forge themselves into a working team. The final result was that the program was canceled and all the volunteers were withdrawn. Now I'm earnestly seeking to get back the volunteers because we've learned since then that we do need and can integrate all levels of people in the poverty agencies. We need the professionals, the paid aides from programs such as VISTA, and the volunteers. We have discovered that the establishment of a caring relationship is as important as any other educational aspect, and that all of these programs are thus vastly enriched by one-to-one relationships between tutors and students. Nobody displaces anybody else. Everyone augments, supplements, and enriches himself in the process.

Our experience has taught us that we are living through a time of great change and that, if we are not going to lose the very valuable resource of voluntarism (which really dates back to the Athenian Ephebic oath of citizenship in which one pledged to leave his city greater and more beautiful than he found it), we are going to have to provide opportunities for more people to participate. I sit in my office and see people who come in with wonderful ideas, and it is our job to see that these ideas are implemented. So while some of the older jobs disappear, a hundred new ones take their place. Administered with imagination and creativity, national service might provide the answer not only for the young people but also for the older person who also needs to lead a meaningful life after he retires.

THE STUDENT AS A TEACHER

Harold Taylor

"Education," said Horace Mann, "beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men--the balance-wheel of the social machinery. . . . It does better than to disarm the poor of their hostility towards the rich; it prevents being poor."

This is what the turmoil in education is about--to create an equalizer of the conditions of men. New York City has not made such an equalizer. Neither has Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, or Cleveland. What has happened, as is usual in education, is that the social changes, and the new demands they generate, are outrunning the capacity of the educational system to keep up with them. A progressive philosophy holds that education should not only anticipate social change, but should help bring it about by staying close to the growing edge of social need and close to the personal reality of each child, in the context of his family and his community.

For the progressive in the 1930's this meant a philosophy of public education that conceived of the school and its curriculum as a center of creative energy and moral concern in which children, their teachers, and their parents worked together to develop new ideas for the enhancement of life in the community and thus for the improvement of life in America and the world at large. It was Whitman's Democratic Vista, Emerson's Man Thinking, Dewey's School and Society, combined in an ideal for learning, that stirred the imagina-

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tion and commanded the energies of a generation of scholars and teachers. The school was intended to be a community center where all kinds and conditions of human beings could come together to learn from each other--Negroes, Italians, Irish, Germans, Catholics, Jews, atheists, Chinese, Protestants, slow learners, fast learners, artists, midwesterners, southerners, and even just plain white Americans.

The distance we have skidded down the slippery path from that ideal can be seen in the fact that we now talk so much about education for the disadvantaged, remedial reading, corrective arithmetic, integration techniques, compensatory education, speech clinics, tutorial centers, after-school study centers, evening projects, and dozens of special remedies. I often wonder why we don't set to in full force to do things properly during and in school so that we wouldn't spend such incredible amounts of money, time, and energy trying to undo, redo, and add to what obviously is such a miserable and unproductive way of spending the child's time in the first place. In place of the ideal of community, with the school as its center, we have created a situation in which the parents have to fight, storm, and struggle even to have themselves recognized as worthy of attention or capable of giving useful advice in the conduct of the affairs of the school in which their children spend their days. We have put a premium on administrators who can keep things in order and get as many children as possible through the tests at grade level instead of encouraging the child to find a way through to himself and to his world. We have blamed the failure of his education on his environment and on the child when, in fact, the failure is in the schools.

The weakness of the educational system comes from two main sources: the absence of a philosophy that can give a sense of direction to educational

action and the failure to recognize and welcome the fact that a whole new sector of American society has begun to assert legitimate demands that have until now been ignored or frustrated. These matters are interconnected. Education has come to be considered by the public and by educators as an academic exercise carried on in schools and colleges where you go to get academic credits, pass tests, earn grades and certificates--to establish your credentials for a place in society. Without these credentials you have no place.

This is a European class philosophy, suited to producing and sustaining a class society, and is favored by, among others, Admiral Rickover and his followers. The educational system is to be used to screen out the academically unfit, retaining those who have had the privilege of good preparation for secondary schools and colleges. The trouble with an elite philosophy of this kind is that it does not make very good arrangements for the ones you screen out. After a while something happens--like the French Revolution.

This point of view is now generally held by the university academic hierarchy that controls the high school curriculum by controlling the entrance requirements for college and is also generally held by the public who want their children to succeed. Teachers in this conception are considered to be persons who, in the classroom, administer courses, which have to do with books, quizzes, tests, grades, and preparation for more academic studies in the next grade up. That is why, in the certification of teachers, ability to pass pencil-and-paper examinations has been substituted for ability to enter the lives of children in a way that can help them totally.

Along with the idea of academic screening and incessant academic testing goes the idea that there must be an authority in charge of the students in

their curriculum and in their lives in general, an authority that makes rules and sees that they are carried out. This follows logically, since if education consists in learning academic subjects, they have to be administered as the handing on of the word. The school board therefore hires a superintendent to carry out policies it sets on behalf of the society. The superintendent in turn hires and inherits officers to carry out board policies as he sees them. The principals, under certain constraints, hire teachers to carry out the policies, and the system that results is, quite simply, an authoritarian system.

I urge a return to the progressive philosophy that is at the heart of the American idea--that the school be conceived of as the gathering place for the citizens, that parents, teachers, principals, and children be considered the heart of the educational enterprise, and that their lives within a community of their own making be considered the central concern in all educational planning. By this I mean something quite specific. I mean that we should take deliberate steps, not to exclude parents from a share in policy-making about the lives of their children, but to bring their knowledge and insight to bear on the major issues confronting them and their children in the context of their community. I mean, too, that the universities and schools of education should think of themselves as outposts of social enterprise, taking full responsibility for the reconstruction of education in the communities in which they are situated.

My proposal for action can be stated very simply. First, let us declare that teaching is one of the highest forms of national and international service and that the enormous energies and resources of the younger generation should be devoted to it. Let us then call the country's youth to that service as

volunteers for a national Student Corps. The normal expectation for the college graduate should be that he will give at least two years of his life to the service of his country by teaching to others what he has learned in college.

There are already 250,000 high school and college students across the country working as volunteers tutoring children in the inner cities and rural slums. Many of these tutors are learning to be teachers without formal instruction but with the supreme advantage of learning what it means to serve others in the exact dimension of their need. Others are serving as teachers in the Peace Corps, VISTA, Head Start, International Voluntary Service, the National Teacher Corps, and in dozens of projects of their own devising. But as of now, little has been done to develop parallel programs within the universities through which students could learn what teaching means by working daily with children. We have stopped short of making the call for service into a philosophy of democratic education. Let us take the next step and provide the volunteers with subsistence and tuition, just as we did in an earlier time through the GI Bill, when a whole generation of youth was brought into the mainstream of American society.

Why not take the central idea of the volunteer movement as the basis for a new conception of teaching and learning the liberal arts, as a new basis for the radical reform of the education of all teachers? The challenge of service in a high cause draws together the moral impulse of the young and the intellectual discipline of learning to cope with the reality of social problems. To me, a liberal education is best achieved through the use of one's mind to understand and act upon the problems of human existence. The sciences, the humanities, the arts are the means through which we can come to

grips with the nature of our own lives and of the world in which we exist. What better way of confronting that existence than by teaching whatever it is we have learned to those who know that little less than we do that makes all the difference?

I argue for a new conception of formal education, a conception by which the student is not continually pressed to receive what he is given but is continually asked to understand what he has learned by teaching it to others. Why not arrange on a systematic basis for high school students to teach each other or to tutor children in the elementary schools as a regular part of their own curriculum? Why not ask our college students to work directly with high school and elementary school pupils after school, evenings, weekends, during school hours on whatever problems are obstructing their intellectual and emotional growth or on subjects with which they need help?

I can recall vividly a young high school tutor in a volunteer program in Harlem who had dropped out of school and had been recruited as a volunteer to teach Spanish. When I asked where he had learned such fluent Spanish, he replied, "In the streets." He was one of the most successful tutors and is himself now in college.

I have just seen the results of a Peace Corps training program which was run by a young Peace Corps returnee. He took ninety new volunteers into the Negro ghetto of Roxbury, Massachusetts, to live with Negro families, study the problems of the Roxbury community, practice teaching in the schools, and learn to adapt themselves to a culture vastly different from their own by living and learning in the practical situation of that culture. This suggests to me the possibilities of resident student-teachers, store-front colleges, community action projects including both college and high school students,

foreign students joining their American counterparts as teachers of foreign languages and history, and university sponsorship of community study centers where faculty supervision of new educational programs could use all existing resources.

Fortunately some steps have already been taken in these directions: the New York Mobilization for Youth's "Homework Helpers Program"; programs begun by New York University, Fordham, Hunter, Brooklyn, Yeshiva, Columbia; the new teacher-aides programs of the Board of Education; the suggestions of the Coordinating Councils on Education; the possibilities inherent in all phases of the Poverty Program. To those who can easily cite the confusions, failure, problems, and shortcomings of the Poverty Program, Head Start, Job Opportunity Centers, and every aspect of the new government projects, I reply simply that we have not until lately had government funds to spend on any programs of this kind. We have never before had such social, economic, and political forces brought to bear from outside the educational system on genuine problems within it. We have started, in other words, an educational movement, progressive in character, which is irreversible. The role of the citizen in providing leadership and direction to the movement is irreplaceable.

What remains is to put together the enormous resources of the total community of parents, scholars, students, and citizens with the cooperation of voluntary agencies, teachers' unions, and government programs to work toward a millennium in which everyone is involved in education to some degree and in which everyone is teaching everyone else. To those who would look critically at such an approach, let me say that it would at least produce a different kind of chaos, and one out of which new lessons in education would be learned. For in the last analysis, it is the teacher and his quality with which we must be

concerned. The rest of the system must arrange itself to create an environment in and through the schools in which children are cherished, supported, loved, and taught. Student volunteers can and should have a central part in creating that environment.

EDUCATION AND REHABILITATION FOR NATIONAL SERVICE PARTICIPANTS

John Naisbitt

National service is not worth attempting unless it can be made to respond to the needs of our educationally disadvantaged youth. Nonmilitary national service as it exists today is comparable to a system of Eastern prep schools and reform schools. National service means more prestige for the educated, the bright, the well-healed, and more stigma for the educationally disadvantaged, the dull, and the poor.

National service today is a tightly compartmentalized stratified class institution with almost no upward mobility. For example, the average number of years of school completed by the nearly 65,000 youths who have entered the Job Corps is nine.¹ Of the 27,000 youths who have served in the Peace Corps, 96.7 percent had some college experience, 80 percent had Bachelor of Arts or higher degrees, 6.6 percent had higher degrees, 3.7 percent had associate degrees (Junior College graduates, registered nurses, and the like), only 12.7 percent had attended college without receiving a degree, and only 3.3 percent had merely graduated from high schools or technical schools. "One or two Job Corps graduates" have been admitted to the Peace Corps.²

"Five or six" Job Corps graduates have been among the more than 6,000 young men and women admitted to VISTA. Of VISTA members and veterans, 75

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percent had attended college, 4 percent had graduated from technical schools, and only 21 percent were merely high school graduates. Only a few have been college graduates because "most VISTA members are college sophomores or juniors taking one or two years off to earn money to continue their education or to gain experience before continuing their education."³

The efforts of the wife of Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma, who is a Comanche Indian, have led to 30 American Indians entering the Peace Corps as its first real experiment in admitting the disadvantaged. VISTA boasts that it has six "indigenous disadvantaged" working in Philadelphia in an experiment to "let the disadvantaged help the disadvantaged."

The Peace Corps had an open mandate to send abroad whom it wished. It could have sent disadvantaged Americans to teach peasants to weed gardens just as effectively as Bachelors of Science to teach them how to use fertilizer they probably would not receive anyway. Perhaps only a small percentage of Job Corpsmen will be "socialized" to the point where they will meet the present requirements for the Peace Corps or VISTA service. But a safety valve could be incorporated in national service to insure the opportunity for Job Corpsmen to rise to Peace Corps or VISTA levels of service. Within the Peace Corps now, officials who advocate using our disadvantaged to help the disadvantaged abroad are considered pariahs.

THE PROBLEM

National service today increases the advantages of middle-class youth and too frequently widens the cultural void between them and poor youths. For example, after one year a Job Corpsman is sent home with a readjustment allowance of \$600 to tide him over while he hunts for a job. A Peace Corpsman returns from his two-year tour with \$1,800 saved for him, and he receives

preferential treatment on federal civil service examinations. Even the VISTA volunteer is given more than the Job Corpsman to readjust to the community--\$675 at the end of a one year tour of duty.

The purpose of national service is to develop the country's human and natural resources. One point of such service is the development of the individual so that he makes the maximum possible contribution to the community to which he returns from service. Potential nonmilitary federal national service programs listed by the National Service Secretariat (Appendix A) include: Job Corps, Peace Corps, VISTA, and Teacher Corps. All of these except the Job Corps present opportunities to serve with honor and prestige. They offer an opportunity for continuing education and increased ability to compete in the job market after service has been completed. The Job Corps, however, adds stigma to 15 or 20 years of neglect. The Job Corps is publicized as "the last chance" of 16-through-21-year-old "failures."⁴ Job Corps Conservation Centers, in contrast to the Urban Training Centers, are the only branches that offer a chance to serve as well as to acquire literacy and vocational skills that should have been provided in the conventional school system. Many Corpsmen are ashamed of membership in this branch of national service. They refuse to wear their Corps' blazers outside the centers. They frequently are impelled to lie about their occupation to their girl friends' parents in the nearby towns and cities. A Job Corps graduate, publicized as one of the most successful members of the Corps, said that these feelings and actions of Corps members are widespread.⁵ He was graduated from two Conservation Centers, an Urban Training Center, and the Corps elite Capitol and Leadership Projects to become a Conservation Camp counselor. This Appalachian white youth's observation was confirmed by Corps graduates from Chicago's

Negro ghettos.

Educationally disadvantaged young people need the self-esteem that could be derived from national service at least as much as they need literacy and vocational skills. A Job Corps official has written that the youth who enter the Corps "are characterized by an almost fatalistic acceptance of one's present status in the total societal setting. There is little feeling that the better things in life can be obtained, especially by the means outlined by those who attempt to change the attitudes and the values of the culturally alienated."⁶ The Coleman report shows a sense of control of one's own destiny as the best predictor of performance.⁷

The disadvantaged clearly do not regard the Corps as giving them their "last chance." They tend to believe that society has not even given them their first chance.⁸ Why shouldn't they feel so? We call them "dropouts." Official Chicago public school statistics indicate that as many as 20 per cent of those classified as dropouts are actually forceouts. The fact is that many dropouts were kicked out of our schools. Sixty-four percent of the 28,500 young men and women in the Job Corps in February reported that they "were asked to leave school because of disciplinary, educational, financial, or other reasons."⁹

Nevertheless, our disadvantaged youths do desire dignified and prestigious national service. One of the many evidences of this is that two out of three of the first 36,000 men entering the Job Corps who were old enough (50 per cent) to enlist in the armed forces had tried to do so and had been rejected--two-thirds of them because of educational deficiencies.¹⁰

Nonmilitary national service today does not only fail to offer the poor an equal opportunity for dignified service to the nation but, even more

important, current programs for disadvantaged youths do not have lasting effects in education and rehabilitation. Official Job Corps statistics show that 24 percent of the Corps enrollees drop out during the first month of service.¹¹ Overall dropout rates for youths in Job Corps and Manpower Development and Training Act programs average nearly 50 percent of all enrollees.¹² Even youths who remain in the Job Corps until declared ready to enter a civilian job show discouragingly few lasting effects of educational and rehabilitation programs.

The average starting wage of the Corps graduate with 10 to 12 months service who is able to find a job is only \$1.71 an hour,¹³ although the intent of the Corps, as publicized and sold to Congress, was to provide unemployed school dropouts with literacy and vocational skills necessary for entry into vocations at a minimum starting wage of more than \$2.25 an hour.¹⁴ The lack of significant success of the Job Corps is as much explained by the difficulty of the task as by the manner in which it was carried out.

Also discouraging is the record of Upward Bound, the one national service program intended to give the educationally deprived a fair shake in competing for college entrance with their middle-class counterparts. As Kenneth B. Clark has said, the Upward Bound program is like a summer romance--after it is over, the boy has trouble recalling the girl's name. Office of Economic Opportunity officials report that a study of Upward Bound graduates to be published in the near future confirms Dr. Clark's conclusions.¹⁵

INADEQUACIES OF CURRENTLY PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

No current government-funded proposal for civilian national service would give disadvantaged youths the opportunity for dignified service now afforded the middle class. Last month the Office of Economic Opportunity asked

for proposals from private industry to establish "half-way houses" to help Job Corps graduates make a successful transition to civilian life and to help Corpsmen and Upward Bound graduates retain education gains. Even these "half-way houses" have met with failure, however. One example, which has not been publicized, involved four graduates of the Job Corps' elite Capitol Project; they disappeared from the highly paid civil service jobs they had been given in Washington, D.C., after graduating from the Project, perhaps the nation's best "half-way house."¹⁶ (Superior graduates are housed in the YMCA while they undergo long on-the-job training programs in desirable positions--for example, the position of assistant to an administrator in Vice President Humphrey's office.) Another example occurred when, with great fanfare, Fruehauf Trailer Corporation of Chicago hired the very best welders trained at a Job Corps center. The boys were excellent workers but left for their Southwestern Mexican home community within a week simply because they had not matured enough to integrate into the mainstream of American society.¹⁷

In these "half-way houses" there would be an abundance of counselors, social workers, therapists, special teachers--the same old setting designed for failure in rehabilitation. As David Gottlieb has written, to the disadvantaged boy or girl "the teacher, the social worker, the guidance counselor, and the therapist are seen as people just doing their job--that is, acting out a role demanded by the agency they represent rather than being on the scene because they have any real desire to help the individual attain the goals he holds important."¹⁸ Today's national service for the poor and its "half-way houses" do not change this attitude.

The theoretical premise for effective rehabilitation has been stated by Jerome S. Bruner:

. . . a word about one last intrinsic motive that bears closely upon the will to learn. Perhaps it should be called reciprocity. For it involves a deep human need to respond to others and to operate jointly with them toward an objective. One of the important insights of modern zoology is the importance of this intraspecies reciprocity for the survival of individual members of the species. The psychologist Roger Barker has commented that the best way he has found to predict the behavior of the children whom he has been studying in great detail in the midst of their everyday activities is to know their situations. A child in a baseball game behaves baseball; in the drugstore the same child behaves drugstore. Situations have a demand value that appears to have very little to do with the motives that are operative. Surely it is not simply a "motive to conform"; this is too great an abstraction. The man who is regulating his pressure on the back of a car, along with three or four others, trying to "rock it out," is not so much conforming as "fitting his efforts into an enterprise." It is about as primitive an aspect of human behavior as we know.

Like the other activities we have been discussing, its exercise seems to be its sole reward. Probably it is the basis of human society, this response through reciprocity to other members of one's species. Where joint action is needed, where reciprocity is required for the group to attain an objective, then there seem to be processes that carry the individual along into learning, sweep him into a competence that is required in the setting of the group. We know precious little about this primitive motive to reciprocate, but what we do know is that it can furnish a driving force to learn as well. Human beings (and other species as well) fall into a pattern that is required by the goals and activities of the social group in which they find themselves.¹⁹

The purpose of diverting youths from the streets to Job Corps camps is to place them in an atmosphere where they can "fall into a pattern" necessary for productive lives in a middle-class oriented society. The law of the streets prevails in the large Job Corps Urban Training Centers, however, and it would prevail in the "half-way houses." Job Corps officials tell you they run the centers. Former Corpsmen almost invariably report that the centers are run by "Corpsmen's law," and that is the law of the streets.²⁰

The new director of the Job Corps recently declared that young people in centers and camps will in the future live by the same autocratic rules

needed to survive in a job in our middle-class oriented society. But civil rights leaders are correct in predicting that attempts to impose middle-class values on lower-class kids are doomed to failure.

The results of the once prominent Danish folk high schools show clearly that the culturally alienated adopt the prevailing values of a society only by living and working with persons who live according to those values.²¹ The lesson has been taught well by many other institutions but apparently not learned by American officials responsible for a democratic nonmilitary national service system.²² Both the Coleman report and the recently issued "Racial Isolation" report of the United States Civil Rights Commission strongly support and document the view that the culturally alienated do not learn unless integrated with the dominant culture.

The Administration's aspiration for universal nonmilitary national service was expressed by President Johnson in his message to Congress on the Selective Service System.

We have witnessed in our day the building of another tradition--by men and women in the Peace Corps, in VISTA, and in other such programs which have touched, and perhaps even changed, the life of our country and our world.

This spirit is as characteristic of modern America as our advanced technology or our scientific achievements.

I have wondered if we could establish through these programs and others like them, a practical system of nonmilitary alternatives to the draft. . . .²³

The President's message was an obvious compromise between two widely publicized reports. The most comprehensive was presented to the President by the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service.²⁴ The other is the report of the Civilian Advisory Panel on Military Manpower Procurement, presented to the House Armed Services Committee on March 2, 1967.²⁵ It is

irrelevant that the President's draft proposals drew heavily from the Advisory Commission's report and that the two reports agreed only in that they recommended "draft the youngest first."

The President's recommendations and the two reports provided for elimination of some of the inequities in our compulsory military service system. But none even anticipated in the foreseeable future elimination of the basically undemocratic nature of nonmilitary national service, present or planned. The President, whose sincerity in giving the disadvantaged equal opportunity in the Great Society is not to be questioned, did not appear to realize that the Peace Corps and VISTA make the rich richer in opportunity and experience and that the Job Corps might serve to increase the despair, disillusionment, and social alienation of the poor.

Ironically, among administration leaders, only Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara appears to be fully aware that nonmilitary national service could increase the cultural void between the educated and the uneducated and wants to do something about it. Two of his key recommendations substantiate this conclusion. The McNamara plan, which in the Pentagon is known as "Project 100,000," provides an opportunity for disadvantaged youth rejected from military service to engage in dignified, honorable service to the nation and to obtain the education and rehabilitation that society owes them. McNamara clearly did not propose the project because other men were not available, but rather because he believes that a major national institution such as the Armed Forces is in a position to repay the debt of neglect owed to young men from Appalachia and the northern city ghettos.²⁶

Secretary McNamara's second proposal would have permitted nonmilitary volunteer service as an alternative to compulsory military service. The

President's Message to Congress, like the report of his commission, rejects this suggestion. The Advisory Commission concluded that the alternative to military service of "two years of service...in the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad...would be discriminatory in that it would exclude men of lower educational levels, since most opportunities for service now exist only for people who have attended or graduated from college...."²⁷

Did it occur to the Commission that it would be democratic to give the young men who now enter the Job Corps not only the same opportunity as the college educated to avoid the draft but also an opportunity for dignified civilian service? More important, did it occur to the Commission members that nonmilitary service should give the disadvantaged an opportunity to compete for Peace Corps and VISTA positions through effective education and rehabilitation?

R. Sargent Shriver, former head of the Peace Corps, in his capacity as Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, apparently did not see the inequities in civilian national service in the Peace Corps as compared to the Job Corps. He told the House Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty that he does not equate Peace Corps or VISTA types of service with military duty but that such service rates some points toward not being drafted into the Armed Forces. "I don't know whether they should be called first or last, but somewhere down the line it should be a consideration," he said.²⁸ Why should not Shriver advocate that service in the Job Corps be given equal treatment vis-à-vis the draft as service in VISTA or the Peace Corps?

Any equitable national service system should require registration of all Americans reaching age 16. National service must be voluntary but our

young people can be made aware of opportunity to serve through a registration program. Registration and testing of youngsters would, as Shriver (and Secretary Wirtz before him) suggested, help society to locate those in need of remedial physical fitness, academic education, and motivational training early enough to help them.

Referring to the statement to the Advisory Commission by W. Willard Wirtz,²⁹ Shriver said, "Our younger generation needs this opportunity for service. They need to be challenged and to have their best capacities released. They need to be asked to do difficult tasks that our country needs to have done. They need to be called to the frontiers of our society and of the world community. They need to discover themselves."³⁰ It is certainly true. Why has not Shriver made this appeal to the young men to whom he offers a "last chance" for remedial education?

Secretary Wirtz reported to Congress on March 21, 1967:

It has to be recognized that any military service system which sends a boy who has developed himself to a battlefield, and sends another boy who has wasted his life back to gang warfare in a slum or ghetto, is wrong, on two counts: It wastes an opportunity to take someone who needs it by the shoulder and straighten him up--if this is possible--and it is unfair.³¹

The Secretary of Labor proposed compulsory education and rehabilitation because the Labor Department's own program for voluntary achievement of this end had failed. He reported that of 616,828 draft registrants who were rejected by Armed Forces examining stations between February, 1964, and July, 1966, for failure to meet mental qualification, 165,815 had taken advantage of the opportunity offered them to seek remedial help by registering with the employment service. But of these, only 39,442 followed up their registration and obtained employment or entered training and remedial programs.

Secretary Wirtz is right about the failure of remedial programs, but for the wrong reason. Disadvantaged youth rejects them for the same reasons that they drop out of school--the traditional programs simply are not designed to meet the needs of the educationally deprived. Disadvantaged youth do not use their educational deficiencies as an excuse to escape military service. Indeed, they seek military service as the only form of national service that offers them equal dignity and opportunity.³² They are rejected because our society has not figured out how to give them a good education. Sixty-eight percent of Negroes failing the Armed Forces Qualification Test had some high school experience compared to 47 percent of the white failures. A special Department of Labor study shows that Negro rejectees averaged one more year of school than whites.³³

NATIONAL SERVICE FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

National service that will have a lasting effect in meeting the needs of the disadvantaged must be voluntary. Compulsory nonmilitary national service--even for the simple purpose of remedial education and rehabilitation--might be unconstitutional.³⁴ More important, it would be incompatible with the ethical principles upon which we hope our society is based.

National service must encompass every aspect of the participant's life. It must be contractual for a sufficiently long period to insure that the youth will be equipped with the literacy and vocational skills and, above all, the social competence to make a successful transition from service to life in his or her community. It must be democratic in that it integrates instead of separates our advantaged and disadvantaged youth. It must be egalitarian in that middle-class and disadvantaged youths receive equal prestige and other rewards for equal achievement and degrees of excellence.

Where do these principles for nonmilitary national service come from? Paradoxically, from the military. The military is the only institution that has a successful record of educating and rehabilitating through national service. The Army does build men from the disadvantaged. Today the luckiest disadvantaged youths are those who, formerly rejected, will be taken into the Armed Forces under Project 100,000. They are the boys from the street gangs who will have the best chance of becoming successful citizens in our middle-class society.

The original plan for the Job Corps called for its operation by the military, or at least at military camps. This plan was rejected because it was feared that liberals in Congress would kill the entire program if it were to be placed on the Pentagon's organizational chart. I have no doubt that many of the failures of the Job Corps would not have occurred had the original plan been put into effect.

Our first successful national service program for civilian youth, the Civilian Conservation Corps, was run by the Army. The idea for the CCC was sketched by President Roosevelt while he was on the inauguration stand on March 4, 1933. CCC legislation was approved by Congress on March 31, and the Corps was established by executive order on April 4. In the 75 days after the first CCC center opened on April 14, 300,000 men and women were enrolled and were at work in 1,568 centers. Although the 1960's are not the 1930's, compare this with a total of 64,878 enrolled in the Job Corps during its first two years.³⁵ During the five years of the CCC's active operation it provided vocational training and some education to 2,120,000 men.³⁶

Many of the camps started educational programs during 1933, but results were reportedly not very gratifying.³⁷ One reason was that during the first

two years of CCC operation only \$1.25 was spent per man-year on basic education.³⁸ Though many Army officials were interested and lent support to education, others were "skeptical as to its value."³⁹ Nonetheless, education advisers were rapidly appointed in large numbers, and by June, 1934, there were 1,087 in service. In the early days of the program there were many hurdles, not the least being the continued opposition of some officers and some members of the technical staff.

But the early period--from 1934 to 1936--was in fact an exhilarating one. It was marked by uneven accomplishment, but brilliant demonstrations and a contagious aspiration and sense of promise stood above mediocre and apathetic performance. In the many camps which throbbed with vital action, enrollees, foremen, superintendents, officers, and advisors--some or all--could be found conducting groups.⁴⁰

After 1936, however, education in the CCC became a more settled, more sedate activity, and consequently a less effective one. Much of the fervor disappeared, and instruction became more formalized, less suited to the needs of the men.⁴¹

Despite a dearth of appropriate curricula and materials, the principle that literacy training is most effective when directly related to the tasks assigned men in national service was clearly demonstrated in the extraordinary effort made by our military to train illiterates during World War II.⁴² The effort was frankly undertaken because the Armed Forces reservoir of literate recruits was exhausted. In mid-1943, the decision was made to draft illiterates and educate them because it was impossible to make them effective soldiers if they could not read or write. Within the maximum sixteen week literacy training period established, the military succeeded in teaching thousands of men to read, write, and use numbers at a fourth-grade level.⁴³

Specific figures are available for the period following the 1943 consolidation of teaching centers. From June, 1943, to December, 1945, some 254,272 men were graduated from the special training program. The figures show that 40 percent of them achieved the required competency in less than 30 days. The average illiterate or non-English-speaking man needed only eight weeks to pass the fourth-grade exam. Of all the students, only 15 percent were unable to learn in the required 16 weeks and were sent home.⁴⁴

About 45 percent of the men entered the program at third- and fourth-grade levels. Some were very near the fourth-grade mark from the beginning. But some of the men were completely lacking in reading, writing, and arithmetic skills when they entered the training. Of these totally illiterate men, more than 60 percent learned to read and write and pass a fourth-grade exam within 12 to 16 weeks.

Compare this with Job Corps achievements. There is considerable evidence that official OEO statistics are presented in ways that tend to exaggerate those achievements. However, the official statistics show that of more than 60,000 men and women who entered the Corps during its first two years, the average enrollee had completed nine years of school and had a reading and mathematical ability of fifth-grade level.⁴⁵ More than 30 percent of the enrollees are unable to read a simple sentence or solve a second-grade arithmetic problem. The best that can be said of the achievement of young men and women who do not drop out of the Corps is that "during a nine-month stay in Job Corps the young person gains about one and a quarter grade levels in reading, so that he can read a newspaper and an employment application form, and two grade levels in mathematics."⁴⁶ Tests of growth in social competence and maturity of Corpsmen show that the Corps still lacks a "viable and

effective social growth program."⁴⁷

Military success in vocational training is even greater when compared with Job Corps achievements. Of all government agencies--in fact, of all our institutions--the military is unique in the extent to which it is willing (and apparently able) to place large numbers of people in occupations within its structure by training them to fulfill required tasks.⁴⁸

Military training is particularly suited for the educationally deprived because it prepares an individual to fulfill an immediate role. Incorporation of the educationally deprived youth into the military places him in a situation in which he can immediately be rewarded for learning achievement. For example, part of any soldier's occupational success depends upon reading orders as to proper dress, understanding reports, and recognizing badge numbers. The rewards for performing these operations are so apparent that a man is powerfully motivated to master the educational skills necessary for success, particularly since the need for skills or knowledge can be demonstrated before the skills themselves are taught and the student can be placed immediately afterward in situations where he can apply what he has learned.

We are seeking a system of national service that would institutionalize the long-sought "moral equivalent to war." One of the primary reasons the military establishment can so advantageously train educationally disadvantaged men involves aspects of military life that are deprecated by civilian sentiments.⁴⁹ Within the military structure there is a degree of democracy not present elsewhere. In the Army, the man in the next bunk wears the same clothes, is treated the same way by the sergeant, sleeps on the same kind of mattress, and eats the same food--no matter what his color or social class may be.

The military is totalitarian in that it involves all aspects of a man's life and provides him the security necessary for maximum learning. It is egalitarian in that degrees of achievement and excellence, not the job itself, are the criteria for reward and punishment. This structure of a highly developed system of behavioral expectations with punishments and rewards and undeviatingly equal treatment for all is the most promising environment in which to train and educate young men who have failed in the opposite kind of environment.

While our present nonmilitary national service segregates advantaged and disadvantaged, the military integrates them. While nonmilitary national service is a battlefield for the clash of culture and privileged and underprivileged, the military is the instrument for reconciling middle- and lower-class values.

In Israel, universal military service has proved to be an even more effective institution for educating and rehabilitating the disadvantaged. The period of military training provides high school equivalency for all its citizens.⁵⁰ Introduction of universal military service proved to be the means of converting uneducated peasants into artisans, industrial workers, and teachers in Czarist Russia in the nineteenth century. Today, the Army is the major instrument for providing lasting literacy and vocational skills in Turkey, Iran, and many other underdeveloped countries.⁵¹

A PROGRAM FOR EDUCATION AND REHABILITATION IN NATIONAL SERVICE

National service has failed our disadvantaged youth because we have not constructed a program with the materials, tools, and craftsmen now available. It will fail again if we throw our young citizens into camps and centers

without first allowing the draftsmen to apply their tools to the materials for a long enough period of time to produce the completed program. Nothing I propose is new.

National service must provide the same intermixing of middle- and lower-class values as does military service. Civil rights leaders are correct in opposing attempts to impose middle-class values on the underprivileged. There is little doubt that lower-class boys wish to become middle class, but this is hard to do. Hardest of all is adopting the values and norms of behavior necessary to function successfully in a middle-class society. The only way to develop the behavior and habits of a successful individual in our middle-class-oriented society is to live, as underprivileged youth in military service do, in a group in which middle-class ways prevail. (Again, the Coleman report and the Civil Rights Commission report support this.)

But national service must be egalitarian in its system of rewards and punishments. There is no reason why society should guarantee a returning Peace Corpsman points toward civil service rank without giving a Job Corpsman similar assurance that successful service will be rewarded. Within the entire national service system there must be uniform rewards for degrees of achievement and excellence. A Job Corpsman planting antierosion shelter belts should be given the same rank and pay as a Peace Corpsman who, with the same degree of excellence, teaches modern agricultural methods in an agricultural institute in India. A national serviceman should be permitted to go as far and as high in a consolidated system as his ability permits. As his in-service education progresses, he should be permitted to progress toward other branches of national service.

Finally, advocates of completely voluntary national service must face

the fact that dropouts will drop out again and again. If permitted, those who would benefit most from national service will drop out. Most failures of the Job Corps and Manpower Development and Training Act programs are related in one way or another to this hard reality. National service must be contractual, and the term of the contract must be sufficiently long to assure that the benefits of in-service education and rehabilitation will have a lasting effect.

Basic Training. The first stage in a national service program must be uniform basic training for educated and uneducated alike. This would include physical training, classes in subject matter growing out of the settings and purposes of various national service branches, and integrated literacy training for the disadvantaged. Assignments to the various branches of national service would be made only after basic training. We must put an end to black camps and white camps, dull and bright camps, stigmatic and prestigious camps.

Basic-training units would be heterogeneous in membership providing for the maximum personal relationships between trainees and training leaders. Largely for this reason, the Conservation Camps of the Job Corps have been much more successful than anticipated in educational and vocational achievement and growth in maturity of Corpsmen. Largely for the opposite reason, large Urban Training Centers have fallen far short of expectations.⁵²

Basic Education. The purpose of a basic education component in national service would be to elevate the educationally disadvantaged youth to the high school equivalency level. Achievement of this aim would involve a new type of schooling. The necessary elements of an educational program

are at hand; they simply have not been put together. These program components are:

1. Curriculum and study materials based on the demonstrated, real-life interests of the students, including materials based on national service subject matter. Some of the materials would be developed by the students themselves.
2. Integrated subject areas.
3. Self-study by students, singly, in pairs, and in small discussion groups.
4. Employment of new kinds of teachers.
5. A redefined teacher's role.
6. Rewards for achievement to kindle motivation and keep it alive.
7. Test creation and practice.

Original Curriculum Materials. Many millions of dollars have been spent to develop self-study materials and textbooks for Job Corpsmen and adult illiterates. Most of the materials are not very effective. Those that might be effective have not been used or, when used, have not been subjected to scientific evaluation.

National service requires a new curriculum that would begin with a period of training that might be called a "search for the trainee's own subject matter." Disadvantaged youngsters from the ghetto have islands of highly organized knowledge. They must have in order to survive on the streets. What do disadvantaged trainees know well enough that they could teach to someone else? National service teachers would seek out these islands of highly organized knowledge, develop new islands, and connect them into large mainlands of subject matter.

For example, does a student know the ins and outs of rotation pool, and is he excited enough about it so that he can explain it with language sufficiently precise that another person can learn it? If he can be taught to do that, he has started to master the skill that can help him explain anything he knows--and that can help him learn anything anyone else knows.

The search for the trainee's own subject matter would soon make it apparent that virtually every national service participant needing basic education--whether from tenement or cottonfield, coal town or orchard, whether Negro, Puerto Rican, or white--is excited about cars. The teaching possibilities that begin with a car are endless. Operation of a car involves mechanics, temperature, combustion, gases, electricity, and so on. Its manufacture involves metallurgy, the chemistry of glass and rubber, the social organization of production. The social impact of the car includes the building of cities, spreading of suburbs, shifting of industry, passing of laws, and collection of taxes. The cost of gasoline (including taxes) involves multiplication (price times gallons) and division (computing miles per gallon and cost per mile). For language practice, there are hot-rod magazines to read and an infinite variety of short compositions to write based on a lively interest in cars.

The search for the trainee's own subject matter would include not only the youth's hobbies but, most importantly, would move quickly to the points of high interest in his work at the basic training center and to the many areas of national service--education, health, community service, conservation. Youth from the ghetto can teach middle-class VISTA volunteers a great deal about life in the inner city. Together they can build a curriculum for the VISTA program.

Integration of Subject Areas. In building a basic education curriculum for national service, the usual "logical" order in which science, mathematics, social studies, language arts, and the like are neatly laid out in school textbooks would be ignored. A less neat but really more logical order would permit the separate subjects to be interrelated and made a part of each other in a way meaningful to trainees.

A simple example of how arithmetic can be related to the realities of government and history was recently observed in a class for "slow learners" in Warren, Ohio. A vocational school began a program for its potential drop-outs that enabled students to take part-time work for pay and get school credit for it. Also, teachers were told to forget about conventional textbooks and conventional fragmentation of subject matter. They were encouraged to build broad discussions from the simple clues of student interest, as picked up in their gripes, arguments, and free-time conversations.

One morning a student brought in a stub from his first paycheck, asking his teacher to explain why 83 cents was missing. The teacher said it was for Social Security. What, demanded the student, was that? This immediately touched off a lively discussion, involving the entire class, in the arithmetic of how 83 cents a week would lead to perhaps \$90 a month when the student was old enough to retire. This in turn led to discussion of the penalties of not providing for one's old age, which in turn led to discussing the history of the passage of the Social Security Act, the tragic events of the Great Depression, and the political philosophy of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Afterwards, the students wrote simple compositions on a topic that now had real meaning for them based on the discussion--all from a missing 83 cents. This sensitive, imaginative teacher built unfragmented, real subject matter from a simple clue of student interest. But, of course, he is an unusual

teacher. Such people are in short supply. The necessity, then, is to try to program this kind of teaching into self-instruction material.

The "unfragmenting" of high school curriculum for technically minded boys is not without precedent. A few years ago a high school in Richmond, California, undertook a special technical education program for students doing poorly in vocational education. At the core of the effort was the re-shuffling and rebuilding of lesson plans so that teaching in math, science, and English were, on a day-to-day basis, as closely related as possible to practical experiences in shop work. During some periods a scientific problem would be the best academic extension of a practical shop problem. During those periods the math teacher would gear his classes to mathematics derived from the central scientific problem, and the English teacher to reading and writing related to the science. When mathematics became the central need, the science teacher turned to science problems that illustrated math.

Such organization may appear complicated and formless; it certainly is unlike anything to which most teachers are accustomed. But in an intensive summer of lesson-planning, the Richmond teachers rearranged their subject matter into a detailed set of lesson plans for an entire year. (Part of their strategy, however, is to be ready to depart from the lesson plan when student needs seem to require it--just as national service teachers would be encouraged to improvise specially needed instruction for individuals or group discussion as departures from self-instruction materials.)

The innovation at the Richmond school was greeted at first by hostility from teachers. But the program's success in lifting student interest and motivation, as well as academic grades, has led 18 neighboring high schools in the San Francisco Bay Area to emulate it. The Technical Education

Center, which was created by the Ford Foundation, is to coordinate more widespread use of the plan.

The integrated, unfragmented treatment of natural science, social science, math, literature, and language would be built upon the foundation of student strengths and interests as determined during the "search for the trainee's own subject matter" and as determined by the training subject matter and needs of the various branches of national service.

Materials Created by the Trainees. At the outset, practice in language arts would not be programed in the usual sense, except for the development of reading skill, which should be stimulated by increased reading of programed materials in other subject matter (again, this paper deals only with the basic education aspects of training for national service). The main thrust of language training would begin by emphasis on oral expression in discussing subject matter, followed by exercises in writing about the student's work and personal interests. At first, no attention would be paid to the mechanical aspects of writing, such as spelling, punctuation, and the fine points of grammar. The entire purpose would be to develop use of words and sentences in expressing clear ideas. A student greatly resistant to writing would be encouraged to speak his sentences, which would be written down by a fellow trainee or recorded on tape. These materials in turn become reading materials--for the author and for other trainees. (This dictating-for-reading approach has been tried with younger children with startling results: some "nonreaders" immediately read at and above grade level.) Also, students who resist writing are often attracted to learning through the use of electric typewriters, as a form of "hands-on" learning material. If a typewriter helps a student overcome his resistance to composing words

into sentences, it becomes a simple, easily available teaching machine.

Programed drill materials in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and sentence structure would be introduced after the trainee had developed considerable momentum in his written expression. In conventional schooling these mechanical language skills are introduced early and pupils are drilled to avoid mistakes in writing even the simplest prose. No one knows to what extent a potentially creative mind may be dulled by this early emphasis on mechanics; there is much reason to believe that a child becomes more concerned with losing credit for making a mechanical mistake than with learning to free his ideas through imaginative use of the language. In any case, most disadvantaged youths now entering the Job Corps are not examples of the success of conventional methods for teaching language correctness. The disadvantaged national service men would have more reason to care about their correctness of language after they learn the value of using words and sentences well.

The Buddy System. Disadvantaged youth often look upon literacy training in MDTA and Job Corps camps with no more enthusiasm than they had in the public school system. Conservation Camps frequently are an exception because their basic education systems are structured to the individual and require, as did Army literacy training during World War II, very short periods of concentration intermixed with work and drill.

It is probably too much to expect that a trainee of low motivation will comfortably sit alone for two hours a day with cards or booklets of self-instruction materials. To overcome this built-in defect in the system the active use of a "buddy" system is proposed. Working with a "buddy" would help make a social experience of the self-instruction. Ideally, a

pair of buddies would be made up of one who is working toward one entrance level to active national service and another who has already passed criteria for that entrance level.

This system would be similar to the cross-age pairing that has been found remarkably successful in tutoring programs in other settings: junior high schoolers and elementary students in Mobilization for Youth; college and high school students on Chicago's South Side; sixth-graders and first-graders in the Oakland public schools; and functional illiterates of all adult age levels in the Great Cities' experiment in adult education for the disadvantaged conducted in Detroit.

Professional teachers and administrators resist recognizing that students can often succeed in teaching other students where certified instructors fail. An important value of tutoring--or a buddy system--is what happens to the tutor as well as to the taught. The tutor seems to reinforce and advance his own learning. This would offset the tendency of current basic education for the disadvantaged to have only short-term effects. It is often more difficult to keep a person literate than to teach him how to read in the first place.

Lay Teachers. A program of self-instruction, based on integrated true-to-life subject matter and pursued by teams of buddies, requires new types of teachers, namely "lay" teachers. This has been said frequently before. Nothing has been done about it, owing largely to the organized opposition of those with a vested interest in the current processes of teacher certification and professional definition. The latest studies of the highly publicized teachers' aides programs indicate that the teachers succeed in keeping the aides from participating in any meaningful way in the teaching process.

National service offers a reservoir of two new kinds of lay teachers who would naturally promote the lasting education and rehabilitation of the disadvantaged youth: the "disadvantaged emeritus" and "the lower-class oriented" middle-class citizen.

The first type of teacher, the disadvantaged emeritus, is the formerly educationally disadvantaged who has succeeded in rising to professional status in national service. The best teachers of foreign language are those who were raised with the native tongue of their students, for the obvious reason that they know all the pitfalls to be avoided. This principle, compounded in thousands of ways, is true of the teachers, leaders, and administrators in a national service system that would rehabilitate the disadvantaged and integrate him into the system. Already, the effectiveness of using the formerly disadvantaged to teach the disadvantaged has been demonstrated successfully in the Job Corps. In the Corps' Project Leadership, Job Corps graduates are trained to become counselors, teachers, and administrators in Conservation Camps and Urban Training Centers.

On the other hand, our middle-class youngsters, with little encouragement from their parents, have developed a social conscience toward the disadvantaged. And they are doing something about it. Robert Frost said that the way to solve the cultural clash threatening our society is to "make all Americans tea colored." Without the physical implications, the solution to bridging the cultural chasm in America is at hand.

Peace Corpsmen are coming home with their own ideas about teaching the disadvantaged in our inner city schools, and they are breaking down the barriers to learning that have been built up by some of our professional educators. The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional

Standards urged the teaching profession to remove the "no trespassing" signs for returning Peace Corps teachers, and apparently some moves have been made in that direction. Peace Corpsmen are even developing their own curriculum materials in schools where conventional textbooks do not work.⁵⁴

Peace Corpsmen and VISTA members should be used extensively as teachers in National Service Centers. But even they, I suspect, would learn much about speaking the language of the disadvantaged from many of the so-called beatniks who should be drawn into national service. Look at a beatnik and you will see the second type of teacher available in large numbers for an effective national service system, the lower-class-oriented middle-class youth. The beatnik's dress, mannerisms, and speech indicate that a powerful force for educating and rehabilitating the disadvantaged is at work in American society. For the first time our middle-class youth in large numbers seek cultural intermixture with our disadvantaged youth.

We have been witnessing a successful "Go To The People" movement and ignoring its ramifications. In the 60's and 70's of the last century the educated urban population of Russia in large numbers moved into the villages to help their disadvantaged compatriots, only to be driven out by the illiterate peasants as much as by the Czarist government forces. The cultural gap could not be bridged.

New Teacher Role. Instead of his conventional role of dispenser of data from the front of the classroom, the national service teacher would become more of a roving consultant among self-teaching individuals who have individual difficulties. And he would speak the language understood by his students. The teacher would also serve the important function of discussion leader, helping to relate study materials to the real life experience of the students.

The object in restudying the role of the teacher should not be to see how much he can participate to be effective, but to see how far the teacher can remove himself from the learning process without reducing his effectiveness.

My preliminary suggestion is that the teacher have a minimum amount of involvement, stepping in only (1) when introduction of dry-run demonstrations and exercises of new study material are required, (2) when the self-instruction process breaks down, (3) when direct instruction is essential to correct misconceptions arising from self-instruction, and (4) when a student asks for help. This theory of a teaching role is more easily written than practiced. Appallingly few teachers are prepared, by personality or training, to leave a student alone.

I believe that, if carefully screened, formerly disadvantaged, socially conscious youth could be especially sensitive to a type of teacher training that would condition them to stay out of a student's way and to be particularly effective teachers in national service camps as a result. These potential teachers would have been trained through a "self-instruction" process of discussion and mutual criticism to learn on their own to the maximum extent possible.

Rewards for Achievement. The buddy system of learning would not encourage equal interest in the success of the self-instruction process for the one at the lower stage unless a simple system of bribery was incorporated into it. Call it reward incentive if you wish. The programed materials for self-instruction would be, like most programed materials, self-testing. A pair of buddies should know that when a section of materials is completed, each trainee will be tested in what he claims to have mastered. If he passes, both he and his tutor--or both buddies--will get a reward. If it were possible

from a standpoint of legality and public relations, I would urge a reward as tangible, appealing, and negotiable as a five-dollar bill. If not, however, more traditional rewards can be adopted. One such system now in successful operation in a reform school near Washington is based on "points." The points can be used to buy items at the school store. They can also be spent in exchange for frills to be added to the regular daily menu. But, in addition, they can be exchanged for privileges that money cannot buy. For example, the spending of eight points might extend a two-day weekend to three days; points might be spent to buy one's way out of KP or other undesirable duties; and so forth. Many educators look with disdain upon such rewards for learning. They regard giving a gold star as moral, but a dollar bill as sinful. The Job Corps has made a significant step in this direction with its Corpsman's Advisory System. Under the system Corpsmen receive points when they attain levels. A sufficient number of points merits a \$5.00-a-month raise. A disadvantaged national service trainee will hardly be made less moral by responding to the same rewards that motivate the "mainstream of American life," of which everyone wants the service veteran to become a useful member.

Test Experience. A final phase of the basic instruction program involves teaching the trainee to demonstrate his acquired knowledge through multiple-choice tests. It is inappropriate to gear a trainee's education toward the requirements of a particular test, but it is not unfair to help insure the disadvantaged national service trainee a fair shake in taking tests to advance in national service, to enter the Armed Forces, to apply for a civilian job after service, or to take the General Educational Development test. The GED is the only generally accepted high school equivalency. It is

administered by the American Council on Education and for the most part is designed to demonstrate high school equivalency for the purpose of qualifying for college and not for employment. Some thought should be given to developing a test to satisfy an employer rather than a registrar. Proponents of national service might consider a plan whereby a trainee could be certified as having passed those sections of the GED of interest to employers (for example, math and grammar); it may be of only limited interest to an employer that the trainee has not passed in literature or social studies (in a recent GED test the social studies section was written at a 13.5-grade level). Though politically sensitive, the possibility should be considered of developing and administering within the national service system its own high school equivalency test. Over time it could become an established measurement of high school level performance, with employers if not with colleges.

Employers demand proof of high school equivalency. The Job Corps is supposed to make up for the deficiencies of the traditional school system. But only now are feeble steps being taken to help the Corps graduate present employers with some evidence that he has, even if it is an absolute certainty, acquired the equivalent of a high school education. Disadvantaged national service men no doubt give little attention to being considered high school graduates when they enter national service. But if, when they leave, they do not wish at least to attain that status, national service will have failed in a fundamental task. National service will also have failed if it does not give these young citizens every possible tool for building the foundations for a successful career in the community to which they return. The attempt to insure that a disadvantaged national service trainee has average skill in test-taking and an opportunity to prepare for passing the GED should parallel

the thrust of the basic educational program itself. More specifically, since the trainee's education is to begin with his own concrete experiences, he should learn to take tests based on material from such experience.

Texts. Pieces of text and multiple choice questions and answers drawn from the science of auto mechanics, conservation, or any other areas in which there is demonstrated trainee interest should be prepared. Texts and questions would be developed from realistic urban and rural situations in social science that have proved to be dramatic to trainees. Probably the best way to teach test-taking is to have the trainees make up their own tests, drawing on material from their own backgrounds.

Texts and test questions should also be drawn from realistic passages of prose and poetry that have proved to be exciting to the disadvantaged. Such passages exist in abundance but cannot be used in public school systems for political reasons. I refer to the long passages of previously unprintable Negro folklore that have been committed to the memory of boys and girls from the ghettos who are supposedly incapable of memorizing the simple verses taught in the public schools. Now a collection of such folklore exists in Roger D. Abraham's Deep Down in the Jungle. Most Negro youths have mastered many of these verses. The accomplishment is comparable to a middle-class white boy's memorization of Milton's Paradise Lost. Should national service trainees be deprived of such relevant material for developing literacy and test-taking skills simply because it contains a few more dirty words than Chaucer?

Dick Gregory's Nigger has been excluded from some curricula for the disadvantaged because of the title. James Baldwin's works have been subjected to censorship in some public school systems. A national service system

that identified as one of its major purposes the education and rehabilitation of our disadvantaged youth is not worth considering if it does not have the resources to gain public acceptance of materials that have proved to be interesting to the disadvantaged. Texts and questions could also be drawn from passages in less controversial materials like Langston Hughes' poems, western adventures, and perhaps such urban prose as Claude Brown's Manchild in the Promised Land.

The purpose of these study materials would be to sharpen a trainee's skill in close, careful, precise reading and to respond directly to the types of questions he might encounter in his national service career, in his search for employment after finishing his term of service, and in taking the GED. Embedded in the practice test-taking exercises would be tests to measure the trainee's subject-matter progress. After a student has demonstrated considerable success with such tests and questions, he would then start adapting his skill toward the content typical of tests he is bound to encounter. This might begin with a series of group discussions about the ways in which a successful score on a particular test could be of real help to a trainee for the rest of his life.

Return to Society. Hopefully, a sufficiently long contractual period (at least two years) of national service in which the disadvantaged would have equal opportunity to develop alongside their middle-class counterparts would have the same results as did military service during World War II. A continuous flow of mature youths into all sections of our society unprecedented since 1946 should be the result.

But despair and disillusionment could also be the result of national service if its recruiting and training raise unrealizable expectations, as has

too frequently been the case in the Job Corps and other programs for the disadvantaged. The problem of unfulfilled, unrealistic expectations has arisen in other nations as well. For example, in the Soviet Union, a totalitarian system in which all youths participate in a highly organized program of national service, nearly thirty years ago the late President Mikhail Kalinin warned that the hopes of the nation's youth would end in despair and disillusionment if "we do not stop telling every boy that he was born with a marshal's baton in his crib and every girl that a ballerina's slipper was found in hers." In early 1967 the Soviet Minister of Education surprised the West by spelling out in detail the bitterness of youth whose aspirations could not be fulfilled by Soviet reality.

Similarly, Israel is a democratic society with a universal national service system that elevates the disadvantaged to the status where they can compete for professional training with children from middle-class families. A major social problem is that everyone wants to be a doctor, lawyer, or college professor; as a result, many citizens are bitter because they must accept skilled and unskilled worker status.

When the disadvantaged pull themselves up by their bootstraps to professional positions, they often leave the ghettos where they are most needed. A national service program that meets the needs of the disadvantaged youth must be geared to arrest this trend. A study of a program conducted by the military in Turkey showed that the disadvantaged do return to the farm to help local farmers even after they have seen Paris.⁵⁵

While we might take disadvantaged youths into national service, they might tend to feel that their middle-class counterparts were born with Cadillacs and Ph.D.'s in their cribs. National service in itself implies

promise that, if a man develops his potential, he will find an appropriate position when he returns to the community. The promise cannot always be kept. For example, in 1965 the Department of Labor reported that the unemployment rate was higher among Negro high school graduates than among Negroes in the same age brackets who had dropped out of school. Perhaps similar inequities in the labor market itself are responsible in part for the failure of many Job Corps graduates to find employment in the vocations for which they were trained. The question of whether the nation needs to create more jobs instead of providing training remains unsettled. National service must be based on the premise that it will not be resolved.

As John W. Gardner has written, "No system which issues an open invitation to every youngster to 'shoot high' can avoid facing the fact that room at the top is limited. Donald Peterson reports that four-fifths of our young people aspire to high level jobs, of which there are only enough to occupy one-fifth of our labor force. Such figures conceal a tremendous amount of human disappointment."⁵⁶

Complete rehabilitation in national service will require continuous instruction about the difference between the ideals and realities of our society. Whether national service would be preparing our youth for phony jobs that will be outmoded before they are artificially created is a question beyond the scope of this paper. But a national service program with educational and rehabilitative components such as suggested here would prepare youths to fill jobs that will exist--that exist now and too often go unfilled--until poverty has been abolished.

NATIONAL SERVICE: ACTIVITIES AND CRITERIA

Workshop Discussion Summary

Chairman: Charles H. Stoddard, Director, The Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty

Panelists: Ruth M. Amen, Director of Program Development, Camp Fire Girls, Inc.; Neil Boyer, Project Director, Volunteers to America, Department of State; Georgia Delano, representing the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service; John Naisbitt; Felix J. Rimberg

This workshop met with the purpose of specifying the principles that should be used to determine the eligibility of government and private activities for inclusion within a decentralized national service program. The initial assumption that a service experience is a desirable part of all young people's development and that it should therefore be made available to as large a segment of this age group as possible was summarized by Mrs. Delano.

Anyone who has had the experience of a creative volunteer period knows what it means to work, produce, and be effective in a manner satisfactory to one's own measures. Money, credits, degrees are just not involved. What this kind of experience adds to your life makes you want to give as many people as possible the chance to have a similar opportunity.

Miss Amen extended recognition of the personal value of such an experience to an assertion of young people's reciprocal desire to serve in worthwhile projects.

I believe we can say with confidence that many young people are service minded. They will seek ways to fulfill this drive by engaging in activities which give them personal satisfaction as well as an opportunity to serve others.

The panelists' conviction as to the benefits of a service experience to

the individual and young peoples' desire to serve was seen to be complemented by society's urgent need for their efforts in the fields of education, health, conservation, and community service.

CRITERIA FOR APPROVAL OF NATIONAL SERVICE ACTIVITIES

Given the interlocking needs of society, service agencies, and youth, it was felt that criteria should be established to determine the kinds of activities that would meet the prerequisites of all three groups and would satisfy the objectives of the national service concept. The programs seeking approval might be sponsored by public or private organizations, or perhaps be initiated by the individual himself. In view of such diversity of needs, sponsorship, and program content, it is necessary to establish broadly conceived principles for judging the relevance of these activities to the goals of a nationwide operation.

The workshop agreed that a component of service should be the first and fundamental requisite of all national service activities, regardless of the extent to which training and rehabilitation were also provided. Mr. Naisbitt stated that the shortcomings of the Job Corps, almost exclusively a training program, were largely a consequence of the lack of opportunity for underprivileged youth to recoup self-respect through giving service as well as receiving training. "The educationally disadvantaged young people," he said, "need the self-esteem that could be derived from national service at least as much as they need literacy and vocational skills." A chance for all youth, regardless of background, to perform socially recognized service and thus to enhance the feeling of integration and participation in society was regarded as essential by all workshop members.

Mrs. Delano stressed that programs included in national service must

allow young people to serve in ways which are consistent with their individual consciences as well as overall program objectives. "If these young people are given an opportunity that they believe permits them to confront problems directly without compromising their integrity, they'll choose to participate in volunteer programs," she said. She stressed that the individual must have as much freedom as possible in choosing his national service activity.

Another criterion set forth by the workshop for determining the relevance of an activity to national service objectives was that it be consistent with the manpower and welfare needs of society as well as the aims of the particular agency--that the work performed be socially valid and not "make-work." Mrs. Delano pointed out that young people would quickly become disillusioned with the program if they did not feel their jobs were valuable to society.

Most young people, especially those in the protest groups in Berkeley, the rebels with a cause, are looking for a positive way to put their passions to work; but the way must be effective because these young people just won't pretend that they're doing a job when they're not doing one.

Mr. Stoddard agreed with the importance of instilling in participants a sense of the societal value of the service contributed and suggested that society should concretely acknowledge service performed by "giving some kind of credit--draft credit or college credit--for national service."

Mr. Rimberg proposed as another stipulation for programs seeking to receive national service participants the provision of on-the-job training and evaluation. "The agency is getting the services of the volunteers; in return it should consciously provide a continuing training program." Mr.

Naisbitt added that training should be geared primarily to meeting individual needs. National service would equip some young people with basic literary skills; others might learn a vocational skill; the more educationally advantaged might be trained to supervise the work of their agency. Mr. Rimberg emphasized that there would have to be a continuing evaluation of the performance of the national service participants as well as a check on the receiving agency's fulfillment of the specified criteria. "There must be some sort of evaluative mechanism to sort out both exploitative agencies and incapable volunteers." To insure effective training and evaluation, he added: "It is important to have a clearly identified competent supervisor for each national service participant. They should always be placed with at least one other 'careerist' so they can learn from each other."

Workshop participants also felt cross-cultural exposure to be an essential component of all national service activities. Mr. Naisbitt referred to studies which have shown that the culturally alienated adopt the prevailing values of a society only by living and working with persons who live according to those values. Rather than following the model of programs such as the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps, which are narrowly restricted to those from low-income families, he said, "National service must be democratic and integrating rather than separating the advantaged and disadvantaged." He advocated an integrated program of national service whereby young people would be able to move into various branches as they become qualified to do so. He charged that discrimination against the disadvantaged is evidenced by the fact that Peace Corps Volunteers are given larger readjustment allowances than Job Corps trainees, and reiterated that "national service

must be egalitarian in that all youths would receive equal prestige and other rewards for equal achievement in degrees of excellence."

Mr. Boyer raised the issue of a standardization of length-of-service term. Most workshop participants felt that national service should be contractual to protect both the agency and the volunteer, but there were varying opinions as to how long the time period should be. The majority appeared to agree with Mr. Rimberg's statement that "we could program a certain amount of flexibility into the length of duty. It wouldn't have to be two years for everyone. We might experiment with measuring emotional maturity and using that as the basis for time of entrance rather than age in years." Mr. Boyer's inquiries as to whether the programs accepted should be full or part time and whether participants must live away from home were similarly viewed as dependent on each individual situation.

SPONSORSHIP OF NATIONAL SERVICE

On the basis of their consensus that programs included in national service would have to meet certain standards to insure optimal utilization of the participant's time as well as the agency's expenditures, many workshop participants foresaw at least an initial need for federal sponsorship of national service. Federal guidance in determining activity suitability was deemed vital to the maintenance of a broad perspective in judging the acceptability of programs. Mark Rosenman, Director of the Youth and College Division of the N.A.A.C.P., asked whether national service participants would be able to work in "political" or controversial projects, such as voter registration and civil rights. His question emphasized the need for federally delineated guidelines since local responsibility for choice of activities might reflect regional biases rather than national goals. David

Bourns of the National Institute of Public Affairs expressed this viewpoint:

I think there's a great chance that the kinds of things that SNCC, for example, is doing in the South and the kinds of social activities that are the most controversial politically are the ones that 10 or 15 years from now we'll see as the most valuable social service programs that have been run in the United States. I think it is important that the really valuable programs be pulled into national service; but I think there is a lot of doubt at this point about whether they would be if a national service program were developed.

Moreover, while recognizing the achievements of private agencies in the voluntary service field, many participants felt that only federal financing could enable a broad segment of the youth population to enjoy a productive service experience. Mrs. Delano gave particular stress to this position.

I'm a graduate of the American Friends Service Committee Program and I want to say that the reason that a lot of us went on from there to help with the Peace Corps and to try to get some interesting things going in the Job Corps and VISTA really boils down to the fact that these private organizations just haven't been able to respond to the needs of a large section of the population.

Some workshop participants expressed reservations about the implications of federal financing of national service, warning of possible limitations to the flexibility and responsiveness of service activities to social needs. Mrs. Delano remarked, "The fear of ponderous, slow-moving bureaucracy is one that chills the spirits of many volunteers. Voluntary programs must continue to be viable, quick-response, human-types of organizations." She added that the use of national service participants to further foreign policy aims should be avoided.

It should be understood that although some countries, including the United States, have put much of their development

assistance in a political context, there is no inherent necessity that they do so. If the major powers cannot be convinced to become selfless partisans of the world's disadvantaged, they can at least continue to insure that their most idealistic ventures of volunteers are not transformed into instruments of foreign policy.

Attention was drawn to the possibility of implementing the national service concept largely outside the federal sector.

One group consists of those who want to serve and don't know where to go. There is a group of agencies whose programs need volunteers. Then there are groups such as the Rotary Clubs which have money and want to spend it in worthwhile ways, but don't know where to spend it.

The linking of these three groups through a computer network under the direction of a private foundation would maintain private initiative in the evolution of the national service concept.

A CATALOGUE OF SERVICE OPPORTUNITIES

There was general agreement among those at the workshop that immediate steps should be taken to begin a compilation of the service opportunities currently available that should be evaluated in the context of their consistency with national service goals. Mr. Rimberg suggested that professional organizations such as the American Medical Association and the National Education Association be requested to draw up in their respective fields lists of possible service opportunities for young people, together with the training requirements and aptitudes that they believe are necessary to perform these tasks. Mr. Stoddard agreed with the need for a central source of information on organizations and programs that currently sponsor service projects.

There is a need for a central clearing office, either in a federal agency or voluntary group, which would make available to young people information on the many kinds of voluntary service opportunities open to them. This central office, through announcements on campuses and among youth organizations, could publicize the names of the sponsoring organizations and the work for which they need volunteers.

These measures were recommended by most participants as worthy of immediate implementation. Preliminary catalogues of existing service opportunities would then serve as a starting point for setting up a national service computer system that would match young people with available service openings.

CONCLUSIONS

The workshop agreed on the value of a service experience for young people and on the needs of society for the kinds of service youth could perform. The first set of criteria that should be imposed on a program of national service would call for service experiences that were in keeping with the needs and goals of the individual, the agency in which he served, and society as a whole. While most programs would include elements of education and training, some form of service to society would have to be an integral part of all activities. Most approved activities, whether at home or abroad, would be in the fields of education, health, conservation, and various forms of community service.

Initially, federal sponsorship was seen to be needed because only it has the financial resources to launch a large-scale program and only it has the breadth of perspective to judge the worth of activities to society as a whole. Further, federal sponsorship would provide for a high degree of mobility for young people who might not find the most appropriate activity

near home.

Limitations would have to be imposed on the power of the federal government so as to ensure the integrity of agencies receiving national service participants. One possibility would be to restrict to the federal government only those responsibilities for administration and funding not assumed by the agencies receiving participants.

The group recommended a compilation of existing service opportunities that would be distributed nationally. Such a list would be useful to persons seeking a wide range of service activities that are now open to them, and would, in a sense, be a trial run for indicating the number and kinds of openings for which national service participants are needed.

Mr. Stoddard concluded by saying that a primary result of national service should be the development of young people capable of dealing effectively with modern society and that this consideration should be the major determinant in establishing criteria for selection of national service activities. He said, "One of the great things that could come out of a national service program would be that it would stimulate and provide future political, social, and civic leadership which we really don't have today."

6

THE ORGANIZATION OF NATIONAL SERVICE

Many parts of a national service organization already exist. Several federally sponsored agencies--five of which, the Peace Corps, VISTA, the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and the Teacher Corps, are described in this chapter--and thousands of private and community service organizations are fulfilling vital roles in meeting some of the nation's most pressing needs. Service agencies have evolved in various ways: two federal programs embodying national service ideals, the Civilian Conservation Corps (1933-1942) and the Peace Corps, were born almost overnight, while many private programs have moved gradually in developing their functions in serving society. The effectiveness of any program in responding to society's needs is less dependent on the length of its gestation period than on the extent to which it has the breadth of purpose and operational flexibility to adapt itself to the changing needs of society. Statements presented in this chapter by high officials of five federal programs outline some of the possible problems and values involved in linking each agency with a nationwide program of youth service as described in Appendix A.

The nature of the relationship between the national service participant and his professional supervisor and between the service agency and the central body will help to determine the success of any national service program. Felix Rimberg of Temple University defines what he considers to be the desirable professional-participant relationship and recommends ten guiding principles for the organizers of national service. Messrs. Hagedorn,

Josephson, and Wilson have drawn on their experiences in government and business to describe administrative functions and responsibilities in the early stages of a national service program.

While domestic needs can be expected to place the greatest demands on national service, overseas needs and linkages cannot be overlooked. In fact, we may have something to learn from the national service programs developed in other nations as outlined by Terrence Cullinan of Stanford Research Institute. William Delano of the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service suggests guiding principles for the construction of a truly international service.

The workshop session on "National Service: Centralized or Decentralized" became a debate between advocates of a strong central direction with comprehensive administrative functions and proponents of a cooperative relationship among a central authority, the local agency, and the national service participant. The creation of a central body was generally viewed as at least a temporary need, its major justification being its ability to extend to the largest possible group of young people the opportunity to contribute service.

NATIONAL SERVICE AND FEDERAL AGENCIES

THE TEACHER CORPS

Richard Graham

I first became interested in the national service concept about five years ago. At that time I wrote a memorandum to Sargent Shriver suggesting that he ask Henry Luce to devote a special issue of Life Magazine to national service. I suggested that we ask for articles from Adlai Stevenson, then United States Ambassador to the United Nations, President Kennedy, the Pope, and other world leaders in which they would call on every young person in the world to devote two years of his life to serving humanity. I proposed this because I was then director of recruitment for the Peace Corps, and we were in tough shape! It turned out, though, that nothing succeeds like your successor, and the Peace Corps was able to do its recruiting without national service at the time.

The National Teacher Corps and the Peace Corps were born of the same parents, that is to say of spirit and dedication. Sometimes I think the Teacher Corps was disowned shortly after birth, but, as a recent Life editorial said of the Teacher Corps, "at these prices it is the best bargain in education today"--a statement that we find difficult to argue with.

The National Teacher Corps operates in much the same way as the Peace Corps. Costs are shared--about 90 per cent federal and 10 per cent or more local funds. The invitation for Teacher Corps participation must come directly from the local community. The initiative for program development is a local

Richard Graham is Director of the Teacher Corps.

responsibility. Through the combination of a local university, school system, and a state school officer a proposal will be developed that meets the needs of the community.

The Teacher Corps is a program to train teachers and to get them in the schools where they are needed most. Today in this nation about one-fifth of our school age youth is not getting a proper education. That represents some 40 million people, a quantity greater than the populations of all but a very few of the Peace Corps countries around the world. Here in the United States the teacher's life in many of the slum schools borders on the intolerable. Classes are oversized, facilities and staff are inadequate, disciplinary problems are acute. There is a turnover of some 30 per cent of first-year teachers in all schools; in the slum schools the percentage is higher. Some 50 per cent of the teachers in these ghetto areas say they want to "get out."

The Teacher Corps, then, is an attempt to train people to go to work in these schools, to train them so well that they will find sufficient job satisfaction to stay on after completing their two-year contract and to make this a life's work--a kind of Peace Corps plus.

The program helps the slum school in other ways. The Teacher Corps interns serve initially as tutors or as assistant teachers, but very shortly they become junior members of teaching teams. They are college graduates who have chosen not only to become teachers, but teachers of the disadvantaged. During their two-year service, they are enrolled in a local university and are simultaneously working toward a master's degree. It is essentially a type of graduate fellowship program.

During their time on the job they are under the wing of an experienced teacher, generally someone from that local school system who is nominated by

the principal or the school superintendent. This experienced teacher serves as the leader of a team of interns. In addition to working with the Teacher Corps interns he may also help in the adjustment of other first-year teachers. This new role offers additional status to mature professionals, thereby encouraging them to remain in the school system.

I think I have by now seen almost a third of the Teacher Corps programs currently operating. There are probably schools in the United States--in Newark, Harlem, Boston, and Chicago--that offer challenges as great as any found in the Peace Corps anywhere in the world.

This coming year Teacher Corps participants will receive a stipend equivalent to that paid a person on a graduate fellowship. They will find it just as hard to exist on that allowance in New York City as a Peace Corps volunteer does in any of the countries that I know of. They will find an assignment in Rio Grande City, Texas, almost indistinguishable from that in a village in Peru or Colombia, or a post on an Indian reservation little different from one in Indian towns in parts of Latin America--except perhaps that the school dropout rate is higher here.

If an attempt is made to equate the Teacher Corps experience with national service, some difficulties will arise. First, there are many other young men and women who aspire to be teachers but have to wash dishes, bell-hop, or find other means to put themselves through school. It becomes difficult to justify the recognition of the Teacher Corps as national service while not accepting other, equally difficult routes to becoming a teacher in slum schools. Secondly, there are other teacher intern programs that are like the Teacher Corps. Still other programs use high school and college people as aides or sixth- and seventh-graders as tutors for first- and second-graders. Not only

are these helpers doing a good job, but it has been found that this is the best way for them to learn. If we propose to set age 16 as the bottom limit for national service, it will be hard to distinguish between the contribution made by a 16-year-old national service teacher aide and the service rendered by the 13- or 14-year-old teacher aide. These complications are by no means insoluble, but they will require serious study.

I think if we are agreed on anything it is that the concept of national service will be good for the nation because it is good for the individuals involved. The idea of a universal registration has great merit because it will require citizens to ask themselves this question, "Should I be involved in a program of voluntary national service?" If we ask this question sufficiently well, very substantial numbers of young men and women will answer "yes." The posing of this question on a national scale can become the most effective kind of career counseling, for it offers choices to millions of young people who would not otherwise consider a variety of careers. In this changing, more affluent world, people who once felt they must embark upon their careers at the age of 17, 18, or 21 are beginning to realize that this need not be so.

National service is a pause time, a thinking time. Thousands of young people don't know it means them when we ask, "Will you join the Peace Corps, VISTA or the Teacher Corps?" If they are offered the challenge of national service, many hundreds of thousands of these young people will consider and join, and will find they have more choices in life than they ever dreamed.

THE PEACE CORPS

Al Carp

I feel somewhat awkward in addressing myself to the topic, the Peace Corps, because there are so many readers of this volume who have in some ways a more intimate relationship with the Peace Corps than I have had to date. There are those who helped to write the initial act, and who went overseas with and supervised the first cadres of volunteers--and some of us have been giving them trouble ever since! I feel somewhat at a loss, too, because I am really in no position to speak for the Peace Corps. The Peace Corps is still a fairly open society, dialogue and argument go on constantly, and it is very difficult at any given moment to say what the official position of the Peace Corps is. I feel somewhat awkward, too, about our being identified as "a federal program." The Peace Corps has always felt as if it were a kind of maverick, and we hate to be put in the position of being "the oldest federally sponsored national volunteer program in existence!"

Moreover, I feel bad enough when I read that the maximum age for successful communication with the younger generation is 35. In some discussions this morning I find that the age limit has been lowered to 30, so I am even further away from being able to communicate with the younger generation, the group with whom we are really concerned. The questions I should like to discuss deal with the potential impact of a nationwide service program on Peace Corps operations, with the parameters and the kind of cooperative relationships that

Al Carp is Director of the Office of Selection, the Peace Corps.

might be developed between the Peace Corps and a national service program.

On the parochial level I would say that the Peace Corps' primary concern is to continue as a voluntary program, not only in name but in meaning. Both Jack Vaughn and Sargent Shriver before him have emphasized the unique role of the volunteer and the necessity that he go overseas with a freely offered commitment--in fact, that he renew that commitment almost daily. We are constantly searching for ways to ensure that it is a truly voluntary service commitment. Any set of conditions that introduces an element of compulsion detracts from the effectiveness of the Peace Corps in discharging its overseas responsibilities. However, within that one relatively minor constraint, I think the Peace Corps' ability to cooperate in a wide variety of ways with a voluntary national service program is relatively limitless.

Certainly we would cooperate with national classification centers in making known our personnel requirements and selection criteria. We would continue, nevertheless, to be a kind of provincial organization and insist that the final responsibility for selecting volunteers rest with the Peace Corps, so that only we would make a contract with the qualified individual. It is also important to bear in mind that the Peace Corps is not involved with one large target population. It focuses primarily on the 21-to-28 age range. We do not anticipate substantial opportunities at the moment for the inclusion of large numbers of individuals in the age group of 18 to 20 years. We currently are conducting a few small pilot programs with this younger group, but I am talking about thousands or tens of thousands in this age range.

We do have programs underway involving notable cooperation with federal agencies composed largely of this younger age cohort. For example, we recently sent overseas as full-fledged volunteers a small contingent of Job Corps

graduates who participated in a training program for Malaysia to serve as vocational instructors. I might mention that we suggested one particular Job Corpsman be placed in a Malay-speaking school because he spoke better Malay than he did English. This summer we are embarking on a cooperative program with VISTA. The Peace Corps will recruit 500 college juniors to serve as VISTA associates in community development projects. Their summer experience in this training program will be used to shorten and sharpen their formal Peace Corps training the next year. These kinds of information, training, and program exchanges could be maximized under the concept of a national voluntary service.

In the halls of the Peace Corps we have discussed at length the relationship of the Peace Corps to the draft as it now operates and as it may function in the future. Peace Corps Director Jack Vaughn has expressed his personal view that in this day and age Peace Corps service should certainly be recognized as of equal value as military service. He has said that he would without hesitation recommend that three years of Peace Corps service be seen as the equivalent of military service and the placing of returned volunteers far down on the order of call. He feels that there is no reason in the national interest for discriminating against Peace Corps or similar types of service.

Some of the more timid individuals in the Peace Corps are concerned about the problems that might arise as a result of recognizing the Peace Corps as a service alternative. The Peace Corps is reasonably convinced that now and for the past several years very few volunteers have joined primarily to avoid the draft. On the other hand, we do know that many individuals have given up secure graduate-student deferments to come with the Peace Corps. When we utilize an objective indicator of the effect of the draft on the Peace Corps--the ratio of male to female applicants--we find that the percentages of each

have remained relatively constant over the last five years (about 55 per cent males to 45 per cent females), independent of draft quotas. It is true that many of our volunteers are aware of the draft. But, when we interview them and ask whether they would apply if there were no draft, the overwhelming majority respond positively, declaring emphatically their desire to "do something," even when faced with possible conscription upon return from overseas service. Considering the circumstances under which these questions are posed, the replies must be cautiously interpreted; however, similar impressions have been gained from a large number of respondents from a cross section of youths.

From the point of view of the Peace Corps, we must consider that its recognition as a substitute for, or equivalent of, military service might complicate the agency's selection job, for it would involve the issue of motivation. For my own part, I am less concerned with this question of "real motivation." I am bothered far more by the youth who claims wholly altruistic reasons for joining than I am by the person who admits he wants to help others and at the same time satisfy his desire for adventure and excitement. These mixed feelings are certainly a part of a desire to serve as a volunteer. These same motivations would be a fundamental aspect of participation in a voluntary national service program. They should therefore be recognized, accepted, and effectively directed into activities that allow mutual satisfaction and benefit to the individual and society.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

Jack Howard

There is a neat dichotomy here that will help me launch into a consideration of the orientations of the Bureau of Work Programs. Others have dealt with educated, trained, and highly motivated individuals voluntarily serving the community in anti-poverty programs. We in the Labor Department are dealing with the reverse--the unmotivated, unprepared, ill-educated. We are seeking to instill in them some service motivation and, in the bargain, perhaps to provide some service to the community. These differences in schematic intention are not that clear-cut, of course, because there are obvious overlaps and rub-off effects.

However, that they do exist may be more evident as I sketch briefly the scope of existing activities in the Bureau of Work Programs, before considering the ramifications of these differences in objectives.

Our major program geared to the youth population is the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which has been in existence since the fall of 1964. While it deals with individuals in community service, the actual service rendered to the community is viewed as a by-product of the assistance and opportunity provided to the individual, rather than as the main thrust of the program.

It is a double-faceted project, with both an in-school and out-of-school program. In the latter case the emphasis is on youths 16 through 21

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years who have not completed high school and are unemployed, who do not possess all the little bits of paper that are so important in our society.

Neighborhood Youth Corps provides, through local agencies but at federal expense, job opportunities in public service fields such as health and education in assistance capacities to professionals.

The motivation for program participation is primitive economics coupled with some counseling to produce an understanding and awareness of the need for additional training through which the individual can achieve his potential rather than be relegated to the cycle of unemployment, poverty, and nonparticipation in society. If, in passing, the community profits from such service, we have got a larger bang for the buck. However, the emphasis is on benefits received by the individual serving.

This fact perhaps partially differentiates the Neighborhood Youth Corps from the other programs described here. Our in-school programs may parallel more closely their highly motivated kinds of undertakings. In this program we provide part-time employment for youths in order that they may be introduced to the world of work, may learn to understand the requirements of this world, and can earn enough to finish school.

A basic rationale for the in-school program is that these earnings will assist in keeping the young people in school as long as it is meaningful to them. Many of our enrollees in the out-of-school program, at least 35 percent, indicate that they dropped out of school for economic reasons; they had to go to work to help support the family.

In size, the in- and out-of-school programs are not equivalent to the other federal projects under discussion. The in-school program includes approximately 140,000 youths from across the nation. It is currently limited

to the 16-through-21 age group, although Congress recently authorized us to go down to 14 years of age. The out-of-school program involves about 70,000 young people, most of whom are 17 or 18 years of age.

Moving up the age scale to adult-oriented programs is the so-called new-careers amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act. The objectives of these undertakings may be more analogous to the kinds of programs encompassed in the national service concept. This legislation provides public service training and jobs with a view to developing new entry requirements, new career potentials, and new promotional and occupational opportunities.

The intention is to break down restricted and outmoded employment patterns in the areas of health, welfare, and education by introducing persons on a federally subsidized work operation. The expectation is that, on the basis of demonstrated training and performance benefits, the institutions will be motivated to accept this new source of manpower.

This program is about to get under way after months of debate between the Labor Department and Office of Economic Opportunity. It will be geared to persons 22 years of age and older. For the first year we will be running at a total value of about \$36 million. We are not sure how many training and job opportunities can be created with this limited funding, but we probably will be dealing with not more than seven to ten thousand young people.

I have not mentioned two other Bureau of Work Programs activities, one of which deals with chronically unemployed older persons and the other, the so-called Special Impact Program, which covers the waterfront, because these would merely serve to intensify some of the concerns already noted. Clearly, it seems to me that the implications of national service for the scope of all Bureau programs is substantial. However, the potential impact of national

service must be considered in terms of program objectives.

First, it must be remembered that the primary qualification for individuals to benefit from Economic Opportunity Act programs is to be "disadvantaged." These programs are intended for the people who have not made it, who have not learned to use their best, if limited, abilities in the world of work.

These are not even the highly motivated, intelligent people who are investigating many career paths. They are the people who don't know about the paths or even that there is a crossroads. The Neighborhood Youth Corps is not dealing with the kinds of people who enter prepared to serve and to assume substantial responsibilities. Thus, to the degree that service institutions are looking for persons to help out for a year or two or three, their objectives do not correspond with those of programs operated under the Economic Opportunity Act. Instead, we ask that the sponsoring organization be prepared to teach, train, and give of itself to the individual who is coming to work with it.

There is room for all kinds of opportunities. In the case of the tens of thousands of Neighborhood Youth Corpsmen now working in hospitals across the nation, however, I would not foresee their suddenly being replaced by other national servicemen. A great deal of care should be taken so that newly evolved national service activities would not get in the way of, or reduce the opportunities for, development of new careers or the new kinds of jobs that are funded by other pieces of legislation.

Perhaps the old, tired work of coordination comes into play here. I think it is important to recognize that there is already a commitment by the Congress and the Administration to the development of manpower resources

among the disadvantaged. This commitment may operate alongside a commitment to a program of voluntary national service. There is room for both. Surely the experience of the last two and a half years of the Economic Opportunity Act undertakings can be brought to play in designing the most effective utilization of national service resources.

Basically, national service can work. There is a role to be played in assisting in community needs. We know that the unmet demands are numerous in health, education, welfare, and public safety. The demands are pressing. The question is how best to evolve a mechanism to mesh with existing programs in meeting the needs of the individual and of the community without unnecessary disruption.

THE JOB CORPS

David Squire

Before projecting the potential impact of national service on the Job Corps, I would like to sketch a few basic facts about our program. We are, in a sense, the bottom of the barrel. We start at the lower level of where the Neighborhood Youth Corps leaves off, so our orientation relates more closely to that agency than to any of the others represented by the panelists. The Job Corps includes young men and women aged 16 through 21 who are drop-outs from everything. There are now about 35,000 in the Corps, of whom 7,000 are women. Sixty percent come from urban areas and about 40 percent from rural environments. Ethnically the ratios are 53 percent Negro, 30 percent Caucasian, and 17 percent Puerto Rican, Mexican, Oriental, Indian, and all others. Fifty-five percent at the present time are 16 and 17 years old; 35 percent are 18 and 19 years old.

Job Corps youths are highly motivated to succeed, a fact that has been distorted in the public view, but have a very low self-concept. They don't even know how to approach a path to success. They are drifters. Of course, they have to be from "poor" backgrounds in terms of the definition of poverty as a family of four earning \$3,100 or less annually. Ninety-nine percent are dropouts from high school, 55 percent are from broken homes, about 60 percent are from families on relief, and about 50 percent have only one parent. These youngsters have completed seven years of schooling on the average, but

David Squire was formerly Deputy Director of the Job Corps.

their reading level averages grade 4.7. Forty-seven percent of those who were eligible for the military have been rejected for either mental or physical reasons.

The Job Corps is primarily run by a unique partnership of government and private industry. The "blue ribbon" corporations of American industry, plus a few educational and non-profit institutions, under contract with the federal government, are administering our urban centers. Federal agencies are running our conservation centers--the Department of Agriculture through its Forest Service and the Department of Interior through various bureaus. The Job Corps program consists of basic education, vocational training, and teaching of social skills--that is, how to get along in the world. It is a 24-hour-a-day, seven-day-a-week program, and trainees stay an average of nine months.

The rate of achievement of Corpsmen is about 250 percent of this population group's success in the public school system. This is a result not only of the innovative teaching methods used but of the fact that we have them in a controlled environment. Of our graduates, about 73 percent go into jobs, 10 percent into the military, and 17 percent back to school. We have a small contingent of graduates who have become eligible for and have entered VISTA and the Peace Corps; about 75 have assumed positions with the Job Corps as staff members.

In our conservation centers 50 percent of the time is spent in useful work experience, such as developing natural resources on federal land, forests, and park land. To date, from an appraised value standpoint, about \$30,000,000 worth of natural resources have been added to the value of the country. This is, in a sense, national service.

We have been working to extend the concept of a service component to our urban centers, which do not specifically incorporate this element in their activities. We have initiated community projects on a voluntary basis through which Job Corpsmen can spend part of their time in youthful service activities sponsored by the community. I should mention that, remarkably, many of our youngsters on their own time, their so-called free time, had already voluntarily devoted themselves to many community projects: flood and tornado relief work in Missouri, baby-sitting, and assistance to schools, among others. They have been educated by their service experience with the result that their self-concept has been positively altered.

The concept of service has spread to the communities themselves, resulting in the reciprocal voluntary assistance to Job Corpsmen by local residents. We have about 10,000 women who belong to Women in Community Service, an organization of the four major women's national organizations. These women have served as unpaid volunteers in the recruiting and screening of girls for the Women's Job Corps. In various centers such as the one in Wellfleet, Massachusetts, community people have contributed time as tutors to our youngsters who want extra remedial help in reading or mathematics. We have community relations councils in the communities surrounding all our 116 centers, and these are made up of 1,200 citizens.

There is also a more formally structured system of assistance, for example work-study programs which coordinate prospective teachers' college curriculum with work as instructors at Job Corps centers. This program, sponsored by the National Education Association with some funds from us, brings teachers to live in a conservation center for a year. They live under conditions of hardship, often in trailers out in rural areas. The second year they

return to their home communities to discuss with local community action agencies what they have learned about motivating and teaching the disadvantaged.

The potential impact of a voluntary program of national service would be three-pronged: on the participating youth, on the institution itself, and on society in general. Youngsters in the Job Corps would be fundamentally the recipients. They would no longer be ghettoized in Job Corps centers, for national service would bring middle-class and high-income young people to these same centers. Under the plan put forth by the National Service Secretariat (Appendix A), I would envision the proposed summer training camps and placement centers utilizing the facilities of the Job Corps centers. This would produce a cross-fertilization and intermingling. Each youth would immediately be exposed to the kinds of experiences that are applicable to the real world. Job Corpsmen would feel they were part of a broader group and not see themselves classified as poor kids huddled together to be trained. They would make faster progress. Seeing other people working alongside them would be a bridge to their own maturity. Some of these disadvantaged young people might eventually participate in national service as staff members in the Job Corps centers themselves. If a voluntary service program were to be nationally recognized, enrollment in the Job Corps would become an accepted status symbol rather than a stigma for "poor, dumb kids."

The implications of national service for the institution itself, for the Job Corps, are multiple. First, we would tend to lower our cost by working together with national service in utilizing our facilities. As a residential program the Job Corps has all the necessary hardware for national service training. It would be more efficient to utilize our experience as well as our physical facilities and staff. Second, a cooperative relationship

with national service would raise our public image by demonstrating to the society the value of the program for both the educated and underprivileged participant. The Job Corps would no longer be shunned by many of the disadvantaged who view it as a "program for the poor"; they would be willing and eager to enter a national service activity. Thirdly, the infusion of a multi-class, multiskilled cross section of youth would broaden the social effectiveness of the Job Corps. The Job Corps already has the most integrated school system in the United States, mingling youngsters from the hollows of Appalachia and the slums of Atlanta with those from Iowa, Nevada, and Harlem. Through its relationship with a national service program, the Job Corps would be able to draw on people from all backgrounds and abilities, though maintaining an emphasis on the disadvantaged. The initiation of a national service program, therefore, would enable the Job Corps to expand its involvement in community projects and in federal land and natural resource work.

Finally, I believe national service promises a unique means for revising and revitalizing our country's educational system. As far as the rehabilitative and teaching responsibilities of the Job Corps are concerned, the use of national servicemen as staff members of the centers would teach many of our young citizens how to work with and motivate the underprivileged. This experience may encourage them to enter the teaching profession and thus provide urgently needed and particularly sensitive staff for ghetto schools. It would surely broaden their understanding of the disadvantaged component of the society. Regardless of the career field they choose after service--perhaps even that of Congressional lobbyist--they would be better able to help society turn around its binoculars and rid itself of constricting stereotypes. If the impact of national service on our young citizens, on agencies

such as the Job Corps, and on the society as a whole even approaches the magnitude I have suggested, its contribution would be invaluable.

VISTA

Donald Brown

A National Service Corps is not an abstract concept at the present time. In fact, today we already have a National Service Corps. The opportunities for voluntary national service with federal government funding have grown in number and scope since the inauguration of the Peace Corps in 1961. The implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was a watershed in the role of the government in the evolution of voluntary national service. We have thousands of Americans--young, middle-aged, old, wealthy, middle-class and poor--who are serving their fellow man and at the same time contributing to their own, their nation's, and the world's futures.

In little more than two years nearly 6,200 men and women have lent a hand at self-help in 411 local communities as VISTA volunteers. We hope by this summer to have 15,000 part-time volunteers serving in their own communities in the VISTA Citizens Corps. In the past six years more than 27,000 Peace Corps volunteers have been active in 56 countries. Since 1964 more than 250,000 citizens in nearly 600 communities have volunteered their total involvement in the remarkably successful Head Start Program. Within a year of its launching, the National Teacher Corps has sent more than 1,200 experienced and intern teachers to the children in slums and hollows. We have thousands more Americans devoting their time and energies to community action programs and to other public and private social agencies operating throughout

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the country. There is no doubt about it; the National Service Corps is no longer only a concept.

The work and spirit of these thousands of Americans offer proof that national volunteer service has assumed a significant and growing role in American society. The federal government is trying to put the idealism and resources of the American people to work in pursuit of these aims. This does not at all mean that national service should or could be strangled in a maze of bureaucracy, and it currently is not. All of the federal programs I mentioned before as dependent on the service of volunteers are predicated on local supervision and direction. All of the efforts that are generated by these programs are undertaken by local communities and are directed toward the specific needs of those communities.

For a vivid example let me refer to the VISTA program. At present there are 3,400 VISTA volunteers serving with 411 projects in 48 of the 50 states. Every one of these volunteers has been requested by the local community with the approval of the state's governor. Each of the VISTA volunteers is doing not what he or she is told to do by VISTA national headquarters but what needs to be done for the local community as determined by the project leader. We prefer to call this taking part in dynamic economic and social partnership with the local communities and agencies through community development an organization at the grass-roots level.

Existing voluntary public service programs could absorb, indeed they need, millions more volunteers if they are to tackle this nation's unfinished business. Private social service efforts that have little or no relation with public programs need the assistance of more than one million additional volunteers and could adjust the number and scope of their programs and

services to the increase in manpower. Public programs also need the assistance of millions more Americans. OEO programs alone called for more than 120,000 VISTA volunteers in this fiscal year. But the total actual need for volunteers in the War on Poverty probably exceeds one million. In recent testimony, Peace Corps Director Jack Vaughn said that in the next five years there could be 50,000 Peace Corps volunteers serving abroad. Therefore, the need and the opportunity for voluntary national service is great. Our task now is to instill the spirit of voluntarism in every citizen throughout our nation.

With this goal in mind, VISTA has just launched a campaign to recruit 100,000 part-time volunteers for the calendar year 1968. But VISTA's Citizen Corps is just one effort. Many more are needed. Here, again, the soil is fertile. There is a recent Gallup Poll that shows that three out of every four Americans would like to help in the Unwon War. if only they knew how. We have the resources to respond to our national needs. An existing voluntary national service program such as VISTA provides the base on which national service can grow into a truly universal program of voluntary service.

In discussions of the volunteer in national service, just emphasis has been placed on the role of youth. Their idealism and the advantages of contemporary education make them invaluable to the nation's welfare. But we must not forget the contributions that all segments of society can make. The poor, as well as the rich, have a part to play in America's Unwon War. The nation has much to benefit from its senior citizens as well as its youth. National service must mean the service of all citizens, not just one economic class or age group. The nation needs, and our traditions will not allow less than, total involvement by the whole society. Quality must be the byword of national service. This means not only educational quality, but personal qualities,

character qualities, practical qualities, and the quality of giving.

A few concluding points, however, should be noted. First, voluntarism is essential to the national service concept. There must be no compulsory elements actually or tacitly incorporated. Secondly, exemption from military service is not necessarily a key to any one of these programs. Voluntary national service in federal programs is not dependent on its acceptance as an alternative to the obligation of military service. The President's National Advisory Commission on Selective Service only recently conducted a study and concluded that such service cannot be considered as an alternative to military service. The draft seems to have had little harmful effect on VISTA's recruitment or service effort; in time of peace not only would the draft seem to pose no threat to a national service program, but it would seem to have little relevance at all. Moreover, when the Armed Forces implement the President's recommendation to call up the youngest males eligible for military service first, the uncertainty regarding one's eventual military obligation will be substantially reduced. Likewise, any adverse effect that such uncertainty has on available manpower for national service will be eliminated.

My third point is that national service should not be thought of as only male service, or youth service. Women have a great deal to offer, senior citizens have a great deal to offer, and both should be brought in. VISTA represents an effective microcosm. Its volunteers come from the ranks of the poor as well as those of the middle class; there have been activities, recruiting drives and selections, particularly from the poor in Puerto Rico, Harlem, Philadelphia, and Appalachia, that have proved to be extraordinarily successful. It actively involves private agencies and foundations as well as state and local governments. They are the sponsors; the national VISTA office

is in a sense merely a national stimulator to and clearing house for many of the activities and other groups that I have mentioned.

In conclusion I will have to confess to this group that I am a bureaucrat. There are very few of them around. However, I use that term in reference to a bureau as a place in which you store and organize things for very quick action and usage. I think that the volunteers that we're talking about in national service represent such a reservoir of untapped service. While they have a tremendous amount to offer in terms of being the point of the lance, as Mr. Shriver indicated in his book, I believe that a lance is only as good as the shaft to which it is attached. If this volunteer resource is joined to a strong professional staff with some knowledge of organization and characterized by effectiveness and a sense of direction, such a combination will make a better tool than a point of a lance or a shaft by itself.

CAREERISTS IN HUMAN SERVICES: FORMULA FOR CHANGE

Felix J. Rimberg and Dennis J. Clark

At every level of American life the prophecies of Aldous Huxley and George Orwell about the social stupor of life in 1984 in a world of bureaucracy and mechanical grimness threaten to come true. The ant-hill society of the social doomsayers is in construction. Having developed our version of the welfare state, we are dangerously lackadaisical about who will staff, guide, and serve it. Perhaps it is our emphasis on action and our aversion to philosophy that prevent us from looking to the ultimate consequences of our actions. In the last decade we have made impressive progress in setting up a whole range of new social welfare systems. Pressed by the problems of urban concentrations, minority protests, poverty and educational shortcomings, the growth in our aged population, and a number of other challenges, we have developed a variety of services to promote income, health, and personal well-being. Just who is going to play out this concert of welfare and social security we have not really determined, and this may be a tragic omission. The prospect may be regimentation in some areas and disturbing shortages in others.

WHO WILL MAN THE WELFARE STATE?

American government moved into welfare services slowly and grudgingly.

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This may be one explanation of why we have been willing to vote the programs without carefully thinking through the eventual input in talent and resources that the programs demand. It was politically expedient to yield at last to human needs after a long adherence to laissez-faire principles that forbade government intervention on behalf of social betterment, but it was not expedient to announce the full requisites of the hard-won welfare measures. The free-enterprise spirit was still too strong to permit comprehensive government planning to provide social services. The great breakthrough of the New Deal took place in the crisis atmosphere of national economic calamity. The embattled protagonists of social security of the 1930's did not have much latitude to discuss in public just who would staff and perform many of the services legislated into existence in the dark depression years. Thus, something of a national tradition was formed for passing social legislation without paying much attention to the manpower needs required to implement it. Right up into these Great Society days, we have continued to vote and fund national social programs without carefully considering just what skills, in what proportions, could be made available to carry out our public fiat.

What we suffer from is still one more hangover from the laissez faire era. We assume a vast free market of skills in our social economy. We presume that if Congress votes a program and funds are appropriated, somehow the people to carry out the program will be found, and the skills will be forthcoming through the wonderful alchemy of supply and demand, as if the profit motive operated equally and effectively in private, public, and nonprofit enterprises. Considering the complexity of the technical society in which we live and the sophistication of the services required to keep this society stable and functioning, this simplistic rationale borders on the inane. Our

country is rich enough to put up with a vast amount of miscalculation, and manpower planning is not one of our strong activities. We plan, but we fear to plan adequately. (In fact, "manpower" as a concept related to activities of the national government really comes into acceptance only with the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.) The deficiencies become highlighted only when we have some considerable national effort like the space program or Medicare, but population growth will insure that in the future we will not be able to afford major miscalculations.

The number of available skilled people equipped to preside over key programs may actually decline between now and 1970.¹ Shortages of physicians, nurses, local welfare workers, and teachers increasingly endanger the continuance and initiation of needed programs. Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz has stated that on the heels of Medicare and other new services, a shortage of one million medical workers could develop in 1966 alone.² The attraction of experimental antipoverty programs has already diverted people from jobs in old-line agencies. Federal salaries in social development work are now outbidding private salaries, and 45 per cent of the second-echelon jobs in the United States Office of Education are listed as vacant.³ These shortages in high and low echelons have led to various stop-gap programs to provide short-term relief. Thus, we have training of hospital workers under the Manpower Development and Training Act, crash training of counselors for the far-flung state employment services, and a National Teachers Corps plan at the urging of the President.

Consciousness of personnel famines in the nation's bureaucracy and welfare service exists, but it is documented in only fragmentary fashion as each agency or profession is brought to confess inadequacy. In 1954 Dael Wolfle

wrote in his work, America's Resources of Specialized Talent:

The responsibility for securing such information is widely felt. . . . But it is currently the responsibility of no agency to do the total job--to make continuing studies of supply, potential supply, and the demand for all fields of specialization, nor is it the responsibility of any agency to collate and interpret the scattered information which does become available.⁴

This statement is still true. The absence of such information has hindered comprehensive efforts aimed at alleviation of national shortages of human services manpower.

THE NEED FOR HUMAN SERVICE WORKERS

Recognizing the significance of manpower shortages in human services fields--such as health, education, welfare, public administration--the Office of Economic Opportunity commissioned a research program, in cooperation with Temple University, in 1965 aimed at this problem. As a part of this research, some comprehensive estimates of the need for and availability of human services workers (nationally and by state) were prepared for the first time.⁵

These data indicate a current (1960) shortage of human services workers of between 880,000 and 3,500,000 (depending upon the standard selected), with the medium standard indicating a deficit of 1,600,000 workers. Of particular interest is the fact that while human services workers increased in the nation (between 1950 and 1960) in an amount of approximately 1,400,000, the total deficit, again using the medium standard, also increased about 400,000. That is, the medium standard's application in 1950 indicated a shortage of some 1,200,000 workers, while the 1960 shortage nationally amounted to 1,600,000.

How can these two facts be reconciled? Why is the shortage of human

services workers increasing at the same time as the number of such workers actually employed is rising at an annual rate of some 140,000 each year? The reason for this situation is precisely that mandated human resource development programs and the expectations of the nation for human services are increasing even faster than either the nation's population or the rate of growth of employment in the human services fields.

Since this research was based largely upon standards of service currently in use, as measured by employment-population ratios in one or more states, such estimates of shortage are basically quite conservative, that is, the number of needed human service workers is understated.⁶ This is true for the following reasons:

1. Service standards, such as those used in the research, reflect not only need but practicable response to needs based upon the realities of market conditions in manpower, government budgets, and a considerable overlay of historical traditions. Hence, if actual need were to be used as the standard--as administrators of human services frequently note--the amount of needed manpower would be considerably greater than that based upon consumption standards alone.

2. The 1960 data used in the research does not reflect many of the new human services programs of the states and the federal government, such as training programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act, Medicare, Model Cities, or Office of Economic Opportunity. With each of these programs mandating additional public or quasipublic human services, additional human service manpower demand has been generated that is not reflected in the 1960 data.

In consequence, this research based on actual consumption standards is supportive of the findings of the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress that some 5.3 million new public service jobs could be created now in the fields of health services, education, national beautification, welfare and home care, public protection, urban renewal, and sanitation, and that indeed "were it not for the endemic financial stringency at (the state and local) levels of government, the employment might already have been provided."⁷ In a separate and more detailed study, the Greenleigh Report, with prime focus on questions of employment and unemployment, reported that some 4.3 million sub-professional jobs could be created in the human services fields.⁸

In summary, it appears that recently a number of ad hoc comprehensive, analytical studies have established manpower needs in human service fields on magnitudes larger than any discussed publicly in previous years. During the ten-year period 1950-1960 the nation increased its supply of employed human services workers at an annual average rate of about 140,000. While such increments, and some even greater, can be anticipated in the coming decades, they will be wholly inadequate to bridge the gap between supply and demand in the light of current estimates of human services manpower shortages on a magnitude of several millions. It is clear that a massive infusion of other than professionally trained manpower will be a part of the answer to this problem. Technology, enlarged job markets, and reduction of discriminatory practice will also play significant roles, but the next victories in the struggle to implement the nation's human resources development programs will be in the area of new career definition, recruitment, and placement.

AUGMENTING MANPOWER IN HUMAN SERVICES

Given these perspectives on human services manpower it would appear that most or all public service agencies, employers, and supervisors in education, health, welfare, and other human development fields would enthusiastically welcome the National Service System and the national service worker. As currently proposed, the National Service System would be an instrument that would not only help the volunteer and serve the national public interest, but would also provide important and valued benefits to the agencies and service systems devoted to human resource development and protection. By means of procedures similar to those currently in use by Councils of Volunteers across the nation, and by certain national programs such as the Teacher Corps, Peace Corps, or VISTA, the National Service System might be the broker linking the service systems and the vast underutilized resource for service that exists in the nation's youth. As most, if not all, of the "helping professions" consider themselves to be in short supply of manpower at virtually all levels of their operations, the infusion of a sizable number of "free," entry-level employees would appear to have a high prospect of favorable acceptance. Since widespread use of untrained volunteers of all ages in these fields is well known (from the hospital "candy-striper" to the parent acting as teacher's aide on field trips), the national service proposal (Appendix A) hardly seems capable of anything but enthusiastic reception by agency personnel and professionals who are often without adequate fiscal or manpower resources to cope with increasing demands for human resource development and conservation.

Yet the facts of widespread worker utilization through a system of national service may be quite different. Certain agency experiences with

volunteer workers, particularly youthful volunteers, must give us pause for reconsideration.⁹ First of all, there is a commonly voiced feeling among agencies that "volunteers are more bother than they are worth." While there is indeed extensive use of volunteers in the nation, review of their use indicates a concentration in certain large agencies where, over time, specific procedures and work requirements happily coexist to gain sufficient benefit from volunteers and to make the "bother" worthwhile. The Red Cross, Girl Scout, and hospital uses of volunteers may be cited as examples. But for each instance of successful current volunteer utilization, another instance may be cited where the payoff has not been demonstrated as yet.

Secondly, there is the objection on the part of certain professionals and "guilds" of professionals that many types of client work are simply too tricky or intricate to allow any use whatever of nonskilled personnel without credentials. Examples of this reticence in the fields of medicine, corrections, and casework readily come to mind.

Finally, there is the most sophisticated objection, namely that the planned infusion of unskilled workers, whose training is precisely one of the goals of national service, will cause confusion in agencies as they attempt to combine service and training functions. This objection proceeds from the history of a certain compartmentalization between training systems and delivery systems within health, education, and welfare agencies, and supports the status quo of functional separation between training and delivery. While the proponents of this view recognize that certain training purposes are included in the agenda of delivery-of-service agencies, they are quick to note that this type of training is part of a postgraduate education (as in the case of the medical intern), and that the trainee enters the service agency at a point

near the terminus of his training experience rather than at a point near the beginning. Hence, currently utilized trainees of the service systems (such as intern teachers, welfare workers in field-work situations, and the like) have almost achieved professional status and are merely "polishing off" their preparatory experiences which have largely equipped them for accredited professional roles.

On the other hand, manning these same service systems with numbers of subprofessional and inexperienced personnel would require that the agency goals be amended to include far more of a conscious training emphasis. Such an emphasis would in some cases not only work against the fulfillment of the agency's major goals, but also would cause confusion about the appropriate preservice training procedure for that particular service system.

THE PROFESSIONAL-SUBPROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIP

While these three attitudes represent realistic and current concerns on the subject of the use of unskilled workers or volunteers, there is still another underlying and crucial matter that must be considered if national service workers are to find intensive utilization within professionalized human resource development fields. This issue is the relationship between professionals and subprofessionals within human services fields. Our investigations into human services manpower have revealed four major characteristics of this field, derived largely from an analysis of 30 human services occupations reported in the decennial United States Census of Population.

1. It is a field with a majority of women workers. Of the 9.2 million employed in the health, education, and welfare industries, 55 per cent are women, and this percentage is probably increasing.

2. Human services are public services. The vast majority, perhaps as much as 90 per cent, of all employing agencies are public or quasipublic.
3. Human services employment is increasing rapidly. It is one of the fastest growth fields of all industries, increasing by some 40 per cent in the period 1950-1960, while national employment and population growth generally in this period was less than 20 per cent.
4. Human services fields are highly professionalized. While the national ratio of lower-echelon workers to professionals or managers is eight subprofessionals to one professional, in the human services the ratio is one to one.

This last characteristic of the industries and agencies that will be the primary users of national service workers is, therefore, a crucial one for further analysis. We must define the professional-subprofessional relationship if we are to think realistically about national service workers in their intended work and training situation. This develops into a series of questions that define and clarify the roles of professionals and all other workers within the human services fields. In these questions, and in further discussions, we shall introduce a new term as a substitute for "subprofessional," or its sister term, "nonprofessional." Many persons have long felt that these terms are not suitable for describing the "new breed" in human services. There is a definite demeaning implication to them, we believe, and a clear implication that in the absence of full professional status, there must be something missing or incomplete in a worker's contribution. That is, he is never complete or whole within these service areas until he gains the status that has been historically determined to be that of full professional.

As a substitute, following Frank Reissman's lead in this subject, we

would identify the whole class of workers in human services other than clerical and professional as "careerists," since these are persons engaged in carving out new careers.¹⁰ It is further descriptive in its identification of the process by which employment status and training is often achieved--through a career in the interest field. Finally, this term introduces some element of the individual's personal sense of responsibility about his particular type of work and also highlights his continued association with his chosen career.

What, then, are the differences of viewpoint between professionals and careerists that will be of interest in understanding the role of the national service worker, who is, after all, an entry-level careerist?

1. Education. Formal education is an important attribute of the professional and one of the clear distinctive elements that may cause some communications problems between the professional and the careerist.

2. Accreditation. Professionals in many fields, and most human services fields, are licensed or accredited by some system that receives formal legal sanction from the legislative or executive branch of government. Indeed, for many human services areas where there is great shortage of personnel, the credentialing process prevents the operation of market forces to fill the manpower gaps. This results in two things: continued and chronic manpower shortages and enormously high reward rates for some of the credentialed personnel who have virtually a monopoly situation.

3. Holistic perspective. The professional person tends to see the area of his concern as a whole, rather than as a part of some larger problem situation. Oftentimes, perhaps, he considers a lesser whole than others would like him to see. Sometimes he thinks he needs to regard an even broader perspective than he is allowed by tradition to view. But in any case, the

professional is more comfortable in working with total systems or people or circumstances rather than segments.

4. Professional responsibility. Combined with the foregoing attribute is the clear sense of individual responsibility that is regarded so highly by many professionals. A small indicator of this may be cited with regard to the working hours of the professional, which are rarely as rigid and defined as those for many other types of workers.

5. Individual work. While the team of professionals is certainly an important new force in our society, the more traditional view of the professional's role is that of a "loner." The minister, doctor, and lawyer still perpetuate this attribute.

Each of these aspects of the professional's current sense of himself has some implication for the working together of careerists, and national service volunteers in particular, within systems that are dominated and controlled by professional human services workers. We shall examine just one of these in further detail--the formal educational background of the professional--and then proceed to our specific recommendations, which are designed to enhance the potential for maximum benefits within a continuing National Service System.

EDUCATION: THE PROFESSIONAL AND THE CAREERIST

The major and almost exclusive entry procedure into the professions is through the route of formal education, usually through the college level and sometimes through the postgraduate level. While elements of practical experience have been incorporated within these educational systems (for teachers, doctors, nurses, and the like), the professions are largely what they are be-

cause of this emphasis on the body of knowledge itself--and the laborious and organized method of acquisition. Indeed, advancement and progress is possible in the professions because there is a real commitment not only to acquire and profess this knowledge but to expand upon it and then add to it. The in-service training requirements of teachers and many persons in medicine are clear examples of the recognized need to keep current with the body of knowledge as it expands.

Despite this high regard for continuing education and the need for in-service training, many professionals do not accept the value or importance of in-service training for nonprofessionals within the highly professionalized human services fields. Without the "proper" formal educational background the in-service trainee, the volunteer, or the national service worker may well receive a cold or even hostile reception from the professional; for in the eyes of the professional there is an enormous, almost unbridgeable gulf created by this absence of formal educational background. Clearly, this gulf must be bridged if the two are to have a mutually satisfying relationship and if their common focus of service is to receive benefits greater than either of them could give individually.

There is one mechanism already in use in certain service systems that is structured to bridge this specific gap. That is the introduction of yet another type of careerist as an intermediary between the professional and the entry-level careerist. In the military service this "middleman" has extraordinary responsibility and is credited, at least in the older military tradition, with the locus of major responsibility for system effectiveness. We are, of course, referring to the role of the sergeant in the military system who acted as middleman between the professional officer cadre and the

careerist enlisted men. In certain of the human services fields just such a middleman, such a sergeant, has been introduced. The nurse plays something of this role in the health fields, although she aspires to, and is allowed, certain of the attributes of professional status. In the social service world the volunteer coordinator often performs some of these functions, although again this role often, too, is played by a fully certified professional.

What is particularly interesting about this middleman role, most obviously represented in the characteristics of the military sergeant, is that the training function and the operational purpose are often combined in the middleman's job definition. Unlike certain systems, training is taken very seriously in the military and is usually a continuous operation (at least for the enlisted personnel) for the entire length of the career. Hence, we nearly close the circle with regard to the careerist-professional relationship as it relates to the specific educational view of their common purpose. The professional is separated from the careerist precisely because of the intensive educational background; in order to harmonize their respective capabilities, some specific instruction, perhaps through a middleman careerist with a specialized educational or training interest, is brought onto the scene. It is our belief that such an intermediary is absolutely indispensable if the human service professionals are to accept and work with the national service workers, and if these careerists are to be allowed to render meaningful service at the same time that they broaden their horizons.

ENHANCING THE CAREERIST-PROFESSIONAL WORKING RELATIONSHIP

The kind of analysis presented above, resulting in the recommendation for some kind of sergeant or middleman in the human services fields with

regard to the use of national service workers, has led us to other specific recommendations. These recommendations are derived from past experience, however limited, and from analysis of the probable points of difficulty that would inhibit the fullest cooperative use of the different skills brought into play by professionals and careerists in those human services fields that are of paramount concern to a system of national service.

As a starting point, let us first indicate certain of the assumptions that we have used concerning the functioning of the National Service System. These have been described in the "Plan for National Service" (Appendix A), published by the National Service Secretariat in late 1966, and are by no means final or ideal. They do give us a framework for discussion that appears to be very reasonable.

Basically, the work situations will be defined by the using agency or system, and some sort of national service review procedure will assure the conformity of the proposed use of volunteers with the specific intent of the national service program. Some contribution in services or cash will be expected of the using systems, but generally this contribution will be small by comparison with the estimated value of the volunteer's work. The living costs of the volunteer will largely be borne by the National Service System.

On the supply side of the equation, as it were, the young men (and/or women) of the nation will pass through a system of selection, orientation summer camps, review boards, and placement centers. These will endeavor to match up specific agency needs with available volunteers and will monitor the last step in the process--work within the agencies. This is a simple but efficient administrative structure that could dovetail with existing high schools or other preservice educational systems in an orderly manner. We

shall use this concept as the basis for the following ten specific suggestions to improve the ultimate utility of the total National Service System, from the perspective of possible failure points attributable to friction in the careerist-professional relationships.

1. Assignment of volunteers in groups of two or more. Since the purpose of national service includes both service and individual growth, it is contended that the assignment of groups of volunteers will be supportive of the two goals. Even if a specific job situation appears to require only the services of one individual, the provision of two persons will help assure responsible manning of the position. More importantly, it will assure a higher probability of individual growth through peer group learning experience, as it has wherever the "buddy" system has been used. The major responsibility for individual growth will continue to be where it always is--upon the individual himself--yet the prospect for this growth will be increased by the interaction of the two or more volunteers.

2. Assuring continuity in use of volunteers within agencies. By this principle it is hoped to build into the agency the careerist role in a way that short-term "enlistments" cannot. We start from the premise that the specific types of work of the volunteers have probably not been performed in exactly the same way before. Hence, to lend credibility to the careerist role as regards agency functioning, there must be continuity in the use of volunteers. An obvious corollary to this suggestion is that there should be some amount of overlap between incoming and outgoing workers to preclude the prospect of system malfunction and to increase the speed of orientation for the new careerist. Without this procedure agencies will have to regard the national service careerist as a fifth wheel; with this procedure it is likely

that the careerist role may become well integrated into agency functioning.

3. Establishing procedures to facilitate agency choice. In accepting volunteers the agency or employer is simultaneously accomplishing an agency purpose. Very often, because of the nature of the national interest, it may occur that an individual's choices are somewhat cut back. In regard to the use of volunteers on such a massive scale, it is likely that significant agency choice could be retained. For example, national service workers might well be placed by the same procedure that the agency uses to select other employees: through selection among candidates. This would give a greater sense of responsibility to the agency and would probably gain greater acceptance than would procedures that limit agency or employer choice.

4. Establishing procedures to facilitate volunteer choice. The same choice procedures and techniques apply equally to the volunteer point of view. As structured in current proposals, both the orientation summer camps and the placement centers would provide information and choice situations whereby the volunteer could develop himself even before the work situation occurs. The same responsibility that is instilled in professionals during the course of their development, through self-choice "grids" (selection of school, selection of field of specialization, and the like), may also be useful in helping the careerist enter the system in a manner that will facilitate his cooperative relationship with the agency manned largely by professionals.

5. Clear identification of the volunteer's supervisor. Although this is an obvious point with regard to paid employees, it often occurs in volunteer situations that clear channels of responsibility are not identified. This may be caused by the relative indifference about the effective use of volunteers or by the low status that is sometimes felt by the volunteers themselves

and that reflects on their supervisor. We have suggested that some supervisory responsibility could be undertaken by the sergeant or "middleman" to ease this condition. In any event, unless specific steps are taken, there are indications that the likely failure point in the volunteer utilization system is exactly at this point of interaction with the agency system. Unless very strict procedures are observed in identifying and equipping the volunteer's supervisor properly, the slightest strains on the equilibrium of normal good behavior will cause the supervisor position to be vacated, leading to further deterioration and collapse of the working system.

6. Clear identification of employer's training role. Associated with the volunteer's supervisory work relationship, and perhaps integrated with the service aspect of the volunteer's role, is the matter of volunteer training on the job. Whatever the agency situation, some amount of planned training must be provided for the careerist if the goals of national service are to be achieved. The precise nature of the training will doubtless vary from one situation to the next, but a specific training program is an essential ingredient if national service workers are not merely to be exploited as low-level drones within our human services fields. The volunteer will come with this expectation, and the agency must respond with this contribution, which is, in point of fact, the most important single thing it can provide the careerist.

7. Evaluation system for employer and volunteer. Although the profit motive calculation and the clear measurement of gain or loss is impossible within many human services fields, some device for measuring success is usually possible. Similarly, with regard to the entire National Service System, both the careerist and the agency should be held responsible for their actions.

Thus, one component of this evaluation could be the periodic, open evaluation of one by the other. Along with this must be the "outside" and neutral "judge" who maintains the ability to grant rewards and punishments. To be sure, the major system of rewards and punishments within the National Service System is internal to the agency or the volunteer. However, the provision of some monitored evaluation system probably will make up for the absence of those key rewards of finance, prestige, and personal growth that are usually found in regular work situations.

8. Establishment of appropriate length of duty tours. The length of total service for each volunteer is intended to be the same, but the length of time appropriate for careerist introduction to each field or agency will doubtless vary. It is therefore important for some particular consideration to be given to this subject. We probably do not have empirical data as yet to help us determine what is suitable in most fields of work, but it is clear that too little time on the job and too much time in the same job can have equally detrimental impacts on the program. Extensive research on this subject, as well as considerable flexibility, are required in order to make a judgment of what length of tour is most appropriate or most beneficial.

9. Orientation procedures for volunteers and employers. It is easy to imagine that in ten or twenty years the matter of orientation will be a routine procedure. But at the outset, or even in the planning stages, the requisite orientation about basic goals and procedures becomes very important. Part of this process may be the use of agency personnel in the orientation summer programs and in the placement centers. Part of this process may also be achieved by planned and institutionalized introduction to national service in the high schools and the graduate schools in the nation.¹¹ If the volunteer

is not to regard his experience as trivial, and if the agency or the professional is not to waste the careerist's potential, then both must clearly see the good that can be achieved by a service experience. This "good" won't just happen. Much orientation and familiarization with the system's objectives will be required to incorporate national service as a new element in the fabric of society. The burden rests upon the program planners to see that it does occur.

10. Advisory groups to define service and training potentialities of careerists. One of the most difficult aspects of the professional-careerist relationship within the National Service System and elsewhere is the matter of definition of job and definition of training needs. It is neglect of this particular task that has prevented the development of more workers within the human services fields in general, since the obstacles to modification of the professional's responsibilities are so great. The transition period from the first "farming out" of the physician's task of prescribing and concocting his medication to the development of the contemporary pharmacist must have been very great.

A NEW PROGRAM AND NEW CAREERS

Since the success of national service depends upon both the effective structuring of nonprofessional tasks performed under the supervision of the professional and the training of the careerist to perform these new roles, it will be necessary for groups of professionals, educators, and citizens to work together with the administration of the national service program to clearly define the new careers, the training required, and the details of many new relationships if the program is to achieve any part of its great potential. In this connection it is very easy to imagine, even now, assemblies

of diverse, creative persons from many fields, in combinations and in sub-groups, beginning the process of curriculum development and job definition. For certain subspecialties, persons more involved in these particular fields may need to come together through their existing professional associations to analyze and define the work that can be done by careerists. Without this particular activity being undertaken by the very best people we have in the nation, the careerist will face narrow job duties and the inadequate on-the-job training that reflects the "time-bind" of the operational people and their dependence upon outside sanctions for innovation.

There are two ways in which this all important task, vital as it is to the success of any nationwide system of careerists, may be accomplished. The method that has been tried intermittently in an effort to restructure certain human services occupations has been an attempt to do this planning job on a national basis. A recent example was the three-day conference sponsored by the United States Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare concerning job development and training for workers in health services. (A report of the February 14-17, 1966, conference is available from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.) While such "top-down" planning has certain advantages, in our opinion it has even greater drawbacks. To many, a national focus on the complex factors relating to job structures, training needs, and professional responsibilities merely serves as an alarm bell to strengthen the defenders of the status quo against new and threatening forces. We, on the other hand, recommend that regional or metropolitan area task forces be enlisted to assist in this critical task, with appropriate coordinating efforts with relevant national organizations and interests through local chapters. In this way, specific regional and local differences may be

directly incorporated in the system of standards of the National Service System, and the diversity of actual field situations that will face the careerist will have been taken into account.

While truly revolutionary practices and institutions may evolve from the basic concepts of the National Service System, these will doubtless take time. The accommodation of local practices to the new concept of national service will be hastened if local responsibility and voice are actively solicited by the national administration.

RESOLUTION: PROFESSIONAL-CAREERIST COOPERATION

When considered in the context of the current massive deficiency of human services workers both in this nation and abroad, and the spiraling demand and expectation for the services they might render, the concept of a National Service System of entry-level workers seems most timely. Our analysis, and those of others, seem to point to increasing use of nonprofessionals--"careerists"--in the human services fields in roles as yet dimly defined except for certain menial, blue-collar positions. Since these new career roles would be entry-level positions with potential increase of responsibility, it is eminently suitable that they be initially manned by younger persons. The response of the nation's young people to the Peace Corps, Teacher Corps, VISTA, and similar voluntary programs of activism supports the validity of the careerist concept with respect to both the using agency and the volunteer. Between this analysis of problem statement and a resolution, however, stands the historical predominance of professional workers in the human services fields. It is clear that any fundamental change in these fields will have to be preceded by an adjustment of working relationships between the professional and the

careerist. We believe that the suggestions put forward in this paper concerning the professional-careerist working situation must be carefully refined, tested, and implemented before the obvious benefits of national service to the using agency, the professional, the careerist, and the nation may be realized.



THE ROLE OF A NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN NATIONAL SERVICE

Homer Hagedorn, William Josephson, and H. Donald Wilson

Before we can talk about administration of a National Service program, we must make some assumptions about that program, search for experience to guide us, and reach agreement on the role that administration will have to play.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

We assume that any National Service program will be truly national. That is to say, at least after a time, it should provide opportunities for temporary voluntary service for all United States citizens.

We assume that at first only a fraction of our total citizenry will actually volunteer but that, after time, a very substantial number of them will as they come of age.

We also assume that National Service volunteers would be, for the most part, in their late teens or early twenties. Thus, an important administrative requirement will be capacity to communicate with, guide the activities of, and support young people. In many cases, they will, for the first time in their lives, be doing adult work in an adult world.

We assume that citizens will volunteer from every state, from the District of Columbia, and from the territories.

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We assume that National Service volunteers will serve throughout the United States.

We also assume that some of them will serve overseas, for it is difficult to conceive of the Peace Corps carrying on its program unrelated to any overall National Service program.

We assume that a National Service program will provide opportunities for the relatively uneducated as well as the educated, for the relatively underprivileged as well as the privileged.

We assume also that some means will be found to insure that the relatively uneducated and underprivileged will actually participate.

We assume that National Service volunteers will be engaged in a great variety of tasks. This variety would be of two kinds. The tasks would be functionally varied--community action, teaching, health and sanitation, and so forth. They would be technologically varied--some will be tasks for which no one is well trained, for which training has not been developed, which everyone wants to do, which no one wants to do, which are hard to do, which are easy to do, which are interesting, which are dull.

While we assume some tasks that have never been performed before will be performed directly by National Service volunteers, most tasks will have been performed before and will be being performed by other national institutions. Thus, most National Service work will parallel the work and even be conducted under the auspices of existing institutions. National Service will, therefore, have to be sensitive to the strengths and weaknesses of these institutions and their programs.

Finally, we assume--if only because such a National Service program will cost a lot of money--that the benefits the nation and the volunteers

derive from the work they do must be worth the cost. In other words, National Service must offer a systematic program that meets important national needs. It must eventually efficiently do millions of man-years of work that should--and otherwise would not--be done.

CONCEPTION OF NATIONAL SERVICE

We believe that there has been nothing quite like the National Service program of which we conceive.

For example, by the middle 1970's, a National Service program could be administering up to four million volunteers every year. This alone presupposes an administrative capability no one, except possibly the military in World War II, has ever developed.

National Service would be much more broadly based than the Peace Corps. The Peace Corps almost exclusively appeals to and uses middle- and upper-class people with extensive formal education. National Service would have to work directly with many different institutions. The Peace Corps works primarily through governments.

In comparison with the Civilian Conservation Corps, the work-for-work's-sake element would, we hope, be lacking. And National Service volunteers would not live in large groups under semimilitary discipline.

National Service might to some extent resemble the National Youth Administration. The NYA's organization was not based on military discipline analogies; however, it operated in relatively small groups of volunteers working on essentially the same task in one place. Moreover, its emphasis was primarily on the development of marketable job skills as a remedy for unemployment of youth. The latter would be but one of the purposes of National

Service.

As we have already pointed out, the administration of National Service would have common elements with the administration of the Armed Services. It would be largely composed of relatively young people. Their terms of service would be relatively short. It would, after a time, be a large organization whose recruitment, selection, training, and administrative needs would be immense.

The Armed Services rely on military discipline for the solution of many of their administrative problems. Servicemen work in groups usually secluded from society. For reasons that we think are quite obvious, National Service could not operate through a chain of command with limited scope for individual initiative. Its volunteers will live and work usually as individuals.

Most administrators try to manage massive programs by progressively delineating, simplifying, and routinizing constituent tasks. We have grave doubts that thorough-going application of this basic administrative technique is at all consistent with the volunteer, problem-solving, change-oriented nature of National Service. Thus, we assume that like the Peace Corps the National Service program will be engaged in a constant struggle to identify those issues that should be treated case by case and to make sure they are.

ADMINISTERING NATIONAL SERVICE

All the foregoing indicates that National Service will have to grow over time through several phases. Our thinking has concentrated on the role of administration in the early phases. National Service will have to do several major administrative jobs.

1. Develop coordination with the many existing capital and technical

assistance programs. Capital by itself has been significant but in certain ways quite limited in starting up new economies in the developing world. The addition of technical assistance helps, but is not enough. After a half decade we are just learning how to utilize non-professionals like Peace Corps volunteers in the development process and their importance.

National Service would add volunteers on a major scale to join the work begun by the many domestic capital and technical assistance programs that have been begun to create a "Great Society." A major task will be to develop programs that will bring about cooperative planning and programing between those agencies executing the present local, state, and federal legislation and National Service. This may require reassessment of budgeting processes. Also budgeting flexibility will have to be increased. To place a large number of people in any program without providing them with the correct balance of operating capital to make their work effective usually leads to frustration. Often the financial needs they will develop cannot be predicted. But once people are committed you cannot wait for another budgeting cycle to give them necessary support.

We are not suggesting that National Service provide anything but people. But we are suggesting that any agency that undertakes to utilize volunteers will have to plan their use carefully from the outset and that that use will involve that agency in significant new operating-capital commitments. This will require that the agency increase its own budget either through recourse to one of the new legislative programs or from its own sources. It will take time to develop coordinating techniques for this.

2. Induce existing institutions to change rapidly and embark on new programs. American society has been geared by three centuries of experience

to the expectation of change in religion, in business, in education, in technology, and in nearly all realms of human activity. Until recently change has been quite easily accomplished through fragmentation. There was social space enough that hardy visionaries and prophets could always find room. But the opportunities for fragmentation and institutional competition are decreasing. National Service must be sensitive to and able to work with both the older, more traditional agencies and the new organizations that may have to be created to deal with new problems. The techniques of inducing organizational change through swift evolution will require special attention and probably a specially trained staff and distinct program.

3. Teach new skills to both institutions and individuals. The Peace Corps found that in order to develop a major training capacity it had to educate personnel in every university to which it turned for training. In addition, it had to develop experienced personnel of its own to supervise these training efforts. Dealing with major institutions, this process takes several years. Similarly, the Job Corps has experienced considerable difficulty in getting effective training work from the "blue chip" industries that operate its camps. Again, it will take time to teach old institutions new skills. National Service must develop a skill to train and administer national service volunteers in literally hundreds of private organizations and local governmental as well as federal governmental structures.

4. Get attention sufficient to attract support of volunteers, able administrative personnel, top leadership in the country and in the organizations to be served and of the public. Even in the pilot stages National Service should not undertake any project that is not significant as it begins. Thus if we assume that National Service will have 50,000 volunteers in service

at the end of the first two years, it would be better to have 10 programs involving 5,000 volunteers, each one of which could have a visible major impact on a problem area, rather than to have 100 programs of 500 volunteers, each one of which would get little attention, and, even if successful, prove nothing. What is done must be visible.

STAFFING NATIONAL SERVICE

In the beginning, National Service will have to be managed with a strong central direction.

Only an extraordinarily capable, active, potent, and devoted administrative staff can do this job. The staff must be very directive, for they will be coping with some very recalcitrant problems and must ultimately be able to deal with them on a truly gigantic scale. And they must have some very special qualities at that. Not only will they have to be so sensitively attuned to the needs and desires of American society that they can create a national service of genuinely broad appeal. They must have the energy to force a growth of the National Service Corps as swiftly as practicable so that it can become truly national before it collapses of its own frustrations and brings the staff down with it.

Will random or free market processes really suffice to meet the needs we suggest are to be filled by National Service? If so, we neither need nor want National Service at all.

Getting started first of all means locating the right man to run the National Service program and make it grow. Clearly, he needs to be able to select his own associates. One would expect that a good many would be recruited from immediate past experience with the Peace Corps, the Job Corps,

and VISTA. Choosing the initial projects would obviously be a very delicate task. We would concentrate on problem areas not yet too highly institutionalized, in order to locate tasks that could provide lots of leverage but that have not yet generated sophisticated and highly trained professionals to cope with them.

All the tasks of the new administration of the newly formed National Service Corps would be, of course, interwoven and almost inextricable from one another, but the objectives of their own internal organizational development can, at least for the crude and preliminary purposes of this paper, be isolated. The administrator has to find ways of relating very closely, intimately, and continuously with his volunteers directly and through his staff. The administrator has to pick those initial projects that can genuinely relate the volunteers to the working parts of the society they are seeking to serve and, in turn, by their own efforts in attacking their chosen problems to build National Service itself into the very fabric of American society. The administrator must find ways to ensure growth. Indeed, the work of the Corps must meet such urgent needs of society and the volunteers themselves that its swift expansion is guaranteed by the depth and intensity of the demand for expansion.

The process we mean to suggest is at least somewhat analogous to the launching of a multistage rocket system in which each successive stage is launched at the full velocity of its predecessor and adds new energy of its own, as it prepares to throw forward still more rockets.

This kind of growth will require that a very large fraction of the first crops of National Service volunteers will be retained in the administrative framework of National Service throughout the pilot period. These people, who

have actually experienced the life of the volunteer, will be in a very good position to sense what is going on in the minds of new volunteers. Their insights and commitments will be particularly needed once the Corps begins to be large enough so that the topmost administrators can no longer have a direct involvement with all of the projects or all of the first-line supervisors.

If volunteers are indeed going to work on tasks of great social significance, there are both subjective and objective reasons that compel us to think in terms of relatively profuse supervision. We would expect this supervision to be of two kinds. Some of it would have to be provided by any social agency to which the National Service volunteers were assigned. The volunteer would certainly have to make his place among the people with whom he would be working, both his "clientele" and his "hosts." But simultaneously he would need to be in touch with other volunteers, perhaps in other projects, and with an "outside" professional point of view--ideally through one who could also serve as a personal counselor, advisor, and listener.

Above these first-level supervisors, we would expect only a couple of levels of additional supervision before reaching the top of the National Service administration. First-level supervisors would normally report to branch offices, which would assume either functional or geographic responsibility.

This, then, would be a very flat organization, with only three levels of activity: projects being carried out in the field, branch or functional headquarters, and a central headquarters.

The object, of course, is to make the bottom of the structure feel close enough to the top that it can believe in its own ability to influence

the top and can accept real responsibility for relating its own activities to the activities of the Corps as a whole. When working properly, such an organization also develops a large number of relatively junior people who know what there is to be known about higher levels of activity. This, of course, is important if swift accelerated expansion is to be the intended development, if the volunteers are indeed to feel that they are in real touch with authority at headquarters, and if the selection of new projects is to be made on an "active" and "participative" rather than a "bureaucratic" basis.

Rigorous but reasonable time limitations on the tenure of the staff members of National Service would also help to retard that routinization of function and procedure that so frequently turns previously effective organizations into merely efficient administrative mechanisms. The existing Peace Corps limitation of five years on service of staff members may be a model. Ten years is probably too long. Administrators left to cope with the same or related problems for a decade could hardly be expected to find fresh solutions to them at the end of such a long period. Staff turnover does encourage constant active searching for new solutions and limits concentrations of interests vested in formulations, in specific problems, or in stereotyped approaches.

GROWTH AND LOCALIZATION

As National Service grows, it should shortly reach a size that will require some kind of localization. For a year or two or three, the local or functional branch offices earlier mentioned could be under fairly close central supervision. But when millions of young men and young women would be working as National Service volunteers, a fair amount of local autonomy

would have to prevail. A local director should be in theory and in fact a responsible agent.

The key to developing such "responsible agents" is going to be the reward system and the opportunity for meaningful individual action. The reward system must reward professional effort, chance-taking, daring, creativity, and personal responsibility. The reward system should be personal more than monetary. This latter characteristic is a major aspect of the organizational situation which allows for individual action. Hence there must be top management commitment to rewarding individuals for efforts rather than longevity.

At this stage, it is difficult to suggest what principles localization should ultimately follow. We are intrigued about current government interest in decentralizing by enabling local nuclei to form themselves around a problem. One current example is the United States Office of Education's organization of regional laboratories. Another is the proposed location of so-called "regional" centers for the study of heart disease, cancer, and stroke around interested local authorities. This may imply that the National Service Corps be organized around a series of social problems. That this could lead to duplication is likely, but it would ensure a high degree of involvement and a time-perspective significant for individual participants. A series of mini-organizations (small rifle shot at a social problem, to last a short time, to expand quickly, and then go out of existence) might serve the program well. These organizations could be based on local initiative with federal support rather than federal initiative, support, and continuation. They would also be fun to run.

A good deal of central direction would have to remain. The whole concept of common service to the nation would simply disappear, unless headquarters had the ability to create and enforce policy. Somebody has to be accountable for taking the initiative.

We would expect that headquarters would have to be able to make choices about allocations of people and money to projects.

Even in the most decentralized phase headquarters would have to have authority to evaluate its program.

The headquarters would have to serve as spokesman for National Service. It would have to seek advice about the program, defend it from unjust criticism, and act on justified criticism.

It is clear that in the beginning we must have a potent, aggressive, and active administration--a group of people given lots of room in which to make their mark and to make errors. The objective of the final organization will be the greatest degree of localization possible without loss of dynamism which must characterize National Service throughout its life. The degree of localization possible will be determined through experimentation as National Service grows.

NATIONAL SERVICE IN SIXTY-TWO COUNTRIES

Terrence Cullinan

The difference between national service and traditional military service, simply stated, is that the former is comprised of several possible forms of activity, one of which may be military service, that satisfy the legal requirements for service to a country. Nonmilitary national service activities, therefore, are alternatives to military service; they cannot be defined as substitutes for it.

On this basis it may be said that nearly all countries have a national service program. Many, including the United States, allow only military alternatives--the Army, Navy, Air Force, and some smaller, related branches. In other countries, national service alternatives also include overseas development work, teaching in depressed regions, conservation, construction, and selected private programs considered beneficial to the country.

A survey was taken in June and July of 1966 by Terrybukk, Incorporated, of Philadelphia and San Francisco, to determine the prevalence and diversity of national service programs in other nations.¹ A series of questions concerning nonmilitary service alternatives to military service was sent to 107 embassies in Washington, D.C., with a 58 per cent response.²

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ANALYSIS OF SIGNIFICANT RESPONSES

The 62 significant responses were divided according to the country's development stage for comparative purposes. The "industrialized" category included the United States and Canada, Eastern and Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Israel. The "semi-industrialized" category encompassed most Latin American countries, the Indian subcontinent, some Arab states, Iran, and scattered others. "Developing" countries were largely in Africa and the Middle East, with some Asian members and two or three from Latin America.

Respondents first indicated whether national service in their country was wholly voluntary or at least partially involuntary. If the latter were true, they were then asked to indicate whether the compulsory service portion was universal or selective. Finally, they were asked to specify for either universal or selective programs whether the compulsory service contained provision for (1) nonmilitary service as a complete substitute for military service, (2) nonmilitary service as a partial substitute after some military service, or (3) military service as the only means of national service. The results for the 62 countries are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
NATIONAL SERVICE IN SIXTY-TWO COUNTRIES

	Number of Countries		
	Industrialized	Semi-Industrialized	Developing
<u>Some kind of compulsory national service (44)</u>			
Universal (all serve) compulsory national service (12)	5	4	3
With possible nonmilitary equivalent to military service (5 ^a)	3 ^a	0	2
With possible part military, part nonmilitary service (5 ^a)	2 ^a	3	0
With military service only (3)	1	1	1
Selective (draft some) compulsory national service (32)	13	13	6
With possible nonmilitary equivalent to military service (9 ^a)	7 ^a	0	2
With possible part military, part nonmilitary service (3 ^a)	2 ^a	1	0
With military service only (21)	5	12	4
<u>All kinds of national service wholly voluntary (18)</u>			
	7	9	2
Total respondents (62)			

^aOne country with both kinds of programs.

COMPARATIVE ALTERNATIVE PROGRAMS

The experiences of countries with wholly voluntary national service programs are currently irrelevant to discussion of national service in the United States, since such a program has been judged economically unfeasible by both the Pentagon and Congress.³ Hence those countries were eliminated from further consideration, and in-depth analyses were limited to those 44 countries indicated in Table 1 that require some form of compulsory service. Of this group, 45.5 per cent allow a nonmilitary service alternative: 66.7 per cent of the industrialized countries, 23.5 per cent of the semi-industrialized, and 44.4 per cent of the developing nations.

Table 2 compares countries with alternative service programs. United States alternative service opportunities were added for further comparison. The survey also found that except for the three European conscientious-objector alternatives (Austria, Denmark, and Finland), length of service is the same for either the military or nonmilitary alternative. Only five programs (Austria, Israel, Chile, Colombia, and Iran) require the nonmilitary serviceman to wear the military uniform. Only five programs--four of which fall in the preceding category--require even short traditional military training period for the nonmilitary servicemen. Administrative control of nonmilitary activities generally is left to nonmilitary bodies.

Detailed responses to the Terrybukk survey described the specific national service program of each country. A selective summary of several of these programs follows.

TABLE 2
COMPARATIVE TABLE OF SELECTED NONMILITARY ALTERNATIVES TO MILITARY OBLIGATION

Country	Eligibility for Non-Military Service	Types of Activities	Remarks
Industrial Austria Belgium	Conscientious objectors Professionals ^a serving overseas	Non-arms bearing Teaching, medical, engineering	
	Draftees excess to military needs	Civil Defense	Government designates nonmilitary portion
Denmark	Conscientious objectors	Social service work	
Finland	Conscientious objectors	Defense-related	
France	Volunteers after drafted	Civil Defense	Service obligatory for all men
	Volunteers after drafted (usually professionals)	Overseas professional ^a	
Israel	Volunteers after drafted	Teaching, medical, engineering	Service obligatory for men and women
Italy	Volunteers before drafted	Development work overseas	Ministry of Defense supervises each non- military serviceman
Netherlands	Volunteers before drafted	Professional and social work	
Norway	Volunteers before drafted	Professional and social work	
South Africa	Enlistees in Prison Service	Rehabilitation	Railway guards and police also exempt
United States	Conscientious objectors	Professional and social work	
	Doctors and public health graduates	Public health	All have military rank and pay
West Germany	Volunteers before drafted	Overseas professional	

^aTeachers, medical doctors, veterinarians, engineers, missionaries, and similar persons.

TABLE 2
COMPARATIVE TABLE OF SELECTED NONMILITARY ALTERNATIVES TO MILITARY OBLIGATION
(Continued)

Country	Eligibility for Non-Military Service	Types of Activities	Remarks
Semi-industrialized			
Chile	Volunteers after drafted	Rural development	
Colombia	Volunteers after drafted	Rural development	
Greece	Dept. of Public Service workers	Community services	
Iran	Volunteers after drafted	Professional and social work	
Developing			
Chad	Pioneer Youth	Social and agricultural work	Both groups subject to military discipline
Gabon	Draftees excess to military needs	Social and agricultural work	Government designates nonmilitary portion
Malagasy Republic	Volunteers before drafted	Social and agricultural work	2/3 time spent in com- munity development work
Upper Volta	Doctors, medical tech- nicians, teachers	Health and education	Alternates released from military obligations

Source: Terrybuk, Incorporated, international survey update, February, 1967.

Equivalent Non-military Options in Industrialized Countries

France. France's obligatory 16-month national service tour is satisfied by service in the civilian Defense Service as a civil servant, policeman, engineer, health inspector, architect, technician, or civil defense specialist, primarily in depressed regions. During wars or emergencies, this Service staffs the Defense Corps and carries on tasks of civil defense for the whole population. The Service is under the control of the Minister of the Interior. Young Frenchmen with minor physical disabilities disqualifying them from military national service are among those placed in the Defense Service.

Italy. The February, 1967, Italian national service law recognizes at least two consecutive years' service in a developing country outside Europe as equivalent to required military national service. Service is performed under bilateral agreement or a recognized international organization's program. The Minister of Defense has overall supervisory responsibility for the program, cooperating with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Education, and the Interior.

Netherlands and Norway. A service volunteer may make specific application to the Minister of Defense for exemption from military service. His nonmilitary service time must equal the normal military tour. Applicants may be from either the government's "Peace Corps" program or from one of a host of government-approved private programs. There is no official regulation on exemption. Arrangements are on a strictly individual basis.

South Africa. South Africans volunteering to serve in rehabilitation and other programs of the South African Prisons Department may perform their obligatory national service in that manner. Service in either the Police Force or the Railway Police is also an acceptable alternative.

Switzerland. All Swiss must have four months' military training, but

Swiss Development Volunteers are released from the universal active reserve requirement while in voluntary national service programs. Volunteers are paid a readjustment allowance of \$690 for each year of service.

West Germany. There is no legal provision for a German Development Service (Peace Corps) volunteer to avoid the military draft. However, when an applicant is accepted for training in the GDS, he is given a deferment by his local draft board that usually amounts to de facto exemption.

Combination Military-Nonmilitary Options in Industrialized Countries

Israel. Israel's military service is obligatory for all young men and women at the age of 18 for 20 or 26 months. Israelis of both sexes have the opportunity to volunteer for a special "Nahal" program. Following a few months of intensive military training, they are assigned in groups for a year to agricultural villages to gain practical experience in farming. They then set out on their own to establish a new village in some barren area or to work in an existing community that needs their help. Women may also volunteer for straight teaching service in rural or depressed areas. A portion of the country's crying need for more teachers has been filled in this manner.

Israel's armed forces are among the central educational institutions of that country. About half of Israel's young people come from depressed regions. Many come from demoralized homes and lack the cultural or vocational education to live useful lives in society. The Israeli national service provides integration and education through contact and teamwork projects with the more advanced young people. In addition, it provides basic education and job training schools as the last three months of service. These schools are staffed by other servicemen and women.

Military-Nonmilitary Options in Semi-Industrialized Countries

Chile. A portion of each year's Chilean draft may choose to serve in special engineering units engaged in rural development. Chilean students from late high school through university may elect to fulfill their obligation through several consecutive special summer programs.

Colombia. Drafted military personnel have the option of serving in development projects in depressed domestic regions.

Greece. Persons vitally needed by Departments of the Public Services may be detached to those Services after they complete their basic training with the armed forces. They must serve for a period of time equal to that they would have had if they had remained with the military.

Iran. All Iranian men are subject to the draft on reaching age 21. Twice each year, high school graduates reaching this age are recruited into the Army, the Literacy Corps, the Health Corps, and the Agricultural Extension and Development Corps. Virtually all those recruited into one of the corps are volunteers. Corpsmen receive 16 weeks of training in military and non-military subjects. The former occupy about one-third of the training period and include all subjects from parade-ground drilling to weapons and small-unit tactics. Two-thirds of the training period is devoted to lectures and discussions on nonmilitary subjects, such as classroom management, methods of teaching Persian, arithmetic, science, educational psychology, community development, rural sociology, and village laws. There is also one week of training with special emphasis on recreation, audio-visual education, and handicraft teaching.

Barracks, subsistence, uniforms, weapons, and salaries during this 16-week period are supplied by the Army. The Ministries of Education, Interior,

Health, Agriculture, Justice, and Plan Organizations are responsible for recruiting and paying their own instructors and furnishing their own teaching materials. During and after training the program is coordinated at levels from county officials to the National High Council of Education, headed by the Prime Minister and including the respective ministers. To ensure enthusiasm and attention during the training, as well as to reward ability with responsibility, the training is concluded with a final examination. Almost 5 percent attain the rank of 1st Sergeant, 10 percent, 2nd Sergeant, and the rest, 3rd Sergeant.

The trained corpsmen are sent to individual communities for the remaining 14 months of their term of service. During this period, they are under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education. They are in uniform. To the extent possible, corpsmen are sent to villages of their own districts where they are familiar with the people and with the special needs of the region. Before a corpsman is assigned, the Director of Education in that locality sees that the rooms for him are prepared and, if he is a teacher, that no fewer than 25 pupils have enrolled in the class.

Local communities must request the appointment of a corpsman. They must agree to provide living accommodations, a large classroom, and classroom furniture. Financial contributions of local people have thus far exceeded the cost of the corpsmen to the government (village contributions are calculated in the construction of buildings, feeder roads, bridges, baths, and health facilities). More local facilities in economically depressed regions of Iran have been built in the past two years than in the previous 50.

The Iranian government gives one day's military budget (\$700,000) each year to UNESCO toward the establishment of a multinational nonmilitary

alternative service corps.

Equivalent Nonmilitary Options in Developing Countries

Chad. Military-age youth may perform their service by working in the fields or in various designated worthwhile projects. They are fed, clothed, and cared for by the government. Although not in the Army, they are subject to military discipline. Unlike their military counterparts, however, they receive no salary.

Gabon. All able-bodied Gabonese men of age 20 are drafted for 24 months of national service. Only a fraction of them serve in the Army. The others are assigned by government order to whatever works are in the national interest at the time.

INTERNATIONAL TRENDS

Several additional countries answering the survey are considering some sort of national service program. Regional patterns seem to be emerging. In East Africa, the tendency is toward a military framework for nonmilitary service, after the Israeli mode. In West Africa, on the other hand, national service is built around the cooperative. A youth serves in a national service club for two years. He may thereafter remain in his particular field for a career.

African programs are directed primarily toward turning unskilled youth into skilled members of growing societies. Countries in mid-development stages--Chile, Colombia, Ethiopia, Iran, Korea, Panama, Peru, and Turkey--are utilizing university students in summer national service programs. Ethiopia has made such service mandatory for graduation. The advanced countries of Africa have gone the farthest toward full incorporation of nonmilitary programs into their obligatory national services; and their volunteers, to complete the

pattern, now train the volunteers of less-advanced countries in giving effective national service.

FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL SERVICE

The Terrybuk survey was followed by a series of visits to embassies of countries that have some form of compulsory national service.⁴ An attempt was made to determine whether a hypothesis could be formulated to indicate the factors promoting or inhibiting development of national service from country to country. No quantitative or systematic pattern could be discerned.

No country was faced with a shortage of available manpower for its military. The key factor appeared to be the psychopolitical outlook of the national government of each individual country. Countries that do have alternative nonmilitary programs seem to have responded partially to the impact of the Peace Corps. They appear to be moving toward nonmilitary service as the pattern for the future, seeking to satisfy the impatient idealism of a large portion of today's younger generation.

The change from a purely military service to a national service concept seems to occur only after considerable pressure from national service proponents. This pressure eventually overcomes a relatively small but influential group that objects that no service can equal military service for hardship and sacrifice.

All programs except Israel's began as small pilot experiments. Most have been under way less than six years (the operational period of the United States Peace Corps). Most are still small but judged completely successful, and most are to be at least doubled in the next three years.

It is interesting to note from the survey that a high percentage of the industrialized and a significant percentage of the developing countries with

compulsory service programs have national service systems. The semi-industrialized countries, on the other hand, are less willing to provide nonmilitary alternatives in their national service programs, primarily because of the important historical role played by the military in most countries in this category. For reasons of prestige and a lingering distrust of anything nonmilitary, the military--which either controls or dominates the governments of most semi-developed countries--is hesitant to admit a nonmilitary equivalency status in national service programs.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE AMERICAN NATIONAL SERVICE STUDY

The pressure group of national service proponents is growing steadily in this country. Thirty-five Congressmen and nine Senators introduced legislation on the subject between May and September of 1966. Private groups have applied increasing quiet pressure for quite a long time. Two Cabinet members have brought the subject into the public realm, and President Johnson and the House Armed Services Committee appointed study groups to look into it. A late 1966 Gallup poll found 72 percent of the people "favor requiring all young men to give two years of service--either in military forces or in nonmilitary work here or abroad, such as the Peace Corps." Only 21 percent opposed.

Opponents of national service at this time believe that there is no real alternative to military service for physical stress and danger. This is not absolutely refutable, of course, being a subjective judgment. However, it is certainly debatable in the case of noncombat or peacetime servicemen. Peace Corps service is physically far more rigorous than post life. VISTA and community action services are not more pleasant. And there still remains the majority of men who do no kind of national service at all.

If a national service program is implemented soon in the United States, the experiences of other countries suggest that the small pilot program, carried out within present government and nongovernment organizations, is the preferable course. The American tradition of voluntary choice probably dictates that nonmilitary participation should be wholly voluntary. Qualifying alternative service could include such public organizations as VISTA, the Job Corps, the National Teacher Corps, the Peace Corps, and private programs such as the American Friends Service Committee, International Voluntary Service, and selected civic action and educational programs. All qualifying alternatives would require approval by Congress or its designated representative. To avoid charges of draft-dodging, Congress might make nonmilitary service of longer duration than the military alternative, at lower rates of compensation, or both. Manpower channeled to the various programs could be controlled by varying service terms and compensations.

The most significant determinant in the national service issue seems to be psychopolitical. If the experiences of other nations are a valid guide, it appears that some sort of program eventually will be introduced in the United States. The actual time table, however, will depend on currently immeasurable phenomena--the strength of the national service pressure groups, the psychological impact of the war in Vietnam, and the intangible sentiments that cause political leaders, and to a lesser extent the general populace, to make decisions as to the disposition of youth.

THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF NATIONAL SERVICE

William A. Delano

To discuss realistically the potential role and shape of national service in the United States, I submit that our deliberations must include an important international focus. I believe that in the last third of the twentieth century, meaningful national service will be inextricably tied to a world horizon.

The first and still most acclaimed commitment to service sponsored by the United States government is the Peace Corps. Despite the very good national-interest reasons for the Peace Corps (after all, the host country has a volunteer only two years; the sending country profits from his experience the rest of his life), I believe its primary significance is international. This is as it should be, for the world's critical needs for service will and should force the United States to accept certain priorities; while undeniably grave problems exist within the United States, it is self-evident that the greatest urgency is not located within that 5 percent of the world's population that consumes 50 percent of its goods. During the last five years volunteers have won an increasingly substantial role in facing up to the priority issues of social and economic development, and they are capable of a great deal more.

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Internationalization of Volunteer Service

To accomplish more, volunteer service must be internationalized beyond the industrial countries now exporting volunteers. Despite impressive expansion of their programs since 1961, Europe and North America will never be able to supply enough "export" volunteers to meet the requests of developing countries. Also, the effectiveness of any foreign volunteer contribution is lessened by its temporary nature and the problem of binational paternalism. The world also requires more domestic volunteer service programs not only to help developing countries fill their manpower needs but to reduce the danger of nonacceptance of foreign youth which results when no equal opportunity for service is available to indigenous qualified and willing volunteers.

The international dimensions of national service also command our attention because many nations have experimented more in this area than has the United States. For instance, Europe has been able to offer more technically trained volunteers than the Peace Corps has been able to recruit. Sixteen nations have civilian national service alternatives to military obligations. One national university makes development service a prerequisite for a degree. Variety abounds because each country bases its volunteer service (domestic or export) on national culture and traditions and on contemporary international influences as well. This wealth of diversity offers the United States a host of concrete examples from which to profit and more importantly presents the world with a range of specialized volunteer responses to its particular needs.

Taking volunteer service beyond national limits is but the logical unfolding of its deepest values. Even when the terms have been defined as "national," the commitment made by the individual is not (or should not be) for service to the nation but rather of service to the people in it. The world is

moving beyond the time when it could afford to find at the borders of its nations the limits of its humanity. And if the developed world is really interested in self-help and the ethic of national service, it must help finance volunteer programs indigenous to developing nations.

Internationalization of the volunteer service concept also offers some very practical advantages. One of its great strengths would be treating the world as one pool of talent with one bag of problems. Opportunities for service could attract individuals at many different levels of capacity without regard to the level of development in their particular countries. Special groups of the denationalized (stateless for political or career reasons) and those without appropriate options at home would be able to participate for the first time. The means of internationalization present some difficulties but not insurmountable ones. Definite steps are possible now, without radical reorganization, that would provide experience and a foundation for future evolution of volunteer service as a worldwide concept.

The first step toward true internationalization of the volunteer service concept is to establish the validity and role of domestic service in all nations. The United States should help finance it in developing nations concurrent with establishing its own "domestic national service" as a respected and unique social and economic manpower source. Domestic volunteer services in nations hosting "export national service" volunteers from the United States or elsewhere will complement, support, and invigorate the guest volunteers and vice versa.

Throughout this paper volunteer service rather than national service is stressed. As the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service (ISVS), our primary concern is clear. However, the continuum between volunteer and

national service, especially as regards function, will, I trust, make my thoughts here applicable to both.

WORLD DEVELOPMENT NEEDS AND VOLUNTEER SERVICE

The widening gap between the developed and developing nations may be a tired cliché, but it is also a bitter reality. In terms of absolute income, the annual increments of the developed nations are advancing twenty times faster than those of the developing countries. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) estimates that the average income of the developing countries would have to increase four-fold just to attain a basic health and decency minimum. The Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization expressed it another way, "Until a faster rate of agricultural development can be permanently established in the developing regions. . . large sectors of the world population will soon be exposed to a continuous threat of famine and starvation."¹

The current outlay of capital and human technical assistance from developed countries does accelerate the rate of change in the world, but it is still far below that needed to sustain economic growth. A study by economist G. K. Helleiner indicates that capital aid over the past two years has decreased and that more official capital is flowing out of the underdeveloped world than into it because the developing nations are repaying more in old loans than they are receiving each year in new ones.

Similarly, present manpower development aid, while of great importance and dimensions, is inadequate. Some 260,000 people were sent from governmental as well as private sources (bilateral, multilateral, volunteer, and religious) to do technical assistance work in the developing countries in 1963. Their

contribution was divided approximately evenly between high- and middle-level skills. But they did not come close to meeting the needs in either category.

The process of modernization, almost by definition, requires the learning of new skills, techniques, and attitudes up and down the societal scale. Lack of attention to this infrastructural human factor has frustrated some otherwise well-conceived development projects. A developing society is faced with the agonizing problem of how to distribute its scarce skilled human resources to the often conflicting priorities of both educating the next generation to meet modern requirements and executing economic and social development programs that involve education and persuasion focused on the present adult generation. No developing country has sufficient manpower to carry out both priorities simultaneously without importing skilled manpower or tapping new indigenous sources of skilled manpower.

The character of manpower needs varies among the regions of the developing world and between countries within each region, because of uneven patterns of growth. Generalizing freely, however, the heaviest demand is at the middle level between the high-level planners, administrators, professionals, and technicians and the low-level, low-skilled masses. This demand is primarily due to the nature of development needs but also relates to social and political characteristics associated with many traditional societies. Because of the dominant extremes of wealth and poverty there may be no substantial group yet capable of aspiring to middle-level skills. Certainly, in the villages, where massive skill transfer and attitude change is imperative to development, qualified manpower to transmit skills and influence attitudes is nonexistent or woefully inadequate. Present national bilateral and multilateral sources of technical middle-level assistance manpower for work in the village and elsewhere

are not sufficient. Future prospects for an increase from traditional sources are dim.

Volunteer Contributions--Present and Potential

The gloominess of this picture is partially offset by the world's growing encounter with the reservoir of talent and imagination represented by the word "volunteer."² All volunteers share a personal involvement in development work and a commitment to something more than their own immediate economic advantage. But three fundamental types of volunteers are discernible:

Export volunteers are those who leave their own country to do service elsewhere. To date they have been primarily sent from developed to developing countries. The skills they bring range from professional through general university preparation to craft and industrial training and experience.

Domestic volunteers are fundamentally an invention of the developing countries themselves (especially Latin America), although the United States has an analogous program in VISTA. The pattern is for youthful members of an advanced and educated sector of the population to engage in a period of work with the disadvantaged in their own nation. Overwhelmingly, these volunteers have some university background and they tend to perform middle-level services appropriate to their vocational interests.

National youth service volunteers are usually themselves disadvantaged, so a good proportion of their time is devoted to their own education and vocational training. But instead of being simply the passive receivers of others' assistance, they simultaneously participate in local or national development projects. Usually, on successful completion of their programs, the volunteers themselves become bearers of basic middle-level skills and may have the opportunity to employ them in the benefit of others less fortunate. Africa had

this type of program before the Job Corps began, and its graduates who return to their villages become influential or "animateurs" for development.

The already large and potentially massive manpower input represented by volunteers is of prime significance. The incredible increase in the number of volunteer programs of all three types during the last five years is shown by the table below.

Volunteers are the fastest growing form of technical assistance personnel and the demand for volunteers has consistently outstripped the supply. The total number of technical assistance people sent by OECD countries increased about 12 per cent from 1963 to 1965. But the number of export volunteers (low- and middle-level technical assistance) sponsored by those countries doubled in the same period. It is expected to double again in the next two years. In 1962, 5 per cent of OECD country technical assistants sent abroad were volunteers; today, 20 per cent are volunteers and they constitute 40 per cent of OECD middle-level manpower assistance. Peace Corps volunteers make up one half of U.S. technical assistance personnel.

Generally, export and domestic volunteers staff programs of social and economic development and seek to act as catalysts or agents of change. Occupationally, the greatest number of volunteers is found in teaching and literacy work. Interest is also high in community development, agriculture, medicine and sanitation, small industry, cooperatives, forestation, infrastructure, and construction of community facilities. The emphasis varies from country to country and program to program. Without volunteers many of these development efforts would either close down or be less effective.

The development manpower significance of the volunteer derives not only from the numbers available but also from the level at which he is competent

GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS

1961-1966

Program	1961	1964	1966
Export Programs	1	13	18
Export Volunteers	750	11,000	17,000
Host Countries	9	70	100
Domestic Programs	1	6	18
Domestic Volunteers	50	1,500	28,000
National Youth Programs	2	18	23
National Youth Volunteers	150	6,000	55,000
TOTAL PROGRAMS	4	37	68
TOTAL VOLUNTEERS	950	18,500	100,000+

and willing to work--the low and middle level. A volunteer is ready to serve at the grass-roots level. Who else is available to transfer skills and work to change attitudes in the villages of Africa, Asia, and Latin America? No matter how polished the plan, no matter how available the capital and material, until new skills are brought to the village level and interpreted on a daily basis over a long period of time, changes prerequisite to development do not occur.

In agriculture we lack not for technical knowledge; we lack not for demonstration projects; what we lack are ways and means of transmitting what we know to hundreds of thousands or even millions of individual cultivators. To teach new techniques to and change traditional attitudes of individual farmers, a human catalyst is needed. To be effective this agent of change must remain in the village day after day. He must remain long enough to gain the confidence of farmers and long enough for the practical results of his skills to be demonstrable in the village. The volunteer is just this kind of a human catalyst. He can be the skilled communicator of the technical knowledge the world already possesses but has not transmitted to its grass roots.

In the health field, while solutions to all microbiological hazards are not known, medical knowledge does protect human beings who are lucky enough to live in developed areas from many of the world's health hazards. But how do you transmit health rules to the millions of human beings living in the underdeveloped regions? How do you persuade people to wash their hands regularly? How do you assure consumption of only boiled water? How do you introduce an adequate diet from available food? Certainly there can never be enough doctors with years of specialized training to oversee these matters. Certainly there can never be enough trained nurses. The health knowledge these men and women

have must be subdivided, simplified, and dispersed over and over again at the village level. Again, the volunteer is a unique force. He is the only manpower source available for a massive and continuous input of health skills at the grass-roots level. The same kind of local catalyst or agent of change is required in nutrition, family planning, and other development areas.

Volunteer Program Variations of Future Import

One of the most recent and significant developments in international volunteer service is the concept of regional programs. Participants in such programs often need much less training than other international volunteers because they are usually already familiar with the language and culture they must work in. Thus they can be effective sooner. Such programs are advantageous because of the different skill levels within member countries of a region. Skills in surplus in one nation may be efficiently transferred to others which have shortages. Fostering regional integration is a desirable by-product. In January, 1967, a pilot regional Latin American program was begun in the Dominican Republic with recruiting, selection, and training in technical assistance by the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service. Thirty volunteers from five countries are participating.

Some other types of service programs are also worth mentioning:

Ethiopia requires that all who wish to graduate from Haile Selassie University complete one year of service work in rural areas. The 1917 Constitution of Mexico makes from 6 to 24 months of social service a prerequisite for a license to practice as a doctor, engineer, architect, economist, teacher, or social worker and to work in most other professions. Doctors and engineers have followed this in practice but now the government is exploring ways to

enforce the law for all professions covered. Even an optional program would be a significant step forward.

These examples offer much to those developing countries with small elites who are prone to repeat the old colonial patterns toward their own people. A service prerequisite for a degree both educates the student in a profound manner unachievable in the classroom and contributes to development. Thus, the student repays directly the disadvantaged of his society whose immediate welfare has often been sacrificed so that he may be educated.

A number of countries permit and sometimes encourage their young men to do national service work at home or abroad as an alternative to the military. Although there are differences between the systems, countries that have some version of the basic idea include the Netherlands, Norway, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, France, Iran, Colombia, Chile, Israel, Switzerland, Malagasy Republic, Ivory Coast, Chad, and Gabon.³

Uniqueness of the Volunteer

What's so special about a volunteer? Everyone in the business plays this game sooner or later, and it can lead one through the obscure glades of semantics, philosophy, and morality. Robert Greenway phrases his vision this way:

The kinds of things that can be learned through volunteer action--the kinds of skills tried out, the development of human relationships, the actual usage of youthful energies in search of new solutions to the mounting domestic problems--just may be critical needs in the fast-changing world of today.⁴

I would like to take a somewhat different orientation to the question, one that perhaps takes greater cognizance of the importance of the generation

gap that separates those of us who plan and direct volunteer services from the vast majority of those who participate in them. Both in this country and elsewhere, members of the older generation tend to contrast the positive volunteer service of youth to the negative protest and political actions of youth. In doing this, I think we are missing the very vital connection between the motivation that takes a young man out to the streets to demonstrate for a cause and the motivation that we expect from our most committed and effective volunteers.

Youth for most of us is that time of life when we are acutely conscious of the state of the world and our responsibilities to it. For the best of our youth, the injustice and poverty that define existence for a majority of the world's population cannot be ignored. If these young people are given an opportunity which they believe permits them to confront these problems directly without compromising their integrity, they will choose to participate in volunteer programs. If they feel they have no such opportunity, their consciousness of the desperateness of the world situation will leave them with only two alternatives. They may protest with any and every means at their disposal, be derided by the establishment and their elders, and be further alienated from their society. They may drop out and suppress their consciousness of reality with a variety of old and new narcotics. In the developing world some drop out by emigrating to find their future in another society, thus contributing to the so-called "brain-drain." Others in both developed and developing countries will simply, after a period of protest or dropout, opt for personal advancement within their own society. It is well known that many university radicals become contented bourgeois soon after graduation.

Consciousness of the social issues involved in development is required

for a fully effective volunteer because his job requires the social sensitivity to identify with the interests of the poor and exploited. Only if he has this identification will he be able to avoid feeling superior to the people he is working with and acting paternalistically. This is important because most volunteer effectiveness turns not on technical skill, although that is important, but rather on human problems of communication, because he is working with people who have no reason to trust the intentions of the society toward them.

If volunteer programs are presented that take these factors into consideration, there should be no difficulty in finding a sufficient number of able and committed volunteers to fulfill any need. The population of the world is assuming an increasingly youthful bias and it would be only the most foolhardy of governments that ignored that fact in its planning for the future. Already urban unemployment rates of 25 to 30 per cent among the educated in Asia and to a lesser extent in Latin America are reflected in strikes and riots.

THE POSSIBILITY OF INTERNATIONALIZED VOLUNTEER SERVICE

It should by now be clear why the United States must take a global view of national service. Perhaps the greatest contribution we can make is to persuade our government that just as overseas and domestic service are good for United States citizens, similar opportunities will develop the citizenry of the world and augment the unique contributions to development made now by the Peace Corps, VISTA, and the Job Corps.

Having recognized that important concept, the United States could choose from several alternative approaches.

The direct and bilateral approach to encouragement of non-United States volunteer service programs would be allocation of AID funds to help these

programs in developing countries as well as regional volunteer service corps. Transforming present short-term student vacation programs into long-term volunteer organizations would tap thousands of available skilled man years for development in Asia, Latin America, and to a lesser degree Africa. Outside funding is required. The United States, which encouraged the 19 other nations exporting volunteers to establish or expand their programs, should now, based on its faith in VISTA, encourage industrialized countries to help finance indigenous volunteer programs in the developing world.

The multilateral approach would be to pursue increased internationalization of volunteer service. This is the most creative choice responsive to world needs in the long run. Glyn Roberts argues:

The one way spirit must go. The vested interests must go and the present traces of paternalism. In their place we need a spirit and a system whereby organizations can cooperate in confidence, not as Givers and Receivers, not as "developed" and "under-developed," nor as Governmental and private, but as partners in a vast operation. Volunteers and ideas must now move in the return direction and be interchanged between every continent.⁵

For practical reasons, the multilateral approach will probably not evolve for some years. It should be started, however, and because it will take time the bilateral efforts outlined above should begin at once.

Coordination of Use of Volunteers

Every national volunteer program in the world finds itself hampered to a greater or lesser degree by bilateral paternalism. The political content that exists in relations between any two countries, especially when there is a giver-receiver aspect to the relationship, causes tensions that detract from the function of a volunteer program. Until skilled persons of developing countries are also provided opportunities to serve, we not only limit our human

resources for development but subject sending countries to the charge of "do-good imperialism."

At present, 71 of the 96 countries and territories that host export volunteer programs host more than one. Some have as many as nine volunteer services with 500 to 1,000 or more foreign volunteers operating in their territory. Each program has its own conditions of service, legal standing, national and regional personnel, projects, techniques, and style. "In principle, they are all ready to cooperate; in practice they have little to do with each other and simply push 'their' program. It is all very confusing, especially to the host countries."⁶ In addition, the volunteers of any given program may be spread around half a dozen ministries and autonomous offices. Very few host countries have taken this situation in hand and established a coordinating authority which could make this hodge-podge intelligible.

If volunteers are to make a contribution to the development of the countries where they work, their efforts must form a rational part of national planning. A thorough internationalization of all export volunteer programs would allow each host government to concentrate its energies on just one responsible foreign organization and coordinate this with its own domestic volunteer efforts.

Some of the ongoing work problems of export volunteer services are caused by the lack of opposite numbers in the host country. The existence of domestic service volunteers would help resolve many problems. Internationalization would facilitate and depoliticize the support by developed countries of such domestic services. The March, 1967, ISVS World Assembly Meeting in New Delhi focused on all three of these problems.

Advantages of Internationalization

An internationalized volunteer service brings new resources to the volunteer movement. When the world is looked at in toto, one sees a single pool of potential talent and a single bag of problems. With broader resources of talent it will be possible to make more appropriate responses to particular needs. Since, because of their national orientations, most countries provide only limited specialties of volunteers, an international coordinating body is desirable to ensure those volunteers receive assignments that will make the best use of their skills. An international program would be able to utilize volunteers individually without preoccupying itself with the archetypical volunteer from each country or the relative economic level and political postures of that country. An international service would be able to evaluate and place the volunteer by employing only the criterion of need.

Such a service is the practical embodiment of the acute analysis of John Kenneth Galbraith.

Developing countries, I have suggested, can be thought of rather as beads being moved along a string.... To see the countries of the world not as divided between the developed and the underdeveloped but as spaced along a line representing various stages of development is essential if we are to have an accurate view of the problem of assistance. For when development is so regarded we see that no group of countries is uniquely qualified to extend assistance and no other group is completely condemned to the role of recipient. Rather, each country has something to gain from those that are in front and it has something to offer those that follow. The provision of aid is seen, as it should be seen, as a cooperative endeavor in which all countries may participate.⁷

An international service would offer the opportunity for participation to citizens of countries that were either too small or too poor or had no interest in fielding their own national or overseas programs. The large number

of educated third-world youths whose career goals have encouraged them to live in the developed countries might also be reached by an international volunteer program that offered them the possibility of service commensurate with their skills. Every two years of volunteer service for them would not only help development but would probably inspire a number of them to become professionals in technical assistance.

It would seem likely that once the bugs were worked out, there would be many economies of scale available to an international volunteer service to offset some of the logistical problems (like travel) adding to cost. The use of common training facilities, experts, overseas administrative staffs, medical facilities, and documentary materials would probably yield some savings.

Greater internationalization is advisable also from a more theoretical point of view. The planners and programmers of any foreign assistance program are always in danger of seeing the new realities of the host country too much through the preconceptions and values of their own cultures. Dialogue between foreign and national administrators can reduce this risk; however, the great functional differences between the roles of the two parties can also cause blockages in understanding. An international volunteer service organization would institutionalize the practice of people from different national cultures but with broadly similar goals working out together the problems of the volunteer's role in development. The conflict of viewpoints should enable the administrators to compensate for their cultural biases.

Initiation of International Volunteer Service

When we speak of internationalization of volunteer programs, a series of nightmarish conceptions comes to the mind of anyone who has ever done either volunteer service abroad or international organization work. To begin with,

the fear of ponderous slow-moving bureaucracy chills the spirit. Volunteer programs must continue to be flexible, quick in response, and human operations. Bureaucratic entropy can be avoided. Rather than trying to begin with a full operational international structure, we could simply integrate more of the existing volunteers into United Nations development efforts. Eventually, profiting from this field experience, an autonomous United Nations office could realistically undertake to recruit, select, and even give basic training to volunteers for its specialized agencies. Only as time overcame doubts, bureaucratic rigidity, and logistical problems would a true United Nations volunteer force need to be created.

Another common fear is that complete internationalization would bring to the volunteer movement the debilitating aspects of cold war politics that could disrupt any unified and purposeful action. Two points can be made in rebuttal of this preoccupation. First, despite ideological differences today, international cooperation has been effective in many United Nations development agencies. Second, it should be understood that although some countries, including the United States, have put much of their development assistance in a political context, there is no inherent necessity that they do so. If the major powers cannot be convinced to become selfless partisans of the world's disadvantaged, they at least could do more to ensure, in this their most idealistic venture, that volunteers stay independent of foreign policy interests.

Despite these two major problems and a host of logistical questions that have to be compromised, the cause of making volunteer service a truly international endeavor seems worth the effort. Unquestionably, the best sponsor for internationalization is the United Nations. The political and

bureaucratic factors which have limited United Nations acceptance of this responsibility to date should dissolve as more developing countries field domestic programs and as the volunteer's role in development is increasingly accepted.

Immediate World Options

There are other, already existing, organizations with some limited international responsibilities to volunteer service that might play an initial role. The International Secretariat for Volunteer Service was created in 1962 at the Middle Level Manpower Conference held in Puerto Rico to serve as an inter-governmental agency charged with assisting member nations in the planning, creation, and improvement of volunteer programs. It does this principally by information and experience exchanges. The Secretariat has a policy and planning council of ten governments, an assembly of 44, a central office in Washington, D.C., and regional offices in The Hague, Buenos Aires, and Manila.

Several small private international organizations now have volunteers in different parts of the world. They include the United Nations Association, the International Building Companions, Service Civile Internationale, and the European Working Group. Their resources are so limited and their work so specialized that they have regrettably little influence in the internationalization question.

There are also two nongovernmental (NGO) coordination agencies that are similar to ISVS insofar as they have no volunteers themselves. Both the Regional Conference on International Voluntary Service, based in Brussels, and the Coordination Committee for International Voluntary Services, which has NGO consultative status with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), play important roles in encouraging

communication and interchange in the nongovernmental volunteer movement.

Although full internationalization is the desirable goal, a number of smaller steps can be taken without resulting in a radical restructuring of the present bilateral and national programs. One of these, of course, would be the strengthening of ISVS, the already existing intergovernmental "co-ordinating" organization, and giving the NGO's consultative status with ISVS. Important actions can also be taken within each host country to coordinate the various bilateral private and domestic volunteer efforts present within it. Certain administrative support functions could be shared by all of the volunteer organizations in each country.

Especially significant would be for host and sponsoring countries to make every possible effort to integrate their work with that of the United Nations specialized agencies in the field. Host country focus on this would encourage a U.N. policy decision that programing volunteers, including costs, is the only way the United Nations can reap the full potentialities of volunteer service at a time it consistently fails to field enough experts for the tasks at hand. A first step for the United Nations would be to have the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) recommend Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) precedents and experience in utilizing over 200 volunteers. The International Labor Organization (ILO) and the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF) are now exploring steps to move beyond ad hoc use. UNESCO and the World Health Organization (WHO) need the same grass roots help of volunteers.

The Role of the United States

The United States, if it accepts this global view of national service, could do much to facilitate the progress of making volunteer service possible

for every qualified person in the world. The Peace Corps, as the largest export volunteer agency in the world and clearly the most potent inspiration for the current boom in volunteer service, can provide tremendous moral suasion on other programs, both by promoting the concept of internationalization and by setting the example of offering many of its field facilities for international use.

The United States can increase instead of decrease its volunteers working with United Nations specialized agency projects and supply the funds so that more non-U.S. volunteers could be included. Congress could channel money through the United Nations or other multilateral institutions to support the establishment of domestic volunteer services throughout the developing world. Similar United States assistance could also foster regional volunteer interchanges and eventually world exchanges of volunteers. The reverse Peace Corps idea belongs as much to the world as President Kennedy's original conception of the Peace Corps, and we should be taking steps to bring it into a truly international context.

An appropriate symbolic way of funding these projects would be to broaden the example of Iran, which in 1966 offered an annual contribution of one day's military budget for a proposed UNESCO-administered International Literacy Corps. The Iranian contribution would be \$700,000 or 3 cents per capita; the equivalent from the United States would be \$150,000,000 or 75 cents per capita. The United States could offer such an amount to UNDP for funding volunteers of the world into their projects. Only by providing their experts and advisors with the grass roots "presence" and continuity of volunteer assistants (domestic and export) can we expect the long-sought-for "multiplier effect" to permeate the U.N. development assistance effort.

Integration of All Types of Volunteer Service

In focusing on the horizontal international problems of volunteer service, I have perhaps slighted considerations of vertical integration within each country. In the best of all volunteer worlds each country would have some sort of national youth service program, a domestic service program, and it would participate in regional and international programs. Undeniably "domestic efforts constitute the central element in economic progress and (foreign) assistance, notwithstanding its crucial impact on economic growth, can only reinforce the essential element of domestic efforts."⁸ But this reinforcement does not work in just one direction. Export or international volunteers profit from the existence of domestic volunteers.

Because volunteer programs depend so heavily on their human components, failures in that component badly hurt the entire effort. It is very hard for a host country to understand this sort of Achilles heel without analagous experience of its own. When a country has its own domestic service, it is able to appreciate that the difficulties and frictions (as well as the achievements) that it has encountered with the foreign volunteers were not caused only by their foreignness. Once domestic authorities understand that the volunteer, whatever his nationality, is a pretty unique program input, their criticisms will be better attuned to the real problems of volunteer projects and their evaluations more objective. Also, the host country will lose any lingering sense of inferiority when it sees that its own people are equally inspired to volunteer effort and accomplishment.

The sense of purpose and motivation felt by a volunteer will be increased as he conceives of himself within a unified effort of similarly committed individuals at complementary levels to his own work. Many significant

volunteer projects could profit immensely from the collaboration of the special contributions offered by each type of volunteer. Serious concern with the effectiveness and critical importance of volunteers in the struggle for development forces one to the conclusion that it is in the interest of the United States Peace Corps--and all other volunteer and national service organizations--to coordinate their efforts now both vertically and horizontally and to work toward eventual internationalization.

NATIONAL SERVICE: CENTRALIZED OR DECENTRALIZED

Workshop Discussion Summary

Chairman: Robert Herzstein, Partner
Arnold and Porter, Washington, D.C.

Panelists: Michael B. Goldstein, Executive Director, New York
City Urban Corps; William Josephson; Thomas D.
Scott, Program Associate, Ford Foundation; H.
Donald Wilson

While I am a former and proud member of the Peace Corps staff, firmly convinced of the program's importance and validity, nevertheless there is as important an objective lesson to be drawn from its limitations as from its successes. The Peace Corps in its first year had frozen itself rigidly into recruiting from a tiny minority of the country's population, although its mandate was to find among the technically trained and middle range of Americans a mass of people willing to and capable of serving abroad. That mandate was almost immediately forgotten for various reasons, and an elite group--the American university students, and only a very small portion of those--became the sole manpower resource for the Peace Corps. Volunteer training, rather than being an imaginative varied program, became so rigidified that a university could apply for a contract merely by changing the name of the university on the top of the page and the signature of the Chancellor at the bottom. Few universities wasted anybody's time by proposing a bold, new experiment--it wasn't written into the contract. The result was that the Peace Corps produced in effect only two kinds of volunteers, teachers and community development workers. This tendency toward stagnation is the danger inherent in the lure of what appears to be the efficiency of central operation as against the assumed incompetence and inefficiency of the do-gooders in the street. Somewhere there is a middle line.

Responding to this statement by Mr. Scott, the workshop sought this middle line between a highly centralized authority that would include in its jurisdiction all the youth of America and an unstructured, vaguely cooperative relationship between public and private service agencies. Both extremes were quickly rejected. The highly centralized model, most often associated

in the public mind with national service, was seen as totalitarian in essence and therefore inconsistent with the national service concept. The loose coordination of agencies was rejected as too weak an entity to implement effectively a program of national service.

Most members of the workshop found the middle line to lie within the pluralistic concept of a central organization that would serve as "an honest broker" among existing federal, state, local, and private agencies and new programs that would gradually evolve as national service expanded. Mr. Goldstein spelled out the honest-broker concept in this way:

I propose as the most viable solution a strong national structure with the obligation of going into the field, of maintaining ongoing, very close liaison with the private sector, local industry and governments, and with the volunteers themselves. The function of the central structure would be to provide constant feedback among the groups and individuals involved and to exert pressure as necessary on local power structures to deal with and remedy community ills.

Mr. Goldstein stated, however, a precondition to central direction.

You can't have central administration before you have an articulated goal of what national service is in all its major aspects. There has to be some way for the national organization to communicate to the agency what is expected of it and to the national serviceman what is expected of him. Equally important is the ability of the local group to be able to communicate to the central organization what its needs are, both in terms of manpower and of technical assistance in developing the capability of handling the manpower.

To meet this responsibility of coordination and communication the central organization must assume several primary functions. The first of these is to promote the ideal of service for all citizens. Mr. Wilson proposed that the only effective means of communicating the personal and societal values of

national service is to create "a vigorous centralized push" that will have noticeable positive impact on the society. Mr. Josephson concurred:

The challenge for national service is to develop enough power so that it can make stick the policies it thinks are important in dealing with local groups. A central failure of the poverty program has been that it never developed any capacity to make at least some crucial central policies. Any national service program that's worth the adjective "national" must find a way to arrest, not in the police sense, but in the sense of capturing the attention of, all young people in the United States. It must interest the relatively uneducated, relatively underprivileged in national service as well as the relatively educated and privileged.

To achieve what he termed "minimal audible level," Mr. Wilson said the program must be large scale, for example ten programs of 5,000 people each rather than 100 programs of 500 each. Mr. Josephson supported this approach, rejecting "gradualist or minimalist approaches because they dissipate the thrust and fail to capture a significant share of public resources or support."

Mr. Goldstein, while recognizing the necessity of ostensible impact-- "the serious problem of a successful program on the one hand and visibility on the other"--remarked that "5,000 volunteers are not necessarily more effective in causing an impact than 500, depending on what the 500 are doing." He pointed out that the ramifications of mistakes would be correspondingly intensified, suggesting that numbers were not as important as programs, "To go simply on the basis of large numbers for the sake of impact on the society is missing what we're trying to do, which is to develop a viable national service program." Mr. Wilson responded by referring to the amazement of the Job Corps when it discovered the blue ribbon corporations of America were ineffective in the management of "a few simple Job Corps camps."

He said that dispersed interest among several of only the top executives of these companies would not guarantee effective corporate administration "unless the man also had the support of the totality of the company bureaucracy." He concluded that it might be more productive to "seek the participation of one or two of the blue chip businesses rather than to split involvement and responsibility among several."

Mr. Scott took issue with what he termed Mr. Wilson's "crash program" approach because he felt it rendered the volunteer coincidental, in contrast, he said, to the volunteer-oriented proposal by the National Service Secretariat (Appendix A). He saw concern with "impact as a politically based response rather than an integral aspect of national service and as a justification for central control rather than the reverse." He added that he felt the desire for an impact program was based on a wish to create an organizational charisma that would insure a clear flow of loyalty from the volunteer to the central agency. But he reminded the panelists that "a good technical assistance man overseas devotes his loyalty to his project and not to his headquarters back in the States." Mr. Scott concluded, "If we reach the stage that voluntary service becomes a truly universal, nationwide program, we had better be sure it is not entirely in the hands of the parties instead of the hands of the people."

VOLUNTARY AGENCY RELATIONSHIPS TO THE CENTER

A major responsibility of a central administration would be the designation of which agencies could appropriately receive national servicemen. Selection criteria, it was suggested, should be based principally on the ability to make effective use of participants and less on the substantive con-

tent of programs utilizing national servicemen. Mr. Goldstein pointed out, however, that "before anyone is placed in a local sphere, the national organization should fully inform itself of the existing situation--how the local organization operates, how it relates to the local power structure and whether the appropriate kinds of roles for national servicemen as communicated by the central authority would be disregarded in the absence of central observation." Mr. Wilson agreed that there was "no point in providing thousands of volunteers to organizations that are aimed at the wrong problems themselves," especially, added Richard Mendes, consultant to VISTA, when "once we work through an established organization, we take on the goals of that organization."

The panelists emphasized that a primary objective of national service would be to encourage maximum citizen participation--"to let individuals develop their usefulness as they serve without spelling it out too much in advance." Mr. Josephson summarized:

There ought to be no skill that national service is not prepared to undertake if its promise is to respond to the range of unmet or inadequately met social needs of this country. The choice of opportunities should be tremendously varied, from the point of view both of the kinds of preparation relevant to national service participation and of the actual work done.

The second task of a central authority would be to work with local organizations in identifying ways to make optimal use of volunteers. Mr. Wilson described this as "a dynamic process in which we must teach our society a new trick--that of how to use the nonprofessional worker in a society that is accustomed to relying on experts." He said the first step is to demonstrate to local voluntary agencies the value of national servicemen, a task Mr. Mendes viewed as particularly difficult in "a country where it has not been easy to

teach the values of the skilled in the human relations sphere." Mr. Josephson suggested that Mr. Mendes' concern is already in evidence in "the frustration and bafflement that many former Peace Corps volunteers feel on their return to the United States in trying to get something done in this allegedly rational society."

To illustrate the importance of selective and effective use of volunteers, Mr. Goldstein told of an experience in the Urban Corps in which a request was filled for "graduate students in history to work on a program of records analysis under the supervision of professors of history, to code, evaluate, and determine the historical significance of documents dating back 200 to 300 years." It turned out that their job was "to pick up heavy cartons of old, musty papers and, under the supervision of a road foreman, to load them on garbage trucks!"

Mr. Wilson recognized the need for a fundamental social revolution, "an opening up of our society," in order to achieve the desired level of volunteer utilization.

National service implies a revolution in social welfare simply because of the energy input that would go into that work. If viewed only in economic terms the implication of putting several million volunteers at a dollar investment in the billions, plus the necessary operating capital commitments that the agencies will have to contribute, will have an impact on our society that is going to effect a fundamental change. You can put 500 volunteers in a situation and have nothing go wrong; but it will be ten years before that organization can show the results. Failure, however, comes on the route very fast.

From an organizational viewpoint, Mr. Wilson emphasized the difficulty of introducing a new skill into an existing society, in which the innovators must deal with the same people and institutions--the same Red Cross, hospitals,

schools, organizations--that are now operating. He saw the role of a central administration as "identifying those areas where national servicemen can be dramatically useful, to give them absolute support until proof of their value is generally recognized, and to create a demand for this type of worker."

The next step in teaching a new social skill, Mr. Wilson said, is for the central authority to cooperate with local groups in eliminating problems related to using volunteers and to encourage these groups to find viable solutions without reducing volunteer utilization. The social consequences for the society and the organizational, programmatic effects on voluntary service agencies of such a function of the central authority would be revolutionary.

A secondary issue in the question of agency-volunteer relationship is the kind of role that national servicemen should be encouraged by the central administration to assume when they join a particular organization. The question, defined but unresolved by the panelists, was: Should a volunteer be encouraged by the central authority to play a potentially reformist role in the organization to which he is sent, or should he participate primarily with a view to his own education, assuming a more passive role? Mr. Wilson said, "If you put a young person on a temporary basis in a job which is not his life job, he tends to be more pushing, more critical, perhaps more energetically creative, than he may ever be again." Mr. Mendes injected the reservation that the national service participant "may recognize the experience as a self-educating one, may perceive the inadequacies of the agencies, may even hope to remedy some of these deficiencies when he assumes a more powerful position in the society. But, while these effects may be positive and good, the result will merely be delayed social change with relatively no immediate or significant social impact."

A third function of a centralized administration would be program evaluation--the study of the contributions by and to national servicemen in all the participating voluntary agencies and the transmittal of the lessons learned to other organizations. One panel member commented that "the job to which a person is assigned is a way of getting that person into the society; it must be judged in the context of the kind of experience it offers the individual." Mr. Mendes agreed that evaluation criteria should be based primarily on a program's "contribution to the participant rather than its benefit to the nation." The evaluation responsibility of the central administration was viewed by the panelists as an integral aspect of its initial function, that of communicating the value of national service to all citizens and appropriate agencies.

A fourth responsibility, and one closely related to the communication and coordination functions, was described by the workshop panel as assisting with, and advising in, the creation of new service opportunities for the available volunteers. One panelist stressed the need not to let any volunteer go unutilized, warning against "the misery of unimportance." Mr. Herzstein noted that "many young people out of high school--whether dropping out, entering a job, or continuing on to college--have the feeling that the existing institutions in society do not relate to their particular needs and interests and do not respond to their sense of isolation and uninvolvedness; as a result they are not willing to devote a period of their lives to working within these seemingly irrelevant organizations, although they may well share with other elements of the youth population a willingness, in fact a desire, to commit themselves to some meaningful service activity." The elimination of this vacuum in the range of service opportunities was seen by the panelists

as a major task of a central national service organization.

A MINIMAL BUREAUCRACY

With these four major functions as a foundation, the workshop turned its attention to the kind of bureaucratic structure that would be most adaptable to the execution of these responsibilities and to the attainment of the objectives of national service. On the whole, the panelists were skeptical about the advisability or possibility of setting forth a detailed organizational framework in advance of the initiation of a large-scale national service program. Their concern centered instead on the need for a structure that would permit the program's dynamics to operate relatively uninhibited. The basic plan supported by a majority of the workshop was a flat pyramid with a strong central staff of flexible, innovative people, supported perhaps by a few regional offices, and then on the next level simply the grass roots voluntary service agencies in which the volunteers serve.

Within this minimal structure the opportunities for experimenting with degrees of central control and federal involvement in national service were seen as almost unlimited. The workshop rejected the two extremes of reliance only on "the random or free market action" or of total federal control, comparing the latter to a government takeover of the country's universities because it believed these institutions were ineffectual. It was thought that the institution of national service on a large scale would dramatically demonstrate the value of such a program to schools, hospitals, and local communities and would encourage these groups in their turn to assume the initiative in program funding and in reorganizing themselves to respond more directly to local needs. In this way the amount of central control would be minimized, and the residual responsibilities of the national organization

would consist primarily of information provision, program evaluation, and research. In fact, a suggestion was made "to launch an organization that had a time limit on it" in order to force local organizations to re-evaluate and reorder their programs and goals to coincide with the needs of the society and the objectives of national service.

7

PREPARATION FOR SERVICE

Any program of national service would have to make provision for the preparatory stages necessary to a period of service. Two stages suggested in the National Service Secretariat's model (Appendix A) are National Service Summer Camps and National Service Placement Centers. As a basis for conference exploration of two aspects of preparation--selection and training--three persons actively engaged in programs preparing young people for service were asked to propose guidelines and design programs for the summer camps and placement centers. Joshua Miner and his associate Dyke Williams of Outward Bound suggest basic recommendations for summer camps as a prelude to a longer period of service. David Dichter of Sports International and Youth for Development bases his plan for placement centers on a program of compulsory national service. While his strong advocacy of compulsory service sparked debate on that aspect of his proposal in the workshop on "National Service: Selection and Training," many of the principles of operation of a placement center were seen to be relevant to a program of voluntary service.

The overriding concern at this workshop, even among the strongest opponents of compulsory service, was that young people should not be denied an opportunity to serve. One Peace Corps official remarked, "We should be talking about where young people will serve, not about choosing between those who will and will not be allowed to serve." Members of the workshop pointed to the different kinds of training appropriate for different persons and different tasks, thus underlining the importance of flexibility and attention to individual needs and interests.

NATIONAL SERVICE SUMMER CAMPS: A TIME FOR LEARNING

Joshua L. Miner III

and

Dyke V. Williams

A young man at age 18 is physically and mentally ready to be an adult, yet in most cases he has never had even a temporary adult role to play. He is expected to pass through his formative years on a conveyor belt, obeying rules of administrative expedience and memorizing "informational" education, lacking inspiration and motivation, conscious only of his apparent unimportance. It is extremely difficult to find a summer job providing a modicum of adult experience, freedom, and responsibility for an 18-year-old. Finding one that is at the same time meaningful and constructive is virtually impossible.

At age 18 a youth is expected by society to behave by adult "standards," to be mature and responsible, never having experienced adult freedoms. He can be conscripted to fight and die; he cannot vote. He can assume the obligations of a steady job, a career, of being a husband and father; but in most instances he cannot make a binding contract.

National service as proposed will take the form of work for a private or public service agency preceded by a period of training. At least two

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years will be asked or demanded of a participant. Initial training will be provided on a year-round basis by national service centers and during the summer by national service summer camps. The focus and quality of these training programs will largely determine whether national service becomes for its participants a desirable and challenging opportunity or a boring obligation to be avoided.

THE "INTERNAL GOAL" FOR NATIONAL SERVICE

Unquestionably the ultimate aim of national service will be the improvement and equalization of opportunity for all citizens. This is the "external goal." Yet, within the theory and structure of the program, there exists the possibility to provide something of significant and unique value that will be a creative experience for the young men taking part. Design of national service to be a constructive opportunity for its participants must be the "internal goal" of the program.

Several authorities have suggested that participants may themselves benefit from national service through increased motivation, awareness, and human understanding. Without the proper focus and training, however, individual development will be left to chance, to take place, if at all, during or after the work to be done. Some participants may never derive such benefits, and in any event, much of the program's work will be done before such development takes place.

It is possible to create a training program that attracts and appeals to young men, reveals and develops potential, and provides motivation to perform their service work thoroughly and well. The potential to be realized is the development of a creative experience--a relevant and meaningful adult role and concomitant responsibility--for young men, many of whom have grown up in an

aura of indulgence, indifference, and apathy.

The quality of manpower available. Participants will be age 18 or older, with the possibility, however, that some trainees in national service summer camps will be as young as 16. Some of these young men, whether volunteers or conscripts, will bring with them the requisite abilities and motivation for a service program. Many, if not most, however, will be suffering to a greater or lesser extent from what has been termed "cultural decay"--the decay of initiative due to "spectatoritis," the decay of skill and care due to the weakened tradition of craftsmanship, the decay of physical fitness due to modern methods of locomotion, the decline of self-discipline due to tranquilizing drugs, and finally the decay of compassion, which amounts to spiritual death.¹

The call to service. In the experience of Outward Bound, "there are three ways of trying to win the young. There's persuasion, there is compulsion, and there is attraction. You can preach at them; that is the hook without the worm. You can say 'you must volunteer'; that is of the devil. And you can tell them 'you are needed'; that appeal hardly ever fails."²

The need must be demanding and stimulating, yet capable of being answered in an obvious and immediate manner. "The experience of helping a fellow man in danger, or even of training in a realistic manner to be ready to give this help, tends to change the balance of power in a youth's inner life with the result that compassion can become the master motive."³

Training for search and rescue is immediate, relevant, and very real. It draws a youth out of himself, teaching him concern and compassion for others, giving him a sense of service and importance. It provides him with adventure, hardship, and an adult role of duty and responsibility. It is experiential, requiring the youth (under controlled circumstances) to do and

learn for himself, allowing him to realize his unknown inner strength and to discover that as a cooperating member of a group he can accomplish great things.

The immediate relevancy of search and rescue training can impel young men into value-forming experiences--it does not compel. It is the youth himself who takes the initiative by answering the call "you are needed" to do a job that needs doing. Compulsion may get the job done. It will not be done well, and it will not be a creative experience for the compelled. To appeal to young men and to receive their unlimited enthusiasm, energy, and ability, a program need only challenge them and demand their utmost.

Training programs in National Service. The experience of Outward Bound has demonstrated short-term, high-impact training courses to be most effective for revealing and developing character and service motivation under conditions of stress and crisis. It has long been observed that the finest human qualities are brought forth by stress and crisis, most notably in wartime. Today much of military training has focused on stress situations and development of the ability to function rationally in spite of them.

These fine human qualities can also be revealed in situations involving the saving of lives or realistic training in preparation for this. Perhaps some day such a creative experience will be available to all young men serving their country. Ideally all would have a short-term course in search and rescue training before making the choice between military and nonmilitary service, lest we have a population divided into those trained solely for military purposes and those trained by many of the same methods for service work--Spartans and Athenians.

Critical to this motivational training is a close relationship among the

members of a training patrol and between each member and an instructor. Patrols should be small (roughly between 8 and 12) and maintain an instructor-to-trainee ratio of approximately one to six. Up to 16 such patrols could be grouped in one area, the smallness of the overall group assuring the possibility of personal contact and understanding among staff, administration, and participants.

Training areas could be located near national service centers or universities, which would serve as the regional coordinating center for all training areas in the district. Universities could offer instructor training courses, much like R.O.T.C., for their undergraduates, who might be granted service deferments to participate in such courses. Upon graduation they would go directly into training areas as instructors, although some could be made available as supervisors to agencies receiving national service participants.

The initial phase of training could be roughly four weeks, ideally a residential program in a dramatic and challenging natural environment such as a desert, mountain, wilderness, or sea area. The laws of nature are immutable, stripping issues to their essentials and respected immediately by young men disenchanted by the vicissitudes of man. The training experience should be a series of increasingly difficult challenges directly or indirectly involving preparation for and service as a search and rescue unit for the area. Such a program can also be carried out in certain urban settings, with orientation toward water and highway service and rescue, or even toward multiservice community centers helping with such tasks as relocation of evictees and salvaging vacant areas for playgrounds.

The four-week training session would probably be sufficient for many participants, and then most could go directly to recipient service agencies. For

some it might be advisable to provide additional field training experience in various fields of service work; but, hopefully, most recipient agencies would be able to provide this training directly. Based on Outward Bound experience the cost of the four-week session might average \$550 per trainee, and presumably another four weeks of field experience would be roughly the same. Programs using expensive rescue equipment may be somewhat more costly. If the four-week session proved sufficient basic training for most participants, each training area could run two courses each summer, one in July and one in August, to fit into school vacation periods.

Elements necessary to the initial training phase. Each training program should include the following elements as adapted to the particular setting:⁴

1. Problems should be of graded difficulty, designed to appear impossible but actually within the grasp of the individual or group. Progress is therefore obvious and immediate, and the confidence gained from the success in an area where failure would have been predicted leads a young man to accept further challenges of progressive difficulty. Success reinforces success.

2. Stress can be used in such a way that the ensuing tension becomes a creative force, demanding reassessment and re-evaluation. Hunger, cold, loneliness, and fear, used in a carefully controlled situation, are experiences that can be defined, confronted, and overcome. Two days of fog while on a voyage in an open boat can provide such a situation. One can learn to live with tension, to function in spite of it, and to handle crises and emergencies with rational control and courage. The stress of fatigue and exhaustion tests determination and willpower.

3. The deliberate posing of problems that are realistic and unavoidable, that demand a response, can evoke a willingness to try, encouraging

initiative and resourcefulness and creating greater self-motivation. Skills that are intricate, demanding thought and care, once learned give a sense of mastery and are a vehicle for growth. Heterogeneous grouping within patrols demands adjustment and adaptation to a changed social environment, yet the small size allows for group identity and cohesiveness to emerge.

4. Physical fitness is necessary for the safety and success of the program and is valuable for its discipline as well as for its release of emotional tension. Competition should be stressed, not between individuals, but giving the individual opportunities to compete against himself and to see his improvement in relation to his own ability.

5. Problem-solving and decision-making should be available, but kept to an absolute minimum. Democratic processes of group functioning should not only be taught but lived. Situations should be created that dramatize not only the responsibility for assuming leadership but the need for leadership to empathize with those in the group being led. Guidance and counseling should be available throughout, and are the most important functions of the instructor.

Possible training programs. For the initial training sessions it is important to note that all training should be through the environment and not for it. Although many skills common to all programs, such as first aid and resuscitation, will be valuable knowledge to the participants, the intent of the program is not technical competence per se but emphasis on self- and inter-relationship. Training through various environments might take the following forms:

Mountain course. Training would be focused on mountain survival and search and rescue operations, including such skills as weather analysis, living off the land, map and compass reading, knot-tying, rock-climbing, snow- and

ice-climbing, belaying, rappelling, cliff evacuation, fire-fighting, and mountain rescue. Work on a ropes course and on preliminary expeditions would prepare candidates for simulated rescues and a long search expedition. Community service work could take the form of fire-fighting or conservation projects.

Sea course. Primary emphasis could be placed on small boat search and rescue capability, with required skills including navigation, seamanship, weather analysis, rules of the road, sail and powerboat handling. Training expeditions in open boats can reveal character and prepare for emergencies. Several days in an open boat with a small group demands cooperation and tolerance.

Wilderness course. The ability to survive and travel in forest, lake, and river are necessary, with search and rescue training designed to aid lost or injured campers. Skills needed include recognizing edible forest foods, woodsmanship, white-water canoe handling, map- and compass-reading, and fire-fighting.

Urban course. In urban areas near major highways, auto patrol services can be established, for there is a breakdown a mile each day on such roads. Help to cars experiencing breakdowns and to people and cars in accidents require skills in motor mechanics, driving, highway safety, extensive first aid, electronic communications, and law enforcement. A similar program can be established for water search and rescue in areas having a large amount of small boat activity.

Community agency course. If practicable, a course can be established in inner-city areas for training agents for multiservice community agencies, involving services such as relocation of evicted families, referral work, and

day care facilities.

Effects of search and rescue training. Any of these courses of training will have implications for the individual, first for himself, second for his relationship with man, and finally for his relationship with nature, or God, or his orientation to the universe.

In terms of self, the experiential education of the training programs above may affect a participant in many ways.

1. Through involvement in demanding, realistic, and dramatic activities, a youth can test himself and prove to himself that he can do more than he thought he could, gaining a new sense of worth and potentiality.

2. There is a growth of courage, at least in a physical dimension, where a youth sees himself functioning in spite of fear. He learns to handle crises and emergencies and to keep cool and to function in spite of frustration and tension.

3. Through experiences demanding performance there develops a sense of independence, initiative, and resourcefulness. From experiences of endurance and exhaustion comes increased mastery of self and self-discipline.

4. While aspiring to change what he can, a youth learns to be content with what he cannot change. Brought up against the stark realities of primitive existence, a young man might for the first time have a sense of frailty of life and a sense of his own mortality. For many there is a more realistic appraisal of self, an understanding of one's own shortcomings, faults, and limitations.

The sharing of common adventure offers opportunities for interaction among people that can have significant moral implications.

1. There is the opportunity for comradeship, a sense of belonging, growth of group cohesiveness, and group identity that is fundamental to the development of a sense of community. The interrelatedness and interdependency of men working in groups is not merely an ideal but a living reality. The need to look after each other as well as yourself and the involvement in your fellow's well-being promote a sense of responsibility and dramatize the need for Samaritan compassion, involvement, and concern.

2. The dynamics of group functioning are thrown into a living laboratory. Leadership can be conveyed as a responsibility rather than merely a privilege. The need for assuming it is clear, yet we still have to work out the complexities of leadership in a democratic society, of a leader's having to represent the aims and aspirations of the group, of having to empathize with dissenters and a minority.

3. Concepts of loyalty and citizenship are strengthened by the experience. The need to give support to leadership, to sublimate one's own desires in the interest of the group is clear in adventurous activity. Good discriminating followers and supporters are the basis of any successful endeavor or strong community.

The wilderness has traditionally served to give man a sense of universal perspective, and its place is found in all major religions.

1. The primitiveness and bare simplicity of physical existence give an historical dimension to the achievement of man in an anthropological sense. When food, shelter, and clothing become basic items of survival they take on new significance and civilization is seen in a new perspective.

2. Man, too, is seen with fresh awareness as a creature of nature capable both of mastering it and of desecrating it. The beauty, size, and

awesome grandeur of the wilderness, the mountains, or the sea provide a scale or dimension for human striving and human endeavor that touches on the eternal mysteries. Ultimate questions are raised; basic beliefs strengthened.

Effects on the "external goal." The "external goal"--how national service affects society--is a planning matter not directly related to the training program. Search and rescue as the focus for an initial training program has been stressed primarily to ensure that the participants would be attracted by and could benefit from the national service experience.

The proposed training can, nevertheless, have a beneficial effect on the quality of national service work and on the participants as they will affect their communities. If the training program can appeal to the participant and draw him into the spirit of search and rescue--unselfish service to a fellow man--it has taken a big step toward revealing motivation to serve. Such motivation, if carried over from training to national service work, will help each participant do his very best, coming into the experience with an intense introduction to service, compassion, and responsibility. The actual national service work will be of a higher caliber since the participants will already have had grounding in basic attitudes not necessarily acquired even in the course of their work.

Participants having had search and rescue service training may affect their communities (both where they do their national service work and where they eventually settle) through their skills, education, and concern.

In spite of the exhortation that training be through the environment, not for it, each trainee will have learned a certain number of skills in the course of his training experience. Many skills will be peculiar to the environment and of only limited use in other settings. Nevertheless, each

trainee will have learned mastery of first aid, resuscitation, lifesaving, and drownproofing--four skills essential to everyday vocational and recreational pursuits. Trainees in wilderness areas will have developed survival skills and the resourcefulness to get along under almost any conditions of hardship. The skills developed in urban training centers might include motor mechanics, automobile repair, driving skills, marine service, and repair and the operation of construction equipment. The teaching of such skills, in cooperation with manufacturers and trade unions, could be of great use in giving the young, unskilled labor market an opportunity to learn and use at least one skill.

Participants in a search and rescue training program will have had a brief but intense taste of "experiential education." They will have taken a course capsuling many essential facets of living in a microcosm demanding response from each individual. Cooperation, independence, strength, compassion, leadership, acquiescence, initiative, motivation, and tolerance will be called for and revealed. A trainee learning to focus on search and rescue finds that by so doing he has perhaps unwittingly set aside selfishness and sought to help another in spite of his own possible discomfort. Most importantly, the young man will have experienced an adult role--the duty, responsibility, and satisfaction of having taken on his own shoulders the burdens of a fellow man.

A participant will also have been exposed to, and perhaps have acquired, a sense of "concern." It is hoped that this concern would be manifested in a number of ways, from refusing to litter the streets to going out of his way to help a stranded motorist or to using his first-aid and lifesaving skills. Hopefully, we would have a generation of young people concerned enough to stop and help at the scene of an accident and with enough compassion to answer

a cry for help on a dark street.

For those whose national service training and experience has tended to change the balance of power in their inner lives so that compassion has become the master motive, national service will have been an opportunity seized and made good.

A MODEL FOR NATIONAL SERVICE PLACEMENT CENTERS

David Dichter

Every young man between 16 and 25 years of age should be required to take part in some type of compulsory national service program. Whether a young man selects a military or nonmilitary form of national service should be left as much as possible to the individual, provided he makes such a choice before he turns 23 years of age.¹

Military service will always appeal more to some men than to others and, based on population projections, it is likely that almost all of our future military manpower needs can be met through voluntary forms of enlistment. However, in the event that a "brush fire" war does get out of hand and larger numbers of men are required for military service, a simple lottery system could immediately be instituted among all those men undergoing nonmilitary national service.

ICBM's, modern technology, Communist "guerrilla wars of national liberation," and the nuclear stalemate have combined to make obsolete the future employment of a citizen's army of World War II scope and magnitude. Like Wyatt Earp and Matt Dillon of legendary cowboy fame, the image of the GI who gave up driving a cab in Brooklyn or practicing law in St. Joseph, Missouri, to take arms in defense of his country will live on only in TV serials.

The wars in Korea and Vietnam can accurately be described as forming a

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transition from the conscript citizens' armies of the past to the increasingly professional soldier corps of the immediate future. The inability of much of our nation to accept this new role for the military establishment has increased the unpopularity of our involvement in situations like the Dominican Republic emergency and the Vietnam conflict. Of course, if we ever have to fight the Russians, the Chinese, or anyone else on a continental scale, then it would matter little if a young man were undergoing military or nonmilitary national service--all able-bodied men would once again be called up to defend their nation. As long as it is understood that there can be no equation between a youth who risks his life in the military service of his country and one who undergoes national service at home, every effort must be made to remove as much of the inequality as possible. Perhaps some kind of proviso could be written into the draft legislation stating that, if those opting for nonmilitary national service did not effectively fulfill their commitment, they would be subject to immediate induction into the Armed Forces.

THE ROLE OF PLACEMENT CENTERS

It follows that those men choosing nonmilitary national service would be required to observe some form of disciplined camplife in a National Service Placement Center. This initial period of training would in every sense be made a positive experience and would be directed at enhancing individual development. At the same time, however, it would be made physically uncomfortable and rugged enough so that the men electing this form of national service are immediately made to feel that they are not "getting away with anything." These two forces--positive enrichment and active participation in physically challenging activities--are not mutually exclusive, but rather can be made to substantiate and reinforce one another.

National Service Placement Centers can be expected to fulfill the important role of enlarging a young man's environment and social experience by exposing him to, at least for a limited period of time, young men of diverse economic, racial, and educational backgrounds. This experience must not be lost under any circumstances; it will probably prove to be the most important aspect of the entire nonmilitary service program.

The fact that there is little, if any, present-day social contact between young people living in our center-city ghettos and those residing in the suburbs is significantly contributing to an impending national tragedy. The kind of group living experiences that a National Service Placement Center is capable of affording could go a long way in redressing this imbalance. With careful planning a unique opportunity exists here to conduct seminars and other forms of discussion among the national servicemen for the purpose of enabling all to hear "what the other fellow has to say." In this way it becomes possible to help begin a very practical kind of dialogue in an age group where it is needed most, and thereby encourage the degree of social responsibility that today's society increasingly demands of its younger citizens.

Training men to be better citizens as part of their participation in a National Service Placement Center program is in reality having them learn new modes of behavior and modify old ones as a result of their group living experience. To help insure that it be a positive experience frequent classroom sessions would be held ranging over such topics as understanding of human behavior and the problems of adjustment in modern-day living. As often as possible, the trainees themselves would conduct these particular sessions, thereby generating the maximum amount of group participation. The interaction of various personalities in these classes and the sense of involvement it is

bound to induce can be expected to significantly aid the disadvantaged slum-dweller as well as the college-trained youth.

In the context of our present-day society, citizenship training such as proposed at the Placement Centers and related areas of instruction are by necessity closely linked to the need for improved communication between people. Modern technology and the good life it has brought us are not only tending to compartmentalize our cities and suburbs but the individuals in them as well. People do not need each other as they did in the past, and as a result we are not as responsible to one another as we should be. The problem has been further heightened by the stereotyped "middle-class norms" that television and other mass media have so effectively fixed on our culture. This in effect has further isolated large segments of our population from the so-called mainstream of American life.

For the disadvantaged young man to succeed in life he first must want to succeed. He needs hope to do this, the kind of hope that only human understanding, normal acceptance by his fellow man, and even a limited amount of recognition will give him. At a National Service Placement Center he will be able to have the kind of natural, off-handed, and yet direct experience with men from all walks of life that will certainly help to provide him with the necessary measure of hope and determination to want to create a better life for himself.

In order to take full advantage of the "leveling" influence this first three-month training period offers, all national servicemen would be involved in at least several work projects. As a result, many young men who hardly know what a hammer and saw are used for would be called upon, probably for the first time in their lives, to do a full day of manual labor. What can

happen under such conditions is that a young college graduate who is a skilled laboratory research chemist may not do nearly so well working with his hands building a wooden form for an irrigation canal as the young high school dropout.

Such experiences will have a tendency to help "equalize" things between the national servicemen no matter what their educational or economic backgrounds. The same kind of effect can be anticipated from the various physical challenge activities in which they would all be asked to take part. Thus, a disadvantaged youth might suddenly discover that an individual he once held in awe because he looked good and came from "the right part of town" was in fact a human being like himself, with the same associated fears and weaknesses involved in staying afloat for five minutes in 16 feet of water.

ORGANIZATION OF CENTERS

It is estimated that a National Service Placement Center would handle from 1,500 to 5,000 men at any given time. Incoming trainees could be effectively organized on the basis of "classes," with as many as six different classes being programmed simultaneously through one Placement Center. Further subdivisions within a class would be arranged on a living accommodation basis. Thus the same 50 men living in one dormitory would constitute the basic training unit or team. Everything from rugged morning physical activities and fitness drills to endurance hikes, group sports, and drown-proofing training would be scheduled for the team in order to bring about a sense of group identity quickly. From the outset the need for team cohesiveness would be extremely necessary in view of the diverse backgrounds of the men and the fact that a good start together is crucial to the entire Placement Center training program.

Experience has shown that there is no better nor quicker way to bring about group cooperation and understanding than forcing men to face jointly the rigors of a situation involving physical challenge. The unique self-discovery process of what it means to feel a part of a group under physically trying conditions can of course be learned only through direct personal involvement. This can best be accomplished in the sort of environment that a Placement Center will afford--a disciplined life in a somewhat isolated location where the trainees are taxed physically just to be able to meet minimum training requirements.

In order to cut operating costs of the centers to a minimum and to create the best possible training and job environment, the assignment of all personnel to National Service Placement Centers and National Service Work Agencies would be almost wholly determined by computers. Under such conditions, computers would be called upon to determine the "proper mix" insofar as travel costs, cross culturalization, and job assignments are concerned.

Although every effort would be made before a national serviceman began his basic training course to ascertain what type of work assignment he not only preferred but was best suited for, no final decision would be reached until he completed a battery of aptitude tests given during his initial training period. The information collected at this time would serve national service needs and in addition would provide a valuable source of information for a wide range of future national planning objectives.

Given the fact that all men not volunteering for military service would be required to attend a National Service Placement Center, it is essential that there be a standardization of functions, operating procedures, and training offered at all of these camp sites. This is much more necessary and

advisable than it would be in the case of National Service Summer Camps, which are expected to be involved primarily with helping young men to decide how best to meet their national service responsibility. These summer camps will also offer a wide range of activities to youths of all ages, especially those coming from the inner-city areas. National Service Placement Centers, on the other hand, would have only one purpose, and they would function in much the same way as do Army induction and basic training centers. As such they would be directly administered by some appropriate branch or branches of the federal government, for example, the Departments of Labor, Interior, Agriculture, or Health, Education, and Welfare.

DURATION, LOCATION, PLACEMENT

To help achieve the kinds of program objectives already outlined for the National Service Placement Centers, a rural setting should preferably be selected for the location. Conceivably, abandoned Army and National Guard camps could be used, but undoubtedly many new facilities would have to be constructed. Isolation is always desirable in a basic training situation of this sort, especially in bringing about the desired social experience for the trainees.

Initial training would last a minimum of three months. For those men severely lacking in basic educational skills it might be extended over a longer period of time. When the program becomes fully operational, it is anticipated that hundreds of training centers would be scattered throughout the entire nation.

Having all national servicemen attend the basic training course prior to assuming an assignment with a National Service Work Agency would head off a

considerable number of job placement and training problems. Even if a young man were to attend a National Service Summer Camp first, it still would be extremely useful to learn as much about the individual as possible. This is particularly true in the case of a high school dropout who can be expected to need considerably more time for evaluation. The interlude, which the basic training period affords, would make it possible for the National Service Work Agency to test more effectively and counsel the candidates for positions in that agency. This is particularly important and necessary for those young men who can expect to require considerably more pre-work-assignment training in basic literacy.

The testing and counseling carried out during this initial three-month basic training period would help to determine the individual serviceman's best skills and job aptitudes and to prepare him for his work assignment. The more technical forms of training would be carried out after he leaves the National Service Placement Center by the specialized agency utilizing his services. Thus, the U.S. Soil Conservation Service or Red Cross would pick him up for further specialized training only after he had successfully completed his basic course at the National Service Placement Center, during which he had been required to take part in at least some types of on-the-job technical work projects. It would not be in the best interest of the nation or the individual to have him apply directly to an approved National Service Work Agency like the Conservation Service, the St. Louis Welfare Department, or the New York City public hospital system without having first undergone at least a three-month placement center experience.

Training received at a placement center would not have the same function as that provided by a National Service Work Agency. Whereas the former would

be standardized at every center and be essentially a social enrichment experience, the latter would be much more job-oriented. This does not mean, of course, that the individual Work Agency would not wish to exert its own brand of social philosophy on the national servicemen under its jurisdiction, but for the most part they would be grooming the man for a specific job assignment. Thus, an approved National Service Work Agency, like the District of Columbia General Hospital, would be responsible for establishing an on-the-job training program every three months for a group of 25 men to serve as hospital attendants or even laboratory assistants. Comparable private and government organizations serving the general public's needs could, on a nationwide basis, effectively mount similar training programs, each lasting for a minimum of three months.

STAFFING THE CENTERS

Specialized staff training programs are undoubtedly going to have to receive top priority if the National Service Placement Centers are expected to have any chance of succeeding with their mission. This is an absolute must and should precede everything else in terms of advance program planning. There is no question but that something approaching an entirely new profession will have to be created if these personnel needs are to be adequately met. We have only to look at the incredible staffing problems that the Job Corps has encountered to realize the importance of preprogram staff training.

In staffing these centers, considerable reliance will initially have to be put on ex-service personnel recently retired from active military duty. Later on, staff could surely be recruited directly from the ranks of the men graduating from the National Service Placement Centers, who would be responsible

for training future staff for the Centers. In this case the National Service Work Agency would in effect become the government agency immediately responsible for the operations of a National Service Placement Center, for it would bear the initial charge of training potential trainers.

After three to six months of specialized training the individual serviceman would then be expected to carry out the remaining part of his obligated national service as a resident staff worker in a National Service Placement Center. Eventual career incentives would be built into this "new profession," once required service commitments were performed. A similar career incentive approach would also be appropriately instituted with all other participating National Service Work Agencies.

The need for trained individuals to work in various kinds of residential camp programs can be expected to far exceed available staff in the next few years. National servicemen will certainly be needed to help fill these billets along with the increasing need for resident staff workers in various Job Corps camps throughout the nation. A program under which national servicemen would receive at least three months of formal training prior to taking on such an assignment is vastly superior to the one-week training course a Job Corps resident worker now receives before reporting for duty. It could also mean a substantial saving to the Job Corps in the way of personnel and other costs.

Once they had successfully completed their basic training, national servicemen could also be used with great effectiveness as neighborhood youth leaders in various Office of Economic Opportunity programs. They could serve not only in such positions as recreation aides, neighborhood sports and

youth club advisors, but as staff in the hundreds of residential camps that may soon be established across the nation for the benefit of disadvantaged city youth.

NATIONAL SERVICE: SELECTION AND TRAINING

Workshop Discussion Summary

Chairman: William G. Saltonstall, Chairman, Massachusetts Board of Education; Senior Advisor, Rodman Job Corps Center

Panelists: David Dichter; Joshua L. Miner III; Robert Perrin, Assistant Director for Inter-Agency Relations, Office of Economic Opportunity; Dyke V. Williams

Although not on this workshop agenda, the issue of compulsory versus voluntary national service occupied the attention of the participants. They felt that problems related to selection and training under one approach would not necessarily be problems under the other. Mr. Dichter spoke of the urgent need to bring young people into the main stream of life by giving them "on a compulsory basis the opportunity to 'serve.'" He said a voluntary program would not attract the poor or disadvantaged necessary for a successful melting-pot experience. Others felt that under a voluntary program the benefits of participation would gradually reach this group by the successful volunteers returning to their communities to recruit. A Peace Corps official told of the difficulty the agency has had in attracting volunteers from among the disadvantaged.

We have had limited success in voluntarily recruiting minority people into the Peace Corps so that we are, more than we would like to be, middle class. When the Peace Corps said, "We want you," the reaction was, "We have heard this many times before from many different people and we don't believe you any more than we believe anybody else." Well, gradually we have gotten a few, and these go back and become our recruiters.

Mr. Williams pointed out that as national service could not immediately train three million people, it would have to start with a pilot program, which by its nature would be voluntary. Proper control and attention to the problems and objectives could not exist under an immediately compulsory program because of the magnitude of the physical and financial resources required.

It was suggested that after a few successful pilot programs, the President of the United States could mobilize public opinion and make service a national goal. Sufficient numbers of volunteers attracted in that way would make compulsion unnecessary. Most members of the workshop indicated basic agreement with the kind of contractual national service described by Mr. Squire.

We are talking about a voluntary scheme because there is no slavery in this country. The Job Corps and, I believe, the Peace Corps, have contracts with their participants. In the Job Corps the youngster signs up for a minimum of ninety days. But, if he wants to leave at the end of two days or two weeks, he is not going to be put in jail. He may lose his readjustment allowance. He may lose some money. He may not get his full issue of clothing, which comes after the first thirty days. But if you are talking about a contract, it's not an enforceable contract. It is not like the military, where even if you volunteer you sign a contract, and you can't quit in the middle. You are jailed or courtmartialed if you do. And I don't think we are suggesting that. If we are, we had better talk compulsory, and I am against the compulsory aspect of this.

CONFLICTING VIEWS ON NATIONAL SERVICE OBJECTIVES

Varying points of view on the purpose of national service were also identified before the conferees discussed selection and training. Was the emphasis to be on the national service participant or on the clearly needed service he would perform? Was education and rehabilitation of youth to be the aim of national service, and if so, should the program be renamed "national training"?

Mr. Dichter believed the most important aspect of the entire program would be helping the participant. In contrast, Mr. Carp, Director of the Peace Corps Office of Selection, who felt the service performed should be paramount, said, "The important thing in selection and training is the projects to be served rather than mere education or physical training or anything else, unto itself, as a goal." Mr. Saltonstall was also strongly on the side of service.

I don't think national service in any sense ought to serve as a kind of therapy or continued education, although it will perhaps be both. It may help to postpone the large number of quite young marriages; it may help provide the educational interlude that many of us think would be healthy. But the prime reason is that there are real, tough, demanding jobs that need doing, and I think there are thousands and probably hundreds of thousands of young people that I think may be eager to do them.

If accomplishment of service tasks were the prime objective for national service, would participants be placed only on the basis of needed jobs without consideration of future career goals? One person proposed exposing the national service participant to work in areas he might never otherwise consider for a career.

I would like to argue the case of noncontinuity between the individual's national service career and what he may do for the next thirty or forty years of his life. I think it would be excellent if a lawyer could work for two years as a hospital orderly. The kind of knowledge he acquires may contribute to future solutions of hospital personnel problems. This may be one of the things that enables a person to decide when he would like to do national service. It may be more appropriate to do it at the age of 18 and then go to law school. I would not want the type of activity to be highly related to his occupational goal.

Another conferee advocated a different approach.

If you want to give youths something to do so they feel needed, then you had better start thinking about how their training and selection will qualify them for future work so there is continuity. For a college graduate to stack books would only be a wonderful time-killer.

SELECTION OF NATIONAL SERVICE PARTICIPANTS

Noting that "there would be no such thing as selection if national service were a compulsory program," Mr. Saltonstall directed the workshop's attention to the question of selection under a voluntary program. Mr. Carp said he thought "the title of this symposium, 'Selection and Training,' has the wrong connotation. It should have been 'Classification and Training.'" Everyone who desires to be a volunteer can be utilized; we must merely devise a system whereby he can be utilized appropriately." Led by a former preparatory school admissions officer, this colloquy ensued:

SPEAKER: We had a terrible admissions problem with enormous numbers of candidates for a handful of places. It was a totally ridiculous situation to be in. There is no way of determining whom you can do the most for or who can do the most for you. We are fooling ourselves in setting up artificial selection criteria; within the next ten years I think we will have to throw them all out. One of the first things we did was to establish the fact that we would have no criteria as far as admissions were concerned. There was an age qualification, and then you had only to pass a physical examination administered by your own doctor.

RESPONDER: Did you just take anybody?

SPEAKER: First come, first served.

RESPONDER: If you do it on a first-come, first-served basis, you won't be guaranteed a cross section. What if you get all white middle-class

volunteers?

SPEAKER: It would be easy enough to take 5,000 from the upper middle class and 5,000 from the lower middle class. I want to assign people, not select them. It seems to me that, first, you have to assess the jobs to be done through national service. Next, you call for volunteers to participate in pilot programs designed to accomplish these tasks. One of the attractions to being an early volunteer would be priority in choosing the area in which you want to work. If everyone selected one field that required no more than 10,000, that pilot project would be filled; you would lop that choice off for the next series, so that you get in other jobs. It operates something like the military, in which only if you volunteer can you pick and be guaranteed a particular branch of service.

RESPONDER: I don't think this idea precludes active recruitment--going out and selling the program. You can't just sit back and wait for them to come to you.

SPEAKER: We have to create something that would foster self-selection, self-volunteering, for both groups on both sides of the street. This is why we are tooting our "you are needed" horn.

RESPONDER: I agree. Let's take the 10,000 and break them up into small groups. Let them know what national service is about and have the group do its own selection and assignment to specific jobs. I think you'll get a better program if each project is developed this way. You build from there.

SPEAKER: And we will expand according to our ability to generate a climate in which what we are doing is attractive to young people. Very rarely does the "you are needed" appeal fail. But I think we can't go into

something of such import overnight. We must work into it gradually and generate a climate of service, a climate where voluntary participation is attractive. Then I think selection, if we keep pace with the response, will take care of itself.

In summarizing the discussion later, Mr. Saltonstall said:

There was almost unanimous agreement, somewhat to my surprise, that we would take the ten thousand who came first. First come, first served with a possible check on age, if any age limits were set, and any medical requirements. There was considerable feeling that if it were handled in that way, it would speed up the process of volunteering. Some choice perhaps would be given to those who volunteered first to get the kind of job that they would most like to do. In general, the feeling seemed to be that such a pilot group of ten to twenty thousand would give an interesting opportunity to measure the pros and cons of the across-the-board mix.

NATIONAL SERVICE PLACEMENT CENTERS

There was considerable diversity as to the aims of the National Service Placement Centers. Some stressed, with Mr. Dichter, the benefits that might accrue from the mixing of races and different economic and educational classes. Some saw the major purpose of the centers to be the evaluation of the trainees in order to facilitate placement, training, and rehabilitation as necessary. Development of physical fitness was recognized as a common objective. Some workshop members felt the stress should be on awakening social conscience, training for citizenship, revealing character and ability, or giving young people their first taste of adult roles. Some wanted job training to begin at the centers; others felt enough would be accomplished if the motivation to serve could be strengthened and given direction. One participant advocated bypassing placement centers altogether.

I wonder if there is a possibility of informal concurrent training for the college senior to show ways in which he could be relevant to society, ways in which he could serve--then leave it up to him to make the contribution that he can. Give him the skills that are needed to make the job that needs to be done visible, make his participation possible with federal financial assistance.

In spite of such varied views, most members of the workshop agreed that the National Service Placement Centers would have to orient national service recruits as they first came together, test and place them, and give them opportunities to develop self-knowledge and confidence. They urged that every effort be made to place participants into jobs as rapidly as possible.

Staff. The importance of staff was recognized by all panelists and was felt to be the restraining factor in the rate of growth of national service. It was agreed that it would be a mistake to move the program ahead faster than the proper ratio and quality of staff could be recruited and trained. Mr. Dichter proposed that selected national service participants could be recruited as staff upon completion of their own training at Placement Centers. with additional on-the-job training.

Duration. Suggestions for the duration of basic training or orientation ranged from one to three months, depending upon the abilities that the young people would bring to the program. Those severely lacking in basic educational skills would train perhaps even longer. One suggested danger of a long, formal program was seen as its artificiality and the removal of trainees from the very problems they would be going back to work on. Mr. Dichter replied that even an artificial camp experience would be better than the ghetto experiences of many young people today. Most agreed that the orientation program itself should not be lengthy. One conferee said:

In our experience in the Job Corps we found an absolutely clear arithmetic correlation between the fact that the sooner we got them involved in a program, the better results we had from them, and the less was the attrition rate. The longer the orientation program they had, where we were feeding them information, the worse the results were. If they are volunteers for service and they have the dedication to want to be of service, you will want to give them a certain amount of highly disciplined and carefully structured orientation, but not a saturation dose.

Size. There was little discussion of the proper size of the Placement Centers. The size of the Civilian Conservation Corps Centers in the 1930's was 200 men each; today, Job Corps Conservation Camps hold from 300 to 1,000 trainees. Mr. Dichter suggested from 1,500 to 5,000 at any given time. Edward Hall, in his paper (Chapter 8), suggests camps accommodating some 10,000 trainees each.

Location and standardization. Another issue touched upon was the degree to which Placement Centers should be standardized. Mr. Dichter urged a high degree of standardization of functions, operating procedures, and training. It was suggested, however, that a variety of experimental arrangements could be tried to determine which aspects should be made uniform and which varied. Mr. Dichter's assumption that Placement Centers must be located in rural areas to be run most effectively was challenged by some who saw locale as an instance where flexibility should be allowed--the best place for some centers might be city slums.

CONTENT OF TRAINING PROGRAMS

Once the national service participants had been assigned to Placement Centers, how would the orientation and training be carried out? In as active a manner as possible, hoped the conferees. Mr. Dichter said there was no

better or quicker way to bring about group cooperation than by having the members "jointly face the rigors of a situation involving physical challenge." He envisioned everything from rugged morning physical fitness sessions and endurance hikes to group and team sports and drownproofing. There would also be considerable manual labor, which he felt was neglected in today's comfortable society.

Mr. Miner also wanted to confront the trainees with challenging physical situations in which, hopefully, they would feel they couldn't succeed. These would increase in severity during the training period "until, at the end, we actually have people doing things that they never would have thought of attempting in the first place." He pointed out that studies of shipwrecked sailors in World War II showed that survival in the face of adversity had much more to do with attitudes and frame of mind than it did with physical conditioning. Mr. Miner felt this kind of physical regimen would develop qualities other than mere toughness only if it were tied to the idea of search and rescue.

Rescue is an authentic role, one that has to be performed, one that meets the youngster's need for an adult role, and one that has all of the ingredients of excitement, adventure, self-testing, and authenticity. They have to be told what rescue is, but really they don't have to be told much, and very quickly it becomes apparent to them that they have to be in physical shape. We don't have to justify a physical fitness program. We are willing to take them from where they are now and get them to where they have to be. We don't have to justify map and compass work or other skills. These are things that are immediately relevant. . . . I think this learning experience under these circumstances is something of a wonderful relief for these kids, most of whom have sat in classrooms where what they have had to put up with has not been immediately relevant or meaningful. They do learn, and they love to learn.

Mr. Carp questioned whether the Outward Bound type of training, which has been used by the Peace Corps, is good for everybody. Mr. Perrin agreed that it might not answer the needs of many.

The poverty population already lives to a great degree under the same kinds of conditions. I think your words were "hunger, cold, loneliness, and fear." Well, there is a lot of that already existing for these young people. What they must have to a large degree, I think, is somebody to care a little bit about them and to show them there are opportunities to break out of these ghetto conditions that exist. Call it tender loving care or what you will, but I think there has to be more of it for the kind of people we are dealing with.

Mr. Miner agreed with Mr. Perrin's analysis and noted that many times an Outward Bound instructor is the first person in a youth's life to care one way or the other whether the youth "makes it." "Compassion may flow best from toughness," he suggested.

Whether the training be tough or tender, most discussion members agreed its objective should be to strengthen service attitudes. One member described the training he hoped for.

I'd like to see these kids come in on a first-come, first-served basis, and then have some form of motivational, attitudinal change training that is specific, such as search and rescue. The training should at the same time teach the kid a lot about himself, why he is there, who he is, a lot about working with other people, and a lot about what service is, its joys and pains, all at the same time. You can include everybody in this same package to begin with, the high intellect and the low. It gives an immediate, specific thing that a kid can latch on to. You may or may not want to aim at a service job to be performed later on.

Mr. Saltonstall concluded that "it comes back to motivation really. We may not want to talk about specific training, but there is one prerequisite for everybody, whether he is going to be an atomic physicist's aide or a book

stacker. He is going to have to have the requisite motivation to do it, to make sure of what he is doing and why he is doing it."

How the National Service Placement Centers were run would affect the development of motivation more than lectures on ideals or discussions of the problems of modern living. One speaker expressed it this way:

Disciplining an individual volunteer in the military way is a kind of authoritarian concept that is not in keeping with the kind of democratic idea we want to stimulate nor with the service concept. I think the self-government principle will probably offer a finer method and a sharper cutting edge for acquiring the kind of response and involvement we seek. I submit that the very failure of the military to obtain any kind of socialization process has to do with its authoritarian nature and its traditional segregationist attitude, at least in America.

Mr. Dichter added:

One thing the Peace Corps has found very effective is letting the trainees run their own training sessions. I think as far as the National Service Placement Center is concerned, with a certain amount of trial and error, this could be done equally effectively. As often as possible, have the trainees themselves conduct their particular sessions, thereby generating the maximum amount of participation.

They might go on, someone suggested, to doing their own job development, working it out with the agencies involved, and then doing their own selection of service activity. Thus, there was strong support for Margaret Mead's call to treat young people in national service as adults.

It was further agreed that the training would vary with the job to be done. Those with needed skills could begin work immediately. Others could start with on-the-job training. But for many, traditional concepts of training would not do. It was felt that individuals could be trained to perform skills that ordinarily take years to acquire. With guidance and expanded

opportunities, many would be motivated to begin seeking their potential, freeing themselves to reach any level of competence, regardless of their background.

CONCLUSION

There was general agreement that the period of national service be of a contractual nature, voluntarily entered into, that selection be held to a minimum so as to give everyone the opportunity to serve, and that the period of training be brief and be focused on working with the individual participant in identifying the most appropriate service activity and in preparing him to participate to the fullest extent of his capabilities and aspirations.

The strongly held, conflicting viewpoints in this chapter underline the need for individual attention and flexibility in national service. Some people would enter primarily so they could serve; others would enter so they could learn. Some would seek an assignment closely related to their career goals; others would welcome an opportunity to investigate new job areas. Some would value the diversity of social contacts open to them; others would be indifferent to such opportunities. Some would welcome the challenge of vigorous physical demands; others would prefer intellectual challenges. Some would want to be members of a structured, highly disciplined unit; others would choose to serve on their own.

8

NATIONAL SERVICE: INDIVIDUAL CHOICE OR SOCIAL OBLIGATION?

Mr. Olds presented to the workshop on "National Service: Voluntary or Compulsory" in his introductory remarks, a letter he had received from some students at the University of Indiana. He said:

I think it serves as an illustration of the kind of lively concern that is the context for our discussion. The irony of the document is that it summarizes so well what I hear college students and other young people saying across the country. I draw attention to the critical paragraph which states that they want to serve in some responsible and effective way but feel that the military option as their only option is becoming increasingly ambiguous for them personally and morally. It seems to me paradoxical that at a time in our history when the youth of our nation have become increasingly concerned about responsible participation in citizenship, it should be precisely at a time when the forms of participation open to them are the least appealing, if not indeed morally repulsive.

The dilemma described in this letter became the focus of the debate which followed the presentation of the two papers that follow. While Edward F. Hall, who presented the case for compulsory service, and Robert Bird, who argued for purely voluntary service, were in agreement on the personal and social value of a period of service, they were in complete disagreement on how to go about it.

After some debate on the merits and weaknesses of voluntary and compulsory service, Margaret Mead suggested an intermediate concept of service--service that would be voluntarily accepted by all citizens as a part of their responsible participation in society. This position appeared to represent the middle ground in the debate and gained general acceptance.

As the discussion proceeded, there was evidence that viewpoints regarding compulsory and voluntary service were more reconcilable than appeared at first. The unresolvable questions seemed to be those that could be answered only with demonstration programs. A discussion of the role of the federal government in encouraging universal commitment to service participation and in promoting universal opportunities to render such service concluded the workshop session.

THE CASE FOR COMPULSORY NATIONAL SERVICE

Edward F. Hall

Ideally, national service would be universal, whether it is voluntary or compulsory. The obligation to society rests equally upon all. The privileges and benefits should be equally available to all. However, to achieve universality in a voluntary system would require support by an overwhelming majority and the exertion of social pressure upon the recalcitrant minority. The former might well be forthcoming. The latter would be a form of mob rule and therefore brutal and dehumanizing. Compulsion by unstructured social pressure is more destructive to personal values and integrity than compulsion by statute. Even worse is compulsion by structured social pressure, like that of the recent juvenile Red Guards in China.

The concept of national service, in its cataloguing of the emergent needs of society, transcends the traditional obligations of the citizens' militia. It is for this reason, and because of widespread dissatisfaction with the Selective Service System as it now operates, that national service is today a political possibility. The root cause of this dissatisfaction is that Selective Service is compulsory but not universal--some are compelled to serve while others escape involvement altogether. Since compulsory liability must continue for some, the only cure for existing inequities would be to make the obligation to serve compulsory for all.

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Compulsion is a pejorative word. Yet the scale from unbridled license to total regimentation ranges through many octaves. Without incorporating some elements of compulsion, society would collapse. Mankind came together in order to enhance the capabilities and satisfactions of individuals. The laws that evolved as men developed communities are a catalogue of compulsions. I cannot enjoy security in my home unless other men are under compulsion to refrain from trespassing. In today's closely knit society, compulsion is the reverse side of the coin of human freedom. Whether compulsory national service would further the welfare of all thus depends on balancing relative advantages and disadvantages rather than on defining absolute standards. Would it result in the greatest good for the greatest number? Would it enhance or diminish justice and mercy for all?

We support compulsory education and compulsory taxation to finance it. Yet neither is universally desired. Some adults would prefer not to pay their school taxes. Some children would elect not to go to school. But majority sentiment believes literacy is good for the community and the individual. To temper the wind of compulsion we allow equivalent education under nonpublic auspices. This freedom of choice as to the kind of schooling tempers the force of the compulsion and broadens the options in yielding to it.

EQUITY IN DIVERSITY

One aspect of national service is its role as an extension of our system of compulsory education. That system is in difficulty because it is not geared to carry universal education beyond the high school level. Yet the demand for universal schooling at college age is welling up. To enlarge our educational facilities to accommodate all would grossly distort the aptitudes

and expectations of many. To wrap up all academic, vocational, and trade-school training in multiversity packages would destroy academic values as we know them. In contrast, to sort out career interests and aptitudes under the umbrella of national service would make career choices more congenial and better suited to all individuals.

Such a concept harmonizes with earlier thinking on the system of our society. A century ago James Russell Lowell, who was both scholar and public official, commented that "it was in making education not only common to all but in some sense compulsory on all, that the destiny of the free republics of America was practically settled."¹ This egalitarian strain has persisted. It can flourish only through universality that also provides scope for the widest individualism and individuality. The idea that society advances through the diverse contributions of all its cooperating members is woven into the fabric of this American view of man and society.

The variety of proposed national service options would permit much diversity and expand the range of free choice. Compulsion would be reduced to the single universal doctrine that the individual has an obligation of service to society. This service could be offered in many forms to suit the widest range of interests and beliefs. Indeed, many of the proposed activities under such a system place a high premium on initiative, independence, resourcefulness, and individuality. Morris Janowitz' options include, in addition to military service, the National Teacher Corps, National Health Corps, Police Cadet Corps, VISTA, and similar domestic public programs, the Peace Corps and private foreign programs, and a National Public Service Corps including a Job Training Corps.² In my own proposal a similar range of choices is embraced under four groupings: military service, foreign service, conservation

of human resources, and conservation of natural resources.

National service should embrace only those activities of critical importance to the national interest and to the welfare and progress of society. Under this criterion would be outlets for every socially constructive taste and talent and within the competence of all save the grossly disabled. A youth would have to be markedly antisocial to find no service that appealed to him. The program could provide remedial education toward social integration and adjustment for disadvantaged youths. Participation of half a dozen government departments and a large number of private agencies would provide insurance against bureaucratic rigidity or restrictive regimentation.

Rather than forcing individuals into uncongenial work, a wide freedom of choice could open new doors of opportunity. But without the element of compulsion, those who would benefit most from the program would be the least likely to become involved. The appeal of such service, however advertised, would not reach them. This untapped segment of our youth would be those who have been most deprived and underprivileged. Though the race factor and civil rights are not central to the problem, these issues could be favorably affected by compulsory national service, as the underprivileged encompasses a large proportion of the Negro population.

Kenneth Clark first brought to popular attention the concept of the nonverbalizing home. Children in poverty restricted families see no books and little printed matter in their crowded quarters. They hear little conversation, for life is grim and only the most elemental and immediate issues receive attention. Communication plays little part in their early and crucial years when the twig is most easily bent. By the time they start school they are unlearned in the relationships to people and to objects that our

school system assumes as prerequisites for kindergarten. The publicizing of voluntary national service would never reach this economic bottom of the barrel. In contrast, the boy who is satisfactorily adjusted in a good school and a good neighborhood would be easily reached by the message of national service. The cultural enrichment, vocational benefits, and social broadening offered in national service would be within his understanding. As he stepped forward, his underprivileged contemporary would suffer a further relative deprivation.

PRELIMINARY TRAINING CENTERS

Vital differences between compulsory and voluntary national service include time of entrance into the system and scope of preliminary training and orientation courses, both of which under a compulsory system would be identical for all young men. Registration would be at age 18 or on completion of high school, and induction would follow at some time within the ensuing calendar year. Quotas would be assigned to local boards at biweekly intervals so as to provide an even flow of inductees and a constant preliminary training population. This would insure efficient and economical operation and maximum use of training personnel and facilities.

Orientation and training centers would be large enough to include a cross section of the population--all gradations of mental and physical ability, social and educational status, ethnic background, ideology, and environment. Approximately 40 preliminary orientation and training centers, each accommodating 10,000 to 12,000 trainees, would be required. Biweekly contingents would run between 60,000 and 70,000 with between 15 and 20 departures from the average local board and around 1,700 arrivals at each center. No existing

communities provide intimate contact with so broad a range for school-age citizens, or indeed for any age. The breadth of the centers' populations should make it possible to insure maximum variety and still avoid individual isolation. Immersion in such a melting pot creates an enlarged perspective and understanding of the world and its people. The educational value of this experience would be of enduring profit to the individual in national service. The value to young people of broadened social contact was noted by President Kingman Brewster of Yale, a member of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, in speaking of foreign service. He stressed "the extent to which values, expectations, standards of living and ways of life can be totally different from what the American student has inherited and experienced."³ Environmental variation in the United States is sufficient to allow the same kind of cross-cultural experience in national service.

Preliminary orientation and training would be a three-month course. Upon arrival at the center each young man would be assigned a bed and issued personal equipment, including a uniform, which would be suitable to wear after service. He would be informed of the scope of the center and his role therein. The former would include both academic study of the objectives and the reasons for national service, discussion of service choices and opportunities in national service, and calisthenics and recreational activities. The responsibilities of each inductee would include application to academic work, adherence to an assigned schedule, performance of housekeeping duties, respect for authority, consideration for others, and personal neatness and cleanliness. Physical examinations and mental tests would be given. Large lecture classes, smaller discussion groups, conferences, and individual consultation would be offered.

By midpoint in the training period each serviceman would be expected to make a tentative choice of his subsequent national service. The individual's choice would be checked against his qualifications and aptitude tests, and individual counseling would be employed wherever required. If the serviceman proved unqualified for his first choice, he would be advised as to options more appropriate and rewarding for him. Following such tentative choice and assignment, the scope of academic instruction would be narrowed. It would be concentrated on the selected option. Specific instruction and training appropriate to the individual's subsequent service would be introduced. A variant of the schedule might be allowed here for those opting immediate military service. Since they would be headed for further training in the military, they could transfer to such service after the first half of the preliminary training course.

Academic instructors and guidance personnel in the preliminary training centers may well be the key to the successful functioning of the centers. They should be drawn from enterprises, public and private, in which national servicemen will be employed and they should have both an understanding of and enthusiasm for the programs they are explaining and promoting.

Initially, the Armed Services would probably provide the largest number of qualified and available operating personnel in the preliminary training centers. Under current defense policy many reservists are now without assignment to organized Reserve units or active National Guard units. Among these are many individuals with experience in military administration. Those whose experience was in World War II are now in their forties and fifties, so the time when they are still of suitable age for such assignments is limited. However, within three to five years the program would become

self-perpetuating in developing its own operating personnel.

DIVERSITY OF ENTRY LEVELS

In all option categories there would be some assignments that would require further schooling. This would be true for the majority of foreign service assignments. It would be true for those who hoped to become officers in the Armed Services via ROTC or the Service Academies. It would apply to a much smaller proportion of those electing to work in conservation of natural resources. All youths needing additional training would be free to return to school at the end of their preliminary training. They would have an approved, detailed program for both study and service. Before leaving, they could make a firm commitment as to when and what their service would be. Their plan could call for one year of study, or four, or even more if their service assignment required extensive academic background. It would make no difference when the actual service activity was performed. In the interval they would be subject to no pressure or uncertainty. In place of an arbitrary schedule there would be an irrevocable contract. Thus, the universality of service would be maintained along with assurance of uninterrupted educational plans and maximum flexibility.

Contact with deferred servicemen would be maintained by local boards through review of registrants' service commitments. The serviceman would be required to report any change in his status, such as academic failure. The board would then work out a revised plan subject to approval by national headquarters, or the individual could opt for immediate induction. While these cases would be infrequent, provision for assuring full performance of national service in every case would be essential if the program were to be completely

equitable.

How large a proportion of each class would go directly into their further service and how many would return to school cannot be accurately predicted. Office of Education statistics indicate the male college population will reach a million in each class a few years hence. Some servicemen would plan college study unrelated to their national service and postpone study until after service. Others would be attracted to careers in the Armed Forces by the opportunities for further education provided for such personnel. Probably between one-third and one-half of each annual class would go back to school and postpone their service.

SCOPE OF NATIONAL SERVICE ACTIVITIES

Service subsequent to universal preliminary training would not differ materially from such service under a voluntary system. It should in either case include a wide range of qualified sponsoring organizations. In foreign service, for example, scores of agencies in addition to the Peace Corps might eventually draw middle-level manpower from the national service pool. These should include government, private, and international organizations and might extend to programs in more than 50 countries. The range of jobs would include teaching, public health, community development, public works, agriculture, and vocational training. A similar range would be embraced in domestic programs in the conservation of human resources. For the grossly disadvantaged, their own schooling toward the acquisition of self-confidence and employable skills should be credited as national service. Nothing could add more value, both social and material, than such upgrading of human resources. Each of the Armed Services also offers a variety of specialization and educational opportunities. The Army alone has well over a dozen arms and services,

allowing choice as to length of service with resulting special opportunities and benefits.

Standards for qualification of participating agencies would be established by a national service agency. This agency would supervise the operation of the local boards, administer the preliminary training centers, and maintain liaison with the using agencies. Its policy determination would be the responsibility of a permanent, unsalaried commission. The commission would include representatives of the public and one representative each from the Departments of Interior, Agriculture, Defense, Housing and Urban Development, and Health, Education and Welfare, and from the Peace Corps.

These five departments and one agency would have a major stake in the operation of national service. The director of the national service agency would be independent of these departments but free to draw from them as well as from private organizations in recruiting his staff and operating personnel. His responsibilities would include direct operation of preliminary training centers and coordination of those substantive parts of the program which would in effect be subcontracted to the particular operating agency.

COSTS OF COMPULSORY NATIONAL SERVICE

All salaries of national servicemen should be paid by the federal government, even for those serving in nongovernment projects. This would assure uniformity and underline the principle that the basic contractual responsibility of the individual would be to the federal government. Meaningful cost estimates of compulsory national service will have to await more detailed plans. However, some information from past experience is available. Civilian

Conservation Corps camps in the 1930's and 1940's had financial requirements similar to those foreseen for preliminary training centers and conservation of natural resources camps. Man-year cost of operation and administration of the CCC camps was \$1,200, including staff salaries and capital costs.⁴ In terms of purchasing power, this would equal \$3,000 today. At this rate, total cost of preliminary training would be under \$1.5 billion and, if 400,000 in each annual class opted for the national resources option, that cost would be \$2.5 billion.

Nearly all other public expenditures required by the program are already included in the federal budget. This is so for the Armed Services. Virtually all service and conservation of human resources would either mesh into or replace programs now funded under the budgets of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity, the combined total of which was \$8.6 billion in the 1966 budget. Doubling the size of the Peace Corps would add another \$100 million if per capita costs of that agency remained at their present level.

Allowances for national servicemen would be minimal, as in the CCC camps, except in the instance of the Armed Forces. Not only would it be realistically and economically impossible and undesirable to alter military pay scales, but by maintaining this financial differential the military would be able to retain an advantage in attracting manpower. Financial incentive to participate in nonmilitary national service, however, would be contrary to the orientation and objectives of the service activities involved. Since at ages 18 and 19 most youths do not have financial responsibility for others and since their personal living costs would be funded, a competitive salary is neither necessary nor desirable. The philosophy and motivation fundamental

to the nonmilitary components of national service would suffer if such service were made financially attractive.

DIFFERENTIAL SERVICE INCENTIVES

It is argued by some that in spite of the financial advantages offered, military manpower needs would not be met under a system of voluntary choice of national service. It is my own conviction that this quota would be the first to be overfilled. Yet such predictions cannot be verified and could prove erroneous. Since military needs must be met in the current world context, insurance for such requirements is called for, and a guarantee of ultimate authority for the Armed Forces to acquire essential manpower should be included in the National Service Act.

To match spontaneous supply with demand among the various options, length of service as well as salary could be altered as experience dictated. For example, if the maximum quota for the natural resources option approached overfilling, the salary could, at the discretion of the National Service Agency, be decreased \$10 or the term of service lengthened. Conversely, if this option fell markedly short, the salary could be moderately increased, or the term of service reduced. Such contractual changes would not apply to those already in service but would be announced to those in preliminary training about to make their choices. These normalizing adjustments would utilize the principles of the free market to preserve individual freedom of choice as well as maximum social utility of the individual's service.

The belief that military service is today less attractive than in the past is bolstered by the frustrating anomalies of the Vietnam war. Yet the glamor of the military tradition retains a powerful hold on a great many

American males. Recognition and esteem are powerful motives for all human beings, and the uniform represents a cachet that identifies the wearer with the heroic aspects of male egotism. The physical danger associated with the military is not a deterrent for the protesting youth of today. Danger is in fact a major attraction if not a way of life for the football player, the motorcycle gunner, and many others. In the military service itself the more hazardous branches, the Marines and Paratroopers, are the most popular. There may be an unfashionableness to such elemental emotion in the current scene, but the elemental is more durable than the fashionable. In reply to the question of whether one would rather have his son serve in military or non-military national service, more than five out of eight respondents to a 1966 Gallup Poll preferred the military option.

As for those who do not court danger, the belief that the risks to life and limb are great in the Armed Services does not accord with the facts. The techniques of war continue to grow more complex. Hence the proportion of combat elements continues to decrease as new service and supporting elements are added. At the least, statistics explode the belief that donning a uniform is the dress rehearsal for donning a shroud. The toll of battle for the entire roster of the Armed Forces is actually less than the hazards encountered in civilian life. The national death rate is between 9 and 10 per thousand per year. For men of military age, which embraces the healthiest years in the life span, the annual rate is 1.5 per thousand. In comparison, battle deaths per year per thousand men in uniform have been fewer in each war since World War I. In that war the rate was 7.1, in World War II it was 5.6, in the Korean War it was 2.0, and in Vietnam, since acceleration of combat activity in 1966, it has ranged between 1.5 and 2.0. However,

in two or three scattered weeks of heavy fighting in mid-1967, the rate rose to about 4.0. As for injuries, 52 civilians out of every 1,000 are injured every year; the corresponding rate for battle-wounded was 25 in World War I, 8 in World War II, and 6 in Korea. This rate increased to 11 in 1967 in Vietnam.⁵

It would be a mistake to exaggerate the significance of these figures. Statistics are subject to varying interpretation. In Vietnam, for instance, a smaller proportion of our total forces is engaged. In all wars cited, military forces were built up over a period of time; there is therefore an element of exaggeration in computation based on the peak forces. Nevertheless, similar variations apply to all wars, so the comparisons are valid for today's circumstances, and presumably for tomorrow's. The techniques of war will continue to grow more complex. Hence the proportion of combat elements will continue to decrease as new service and supporting elements are added.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SOCIETY

The advantages gained both by the individual and society would be similar under voluntary or compulsory national service. However, there are some benefits that would result only from a universal system. From entry into preliminary training centers inductees would have one common purpose: service to the world community, both directly and through enhancement of individual capabilities. Participants conscious of this vision would serve as bellwethers to those less aware and reluctant to follow. Sense of social purpose is a deep human need and perhaps the most unfulfilled of all cravings of today's youth. It could provide a common bond linking the most advanced and the most retarded. The universality of service obligation would leave no basis for

envy since none would be exempt from participation and thus able to advance their life objectives more rapidly. In fact, future vocational competence of those in service would progress faster than otherwise. The gamut of career opportunities would be expanded through the breadth of national service options and suboptions to match the scope of our burgeoning technology. In an age when an ever smaller proportion of the labor force is utilized in the productive industries, the emphasis of national service on the service industries would be a stabilizing and progressive factor in our economy.

The possibilities of crossover from national service to life careers is difficult to predict. Certainly many of the skills developed in national service activities would be applicable in the job market. The Iranian compulsory service example shows that 90 per cent of the first group in the literacy program later found permanent jobs in the educational system. The single field of conservation is today expanding so that the manpower required to overcome pollution will multiply substantially each year in the near future. Yet to conservationists of barely a decade ago, pollution was of minor concern. The poverty program whether viewed as promising or disappointing, has at least focused attention on large areas of unmet human needs, the most pressing of which are the need for teachers and the need for self-improvement of those stranded by the advances of technology.

Since time of entry upon adult economic responsibility will be postponed because of service participation, readjustments will be forced upon industry and higher education. Voluntary national service would result in erratic and fragmentary meshing of plans of individuals and institutions. The uniform experience of universal national service for the entire age group would obviate such disruption. The even flow of inductees throughout the

year would tend toward an even flow into career jobs. Today industry is geared to a sudden flood in the labor market in June. However well industry may adapt to this, a temporary unemployment bulge is inevitable. Its elimination could only be beneficial.

In higher education the rigid schedule of two semesters and a long summer vacation has been breaking down for more than a generation. Summer sessions have become standard in all large institutions. Year-round use of educational facilities is growing and their more efficient use would be accelerated under national service. New and improved patterns of educational scheduling would be encouraged, in fact necessitated, by a universal service period for young citizens.

INITIATION OF NATIONAL SERVICE

It is argued that compulsory national service is too large a program to enter into at one stride. A pilot scale beginning would be desirable if it could be arranged. A single preliminary training camp would provide a good testing program to smooth the way for later full-scale operation. Yet many features of national service would be effective only when all are involved, and legal and procedural difficulties would arise in proffering the program to a minority of the age group, no matter how selected. A pilot program could make voluntary national service a preliminary step toward compulsory national service. If this were attempted, the enabling legislation should clearly spell out its interim character.

Compulsory national service would be a new superstructure on time-tested foundations of our social and political system. It would transcend national objectives. The various foreign services are its yeast and its

promise. The citizens' militia, defined by a 1903 statute as including all able-bodied males between the ages of 18 and 45, must now embrace more than a military obligation. It was the Peace Corps that President Kennedy described as "one step in a major international effort to increase the welfare of all men and improve understanding among nations." To regard the Peace Corps or the conservation of human resources as less vital to the nation and the world than we regard military service is to stifle the progress of civilization and to miss the opportunity for a critical advance toward world order, understanding, and peace. The power of this nonmilitary obligation in promoting understanding and goodwill among nations as well as among people is the measure of our hope for survival.

THE CASE FOR VOLUNTARY SERVICE

Robert Bird

I, for one, would not count a global free society out. Coercion, after all, merely captures man. Freedom captivates him.¹

This paper, written as a resource paper for the National Service Conference, does not imply in any way the acceptance by the author, or the organization of which he is a staff member, of the concept of national service, even if voluntary.² Its purpose is to elaborate the view that the concept of compulsory service is a contradiction in terms. Service is freely given; if it is compulsory, it is no longer service.

Service is a difficult term to comprehend. Several columns of an unabridged dictionary are needed to reveal its varied meanings. Definitions stretch from an activity of momentary significance, such as when a tennis ball is put into play (if Don Budge will forgive the slight), to the transcendent significance of an act such as when Jesus willingly gave all he had with the words, "My Father, if it is not possible for this cup to pass me by without my drinking it, thy will be done" (Matthew 26:42).³

Throughout its meanings, however, two ideas appear. There is the idea of performing a duty voluntarily, and there is the idea of being compelled to do something by an outside authority. The involuntary aspect is better

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expressed by the word "servitude." While "service" and "servitude" are both ancient words, "servitude" first appeared in the English language, according to the Oxford Dictionary, in 1471. "Service," on the other hand, is older than the language itself. "Servitude" has generally had its meaning confined to service of a compulsory nature. "Service" has embraced both the voluntary and the compulsory aspects, and the Latin verb from which it came embraced both meanings. "Servo" meant both "I am a slave" and "I am of use." It may be significant that "servitude" first appeared in the work of Caxton, the first English printer. At a time when printing was extending men's horizons and knowledge was becoming a democratic possession rather than a possession only of the priestly aristocracy, the realization that there were differences between serving willingly and being coerced was expressed in verbal symbols.

The word "nation" originally referred to the place where one was born. With the growth of the nation-state, it has come to refer exclusively to this legal entity. Therefore, for this author, "national service" means the engagement of the citizen by a state in activities designed exclusively to further the interest of the nation-state in which he is a citizen. Donald Eberly's definition of national service appears acceptable to this author as long as it is understood to be voluntary.

National service as a concept embraces the belief that an opportunity should be given each young person to serve his country in a manner consistent with the needs of the nation--recognizing national defense as the first priority--and consistent with the education and interest of those participating, without infringing on the personal or economic welfare of others but contributing to the liberty and well-being of all.⁴

If national service is made compulsory, the definition would have to be changed as follows:

National service as a concept embraces the belief that each young person be required to be in servitude to his country in a manner consistent with the needs of the nation--recognizing national defense as the first priority--and consistent with the education and interests, as far as possible, of those participating, and without infringing, except when necessary, on the personal or economic welfare of others, but contributing to the liberty and well-being of all, as defined by the state.

The above definitions do not indicate approval by this author of national service; they are merely definitions of national service that the author finds acceptable. In this paper, "service" refers to duty performed voluntarily. "Servitude" refers to duty performed under compulsion. "National service" is used in the senses as stated above. It refers to both a voluntary national service and a compulsory national service. When necessary to differentiate, "compulsory" and "voluntary" will precede the term.

Considerable space has been devoted to the differentiation between the various terms because there has been blurring of these concepts in the past and, in the present discussions of national service, the blurring has increased. One can see the blurring, for instance, in Robert McNamara's Montreal address where the title itself is confusing, "Voluntary Service for All Youth." The only voluntary activities of any kind that all youth will perform are those having to do with their own bodily needs, and these were not what McNamara had in mind.

The context in which his proposal lay was in the need for national security, which he said exists not by virtue of the amount of military hardware this country possesses, but in the character of this nation's relations with the world. He concluded his speech by specifically suggesting that asking every young person to give two years of service to his country in some developmental work in or out of the military would remedy the inequities of

servitude. However, he seemed to relate this servitude to the three sets of relationships that the United State has to the rest of the world: helping the developing nations that need and request help and are willing to help themselves; encouraging a more effective partnership in the responsibilities the developed nations have toward the underdeveloped; and in bridging the ideological chasms that exist between the United States and those "tempted to take up arms against us." Thus, McNamara sees national service as merely one aspect of national security, and he seems to agree with Von Clausewitz in viewing diplomacy and military activity as two means toward the same end--the manifestation of the nation-state. As Secretary of Defense, he was, of course, entitled to think in these terms. However, it is important to realize that he meant by national service another means of defending the state, a concept that has nothing to do with service as a dedicated individual sees it.

In the excitement that followed his Montreal speech, McNamara insisted that he did not mean "compulsory" national service. He used the term "ask." What does "ask" mean when one's government asks, especially with reference to national security? Does it not mean that, if enough do not volunteer, the government will see to it that more will? It is of utmost importance to note that McNamara titled his speech with the implication that everybody would do service and ended it aphoristically with the implication that all he was after was a free society (see beginning quotation). It would be unfair to suggest he was saying that through servitude one finds freedom, if it were not for the fact that with few exceptions nation-states have confused their ends with the ends of the citizens in their midst. "We are engaging in this activity in the cause of life and liberty" has always been the rallying cry of this nation's compulsions. These compulsions may have been at times in

the cause of freedom, but without a doubt, at least some of these compulsions have not furthered freedom.

Other persons and groups, however, have made national service proposals not in the context of national defense, although usually granting first priority to national defense. Unfortunately, in this age of highly developed public relations techniques, a concept can be called something, and many persons will respond to its name rather than its nature. We call it voluntary service, and it is that, even though we do not grant the person the option of not serving. Whether one is in a compulsory Peace Corps or a compulsory Army, if he is compelled to serve somewhere, somehow, he is in servitude and nothing can change this fact. It is unfortunate that so much space needs to be devoted to definitional problems; but in a time when government officials publicly claim (and use) the right to lie to "protect the government," definitions must be made very clear.

Having settled on definitions, let us look at the arguments for service and against servitude. What is the matter with a period of servitude? In times of peril, we must all do things we would rather not do. There are always things we have to do. Why oppose servitude when it consists, for instance, of helping run a library in a ghetto that would otherwise have no library?

UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF COMPULSORY SERVICE

Except in times of war, declared or otherwise, compulsory national service appears to be unconstitutional.

The Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution states unambiguously, "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude. . . shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Based upon a tradition that reaches further into the past than the date of adoption, the amendment should immediately resolve any doubts that compulsory national service is unconstitutional. That it does not may, perhaps, attest to the temper of our times and that of our government. If something seems desirable, we should attempt to compel people to do it, our times seem to say. Limitations on the freedom of the individual within the United States, however, ought to be clearly justifiable in terms of the situation. The burden of justification falls upon those proposing the limitation.

Fortunately, the protection of the United States courts frequently provides a bulwark of liberty when other measures fail. There is no test case strictly relevant to compulsory national service, but it is apparent that a national service is an expanded military draft. The draft has been tested. Under Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution the courts have granted limited rights to conscript: "The Congress shall have Power: . . . To raise and support Armies . . . (and) to provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions. . . ." This right has not been limited merely to declared war but to the factual condition of war and may, perhaps, be summed up best by the term "clear and present danger." Accordingly, nonwartime military conscription seems clearly unconstitutional. Nonwartime nonmilitary conscription seems to this author to be much more unconstitutional. The National Advisory Commission on Selective Service agrees with this conclusion. In its report to the President, it stated that ". . . there are difficult questions of public policy--and a lack of constitutional basis--involved in compulsory national service. . . ."5

Harrop Freeman, in his lengthy discussion of the constitutionality of

peacetime (military) conscription, concluded his article with these words:

"This article has not attempted to discuss whether peacetime conscription is or is not desirable. It has said that either the Constitution will have to be amended or the military system will have to be formed in accordance with the present Constitution."⁶ Freeman's arguments, presented long before the birth of a national service concept, leave little doubt about the lack of constitutionality of a nonmilitary peacetime draft.

Desirability and constitutionality are not, as Freeman pointed out, synonymous. Are we to conclude that, assuming national service's desirability, the constitutional problem is primarily one of overcoming a bothersome obstacle? Or is it possible that the question of constitutionality is not just a political problem but is relevant to the question of the desirability of compulsory national service?

COMPULSORY SERVICE NOT AN AMERICAN TRADITION

Compulsory national service is inimical to the most fundamental traditions of the United States.

The history of the United States Constitution reveals that the reason for its slow adoption and the long period of time between independence and the adoption of the Constitution was a distrust of government. Under the direction of a king who defined national interest (to use modern language) without including adequate representation and checks and balances on government, the American colonists saw one liberty after another disappear. So strong was the resultant distrust of government that the new American nation was scarcely able to act at all, and it was only to counteract the opposite problem of no government that the United States Constitution was finally

written and adopted. As necessary as a competent government was, the Constitutional convention feared the dangers of a strong government more than they feared the dangers of a weak government. Even Hamilton, the Federalist, opposed the Bill of Rights not because it limited government but because by making explicit certain rights, it left open the possible interpretation that those rights not made explicit might not be rights at all. Checks and balances were built into every aspect of the government. In Number 51 of The Federalist is written:

. . . the great security against a gradual concentration of the several powers in the same department, consists in giving to those who administer each department the necessary constitutional means and personal motives to resist encroachments of the others. . . . Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. . . . It may be a reflection on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government.⁷

A compulsory national service violates this tradition of checking one government department by another. It is contemplated that vast powers over individual lives be granted to one authority, and it is hard to see how any effective check can be built into the system. Grafted on to the present draft law, a single agency of government would review every citizen in the nation and make decisions about his future that might affect him for the remainder of his life. Appeal of the decision, if present practices continue, would be only to the same agency. Where in this system are the checks and balances by which citizens can defend themselves against a government hungry for power?

The founders of this nation had had experience with ambitious men acting under the aegis of government. In our own times we have witnessed abuses of government power from which we only narrowly escaped. We should beware of

any proposal to enact into law government power that goes far beyond any role contemplated for it in any discussion of democratic government.

National interest is not definable by an agency, by a department, nor by a law. It is definable only in terms of the checks and balances among the competitive interests within the nation, of which government is only one. To delegate this kind of power to government alone, ignoring for the moment its delegation to one department within a government, is to freely give up those very rights that the writers of the Constitution so carefully built into the system. Said Charles Beard, ". . . whatever fine declaration of rights you may have, liberty in final analysis actually depends on the spirit of the people and the government."⁸

This author hopes that today's spirit is not one of freely giving up what this nation's heroes fought for so hard.

It is always helpful, when speaking in abstractions, to illustrate through concrete examples. We have today something similar to compulsory national service in the operation of the civilian work program for conscientious objectors under the present draft law. Examples of arbitrary, freedom-restricting practices (assuming the validity of the law itself) from which there is no appeal are manifest.

A young conscientious objector spent a summer developing a civilian work assignment that clearly fell within the regulations as approvable. His local board failed to approve it because he had gone to college in the vicinity.

State Selective Service directors fail to approve projects set up by independent agencies for arbitrary reasons: "We have enough work in this state without adding new projects." "You have your CO's moving around too

much." "We are not approving jobs with your organization in this state."

In many cases, reasons for failure to approve are not stated and can only be inferred. There is evidence to suggest, for instance, that some southern boards may not approve jobs that promote integration between Negroes and whites.

None of these examples is one of threatened loss of life or liberty on the grand scale that one thinks of in our nation's history. It is precisely in these small examples of personal loss of freedom, expense of locating suitable work only to fail to have it approved, and time lost in negotiation that one finds the tyranny of compulsory national service. In their very ordinariness these examples illustrate vividly the loss of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness that a compulsory national service contemplates and that the nation's founders struggled to prevent.

Are we to conclude that the case for voluntary national service rests only on its opposition to compulsory national service? Is there a case for voluntarism that proscribes the use of compulsion, desirable as it might be on other grounds?

THE HIGHEST FORM OF SERVICE

The highest form of service is that which is given freely and without expectation of return. It is the outward form of love, which cannot be commanded.

The Greeks called the sacrificial love that one might have for his brother or for his god agape. Agape is similar to the concept of love as developed by Harry Sullivan⁹ and Erich Fromm.¹⁰ For a lengthy discussion of agape and its comparison to eros, see Pitirim Sorokin.¹¹

Love seeks nothing for itself, is given freely, and has no purpose other than responding to the other's need, as demanded by the giver's conscience. It is an affirmation of the giver's life. Love is most clearly seen in the Judaeo-Christian concept of God, which developed from that of a God of omnipotence, jealousy, arrogance, and arbitrariness to a God so loving that "he gave his only Son," (John 3.16) an act that was "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world."¹²

The writer prefers the term "fall from grace" to the word "sins" because of the latter expression's connotation that man's nature is innately evil. Psychological states equivalent to "fall from grace" would for this writer include such conditions as depression, extreme and persistent apathy and withdrawal, chronic anxiety, severe psychological deprivation, and negative self-conceptualization.

While "sacrifice" is often used in connection with service of this intensity, by "sacrifice" is meant only the doing of a holy act. Those who serve do not see such service as deprivation, a common connotation of the word "sacrifice." They serve because they want to, because they must, because service is merely a manifestation of their existence. Dag Hammarskjöld expressed it this way:

. . . the explanation of how man should live a life of active social service in full harmony with himself as a member of the community of the spirit, I found in the writings of those great medieval mystics for whom "self-surrender" had been the way to self-realization, and who . . . had found strength to say Yes to every demand which the needs of their neighbors made them face, and to say Yes also to every fate life had in store for them. . . Love . . . for them meant simply an overflowing of the strength with which they felt themselves filled when living in true self-oblivion. And this love found natural expression in an unhesitant fulfillment of duty and an unreserved acceptance of life, whatever it brought them personally of toil, suffering - or happiness.

"I do this service," says the one who serves, "because an inner voice commands, because I love my neighbor as much as I love myself, because I am my brother's keeper, because I offer myself freely as a right and an obligation to the brotherhood of man." And, while some would consider it profane, the soldier who gives his life gladly because his country asked is performing a service out of love, out of a self-imposed obligation that he considers his right, not because the state compels.

How different is this motivation from motives of self-benefit, from acts done because one feels good about it, or because the law says you will go to jail if you don't! And how arrogant is the nation-state who thinks that service, if not freely given, can be compelled!

What benefit is there to a child yearning for a human relationship if the one person who is there to be a friend is there because he has to be? To whom would the hostility of being compelled be directed? How does it help a country's relations with the world if an American spends two years on the arid plains of Rajasthan against his will? What kind of work can be expected in the forest lands from someone who is improving them because he would rather be there than in prison?

An example from the compulsory civilian work program of Selective Service again illustrates the problem. CO's complain bitterly about being required to do what they otherwise would have done naturally and gladly. More than one CO has gone to prison rather than submit to compulsory assignment. While in prison, they frequently render great service, and when they emerge from prison, they resume the service that was interrupted because the state required it!

The psychological dynamism by which a person incorporates the voice of

authority to make it his own is proximately understood through psycho-analytic theory. Man is born helpless but with the capacity for self-awareness. Partly as a biological necessity, partly because awareness produces a feeling of aloneness that is not tolerable, love provides the link to life that enables the neonatus to develop into a cognitive, affective, connative man. During the process of socialization the child responds first to the threatened withdrawal of love from the giver of love, the parental authority, and/or the desire to please the parental authority. At first through the mother and father and later through other culture carriers, the child incorporates within himself the prohibitions and prescriptions that make up his conscience. At first responding to an outside voice, the child develops into the mature adult who responds to the built-in voice of authority, which he denies only at his peril. Alone, separated from all others, lonely for the state of being a part of the universe, the individual bridges the gap between himself and his fellow men through the power of love. If the individual is successful in his union, his power to relate to others by being of service is unlimited. Outside commands for such a person are without relevance to him. If they are congruent with his inner compelled action, he responds to the commands. If they are not, he does not respond, no matter what the cost.

The nation-state does not understand this response, for it has as its command only the power of force. It cannot tolerate this response, for when its commands are defied or ignored, its existence is threatened. The active phases of Quakerism are replete with conflict between the conscience of the inner man and the demands of the state. As in 1656 the imprisoning of eight Quakers in Boston "caused many English Quakers to feel a call to go

to Boston,"¹⁴ so many Quakers today are impelled to send medical supplies to both North and South Vietnam as an act of love, regardless and in spite of the fact that the United States government denies export licenses for North Vietnam. The giving of service to those in need is not controllable by the nation-state. The requirement to give service is not a right the government can usurp for itself. If the desire is not there, no amount of compulsion can put it there, and the effort of the government to put it there alienates government from those it attempts to rule. Nor can it remove or control in any way the right of service. Said St. Paul:

Love is patient; love is kind and envies no one. Love is never boastful, nor conceited, nor rude; never selfish, not quick to take offence. Love keeps no score of wrongs; does not gloat over other men's sins, but delights in the truth. There is nothing love cannot face; there is no limit to its faith, its hope and its endurance (I Corinthians 13:4-7).

"Yes, yes," says the enlightened administrator impatiently. "You're talking about conscientious objectors, and I've already planned to excuse them on grounds of conscience. But we have a job to do. Separation is increasing between the social groups in our nation. People are increasingly concerned with themselves and less with helping others. Education has become increasingly stilted and irrelevant. Just look, for instance, at the groups where our high school dropouts come from. How are we going to change society unless we compel a few things?"

Is there nothing that the person who is dismissed as a "conscientious objector" can say to the enlightened administrator to support the case for service?

VOLUNTARY SERVICE PERMITS FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Whatever ills exist in a democratic society, "voluntary" service is the treatment of choice.

The fundamental conflict between individual rights and national interest has already been discussed. To the believer in individual freedom, compulsory national service is a kind of dictatorship of the proletariat, foisted upon the unsuspecting by enlightened planners who think they know better than the people themselves what is good for the people. How seldom does the adoption of totalitarian measures lead to freedom! As a matter of record, most such measures fail to achieve their professed ends, and greater measures of control must be introduced. This is the lesser of the evils; in more cases than otherwise, the measures are subverted to ends which are frankly anti-individual. Here are three examples:

1. Under the threat of outside invasion, the French Revolutionary Government in 1798 enacted the first national conscription in history. The levée en masse was most successful at repelling the invaders. It was also most successful in allowing Napoleon to subjugate most of Europe.

2. The process by which Nazi Germany became increasingly totalitarian in the 1930's was based upon the hope of curing the various ills which had befallen the German nation since 1918.

3. In the fall of 1966, the universal conscripted force of Israel violently invaded the neighboring country of Jordan. This force had long been hailed as a model of a conscripted force that not only protected boundaries but built villages and character and watered parched sands and thirsty persons. The reason given for the destruction of As Samu and other nearby areas was to remove the guerrilla nuisance. A more significant

reason appears to have been to shore up the sagging popularity of the government with its citizens. Whatever else may have been accomplished, it is certain that this force almost succeeded in bringing down the government friendliest to Israel in the area, enraged world opinion, and increased the hostile acts of already hostile nations.

Even when dangers like this do not eventuate, in the course of attempting to cure society's ills a compulsory national service threatens to engulf a nation's citizens in an inefficient system that can better (if not only) be done through voluntary means.

Comparable costs of a voluntary national service with a compulsory system are hard to come by. It may be of some relevance, however, to compare the costs of one (voluntary) nongovernment service to one government service. The VISA program of the American Friends Service Committee is primarily a program of overseas service for those who wish to demonstrate their concern for the rest of the world. It has several elements in common with the American Peace Corps. Average cost of a VISA volunteer in one year is approximately \$3,800. The average Peace Corps volunteer cost is more than twice that figure. Comparative costs for a compulsory government program, where a great many individuals would be present because of outside compulsion, could scarcely be other than astronomical.

One part of the cost of a compulsory national service would be the complexities of rules and procedures for the processing of those who will not conform. No such cumbersome procedures are necessary in a voluntary system. If the person fails to conform, he is dropped from the service. A compulsory system does not have this option open to it. Court procedures, dishonorable discharges, prison sentences, psychiatric examinations and/or commitments, and

numerous other hallmarks of compulsion would be introduced. Aside from the cost to the nation, the cost to the individual who did not happen to conform would be very great.

If compulsory national service becomes a reality, contemporary Americans must be different from those whom de Tocqueville saw nearly a century and a half ago, when he observed prophetically:

There are at the present time two great nations in the world, which started from different points, but seem to tend towards the same end. I allude to the Russians and the Americans. . . . The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends, and gives free scope to the unguided strength and common sense of the people; the Russian centres all the authority of society in a single arm. The principal instrument of the former is freedom; of the latter, servitude. Their starting-point is different, and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.¹⁵

I wonder what de Tocqueville would say today? Would he agree with Justice Douglas, who said last year:

If the present trend continues, liberty as Americans once knew it will decline. If the present trend continues, the individual will in the end succumb to regimentation that will nonetheless be stifling even though it is American.¹⁶

The dilemma confronting national service advocates is real. The choices are clear. In regimenting every citizen within one national system, they can, in the name of freedom, abolish freedom as known to this society. Or they can, by encouraging every citizen to manifest his right to love his fellow man in his own way, help this nation toward those ideals which once it took for granted--not proudly, as though we were something special; not sacrificially, as though there were something worthwhile we had to give up;

not arrogantly, as though we had some superiority we were demonstrating to others. None of these responses will do. Americans would serve simply because it is in man's destiny to love his fellow man.

NATIONAL SERVICE: VOLUNTARY OR COMPULSORY

Workshop Discussion Summary

Chairman: Glenn A. Olds, Executive Dean, International Studies
and World Affairs, State University of New York

Panelists: Robert Bird; Edward F. Hall; John De J. Pemberton, Jr.,
Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union;
Jack J. Preiss, Professor, Department of Sociology
and Anthropology, Duke University

In outlining the possible dimensions of the debate, Mr. Olds proposed three terms upon which the discussion could be focused.

The first term is service, which Mr. Bird subjects to critical scrutiny in his paper. What does it mean, what are its dimensions, and how can it be universalized properly, personally, and morally? A second term has to do with the meaning of compulsory, the fashion in which the concept of compulsion in any community stands under a cloud of criticism, and the extent to which compulsion must be rationalized to provide the context of a meaningful democratic community. Finally, the term voluntary, for lack of a better word, as the counterpart to compulsory. To what extent is voluntary a description of responsible human action? To what extent is all human action a combination of voluntary and compulsory components?

Margaret Mead said that the problem was not simply to choose between a purely voluntary and a purely compulsory form of service. She pointed to three levels of service: that rooted in the private initiative of the individual and given freely as an act of love, that given not lovingly but dutifully in recognition of one's social responsibility, and that required of all citizens and given grudgingly. In terms of national service, the question becomes whether it should take the form of spontaneous contributions from individuals, a citizenship responsibility voluntarily accepted

by the majority, or a citizenship duty indiscriminately imposed on all.

Mr. Bird's formulation of service as an act of love was seen by all participants as a valued form of service--one that governments should make possible by providing opportunities for service but should not, and could not, institutionalize. Such service was seen as an ideal to be preserved and defended, but most of the conferees were not satisfied with it as an answer to enabling young people to participate more actively in society. Service through love was viewed as a form of service which has been practiced for millenia and whose practitioners are among the most revered persons in human history. But while inspiration to serve could be provided by Jesus, Albert Schweitzer, or Mohandas Gandhi, the time has come for something more than inspiration, and the conferees then discussed what this something might be.

COMPULSORY SERVICE - TYRANNY OR EQUITY?

Despite its appeal of universality and equity, a purely compulsory service was, after a lively discussion, rejected by most members of the workshop. Speaking first to the constitutionality of compulsory service, Anita Martin, attorney and legal consultant to the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, stated that Congress does not have the authority to draft youth for nonmilitary service and that such compulsory service would appear to violate the Thirteenth Amendment. But, she noted, there are no permanent legal barriers to nonmilitary conscription since the Constitution can always be amended.

Roderick MacRae of International Voluntary Services, Inc., directed this comment to Mr. Hall:

I believe I understand that your most basic justification for compulsory service is the fact that some notion of compulsion is now a basic part, an ingrained part, of our society and of our system--and that this is the principal justification you offer for a compulsory program. I would challenge this on the basis that the individual only grudgingly gives certain powers to a government.

Mr. Hall emphasized that it was the problem of the draft that had triggered serious consideration of national service and said:

Since the draft remains compulsory and inequitably selective, only universal compulsion can remove that inequity. And only by the broadest choice among both military and social forms of service can the integrity of the individual be fully preserved and protected.

Is compulsion necessarily an anathema to society? Mr. Pemberton argued that "compulsion is designed to eliminate in some areas freedom of choice" regardless of how it is applied. Mr. Preiss observed:

I see this problem not really as an either/or situation in which there is all good on one side and all evil on the other. We are faced essentially with the task of separating out what one might call the net balance of one side against the other. I find myself not able to be a staunch and irrevocable advocate of one view or the other, in a complete or totalitarian sense. I think that it's just as possible to be totalitarian about freedom as it is about anything else, depending upon how you define freedom to yourself and to other people.

Mr. Pemberton justified compulsion only when it is essential to the protection of individual liberty and safety.

We have traffic laws to protect the freedom of cars to get through intersections. We use civil rights laws to protect the freedom of a minority. We use law to protect the liberty and safety of others. But nothing in this reference to the coercive effect of law, none of this advocacy of more and greater employment of government to achieve our liberties, makes compulsion an end in itself or makes it necessarily an advantage in advancing

our purposes. I insist that compulsion is justified only--if at all--when it will advance the liberty and safety of others.

Mr. Katz justified compulsion only in terms of the survival of society.

It has been said that compulsion is justified because there are duties that every citizen should do, because there are jobs that need to be done in our society. In that case, we have to be very clear about what those particular tasks are. I think that only if we can say the jobs are absolutely critical to the survival of our society, and there is no other way of accomplishing them, is compulsion justified.

Differing opinions were expressed on the lessons to be derived from a century of compulsory education. Mr. Katz pointed to what he saw as an unfortunate by-product of education resulting from its compulsory nature.

I think there has been an unfortunate side effect of compulsory education on the schools, and that is it has bred complacency. The schools don't have to do anything to keep the children. They don't have to be exciting; they don't have to be innovating; they don't have to be relevant. Schools have a captive audience and, if the students choose not to come, the schools can use the law to drag them there or to reform school. I wonder if private schools haven't been more responsive to the society around them because they have had to attract their students.

Mr. Preiss, noting that education today is generally referred to as public education rather than compulsory education, as in the past, said:

When public education as we now know it was first proposed in the United States and elsewhere, it was subjected to the same kinds of reactions from members of the society as we are getting today concerning universal service. These reactions are that universal service would violate freedom of conscience, would be obstructive and totalitarian, and would go against all the things for which the country was founded. You will find the same criticisms in historical accounts of the initiation of public education.

The young people in the workshop appeared to be torn between the many duties currently required of them by "a society already overstructured and overorganized" and their deep desire to serve. They expressed a desire not for more compulsion, like that of compulsory education and the draft, but for more opportunities to do voluntary service. One young man complained that until the Peace Corps was established, he had no idea where one would go if he or she had wanted to do worthwhile volunteer work.

Speaking to the value of a voluntary program, a Peace Corpsman related, "We have a saying in the Peace Corps which, I think, is a very true statement. A Peace Corps volunteer's effectiveness overseas stems not from his language ability, his college education, or how much money he is or is not getting, but his attitude." He added that the effectiveness of national service would be dependent upon the attitude of the participants. Sherill Lane, a Job Corps trainee, expressed her feelings on the subject.

I would like to say that I am against the compulsory movement because, and I am speaking on behalf of the younger generation, we don't like to feel committed to anything and we also don't like to be forced to do anything because, in a way, that makes us want to rebel. And if we rebel there will be no voluntary service anywhere. If we feel that we are doing service on our own, you will get better results from us. We want to do service for others because they want us to, and we want to feel that we are helping ourselves too. Compulsory education is compulsory to the extent of making a person go to school, but it is not compulsory to make a person learn. So the same thing would happen if we start a national compulsory service.

Without the element of compulsion, who would enroll in national service?

"To get into the Civilian Conservation Corps," recalled Mr. Preiss, "you had to be unemployed and have no place to go. I think that this is a defect of our programs today--they place an economic stigma on the persons who are in them."

Concern was expressed that the very youth who would benefit most from national service--the disadvantaged--would not elect to join because of their lack of awareness of the potential personal value such an experience might offer. "Its message would not reach those who had the most to gain by it," argued Mr. Hall. On the other hand, Mr. Rosenman pointed out that the NAACP has a half million volunteers coming precisely from the group said to have no spirit of voluntarism. Expressing his viewpoint as a member of the underprivileged, a young man from the Job Corps retorted, "Middle-class youth--what do they care about helping in national service? They have hot rods, go to school, and are well fed. You find the majority of people who want to help are from the poverty areas." A student from Harvard added, "If you get rid of compulsion and start talking about true voluntary national service, I think you will have a very receptive young army."

Debate then focused upon consideration of which young people had the most to gain from serving. Mr. Preiss stressed that "the disadvantaged youths are just as much in the upper income brackets as in the lower." He illustrated his point by relating his own experience at a CCC camp. Although he had a college education at the time, he learned at this camp that "I didn't know as much about life as I thought I did." Mr. Hall asked that the doors be opened to all young people so that the economically privileged and underprivileged can learn as much as possible from each other. He suggested that the concept of "tempered compulsion" might best serve this purpose because, while it would bring young people together in universal service, it would also provide a great deal of individual freedom of choice within the program. Mr. Preiss accepted this concept because, he said, "Our modern mass society is much too complex a phenomenon to imagine a kind of personal

laissez faire. We are dealing with a world in which there are many trains of thought and people are not really in communication with those they are trying to talk to."

Senator Jacob K. Javits, in his concluding address to the National Service Conference, called for an "expansion of existing programs to create new opportunities and incentives for voluntary national service," but pointed to one area where compulsory national service might be needed:

There is one kind of national service--and I am using the term here very broadly--which the equities demand that we should apply, even under an approach to the draft employing a lottery and eliminating college deferments. For there is a tragically large group of young men who are eligible for military service but who, often through no fault of their own, are rejected on physical and mental grounds. To exclude this group from military service works a double inequity--it shields a certain number of underachievers from the risks of service while those who have worked hard and made something of themselves are inducted, and it prevents a number of youngsters who could be rehabilitated from receiving the education and training benefits the military service is capable of affording.

In fairness to those who are included in the lottery, and in an effort to help the rejectees, I believe that we should require these rejectees to accept rehabilitative medical treatment, or to enter remedial education and training courses as the case may be. Upon successful completion of such a course, or upon completion of medical treatment, they should be deemed fit for military service and their names should be placed in the lottery along with those who needed no rehabilitation.

I believe that required remedial assistance of this type is justified both on grounds of equity to those who are not rejected, and on the existing precedent of compulsory education in this country. In fact, it is simply an extension of the compulsory education concept to those whom the system had bypassed. It would be a step in the direction of compulsory education to a certain level of achievement--that set by the Armed Forces Qualification Test--rather than to the arbitrary biological age of 16.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL SERVICE

Having debated whether voluntary or compulsory national service would best serve the needs of the individual and society, the workshop participants

examined the role of government in American society. How much power should government have and for what ends, and how much can government ask from the individual citizen? The comments were directed toward the current proposals that suggest a national service program be funded by a federal commission or a foundation composed of both public and private officials (Appendix A).

The discussion ranged between Mr. Bird's position that the least amount of federal involvement in individual affairs is the best amount, to Mr. Hall's position that all social organization requires some government direction.

Mr. Bird argued that federal agencies tend not to be subjected to the rigorous checks and balances basic to the traditions of American constitutional government and tend therefore to become too powerful. Mr. Pemberton expressed a similar skepticism that the federal government could not be expected always to approve the type of service youth may wish to perform. For example, he asked if one could "imagine the government approving civil rights activities, propagandizing against the Vietnam War, agitating for freedom to use mind-expanding drugs, or an activity that would perfect an individual's artistic or musical skills. Surely some youth will want to engage in these kinds of activities. Young people should decide what they consider to be in the national interest and how they as individuals might channel their energies and talents to serve that interest." His preference was for private and public efforts, not necessarily bound to a federal program, that would extend service opportunities and would attract rather than compel youth's participation.

Mr. Preiss rejected the view that government is inherently bad. Since man is a political animal, the task at hand is not how to minimize government but how to use it intelligently and constructively. Mr. Hall's

position was that, "We cannot live together as gregarious animals without the compulsion of each for the protection of all. The promise of civilization can come only as we temper increasingly essential compulsion with the widest possible scope for individual choice."

THE RIGHT TO SERVE

Mr. Olds summarized the workshop discussion by pointing to the three kinds of service that had been considered:

1. The outpouring of altruism that stems from personal compassion, motivation, and outlook. This is a form of service that should be encouraged in any society but is not the proper object of government or other institutions that would require compulsion for its implementation.
2. Service that is considered the duty of a citizen and is associated with his enjoyment of the privilege of citizenship.
3. Service as servitude, which is the performance of duties imposed upon but not enjoyed by the citizen.

Mr. Olds concluded:

The clash of these last two levels of service constituted the setting for our discussion. Young people present in our meeting did not resist the notion that it was incumbent on them to perform certain services that are critically related to national needs. There was a deep resistance, though, to the compulsive character of the government interposing in this domain a further restriction either of their freedom or prescription of their life; the young people present pointed to, from their viewpoint, the injustices of the contemporary draft, which is the real context within which this discussion takes place for the young. Now the final point that the young people made--and this was made clear by the young men from Harvard and the Job Corps--was the deep desire on their part to participate responsibly in whatever form of service they would either be called upon to contribute--which they preferred--or if there were compulsive elements in it, which they would be privileged to choose. They want to do something about the significant national needs of our

time and want to relate this to an effort for one's own personal improvement through capacity to participate more fully and responsibly in society.

I think it is fair to say that our group would agree that there were critical national needs that should be met, that we have a legitimate right to expect in our kind of society that any citizen who enjoys the fruits should tend the root, and that one of the roots of our kind of society is responsible action with respect to enhancing the general welfare. Finally, whatever form or model of service, we should not rush into this as a final, fixed form but, as the advocate of universal service made plain, we should begin with experimentation, hopefully within various forms of voluntary models. We should not restrict ourselves to research only. National service is one of those issues whose complexities are so great that we can defer endlessly responding to them by various kinds of intellectual diversion. The prospect for national service is genuinely underscored by the mood of the youth of our time and by the need of our country; some form of alternate service to the military that can be both constitutionally legitimized and practically realized is the open and immediate option to us. Whatever form national service may take, it will probably be about as descriptive of our kind of complex culture as the composition of this group, which is to say, either you delight in diversity or you are frightened by it. I delight in it; I think it is an invitation to a qualitative growth that all our quantitative considerations cannot make plain. If you share that basic assumption, then the problem of orchestration of this wide variety of need, motivation, and opportunity will be the invitation to a kind of statemanship to which I would like to see us rise.

APPENDIX A: A PLAN FOR NATIONAL SERVICE

Following the National Service Conference of May, 1966, the National Service Secretariat was established to stimulate and facilitate discussion on national service, to conduct and coordinate further research and study on national service, and to undertake consultations and provide information on national service.

In pursuit of these objectives, discussions were held in the summer of 1966 with the Chairman and staff members of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service to determine how the Secretariat could best assist the Commission in discharging its mandate to evaluate national service proposals. It was agreed that the Secretariat would submit to the Commission a single national service plan based on the best evidence available.

Discussion, correspondence, and a series of meetings were undertaken with a view to shaping the basic goals and guidelines for national service and to identifying issues related to the establishment and operation of a national service program. All available ideas, proposals, and information on national service, from domestic and international sources, were examined and studies were conducted in an attempt to synthesize the pertinent facts and ideas into an internally consistent national service plan.

This paper recommends the adoption of a plan that sets universal voluntary service as a national goal and limits compulsory service to the filling of military manpower needs. The report does not presume to suggest that there is a single right way to identify, train, and place national service participants. Rather, it recommends a mechanism--a National Foundation for Volunteer Service--that would permit the flexibility necessary to the administration of a broadly based program of national service.

The paper also examines briefly the implications of national service for other questions that the Commission considered--the lottery, student deferments, universal military training--and the implications of national service for programs like the War on Poverty and such other concerns as educational innovations and unemployment.

PART I: SERVICE TO BE PERFORMED

In the free market economy the law of supply and demand operates to fill the most essential jobs. But the needs that are met are primarily private or personal. Some of the more fundamental needs in the area of human resources are left to the agencies of the community, state, and federal government.

There are 5,300,000 such public service jobs to be filled, according to the 1966 report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress (see Chapter 1). A more detailed analysis prepared in 1965 for the Office of Economic Opportunity estimated that more than 4,000,000 public service jobs at the subprofessional level were unfilled (see Table I-1).

TABLE I-1
SUMMARY OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES^a
BY FIELD OF SERVICE

<u>Field of Service</u>	<u>Theoretical Potential</u>	<u>First Year Potential</u>
Health, including hospitals and mental health	1,355,000	172,500
Education	2,016,900	162,600
Day care	14,000	2,000
Recreation and beautification	136,000	52,000
Libraries	62,700	15,700
Public welfare	65,000	6,500
Probation and parole	16,000	2,000
Institutions, dependent and delinquent children	38,500	3,800
Public works	150,000	50,000
Police and fire	50,000	-
Prisons	24,000	2,400
Defense	350,000 ^b	-
TOTAL	4,280,100	469,500 ^c

^aCriteria used for making job estimates: (1) The jobs should be worthwhile, socially useful, and have a legitimate place in the economy. (2) The jobs could be filled by persons with a minimum of pre-entry skill, education, and training. (3) The employing organizations would have the capacity to absorb the additional personnel and the potential to provide required in-service and on-the-job training and supervision. (4) There is reason to believe that there is sufficient institutional readiness to establish the jobs and hire the unemployed poor in these jobs. (5) The jobs could be established without substantial additional capital expenditure.

^bIncluded in these figures is an estimated theoretical potential of 350,000 jobs that could be established for civilians on military bases if, as a matter of policy, it were decided to convert many jobs now performed by armed forces personnel to civilian employment. It was not within the scope of this study to develop this possibility. Further study would be required to make additional estimates in this area.

^cPlus or minus 100,000.

Source: Greenleigh Associates, A Public Employment Program for the Unemployed Poor, prepared for the Office of Economic Opportunity (New York: November 30, 1965), pp. 28, 29.

In both cases the estimates of unmet tasks were derived primarily from a set of assumptions about the optimal ratios between nonprofessionals and professionals.

To gauge the validity of these estimates of service opportunities, the Secretariat examined known and projected openings in programs of the federal government, and of state, local, and nonprofit agencies. This report, then, is a first approximation of manpower needs on a national basis.

Federal Programs

It seems clear that the Peace Corps, VISTA, the Job Corps (with a service component), and the National Teacher Corps would qualify as nonmilitary national service. Table I-2 suggests anticipated figures for the size of these federal programs by 1968. These should be considered minimal figures, since they do not assume the existence of a national service program.

TABLE I-2

PROJECTED SIZE OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS, MID-1968

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>
Job Corps	45,000	37,000
Peace Corps	18,000	10,000
VISTA	8,000	4,000
Teacher Corps	<u>2,000</u>	<u>1,000</u>
TOTAL	73,000	52,000

Other large federal programs, such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Project Head Start, Upward Bound, and work-study programs, would also be potential sources of positions for national service participants.

Nonfederal Programs

Table I-3 illustrates the results of a survey conducted by the National Service Secretariat in the fall of 1966 with the assistance of the Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area. It estimates the personnel needs of agencies in a number of service fields which might be met through a program of national service. These figures do not include the supplemental staff needs of the formal educational system, nor do they take into consideration the possible impact of a large-scale increase in the supply of available volunteers. Also, the need for volunteer services is continually fluctuating (generally with an upward trend), so estimates made at one time may not be accurate at another. This survey indicates the approximate educational levels of persons desired by the various agencies. For illustrative purposes, the agencies have been separated into categories having to do with the aged,

TABLE I-3

ESTIMATED ADDITIONAL NEEDS FOR VOLUNTEERS
AMONG PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES IN WASHINGTON, D.C.
(September 1966)

<u>Agency Purpose</u>	<u>High School Dropouts^a</u>	<u>High School Graduates</u>	<u>College Graduates</u>	
Aged	21	25	5	
Education	70	90	45	
Health	113	237	84	
Recreation	10	21	20	
Settlement Houses	18	15	20	
Welfare	82	156	108	
Youth	21	60	42	
Miscellaneous	3	4	4	
Public agencies	164	302	127	
Private agencies	174	306	201	
Totals	338	608	328	1,274

^aEducational levels refer to furthest point of education achieved. A college dropout would be included in the "high school graduate" category.

education, health, recreation, settlement houses, welfare, youth, and miscellaneous.

National Voluntary Agencies with Local Chapters

An important discovery of this study was that relevant data on a private voluntary agency cannot be obtained directly from its national headquarters. Local offices are the only source of accurate information. Hence, a comprehensive estimate of the possibilities for national service participants would require that adequate figures be solicited from a statistically relevant sample of cities. The Washington study is useful, however, both as a tool for rough approximation and as demonstration of a method for future studies.

It was found that several national organizations could absorb a sizable number of national service participants. Several preliminary issues would have to be resolved, however. The organization would have to make a policy decision on the acceptance of assistance from a government agency. Congress or the National Foundation for Volunteer Service would have to decide whether, and under what conditions, organizations with religious, philosophical, or other "special" emphases would be permitted to utilize national service participants if they requested them. Whatever the individual decisions, the indication was that a sizable percentage of national organizations would

request national service participation and welcome young people into their programs.

Most domestic national organizations utilize large numbers of unpaid volunteers at present. Each five unpaid volunteers on an organization's rolls collectively contribute about one volunteer man-year of work (most volunteers work one-half to three days per week; the average is one full day per week). The 5:1 ratio applied to current roll figures gives the total number of unpaid volunteer man-years (almost all of which are persons over 25) currently available to the organization.

There is no apparent way to calculate accurately the need for subsidized volunteers. The national organization is usually greatly decentralized, and the final decision would be made on an individual chapter (or branch or office) basis.

Many private agencies expressed concern over the philosophical question of paid volunteers. The traditional volunteer has been "pure"--that is, unpaid. The military volunteer was the initial semantic complication. The subsidized Peace Corps and VISTA volunteers have caused further confusion. To avoid these difficulties, in this report "national service participants" instead of "volunteers" will be used to identify young people working in any capacity under the auspices of a national service program.

American Red Cross. The American Red Cross now has 2,000,000 unpaid volunteers, or about 400,000 volunteer man-years, in its 3,600 local chapters. Each chapter would be autonomous in deciding how many national service participants would be accepted in its own area. Before local decisions could be made, however, the American National Red Cross Council would have to make a policy decision on whether it would sanction the use of paid volunteers in Red Cross programs.

Red Cross officials in Washington, D.C., described the national service proposal as "overwhelming," "fascinating," "intriguing," but said it would still be a "matter for national policy decision," should the concept be implemented. Estimates from three officials as to the number of national service participants that could be absorbed by its chapters ranged from 30,000 to 50,000. Concern was expressed over supervisory needs, given the relatively tight budgets of most local divisions. The consensus was that an average of ten young persons per chapter would not strain supervisory capabilities in the first year of the programs. This would mean a capacity of 36,000 for the first year.

Young people would be needed with all levels of ability--from high school dropouts to college graduates. No overall percentage breakdown was attempted because of the local chapter determination system. Health and first-aid programs, disaster relief, hospital assistance, and general office work would be some of the tasks assigned to them. The Red Cross expressed particular interest in the cross-cultural potentialities of a national service program for attracting those who currently view the organization as an elitist group.

Salvation Army. The reaction of the Salvation Army was more cautious than that of the American Red Cross. Again, the question of adequate supervisory staff was immediately posed. A national policy decision would also be required in this case vis-a-vis the utilization of noncareerists in large numbers.

The Salvation Army has 1,100 "core" operations (Community Center activities) in large cities. In addition, it operates 50 rehabilitation institutions for men and a number of homes for unmarried mothers. Higher professional level personnel include social work case aides, family service units, and foster home teams.

Local units are relatively autonomous, like those of the Red Cross. The national staff of the Salvation Army in New York City, however, estimated that for fiscal year 1968, were a national service program started, 25 per cent of the "core" operations would request young people and be able to supervise them effectively. From 3 to 12 participants could be utilized at each center. At an average of 6 for 280 centers, the Salvation Army could have a 1,400 volunteer capacity for fiscal year 1968. Salvation Army summer camps could absorb 300 to 600 additional summer participants.

Other national organizations contacted (American Friends Service Committee, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, International Voluntary Services, Catholic Youth Organization, etc.) did not feel capable of giving valid estimates of needs. The feeling was that since local organizations had the real personnel power, the chief role of the national headquarters would be restricted to overall policy determination.

Local Voluntary Agencies

If, as de Tocqueville said, the spirit of voluntarism is what makes America unique, it follows that in our democracy the spirit should best be reflected on the local level. This is, in fact, the case. There are literally thousands of community agencies engaged in various kinds of national service at present.

Washington, D.C.'s public agencies include the Recreation Department, Bureau of Nursing, D.C. General Hospital, Commissioners' Youth Council, and many subdivisions of the Department of Public Welfare. Individuals responsible for these activities were asked how many national service participants could be used if the program were initiated in 1968. Several subdivisions had recently estimated needs for VISTA-type volunteers at the request of the Office of Economic Opportunity, so their estimates were extremely detailed and provide the basis for the breakdown by educational level in Table I-3.

Most Washington public agencies are not equipped to provide basic training and supervision for national servicemen. The participant would have to be at least minimally prepared for whatever position he was to occupy. Only the specialized "finishing" training could be administered by the agency unless subsidy for training and supervision was provided by the federal government.

Extrapolation of the figures for Washington shown in Table I-3 into a national estimate yields an approximate first-year absorption potential of more than 300,000 national service participants (Table I-4). For very rough guidelines, the Washington figures were multiplied by 250, the ratio of the U.S. population to that of the District.

TABLE I-4

PROJECTED BREAKDOWN OF NATIONAL SERVICE NEEDS
(BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL)

High school dropouts	83,500
High school graduates	152,000
College graduates	82,000
Total	317,500

Washington is a "volunteer city" however, in that the spirit of public service is a part of the city's way of life. Hence, the volunteer gap in Washington is probably not so critical as it would be in many other localities.

The District of Columbia Department of Public Welfare estimates that it would cost \$200 per month, or \$2,400 per year, to house and sustain a national service participant at an adequate standard of living. This estimate was only \$125 per month as late as 1963 and depends on cost-of-living factors. It would also vary from city to city.

Survey Conclusions

Most volunteer agencies contacted reported significant personnel gaps in existing programs. They reported total gaps for additional programs they would like to undertake. The primary concerns of those interviewed had to do with three factors.

1. Supervisory capacities. New volunteers require a great deal of supervision, and supervisory staffs are stretched to the maximum at present. Most felt that federal subsidy would be necessary for supervisory staff increases.

2. Logistics. Many agencies felt that some additional financial assistance would be needed to provide desk space, telephones, and logistical support to an influx of new volunteers.

3. Rate of expansion. Because of these difficulties, most agencies thought initial expansion would be slow. Progress could be accelerated if federal subsidies were available. If a number of national service participants were qualified as supervisors, however, federal subsidy would be less essential, and expansion could take place fairly rapidly.

All agencies contacted expressed the belief that national service would make a substantial and positive change in their activity potential if carried out in an effective manner. None expressed reservation over federal participation in the program.

Major Areas of Need

Various research studies have recently revealed that national service participants could be utilized in many fields to expand and improve existing programs. Further study would have to be undertaken in each field to determine precisely the kinds of positions they should fill, but recent research has shown that there are many opportunities for national service participants in the major fields of health, education, and conservation as well as in various programs of churches, libraries, and local community service agencies.

Health

The Secretariat staff conducted a small study of personnel trends in the health field to attempt to determine specific needs and opportunities for national service participants. On the basis of interviews and correspondence with physicians and health officials, the following information was obtained.

Programs such as Medicare and Medicaid, which are making health services accessible to a larger segment of the population; the increasing complexity of health care, which requires more specialization; and an increase in the number of curable diseases as a result of advanced medical research are placing demands on the health professions that they will not be able to meet unless the existing concept of health manpower is altered and expanded to include previously untapped sources of labor.

There is growing concern among health professionals about the inadequate number of medical personnel to meet even present needs, much less the increases that are projected for the next decade. Health is presently the third largest industry in the United States, accounting for six per cent of the GNP, and if it continues to expand at its present rate, it will be the nation's largest industry by 1975.¹ The Center for Priority Analysis of the National Planning Association suggests that an increase in public and private spending for medical care to 8.7 per cent of the GNP in 1975 will be needed "to narrow the gap between the potentialities of the modern health technologies and the availability of medical care for most Americans."²

The achievement of this goal will require twice the manpower now employed in the health endeavor, and present sources of personnel are not even meeting current needs. According to the Blue Cross hospital staff recruiting pamphlet, 57,000 more professional nurses are urgently needed now in United States hospitals.³ Miss Elsie Palmer, director of nursing service in New York City Department of Hospitals, announced that in August of 1966 there were 4,089 vacant registered nurse positions in 21 municipal hospitals; more than 50 per cent of all positions are unfilled.⁴

Although the nursing field is probably suffering from the most drastic shortages at present, physicians and specialists are also in a state of short supply that could become serious. There is little that can be done at this point to significantly increase the number of doctors, dentists, and nurses that will be graduated prior to 1975 because of limits on the capacities of medical and professional schools. According to projections, approximately 9,000 physicians will be graduated in 1975, a number inadequate to sustain the existing doctor-population ratio.

Hence, in the face of the impossibility of providing adequate health care in the framework of the existing structure of patient-professional relationships, it has become necessary to look for new ways of meeting manpower problems. Most of the suggestions that are being offered focus on a downward transfer of functions to achieve a more effective utilization of professional talents. Eli Ginzberg has noted the problem of the under-utilization of qualified manpower by "capital-poor" institutions, such as hospitals and universities: "Lacking the necessary capital to invest in the administrative structure and array of supporting personnel needed to economize the use of more expensive professionals, the hospital and comparable health institutions end up with a high unit cost and low overall productivity."⁵ At present the term "health manpower" in its usual connotation does not extend beyond the categories of physician, dentist, and nurse. Until recently, the health professions have been reluctant to share their functions with any other group. There is growing recognition, however, that the majority of jobs in the health field can be performed after limited on-the-job training (such as inhalation therapy after six weeks) or are not unique to the health industry (such as typing, accounting, and maintenance). The rate of increase of workers in health occupations in the last few years has been greatest among occupational categories with the shortest periods of training.⁶

Hospitals are currently using volunteers to supplement their inadequate staffs. In New York City, 23,000 volunteers contributed over two million hours of service in voluntary and municipal hospitals each year in the early 1960's.⁷ Most of these volunteers did unchallenging work that did not fully utilize their capabilities. Health professionals are now beginning to realize, however, that intelligent and trained volunteers can ease the present personnel crisis.⁸ The new volunteers, with increased responsibility, will increasingly be an essential element in the operation of the hospital.

It seems, then, that there is definitely a need now for the kind of work that national servicemen could perform in the hospitals and that the changing concept of health manpower will facilitate their entrance into the field. The subsistence allowances that national servicemen would receive upon completion of satisfactory work and their commitment to daily work for two or three years would probably make them even more dependable and thus more valuable than volunteers contributing only a few hours a week.

Several physicians and other persons directly concerned with the problems of hospital personnel have expressed interest in the potential of a national service program for meeting health manpower needs. Dr. John D. Corbit, Jr., Chief of the Division of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Lankenau

Hospital in Philadelphia, said, "It is certainly true that young people participating in a program of national service would be of great assistance in the health service field in general, and specifically in alleviating hospital manpower shortages."⁹ It has been suggested that service experience in the health field would stimulate more youths to pursue medical careers. Dr. Joseph Stokes III, Chairman of the Department of Preventive Medicine at the University of California at San Diego, said, "I also believe that experience of this kind [national service] would at least give young people a more realistic idea of medical practice and hospital care and therefore would allow them to judge their future careers more realistically than many of them do at the present time."¹⁰

Estimates of the number of national service participants who could be profitably used in hospitals vary, but even conservative figures involve considerable numbers of young people. Dr. Stokes cited a need for a minimum of one national service participant for every three hospital beds and a maximum of one per hospital bed. Since there are currently 1,800,000 hospital beds in the United States,¹¹ this ratio indicates a minimum need for 600,000 health aides. Dr. Corbit estimated that "at least one national service participant for every staff physician and every graduate nurse currently hospital employed" could be utilized. His figure very closely approximates Dr. Stokes' estimates, for there are currently 370,000 active nurses in the United States, and in 1960, there were 230,000 practicing physicians and surgeons.¹²

The necessity for the application of the law of supply and demand in the placement of national servicemen was stressed by Caroline Flanders, Director of the Women's Activity Division of the United Hospital Fund. Hospitals, like private industry, must seek manpower to meet specific needs and thus must be allowed to determine the number, qualifications, and training of their national service participants. Philip W. Morgan, also of the Hospital Fund, stated that the most important prerequisite to the profitable placement of national service participants in hospitals is the formulation of accurate job descriptions. This has not yet been adequately accomplished in the nation's hospitals and currently prevents fully effective use of personnel and would inhibit placement of young people in national service. He suggested that a job analyst or management consultant be charged with the breakdown and definition of all positions in the health personnel system.

It seems clear that there is an existing need for manpower in the country's hospitals at levels that would match the training and capabilities of national servicemen. Furthermore, the performance of service in this field would alleviate the serious personnel shortages that threaten the quality of medical care.

Education

On the basis of meetings with officials of the New York City Board of Education, the United Federation of Teachers, and the United Parents Association of New York City, it is clear that the New York City schools could usefully engage several thousand national service participants. One official

said, "Any program that will raise the quality of education and bring more people into the field as a career stands a good chance of receiving our support."

Volunteers in direct contact with students would have to receive advance training as well as on-the-job training. Officials thought that national service participants could be more usefully engaged as teachers' aides, library aides, and laboratory aides than as assistants for traffic control and the monitoring of classrooms. If national service participants could be obtained with the desired qualifications (some, but by no means all, would be college graduates), it is likely that New York City would assume responsibility for the necessary additional supervisory staff.

While no official estimates were given, the figure of 3,000 national service participants in the first year of operation did not appear unreasonable. That figure is a ratio of one participant for every 18 teachers, which, applied on a nationwide basis, would total some 100,000 national servicemen in education.

An evaluation of teacher aide programs and a national service pilot project in education are described in Appendices C and E, respectively.

Conservation

Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin surveyed state, county, and city conservation and recreation officials in 1964 for information relating to the proposed Human and Resource Conservation Act of 1964.¹³ More than 97 per cent of those replying supported the legislation to provide jobs for unemployed workers on conservation and recreation projects. Many of the replies contained outlines of constructive programs. Most of these jobs would be at a subprofessional level and of the kind that could be filled by national servicemen. Estimates of work that could be started immediately totaled some 425,000 man-years (Table I-5).

Churches

There are some 200,000 churches and synagogues in the United States. While there would be obvious restrictions imposed on the type of activities for which they might use national service participants, there would be no reason to exclude religious groups from cooperating with schools, fraternal organizations, and other community agencies in sponsoring national service endeavors of a nonproselytizing nature.

Libraries

The activities of nearly every library in the United States could be expanded not only to make better use of materials and facilities but also to attract a larger segment of the population. An example of the contribution

TABLE I-5
ATTITUDES OF CONSERVATION AND RECREATION OFFICIALS TOWARD
HUMAN AND RESOURCE CONSERVATION ACT OF 1964

State	Favor Legislation	Against Legislation	Estimated Man-Years
Alabama	6		1,812
Alaska	4		66
Arizona	6		565
Arkansas	4		790
California	43	3	65,877
Colorado	6		2,016
Connecticut	8		76
Delaware	6		68
Florida	15	1	11,341
Georgia	10		891
Hawaii	4		7,050
Idaho	6		65
Illinois	22	3	1,729
Indiana	11	1	655
Iowa	8		1,245
Kansas	8	1	277
Kentucky	6		1,780
Louisiana	3		32
Maine	4		1,276
Maryland	6		2,047
Massachusetts	11		420
Michigan	15		480
Minnesota	9		81
Mississippi	-		-
Missouri	13		719
Montana	1		-
Nevada	6		135
Nebraska	4		1,607
New Hampshire	6		2,015
New Jersey	11		2,767
New Mexico	12		835
New York	13	1	14,660
North Carolina	17	1	1,972
North Dakota	6		51,878
Ohio	19		6,454
Oklahoma	4		610
Oregon	15		567
Pennsylvania	21		4,911
Rhode Island	2		185
South Carolina	7		175
South Dakota	4		385
Tennessee	8		42,686
Texas	13	1	1,577
Utah	4		100
Vermont	5		51
Virginia	10		1,877
Washington	10		1,310
West Virginia	4		4,502
Wisconsin	13		175,900
Wyoming	4		90
Total	456	12	425,701

that a creative library can make to a community has been witnessed in New Haven, Connecticut, where the Chapel Street Library has become a neighborhood social and cultural center for people of all ages.¹⁴ Most of the special activities and reading programs at this library are planned by a nonprofessional staff, which would suggest a role for national service participants.

Summary

A first approximation of projected openings for young men in nonmilitary national service is given in Table I-6. The chart is limited to males because of comparisons to be made in following sections and is broken down by levels of educational attainment. Provision is made for a slight expansion in federal programs over the figure in Table I-2, as it is assumed that these programs would expand more rapidly with the introduction of national service.

TABLE I-6

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF OPENINGS FOR MALE NONMILITARY NATIONAL SERVICE VOLUNTEERS, MID-1968

	College Graduates	Some College	High School Graduates	High School Dropouts	Total
<u>Federal Programs</u>					
Job Corps	1,000	1,000	3,000	45,000	50,000
Peace Corps	12,750	1,500	750		15,000
VISTA	4,900	1,400	700		7,000
Teacher Corps	3,000				3,000
Total	21,650	3,900	4,450	45,000	75,000
<u>Nonfederal Programs</u>					
Education	20,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	50,000
Health	10,000	15,000	15,000	10,000	50,000
Community Service	10,000	10,000	20,000	10,000	50,000
Conservation	9,000	9,000	18,000	54,000	90,000
Libraries	1,000	1,000	2,000	1,000	5,000
Other	1,000	1,000	2,000	1,000	5,000
Total	51,000	46,000	67,000	86,000	250,000
TOTALS	72,650	49,900	71,450	131,000	325,000

The human resources that are available to provide these needed public services are discussed in Part II.

PART II: HUMAN RESOURCES AVAILABLE

The Department of Defense survey of June, 1966, revealed that 54 per cent of current 26-year-old males had not engaged in military service.¹⁵ Using the 1966 level of military needs as a guide, the Department also estimated that this proportion would rise to 58 per cent by 1974.¹⁶ These figures mean that hundreds of thousands of eligible young men reaching age 26 each year will never be called to serve.

The reasons for the existence of this untapped manpower pool are multiple, but the major cause is the present draft system, with its student deferments (which become exemptions for many), classification of large numbers as mentally and physically unqualified, and a surplus of qualified youths who are never called at all. These conditions of the present Selective Service System have led to charges of inequities in the draft. Some feel that the responsibility of military service falls most heavily on the lower socioeconomic classes because more advantaged youths are often financially able to stay in school or to enter a vocation that will defer them from military service. Thus, an evasion mentality has developed to the extent that in some groups the avoidance of service is a positive status symbol. In World War II just the reverse was true; the military man held one of the highest prestige positions in society.

A program of national service would utilize this available manpower as well as foster recognition of both military and nonmilitary service to the nation. If conceived and administered with the proper balance among its several objectives, a national service program may, over a period of time, again raise the status of those who serve or have served their country to one of universal respect.

Military Manpower Needs

Since military needs would have priority in a program of national service, attention must first be directed to these manpower requirements. To maintain a level of three million men in the Armed Forces for the next several years would require approximately 750,000 of the present 18-year-olds to enter the Armed Forces during the period 1966-1974. The percentage of these 750,000 youths at each level of educational attainment is estimated in Table II-1, which is derived from the educational attainment levels of those in the Armed Forces in 1963. The last column in the table shows the number of youths from each category who will be used by the military if the attainment levels of its personnel remain the same.

Figures issued by the Department of Defense show a distinct upward shift in educational attainment levels.¹⁷ Over a two-year period between December 1963 to December 1965, the proportion of military personnel who had not completed high school dropped seven percentage points, while high school graduates rose five points and those with some college rose two points. College graduates remained at the ten per cent level. While the average attainment level in the Armed Services is almost certainly upward, the trend reflected by these figures is probably somewhat accelerated because of increased draft calls in 1964 and 1965.

TABLE II-1

ESTIMATED EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF ACTIVE-DUTY
MILITARY PERSONNEL, DECEMBER 31, 1963

	<u>Officers</u>	<u>Warrant Officers</u>	<u>Enlisted Men</u>	<u>Weighted Average^a</u>	<u>Number per 750,000</u>
Graduated from college	69.4%	4.1%	1.4%	10.0%	75,000
Completed some college	23.7	42.4	15.3	16.5	124,000
Graduated from high school	6.6	50.2	56.1	50.0	375,000
High school dropouts	0.3	3.3	27.2	23.5	176,000

^aAssumes 12.5 per cent commissioned officers, 0.5 per cent warrant officers, 87 per cent enlisted men.

Source: Office of the Secretary of Defense, Selected Manpower Statistics, p. 36.

If military needs level off in line with the Defense Department's assumptions, the 1974 educational levels of 26-year-olds with military experience may approximate the figure for 1965. If so, the incidence of military service by educational attainment levels would be as shown in Table II-2.

TABLE II-2

ESTIMATED LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS OF
MILITARY PERSONNEL IN 1974

Graduated from college	75,000
Completed some college	139,000
Graduated from high school	412,000
Less than high school graduates	124,000
Total	750,000

It is then possible to estimate the number of men who would be available for nonmilitary service. According to Table II-3, once allowance is made for military needs of 750,000 persons in the age group, a balance of some 514,000 qualified young men remains.

TABLE II-3
PROJECTED NUMBER OF YOUNG MEN NOW 18 YEARS OLD AVAILABLE FOR NATIONAL SERVICE FROM 1966 THROUGH 1974^a

Highest Level of Education Attained by 1974	College Graduates	Some College	High School Graduates	High School Dropouts	Total
Total ^b	450,000	150,000	750,000	450,000	1,800,000
Less number not available to the military	84,000	28,000	140,000	284,000	536,000
1/6 medically unqualified for military service	75,000	25,000	125,000	75,000	300,000
1/9 mentally unqualified for military service ^c				200,000	200,000
2 per cent administratively unqualified and Conscientious Objectors	9,000	3,000	15,000	9,000	36,000
Equals number available to the military	366,000	122,000	610,000	166,000	1,264,000
Number needed by the military ^d	75,000	139,000	412,000	124,000	750,000
Surplus, available for nonmilitary service	291,000	-17,000 ^e	198,000	42,000	514,000

^aAssumes continuation of 3,000,000-man Armed Forces, requiring 42 per cent of 26-year-olds by 1974.

^bFigures derived from United States Office of Education, Projection of Educational Statistics to 1974-75, 1965 edition, pp. 20, 21.

^cAssumes continuation of Project 100,000.

^dDerived from Table II-2.

^eThis negative figure means that personnel would come from the next higher level, college graduates.

NONMILITARY MANPOWER RESOURCES

In addition to the estimated 514,000 current 18-year-olds who will be qualified, but probably not called, for military service, the pool of men available for nonmilitary service would include a large majority of those unfit for military duty.

Of the 300,000 from Table II-3 medically unqualified for the Armed Forces, an estimated two-thirds would be capable of nonmilitary national service. While some of the time of these 200,000 men would be devoted to rehabilitation and training, they would all be required to perform a service role.

Of the 200,000 from Table II-3 mentally unqualified for military service, only about one-half are classified as untrainable for military duty under emergency conditions. The remaining half may be assumed eligible for some sort of non-military service. In addition to this number are those who will enter Project 100,000.¹⁸ Since that program has a strong educational bias some of its participants might more appropriately be assigned to nonmilitary activities within national service. On this basis, ultimate allocation of this group might be as follows:

Nonmilitary national service	150,000
Project 100,000	50,000
Not qualified for national service	100,000
Total	300,000

Since women are outside the military draft system, and thus the questions of deferment and exemption are not applicable, they are not included in this analysis. The number of women in each age cohort is approximately equal to the number of men. While nearly equal numbers of young men and women complete high school, the percentage of women enrolled in institutions of higher education is now about 60 per cent and is expected to climb to about 70 per cent over a ten-year period. Thus, the numbers of women available for jobs that require higher education levels would be about two-thirds of the comparable figure for men. While it is unlikely that women will be drafted for service in the foreseeable future, they should be eligible to receive subsistence allowances from the proposed National Foundation for Volunteer Service. In order to qualify for this support, they would have to commit themselves to a period of service acceptable to the relevant agency and to the National Foundation.

ADEQUACY OF MANPOWER RESOURCES

Table II-4 indicates that 814,000 of 1966's 18-year-old males were potential nonmilitary national servicemen after military needs were filled. If the length for nonmilitary national service were two years, this would mean a reservoir of more than 1,600,000 young men at any one time.

TABLE II-4

PROJECTED EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT LEVELS BY 1971 OF 18-YEAR-OLDS IN 1966
WHO WERE NOT CALLED FOR MILITARY SERVICE, AVAILABLE
FOR NONMILITARY SERVICE

	<u>College Graduates</u>	<u>Some College</u>	<u>High School Graduates</u>	<u>High School Dropouts</u>	<u>Total</u>
Qualified for military, not needed	274,000		198,000	42,000	514,000 ^a
Medically un- qualified for military service	50,000	15,000	85,000	50,000	200,000
Mentally un- qualified for military service				100,000	100,000
Totals	324,000	15,000 ^b	283,000	192,000	814,000

^aTaken from the last row of figure of Table II-3.

^bIn practice, a much larger proportion than is implied by the 15,000 figure would choose to enter national service before completing college. Most of them could be expected to return to college and earn a degree.

While the estimates in Part II will have to be further refined, it is clear that the number of qualified youths and the number of tasks outlined in Part I are of comparable orders of magnitude. A means of matching the supply with the demand is outlined in Part III.

PART III: A NATIONAL SERVICE PLAN

National service can respond to today's challenges in the areas of education, manpower shortages, and needed human services. The relationship between such national needs and national service objectives suggests that the ideal of universal service on a voluntary basis should be set as a national goal. This plan recommends the earliest possible implementation of a program that would significantly expand the service opportunities open to all young Americans and thereby bring the country closer to this goal.

National service should be evolved gradually, as it would be limited by the number of identifiable jobs, the availability of qualified supervisory and training personnel, and by the amount of logistical support and funding provided for the program. The following proposal is submitted as a synthesis of the best available evidence and is designed to allow maximum scope for local initiative, individual choice, and service to the nation.

Transition Period

National Service, because of its potential magnitude, must be an evolutionary program. It cannot be instituted overnight. It can, however, begin immediately, regardless of its eventual scope or the factors that may initially impose constraints on the program's size and range of activity. The following steps are recommended for the earliest possible implementation:

1. Establish universal volunteer service as a national goal.
2. Rename the Selective Service System the National Service System and the Selective Service Boards the National Service Boards.
3. Create a National Foundation for Volunteer Service.

The National Foundation, within the framework of the guidelines and criteria specified by law or executive order, would determine which service activities were to be approved as consistent with the objectives of national service. It would underwrite subsistence allowances to national service participants serving in approved activities. The Foundation would carry out its funding responsibilities independent of the system of military draft.

The National Service System, on the other hand, would play only an informational role until the inception of a more expansive national service program, along the lines of the "option plan" described below. During the transition period the System would distribute information on military and nonmilitary service opportunities to the National Service Boards. It would encourage the boards to recruit local citizens as unpaid consultants to discuss with young men the variety of service activities open to them.

Full recognition of nonmilitary service as equivalent to one's service commitment would come with the introduction of the "option plan." Until this plan was adopted, young men in activities approved by the National Foundation would qualify for deferment, as is the case today with Peace Corps volunteers, and would, upon completion of service, be fully liable for the military draft.

"Option Plan"

Under this program, when a young man registered for the draft, he would have the option of declaring his intent to enter either military or nonmilitary service and would have some freedom as to when he would enter that service. (A flow chart indicating the range of choice and patterns of service is included at the end of Part III.) Those who selected neither option and did not register as conscientious objectors would have their names placed in the lottery or draft pool. Since military manpower requirements would have first priority, the Armed Forces would, if the number of volunteers was insufficient, call up the young men who had chosen the uncertainty of the draft pool; the military services could in addition draw from the youths who had opted for nonmilitary duty, if the draft pool resources became exhausted. It

is probable that in the early stages of a national service program, a number of those who placed themselves in the draft pool would not be called. In perhaps 10 or 15 years, however, if nonmilitary activities expanded sufficiently and thereby increased their manpower needs, the resulting pressures could reduce the number in the draft pool to the barest minimum while maintaining freedom of choice between military and nonmilitary service. This possibility is illustrated by Chart B, at the end of Part III.

Under the "option plan" persons who had satisfactorily completed nonmilitary service would not be exempt from military duty. Instead, their names would be placed toward the end of the draft queue in a selective system or at the "bottom of the bowl" in a lottery system and probably would be called only in the case of a national emergency.

The "option plan" should succeed the program of the transition period only when it became evident that:

1. A sufficient number of useful tasks existed to engage most youths who would opt for nonmilitary service.
2. The number of trainers and supervisory personnel was adequate to administer the nonmilitary activities.
3. The logistical machinery and financial support were sufficient to meet the demands of an expanded program of national service.

Organization. The structure of the National Foundation should be strong enough to administer a national service program as directed by law and flexible enough to respond to unforeseen needs in a manner consistent with the intent of that law. It would be directed by a board of government officials and private citizens and would maintain liaison with the National Service System. The Foundation would state the criteria and essential regulations for the development of training and placement programs and would encourage decentralization of activities by permitting sponsoring agencies a wide range of initiative in actual programming. To gain approval for receiving national servicemen, sponsoring agencies would submit to the National Foundation for Volunteer Service requests which demonstrate their need for participants and their compliance with the basic criteria of national service.

Within the structure of the "option plan" a young man could enter nonmilitary service through any of three entrance doors: a National Service Summer Camp, a National Service Placement Center, or direct entrance into a service agency.

Information. When an 18-year-old registered he would be informed of the range of service activities, both military and nonmilitary, in which he might participate. Information on nonmilitary activities would be prepared by the National Foundation for Volunteer Service, and the National Service System would be responsible for distributing it to all the local National Service Boards. Over a period of time, a dialogue should be developed between National Service Boards, clerical assistants, and registrants concerning the

most appropriate way in which the registrant could fulfill his service obligation. This discussion would be facilitated and enriched by the appointment to the Boards of professionals from schools, veterans' organizations, hospitals, etc., who would volunteer to act as consultants or advisors. This method would enhance the intelligent identification of an individual with a service activity at no additional cost. Information would also be available through public announcements and articles in the news media. Additional preservice guidance would also be offered to those enrolled in a National Service Summer Camp.

National Service Summer Camps would be held throughout the country and be open to all youths in a given age span, perhaps 16 to 18, inclusive, and without previous national service experience. Their purpose would be to familiarize participants with the scope of national service opportunities. Camps would bring together for two or three months a heterogeneous group of young people. Emphasis would be placed on the performance of actual service functions and the review of opportunities in military and nonmilitary service and in higher education.

The inclusion of basic elements of cross-cultural exposure, performance of a service, and distribution of information would open the door to a variety of summer projects that would prepare young people to decide how to meet their service responsibility in a constructive manner. Participants would be responsible for applying to camps of their choice, and camp sponsors would, on the basis of national service criteria, designate who would attend. Transportation costs might require a geographical limitation of perhaps 300 miles for camp attendance. Private, community, and state groups would be encouraged to submit camp proposals for approval and funding by the National Foundation, which would underwrite costs of approved camps.

Selection. While a maximum degree of individual choice would be allowed the national serviceman--for example, kind of service, time to enter service, geographic preference for service--the selection process might be handled by a computer system much like that used by airlines or dating bureaus. It would relate the individual's preferences to appropriate openings and present the selected possibilities to him. The youth could then apply directly to an agency or, if dissatisfied with the choices, could enter a National Service Placement Center (described below) for guidance, training, and service.

If he had opted for immediate entrance into military or nonmilitary service, he would receive medical and mental examinations. If he were rejected for either medical or mental reasons by the military, the serviceman could choose the nonmilitary option or revert to the draft pool with little likelihood of being called by the military. Those who initially chose the draft pool would not be examined until they were called for service; those who selected nonmilitary service but received a student deferment would also be examined only at the time of entrance into nonmilitary service.

Training. A young man who opted to enter nonmilitary service immediately could apply directly to an approved agency or could first enroll at a National Service Placement Center.

National Service Placement Centers would receive young men wishing to enter national service but lacking knowledge of or preference for a particular activity. They would remain in the center for one to six months to be tested, informed of appropriate service opportunities, given physical training and service activities to perform, and perhaps trained in a specific service skill. Some centers might be particularly oriented to conservation and others to health, education, community work, and so forth. The numbers entering these centers and the type of training programs developed would depend on the size and nature of the requests for servicemen. Assignments would be made by the National Foundation on the basis of manpower demand and relevance to the purposes of national service.

As in the case of the National Service Summer Camps, some of which might be conducted at Placement Centers, a wide variety of center arrangements would be possible. Sponsorship could be shared among educational, fraternal, religious, business, labor, and other groups in a community. Encouragement would be given to the development of training centers by nongovernmental agencies. Sponsoring agencies could temporarily release young staff members to serve as trainers or teachers in rehabilitation or development programs. Their participation, assuming it met all national service criteria, could be acknowledged by local boards as fulfilling their own national service obligations.

The National Foundation would fund Placement Centers according to the type of proposal submitted by a private or public sponsor. Should the number of nonmilitary volunteers and useful tasks create a demand for training centers larger than the number privately initiated, the National Foundation would arrange for more direct sponsorship. The National Institutes of Health, Department of Labor, Department of the Interior, and Office of Education might be direct sponsors in these instances.

Service. Full responsibility for determining whether a participant's nonmilitary service qualified him for deferment would rest with the National Service System through the local boards. Decisions would be based on the priority of military manpower needs and the overall goals of universal service as outlined by law or executive order. At the national level, if military needs for the next eight years do not exceed the levels predicted in 1966 by the Department of Defense, the National Service System would probably recognize two years of satisfactory service in an activity approved by the National Foundation as fulfillment of the service obligation. If military manpower needs should increase, but not to the level of having to draft all qualified youths, the system might then place a man at the end of the draft queue only after he had completed three years of satisfactory nonmilitary service. The National Service System could insert regulations of this kind into the system as valves to control the flow of manpower to appropriate national service activities.

While National Service Boards would normally follow the lead of the National Service System in recognizing approved activities, they would have the prerogative in individual cases of accepting as qualifying activities certain programs not on the national list but meeting the criteria for national service. This would allow a registrant the opportunity to initiate and justify a service project of his own design. He would then be responsible for

submitting periodic progress reports to his board for approval. Local boards could refuse to recognize a youth's service activity if in its judgment the activity did not correspond with the national service criteria or the young man did not perform his service satisfactorily. To guard against discriminatory use by local boards of their judgment prerogative, an appeals process would be set up within the National Service System.

Service activities approved by the National Foundation could also be completed, if accepted by the local boards, over an extended period of time, for example in the summers during college. The National Foundation might decide to require a minimum block of service of perhaps one year, which could occur before, during, or directly after college.

The receiving agency would have full administrative control over national service participants and would maintain its right to select or refuse persons who applied either directly or through a Placement Center for one of its programs. If an individual felt the agency rejection was in violation of criteria established by the National Foundation, for example, for reasons of race or religion, he could appeal the case. If the youth's objection was substantiated, the agency would be considered for removal from the list of approved organizations. A degree of stratification would be unavoidable in the case of some agencies, such as the Peace Corps, where a college education is a prerequisite to most of its programs. However, in other projects, for instance a community health program, participants might work in teams that combined a variety of ages, backgrounds, and skill levels.

So long as the participant showed a willingness to serve he could remain in the program. Servicemen not accepted by a particular agency could return to Placement Centers for further guidance and reassignment. A person would thus not be dismissed solely through inability to perform a task but could be dismissed for misbehavior or unwillingness to perform a reasonable task. The latter might occur if a person entered nonmilitary service solely to avoid military duty. This evasion mentality could be deterred by placing at the top of the military draft pool a young man not satisfactorily completing nonmilitary service.

Evaluation and Research. The National Foundation would fund a variety of research and evaluation studies based on the program's early experiences. The studies could be conducted at the initiative of educational institutions and other private or public agencies. They might include an examination of the effectiveness of specific projects such as the Placement Centers and Summer Camps and consideration of such general questions as the educational value of approved projects, the economic contribution of services performed, and the degree of cross-cultural mixing in various national service activities. The National Foundation would also periodically review the acceptability for national service of agencies receiving volunteers.

Finances. The subsistence allowance of a volunteer would be funded by the National Foundation but paid through the agency in order to strengthen a participant's feeling of identity with the latter. It would be based largely on agency recommendations, which would reflect the type of work, housing arrangements, place of service, local cost of living, and other significant

factors. Provision of allowances would be essentially an underwriting operation by the National Foundation, since programs like the Peace Corps are already federally funded and since certain private groups might prefer not to receive government money or to pay a fixed share of the allowance.

To demonstrate interest in receiving volunteers, the agency normally would assume responsibility for the additional costs involved in maintaining and supervising the servicemen. The degree of responsibility assumed would depend upon the resources of the particular agency. If the agency wished to retain a participant beyond his two-year service period, it would cover all expenses from that time on.

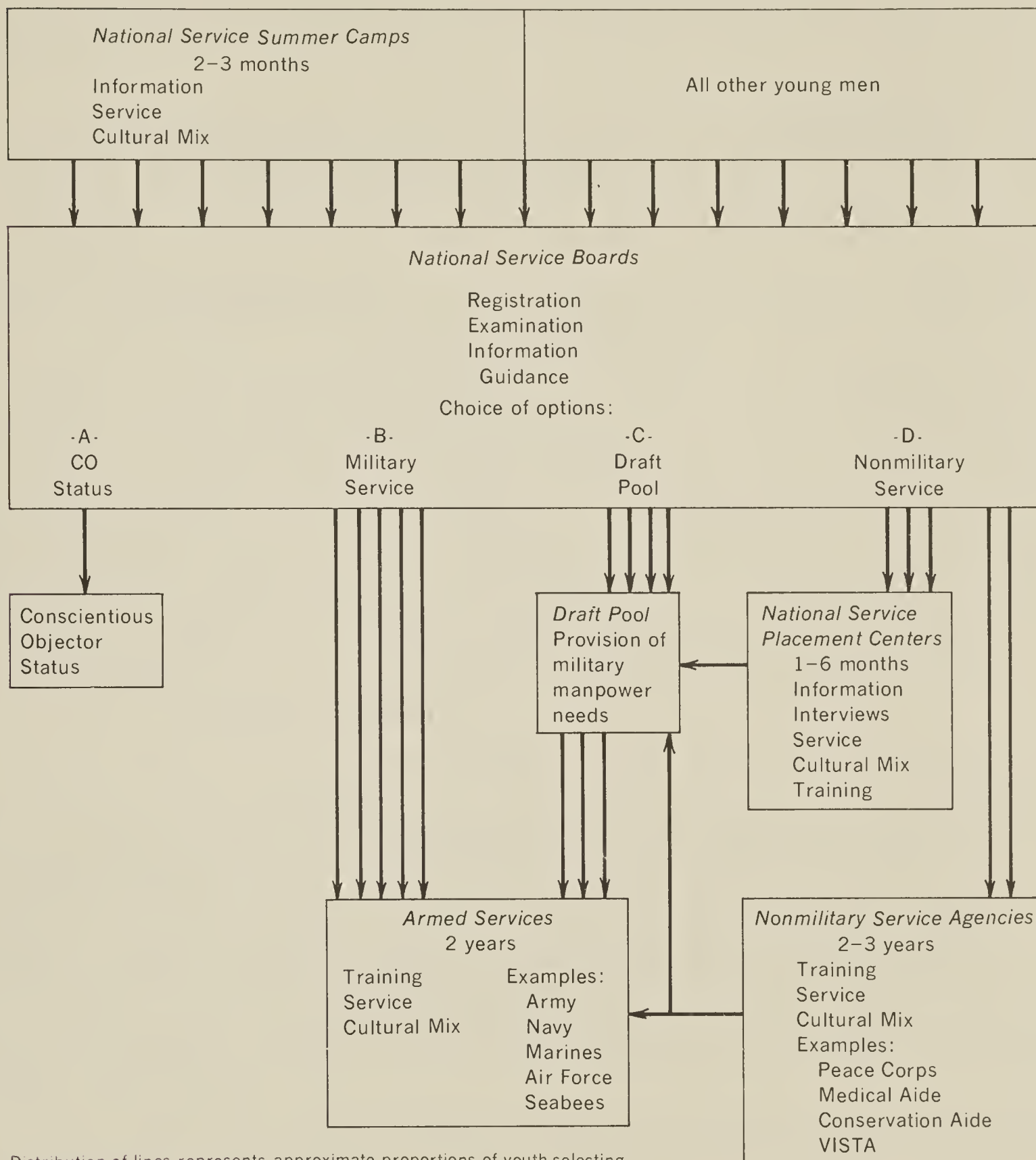
FOLLOW-UP TO NATIONAL SERVICE

A major objective of national service is to offer the participant the kinds of experiences that will enable him to make wise decisions about his further education and career. The National Foundation would, without establishing a highly formalized placement service, provide information on such matters to participants about to leave service.

Many volunteers would, through national service, recognize the need for further education. Congress should seriously consider the provision of educational benefits for all national servicemen along the lines of the GI Bill. Allowance of only the educational provision of the bill, rather than its other benefits--housing, financial, medical, employment--would maintain a balance between the attractiveness of military and nonmilitary service and would serve as one of the valves to control the flow of manpower to the two services.

A priority effort of the National Foundation for Volunteer Service should be to inform educational institutions, labor unions, business and industrial concerns, and public agencies of national service activities and to encourage visits to Summer Camps, Placement Centers, and participating service agencies. The goal would be to increase public and private involvement in and understanding of these programs. Agencies would thus be able to assume increased shares of financial responsibility for service programs. Such a trend would be consistent with both the organizational goal of decentralization and the philosophical goal of universal volunteer service.

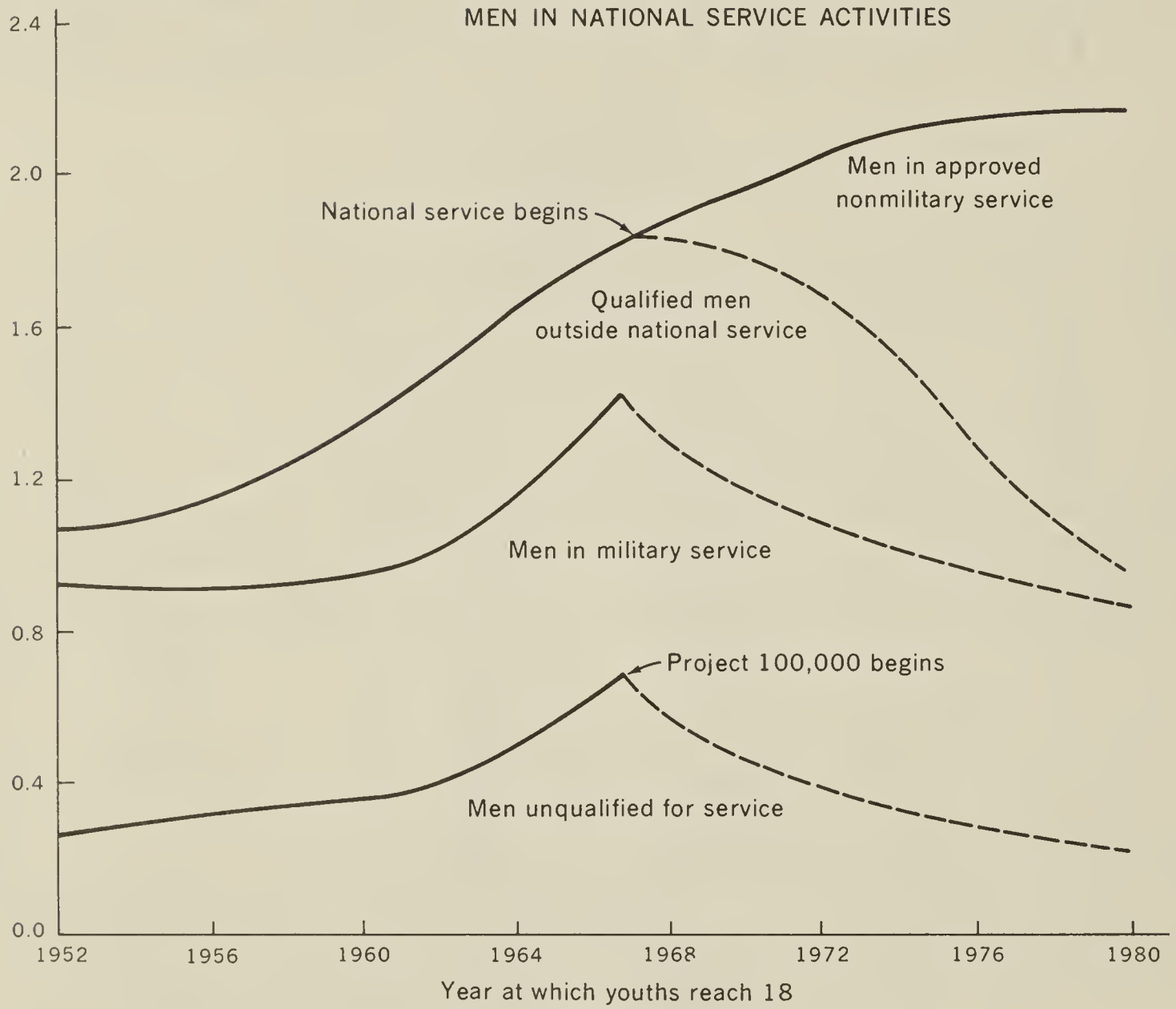
Chart A FLOW CHART FOR YOUNG MEN IN NATIONAL SERVICE



Distribution of lines represents approximate proportions of youth selecting various choices circa 1975.

Number of males 18
years old (millions)

Chart B PROJECTED PARTICIPATION BY 18-YEAR-OLD
MEN IN NATIONAL SERVICE ACTIVITIES



PART IV: THE COST OF NATIONAL SERVICE

The cost/benefit evaluation of the GI Bill made in a 1966 report to the President and Congress suggests the potential economic value of a program of national service.

Men and women whose backgrounds precluded the possibility of higher education and advanced training were lifted into totally unexpected positions in life. And in simple monetary terms, the investment has already been returned in taxes on their higher incomes. The lesson should not be forgotten or neglected.¹⁹

Similarly, national service would be an investment rather than an expense--an investment not only in monetary terms, but in the human values.

Actual expenditures must nevertheless be estimated and funds must be appropriated to cover them. This first approximation of the projected costs of a national service program is based on the 1962 report of the President's Study Group on a National Service Program and the financial experience of the Peace Corps and several programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Administrative costs of National Service Summer Camps and Placement Centers would normally be included in the project proposal and funded by the National Foundation. Local administrative expenditures and added costs of supervisory personnel would be part of the contribution of the receiving agency. Table IV-1 shows estimated unit costs for the National Foundation for Volunteer Service, and Table IV-2 gives an estimate of costs to the National Service System beyond the present budget of the Selective Service System.

It has been demonstrated that there are hundreds of thousands of jobs that could be filled immediately by national service volunteers. It has also been suggested, however, that expansion of a plan of national service will depend on adequate numbers of supervisory personnel, logistical support for volunteers, identification of useful tasks, and appropriate funding. The program's rate of development would also depend on its initial operating efficiency and the successful balance of its objectives. Possible growth rates for the Peace Corps, the Job Corps and other qualifying programs have been indicated. As these programs would probably be financed separately from nonfederal national service activities, they are omitted from Tables IV-3 and IV-4, which suggest an appropriate build-up of national service over the first three years.

For the build-up suggested in Table IV-3, the annual expenditures would be as estimated in Table IV-4.

By 1970, there could be more than half a million young Americans engaged in national service activities at an expenditure (federal, state and local) in the neighborhood of two billion dollars. In the decade to follow, the unit costs of national service to the federal government could drop as state, community, and private agencies recognized the value of national service and increased their participating shares.

TABLE IV-1

NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR VOLUNTEER SERVICE
ESTIMATED UNIT COSTS PER ANNUM

Average cost of volunteer assigned to approved project

Subsistence allowance (daily wage: \$3 rural; \$8 urban; weighted average \$6)	\$2,190
End of tour adjustment allowance ((\$75/month for 12 months)	900
Medical expenses and insurance	170
Transportation	180
Special clothing (range: \$0-100; average \$50)	50
Administration (not including administrative costs of sponsoring agency) 15 per cent of total volunteer costs	510
Total	\$4,000

National Service Summers

\$100/week for 8 weeks	\$ 800
Central administration (10 per cent)	80
Total	\$ 880

National Service Placement Centers

\$400/month: duration 1-6 months; average 3 months	\$1,200
Central administration (10 per cent)	120
(Cost per cycle	\$1,320)
Annual cost (average 3 cycles/year)	TOTAL \$3,960

TABLE IV-2

NATIONAL SERVICE SYSTEM
ADDITIONAL COSTS PER ANNUM

Salary and benefits for one additional clerk for each local board (\$6,000 x 4,000)	\$24,000,000
Administrative costs in headquarters (15 per cent)	3,600,000
TOTAL	\$27,600,000

TABLE IV-3

PROPOSED BUILD-UP OF A NATIONAL SERVICE PROGRAM
FIRST THREE YEARS

	End of 1st Year	End of 2nd Year	End of 3rd Year
Participants in the field			
Education	10,000	30,000	90,000
Health	10,000	30,000	90,000
Community Service	5,000	15,000	50,000
Conservation	3,000	15,000	50,000
Libraries	1,000	5,000	10,000
Other	1,000	5,000	10,000
Total	30,000	100,000	300,000
Participants in National Service Summers	10,000	30,000	100,000
Participants in National Service Placement Centers	10,000	30,000	100,000

TABLE IV-4

PROJECTED ANNUAL EXPENDITURES FOR NONMILITARY SERVICE
FIRST THREE YEARS

	End of 1st Year	End of 2nd Year	End of 3rd Year
Volunteers in the field	\$ 120,000,000	\$ 400,000,000	\$1,200,000,000
Volunteers in National Service Summers	8,800,000	26,400,000	88,000,000
Volunteers in National Service Placement Centers	39,600,000	118,800,000	396,000,000
Sub Total	\$ 168,400,000	\$ 545,200,000	\$1,684,000,000
National Service System	27,600,000	27,600,000	27,600,000
TOTAL	\$ 196,000,000	\$ 572,800,000	\$1,711,600,000

PART V: RELATIONSHIP OF NATIONAL SERVICE TO NONMILITARY AND MILITARY CONCERNS

A program of national service would affect all sectors of society. It would influence the scope of many service and educational programs already in existence. Part V anticipates the mutually supportive relationships which could be developed among national service and a variety of activities and concerns.

Nonmilitary Concerns

War on Poverty

Existing poverty programs are aimed directly at improving the lot of persons whose income falls below a certain level. This approach tends to create homogeneous groupings, like those that developed thirty years ago in the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Project Administration programs, and like those in today's Job Corps camps. The integration of the Job Corps with a national service program, however, would not limit participation in the Corps to those from low income families; it would include national service participants as trainers as well as trainees. Youths would be able to contribute as well as receive aid by spending part of their time doing an actual service task and part in learning new skills. The result would be not only to increase their own sense of personal worth but to promote the community and national welfare. A similar combination of training and service might be developed in programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Project Headstart, College Work Study, Upward Bound, and the Manpower Development and Training Act programs.

New Educational Programs

National service would make possible a great deal of constructive experimentation in education by providing large numbers of volunteers to serve as teacher and clerical aides in schools. The tendency in education is to move away from the boxed-in room of one teacher and 30 pupils to a wide variety of educational techniques. Educational programs, ranging from literacy education to preservice training for college graduates, could be prepared especially for those in national service. These programs would provide further opportunities for innovation and experimentation.

Foreign Student Programs

National service would be enhanced if foreign students and members of the Exchange Peace Corps could be encouraged to work alongside American volunteers in joint service programs.

Foreign students wishing to become citizens of the United States might be required to complete a period of national service in this country or abroad before they could qualify as candidates for citizenship.

Volunteer Service Agency Programs

The granting of tax exemptions to volunteer service agencies constitutes recognition that their activities are in the public interest. Permitting national service participants to work in such activities would give these agencies a manpower as well as a tax incentive.

Social and Community Needs

National service would meet many of the social and community needs identified in the 1966 report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress (TAEF). The report pointed out that the obstacles to fulfilling these needs are not technological. Drawing a parallel with the research efforts that produced innovations in national defense systems and hardware production, the Commission urged that:

. . . concentrations of similar scale on more difficult economic and social problems could contribute to meeting our human and community needs if the political consensus could be implemented.²⁰

A major combined effort in the areas of service, experience, education, civic responsibility, and accomplishment of needed tasks could have very positive effects on such problems as unemployment, discrimination, and unlawfulness.

Unemployment

The same TAEF Commission report recommended:

. . . a program of public service employment, providing, in effect, that the government be an employer of the last resort, providing work for the "hard-core unemployed" in useful community enterprises.²¹

This kind of guaranteed employment program might appear to dampen individual initiative and therefore might raise objections from major sectors of American society. A national service program, however, would offer training programs and service experiences as a logical extension of a youth's education. These opportunities would provide young people with the resources and background necessary to select and begin careers through their own efforts. National service would be a "make future" not a "make work" program.

National service could be expected to influence employment statistics in at least two ways:

1. Many draft age youths find it difficult to get jobs because of the uncertainty of their immediate future and the resulting risk in hiring them. Under a national service program a person who has opted for military or nonmilitary service would not be in an employment limbo. He would determine his own service commitment and could plan his service experience

in relation to his personal, educational, and career goals.

2. Judging from the preference shown by a number of business concerns and government agencies for returned Peace Corps volunteers, an effective program of national service could similarly enhance the employment opportunities of returning national service participants.

Mobility

The TAEP Commission was also charged with recommending ways to "facilitate occupational adjustment and geographic mobility."²² One conclusion was:

. . . to people whose experience and resources are limited, fear of the unknown is probably a more important obstacle to geographical mobility than the financial cost of moving.²³

National service would provide the mobility, both occupational and geographical, that could eliminate this fear.

Effect on the Economy and Reception by Organized Labor

The creation of a program of national service must deal with the vital issues of its effect on the economy and its acceptability to organized labor. It is essential at the outset to involve labor, business, and community leaders, as well as experts in economics, education, sociology, and related fields, in the development of the most effective and generally beneficial national service plan.

Military Concerns

Universal Military Training

UMT would be consistent with the concept of national service in its universality and provision of cross-cultural experiences. It would fall far short of national service objectives in its limited development of the diverse talents of youths, and in its limited use of these talents, to accomplish the millions of public service jobs now left undone.

Voluntary Army

An effective program of national service might, in ten or fifteen years, lead to a voluntary army without invoking the expense indicated in the Department of Defense's testimony of June, 1966, which placed the added cost between \$4 and \$17 billion. A voluntary army within the context of national service would attract youths on the basis of service preference rather than financial inducement. It would have a high rate of turnover, which would weaken the argument of some sociologists that a voluntary army is inevitably dominated by career soldiers and therefore isolated from civilian influences

and values.

The Lottery

National service could function effectively either with or without a lottery-type military draft. However, use of a lottery to allocate manpower for nonmilitary activities would be inconsistent with the national service concept. It would not provide the optimum matching of talents with military and nonmilitary jobs and would reduce the degree of choice open to the participants. It would further negate the concepts of patriotism and universal service if it created the distinctions of "losers" for those whose number was called and "winners" for those who escaped service. A lottery would be less objectionable if it were to become the means of drawing men from the military draft pool.

Changes in Military Manpower Needs

Of the 1,800,000 young men who became 18 years of age in 1966, about 750,000 could expect to serve in the armed forces, some 514,000 would be qualified to serve but would not be called, and about 536,000 were unqualified to serve (see page 528). Thus, if military personnel requirements increase, the annual intake into the Armed Forces could expand by two-thirds without lowering entrance standards.

If a national service program were in effect when it became necessary to alter the ratio of youths entering different kinds of service, the valves influencing youths' selection of service activities could be adjusted so as to change the ratio of young men opting for military service. If still more men were needed for armed duty, persons who had already completed nonmilitary service would be liable for military service.

On the other hand, if military manpower needs decreased, and if national service proved to be an effective and worthwhile program, the valves could be opened to include greater educational and postservice benefits for nonmilitary participants.

Service Entry at Age 18-19

To require entry into national service exclusively at age 18 or 19 would diminish the usefulness and diversity of the nonmilitary services performed by volunteers. It might inhibit the program's development by reducing substantially the number of national service volunteers qualified to assume supervisory responsibilities. On the other hand, it would make the program easier to organize on a national scale, as the range of individual abilities would be more uniform.

If the order of draft calls were reversed, with the maximum draft incidence at the ages of 18 and 19, it might be advisable, at least in the beginning, to restrict deferment for nonmilitary service to young men 20 and over. The

entry into nonmilitary programs of young women and men unqualified for military service would not be affected by the order of calls.

Draft Boards

The Selective Service Boards (renamed the National Service Boards) would be consistent with a national service plan as they would provide an excellent mechanism for communication between the registrant and members of the community in determining the kind of service he might render. Because of the expanded work load and responsibilities that national service would inevitably bring to the local boards, it would be necessary to increase the size of their staffs. Various local organizations, such as veterans groups, community service clubs and professional groups, could be invited to designate volunteer consultants to inform 18-year-olds of the variety of military and nonmilitary service opportunities available to them.

Student Deferments

Student "deferments," which become de facto exemptions, would disappear once it became practicable to institute the national service "option plan." The college-bound individual opting for nonmilitary service would upon completion of college have as much of a service commitment as the West Point cadet, who is not, in the public image, currently thought of as a deferred student.

The student who opted for neither service, indicating his intent to revert to the draft pool, would be eligible for deferment for perhaps only a single semester. This minimal deferment for students in the draft pool would act as another valve to influence the flow of those opting for a particular service.

Paramilitary Activities

It would be consistent with the national service concept to accept as one's service activity participation in a United Nations police force, in police apprenticeship programs, or in a development corps within the U.S. Armed Forces, which would work constructively in places where the presence of the Peace Corps is not feasible.

APPENDIX B

ESTIMATED NEED FOR NATIONAL SERVICE PARTICIPANTS IN SELECTED CITIES
November, 1966

	Atlanta	Dayton	Detroit ^a	New Orleans	New York	Philadelphia	Phoenix	Tacoma
Population	487,455	262,332	1,670,144	627,525	7,781,984	2,002,515	447,415	147,979
College graduates only	-	-	-	-	-	80	-	-
Some college background	50	25	1,125	25	-	80	18	92
High school graduates	25	25	1,175	556	-	320	18	95
High school dropouts	15	12	600	-	-	320	0	50
Mentally retarded	5	-	25	-	-	16	-	23
Physically handicapped	5	4	25	-	-	16	-	23
TOTALS ^c	100	66	3,100	681	7,000 ^b	832	36	283

^aOnly city including needs for volunteers in schools. Eighty per cent of Detroit's estimated need is in the schools.

^bNot differentiated by level for New York City.

^cCriteria for estimates: Term of Services: At least one year, possibly two or three. Status: Volunteer, with living allowances and pocket money provided. Age: 18 to 26. Job Skills: Basically inexperienced with possibly ten per cent professionally qualified (i.e., teachers). Sponsorship: Local, county, and state governmental units and private organizations. Program Administration: A supervised program under guidelines laid down by the Federal Government (in order to have federal support). There would be no federal involvement in day to day operations. Financing: The programs would be on a shared cost basis with either contributions of funds or contributions in kind from the local sponsoring agency. The VISTA programs generally require a contribution of one-sixth from local interests under the current Office of Economic Opportunity standards. Job Descriptions: It is proposed that the volunteers will fill positions not now being filled by the "law of the open market" or which may not now be listed on organization tables. Examples of work are: teachers aides, hospital aides, recreation assistants, library aides, administrative interns, police cadets, urban beautification and social work assistance. The types of jobs should not be of a "make-work" variety. The work must adhere to Federal Civil Service Commission standards with respect to involvement in political activities and related endeavors.

Source: National League of Cities, Washington, D.C. Reprinted with permission.

APPENDIX C: NATIONAL SERVICE AND SELECTIVE SERVICE

During the past year, a lively debate has emerged on a subject popularly referred to as "national service." It carries with it the proposition that the young men and women of America owe to their country, or to their fellow man, or to themselves, some period of service in the public interest. The common examples of such service are the Peace Corps, VISTA, the National Teacher Corps, and the various branches of the military.

The debate has been wide-ranging:

Some have argued that all eligible men should be compelled to serve the country in some way. Those not needed by the military should be directed to some civilian service program so that no one will "escape" and equity will be achieved.

Some have taken the narrower position that men should be given a wider choice of ways in which they can serve their country, and that if they voluntarily choose a civilian service program, they should receive credit in the form of a draft exemption.

Some have said that the draft should not be used to channel men into nonmilitary service, but that a public climate should be created in which some period of service is expected of every man and woman.

And others, totally excluding any form of inducement, would simply work to expand the number of service opportunities.

In accordance with its mandate, the Commission examined only those national service proposals related to the draft. Its review of the proposal for compulsory service programs persuades the Commission that there would be difficult questions of public policy and a lack of a constitutional basis in any program of universal compulsory service.

The proposal to allow young men to choose some nonmilitary program as a means of serving their country has received much wider support. John F. Kennedy, prior to his election as President in 1960, proposed "a 'peace corps' of talented young men willing and able to serve their country . . . for three years as an alternative to peacetime selective service." President Johnson, in August, 1966, asked: "Can we--without harming our nation's security--establish a practical system of nonmilitary alternatives to the draft?" And Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, noting the inequity which results when only a minority of eligible men are called into service, suggested in May 1966 "remedying that inequity by asking every young person in the United

*Excerpt from the chapter, "National Service," of the report of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service entitled In Pursuit of Equity: Who Serves When Not All Serve? U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1967.

States to give two years of service to his country, whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad."

The Commission thoughtfully considered these proposals and opinions. It concluded that no fair way exists, at least at present, to equate non-military with military service. So national service cannot, in the opinion of the Commission, be considered as an alternative to the draft.¹

Equity aside, the Commission is not satisfied that the quality and spirit of volunteer programs could be maintained if they were designated draft alternatives. It also believes that any alternative system instituted at this time would be discriminatory in that it would exclude men of lower educational levels, since most opportunities for service now exist only for people who have attended or graduated from college. Further, it anticipates substantial dissatisfaction in the private sector as to which of its programs would "qualify" as alternatives. And most importantly, the Commission believes that selective service, which rests upon military needs, should not be confused with the concept of civilian voluntary service, which rests upon educational and social needs. Although both contain elements of patriotism and service, they are basically distinct functions.

The Commission has sympathy with the contentions that, when many men have not served at all, there is some unfairness in drafting those men who have previously served for two years in nonmilitary programs. However, under a system of drafting youngest men first and requiring all qualified men to be exposed to a random selection system for one year, the Commission believes this problem will be virtually eliminated. It is probable that most of those men entering existing volunteer programs will have completed their exposure to the draft and therefore the probability of their being called for later military service will be slight.

National Service, as the Commission has considered it, has focused on two ideas. One is service to the community. It has been suggested that there are vast fields in which voluntary service by young men and women would be of great value--in community action programs for the rural and urban poor, in tutoring and preschool programs for those with substandard educational opportunities, in teachers' aid activities that can help implementation of more personalized and higher quality education at all levels, in improved health facilities, in beautification and conservation, in assistance to the developing countries.

The other proposition the Commission has heard is that voluntary service is of great value to the individual participant--in terms of his own education. One educator who appeared before the Commission said that "fundamentally . . . we are facing the fact that in the world in which we live, the classroom does not suffice as an instrument of education." National service will pose, he said, "a very vital and crucial struggle of redefinition on the part of young people as to what constitutes being an American."

"I think that life will have more point to it," Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz told the Commission, "if every single boy and girl has in his or her life a chance to spend two years doing something for some reason other than what is called 'breadwinning'--that is, for some reason better than money, and on a pure service basis." Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and former head of the Peace Corps, said that "our younger generation needs this opportunity for service. They need to be challenged and to have their best capacities released. They need to be asked to do difficult tasks that our country needs to have done. They need to be called to the frontiers of our society and of the world community. They need to discover themselves."

Many questions, however, remain open in regard to the expansion of volunteer activities, regardless of their relation to the draft. The Commission endeavored to learn, from government officials and others, precisely what the needs are which national service can meet; how programs would be administered; how they would be financed. The answers were imprecise and inconclusive. It seems to the Commission that intensive research must pinpoint the areas of greatest need for service and define the jobs to be done. Funds will have to be found to implement such programs. Can private sources be located? Should federal "involvement" mean a federally operated program with a large measure of federal control, or should it mean federal funding of programs that are operated by states, cities, or private agencies? Would private agencies be reluctant to accept federal funding because of the appearance of accompanying federal control? What effect would a program with great participation have on the economy, on elimination of poverty, on integration, on the labor supply, on the educational structure?

The discussion to this point only poses the questions. The answers remain to be found.

The spirit which motivates interest in national service is undeniably a part of our national experience today. Sensitive to that spirit, the Commission suggests that the research which must be accomplished proceed, together with public and private experimentation with pilot programs.

APPENDIX D: PROGRAMS USING TEACHER AIDES
AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT INTERNS*

PART A: TEACHER AIDES

In March, 1966, the Office of Economic Opportunity contracted with the Bank Street College of Education for a two-year study of auxiliary personnel in education. The contractors carefully examined 15 demonstration programs across the country that train auxiliary school personnel, and directed their attention to the impact of the auxiliaries in a practicum classroom, upon pupil learning, parent-school relations, teacher competence, and the development of the auxiliaries themselves as workers and persons. The interim report, published in April, 1967, contains these findings.

Role Development and Relationships

Low-income auxiliaries with minimum education appeared to be capable of assisting in the learning-teaching process with benefits to pupils particularly when the auxiliaries were carefully selected and trained.

This meaningful occupational role for low-income, educationally disadvantaged persons often appeared to have a positive impact upon their familial and community roles, as well as upon their self-concept.

Auxiliaries frequently established communication with pupils and parents of their own background in school situations and helped to reduce home-school alienation.

Auxiliaries often appeared to serve as role models for disadvantaged pupils--which might well be a significant motivational factor in the child's or youth's development.

Many teachers who participated in the programs reported that they perceived their own roles in new perspective after working with aides in the classroom--i.e., as more highly professional, with emphasis on diagnosis, planning, and coordination rather than solely upon teacher-pupil interaction. This new role was seen as additive rather than as a substitute for teacher-pupil interaction.

A salient outcome was that all concerned--administrators, supervisors, teachers, and ancillary personnel (counselors, curriculum specialists, etc.)--had to rethink their roles and relationships when aides were introduced into a school system in order to develop viable, purposeful teams and integrate all available school services to meet pupil needs.

*This appendix contains a summary of the findings of the research reports on two of the areas in which national service participants would be heavily engaged; namely, teacher aides and local government interns.

In essence, the introduction of auxiliaries appeared to serve a catalytic function in role development with the total school system.

Training

Training was identified as the essential factor in the effective use of auxiliaries. Employment without training appeared to be fraught with disaster.

The training process was correlated more highly with role perceptions and development than ethnicity or previous training, thus reinforcing the proposition that persons of various backgrounds and levels of academic achievement can be trained to perform auxiliary roles effectively in a school setting.

When both teachers and auxiliaries participated in demonstration programs as trainees, the outcome of training appeared to be greatly facilitated.

Optimum results were obtained when an aide and teacher who would be working together were trained together.

These mutual learnings were even more apparent when each teacher-auxiliary team had time regularly scheduled within the school day to review their common experiences and to plan together under competent supervision for their future cooperation within the classroom.

Skill training and basic education, though necessary, seemed to be inadequate without instruction in the foundations of human development and without group or individual counselling, as trainees moved into new roles and relationships.

It was clearly evident that opportunities for experiential learnings were needed to fortify and integrate theory, such experience to be provided either through a practicum or in an actual on-the-job work experience, under close and highly competent supervision.

In-service training appeared to be the prime desideratum of auxiliaries as they entered this new area of responsibility.

Institutionalization

A selection process which recognizes potential yet eliminates those who seem to be incapable of development in the specific role to be filled was seen as a crucial factor.

While employment without training often proved disastrous, the reverse was equally true--training without employment tended to provoke anxiety and lead to frustration, since even the most sincere assurance of employment sometimes proved impossible to implement.

Employment prior to training, so that the trainee was already an incumbent rather than merely a job applicant, appeared to be the ideal situation.

Preservice training of employees sometimes preceded final placement in a given job category so as to provide a probationary period, a practice which school systems found helpful.

Stable employment with opportunity for upward mobility was seen as essential to a successful program.

PART B: LOCAL GOVERNMENT INTERNS

During the summer of 1966, approximately 1,100 students from 50 colleges and universities worked in New York City agencies through the Urban Corps, a program jointly funded by the City and the College Work-Study Program of the United States Office of Education. The purposes of the New York City Urban Corps were defined as follows: (1) the completion of needed work, (2) the provision of a period of internship in local government agencies, and (3) the exposure of city agencies to fresh ideas. Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research was commissioned to prepare an evaluative study of the program in terms of its goals through a comprehensive survey of participants and supervisors.¹ Some of the more significant findings that might be considered in the development of a national service program are listed below.

1. The jobs that were rated highest by the interns were those that were most demanding and challenging.

2. Interns who anticipated careers in the human services more frequently indicated that they had good jobs than the group that planned to enter the fields of engineering, science, or business.

3. The agencies that provided substantial training and orientation were rated higher by the interns than those that omitted or slighted preparation measures. Interns were most satisfied in agencies which were innovative, un-bureaucratic, and sympathetic to their clients.

4. The most significant difference between the "good" and "poor" agencies was that jobs in the "best" agencies involved working with people.

5. The "good" agencies also allowed for more participation of the intern in policy-making. Nearly one half of the interns in the "good" agencies said they had the opportunity of attending staff meetings, compared to only one in six of the interns in the "poor" agencies.

6. Two-thirds of the interns and the majority of the supervisors felt that the work that the interns did actually needed to be continued on a year-round basis.

7. The degree of freedom that the intern felt he was able to exercise in the selection of his own assignment was also directly proportional to his satisfaction with the position.

APPENDIX E: PILOT PROJECT ON EDUCATION

Purpose. To determine whether a program structured in accordance with the national service concept provides the kind and magnitude of values predicted for it.

Project. Provision of teacher aides, in the ratio of one for each 15 pupils, from a variety of backgrounds and with different levels of formal education, in an urban ghetto school where pupils have been shown to be significantly behind their grade levels in the basic subjects.

Duration. Two full school years plus advance training and postevaluation.

Items to measure.

1. The "number of years" of educational progress made by pupils in the school over the two-year period.
2. The change of attitudes of the pupils with regard to teachers, further education, and relevance of school to themselves.
3. Societal changes of attitude of pupils, parents, teacher aides, and regular school teachers and administrators.
4. Change of attitudes of teacher aides toward an educational career.
5. Rate of attrition of teacher aides.
6. Change of attrition rate of regular teachers.

Responsible agencies. The sponsoring agency would define the responsibilities, the qualifications needed, and the duties of the aides, and would make arrangements for training, supervision, housing, and allowances.

The sponsoring agency would normally be the local school board. Cooperating local agencies could include the teachers' union or association, the parent-teachers association, the school volunteer program, and a nearby university school of education.

The responsible federal agency probably would be the Office of Economic Opportunity or the Office of Education, and other cooperating agencies would include the National Teacher Corps, VISTA, the Job Corps, Volunteers to America, and the Department of Labor.

Planning and Evaluation. An agency such as the National Service Secretariat would serve in a consultative capacity in planning and executing the project, and an educational research firm or university would serve as an evaluator.

Selection of teacher aides. The sponsoring agency would have the final word in selection. The project would be designed to include participants in about the following ratios:

Educational levels

Master's degree or higher	10%
Bachelor's degree	25
Some college	15
High school graduates	30
High school dropouts	20
	<u>100%</u>

Sources

National Teacher Corps	15%
VISTA	35
Volunteers to America	5
Job Corps	15
Neighborhood Youth Corps	15
Other	15
	<u>100%</u>

Housing. All aides would live within the school district. Some would live with families and others in groups or hostels, according to the recommendation of the sponsoring agency.

Training. Some general training would be provided by the source agencies. The sponsoring agency, probably in cooperation with the faculty of the local school of education, would arrange more specialized training as well as on-the-job training.

Supervision. Basic supervision would be provided by the sponsoring agency, normally at their expense (this would be their contribution). Some of the persons supplied through the National Teacher Corps would be able to undertake some supervisory responsibility.

Education of aides. Opportunities for further education while in service, whether leading to a high school diploma or a master's degree, would be available to all aides according to the plan submitted by the sponsoring agency.

Obligations of aides. All aides would be under contract to an agency of the U.S. government, although allowances would be paid by the sponsoring agency which would be reimbursed by the government. Satisfactory completion of contract would entitle the aide to certain financial and educational benefits. Premature departure would normally mean forfeiture of these benefits.

Obligation of government. The government would provide allowances, medical/insurance coverage, and periodic transportation to and from homes, and would check to see that the sponsoring agency was upholding its end of the contract.

APPENDIX F: 1967 NATIONAL SERVICE CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Washington, D.C.

April 2-4, 1967

Robert Adams, Executive Director, Friendship House, Washington, D.C.

John D. Alden, Executive Secretary, Engineering Manpower Commission, Engineers Joint Council

Mary P. Allen, Director of Public Information, American Vocational Association

Curtis Aller, Associate Manpower Administrator for Policy Evaluation and Research, Department of Labor

Stuart H. Altman, Department of Economics, Brown University

Ruth M. Amen, Director, Program Development, Camp Fire Girls, Inc.

Angelo P. Angelides, Director of Medical Education, Lankenau Hospital, Philadelphia

Walter W. Arensberg, Office of Evaluation and Research, Peace Corps

Sister Francetta Barberis, Special Consultant, Job Corps

Terry A. Barnett, The Ripon Society, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Robert A. Barr, Jr., Dean of Men, Swarthmore College

Ronald E. Bell, Operations Officer/Ethiopia, Peace Corps

Charles S. Benson, Department of Education, University of California, Berkeley

Albert D. Biderman, Senior Associate, Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc.

Robert Bird, Director of Services for Conscientious Objectors, American Friends Service Committee

Roland M. Bixler, President, J-B-T Instruments, Inc., and Member, Board of Directors, National Association of Manufacturers

Algernon D. Black, Leader, New York Society for Ethical Culture

David Bourns, National Institute of Public Affairs

Neil Boyer, Project Director, Volunteers to America, Department of State

Stuart J. Brahs, Special Assistant to Congressman Richard L. Ottinger

Leon Bramson, Chairman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Swarthmore College

James C. Brewer, Executive Director, Foundation for Voluntary Service

Alfonso Britton, Job Corps Trainee

Ruth Hagy Brod, Director, Volunteer Coordinating Council of New York City

Donald Brown, Director of Selection, VISTA, Office of Economic Opportunity

Mary M. Burch, Director, Girl Scout National Branch Office, Washington, D.C.

Julius Cahn, Office of the Vice President, Washington, D.C.

William Cannon, Chief, Education, Manpower, and Science Division, Bureau of the Budget

Al Carp, Director, Office of Selection, Peace Corps

Frances Carp, National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Md.

Terry Catchpole, College Conservative Council, Washington, D.C.

Sherman B. Chickering, Publisher, Moderator Magazine

Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Social Psychologist and Secretary, Russell Sage Foundation

Deborah W. Cowan, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Legislation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

John W. Cox, Manpower Specialist, Bureau of Work Programs, Department of Labor

Thomas E. Cronin, White House Fellow, White House

Terrence Cullinan, Manpower and Education Research, Stanford Research Institute

Harold Davis, Job Corps Trainee, Washington, D.C.

J. D. Dawson, Vice President and Dean of Students, Antioch College

Billie Days, YWCA, Washington, D.C.

Georgia Delano, representing International Secretariat for Volunteer Service

David Dichter, Director, Sports International and Youth for Development

Earl W. Eames, Jr., President, Council for International Progress in Management

Frank A. Evans, Assistant Dean of College of Arts and Sciences, Georgetown University

Thomas E. Ford, Director of Scholarships, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation

Elizabeth Forsling-Harris, Special Assistant to the National Executive Director,
Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.

Cecil Forster, Bureau of Work Programs, Department of Labor

David Franke, Editor, The New Guard

Hyman Frankel, Director, Experiment in Higher Education, Southern Illinois
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29. Alice Rossi, "Equality Between the Sexes," Daedalus, XCIII, No. 2 (Spring, 1964), p. 615.

30. See Herbert Gans, The Levittowners (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), pp. 198, 230-241. "Being alone with small children seems to result in a kind of sensory deprivation for mothers, causing them to lose touch with their adult selves, particularly when they are unduly isolated from the husband or other adults" (p. 237).

31. Cf. Mead and Kaplan, op. cit., pp. 41 ff.

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2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. "Only the bare majority of respondents also felt that a compulsory 'national obligation' to serve is compatible with democracy. Fifty-one percent of all respondents indicated that the government should be able to require every young person to serve two years in a type of service to the nation, choosing between the military and other types of service. Many suggested that this type of service would be highly educational to the individual and . . . could be seen as a natural extension of the current compulsory education law" (ibid.).

7. More than 70 percent of those polled favored the option of an alternative, nonmilitary service activity, believing that "persons who had served two years in the Peace Corps should be exempt from military call" (ibid.).

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

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7. Ibid.

8. Besides my own study, there is much useful information on academies in the introduction and selections in Theodore R.Sizer (ed.), The Age of the Academies (New York: Teachers College Press, 1964).

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11. A much more typical (both of the period and of succeeding reformers) response to social problems than Jane Addams' was that of Robert Hunter. See his Poverty (first published 1904; Harper Torchbooks edition, Peter d'A. Jones [ed.], New York: Harper & Row, 1965).

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22. "A Profile of National Service," p. 27.

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3. Leland L. Medsker, The Junior College: Progress and Prospect (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960). A new study now being directed by Dr. Medsker appears to produce similar statistics on transfer plans and actions.

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13. Kelly, op. cit.

14. The Job Corps Monthly Report through February 28, 1967, shows that for 35,000 former Corpsmen who found employment the following were starting hourly wages:

<u>Months in Job Corps</u>	<u>Hourly Wage</u>
0-3	\$1.46
4-6	1.60
7-9	1.66
10-12	1.71
13-15	1.76
Over 15	1.79

15. The survey shows that 50 percent of Upward Bound participants drop out of college within five months.

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27. In Pursuit of Equity:..., pp. 61-63.

28. Washington Post, March 24, 1967.

29. "I think that life will have more point to it if every single boy or girl has in his or her life a chance to spend two years doing something for some reason other than what is called 'breadwinning'--that is, for some reason better than money and on a pure service basis."

30. Washington Post, March 24, 1967, p. 63.

31. New York Times, March 22, 1967, pp. 1, 14.

32. Two-thirds of all Job Corps enrollees old enough to enlist in the Armed Forces had attempted to do so and been rejected, "Corpsman Gains Study" Washington, D.C.: Job Corps, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1966.

33. Cited by Richard de Neufville and Caryl Connor, "How Good Are Our Schools? Armed Forces Qualification Test Provides a Clue," American Education (October, 1966), pp. 1-10.

34. Opinion in "Report of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service."

35. Monthly Report, Job Corps, Office of Economic Opportunity, February 28, 1967.

36. Leonard L. Lerwill, The Personnel Replacement System in the United States Army (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1954), cited in Unfit for Service: A Review of the Draft and of Basic Education in the Army (Chicago, Ill.: Science Research Associates, 1966), p. 170.

37. Unfit for Service:..., pp. 170-171.
38. Unpublished study by the Department of the Army.
39. Kenneth Holland and Frank Ernest Hill, Youth in the CCC (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942), cited in Unfit for Service:...
40. Ibid., p. 171.
41. Ibid., pp. 171 ff.
42. Ibid., pp. 115-163.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Kelly, op. cit., and "A & R Reports," No. 2 and 3, undated.
46. Kelly, op. cit.
47. "A & R Reports," No. 2, addenda to p. 18.
48. Cf. Harold F. Clark and Harold S. Sloan, Classrooms in the Military: An Account of Education in the Armed Forces of the United States (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1964). Table reproduced in Unfit for Service:..., p. 174. In addition, nearly 20,000 of the 65,000 former Corpsmen in the United States in February, 1967, were not reported to be either employed in the military or in school: Monthly Report, Job Corps, Office of Economic Opportunity, February 28, 1967.
49. Morris Janowitz and Roger Little, Sociology and the Military Establishment (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965).
50. Mordechai Bar-On, Education Process in the Israel Defense Forces (Tel-Aviv: Israel Press, Ltd., 1966).
51. For example, see Leslie L. Roos, Jr., and George W. Angell, "Officer Candidate Teachers and Turkish Development," unpublished manuscript, Harvard University, January, 1967, pp. 1-18 and appended "References."
52. Kelly, op. cit.; "Corpsman Gains Study."
53. Charles W. Slack, "Conservation Centers' Personality and Approach Depend on Director More Than Urban Centers," Job Corps Staff Newsletter, II, No. 11 (September 25, 1966), pp. 5-6.
54. Myrtle Bonn, "Have Traveled, Will Teach," American Education, Vol. 3, No. 2 (February, 1967), pp. 1-3.
55. Roos and Angell, op. cit. The authors show that training officer candidates in the Turkish army to be village teachers has made inroads on the problem of most underdeveloped countries in which the educated migrate to the

cities where they are needed least. Forty-six percent of the teachers trained in the national service system wished to remain village teachers. The authors cite another study that shows that 94 percent of teachers trained in a similar manner in Iran wished to continue teaching in villages.

56. John W. Gardner, Excellence: Can We Be Equal and Excellent Too? (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 20. Gardner cites Peterson's "The Conservation of Human Talent," Walter Van Dyke Bingham Lecture, Ohio State University, April 17, 1956.

TO CHAPTER 6, RIMBERG AND CLARK

1. John Grimes, "Labor Letter," Wall Street Journal, March 15, 1966.

2. UPI Release, Washington, D.C., February 15, 1966.

3. Stephen K. Bailey, "Coordinating the Great Society," The Reporter, March 24, 1966.

4. Dael Wolfle, America's Resources of Specialized Talent (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954), p. 280.

5. These estimates were based upon standards of service actually in use within the nation in 1960. Given these standards and the current employment in 30 human service occupations, shortages or "gaps" could be readily computed for the several states and then summed up for the nation. See A Research Design for Human Services Manpower (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1966).

6. The high standard is based upon service ratios in the highest service state in each of 30 human services occupations; the medium standard reflects the service ratio in the highest five states, and the low standard reflects service ratios in the highest twelve states.

7. National Commission on Technology, Technology and the American Economy, Report of the Commission (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, February, 1966).

8. Greenleigh Associates, A Public Employment Program for the Unemployed Poor, prepared for the Office of Economic Opportunity (New York: November 30, 1965).

9. Volunteer, worker, and national service worker will be used interchangeably in the subsequent analysis, since these categories share certain features from the point of view of the agencies.

10. Arthur Pearl and Frank Reissman, New Careers for the Poor (New York: The Free Press, 1965).

11. This and the previous recommendation have assumed that the national service worker may perform service beginning with any one of several chronological ages, depending upon his maturity and career plans, although his commitment to do so may be fixed at a specific chronological age.

TO CHAPTER 6, HAGEDORN, JOSEPHSON, AND WILSON

1. "National Service" is capitalized in this paper because it refers to a suggested organization.

TO CHAPTER 6, CULLINAN

1. Full data are available from Mr. Bukk G. Carleton III, 2036 Waverly Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19146.

2. While 79 replies (74 percent) were received, relevant and complete information was remitted by 62 embassies (58 percent).

3. Pentagon studies showed that dependence on a voluntary army would necessitate salary increases amounting to 10 percent of the present national budget. The Canadian Army, which depends on such a system, spends an average of \$4,223 per soldier on pay and allowances for its troops, compared with the United States average of \$3,569 (1958 figures).

4. Countries with no obligatory military service included Canada, Costa Rica, Great Britain, Iceland, India, Ireland, Lebanon, Pakistan, Panama, Saudi Arabia, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uganda.

TO CHAPTER 6, DELANO

1. From "Recommendations on Food Problems of Less Developed Countries," adopted by the Development Assistance Committee of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development at its 77th Session, July 20-21, 1966, and printed in OECD Observer (September, 1966), p. 54, and the 1966 OECD Review, p. 141.

2. A distinction is maintained between voluntary and volunteer. Voluntary service is the traditional part-time help given, often for charity or welfare purposes, although it may also be applied to the man who spends part of each week helping out in the construction of a new school or other facility for his community. Volunteers are people who devote part of their lives to full-time work for the social and/or economic benefit of others and do so with very limited financial compensation.

3. From a 1966 Terrybuk survey of Washington embassies and records of International Secretariat for Volunteer Service.

4. Robert G. Greenway, "The Great Quagmire/The Great Opportunity (A View of the Draft Debate of 1966)" (unpublished paper, 1966).

5. Glyn Roberts, Volunteers in Africa and Asia (London: Stanhope Press, 1965), p. 54.

6. Ibid., pp. 53-54.

7. John Kenneth Galbraith, Economic Development (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964), pp. 50, 51.

8. Willard L. Thorp (ed.), Development of Assistance Efforts and Policies of the Development Assistance Committee, 1966 Review (Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, September, 1966, p. 66.)

TO CHAPTER 7, MINER AND WILLIAMS

1. Kurt Hahn, "Aims and Obstacles," BBC broadcast (October 22, 1950).

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Materials in this section and the one following on the effects of search and rescue training were largely taken from Joseph Nold, "Techniques of Outward Bound" (unpublished paper, 1967).

TO CHAPTER 8, HALL

1. James Russell Lowell, Among My Books (Boston: Fields, Osgood and Co., 1870), p. 239.

2. Morris Janowitz, "The Case for a National Service System," The Public Interest (Fall, 1966).

3. Kingman Brewster, "Five Year B.A. Experiment," proposal submitted to Yale faculty, February 18, 1966.

4. James Lasswell, "Guns and Shovels " (New York: International Pamphlets, 1935), p. 3.

5. These statistics have been derived from various tables in the World Almanac (New York: Newspaper Enterprises Association, World Almanac Division, 1967 edition).

TO CHAPTER 8, BIRD

1. Robert S. McNamara, "Voluntary Service for All Youth," speech delivered before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Montreal, Canada, May 19, 1966. Published in Vital Speeches of the Day, XXXII, No. 16 (June 1, 1966), pp. 484-488.

2. This paper originated from a group discussion on service among Polly Cuthbertson, Marty Dickson, Neva Fisk, Barbara Graves, Thelma How, George Marshfield, Jolee Robinson, John Sexton, and the author; all are members of the Youth Services Division of the American Friends Service Committee.

3. Biblical references are from the New English Bible.

4. Donald J. Eberly (ed.), "A Profile of National Service" (New York: Overseas Educational Service, 1966), p. 3.

5. National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, Report to the President. Excerpted in New York Times, March 5, 1967, p. 82.

6. Harrop A. Freeman, "The Constitutionality of Peacetime Conscription," Virginia Law Review, XXXI, No. 1 (December, 1944), pp. 40-82.

7. Henry Cabot Lodge (ed.), The Federalist: A Commentary on the Constitution of the United States (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1911), p. 323.

8. Charles A. Beard, The Republic (New York: Viking Press, 1962), p. 132.

9. Harry Stack Sullivan, Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry (Washington, D.C.: William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, 1947).

10. Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom (New York: Avon Books, 1941, 1965).

11. Pitirim A. Sorokin (ed.), Explorations in Altruistic Love and Behavior (Boston: Beacon Press, 1950), pp. 3-73, 145-164.

12. The Book of Common Prayer . . . According to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Holy Communion, Prayer of Consecration.

13. Dag Hammarskjöld, Markings (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. viii.

14. Ann Gidley Lowry, The Story of Flushing Meeting House (Flushing, N.Y.: Case the Printer; privately printed; available from the Flushing Meeting House, Society of Friends, Flushing, N.Y.), p. 6.

15. Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Francis Bowen (ed.), Henry Reeve (trans.), (Cambridge: Sever & Francis, 1863), Vol. I, pp. 558-559.

16. William O. Douglas, "...without due process of law...", Center Diary: 15 (November-December, 1966), p. 42.

TO APPENDIX A

1. William L. Kissick, "Health Manpower in Transition," speech delivered at the Pennsylvania Health Council, Inc., Sixteenth Annual Meeting, March 1, 1966, Pittsburgh, Pa., p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. 5.
3. John Lear, "What's Wrong With American Hospitals?" Saturday Review (February 4, 1967), p. 60.
4. Richard Reeves, "25 to 60% of Nurses' Jobs in Hospitals Here Vacant," New York Times, August 1, 1966, pp. 1, 20.
5. Cited in Kissick, op. cit., p. 6.
6. Ibid.
7. United Hospital Fund of New Yrk, "A Tradition of Service" (March, 1965).
8. Mrs. Charles L. Balfanz, "Volunteer 'Renaissance' Bringing Changes in Attitude Toward Service Assignments," The Auxiliary Leader, VII, No. 11 (November, 1966), pp. 1-6.
9. Letter of December 19, 1966, to the National Service Secretariat.
10. Letter of December 13, 1966, to the National Service Secretariat.
11. Readers Digest Almanac, 1967, p. 611.
12. Department of Commerce statistics.
13. Hearing of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Conserve Human and Natural Resources of the Nation (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964).
14. Henry Drennan, "Little Miracle on Chapel Street," American Education, Vol. 2, No. 7 (July-August, 1966), pp. 1-5.
15. Thomas D. Morris (Assistant Secretary of Defense [Manpower]), Report on Department of Defense Study of the Draft, statement before the House Committee on Armed Services, June 30, 1966, p. 5.
16. Ibid.
17. Office of the Secretary of Defense, Estimated Educational Level of Military Personnel on Active Duty 31 December 1965.
18. Under Project 100,000, announced in 1966, youths slightly below previous mental standards are to be accepted for specialized military training

to be followed by normal military duty. An estimated 100,000 men per year will qualify under this program.

19. National Commission on Technology, Technology and the American Economy, Report of the Commission (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, February, 1966), p. 49.

20. Ibid., p. 77.

21. Ibid., p. 110.

22. Ibid., p. xiv.

23. Ibid., p. 52.

TO APPENDIX C

1. One of the effects of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service recommendations to induct in a "youngest first" system, however, will be to remove the uncertainty from the minds of those who contemplate volunteering for some form of national service. That uncertainty, the Commission was advised, has heretofore been one of the major deterrents to such volunteering.

TO APPENDIX D

1. George Nash and Julian H. Dixon, Response to Challenge: The New York Urban Corps (New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, May, 1967).

BIBLIOGRAPHY*

TO CHAPTER 1

Albertson, Maurice L., and others. New Frontiers for American Youth: Perspective on the Peace Corps. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961.

Albertson presents the results of the study on the Point Four Youth Corps initiated by Congressman Reuss. This study, submitted a few days before President Kennedy created the Peace Corps by executive order on March 1, 1961, confirmed the enthusiasm for the idea that had developed over the preceding months, and was useful in setting up the Peace Corps.

Childs, Arnold. Working at Tunbridge: The Genesis of Camp William James. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, undated, probably 1941.

This booklet is an account of Camp William James and includes a petition sent by the people of Tunbridge to the President of the United States, which follows in part:

Mr. President:

The State of Vermont is the first state of the Union in which manhood suffrage was made universal; one century and a half have passed, and again we people of Vermont realize that something must be made universal: the opportunity for service.

It was reported that this petition received the "wholehearted approval and commendation" of President Roosevelt.

Eberly, Donald J. "A National Service," The Christian Science Monitor, April 18, 1959, p. 16.

In a letter to the editor, Eberly says:

I believe America should actively support a National Service which employs the instruments of peace as an alternative to military service. . . . America's need for a strong standing army is accepted. It is also accepted and strongly advocated that our young men should be of direct service to our country for a period of two years. However . . . a few of the thousands of young men who are drafted annually could be of greater service to America in constructive, peaceful pursuits.

Fischer, John. "Substitutes for Violence," Harper's, January, 1966, pp. 16-24.

*A number of these references, and of those to be found in the bibliographies for succeeding chapters, are taken from Donald J. Eberly (ed.), "A Profile of National Service" (New York: Overseas Educational Service, 1966), and reprinted with permission.

Fischer considers the relevance to today's world of William James' moral equivalent of war, primarily from the viewpoint of finding constructive physical outlets for the energies of youth. He says:

The possibilities [for finding such outlets] aren't as easy to spot as they were in William James' day, but even in our overcrowded society some of them still exist. No single one of them will provide the kind of simple, large-scale panacea that James had in mind--yet if we can discover a hundred such projects they might add up to a pretty fair Moral Equivalent. In any case, the search is worth a more serious try than anyone has made yet.

Hall, Edward F. "National Service," Litchfield Enquirer, May 19, 1966, p. 4.

In his weekly column, "Considered Opinion," Hall, a retired journalist who participated in discussions of universal military training in post-World-War-II days, offers the following definition of national service:

It is a program to involve young people at the threshold of maturity in meaningful activity through which they become identified with the society that produced them, gain a sense of participation and achievement in advancing the permanent values of that society, and emerge with a conviction of responsibility toward and capability for their individual contribution to those social values.

Humphrey, Hubert H. S.3675: A Peace Corps. A bill introduced on June 15, 1960.

The bill advocates a Peace Corps in which a three-year term of service "would be considered as fulfilling peacetime military obligations except for Reserve requirements. And, of course, corps members would be liable to the draft in times of war or national emergency."

Mendenhall, Thomas C. "National Service Urged on Women," New York Times, October 28, 1960, p. 62.

President Mendenhall of Smith College, in an address to an anniversary meeting of the YWCA, said:

I see us embarking on a new frontier, deriving from the question whether women have not become liable in peacetime for national service. If called, I imagine they would serve in tragically undermanned spots, such as teachers' aides, nurses and social service workers.

"National Service: Concept and Ways," Social Progress, LVII, No. 2, November/December 1966.

This 48-page issue of a bimonthly journal of the United Presbyterian Church of the USA contains reprints of several articles on national service.

Reuss, Henry R. H.R.9638: A Point Four Youth Corps. A bill introduced on January 14, 1960.

Reuss calls for a study of a "Point Four Youth Corps, under which young citizens will be trained and serve in programs of technical co-operation." The bill was passed and the study was conducted by Maurice Albertson and others.

Sanders, Marion K. "The Case for a National Service Corps," New York Times Sunday Magazine, August 7, 1966.

Mrs. Sanders, who had called for a Women's Service Corps in "A Proposition for Women," Harper's September, 1960, outlines the needs and beginning stages of a possible national service program.

Swomley, John M., Jr. "The National Service Proposal," The Christian Century, January 11, 1967, pp. 40-43.

Swomley, a major figure in the fight against a program of universal military training following World War II, criticizes national service and says, "Instead of the church, now the national service would channel the idealism of young people and develop their social consciousness." A rebuttal is given by Donald J. Eberly in The Christian Century, April 5, 1967.

Walsh, Richard J. "When the Earth Trembled," International Conciliation, No. 224. Worcester, Mass.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, November, 1926.

This is a story based on William James' moral equivalent in which the American Secretary of War--a woman--in the year 1950 directs a non-military army against enemies such as disease and natural disasters.

Washington, George. Quoted in The Owl, Spring, 1945. Published by the students of Watertown High School, New York, p. 3.

"'The main pillar of a free state' is the obligation of every man to render personal service to his country."

Wiggins, Warren. "From Protest to National Service," Current Magazine, December, 1965, p. 58.

In an address at Stanford University, Wiggins referred to the size of the Peace Corps and its importance in the balance scale between war and peace, as viewed by Jack H. Vaughn, successor to R. Sargent Shriver as Director of the Peace Corps.

Wofford, Harris. "Toward a Draft Without Guns," Saturday Review, October 15, 1966, p. 19.

Wofford calls for volunteer service fellowships, a national volunteer registry, and academic credit for volunteer service as steps on the path to universal voluntary service.

TO CHAPTER 2

Booth, Paul. Guide to Conscientious Objection. Chicago: 1965.

In a statement in this booklet, Booth, National Secretary of Students for a Democratic Society, lays down this challenge (pp. 11-12):

Let us see what happens if service to democracy is made grounds for exemption from the military draft. I predict that almost every member of my generation would choose to build, not to burn. . . . Our generation is not afraid of service for long years and low pay.

Chapman, Bruce K. The Wrong Man in Uniform. New York: Trident Press, 1967.

Chapman calls for a voluntary approach to military manpower recruitment.

Darken, Arthur H. Analysis of a Proposal for the Establishment of a Point Four Youth Corps. December 17, 1959. Printed in the Congressional Record (House), January 14, 1960, p. 492.

This analysis was prepared for Congressman Henry Reuss. The selection below is taken from that part of it that dealt with alternative service.

Several factors were outlined as possible objections to recruitment for a Youth Corps. (1) As only men are draftable and as a Corps should include women, a special means of incorporating women into the service would have to be set up; (2) some military groups might feel that veterans of the Youth Corps should not be entitled to the same educational and medical benefits made available to military veterans; (3) the military might object that too many of the best young men would be diverted from officer training programs; (4) opponents of the military draft might feel that the Youth Corps would only serve to maintain this undesirable draft system; and (5) the Youth Corps might be viewed as a haven for draft dodgers.

After all of these factors are considered it would seem that service in the Youth Corps would have the greatest possibility of being accepted as an alternative to military service if it were made clear that Youth Corps veterans would not receive any of the medical, educational, pension, or other benefits accruing to military veterans because of their service. This tends to reduce the general appeal of the Youth Corps somewhat, but it might also serve to avoid serious opposition from the armed services and veterans groups. . . .

"A 'Freedom Budget' for All Americans: Budgeting our Resources, 1966-1975, to Achieve 'Freedom from Want.'" New York: A. Phillip Randolph Institute, October, 1966.

A plan to abolish poverty in the United States by 1975. Reports such as this, which calls for a full employment program, deserve to be placed on the balance scale with such proposals as national service and the

guaranteed annual wage. They are not exclusive alternatives. In fact, we shall probably have a combination of all three by 1975.

Friends Committee on National Legislation, 1965-1966, Statement of Legislative Policy. (Copies obtainable from FCNL, 245 Second Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20005.)

The following statement on conscription was approved by the Committee. It should not be taken as a statement of the Religious Society of Friends, as the Society does not issue official statements.

Conscription: We reaffirm our opposition

- . to continuation of Selective Service,
- . to any form of compulsory military reserve system,
- . to any form of universal military training and service.

We oppose the draft because it is contrary to the American tradition of democracy, which has brought so many fine people to our Shores from countries enforcing conscription. The elimination of the Selective Service System would be one more initiative in demonstrating United States intentions to press for world disarmament and peace.

Military conscription is an unsettling and adverse influence in the lives of many young people so far as education, employment and marriage is concerned.

Military service tends to indoctrinate young men in favor of military solutions involving violence and war and inadequately prepares them to live as constructive citizens in achieving a peaceful nation and a peaceful world.

Hanning, Hugh. The Peaceful Use of Military Forces. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967.

The author visited 15 countries in various stages of development to survey the uses being made of the Armed Forces for nonmilitary endeavors.

Janowitz, Morris (ed.). The New Military: Changing Patterns of Organization. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964.

This is a series of studies on the sociology of the military establishment and on career opportunities and management. The editor has called for a program of national service in "American Democracy and Military Service," Transaction (March, 1967), pp. 5 ff.

Klassen, Albert D., Jr. "Military Service in American Life Since World War II: An Overview." Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, September, 1966.

This is one of a number of NORC studies, financed by the Department of Defense, which analyzes in considerable detail such matters as the incidence of military service among different sectors of the population.

Lecht, Leonard A. Goals, Priorities & Dollars: The Next Decade. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1966.

This study projects the overall expenditures necessary to meet goals in such areas as health and education by 1975.

Levitan, Sar A., and Irving H. Siegel (eds.). Dimensions of Manpower Policy: Programs and Research. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966.

This book commemorates the 20th anniversary of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research and, while not mentioning national service, provides a good context for considering national service from the manpower perspective. It includes a paper by Herbert Striner, "Research Strategy for Manpower Policy."

"Manpower and Poverty Implications of the Selective Service System." 90th Congress, First Session, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, March, 1967.

Contains testimony on national service by W. Willard Wirtz, Sargent Shriver, and Donald J. Eberly.

"Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training." U.S. Department of Labor, transmitted to Congress, March, 1966.

This is a well-written annual report which goes beyond the usual statistical data to well-reasoned recommendations and implications.

Raymond, Jack. "The Draft is Unfair," New York Times Magazine, January 2, 1966, pp. 5 ff.

Raymond points to the inequities of the draft with an impressive array of facts, figures, and expressions of attitudes. Also, he quotes William Josephson, General Counsel of the Peace Corps, on his advocacy of a voluntary national service as follows:

Now it is my belief that if an effort were made to create an atmosphere of voluntarism, so that no man--and as a matter of fact, no young woman--would achieve social status without having made a service contribution, manpower requirements in the armed forces and other national services would be met.

Reston, James. "New York: The Computers That Bloom in the Spring, Tra La!" New York Times, March 31, 1965, editorial page.

In discussing the influence of the military draft on decisions by college students to extend their college work, Reston said:

If there were a wider definition of national service, including non-military service, under which young men could meet their obligation

to the nation by serving in the Peace Corps or the Poverty Corps, or in the Federal, state, or municipal governments, this problem might be made more bearable; but this question, for some mysterious reason, is seldom debated either in class or in Washington.

"Review of the Administration and Operation of the Selective Service System." 89th Congress, Second Session, Hearings Before the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives, June 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, and 30, 1966. No. 75.

This 500-page report contains the Pentagon study of the draft completed in 1966, together with appendixes and back-up information. It contains many references to national service, although that subject is not indexed.

Tax, Sol (ed.). The Draft: A Handbook of Facts and Alternatives. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967. This is the report of a draft conference held at the University of Chicago in December, 1966. It contains seven papers on national service and a wealth of information on the draft. The discussion on national service was virtually limited to two questions: Should nonmilitary service be recognized as an alternative to the draft, and should nonmilitary service be compulsory?

"Testing for the Draft," New York Times, May 14, 1966, p. 30. Excerpt from an editorial.

This statement calls for "a fundamental reappraisal of Selective Service procedures." The editorial concludes:

Nationally sound reform lies in the direction of universal national service, with limited options to serve either in the armed forces, the Peace Corps, the National Teacher Corps or a variety of domestic urban and rural missions. Leading educators have already endorsed such a plan. It is now up to the nation's educational, manpower and military leadership to evolve a blueprint for national debate and Congressional action.

"Universal Military Training and National Security," The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science (September, 1945).

This volume summarizes the range of issues in the debate over Universal Military Training following World War II. While it has chapters on the sociological, economic, and educational aspects of military training, and a complete section on alternatives, it does not consider a large-scale program of nonmilitary service.

Wells, H. G. The New World Order. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940, p. 141.

The author takes up William James' suggestion for a moral equivalent of war and points to one of the benefits:

It is quite possible that a certain percentage of these conscripts may be caught by the interest of what they are doing; the asylum

attendant may decide to specialize in psycho-therapeutic work; the hospital nurse succumb to that curiosity which underlies the great physiologist; the Arctic worker may fall in love with his snowy wilderness. . . .

Willenz, June A. (ed.). "Dialogue on the Draft." Report of the National Conference on the Draft, American Veterans Committee, Washington, D.C., 1966.

This report contains several articles on national service and an extensive bibliography on the draft.

TO CHAPTER 3

Gallup, George. The Miracle Ahead. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.

Gallup calls for greater citizen participation in local government through voluntary service.

Goodman, Jeffrey. "How to Be Patriotic and Live With Yourself," The Atlantic Monthly February, 1966, pp. 61-62.

The writer, a college student, discusses the inequities of the draft and offers the following guidelines to a possible answer:

If there is to be a solution to the inequities and social damage of the draft, it must lie in a structure combining egalitarianism with the right to choose how to serve one's country (if at all), maximum contact with the implications of war, avenues for significant social experiences, acceptance of nonmilitary alternatives, and civilian control.

Goodman, Paul, and Percival Goodman. Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life. New York: Random House, 1960.

A recent utopian model against which one might examine proposals for national service.

Keniston, Kenneth. The Uncommitted. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1965.

This book by a Yale psychology professor probes the causes of alienation among a small group of talented and privileged young men. He says that "the major themes in the lives of these alienated youth are but extreme reactions to pressures that affect all young Americans." While not directly addressing the subject of national service, his conclusions regarding idealism, commitment, experience, and diversity are relevant to the concept.

Moynihan, Daniel P. "Who Gets in the Army?" The New Republic, November 5, 1966, pp. 19-22.

Moynihan advocates using the Armed Forces as a socializing experience for the poor and does not consider a nonmilitary service program.

TO CHAPTER 4

Cloward, Robert O. Studies in Tutoring. New York: Columbia University School of Social Work Research Center, 1966.

An account of an experimental program in which average high school students tutored fourth- and fifth-graders. Both benefitted, the high school students more than the elementary students.

Hahn, Kurt. The Young and the Outcome of the War (The Essex Hall Lecture, 1965). London: The Lindsey Press, 1965.

The founder of Outward Bound says the major task of education is to ensure the survival of these qualities normally found in healthy children.

An enterprising curiosity, an undefeatable spirit, tenacity in pursuit, the joy of movement, readiness for sensible self-denial, careful attention to detail, a faithful memory and a lively imagination.

Livingstone, Sir Richard. On Education. London: Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. 226, 231.

In "Education for a World Adrift," first published in 1943, the former head of Oxford University pleads the case for citizenship education and associates himself with two philosophers.

Whitehead's saying that moral education is impossible without the habitual vision of greatness needs to be completed by the remarks of Aristotle that men acquire virtues, not by knowing what they are nor by talking about them, nor by admiring and praising them, but by practising them.

A few pages later Livingston asks, "What can we do?" and replies:

The development of school camps will help; the Youth Movement has great possibilities. Still more will be done if some form of conscription or of national service persists after the War.

McNamara, Robert S. Excerpts from August, 1966, speech to Veterans of Foreign Wars, American Child (quarterly published by the National Committee on Employment of Youth), XLVIII, No. 4 (Fall, 1966).

Only 14 percent of the more than 3 million men in our Armed Forces fire weapons as their primary duty. A full 50 percent must be trained in technical skills....

To the extent that this nation loses the performance potential of these millions of human beings, to that extent this nation's ultimate security is diminished....Thus, the imperatives of national security in our technological age make the Defense Department the world's largest educator of highly skilled men....It is the educator's responsibility to create the most favorable conditions under which the student himself can build his own learning pattern and at his own pace. Ultimately, it is not the teacher who teaches at all. It is the student who teaches himself....

Pervin, Lawrence A., Louis E. Reik, and Willard Dalrymple (eds.). The College Dropout and the Utilization of Talent. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966.

While this volume does not mention national service, it provides a useful setting within which to evaluate national service as an interlude in the formal educational pattern. Dorothy Knoell is a contributor to this book.

TO CHAPTER 5

American National Red Cross. "The Role of Youth in Red Cross," Recommendations of the Youth Study Committee, 1960.

This report calls for including youth in the planning and direction of programs designed for them. It makes specific recommendations regarding recruitment, assignment, training, supervision, recognition, and uniforms.

Community Development Foundation, New York. "International Standard Classification of Community Development Activities." Series A, No. 1, June, 1966.

A 40-page reference document useful for preparing a comparative analysis of service activities on a global basis.

National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards. "Auxiliary School Personnel." Washington, D.C., 1967.

A 20-page statement useful for communities interested in utilizing teacher aides effectively.

Office of Economic Opportunity. "Catalog of Federal Programs for Individual and Community Improvement." Washington, D.C., December 15, 1965.

This is a well-indexed, 414-page reference catalog containing concise summaries of several hundred government programs designed to "help individuals and communities meet their goals for economic and social development."

. "Voluntary Help Wanted for War on Poverty Projects." Information Center, Washington, D.C., Spring, 1967.

This 30-page booklet is intended to direct persons interested in assisting projects in the War on Poverty to the appropriate programs. A reading of it shows the diversity of programs for which volunteers are needed, gives an index of the magnitude of the need, and illustrates the need for a central clearing house of service opportunities.

TO CHAPTER 6

Handbook: Ethiopian University Service. Haile Selassie I University, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 1966.

A good example of the guidelines, rules, and regulations for a service program.

Hayes, Samuel P. An International Peace Corps: The Promise and Problems. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Institute, 1961.

This document was prepared as information in the public interest and as a blueprint for the Peace Corps. In many ways it was a forecast of what the Peace Corps actually has become, although one of its principal recommendations--the creation of a joint service program with other nations--has not been implemented.

Inebnit, Colette. "A Permanent U.N. Constructive Service," The Friend (London), CXVII, No. 3 (1959).

A successor to Pierre Ceresole in the international work camp movement, the writer argues for an international service program as distinct from purely national programs.

"Information on a Proposed National Service Program," S.1321 and H.R.5625, prepared by the President's Study Group on a National Service Program, November, 1962-January, 1963.

This is the report for a study group, headed by the then Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy, appointed by President Kennedy to prepare appropriate legislation for a National Service corps. They envisioned a small select group of volunteers--only 5,000 after three years--and their recommendations later evolved into the VISTA program of the War on Poverty.

Korten, David C., and Korten, Frances F. "Ethiopia's Use of National University Students in a Year of Rural Service," Comparative Education Review (October, 1966), pp. 482-492.

Ethiopian university students, for whom a year of service is almost compulsory, expressed greater enthusiasm for the program after they served than they had before serving.

"The Peace Corps," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (May, 1966).

An intensive review of many aspects of the Peace Corps with articles by 14 persons, including Neil Boyer, Thomas D. Scott, and Harris Wofford.

Salmond, John A. The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967.)

This is an informative study of probably the most popular program of the New Deal and should be read carefully by the organizers of national service. Salmond says that Roosevelt's trump card in overcoming union opposition to the CCC was the appointment of a union man, Robert Fechner, as director. In a move that would have led to a more broadly based program of youth service, Representative Lyndon B. Johnson, says Salmond, introduced in 1941 a bill to combine the CCC with the National Youth Administration.

TO CHAPTER 7

Black, Algernon D. The Young Citizens: The Story of the Encampment for Citizenship. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1962.

A good description of a work service and citizenship education project begun in 1940.

Grossman, Edward. "A Rough Cure for Adolescence," Harper's, May, 1967, pp. 69-80.

The author reports on the three-week Outward Bound course in which he participated.

Hubbell, Hulda. "Planning for Volunteers in Your Agency's Program." Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Publication No. 14, 1963.

A good example of a guide for the selection, training, and utilization of volunteers.

Luger, Milton. "Launching a New Program: Problems and Progress," Syracuse Law Review, XV (Summer, 1964), pp. 693 ff.

In describing youth opportunity and rehabilitation centers in New York State, the author reports:

Daily program activities began to reflect their slow mounting confidence. Conservation work was varied to fit the restless, short interest span of the boys. Projects were selected on conservation game farms and forest plantations that could yield quick visible results and a sense of immediate accomplishment. Community improvement projects were sought to bolster the feelings of service to someone else and the townspeople grew more relaxed and interested in the camp operation as they saw the youths at work....

Some individuals have criticized the small size of our units. With thousands of youth needing service, questions are raised as to the feasibility of creating units for 20 or 60 adolescents. Frankly, it would have been quite simple to build one or two large units to serve 500 adolescents each and not go through the ordeal of community resistance for each small unit we established....There will always be a need for larger institutions because they realistically are the

program of choice for many adolescents. Our responsibility was to discover which adolescents presently being committed to these facilities could profit more from alternative treatment interventions such as ours.

TO CHAPTER 8

American Civil Liberties Union. Civil Liberties, No. 235, March, 1966.

In an article entitled "Military Conscription" (p. 2), the ACLU states its opposition to compulsory military service except as may be required by the overriding need of national security:

Thus it is necessary once again to assert that compulsory military service, whether in time of war or peace, is ALWAYS a severe deprivation of civil liberties. Under it the State not only removes young men from their homes, occupations, education, and family for long periods of time, but even more seriously it deprives them of the intrinsic condition of freedom: the direction and control of their own lives. Military conscription permits the State to exercise virtually complete dominion over the individual, and compels him to engage in activities which he may find repugnant and contrary to his individual beliefs. This is why civil libertarians approach conscription as a program that inherently deprives men of freedom and that therefore should normally be opposed. This is why civil libertarians insist that proponents of conscription always carry the burden of justifying the need for the government to force an individual to yield to compulsory military service.

Ayer, Douglas. "The Selective Conscientious Objector," Christianity and Crisis, XXVI, No. 23 (January 9, 1967).

Ayer says the plan put forward by the National Service Secretariat (Appendix A) "comes closest to providing a workable conscientious objector option."

Javits, Jacob K. "Administration Should Support National Service Concept." Press release of May 22, 1966, of remarks prepared for delivery to the Belfer Graduate School of Science of Yeshiva University.

I am in favor of the concept of National Service for all who can possibly qualify.

Secretary McNamara's proposal was aimed at "voluntary" service by both men and women. It is my feeling that it would be almost impossible to make such a concept work as a practical matter. I propose that universal national service be made compulsory for young men, giving them the option of selecting what form it should take within permissible categories established by the government. As to the voluntary concept, I would not exclude young women who should be urged to undertake suitable national service tasks at home and abroad as well!

Considering the positive and favorable response throughout the nation to Secretary McNamara's proposal, I feel that the President

should send to Congress, at the earliest possible moment, legislation to implement the concept of universal national service.

Johnson, Keith R. "Who Should Serve?" The Atlantic Monthly, February, 1966, pp. 63-69.

This article offers an appraisal of the draft with a description of volunteer programs in military service and a discussion of alternatives. The writer and Lt. General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, make an interesting point regarding persons rejected by the draft for failure to pass the mental test:

One hopeful note is that practically all of those rejected said, at least, that they wanted another chance; nine out of ten nonwhites and eight out of ten whites said they would take part in a program of education and training. General Hershey, for one, feels that in spite of such statistics, voluntary programs like the Job Corps are not a complete answer to this social and economic need. He argues that while those who volunteer need help, they need it less than those who refuse to volunteer.

Kennedy, John F. Quoted in "The Student and the C.O.," The Michigan Daily, April 12, 1966, p. 2.

Roger Friedland of the Collegiate Press Service quotes Kennedy as having said: "War will exist until that distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige that the warrior does today."

INDEX

An attempt has been made in this book to divide it in accordance with the principal aspects of national service, such as manpower, education and organization. However, as it is simply impossible to deal with one dimension of national service in isolation from the others, the serious student of national service may find some use in an index which helps to identify the nature of the interrelationship among major national service concerns.

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