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2

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Coder: MK
Date: 4-10-95

I. Purpose of Letter:

- ☐ Wants to Participate
 - ☐ Summer of Service
 - ☐ National Initiative
 - ☒ General Commentary
 - ☐ Pro
 - ☐ Con
 - ☐ Suggestions for Programs
- ☐ Requesting General Information
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 - ☐ General Program
- ☐ Offering their Services
 - ☐ Volunteer
 - ☐ Internships
 - ☐ White House
 - ☐ National Service (Jim)
 - ☐ Employment

II. Writer Information:

- A. Age (Circle One):
Under 17 17-25 Over 25 Unspecified
- B. Education Level (Circle One):
 - 1. Student:
 - ☐ Elementary
 - ☐ Secondary
 - ☐ College
 - ☐ Graduate
 - 2. Non-Student (Level Completed):
 - ☐ Secondary
 - ☐ College
 - ☐ Graduate

III. Re-route to Other Departments

- ☐ Commission
- ☐ (Personal, service organizations,
or business proposals)
- ☐ Scheduling/Gloria
- ☐ Other _____

IV. ☐ Certified Mail

Thought you might be interested in the enclosed.

Barry Checkoway
University of Michigan
School of Social Work
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1285
(313) 763-5960

Commentary

Do We View Youths as Victims, or as Resources?

■ **Policy:** Those who participate in decisions affecting their lives are more effective in building healthier communities.

By **BARRY CHECKOWAY**

Child advocates have high hopes for new national efforts under the Clinton Administration to help America's youth, but which "image of youth" will prevail?

As governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton served on the National Commission on Children, whose agenda called for child and dependent-care tax credits and full funding for Head Start. Along the campaign trail, he endorsed child health, prenatal care, preschool programs and other federal initiatives.

Hillary Rodham Clinton chaired the Children's Defense Fund, whose agenda includes increases in education, housing, health care and other human services reduced by cutbacks in the 1980s.

These initiatives are long overdue, but it is important to remember that they represent a particular perspective or "image of youth" and that there is another image with an action agenda of its own.

What are these two images? First is an image of "youth as victims." This view assumes that young people are vulnerable members of society—too often neglected or abused by adults or victimized by poverty, racism or other forces beyond their control. Proponents of this view want

'When young people become active participants (rather than passive recipients of services), they can alter their personal lives and build healthier communities.'

to "save the children," "defend their rights" and protect them from worsening conditions. Child-protection providers are a vocal presence in Washington, where they promote federal programs to expand needed services for youth.

The second image is "youth as resources." This view assumes that young people are competent citizens with a right to participate in the decisions that affect their lives and a responsibility to serve their communities. Proponents of this view want youth to build on their strengths by "making a difference" in ways that provide them with tangible benefits and develop healthier communities. Youth advocates abound in small towns, suburbs, large cities and wherever they work with community-based programs.

In "Young People as Community Builders," a new report funded by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation and published by the Center for the Study of Youth Policy at the University of Michigan, Janet Finn and I describe increasing efforts by young people to solve problems, plan programs and create community change, including these:

- New York youth are rehabilitating housing for homeless families.

- Minneapolis youth are reaching out to gangs and challenging the forces of poverty.

- Indianapolis youth are assessing local needs and awarding grants to community youth projects.

- Selma, Ala., youth are forming leadership groups for civil rights and social change.

- South Dakota youth are turning school classes into small-town development.

These initiatives vary from place to place, but generally operate in communities that are economically disadvantaged or socially oppressed. Such programs show that when young people become active participants (rather than passive recipients of services), they can alter their personal lives and build healthier communities.

Bill Clinton himself is an example of "youth as resources." He speaks frequently of his own experience as a youth whose active involvement in community service—and whose trip to meet President Kennedy at the American Legion's Boys Nation in 1963 had a lasting, positive impact on his personal life and political career. He campaigned for a National Service Trust Fund that would finance college education through significant community service by young people.

Both child-service providers and youth-participation promoters will scramble for scarce resources and seek a sympathetic ear in the Clinton White House. The voices of the service providers are louder in Washington than those of their community-based counterparts, but the hope is that both will be heard.

Which image will prevail? It would be as mistaken for Bill Clinton to overcompensate for past national neglect by proposing programs that view youth solely as clients of services, as it would be to expect young people to shoulder the burden of community problems whose causes and solutions are beyond them.

It would be mistaken to synthesize these two images of youth into one piece of omnibus legislation. There is no single approach to public policy or program planning that encompasses all images of youth in society. These are separate movements that could possibly be used in mutually reinforcing ways, but the challenge is to develop both simultaneously without focusing exclusively on one.

As the United States emerges from the neglect of the '80s, both agendas are important and affordable in a "peace dividend" economy. We can only hope that the new national efforts to help children will reflect the realities of young people themselves, rather than the professional ideologies of the adults who advocate for them.

Barry Checkoway is a professor of social work and urban planning at the University of Michigan, and faculty associate in the Center for the Study of Youth Policy there.



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7, place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris
1, rue Miollis, 75015 Paris

téléphone : national (1) 45.68.10.00
international + (33.1) 45.68.10.00
télégrammes : Unesco Paris
télex : 204461 Paris
270602 Paris
téléfax : 45.67.16.90

FAX 202 395 40 10

référence : **SHS/YSA/93/274**

1st March 1993

Dear Mr Segal,

I understand that the President will be making later today, at Rutgers University, an address on his plans for a new kind of National Service for young people - and perhaps the less young as well.

UNESCO has long experience with voluntary workingcamping, community service volunteers and other forms of youth service, and I wonder if we might be of some help to you in contributing an international slant on what governmental and non-governmental bodies have done in this area around the world, some of their successes - and what they think should be avoided! We could place bibliography at your disposal, as well as contacts with networks that have experience with national and international volunteer youth service schemes.

Please feel free to contact me if you deem we might be of some use in your efforts.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Gillette
Director
Division of Youth
and Sports Activities

Mr Eli Segal
Assistant to the President for National Service
The White House
Pennsylvania Ave
Washington DC

cc: Mr Nigel Watt, Director, CCIVS
Mr J. Fobes, 28 Beaverbrook Way, Asheville NC 28804
Observer Mission to UNESCO - Paris



The
VOLUNTEER
CENTER OF Albany

100 State Street, Albany, N.Y. 12207-1800

(518) 434-2061

March 5, 1993

Mr. Eli Segal
Aide to President Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Segal,

As director of the Volunteer Center of Albany (New York State) I read with interest our local paper's story on National Community Service.

As an affiliate of the Points of Light Foundation, the mission of The Volunteer Center of Albany is to be the leader in using community service as a tool to address local issues as well as broader social problems.

The Center currently works with a significant number of young people who either wish to perform community service as individuals, part of a group project or, in many cases, to satisfy an academic requirement (internships).

We'd like to expand our role as the primary local organization concerned with promoting community service by acting as agent for your program.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Audrey Kibrick

National Service Correspondence Index Sheet

Coder: BH
Date: 4/4

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IV. Certified Mail

ROUTING SLIP

FROM: Mark Gearan
Deputy Chief of Staff

DATE: 27 Jan. 93

TO:

Rahm Emmanuel _____
Marcia Hale _____
Alexis Herman _____
Nancy Hernreich _____
Anthony Lake _____
Bruce Lindsey _____
Regina Montoya _____
Bernie Nussbaum _____
Howard Paster _____

John Podesta _____
Carol Rasco _____
Bob Rubin _____
Eli Segal ✓ _____
George Stephanopoulos _____
Christine Varney _____
David Watkins _____
Maggie Williams _____

FOR YOUR:

Action ✓ _____
See me _____

Information _____

File / Nice Thank you

Congratulations Mark D. Gearan

*Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House*

JAN 25 1993

"We will make the White House a place of team work and free flow of ideas." President-elect Clinton.

136 Courtyards East
Windsor Ca. 95492
(707) 838-9841

January 21, 1993

The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mark D. Gearan:

Responsibility for the welfare of the nation, as outlined in the preamble of the Constitution of the United States of America, now becomes one of your life missions. My interest and responsibility for the last fourteen years has been to educate leaders in our society about the political philosophy and value of a national service program. With my little computer I hope to share with you and your team at the White House some of my thoughts and ideas about this subject. Knowing that you have taken the time and consideration to look over these few pages dealing with my current and past efforts to make national service and service-learning a cultural reality in this great nation, would do my spirit good.

Enclosed you will find two letters of reply from the Clinton team (one from Leon Panetta and the second from Dee Dee Myers), two letters from me to the Clinton team (one on service-learning), two pages outlining the comprehensive political philosophy of the National and Community Service Act of 1990, and two 1980 articles on my vision of national service as an alternative to future wars in the Persian Gulf. For most Americans national service is really only local service; making their community a better place to live. The function of a well designed National Service Institution is to act as a catalyst to channel these decentralized local services into meaningful, well designed, beneficial projects, without the stagnation of many complex regulations and an indifferent bureaucracy.

I believe the people are willing to participate in such an endeavor if only the leadership articulates a clear vision of the financial cost, social benefits, and political difficulties of such an undertaking. These issues (cost, benefits, difficulties) deal with identifying the best catalyst (program) that motivates the next generation and this current generation to focus on real productive action. What political actions must be established to help move people from apathy to enthusiastic participation in their communities?

A computer-telephone system that allows for a decentralized national/community service institution to identify and plan long term complex projects is worthy of consideration, analysis, and development. It would facilitate a larger amount of the valuable input available from the many local diverse groups, as an alternative to the numerous bureaucratic meetings and forums. This allows for each concerned individual and group 24 hour access to electronically stored documents outlining policy, projects, time lines, and the means to offer recommendations for change and modification. The computer industry's development of user friendly, advance management network software is critical if we are to more effectively improve the coordination of these local WPA & CCC programs. Such developments could serve in the identification of meaningful work projects, training programs, and a rapid identification of sloppy, slipshod, criminal activities.

To rebuild a nation we need the collaboration of special interest groups, (not an easy task), which requires much continued effort to bring them into agreement over meaningful action rather than divisive disagreement. A computer communication information system, would help this cause and has the potential of developing a new evolution and efficiency in community social organizations. I am sure even the White House will have great need for such a computer system if it hopes to achieve meaningful action and allowing for, "a place of team work and free flow of ideas".

To A Better Future - Sincerely yours, - Peter P. Jesella -

LEON E. PANETTA
16TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

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AGRICULTURE

CHAIRMAN:
SUBCOMMITTEE ON DOMESTIC
MARKETING, CONSUMER RELATIONS,
AND NUTRITION

HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

CHAIRMAN:
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL AND POLICE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER

CHAIRMAN:
TASK FORCE ON DOMESTIC HUNGER

DEPUTY MAJORITY WHIP

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

December 16, 1992

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
339 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-2861

DISTRICT OFFICES:
380 ALVARADO STREET
MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA 93940
(408) 649-3555

HOLLISTER, CALIFORNIA
(408) 637-0500

MORRO BAY, CALIFORNIA
(805) 772-9035

SALINAS, CALIFORNIA
(408) 424-2229

SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA
(408) 429-1976

Mr. Peter Jesella
136 Courtyard East
Windsor, California 95452

Dear Mr. Jesella:

Thank you for contacting my office to discuss your thoughts about national service. I appreciate having the benefit of your views.

As you know, I have been involved in youth service efforts since my tenure in Congress began. I introduced a bill in the last session of Congress, the American Conservation and Youth Service Corps Act, which was ultimately adopted as part of comprehensive national service legislation passed by the Congress and signed into law by the President in November of 1990.

I am genuinely excited about the many provisions in the new law that encourage our youth to help our communities in these times of limited resources. Grant funding for the programs were finally announced this past June. California received an initial grant of \$3.2 million. Many fine projects will have the opportunity to be funded. Although the legislation is now law, you can rest assured that I will continue to remain involved in youth service issues. I firmly believe that support of these programs must continue as well as the funding to sustain them.

Once again, thank you for getting in touch with my office. Please do not hesitate to let me know when I can be of assistance to you on any matter in the future.

Sincerely,

LEON E. PANETTA
Member of Congress

LEP/cc

Peter P. Jesella / Clinical Philosopher

136 Courtyards East

Windsor, CA 95492

(707) 838-9841

November 18, 1992

First Lady (elect) Hillary Clinton
C/O Ms. Mary Schumeman
105 West Capital - Suite #400
Little Rock, AK 72201

People <=> Information / Problems <=> Solutions

Small pieces (solutions) of a very large puzzle (A Better Future)

Dear Ms. Schumeman:

Thank you for your time on the telephone, and allowing me to briefly explain this growing education method called Service<=>Learning.

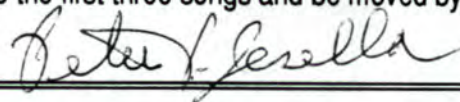
Enclosed is a variety of information mainly related to my efforts the last fourteen years in encouraging the debate, development, and implementation of a National Youth Service Program. I hope all this material is not too over whelming, it is always a major problem for me to know which document is the key to a particular persons interest, background of knowledge. **The most important point, policy, philosophy, I would like to bring to your attention and hopefully the First Lady (elect) is the growing education method called Service<=>Learning. Attached to this letter is a report called Principles of Good Practice For Combining Service and Learning which was the result of 70 organizations interested in service and learning. This is designed for students and teachers from K-12, also attached is a brochure from the National Youth Leadership Council (612) 631-3672 the one organization I am most knowledgeable about.**

Service-learning is taking our civic lessons in a real sense by allowing students to invest some time in a well planned out project, that leads to productive benefits to the community and a learning experience for the student. It helps integrate children into the struggles of a living community with all its good and bad, and allows them to understand the complexities of even simple projects when dealing with the concerns of hundreds or thousands of people. As adults these students will do more than just vote, they will see themselves as participants in keeping their community moving in the direction of improvement rather than chaos and degradation. **It is important to understand the difference between students performing community service and service-learning. "What most people miss is that service-learning is the *blending of both* service and learning goals in such a way that both occur and are enriched by each other. ... Most prominently, programs that emphasize learning always include a strong reflective component where students utilize higher order thinking skills to make sense of and extend the formal learning from the service experience."**

Background information: This idea of a national service program first occurred to me in Oct. 1973 while serving in the U.S. Air Force experiencing the effects of the Yon Kipper War and the energy crisis that followed. At that time I thought we need a Energy Conservation Corp, having youth across the nation invest in their future by helping to making this great country energy independent. In 1979 a local Congressman introduced a bill called The National Service Act. This legislation gave me a foundation for debate on my proposal for a National/local Youth Energy Conservation Corp. Since 1979 I have attempted with my limited resources to keep informed about the debate, legislation, and growth in this concept of participatory democracy usually called National Service. In the fall of 1990 The Commission on National and Community Service was signed into law for a three year test period. This year 1992 was the first allocation of planning and funding to expand and increase a variety of youth service programs across this varied nation. This commission well expire in fiscal year 1994 unless renewed by Congress. Please look closely at the mission statement of this commission, yes to participatory democracy.

Enclosed is my earlier letter/documents, a letter/documents to Ross Perot and seven key members of his staff, and a proposal to expand the mission of university, college, and public libraries into electronic think tanks to identify quality information. Robert Reich in his book Wealth of Nations talks about the potential value, skills and capacities of citizens, this evolutionary advancement in libraries would have a significant contribution, many hurdles to develop though. Last is the compact disk by Toni Childs, what I call New Age Blues, beautiful voice, listen to the first three songs and be moved by her.

To A Better Future - Sincerely yours, - Peter P. Jesella - Clinical Philosopher





November 17, 1992

Mr. Peter P. Jesella
136 Courtyards East
Windsor, CA 95492

Dear Mr. Jesella:

Thank you for the information package on the Commission on National and Community Service. I have forwarded your package to the issues staff on President-elect Clinton's transition team.

Sincerely yours,

Dee Dee Myers
Press Secretary

DDM/bcz

ECOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTS

136 Courtyards East
Windsor, CA 95492
(707) 838-9841

Dave Katz, California Representative
Bill Clinton For President Committee
P.O. Box 615
Little Rock, Arkansas 72203

January 18, 1992

Dear Mr. Katz:

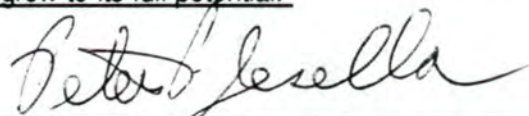
Hi! I spoke to you a few minutes ago, about my interest in the community development of a National Service Program and the enclosed newspaper series by the Philadelphia Inquirer, titled: "America: What Went Wrong?". I have also enclosed a four page outline on legislation that President Bush signed into law, November 16, 1990, called The National and Community Service Act of 1990 and a four page letter to the first public meeting of the Commissions's Board of Directors, two newspaper articles about my political activism.

I am also sending a copy of this material to the issues committee, but as Pat Doroson suggested I am sending you a copy, **I feel safer when I increase the odds that the appropriate person can apply sufficient time to review this material and grasp the potential significance of this information.**

A quick scan through the pages of this reprint gives you an understanding the power of this material its graphics give fast exposure to consequences of these government/business economic actions, reading the text you get a balance of facts, examples, and the repercussions on the middle class. The Philadelphia Inquirer has stopped reprinting the enclosed series, but in March 1992 it will be available as an expanded paperback book. "To obtain information about bulk discount rates, you may call Andrews and McMeel's toll-free number, 800-826-4216, and ask for the Order Department. Or you may write to America: What Went Wrong, Andrews and McNeal, 4900 Main Street, Kansas City, Missouri 64112." They explained to me that the price in the stores will be \$6.95, but they did quote me another price of \$3.89 which I believe is the bulk order price of ten or more, probably not for profit resale. This series of articles provides powerful information about the different dynamics that occurred in the 1980's, creating today's conditions and for the distant future. I would be surprised if Governor Clinton has not seen this series before. What consideration has been given if any, that in Governor Clinton's campaign to educate the public, the voters, about his "New Covenant for Economic Change", that he encourage and have available to the public to read this series and discover, learn, and understand some of the circumstances that have created today's economic environment.

The enclosed outline of current law/commission on national and community service I believe goes beyond the vision Governor Clinton has raised. It has only been funded at very low levels, 75 million for 1992, and only for the next two years. National attention about this program has been lacking, and so Congress may not fund it beyond 1993. When Congress voted this into law only 10% of the Republicans supported it, and the White House staff indicated no support for it. This legislation did contain additional funding for a Points of Light Foundation, for this reason (I believe) and cutting the funding in half, President Bush signed it into law. Very few people are aware this program is slowly growing and unless some attention is given, only the election of Bill Clinton to the White House will see this led to, "A New Covenant for Economic Change". I believe very strongly that the issues committee and Governor Clinton need to be educated about the goals and objectives this National and Community Service Act, and then hopefully Governor Clinton can say to the press, the public, and nation, that National Service Vision has already arrived in law, it only needs to be given a head start and allow to grow to its full potential.

To A Better Future - Sincerely Yours - Peter P. Jesella



COMMISSION ON NATIONAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

National and Community Service Act of 1990

Summary

PAUL N. MCCLOSKEY, JR.

Chairperson

SHIRLEY SACHI SAGAWA
REATHA CLARK KING
ALAN KHAZEI

Vice-Chairpersons

The National and Community Service Act of 1990 provides funding for four major programs, and five smaller programs. In addition, the Commission on National and Community Service established to administer the programs may provide training and technical assistance to expand opportunities for Americans to serve their communities, and may fund up to four regional clearinghouses on service.

The purposes of the Act include the following:

1. To renew the ethic of civic responsibility in the United States;
2. To encourage citizens, regardless of age, income or ability, to engage in full-time or part-time service;
3. To involve youth in programs that will benefit the nation and improve their own lives;
4. To enable young adults to make a sustained commitment to service by removing barriers created by high education costs, loan indebtedness and the cost of housing;
5. To build on the network of existing federal, state, and local programs and agencies;
6. To involve participants in activities that would not otherwise be performed by paid workers;
7. To generate additional volunteer service hours to help meet human, educational, environmental and public safety needs, particularly those relating to poverty;
8. To encourage institutions to volunteer their resources and energies and encourage service among their members, employees, and affiliates;
9. To identify successful and promising community service initiatives and disseminate information about them; and
10. To discover and encourage new leaders.

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Executive Director

The four major programs are:

1. **Serve-America:** funds school- and community-based programs to involve school-age youth in service projects.
2. **Higher Education innovative projects for community service:** funds service programs and teacher training in service-learning sponsored by higher education institutions or public agencies working with higher education institutions.
3. **American conservation corps and youth service corps programs:** funds full-time and summer youth service and conservation corps programs for teenagers and young adults.
4. **Full- and part-time national and community programs:** funds state-sponsored full- and part-time and special senior service programs for individuals age 17 and up.

Commission on National And Community Service
Post Office Box 33119, Washington, D.C. 20033-0119
(202) 724-0600 or FAX (202) 724-0608

20033-011

In addition to these four programs, the Commission is required to fund at least three of the following programs:

1. **Governors' innovative service programs:** provides funding to States for non-stipended service programs.
2. **Peace Corps/VISTA training program:** provides funds for Peace Corps or ACTION to establish ROTC-like training program on college campuses for up to 50 Peace Corps or VISTA volunteers.
3. **Rural youth service demonstration project:** authorizes Commission to establish demonstration projects for youth in rural areas.
4. **Head Start/Foster Grandparent programs:** authorizes the Commission to make grants to Foster Grandparent program grantees for senior citizens to serve in Head Start programs.
5. **Employer-based retiree volunteer programs:** authorizes the Commission to make grants to public and private nonprofit organizations to bring together retirees, their former employers, and community agencies to develop employer-based retiree volunteer programs.

States are eligible to receive funds under any or all of the four major programs; eligibility of local applicants -- local governments, schools, colleges, and non-profit organizations -- varies by program. In order to receive funds, states are encouraged to establish a State Advisory Board composed of representatives of state agencies and a variety of local and community-based organizations, labor, business, educators, parents, and volunteer organizations. In order to receive funds, states submit, under a single cover, applications for one or more of the grant programs. In general, the applications may be completed out by any public or private entity within the state, but must be submitted by the Chief Executive Officer of the state. Indian Tribes are treated as if they are states.

Each applicant must submit a comprehensive service plan that includes a description of efforts to achieve the purposes of the Act. In addition, each individual program application must contain a program description and budget, and assurances that the applicant will comply with the Act (including the Act's nondiscrimination provisions and requirement that participants not be used to displace paid employees), will use federal funds to supplement, not supplant, non-federal funds, and will consult with local labor organizations before placing participants in service opportunities.

Other common program requirements include an age-appropriate learning component for participants to reflect on their service experiences; an evaluation plan; training and supervision of participants; recruitment of economically and educationally disadvantaged individuals, including those with disabilities; and involvement of participants in meaningful service to their communities. Types of permissible service in each of the four programs are defined broadly: in general, any educational, human, environmental, or public safety service project is acceptable.

Local

Courtesy of Ecological Environments

136 Courtyards East

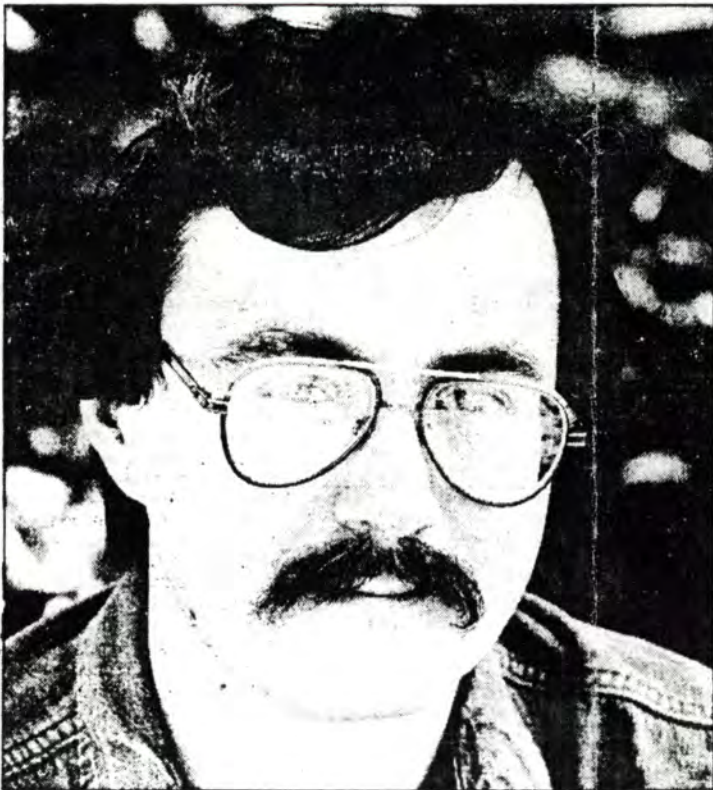
Windsor, CA 95492 Obituaries • Vitals • Editorial • Comment

(707) 838-9841

Think, Reflect, and Act.

2 goals: Youth Corps and solar power

SJS student is selling an ideal



By George Lajeunesse
Staff Writer

He has spent more than \$3,000 in stamps, envelopes and reproduction costs and the tires on his car are nearly bald from constant travel between San Jose, San Francisco and Sacramento.

He's familiar to almost every political editor and reporter who has been dogging the campaign footsteps of presidential hopefuls who visited this area during the recent primaries — patiently passing out printed literature and buttonholing any candidate, or candidates' minions, who would pause, even momentarily, to lend an ear.

He spends every moment he can spare away from his college classroom work and part-time job as a hospital laboratory technician in "selling" his idea.

It is based on the creation of a "Youth Service Corps" to replace a military draft and to hasten the day the United States can declare its independence from foreign oil by solving its energy crisis with solar power.

Peter P. Jesella, a clinical philosophy student at San Jose State University and a young man of 28 years, is an idealist who has a serious regard for the right of citizens "to petition the government for a redress of grievances." He believes, in

short, in the right to be heard and he is determined to be heard. He holds a profound belief that if things don't change drastically — and soon — the country is going to go down the tubes, energywise.

But, not many people out there are listening, Jesella reluctantly admits, especially on the floor of Congress where he has sent his message to each representative in that august body. He's had about a 5 percent reply, a response he feels is quite disappointing.

Jesella's plan for a peacetime youth corps to install solar technology in new or existing homes to make them self-sufficient in energy, was first formed when, as a student in an SJS political science course, he served an internship in the office of Rep. Pete McCloskey, R-Menlo Park.

A few years later, after reading McCloskey's proposed National Service Act which would give 18- to 26-year-olds a choice of military service or two years of volunteer civilian service, Jesella saw it as the ideal vehicle for implementing his solar energy plan.

Jesella sent McCloskey copies of some 30 replies he had received of his proposal that had also gone out to 300 industries, 50 newspapers, 80 lobbying agencies and 45 federal departments in Washington, D.C.

"There has been 'dead silence' from him and I'm not sure what his feelings are about my idea," Jesella admitted, indicating McCloskey's expertise and interests lie more in the military field than the civilian aspects of his proposed act and Jesella's plan.

Jesella's files contain a number of polite, but non-committal replies to his letters, include one from Edward Teller of Stanford's Hoover Institution who encouraged him to discuss his proposal with his aide.

Another reply came from Rep. Norman Mineta, D-San Jose, who told Jesella he favored an energy self-sufficiency plan but rejected singling out young people for mandatory community service. Mineta, according to Jesella, felt it would be unfair and exploitive to require young people to provide inexpensive labor.

Jesella first became aware of the nation's energy ailments in 1973 when serving in a "sort of conscientious objector" role as a medical technician in the Air Force.

He was stationed at Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio, at the height of the Yom Kippur War between Israel and

Continued on Page 4B

Spartan Daily

Courtesy of Ecological Environments
136 Courtyards East
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(707) 838-9841

To A Better Future!

Volume 74, Number 63

Serving San Jose State University since 1934

Wednesday, May 7, 1980

Student's alternative to war

Energy corps proposed

by Ron Regalia

An SJSU clinical philosophy senior who believes energy conservation is an alternative to world war is proposing a government-funded "Youth Service Corps" to "quicken United States conversion to solar power."

"The Persian Gulf conflict and dependence on foreign oil will lead to a 'crisis period in energy' in this country by 1983-85," according to Peter Jesella.

Unless the United States commits itself to achieving energy sufficiency, it may "have to go to war to defend oil interests in the gulf," he said.

The nationwide youth corps would install the solar technology already being developed in this country, he said. This should "reduce oil imports and alleviate some of the pressure in the Persian Gulf area," he added.

The corps would build or convert existing homes into "self-sufficient units." These homes, run by solar

power, would be completely self-contained with respect to energy.

About 10 million low-income homes need insulation or other energy conservation work, Sen. Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin said, according to a November article in the San Jose Mercury News.

At the rate the Department of Energy is proceeding, "it would take to (the year) 2,010 or 2,020 before it got done," he added.

Current federal programs only aid 50,000 of these homes, Jesella said. The Youth Corps could make the self-sufficient home a reality for people who cannot afford to do the work themselves, he added.

Jesella said the Youth Service could accomplish this task in two to three years.

Jesella hopes to implement his plan through the plan proposed by Congressman Paul (Pete) McCloskey, R-Menlo Park, whose National Service Act is now being debated in Congress.

McCloskey's bill would require

military registration of 18- to 26-year-olds.

Registrees could choose between two years of service with four years of college benefits, six months active service with five years in the reserve, two years of volunteer civilian service and the draft.

Jesella's Youth Service Corps would be included in the civilian service option.

According to a poll McCloskey is conducting in high schools in his district, 40 percent would opt for the college benefit program and 37 percent for civilian service if the bill passed.

"Most people who look at McCloskey's bill see the draft," Jesella said. "I want to downplay the military aspect and push for youth involvement in the community."

Jesella estimated the cost of his program at \$2.5 to \$3 billion. In the first one to two years of im-

plementation, the government would probably lose money, he added.

The service, though, would prove efficient in the long run, he said. If McCloskey's bill is implemented, defense money now spent on recruitment and advertising would be redirected into the National Youth Service, he added.

"These projections are purely speculation on my part now," Jesella said. "I don't have the financial resources to prove them."

In the past year, Jesella has corresponded, largely through the mail, with numerous government and business officials across the country.

He has sent copies of his proposal to 50 newspapers, 80 lobbying agencies and 45 federal departments in Washington, D.C., and more than 300 industries. Jesella has also contacted every United States congressman.

Response has been "hesitant in the sense that a lot of people agree with my ideas but are not willing to commit themselves to publicly push them," Jesella said.

James Kane of the U.S. Department of Energy, and Congressman Norman Mineta, D-San Jose, in responses to Jesella, both favored an energy self-sufficiency plan but rejected the singling out of young people for mandatory community service.

"Requiring young people to provide inexpensive labor is unfair and exploitive," Mineta said.

-continued on page 3

Vista and Peace Corps

Campus recruits sought

by Ellen Goodwin

Students interested in everything from agriculture to economics can find a place in the Peace Corps or VISTA, according to representatives of these groups now on campus.

Persons interested in working with the Peace Corps, which operates in 58 countries throughout South America, Central America, Africa, Asia and the South Pacific, or VISTA, which has volunteers in rural and urban communities throughout the United States, can obtain further information at a table in front of the Student Union today and tomorrow.

Volunteers must be at least 18 years old and in good health for both programs. During their period of

work, which is one year for VISTA and two years for the Peace Corps, volunteers are paid a subsistence allowance.

"Having lived without a lot of things, I think I could do without a lot of things now," said SJSU senior and campus Peace Corps representative Wendy Ressum. Ressum spent three years working as a teacher on the South Pacific island of Tonga with the Peace Corps.

"I got a better view of the outside world," Ressum said.

Both the Peace Corps and VISTA "try to help people supply basic human needs and make them self-sufficient," Ressum said. "Both work to improve a community."

In the United States, VISTA

volunteers try to organize communities, according to Maggie Dowd, who works with VISTA in San Francisco. Dowd worked with migrant farmers in Oregon for one year and battered women in Alaska during a second year.

According to Ressum, a college degree is not absolutely required for volunteers.

Experience, skills, or a willingness to be trained in a needed field, can also be useful to volunteers, Ressum said.

Students from both technical and non-technical fields can volunteer, Ressum said.

VISTA and Peace Corps, both funded by the U.S. government, only send volunteers to countries where they have been requested, Ressum said.

Conservation plan praised

-continued from page 1

Letters from the assistant to President Carter and other White House sources praised Jesella's concerns with energy conservation and solar power, but neglected to discuss the specific Youth Corps proposal.

James Walter, of Shell Oil Co., said the proposal was worth discussion. Phillips Petroleum declined to publicly support the "innovative" plan.

Congressman Lionel Van Deerlin, D-San Diego, said he appreciated Jesella's support of McCloskey's National Service Act. "The Youth Corps could do more in the energy conservation area than in any other sector," he added.

Jesella's current aim is to generate a "public awareness" of his Youth Service Corps idea. He admitted that no simple solutions to the energy problem exist, and he may be "mistaken" in some aspects.

"This energy problem could be talked about until the trash man collected it," Jesella said. McCloskey's bill is a way to put some of these ideas into action, he added.

A nuclear power plant is only good for 25 years, he said. The problems of plant accidents and disposal of radioactive wastes are a definite threat to human life, he added.

One factor in favor of the Youth Corps is the Carter Administration's "commitment to solar energy," Jesella said.

Jesella was drafted in July 1972 and elected to enter the Air Force. At the time, Jesella had "no inclination to go into the military at all."

EASY.

446: Continued from other side

2 goals: Youth Corps and solar power

Continued from San Jose News, Wednesday, July 9, 1980, p. 4B
other side

Egypt and witnessed mass movements of military supplies to the Middle East.

Too, the air base was a Strategic Air Command field and 11-52 bombers, with engines revving up at all hours of the day and night, consumed mas-

sive amounts of aviation fuel while on red alert standbys. Fears of a Soviet move into Egypt kept the air base on a constant state of readiness.

"America needs its own Marshall Plan and the youth of America have a chance to make their future, or watch it become a pile of radioactive

"Energy is one of the prime reasons we will get involved in a war," a war the young SJS student believes can be avoided by a Youth Service Corps devoted to conservation of energy through full utilization of solar power.

Speak Out! To Your Friends,
Press, Government.

Peter P. Jesella
136 Courtyards East
Windsor, CA 95492
(707) 838-9841

Mark D. Gearan
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500



Congratulations Eli J. Segal
Director, Office of National Service
The White House

"We will make the White House a place of team work and free flow of ideas." President-elect Clinton.

136 Courtyards East
Windsor Ca. 95492
(707) 838-9841

January 21, 1993

The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Eli J. Segal:

Responsibility for the welfare of the nation, as outlined in the preamble of the Constitution of the United States of America, now becomes one of your life missions. My interest and responsibility for the last fourteen years has been to educate leaders in our society about the political philosophy and value of a national service program. With my little computer I hope to share with you and your team at the White House some of my thoughts and ideas about this subject. Knowing that you have taken the time and consideration to look over these few pages dealing with my current and past efforts to make national service and service-learning a cultural reality in this great nation, would do my spirit good.

Enclosed you will find two letters of reply from the Clinton team (one from Leon Panetta and the second from Dee Dee Myers), two letters from me to the Clinton team (one on service-learning), two pages outlining the comprehensive political philosophy of the National and Community Service Act of 1990, and two 1980 articles on my vision of national service as an alternative to future wars in the Persian Gulf. For most Americans national service is really only local service; making their community a better place to live. The function of a well designed National Service Institution is to act as a catalyst to channel these decentralized local services into meaningful, well designed, beneficial projects, without the stagnation of many complex regulations and an indifferent bureaucracy.

I believe the people are willing to participate in such an endeavor if only the leadership articulates a clear vision of the financial cost, social benefits, and political difficulties of such an undertaking. These issues (cost, benefits, difficulties) deal with identifying the best catalyst (program) that motivates the next generation and this current generation to focus on real productive action. What political actions must be established to help move people from apathy to enthusiastic participation in their communities?

A computer-telephone system that allows for a decentralized national/community service institution to identify and plan long term complex projects is worthy of consideration, analysis, and development. It would facilitate a larger amount of the valuable input available from the many local diverse groups, as an alternative to the numerous bureaucratic meetings and forums. This allows for each concerned individual and group 24 hour access to electronically stored documents outlining policy, projects, time lines, and the means to offer recommendations for change and modification. The computer industry's development of user friendly, advance management network software is critical if we are to more effectively improve the coordination of these local WPA & CCC programs. Such developments could serve in the identification of meaningful work projects, training programs, and a rapid identification of sloppy, slipshod, criminal activities.

To rebuild a nation we need the collaboration of special interest groups, (not an easy task), which requires much continued effort to bring them into agreement over meaningful action rather than divisive disagreement. **A computer communication information system, would help this cause and has the potential of developing a new evolution and efficiency in community social organizations.** I am sure even the White House will have great need for such a computer system if it hopes to achieve meaningful action and allowing for, "a place of team work and free flow of ideas".

To A Better Future - Sincerely yours, - Peter P. Jesella -

LEON E. PANETTA
16TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

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AGRICULTURE

CHAIRMAN:
SUBCOMMITTEE ON DOMESTIC
MARKETING, CONSUMER RELATIONS,
AND NUTRITION

HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

CHAIRMAN:
SUBCOMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL AND POLICE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER

CHAIRMAN:
TASK FORCE ON DOMESTIC HUNGER

DEPUTY MAJORITY WHIP

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

December 16, 1992

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(408) 649-3555

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(408) 637-0500

MORRO BAY, CALIFORNIA
(805) 772-9035

SALINAS, CALIFORNIA
(408) 424-2229

SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA
(408) 429-1976

Mr. Peter Jesella
136 Courtyard East
Windsor, California 95452

Dear Mr. Jesella:

Thank you for contacting my office to discuss your thoughts about national service. I appreciate having the benefit of your views.

As you know, I have been involved in youth service efforts since my tenure in Congress began. I introduced a bill in the last session of Congress, the American Conservation and Youth Service Corps Act, which was ultimately adopted as part of comprehensive national service legislation passed by the Congress and signed into law by the President in November of 1990.

I am genuinely excited about the many provisions in the new law that encourage our youth to help our communities in these times of limited resources. Grant funding for the programs were finally announced this past June. California received an initial grant of \$3.2 million. Many fine projects will have the opportunity to be funded. Although the legislation is now law, you can rest assured that I will continue to remain involved in youth service issues. I firmly believe that support of these programs must continue as well as the funding to sustain them.

Once again, thank you for getting in touch with my office. Please do not hesitate to let me know when I can be of assistance to you on any matter in the future.

Sincerely,

LEON E. PANETTA
Member of Congress

LEP/cc

Peter P. Jesella / Clinical Philosopher

136 Courtyards East

Windsor, CA 95492

(707) 838-9841

November 18, 1992

First Lady (elect) Hillary Clinton
C/O Ms. Mary Schumeman
105 West Capital - Suite #400
Little Rock, AK 72201

People <=> Information / Problems <=> Solutions

Small pieces (solutions) of a very large puzzle (A Better Future)

Dear Ms. Schumeman:

Thank you for your time on the telephone, and allowing me to briefly explain this growing education method called Service<=>Learning.

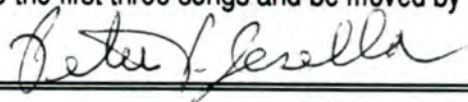
Enclosed is a variety of information mainly related to my efforts the last fourteen years in encouraging the debate, development, and implementation of a National Youth Service Program. I hope all this material is not to over whelming, it is always a major problem for me to know which document is the key to a particular persons interest, background of knowledge. **The most important point, policy, philosophy, I would like to bring to your attention and hopefully the First Lady (elect) is the growing education method called Service<=>Learning. Attached to this letter is a report called Principles of Good Practice For Combining Service and Learning which was the result of 70 organizations interested in service and learning. This is designed for students and teachers from K-12, also attached is a brochure from the National Youth Leadership Council (612) 631-3672 the one organization I am most knowledgeable about.**

Service-learning is taking our civic lessons in a real sense by allowing students to invest some time in a well planned out project, that leads to productive benefits to the community and a learning experience for the student. It helps integrate children into the struggles of a living community with all its good and bad, and allows them to understand the complexities of even simple projects when dealing with the concerns of hundreds or thousands of people. As adults these students will do more than just vote, they will see themselves as participants in keeping their community moving in the direction of improvement rather than chaos and degradation. **It is important to understand the difference between students performing community service and service-learning. "What most people miss is that service-learning is the *blending of both* service and learning goals in such a way that both occur and are enriched by each other. ... Most prominently, programs that emphasize learning always include a strong reflective component where students utilize higher order thinking skills to make sense of and extend the formal learning from the service experience."**

Background information: This idea of a national service program first occurred to me in Oct. 1973 while serving in the U.S. Air Force experiencing the effects of the Yon Kipper War and the energy crisis that followed. At that time I thought we need a Energy Conservation Corp, having youth across the nation invest in their future by helping to making this great country energy independent. In 1979 a local Congressman introduced a bill called The National Service Act. This legislation gave me a foundation for debate on my proposal for a National/local Youth Energy Conservation Corp. Since 1979 I have attempted with my limited resources to keep informed about the debate, legislation, and growth in this concept of participatory democracy usually called National Service. In the fall of 1990 The Commission on National and Community Service was signed into law for a three year test period. This year 1992 was the first allocation of planning and funding to expand and increase a variety of youth service programs across this varied nation. This commission well expire in fiscal year 1994 unless renewed by Congress. Please look closely at the mission statement of this commission, yes to participatory democracy.

Enclosed is my earlier letter/documents, a letter/documents to Ross Perot and seven key members of his staff, and a proposal to expand the mission of university, college, and public libraries into electronic think tanks to identify quality information. Robert Reich in his book Wealth of Nations talks about the potential value, skills and capacities of citizens, this evolutionary advancement in libraries would have a significant contribution, many hurdles to develop though. Last is the compact disk by Toni Childs, what I call New Age Blues, beautiful voice, listen to the first three songs and be moved by her.

To A Better Future - Sincerely yours, - Peter P. Jesella - Clinical Philosopher





November 17, 1992

Mr. Peter P. Jesella
136 Courtyards East
Windsor, CA 95492

Dear Mr. Jesella:

Thank you for the information package on the Commission on National and Community Service. I have forwarded your package to the issues staff on President-elect Clinton's transition team.

Sincerely yours,

Dee Dee Myers
Press Secretary

DDM/bcz

ECOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTS

136 Courtyards East
Windsor, CA 95492
(707) 838-9841

Dave Katz, California Representative
Bill Clinton For President Committee
P.O. Box 615
Little Rock, Arkansas 72203

January 18, 1992

Dear Mr. Katz:

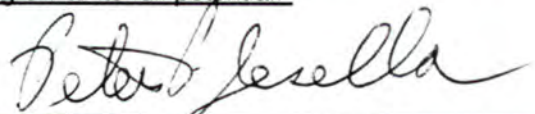
Hi! I spoke to you a few minutes ago, about my interest in the community development of a National Service Program and the enclosed newspaper series by the Philadelphia Inquirer, titled: "America: What Went Wrong?". I have also enclosed a four page outline on legislation that President Bush signed into law, November 16, 1990, called The National and Community Service Act of 1990 and a four page letter to the first public meeting of the Commissions's Board of Directors, two newspaper articles about my political activism.

I am also sending a copy of this material to the issues committee, but as Pat Doroson suggested I am sending you a copy, **I feel safer when I increase the odds that the appropriate person can apply sufficient time to review this material and grasp the potential significance of this information.**

A quick scan through the pages of this reprint gives you an understanding the power of this material its graphics give fast exposure to consequences of these government/business economic actions, reading the text you get a balance of facts, examples, and the repercussions on the middle class. The Philadelphia Inquirer has stopped reprinting the enclosed series, but in March 1992 it will be available as an expanded paperback book. "To obtain information about bulk discount rates, you may call Andrews and McMeel's toll-free number, 800-826-4216, and ask for the Order Department. Or you may write to America: What Went Wrong, Andrews and McNeal, 4900 Main Street, Kansas City, Missouri 64112." They explained to me that the price in the stores will be \$6.95, but they did quote me another price of \$3.89 which I believe is the bulk order price of ten or more, probably not for profit resale. This series of articles provides powerful information about the different dynamics that occurred in the 1980's, creating today's conditions and for the distant future. I would be surprised if Governor Clinton has not seen this series before. What consideration has been given if any, that in Governor Clinton's campaign to educate the public, the voters, about his "New Covenant for Economic Change", that he encourage and have available to the public to read this series and discover, learn, and understand some of the circumstances that have created today's economic environment.

The enclosed outline of current law/commission on national and community service I believe goes beyond the vision Governor Clinton has raised. It has only been funded at very low levels, 75 million for 1992, and only for the next two years. National attention about this program has been lacking, and so Congress may not fund it beyond 1993. When Congress voted this into law only 10% of the Republicans supported it, and the White House staff indicated no support for it. This legislation did contain additional funding for a Points of Light Foundation, for this reason (I believe) and cutting the funding in half, President Bush signed it into law. Very few people are aware this program is slowly growing and unless some attention is given, only the election of Bill Clinton to the White House will see this led to, "A New Covenant for Economic Change". I believe very strongly that the issues committee and Governor Clinton need to be educated about the goals and objectives this National and Community Service Act, and then hopefully Governor Clinton can say to the press, the public, and nation, that National Service Vision has already arrived in law, it only needs to be given a head start and allow to grow to its full potential.

To A Better Future - Sincerely Yours - Peter P. Jesella



COMMISSION ON NATIONAL AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

National and Community Service Act of 1990

Summary

PAUL N. MCCLOSKEY, JR.

Chairperson

SHIRLEY SACHI SAGAWA
REATHA CLARK KING
ALAN KHAZEI

Vice-Chairpersons

The National and Community Service Act of 1990 provides funding for four major programs, and five smaller programs. In addition, the Commission on National and Community Service established to administer the programs may provide training and technical assistance to expand opportunities for Americans to serve their communities, and may fund up to four regional clearinghouses on service.

The purposes of the Act include the following:

1. To renew the ethic of civic responsibility in the United States;
2. To encourage citizens, regardless of age, income or ability, to engage in full-time or part-time service;
3. To involve youth in programs that will benefit the nation and improve their own lives;
4. To enable young adults to make a sustained commitment to service by removing barriers created by high education costs, loan indebtedness and the cost of housing;
5. To build on the network of existing federal, state, and local programs and agencies;
6. To involve participants in activities that would not otherwise be performed by paid workers;
7. To generate additional volunteer service hours to help meet human, educational, environmental and public safety needs, particularly those relating to poverty;
8. To encourage institutions to volunteer their resources and energies and encourage service among their members, employees, and affiliates;
9. To identify successful and promising community service initiatives and disseminate information about them; and
10. To discover and encourage new leaders.

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The four major programs are:

1. **Serve-America:** funds school- and community-based programs to involve school-age youth in service projects.
2. **Higher Education innovative projects for community service:** funds service programs and teacher training in service-learning sponsored by higher education institutions or public agencies working with higher education institutions.
3. **American conservation corps and youth service corps programs:** funds full-time and summer youth service and conservation corps programs for teenagers and young adults.
4. **Full- and part-time national and community programs:** funds state-sponsored full- and part-time and special senior service programs for individuals age 17 and up.

Commission on National And Community Service
Post Office Box 33119, Washington, D.C. 20533-0119
(202) 724-0600 or FAX (202) 724-0608

20033-011

In addition to these four programs, the Commission is required to fund at least three of the following programs:

1. **Governors' innovative service programs:** provides funding to States for non-stipended service programs.
2. **Peace Corps/VISTA training program:** provides funds for Peace Corps or ACTION to establish ROTC-like training program on college campuses for up to 50 Peace Corps or VISTA volunteers.
3. **Rural youth service demonstration project:** authorizes Commission to establish demonstration projects for youth in rural areas.
4. **Head Start/Foster Grandparent programs:** authorizes the Commission to make grants to Foster Grandparent program grantees for senior citizens to serve in Head Start programs.
5. **Employer-based retiree volunteer programs:** authorizes the Commission to make grants to public and private nonprofit organizations to bring together retirees, their former employers, and community agencies to develop employer-based retiree volunteer programs.

States are eligible to receive funds under any or all of the four major programs; eligibility of local applicants -- local governments, schools, colleges, and non-profit organizations -- varies by program. In order to receive funds, states are encouraged to establish a State Advisory Board composed of representatives of state agencies and a variety of local and community-based organizations, labor, business, educators, parents, and volunteer organizations. In order to receive funds, states submit, under a single cover, applications for one or more of the grant programs. In general, the applications may be completed out by any public or private entity within the state, but must be submitted by the Chief Executive Officer of the state. Indian Tribes are treated as if they are states.

Each applicant must submit a comprehensive service plan that includes a description of efforts to achieve the purposes of the Act. In addition, each individual program application must contain a program description and budget, and assurances that the applicant will comply with the Act (including the Act's nondiscrimination provisions and requirement that participants not be used to displace paid employees), will use federal funds to supplement, not supplant, non-federal funds, and will consult with local labor organizations before placing participants in service opportunities.

Other common program requirements include an age-appropriate learning component for participants to reflect on their service experiences; an evaluation plan; training and supervision of participants; recruitment of economically and educationally disadvantaged individuals, including those with disabilities; and involvement of participants in meaningful service to their communities. Types of permissible service in each of the four programs are defined broadly: in general, any educational, human, environmental, or public safety service project is acceptable.

Local

Courtesy of Ecological Environments

136 Courtyards East

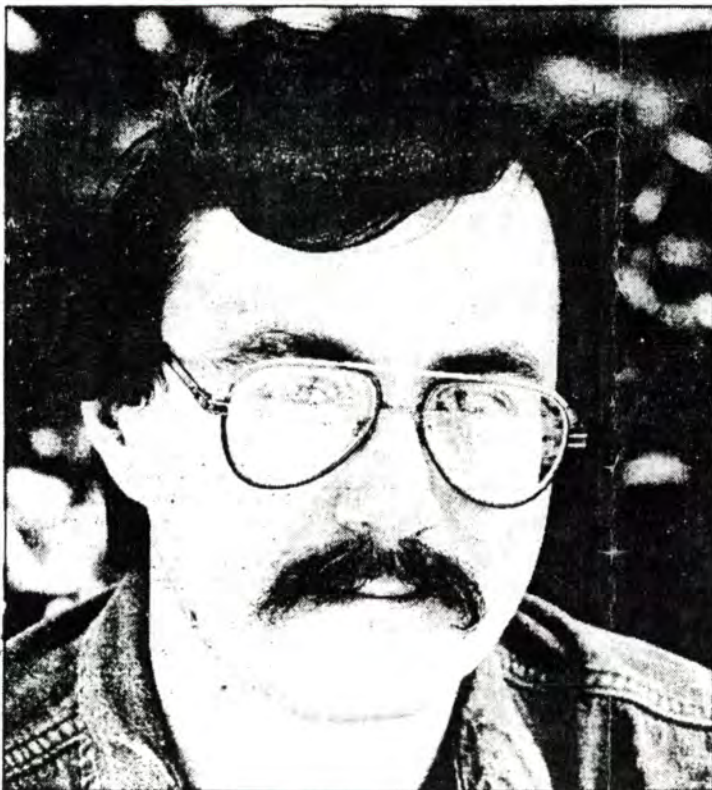
Windsor, CA 95492 Obituaries • Vitals • Editorial • Comment

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Think, Reflect, and Act.

2 goals: Youth Corps and solar power

SJS student is selling an ideal



By George Lajeunesse
Staff Writer

He has spent more than \$3,000 in stamps, envelopes and reproduction costs and the tires on his car are nearly bald from constant travel between San Jose, San Francisco and Sacramento.

He's familiar to almost every political editor and reporter who has been dogging the campaign footsteps of presidential hopefuls who visited this area during the recent primaries — patiently passing out printed literature and buttonholing any candidate, or candidates' minions, who would pause, even momentarily, to lend an ear.

He spends every moment he can spare away from his college classroom work and part-time job as a hospital laboratory technician in "selling" his idea.

It is based on the creation of a "Youth Service Corps" to replace a military draft and to hasten the day the United States can declare its independence from foreign oil by solving its energy crisis with solar power.

Peter P. Jesella, a clinical philosophy student at San Jose State University and a young man of 28 years, is an idealist who has a serious regard for the right of citizens "to petition the government for a redress of grievances." He believes, in

short, in the right to be heard and he is determined to be heard. He holds a profound belief that if things don't change drastically — and soon — the country is going to go down the tubes, energywise.

But, not many people out there are listening, Jesella reluctantly admits, especially on the floor of Congress where he has sent his message to each representative in that august body. He's had about a 5 percent reply, a response he feels is quite disappointing.

Jesella's plan for a peacetime youth corps to install solar technology in new or existing homes to make them self-sufficient in energy, was first formed when, as a student in an SJS political science course, he served an internship in the office of Rep. Pete McCloskey, R-Menlo Park.

A few years later, after reading McCloskey's proposed National Service Act which would give 18- to 26-year-olds a choice of military service or two years of volunteer civilian service, Jesella saw it as the ideal vehicle for implementing his solar energy plan.

Jesella sent McCloskey copies of some 30 replies he had received of his proposal that had also gone out to 300 industries, 50 newspapers, 80 lobbying agencies and 45 federal departments in Washington, D.C.

"There has been 'dead silence' from him and I'm not sure what his feelings are about my idea," Jesella admitted, indicating McCloskey's expertise and interests lie more in the military field than the civilian aspects of his proposed act and Jesella's plan.

Jesella's files contain a number of polite, but non-committal replies to his letters, include one from Edward Teller of Stanford's Hoover Institution who encouraged him to discuss his proposal with his aide.

Another reply came from Rep. Norman Mineta, D-San Jose, who told Jesella he favored an energy self-sufficiency plan but rejected singling out young people for mandatory community service. Mineta, according to Jesella, felt it would be unfair and exploitive to require young people to provide inexpensive labor.

Jesella first became aware of the nation's energy ailments in 1973 when serving in a "sort of conscientious objector" role as a medical technician in the Air Force.

He was stationed at Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio, at the height of the Yom Kippur War between Israel and

Continued on Page 4B

Spartan Daily

Courtesy of Ecological Environments
136 Courtyards East
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To A Better Future!

Volume 74, Number 63

Serving San Jose State University since 1934

Wednesday, May 7, 1980

Student's alternative to war

Energy corps proposed

by Ron Regalia

An SJSU clinical philosophy senior who believes energy conservation is an alternative to world war is proposing a government-funded "Youth Service Corps" to "quicken United States conversion to solar power."

"The Persian Gulf conflict and dependence on foreign oil will lead to a crisis period in energy in this country by 1983-85," according to Peter Jesella.

Unless the United States commits itself to achieving energy sufficiency, it may "have to go to war to defend oil interests in the gulf," he said.

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The corps would build or convert existing homes into "self-sufficient units." These homes, run by solar

power, would be completely self-contained with respect to energy.

About 10 million low-income homes need insulation or other energy conservation work, Sen. Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin said, according to a November article in the San Jose Mercury News.

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Current federal programs only aid 50,000 of these homes, Jesella said. The Youth Corps could make the self-sufficient home a reality for people who cannot afford to do the work themselves, he added.

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Jesella hopes to implement his plan through the plan proposed by Congressman Paul (Pete) McCloskey, R-Menlo Park, whose National Service Act is now being debated in Congress.

McCloskey's bill would require

military registration of 18- to 26-year-olds.

Registrees could choose between two years of service with four years of college benefits, six months active service with five years in the reserve, two years of volunteer civilian service and the draft.

Jesella's Youth Service Corps would be included in the civilian service option.

According to a poll McCloskey is conducting in high schools in his district, 40 percent would opt for the college benefit program and 37 percent for civilian service if the bill passed.

"Most people who look at McCloskey's bill see the draft," Jesella said. "I want to downplay the military aspect and push for youth involvement in the community."

Jesella estimated the cost of his program at \$2.5 to \$3 billion. In the first one to two years of im-

plementation, the government would probably lose money, he added.

The service, though, would prove efficient in the long run, he said. If McCloskey's bill is implemented, defense money now spent on recruitment and advertising would be redirected into the National Youth Service, he added.

"These projections are purely speculation on my part now," Jesella said. "I don't have the financial resources to prove them."

In the past year, Jesella has corresponded, largely through the mail, with numerous government and business officials across the country.

He has sent copies of his proposal to 50 newspapers, 80 lobbying agencies and 45 federal departments in Washington, D.C., and more than 300 industries. Jesella has also contacted every United States congressman.

Response has been "hesitant in the sense that a lot of people agree with my ideas but are not willing to commit themselves to publicly push them," Jesella said.

James Kane of the U.S. Department of Energy, and Congressman Norman Mineta, D-San Jose, in responses to Jesella, both favored an energy self-sufficiency plan but rejected the singling out of young people for mandatory community service.

"Requiring young people to provide inexpensive labor is unfair and exploitive," Mineta said.

-continued on page 3

Vista and Peace Corps

Campus recruits sought

by Ellen Goodwin

Students interested in everything from agriculture to economics can find a place in the Peace Corps or VISTA, according to representatives of these groups now on campus.

Persons interested in working with the Peace Corps, which operates in 58 countries throughout South America, Central America, Africa, Asia and the South Pacific, or VISTA, which has volunteers in rural and urban communities throughout the United States, can obtain further information at a table in front of the Student Union today and tomorrow.

Volunteers must be at least 18 years old and in good health for both programs. During their period of

work, which is one year for VISTA and two years for the Peace Corps, volunteers are paid a subsistence allowance.

"Having lived without a lot of things, I think I could do without a lot of things now," said SJSU senior and campus Peace Corps representative Wendy Ressum. Ressum spent three years working as a teacher on the South Pacific island of Tonga with the Peace Corps.

"I got a better view of the outside world," Ressum said.

Both the Peace Corps and VISTA "try to help people supply basic human needs and make them self-sufficient," Ressum said. "Both work to improve a community."

In the United States, VISTA

volunteers try to organize communities, according to Maggie Dowd, who works with VISTA in San Francisco. Dowd worked with migrant farmers in Oregon for one year and battered women in Alaska during a second year.

According to Ressum, a college degree is not absolutely required for volunteers.

Experience, skills, or a willingness to be trained in a needed field, can also be useful to volunteers, Ressum said.

Students from both technical and non-technical fields can volunteer, Ressum said.

VISTA and Peace Corps, both funded by the U.S. government, only send volunteers to countries where they have been requested, Ressum said.

Conservation plan praised

-continued from page 1

Letters from the assistant to President Carter and other White House sources praised Jesella's concerns with energy conservation and solar power, but neglected to discuss the specific Youth Corps proposal.

James Walter, of Shell Oil Co., said the proposal was worth discussion. Phillips Petroleum declined to publicly support the "innovative" plan.

Congressman Lionel Van Deerlin, D-San Diego, said he appreciated Jesella's support of McCloskey's National Service Act. "The Youth Corps could do more in the energy conservation area than in any other sector," he added.

Jesella's current aim is to generate a "public awareness" of his Youth Service Corps idea. He admitted that no simple solutions to the energy problem exist, and he may be "mistaken" in some aspects.

"This energy problem could be talked about until the trash man collected it," Jesella said. McCloskey's bill is a way to put some of these ideas into action, he added.

A nuclear power plant is only good for 25 years, he said. The problems of plant accidents and disposal of radioactive wastes are a definite threat to human life, he added.

One factor in favor of the Youth Corps is the Carter Administration's "commitment to solar energy," Jesella said.

Jesella was drafted in July 1972 and elected to enter the Air Force. At the time, Jesella had "no inclination to go into the military at all."

EASY.

44E Continued from other side

2 goals: Youth Corps and solar power

Continued from San Jose News, Wednesday, July 9, 1980 pg 4B
other side

Egypt and witnessed mass movements of military supplies to the Middle East.

Too, the air base was a Strategic Air Command field and B-52 bombers, with engines revving up at all hours of the day and night, consumed mas-

sive amounts of aviation fuel while on red alert standbys. Fears of a Soviet move into Egypt kept the air base on a constant state of readiness.

"America needs its own Marshall Plan and the youth of America have a chance to make their future, or watch it become a pile of radioactive

"Energy is one of the prime reasons we will get involved in a war," a war the young SJS student believes can be avoided by a Youth Service Corps devoted to conservation of energy through full utilization of solar power.

Speak Out! To Your Friends,
Press, Government.

Coder: MM
Date: 11/19/93

I. Purpose of Letter:

- ☐ Wants to Participate
- ☐ Summer of Service
- ☐ National Initiative
- ☒ General Commentary
- ☐ Pro
- ☐ Con
- ☒ Suggestions for Programs
- ☐ Requesting General Information
- ☐ Summer of Service
- ☐ General Program
- ☐ Offering their Services
- ☐ Volunteer
- ☐ Internships
- ☐ White House
- ☐ National Service (Jim)
- ☐ Employment

II. Writer Information:

- A. Age (Circle One):
Under 17 17-25 Over 25 Unspecified
- B. Education Level (Circle One):
 - 1. Student:
 - ☐ Elementary
 - ☐ Secondary
 - ☐ College
 - ☐ Graduate
 - 2. Non-Student (Level Completed):
 - ☐ Secondary
 - ☐ College
 - ☐ Graduate

III. Re-route to Other Departments

- ☐ Commission
- ☐ (Personal, service organizations,
or business proposals)
- ☐ Scheduling/Gloria
- ☐ Other _____

IV. Certified Mail

0-1



Friendship Services Center, Inc.

Phone 967-2322 • P.O. Drawer 2109 • Russellville, Arkansas 72801

*Serving the Developmentally Disabled
Infancy - Adulthood*

Cindy Mahan
Administrator

February 25, 1993

Mr. Eli Segal
National Services Coordination
Office of National Services
OEOB - Room 146
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20000

Dear Mr. Segal,

Our association, Community Providers' Association, represents over 100 agencies in Arkansas serving individuals who are developmentally disabled. The National Service Organization's model and its goals for students to gain work experience would certainly fit into our mission and needs.

We are primarily non-profit organizations that have many kinds of professionals hired who could serve as models for student interns. Some of the positions that we could offer are:

- Social Worker
- Physical Therapist
- Speech and Language Therapist
- Occupational Therapist
- Administrator of Health Care Organization
- Business Manager of Health Care Organization
- Early Childhood Teacher
- Elementary Special Education Teacher (K - 5th grade)
- Secondary Special Education Teacher
- Director of Residential Services and Work Programs
- Psychological Examiner
- Behavioral Specialist
- Registered Nurse
- Qualified Mental Retardation Professional
- Case Manager



Friendship Services Center, Inc.

Phone 967-2322 • P.O. Drawer 2109 • Russellville, Arkansas 72801

*Serving the Developmentally Disabled
Infancy - Adulthood*

Cindy Mahan
Administrator

I am the Executive Director of Friendship Services Inc., in Russellville, AR a community provider which employees over 150 individuals. We would love to pilot some of your endeavors and look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Cindy Mahan
Ex. Director

c.c. Carol Rasco

Order: WV
Date: 4/2/93

I. Purpose of Letter:

- ☐ Wants to Participate
 - ☐ Summer of Service
 - ☐ National Initiative
- ☒ General Commentary
 - ☐ Pro
 - ☐ Con
- ☒ Suggestions for Programs
- ☐ Requesting General Information
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III. Reference to Other Departments

- ☐ Commission
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or business proposals)
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- ☐ Other _____

IV. Certified Mail



THE FOUNDATION FOR LONG TERM CARE, INC.
A NON-PROFIT EDUCATIONAL AND RESEARCH FOUNDATION

194 WASHINGTON AVENUE / ALBANY, NEW YORK 12210 • (518) 449-7873 • FAX: (518) 455-8908



President
CARL S. YOUNG

March 4, 1993

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Mr. Eli Segal
Director
Office of National Service
OEOB - Room 146
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Segal:

The Foundation for Long Term Care, a 501(c)(3) entity devoted to research and education in the care of the elderly, applauds the development of national service. **We urge you to assure that elder care is included in the array of services students can perform as the program develops.** We offer you our assistance in the development of such programs.

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Albany

Our knowledge of college student service to the frail elderly is based in four years of hands-on experience in this specific area. We have two years of experience conducting a United States Department of Education FIPSE Project entitled "Coordinated Student Involvement in Elder Care;" one year of experience conducting a locally-supported project of the same name; and, one year of a Commission on National and Community Service project entitled "Service Learning in Elder Care." In addition, we are affiliated with a trade association of over 400 providers of service to the elderly and are well-aware of providers' interests and concerns about student service.

In this letter, we provide a very brief overview of how student involvement in elder care addresses major demographic challenges; the benefits of linking student service to elder care; and last, some provider concerns. For your convenience, these issues are bulleted for easy reading:

● **HOW ELDER CARE ADDRESSES IMPORTANT DEMOGRAPHIC CHALLENGES**

•elder care consumes an increasingly large portion of the Federal and State budgets. These costs will increase as the proportion of elders increases. (The percentage of the population over 85 will mushroom from about 3.6 million in 1990 to about 5 million in 2000 and about 6 million in 2000.) **The use of student volunteers will help ensure quality care for this population despite the increase in numbers; and,**

Mr. Eli Segal
Office of National Service
March 3, 1993
Page Two

- the disproportionately large cohort of baby boomers will be elderly when today's college students are society's decision makers: Service learning in elder care will create the knowledge this college generation will need to meet the challenges of a rapidly aging society.

- **THE BENEFITS OF LINKING STUDENT SERVICE TO ELDER CARE**

- college students who provide volunteer services to the elderly provide an intergenerational experience in which elders enjoy the contact with youth and youth learns a respect for aging while reducing college debt. It is therefore part of the antidote to the divisive debate over generational equity; and,

- by coordinating the service with a credit-bearing course on elder care policy and practice, students learn the issues surrounding the challenges of elder care;

- **SOME PROVIDER CONCERNS**

- to make this project work well, students need both supervision and mentoring at the worksite. We know from our experience that elder care agencies are willing to undertake these time-consuming obligations if a few students are placed with them a semester. Regional coordination of such programs seems to be the way to assure that there is a sufficient mass of student placements in elder care. Such coordination must include elder care agency training and student orientation and placement. (Our current project models some of these options in regional coordination); and,

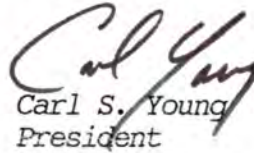
- agencies, of course, must maintain the right to select the students and to terminate them if, after several conferences, the placement is not proving mutually satisfying.

We are committed to student-service in elder care. When national service expands past its infancy, we hope that it will grow to include elder-care service as one of its valued components. Please call if we can help make this happen or if you want more information on any of our current or past projects.

Mr. Eli Segal
Office of National Service
March 3, 1933
Page Three

Thank you in advance. We look forward to hearing from you
or from a member of your staff.

Sincerely,


Carl S. Young
President

CSY/dc

cc: Catherine Milton



NATIONAL LEGAL
AID & DEFENDER
ASSOCIATION

1625 K STREET, N.W.
EIGHTH FLOOR
WASH., D.C. 20006
(202) 452-0620

Legal 0-4

March 5, 1993

Eli Segal
Director of the Office of National Service
Room 146
Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 25001

Dear Mr. Segal:

As representatives of the organized bar and the legal education, legal services, law student and public interest communities, we are writing to salute your efforts to develop a program of national service, and to urge you to include lawyers and law students as eligible participants in this innovative public service venture. President Clinton's announcement of the outline of the program earlier this week was an encouraging sign that national service remains a top priority of the Administration. As you fashion the details of the program in the coming months, we hope you will consider its tremendous potential for increasing the availability of legal services to millions of poor people in this country.

The American system of justice is in crisis. A 1989 pilot study conducted by the American Bar Association revealed that each year poor people face a total of 19 million civil legal problems for which they cannot find legal assistance. Other national and state studies indicate that more than 80 percent of the legal needs of the impoverished go unaddressed. This chronic shortage of legal services for low-income people deprives millions of Americans access to the help they need to secure such basic human needs as food, shelter, and medical services.

Rising poverty over the last decade has increased the demand for public service lawyers, while at the same time, federal support for the Legal Services Corporation has dropped sharply. The combined problem of extremely low salaries and enormous law school debt burdens has made it very difficult for local legal services programs, particularly those in rural and other areas of critical unmet need, to recruit and retain attorneys. Confronted with debt burdens that often exceed \$50,000, and starting legal services salaries in the low \$20s, many dedicated and talented new lawyers are finding it impossible to translate their commitment to service into a viable career serving the poor, the homeless, the elderly, children, people with disabilities, and others who cannot afford legal representation.

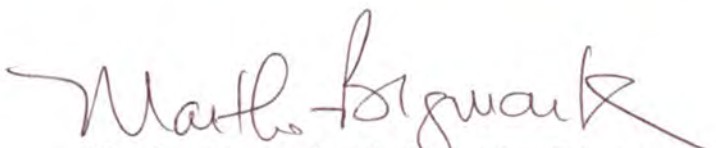
On law school campuses throughout the country, law students are more actively engaged in service projects than ever before. Responding to the cutbacks in federal funding for legal services programs, law students have organized well over 100 student public interest organizations nationwide. Since 1986, these groups, members of the National Association for Public Interest Law (NAPIL), have raised more than \$6 million from their peers to fund 2,400 summer internship positions providing free legal assistance. NAPIL's members, along with many other law student groups, are also creating and participating in myriad local projects serving the legal needs of their communities.

Service in our system of justice should be an integral part of President Clinton's national service program. Given the opportunity, thousands of law students would forgo careers in the private sector for careers dedicated to making the promise of "equal justice for all" a reality. We strongly encourage you to include law students and new attorneys in the pilot years of the national service program. With a solid network of legal services and other public interest organizations already in place, it would be very easy to create "service slots" for law graduates.

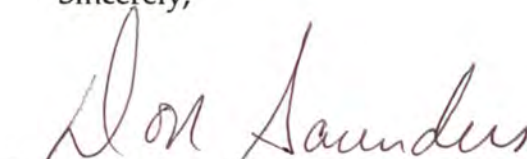
Moreover, law students should be eligible for debt relief in exchange for participation in lower-paying service positions. As you may know, loan repayment assistance programs (LRAPs) have been established at 44 law schools and in seven states. While these privately funded programs have enabled hundreds of attorneys to pursue public interest careers, the programs fall far short of providing the debt relief needed by service-minded law graduates. Many of the programs are grossly underfunded, their assistance is limited, and under current federal tax law, benefits received from these programs are considered taxable income. In spite of the shortcomings of the existing programs, we believe that they can serve as models for the inclusion of law graduates in the national service trust fund. Loan forgiveness for law graduates within the national service program could make a significant difference in the provision of legal services to poor and disadvantaged communities.

Thank you for considering our views on the national service program. We are committed to working with the Office of National Service to develop this important program, and we invite you to contact us if we can be of assistance in any way.

Sincerely,



Martha Bergmark, Civil Division Director
National Legal Aid and Defender Association



Don Saunders, Education Specialist
Project Advisory Group



Kathleen A. Welch, Executive Director
National Association for Public Interest Law



Burton Fretz, Executive Director
National Senior Citizens Law Center



Nan Aron, Executive Director
Alliance for Justice



Liz Ryan Cole, President
Clinical Legal Education Association

ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

As part of its Perspective Series, Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation publishes analyses on critical economic, legal and regulatory issues.

February 24, 1993

Free Trade and Economic Growth: Opportunities for Environmental Improvements

By Angela Logomasini
Policy Analyst
Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Free trade's impact on the environment has become a particularly contentious issue since the negotiations began on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Some people fear that such agreements lead to environmental degradation. However, economic development generated by free markets and free trade provides the resources needed to tackle environmental problems and conserve valuable resources. In fact, since 1970, environmental quality has improved in developed nations (countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)), while their economies grew 80 percent. The World Bank reports that access to clean water, sanitation, and municipal waste disposal has become universal in OECD nations and air quality has improved tremendously in North America and Europe.

Nonetheless, many have questioned NAFTA's impact on the environment. The following addresses a few key issues:

- **Will NAFTA make Mexico a "pollution haven," a place where American firms locate to avoid expensive U.S. environmental regulations?** World Bank economists assert that it is unclear whether firms move to other countries to avoid environmental regulations. Other factors, such as relocation costs, may mean moving provides firms with little economic benefit, despite lower levels of environmental regulation.
- **Will NAFTA abolish environmental laws?** Only a limited number of laws could be affected — those the NAFTA dispute panel finds to restrict trade *without producing significant environmental benefits*. The agreement directs trade dispute panels to consider science and the costs and benefits of laws. Such sound environmental policy enables policymakers to direct resources to where they are most needed.
- **Will NAFTA dispute proceedings allow for public involvement?** Like the U.S. legislative process, NAFTA's dispute process would call upon scientific experts and environmental groups for advice. Groups and individuals also could file comments to pending dispute decisions as well as address issues through media outlets.
- **Will NAFTA provide sufficient funds for environmental programs?** NAFTA is designed to promote free trade, addressing environmental issues only when they affect trade. Still, the United States and Mexico have, through other accords, agreed to significant funding, committing \$241 million and \$460 million, respectively, to clean up the border area.

As the United States negotiates new free trade agreements, the impact of trade on the environment will remain an issue. But history will continue to show that free trade is good for the environment. It not only brings economic prosperity that improves general living standards in the nations involved, the wealth it generates leads to improved environmental conditions as well.

FREE TRADE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: OPPORTUNITIES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the United States and Mexico began negotiations on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), many people have focused upon the impact of trade on the environment. Some environmentalists have claimed that opening trade among the United States, Mexico, and Canada will increase already serious environmental problems, particularly in Mexico.

ENVIRONMENTAL BENEFITS OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

However, economic development generated by free trade and free markets provides the resources needed to tackle environmental problems and to conserve valuable resources. In fact, since 1970, environmental quality has improved in the developed nations (countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)), while their economies expanded 80 percent. In OECD countries, access to clean water, sanitation, and municipal waste disposal has become universal. Air quality also has improved, with particulate emissions dropping 60 percent and sulfur oxides falling by 38 percent. Lead emissions have decreased by 85 percent in North America and 50 percent in Europe.¹

Increasing numbers of academics draw the same conclusions. In *Environmental Impacts of a North American Free Trade Agreement*, Princeton University professors Gene M. Grossman and Alan B. Krueger conclude that "economic growth tends to alleviate pollution problems once a country's per capita income reaches about \$4,000 to \$5,000 U.S. dollars. Mexico, with a per capita GDP of \$5,000, now is at critical juncture in its development process..." Given these realities, if we want to promote environmental protection in Mexico, free trade is actually an environmental plus since it will promote economic development.

Similarly, Marian Radetzki of the University of Lulea, Sweden, concludes that "rich consumers are more willing than poor ones to spend substantial parts of their income for safeguarding high environmental standards"² Indeed, impoverished people think first about immediate needs, such as feeding the family, and last about perceived luxuries like environmental improvement.

Ironically, as people in poor nations take care of immediate needs, they sometimes sacrifice future well-being. For instance, some nations harvest rain forests to create much-needed farmland. But due to poor land management practices, the soil does not sustain farming very long. Education regarding sound land management practices and the like takes a step in the right direction. But with persistent poverty, education has limited power. More than anything, these nations need to eliminate the poverty that creates such perverse incentives. Moreover, in some areas, it's simply lack of wealth — not education — that creates environmental problems.

In fact, Mexico's most significant problems stem from insufficient infrastructure. Water pollution comes mostly from inadequate sewer systems and waste water treatment facilities and industrial waste pollution. On the national level, only 16 percent of municipal and industrial waste water along the U.S.-Mexico border is treated before being released. Water quality surveys show extensive pollution due to bacteria, human waste, industrial waste water, pesticides, and solvent contamination.³ Similarly, people in impoverished nations struggling to keep warm in the winter tend to use whatever fuel they can find for heating, sometimes burning old tires that emit pollutants when burned without the pollution control equipment used by incinerators.

Many environmentalists agree that economic growth is needed to deal with such problems. Jay Hair of the National Wildlife Federation notes in an article supporting NAFTA: "The means of addressing environmental concerns are directly tied to economic development. If environmental progress is not to remain solely the property of affluent nations, developing nations must have their fair shot at progress. Free trade incorporating sound environmental principles enhances that prospect of advancement."⁴

Environmental Defense Fund economist Dr. Peter Emerson and Dr. Robert A. Collinge of the University of Texas, San Antonio contend: "The history of economic development shows that environmental quality is a 'normal good.' To the degree that NAFTA generates economic growth, Mexico will be better able to afford environmental quality. Since there is strong evidence that Mexico desires environmental improvements, the economic growth will allow those improvements to proceed."⁵ Dr. Emerson further notes in another paper: "The question is not whether we want to achieve these objectives [environmental protection and economic growth], but how."⁶

ARGUMENTS REGARDING NAFTA

Some environmentalists may accept economic growth arguments, yet they still find serious faults with NAFTA. Accordingly, anti-NAFTA arguments should be addressed specifically. The main contentions are:

- NAFTA will lead to increased industrial pollution in Mexico as firms take advantage of Mexico's low environmental standards.

- NAFTA will undermine environmental laws at the state and federal levels as well as international environmental accords.
- NAFTA's dispute proceedings will preclude public involvement.
- NAFTA does not commit sufficient funding for environmental programs.

NAFTA will not turn Mexico into a "pollution haven"

Many people argue that NAFTA will encourage both U.S. and Mexican firms to take advantage of Mexico's supposedly low environmental standards, making Mexico a "pollution haven." They assert that once trade barriers are lifted, U.S. firms will move to Mexico to avoid expensive U.S. environmental regulations. They further contend that NAFTA is based upon a faulty assumption termed "environmental deficit financing," which suggests that in a frenzy to develop Mexico will ignore present environmental problems by either passing weak environmental laws or by failing to enforce environmental laws.

One the first point, World Bank economists assert that it is unclear whether firms move to other countries, let alone Mexico, to avoid environmental regulations.⁷ Other factors, such as relocation costs and investment climate, may mean moving provides firms with little economic benefit, despite savings due to less environmental regulation. Moreover, moving does not necessarily reduce the environmental technology that firms use. Rather, companies tend to install "top of the line" pollution-control technologies in anticipation of impending environmental regulations in the host country.⁸

Furthermore, U.S. firms actually prefer to invest in developed countries, rather than developing nations. In 1989, for example, 85 percent of U.S. overseas investment occurred in industrialized nations such as the United Kingdom, Germany, Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, according to Columbia University professor Stefan H. Robock. The World Bank reports that from 1980 to 1989, 83 percent of overall foreign direct investment went to five upper-income nations.

On the second point, NAFTA would help provide resources for environmental protection instead of advancing "environmental deficit financing." Development will pose new challenges: industrialization will increase the need for environmental protection in new areas, such as the development of safe hazardous waste disposal sites. But increasing wealth will enable Mexicans to afford to build such sites, as well as water treatment facilities and waste disposal facilities that are greatly needed *now*.

In any case, while Mexico would be wise to implement flexible, free-market environmental policies, they already have passed many of the stronger environmental regulations that NAFTA opponents advocate. In 1988, Mexico passed the General Ecology Law, which set standards for air pollution, hazardous waste, and water pollution. Under this law, the Mexican government has set 70 "environmental technical standards" and plans to set 80 more this year.⁹

But will they enforce these laws? Given the desire for an agreement, the Mexican government already has begun implementing harsh enforcement policies. So far, the government has permanently shut down 109 facilities that were not in compliance and temporarily or partially shut down another 1,926 factories.¹⁰ With Mexico's new environmental laws and tougher enforcement, moving to Mexico to avoid U.S. environmental laws isn't a reasonable option for U.S. businesses.

U.S. Environmental Laws Will Remain Intact

Another argument against NAFTA suggests that the agreement would undermine federal and state environmental laws as well as international environmental accords since they could be challenged as trade barriers. While NAFTA could affect environmental laws to a limited degree, opponents overstate the case, as well as the actual impact on the environment.

Opponents note that provisions of the agreement state that environmental laws can be overturned as trade barriers if they are proven not to be (1) scientifically based; (2) based upon risk assessment; (3) 'consistent' in their level of protection with other national standards; and (4) applied only to the extent necessary to achieve a NAFTA-approved policy aim. But these demands are not anti-environmental; they make good public policy. Such assessments enable policymakers to make sensible, cost-effective environmental policies and direct resources toward protecting areas with the greatest need.

Opposition to such requirements indicates that opponents mistakenly equate environment protection with the number and stringency of environmental laws. In fact, as the World Bank points out, it often makes more environmental sense to have fewer, yet more cost-effective, policies: "Many developing countries have set unrealistically tight standards — often those of OECD countries — and have enforced them only selectively. This has wasted resources, facilitated corruption, and undermined the credibility of all environmental policies.... Better to have fewer and more realistic standards that are truly implemented."¹¹

Still, opponents fear that valid environmental laws will be overturned. As evidence, they cite the tuna/dolphin case in which a GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) panel overturned U.S. import restrictions on tuna caught without the use of "dolphin safe" fishing equipment. One reason the panel ruled against tuna import restrictions was based upon GATT's "necessary" clause, which states that a nation can't erect trade barriers to solve a problem without first exhausting less distorting measures. For example, negotiations could have been tried before erecting trade barriers.

The GATT ruling recognizes that better ways exist to deal with environmental problems than trade restrictions. A more direct approach would have environmentalists using market forces. They could have a tremendous impact by educating consumers or organizing boycotts to generate pressure on firms to change unsound practices.

In any case, NAFTA opponents overstate the extent of NAFTA's ability to limit U.S. laws. Contrary to what some opponents imply, NAFTA could not abolish U.S. environmental laws outright, nor could it preclude states' rights to enact new environmental laws. Rather, only a limited number of laws could be affected — those the NAFTA dispute panel finds to be trade barriers not producing significant environmental benefits.

As for international agreements, NAFTA explicitly states that it does not supersede a number of significant environmental accords. These include the Convention on the International Trade in Endangered Species and Wild Fauna and Flora, the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, and the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal, as well as a number of other agreements.

NAFTA Provides for Public Involvement in Dispute Proceedings

Opponents also assert that NAFTA dispute proceedings preclude public involvement in environmental dispute resolutions cases that could overturn U.S. environmental laws. But like the U.S. legislative process, NAFTA's dispute process would call upon scientific experts and environmental groups for advice. It's highly likely that environmental groups would play a large role. When not explicitly asked for advice, environmental groups could file comments to pending dispute decisions as well as address issues through media outlets just as they do in domestic politics.

Interested third parties would not be closed out from the information needed to make such comments. They would have access to dispute proceedings information via inquiry points as established in Article 910 of NAFTA. Each dispute party would have to provide at least one such outlet to provide relevant documents and answer questions.

Funds Are Being Provided to Clean Up the U.S.-Mexico Border

Some environmentalists argue against NAFTA on the grounds that it lacks concrete environmental policy recommendations, timetables, and firm funding commitments. However, these environmentalists forget that NAFTA is not designed to make such commitments. Negotiators crafted NAFTA to promote free trade. Special provisions address environmental issues, but only as they relate to trade.

While NAFTA does not commit funds, one benefit of the agreement will be increased private-sector investment in infrastructure to clean up the environment. For example, the free trade agreement has many private waste disposal firms interested in expanding business to Mexico to provide a service that is greatly needed: safe and efficient solid waste management. Such private investment is better than government spending since it generates wealth, rather than simply redistributing tax dollars.

Nonetheless, the U.S. and Mexican governments have committed to spending significant funds for environmental programs. In fact, NAFTA led the two nations to sign the U.S.-Mexico Border Plan, an environmental agreement between the United States and Mexico that has prompted commitments of significant funds for environmental purposes. Because of the plan, the United States and Mexico promised to spend \$241 million and \$460 million, respectively, over three years for environmental protection. During the first stage (1992-94) of the plan, the United States and Mexico have commenced efforts to develop infrastructure necessary to reduce pollution. For example, the plan commits both countries to expanding water treatment plants, constructing and updating safe waste disposal facilities, and improving dirt roads (which contribute to air pollution problems) and bridges.¹²

The Mexican government also has stepped up funding for environmental initiatives, planning to use 1 percent of its annual budget on environmental programs, a significant increase from previous environmental expenditures. In 1992, the Mexican government raised environmental spending to more than 11 times the 1989 level, from \$6.6 million (U.S. dollars) to more than \$77 million.¹³ In addition to other environmental programs, the Mexican government has allocated nearly \$4.6 billion (U.S. dollars) in loans to address air quality problems and other environmental problems facing Mexico City and surrounding areas.¹⁴

CONCLUSION

The North American Free Trade Agreement offers Mexico an opportunity to deal with its environmental problems by generating economic growth. After all, poverty is the number one contributor to environmental problems in Mexico, limiting access to such things as clean water, sanitation, and municipal solid waste disposal. Fears that free trade would lead to increased environmental problems are unfounded, as they ignore the critical link between economic growth and environmental improvement.

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About the Author

Angela Logomasini is a policy analyst at Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation.

About Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation

Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation is a 250,000-member, nonpartisan, nonprofit economic research and education organization located in Washington, D.C. CSE Foundation promotes free-market solutions to public policy problems in order to achieve economic freedom and opportunity for all Americans.

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ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

As part of its Perspective Series, Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation publishes analyses on critical economic, legal and regulatory issues.

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Money for Nothing:

The Federal Government's Broken Record in

Adjustment Assistance Programs

By Daniel J. Murphy and Thomas D. Walls

Policy Analysts

Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Federal assistance for workers who lose their jobs on account of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has emerged as a key issue in the ongoing debate over liberalized North American trade. In negotiating the trilateral pact, the Bush administration committed to providing adequate "adjustment assistance" to such workers finding themselves out of a job. However, both organized labor and President Clinton have indicated that the Bush-negotiated proposal falls short of their goals.

Unfortunately, none of the parties involved view the federal government's various adjustment assistance programs for what they are: an unqualified failure. At the center of proponents' NAFTA-related assistance agenda sits the Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA) program. Since its introduction in 1962, the TAA program's generous income-replacement scheme has deterred workers from finding better opportunities faster, or at all; has fallen woefully short in fulfilling its retraining and placement missions; and has been beset with bureaucratic delays long enough to question the program's reason for existence. Despite its deficiencies, TAA's earliest supporters and biggest recipients -- organized labor groups -- remain its strongest backers.

Other federal blueprints for assisting the unemployed languish for different reasons. The Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) suffers from abuse and mismanagement, while the Economic Dislocation and Worker Adjustment Assistance Act (EDWAA), according to a report on its performance, falls between "a rock and a hard place," as its emphasis on early intervention "appears to be least effective" in aiding the displaced worker.

Whatever the ineffectiveness of the programs, special interest political pressure

surrounding the NAFTA dictates that some level of adjustment assistance be provided to displaced workers. In that vein, policymakers should stress voluntary retraining, minimize income replacement strategies, and offer limited incentives to those finding employment. Our greatest chance of success, however, lies with rolling back the taxes and regulations that too often keep American businesses from providing themselves and their workers the best technology and training available in the global marketplace.

**Money for Nothing:
The Federal Government's Broken Record in
Adjustment Assistance Programs**

INTRODUCTION

Long-standing fears about the political fallout over job losses from a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) caused the Bush administration to propose a worker adjustment assistance package as part of the implementing legislation for that agreement. Then-Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin told the Senate Finance Committee that up to \$670 million annually could be budgeted for workers who lose their jobs as a result of a NAFTA. "Adjustment assistance" is the federal government's term for myriad income replacement and job training programs reserved for workers who have involuntarily left their jobs. Seven federal agencies currently administer roughly 60 training programs. Despite their wide scope, the programs have failed to achieve their underlying purpose: assisting the displaced worker in finding better, long-term employment opportunities. In fact, for the past 30 years, problems have beset the leading federal programs for dislocated workers.

INCOME REPLACEMENT AS ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE

The Trade Adjustment Assistance Program

At the urging of President Kennedy and segments of organized labor, the Trade

Adjustment Assistance (TAA) program was included as a component of the 1962 Trade Expansion Act. The program's intent was to soften the hardship of trade-related job loss, to promote the transfer of workers to new employment, and to reduce resistance to trade liberalization.¹ Under TAA, four separate services were made available to qualified applicants:

- 1) Trade Readjustment Allowance² -- a cash payment, like unemployment compensation. A displaced worker would receive 65 percent of his previous weekly wage for up to 52 weeks. After 1974, income was replaced at a 70 percent rate. Benefits were capped at the national average weekly manufacturing wage. If a worker qualified, payments could be extended beyond a year. Payments under TAA were reduced, however, dollar for dollar by the amount of unemployment insurance (UI) received. Most states' UI compensation averaged less than 50 percent of the weekly wage and lasted 26 weeks, benefits significantly less than those offered in the TAA program.
- 2) Access to job training programs.
- 3) Access to job testing, counseling, and placement services. Such employment services were administered by state employment agencies.
- 4) Provision of relocation expenses.³ Workers traveling out of town to seek new jobs could be reimbursed for 80 percent of expenses, while workers moving to a documented new job could receive the same rate of compensation for moving expenses and be given a one-time payment of up to \$500 as well.⁴

TAA Stalls, Beneficiaries Stranded

Benefits under the TAA program were quite liberal in that TAA payments amounted to an enhanced and extended form of unemployment compensation. Nevertheless, delays in the certification process undermined the program's purpose. The initial certification process called on the U.S. Tariff Commission to determine whether increased imports due to trade liberalization caused the workers' job losses.⁵ When the affected industry did not submit a petition on behalf of its employees, workers had to appeal directly to the U.S. Tariff Commission.⁶

The strict certification standards ended up working against themselves. That "no petitions were approved prior to 1969"⁷ and lengthy delays occurred before actual payment called the whole reason for the program into question. Thus, the government's payments to the trade-related unemployed performed in the worst possible way: payments to carefully selected, jobless recipients arrived far too late to provide timely employment assistance, and when assistance did arrive, more than half the recipients had already found a new job. Through fiscal year 1980, and despite some certification modifications, 52 percent of recipients had jobs by the time they received their first TAA payment.⁸ In fact, measurements taken prior to the Reagan years showed that the average worker waited 14 months following layoff to cash his first TAA check.⁹

From 1962 through 1986, \$4 billion in cash payments under TAA had been disbursed to over 1.5 million workers, but the program had not fostered significant adjustment. Through 1985, only 1.4 percent of TAA recipients ever completed a training program. Of those

beneficiaries, only 36 percent accepted a job for which they were trained.¹⁰ In addition, 68 percent of workers receiving TAA ended up returning to their former jobs,¹¹ suggesting that the program was mistargeted.¹²

TAA was criticized from all sides, albeit for different reasons. The program did not reduce protectionist sentiment as it was designed to, nor did it promote adjustment. A number of studies concluded that the program often provided workers with an extended form of unemployment compensation without enhancing personal labor mobility. The effects of TAA on the labor market are well-documented in George R. Neumann's study, "The Direct Labor Market Effects of the Trade Adjustment Assistance Program: The Evidence from the TAA Survey." From 1962 until changes made in 1974 took effect, the average length of time between jobs had been unusually high for TAA recipients: 61 weeks for females, 39 weeks for males.¹³ For that same time period, all unemployed workers averaged 10.8 weeks without a job.¹⁴

1974 Amendments Expand Eligibility and Benefits

In 1974, Congress amended TAA in several ways. First, it eased eligibility requirements. According to Section 222 of the 1974 Trade Act, firms or workers no longer had to prove a direct connection between trade liberalization and lost jobs. Simply demonstrating that imports were an "important" cause of job loss, not the sole cause, was sufficient. Second, the wage replacement rate increased from 65 to 70 percent. Third, the U.S. Department of Labor, in place of the Tariff Commission, began determining eligibility

for benefits. Fourth, Congress imposed a mandatory training requirement which stipulated that any TAA recipient who refused to accept training would be disqualified for any further cash payments. But the Department of Labor never enforced this requirement.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the certification process remained lengthy.¹⁶ Between 1976 and 1981, during which 1.3 million workers received TAA benefits, fewer than 50,000 entered training programs.¹⁷ Also, fewer than 1 percent took advantage of job search or relocation assistance.¹⁸

One of the main purposes of TAA was to help workers move out of industries adversely affected by liberalized trade, but it also ended up serving those who ultimately returned to their former workplaces. As mentioned above, 68 percent of TAA recipients eventually got their former jobs back.

Organized Labor Gains Most from TAA

In a 1982 study, James Dorn explained that union members have benefited most from TAA payments. Dorn's analysis demonstrates that from 1975 to 1982, union members received 83 percent of total benefits paid to all workers,¹⁹ despite the fact that members of organized labor comprised a little more than one-fifth of the work force. Using similar time frames, Dorn reports that union members accounted for 76 percent of all workers certified by the Department of Labor.²⁰ Dorn also shows that the 1974 amendments to TAA did not just increase the wage replacement benefit from 65 to 70 percent, but the 1974 changes altered the method of that benefit's calculation as well, giving the typically higher-earning

union member a monetary benefit greater than previously enjoyed.²¹ As a result, it comes as little surprise that labor leaders strongly advocate the cushion of adjustment assistance.

Revisions Pare Back TAA in the 1980s

The TAA program was amended once again under the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981. In contrast to the changes made in 1974, compensation was, as a whole, reduced. As President Reagan put it in an address to Congress, "...we wind up paying greater benefits to those who lose their jobs because of foreign competition than we do to their friends and neighbors who are laid off due to domestic competition. Anyone must agree that this is unfair."²² As a result of the 1981 reforms, TAA payments were disbursed only for the length of time set for state unemployment insurance, historically about half that of TAA. Any additional weeks of TAA were then paid at the state-determined UI rate, usually about 20 percent less than the full TAA disbursement.²³

After the 1981 revision of TAA, both outlays and numbers of applicants dropped: the program offered fewer benefits. The ratio of recipients receiving job retraining increased through 1984, but the percentage of those placed in jobs based on their training fell²⁴ -- an indication that prevailing labor market conditions, rather than state-administered training and job placement services, primarily determined whether displaced workers could find employment.

The shift away from the focus on income replacement continued in April 1986, when President Reagan extended TAA to the end of fiscal year 1991. New requirements mandated

that recipients of TAA cash payments participate in an existing job search program and that workers be encouraged, but not obliged, to begin job training. Finally, the Trade Act of 1988 required that recipients of TAA payments be enrolled in a state-qualified training program. From fiscal years 1989 through 1991, 81 percent of TAA payment recipients entered such training programs, compared to an 18 percent entrance rate over the previous 14 years.²⁵ During his tenure, President Bush offered new training initiatives, while advocating, unsuccessfully, the TAA program's termination.

A NEW FEDERAL EMPHASIS ON TRAINING

The Job Training Partnership Act

Although similar approaches existed well before 1982, the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) has been the main program assisting displaced and otherwise economically disadvantaged workers since then. Title III of the JTPA authorizes programs to help dislocated workers, the reasons for their job loss notwithstanding.²⁶ JTPA, which stands apart from the TAA program, is federally funded and administered locally through Private Industry Councils (PICs) that supervise and assign a majority of trainees to businesses participating in the program. For firms, the program's attraction stems from the federal government providing one-half of each trainee's wages for a suggested training period. In short, JTPA funds act as a wage subsidy for businesses hiring workers.

Policy analyst James Bovard documents that the JTPA program often subsidizes

private sector job training that would have been provided anyway. Bovard's "JTPA: Another Federal Training Fraud" chronicles the widespread use of JTPA training funds for subsidizing wages at fast food restaurants and a variety of other industries. An auto industry executive offered comments that were characteristic of others solicited by Bovard: "The subsidies had absolutely no effect on whom we hired and trained. We would have hired and trained the same people anyway."²⁷

Bovard also cites some examples of funds used for activities unrelated to fostering job skills. Testimony delivered in July 1992 by the General Accounting Office's (GAO) Clarence C. Crawford underscores Bovard's point: "In our 1992 report, we pointed out that about 27 percent of the SDAs [service delivery areas] nationwide reported charges to the participant support cost category [i.e., expenses billed to training workers] that appeared improper. These charges, which seemed to be administrative costs, included expenditures for staff salaries, rent and office supplies."²⁸ The JTPA caps at 15 percent the amount of funds that may be spent on administrative costs.

Crawford's testimony focuses on other contracting abuses, particularly with the On-the-Job-Training (OJT) component of the JTPA. GAO inquiry over a five-year period points out that many OJT contracts for lower-skill jobs are granted for much longer than needed or recommended by the Department of Labor. The GAO found that nearly three-fourths of the contracts awarded to lower-skill recipients exceeded average training times recommended, from about two weeks in some areas to about three months in others. On average, lower-skill OJT contracts exceeded federal guidelines by six weeks.²⁹

JTPA's Shortcomings Harm Recipients

Five years into the program the Department of Labor's Inspector General reported that among adults there was only a 5 percent reduction in welfare dependency after completion of the JTPA program.³⁰ The Inspector General also found that 47 percent of JTPA graduates were unemployed four and a half months after receiving training.³¹ The Bush administration reported that "[w]eak quality controls have allowed hundreds of unscrupulous proprietary institutions to take billions of dollars in Federal subsidies without providing effective training."³² Nonetheless, funding for JTPA has steadily increased since its inception.

The Economic Dislocation and Worker Adjustment Assistance Act

Congress passed the Economic Dislocation and Worker Adjustment Assistance Act of 1988 (EDWAA) as part of that year's Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act. The EDWAA program sought to alleviate the hardship of worker dislocation and ease the transfer of workers to new employment through better coordination of retraining and job placement efforts. EDWAA amended Title III of JTPA by requiring that each state set up a "Dislocated Worker Unit" to administer a "Rapid Response Team" that assists workers in receiving adjustment and training when facing job loss. There is no special certification for groups of workers as under TAA.

Eighty percent of EDWAA funding gets distributed to states by formula, and the

remaining 20 percent consists of discretionary grants to severely affected workers, industries, and areas. Since its inception, EDWAA funding has increased from \$284 million in 1989 to a peak of \$527 million in 1992 before dropping slightly in fiscal year 1993 to \$517 million. These figures do not include two programs initiated by Congress to assist workers displaced by defense cutbacks, and one program dedicated to workers adversely affected by the implementation of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990. Congress so far has set aside approximately \$325 million for these three specific areas.³³

Passed contemporaneously with EDWAA, the Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act (WARN) requires that firms with more than 100 employees notify, 60 days in advance, soon-to-be-jobless workers and the State's Dislocated Worker Unit. The design that emerged from the two laws called for state intervention on behalf of affected workers before the loss of employment, while encouraging, rather than requiring, that displaced workers utilize state employment service agencies.

Nevertheless, the potential efficacy of using the state employment service agencies under EDWAA was clouded by an October 1991 report published by the National Commission for Employment Policy. The commission examined under what conditions the state employment service agencies had operated most effectively prior to EDWAA. The report found that the employment service "appears to be most effective in situations where individuals have the greatest amount of control over whether, and when, they use the Agency's services."³⁴ In addition, "[t]he results suggest that the ES [Employment Service] may be between 'a rock and a hard place' under EDWAA. EDWAA stresses early intervention for dislocated workers; yet it is during the early stages of workers'

unemployment that the ES appears to be least effective."³⁵

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION AND ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE

Within the NAFTA itself, the Bush administration negotiated for adjustment assistance -- more broadly defined -- through a number of avenues. Along with Canada and Mexico, the United States bargained for a phase out of certain trade barriers, with some barriers lasting as long as 15 years before they are fully dismantled. In addition, "snap-back" provisions have been included in the agreement as well. These would allow NAFTA governments the ability to temporarily reimpose trade restrictions in areas where it has been determined that domestic industries have been harmed by imports.

In May 1991, the Bush administration announced its intention to expand job retraining programs in its "Action Plan," a document responding to fears expressed by some members of Congress about the employment effects of freer trade with Mexico. Generally, the administration supported an approach which focused on training, but did not favor the income replacement scheme at the center of the TAA program.

In August 1992, the President Bush proposed consolidating the TAA program with EDWAA and expanding youth training at a cost of \$10 billion over five years. The combined TAA-EDWAA initiative was to be redesignated the Advancing Skills through Education and Training Services (ASETS) program and would have most of its resources channeled toward retraining, not income replacement. Of the \$2 billion proposed annually for ASETS purposes, as little as \$335 million and as much as \$670 million would directly

benefit workers displaced by NAFTA.

On the other side, the AFL-CIO staunchly opposes cutting TAA, and publicly advocates a much more expensive approach: that income replacement should be made available to workers who lose their jobs directly or indirectly due to trade or to their employer relocating abroad. With TAA payments currently categorized as an entitlement, and therefore unaffected by budgetary constraints, this approach amounts to a call for an expansion of the generous benefits and lax eligibility standards of the 1974 TAA amendments and then some. To help pay for TAA growth, the AFL-CIO hopes "to establish a TAA trust fund financed by an earmarked portion of future tariff revenues."³⁶

CONCLUSION

Before enacting any proposed adjustment regime under a NAFTA -- or under any other circumstances -- one should ask, "Does it work?" By any reasonable measure, federal job assistance programs plainly do not work. Too often, recipients hardly benefit due to bureaucratic zealousness or delay, a shortage of proper incentives, and a lack of follow through either on their own behalf or on the part of the administering agency. In the case of the JTPA, contracts act as wage subsidies for businesses savvy enough to acquire them, while training under the Act has barely dented JTPA participants' welfare dependency rates.

Clearly, some groups realize benefits from these programs. As James Dorn has shown, the parties most interested in these approaches are connected to organized labor. Historically, organized labor has drawn most of the benefits and has had the most adjustment

assistance petitions approved in comparison to nonunionized workers. Again, during the NAFTA debate, the AFL-CIO has urged that Congress "insure that TAA remains the principle [sic] vehicle for compensating and assisting workers who are injured by trade."³⁷

Because adjustment assistance will remain a part of the NAFTA, emphasis should be placed on voluntary retraining rather than income replacement, with incentives reserved only for those who follow through with genuine retraining and permanent employment.

Policymakers would do best, however, to heed the suggestion of National Bureau of Economic Research economist David Richardson: "[O]ne of the surest ways to bring about adjustment would be to provide no assistance."³⁸ On basic-skills training alone, companies spent an estimated \$300 million in 1991 -- a number that is expected to soar through the 1990s, according to chief economist Anthony Carnevale of the American Society for Training and Development.³⁹ Instead, policymakers ought to roll back the taxes and regulations hampering all kinds of American enterprises, and thereby create more opportunities and flexibility for businesses and workers to keep themselves at the forefront of the global marketplace.

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About the Authors

Daniel J. Murphy is a labor policy analyst and Thomas D. Walls is an adjunct policy analyst at Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation.

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