

TALKING POINTS
EISENHOWER FOUNDATION REPORT
December 3, 1999

- While we have not yet had an opportunity to read the full report and therefore we cannot provide a comprehensive analysis, the Report raises valid points which are not criticisms of this Administration.
- One thing is certain - Crime is down for 7 ½ consecutive years. Violent crime by over 27%. This means that there are over 1/4 fewer violent crime victims today than there were a generation ago. These are not short-term statistical blips, but very real gains for America.
- While these statistics only measure reported crime. The National Crime Victimization Survey, which tracks all crime, not just reported crime, reports crime drops similar to these numbers.
- We agree with the Report that
 - More effort must be put into preventing crime in the first place through mentoring and after-school programs;
 - Race has no role in law enforcement;
 - We must do more not only to reduce crime but to build confidence that America really is safer;
 - Programs such as those involving probation and law enforcement in Dorchester, Massachusetts are the key to effective crime reduction.
- The Report does not properly credit the President's anti-crime program:
 - We have not only made grants to fund 100,000 new police officers, but we have changed the entire philosophy of law enforcement from fighting a "war" to a "partnership with the community."
 - We have helped states build capacity to build new prisons, but only in a sensible and principled manner. For example, states are encouraged to use up to 10% of their prison grant funds to provide drug testing and treatment for those who are in prison and after they are released into the community;
 - Recognizing that 49% of all serious juvenile crime is committed in the hours after school ends, but before parents get home from work, we have funded after-school programs which provide education, recreation and something to which our children can say, "yes".

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Due in part to racial bias in our drug and mandatory minimum sentencing policy, 1 in 3 young African-American men is in prison, on probation or on parole today, notes the update, with the ratio 1 in 2 in big cities. Twenty-nine percent of African-American men born today can expect to be imprisoned at some time in their lifetime. The fastest growing group of inmates is Hispanic. As part of an emerging "prison-industrial complex," rural white communities now lobby Washington for prison-building grants. Harsh sentencing of minorities on drug offenses has been one rationale for prison building, yet the report quotes federal Drug Czar Barry R. McCaffrey as saying, "We have a failed social [drug] policy and it has to be re-evaluated."

The update finds there is little proof that "zero tolerance" policing, much publicized by the media and in New York, is successful, and points to community-based policing in cities like Boston, Columbia, SC and San Diego as more effective in *simultaneously* reducing crime and improving relations with minority communities.

The report acknowledges short-run drops in crime and fear since about 1993, which it relates, in particular, to the economic boom and the related waning of the crack epidemic. But government statistics underestimate the problem, and the Eisenhower Foundation criticizes officials and media for not making clear the more endemic increases in violence and fear over the longer run. During the last 30 years, the "city of the future" predicted by the Commission — with middle class flight, high tech security, and growing inequality between haves and have nots — has come to pass.

"If there ever were a metaphor for a failure of democracy, lack of firearms control may be it," continues the report. "The firearms death rate in America is 8 times greater than those of the 25 other wealthy nations combined. In the late 1960s, there were 90 million firearms in the U.S. Today, there are almost 200 million firearms in this country. They are no longer mostly designed for hunting and target-shooting. Today, most are high-powered, rapid-firing, easily-concealed weapons that have no other logical function than to kill humans. The impact of a flood of such weapons into an urban society is profound. Any confused teenager feeling disparaged by fellow students can blow a number of them away."

The good news, says the update, is that we now possess the knowledge and resources to replicate what does work — to reduce violence, fear and racism at the same time we establish justice, improve education and create jobs.

For example, there are many model successes that not only reduce crime and drugs by inner-city youth, but also improve their school performance, develop them in positive directions or increase their employability. Such successes include safe havens after school, like the Dorchester Youth Collaborative in Boston and Centro Sister Isolina Ferre in San Juan, where adults help middle school inner-city youth with homework; the public School Development Plan of Professor James Comer at Yale University in which parents, teachers and principals take control of specific schools; full service community schools, like the El Puente Academy in Brooklyn, where nonprofit organizations partner with individual inner-city schools; the Ford Foundation's Quantum Opportunities program in which adult

mentors keep inner-city youth in high school and on the road to college; the South Bronx Argus Community's "training first" (not "work first") job preparation investments in out-of-school youth; YouthBuild USA, in which high school dropouts learn to rehab houses; problem-oriented, community-equity policing in which minority officers are trained by local, private, nonprofit organizations to mentor at-risk youth; the State of Arizona's diversion of nonviolent offenders from prison to treatment, which has reduced recidivism while cutting costs from \$50 a day for inmates to \$16 a day for persons in community alternatives; drug and community courts, which divert nonviolent offenders from cycles of repeated incarceration; and the model Delancey Street enterprise in California, where ex-offenders successfully reintegrate, get jobs and run self-sufficient, for-profit businesses.

The report cites public opinion in favor of jobs-and-education-based reform, combined with crime and drug reduction, but says our political leaders have not responded, in spite of unprecedented prosperity.

To get action, concludes the report, a new political alliance is needed in America. "The alliance should bring together middle income Americans (who often need 2 or 3 jobs in the family to make ends meet), wage earners (who need to be reminded that their CEO's earn on the average 419 times as much as they do) and the poor (who suffered in the 1980s and hardly improved in the 1990s)." To help create the alliance, the report cites the pressing need for genuine campaign finance reform and a national campaign to better communicate that we know what works.

Given lack of action by Congress, the report calls for more state-based and local-based initiatives against firearms, regional coalitions between city residents and more conservative "soccer mom" suburbanites in the wake of the killings of youth in our schools, and more litigation against firearms manufacturers. After campaign finance reform, we also need Congress to pass a national handgun licensing system, a federal ban on Saturday night specials and federal regulation of firearms as consumer products, says the report.

"Just as the President and Surgeon General successfully framed smoking as a public health issue and changed the tobacco industry," recommends the report, "so they need to frame network television entertainment violence, television commercial violence, local television news violence and firearms violence as public health issues requiring changes in industry behavior."

The update, *To Establish Justice, To Ensure Domestic Tranquility*, will be released by the Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation on December 10, 1999, the exact anniversary date of the 1969 National Violence Commission report's release. It is being given to the key presidential candidates to urge adoption of its recommendations in their platforms. The late Milton S. Eisenhower, brother and advisor to President Dwight D. Eisenhower and former President of Johns Hopkins University, was chairman of the original Commission established by President Lyndon Baines Johnson. The update is written by former Commission staff and other experts. The overall editor is Foundation president Lynn A. Curtis, who was a Task Force co-director on the staff of the Violence Commission.

*To Establish Justice,
To Insure Domestic
Tranquility*

**A Thirty Year Update of the
National Commission on the
Causes and Prevention of Violence**

**THE MILTON S. EISENHOWER FOUNDATION
Washington, DC**

*We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union,
establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense,
promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty
to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the
United States of America.*

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The Trustees of the Foundation gratefully acknowledge the contributors to this update, as listed in Appendix 2 and Appendix 3, as well as Eisenhower Foundation staff members Pam Green, Dorothy Coleman, Tracey Tyree and Andrea Taliaferro.

**Dedicated to the Memory
of
A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr.
and
Marvin E. Wolfgang**

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ABOUT THE MILTON S. EISENHOWER FOUNDATION

Over 30 years ago, after the big city riots, the bipartisan President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Riot Commission) concluded, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal."

The following year, after the assassinations of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. and Senator Robert F. Kennedy, the bipartisan President's National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (the National Violence Commission) concluded, "The greatness and durability of most civilizations has been finally determined by how they have responded to challenges from within. Ours will be no exception."

Since those commissions, the divide between rich and poor has become greater in the United States and the challenges from within more formidable.

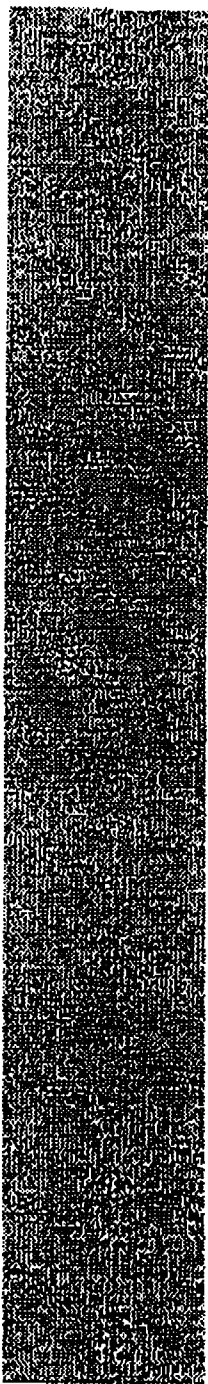
The Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation is the private sector continuation of the commissions. It is a nonendowed, nonprofit operating foundation and national intermediary organization.

The Foundation replicates scientifically evaluated, multiple solution successes for children, youth, families and the inner city. The Foundation builds the management, fundraising and staff capacities of the private, nonprofit organizations that carry out so much of what works. And it communicates what works to citizens, the media and decision makers.

Just as the commissions proposed a national policy of public and private partnerships, so the Foundation comes together with other institutions to help repair the racial and class breaches in America, extend family into community, create the inner city full employment job training and work placement strategy that has disappeared from much of the national debate in the U.S., facilitate private sector nonprofit initiative at the grassroots and encourage government to replicate what works. In its initiatives, the Foundation typically matches resources from large foundations — like the Annie E. Casey Foundation, Center for Global Partnership, DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, Ford Foundation, W.T. Grant Foundation, W.K. Kellogg Foundation and Charles Stewart Mott Foundation — and from public funders — like the U.S. Departments of Education, Housing and Urban Development, Labor, Health and Human Services and Justice.

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Principal Findings

1. The 1969 National Violence Commission understood that pervasive and deep-rooted violence in a highly fragmented and unequal society cannot be reliably contained by criminal justice policies — even extreme ones. The experience of the past 30 years has proven the Commission right, indeed more dramatically than anyone could then have expected. The Commission has been proven correct in its vision of a "City of the Future" with rampant suburbanization as a response to central city decline. But it did not foresee how unsuccessful and self-defeating the strategy would turn out to be. Crime and violent acts in the suburbs, such as the Littleton massacre, and the deterioration of the older "inner-ring" suburbs show that, in the long run, one can't simply abandon the nation's social problems. The Commission foresaw that a city based on the principle of flight to safety would only deepen social divisions.
2. In spite of welcome reductions of fear and violence since about 1993 that have been coterminous with the economic boom and less unemployment in the inner city, fear and the FBI Index of violent crime have *increased* when the late 1960s are compared to the late 1990s. Specifically, in a national poll in 1967, Americans were asked, "Is there any area right around here — that is within a mile — where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" In 1967, 31% answered yes. In 1998, 41% answered yes. Similarly, the FBI Index of violent crime (murder, rape, robbery and assault combined) has increased from a big city offense rate per 100,000 of 860 in 1969 to 1218 in 1998. (Appendix 5.) America's rates of violence remain *much higher* than most other industrialized nations, as in the 1960s. Today, the rate of homicide death for a young man is 23 times higher in the U.S. than in England. In 1995, handguns were used to kill two people in New Zealand, 15 in Japan, 30 in Great Britain, 106 in Canada, 213 in Germany and 9,390 in the United States. In addition, official "crime" statistics in the U.S. do not measure the rate at which our nation produces criminality. Official statistics understate and hide the endemic problem.
3. America's failure to reduce endemic fear and violence over the long run is paralleled by its failure to establish justice. Nearly one quarter of all young children live in poverty. America is the most unequal country in the industrialized world in terms of income, wages and wealth. As a result of the racial bias in our mandatory sentencing system, especially for drugs, 1 of every 3 young African-American males is in the prison-industrial complex, on probation or on parole in America at any one time. In big cities, it is about 1 of every 2.
4. There is a new "triumphalism" about crime that is misleading. The triumphalism exaggerates the role of tough sentencing and "zero tolerance" policing and underestimates the role of explanations that may be more important, like the economic boom and the related waning of the crack epidemic.
5. Prisons have become our nation's substitute for effective public policies on crime, drugs, mental illness, housing, poverty and employment of the hardest to employ. In a reasonable culture we would not say we had won the war against disease just because we had moved a lot of sick people from their homes to hospital wards. And in a reasonable culture we would not say we have won the war against crime just because we have moved a lot of criminals from the community into prison cells.
6. The good news is that we are at a point in our history when we *actually* have the wherewithal — both the knowledge and the material resources — to launch an honest and effective attack on the violent crime that still afflicts us, in ways that are both enduring and community-wise. Since the late 1960s and based on scientific evaluations, we have learned a great deal about what doesn't work and about what does work to insure domestic tranquility *at the same time* that we establish justice. America has the scientific information and the money to replicate what works at a scale equal to the dimensions of the problem.

7. Much of what *doesn't* work also is immoral — like tax breaks for the rich while young child poverty is almost 25% and more spending by the states on prison building than on higher education.
8. Local television news too often emphasizes violence and too seldom produces thoughtful stories on what works. This helps create a "mean world syndrome" in the minds of viewers, who then often conclude that nothing works. In terms of network television entertainment violence, not every child who watches a lot of violence or plays a lot of violent games will grow up to be violent. Other forces must converge, as they did recently in Colorado. But just as every cigarette increases the chance that someday you will get lung cancer, every exposure to violence increases the chances that some day a child will behave more violently than they would otherwise.
9. If there ever were a metaphor for a failure of democracy, lack of firearms control may be it. The firearms death rate in America is eight times greater than those of the 25 other wealthy nations combined. In the late 1960s, there were 90 million firearms in the U.S. Today, there are almost 200 million firearms in this country. They are no longer mostly designed for hunting and target-shooting. Today, most are high-powered, rapid-firing, easily-concealed weapons that have no other logical function than to kill humans. The impact of a flood of such weapons into an urban society is profound. Any confused teenager feeling disparaged by fellow students can blow a number of them away. A worker who has problems on the job can put an end to it with a massacre at the office. A litigant who feels wronged by the justice system can set it right by shooting up the courthouse. Most people resolve things in a more reasonable way — but in a nation of 230 million people and 200 million firearms, the law of averages is producing a growing number of massacres. In the 1960s, the dialogue on firearm violence was dominated by political assassinations and the shock of losing some of our nation's most promising leaders. In the 1990s, the dialogue has shifted to our children, and to public shootings in schools, places of worship and day care centers.
10. Dominated by the economic system, America's leaders presently lack the will to act, to replicate to scale what we already know to work based on scientific evidence — in spite of considerable public opinion to the contrary and unprecedented prosperity.

*Principal Policy
Recommendations*

1. A new "grassroots federalism" is needed in which the federal government identifies sufficient resources to replicate what works to a scale equal to the dimensions of the problem — but then targets most funds directly to local governments, and to the local, private, nonprofit organizations responsible for so much of what works. With the economic boom, we can find the money now to replicate to scale. The federal government also should require revenue sharing alliances among central cities, inner ring suburbs and, if possible, suburbs further out. The model experience of Minnesota should be replicated widely.
2. Funding priority needs to be given to replicating to scale investments that have proven through scientific evaluations to reduce crime *at the same time* they improve educational performance and help develop children, youth and young adults in positive directions. Most of these successes *also* reduce drug involvement and increase employability. Leading examples include Head Start preschool; safe havens after school — like the Dorchester Youth Collaborative in Boston, Koban, Inc. in South Carolina, and Centro Isolina Ferré in San Juan; the public School Development Plan of Professor James Comer at Yale University; full service community schools, like the El Puente Academy in Brooklyn, where nonprofit organizations partner with individual inner-city schools; the Ford Foundation's Quantum Opportunities Program to keep inner-city youth in high school; the South Bronx Argus Community's "training first" (not "work first") job preparation investments in out-of-school youth; YouthBuild USA in which drop outs rehab houses; problem-oriented, community-equity policing in which minority officers are trained by local, private, nonprofit organizations to mentor-at-risk youth; and the San Francisco Delancey Street model for self-sufficient reintegration of ex-offenders. To better measure the successes of replicating what works to scale, we need new measures of endemic criminality.
3. To help finance what works to scale, we need to cut back on programs that don't work — including the "war on drugs," prison building, boot camps, supply side tax breaks to the rich, Enterprise Zones, and the Job Training Partnership Act for high risk youth. We need to reduce by a fraction affirmative action for the rich, corporate welfare and the military budget. We need to use a fraction of any future budget surpluses.
4. To support what works, we need a macroeconomic policy that gives first priority to eliminating child poverty and generating full employment for the hardest to employ in the inner city and in pockets of rural poverty. In spite of official and media reports, the present "jobs gap" for the hard-to-employ is perhaps 4 million — not counting the almost 2 million in prison. To generate jobs, we need to invest in more local, private, nonprofit community development corporations, as pioneered by the Ford Foundation and modeled after Robert Kennedy's Mobilization for Youth, and invest in local, private, community-based banking, like Chicago's South Shore Bank, on a much broader scale. The for-profit private sector should be encouraged to close as much of the "jobs gap" for the hardest to employ as it is willing and able. But public sector jobs are needed. Public urban infrastructure regeneration is in great demand, as is public service employment — especially for child care, work in schools, and work with local inner city nonprofit organizations.
5. Federal and local policy should significantly shift away from prison building and toward cheaper, more effective treatment alternatives in the community, following the model of the state of Arizona. Interrelated models of success like Delancey Street for the reintegration of ex-offenders, drug courts and community courts should be replicated much more widely. A National Sentencing and Drug Treatment Commission should be formed to review federal and state sentencing practices, the impact of recent sentencing trends on the fiscal health and public responsibilities of state and federal governments, the impact on serious crime, and the feasibility of a broad range of alternatives. The Commission should gather evidence on promising alternatives, including innovations in other nations that have kept their levels of incarceration relatively low by American standards.

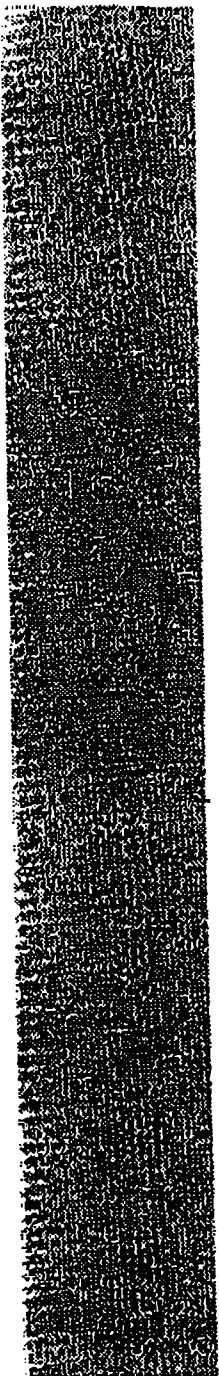
The Commission should propose a new policy to eliminate the disparity in sentencing between crack and powder cocaine, by reducing excessively long sentences for crack-related offenses.

6. Established progressive foundations and new foundations generated by information technology fortunes should fund a major new communicating what works movement that lets citizens know we do have the answers. "Television Schools" need to be funded to train perhaps a thousand nonprofit leaders each year in how to perform effectively on television, how to advocate for reduced violence on television news and how to organize to persuade media to increase news on what works. The clergy need to be organized to communicate that we know what works and that what doesn't work often is immoral. Building on ideas by Bill Moyers, "high tech pamphleteering" needs to be funded to create a new generation of advocacy-based, community web sites, run by grassroots, private, nonprofit organizations and the youth they serve. The sites should function as ongoing town meetings, debate reform, reformulate budget priorities, organize against local television news that leads with violence and fails to report on what works, and support candidates who have a what works agenda.

At the same time, the federal government should reduce the power of big media conglomerates so we can reduce entertainment and commercial violence on television, reinvigorate public television, and establish a national media literacy policy as a core component of the K-12 education curriculum. National nonprofit organizations should advocate that the television industry needs to pay for use of the electromagnetic spectrum. Presently it doesn't. This amounts to taxpayer subsidies of billions per year — almost enough to fully fund Head Start.

7. Established progressive foundations and new foundations generated by information technology fortunes should increase funding to private, nonprofit organizations, like Public Campaign, to educate the public and fight for lasting campaign finance reform to overturn our present "one dollar one vote democracy." We need to level the political playing field — so that more persons can be elected who are not beholden to an American economic system that presently runs our political system. In many ways, real campaign finance reform is the reform that makes possible the replication to scale of education and jobs programs that work in the inner city and for the truly disadvantaged.
8. Just as the President and Surgeon General successfully framed smoking as a public health issue and changed the tobacco industry, so they need to frame network television entertainment and commercial violence, local television news violence and firearms violence as public health issues requiring changes in industry behavior. Campaign finance reform will reinforce such a campaign by the President and Surgeon General, better controlling the power of media conglomerates and big money special interest groups that presently protect television and firearms violence.
9. Established progressive foundations and new foundations generated by information technology fortunes should increase funding to national and local nonprofit organizations and other citizens groups to educate the citizenry on the need for more state-based and local-based initiatives against firearms; local alliances between city residents and more conservative "soccer mom" suburbanites in the wake of the killings of youth in our schools; litigation against firearms manufacturers; a national handgun licensing system; a federal ban on Saturday night specials; and federal regulation of firearms as consumer products.
10. Private national and local nonprofit advocacy organizations should refocus their education and organizing efforts on the creation of a new voting majority, a new political alliance in America. The alliance should bring together middle income Americans (who often need 2 or 3 jobs in the family to make ends meet) wage earners (who need to be reminded that their CEO's earn on the average 419 times as much as they do) and the poor

(who suffered in the 1980s and hardly improved in the 1990s). The alliance should unite around an unfair economic deal, resentment over economic rewards to the rich that are disconnected from the efforts that go into securing them, and the education and training needed by the poor, working income people and middle income people to compete in the global marketplace.



Executive Summary

In June, 1968, a few days after the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy and 2 months after the assassination of the Reverend Martin Luther King, President Lyndon B. Johnson established the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence — with Johns Hopkins President Emeritus Milton S. Eisenhower as chairman and Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr. as vice-chairman. On December 10, 1969, the Commission issued its final report, preceded by many volumes of staff task force reports.

The Commission was bipartisan. In terms of philosophy, the views of Commission members ran the gamut from Judge Higginbotham, Michigan Senator Philip Hart, Ambassador Patricia Roberts Harris and longshoreman-philosopher Eric Hoffer to Terrence Cardinal Cooke, Ohio Representative William McCulloch, Arizona Judge William McFarland and Nebraska Senator Roman Hruska. (Appendix 1 has biographical summaries of all Trustees and Milton Eisenhower's letter of transmission to the President, dated December 10, 1969.)

Lacking public action, the Commission predicted, in 1969, a "city of the future" in which the affluent would escape to gated communities and more distant suburbs. The suburbs would be connected by "sanitized corridors" to high rise office buildings protected by high technology in central business districts that would become deserted at night. The corridors would run over or bypass "ghetto slum" neighborhoods — places of "terror and widespread crime."

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

Based on the Preamble to the Constitution, the Commission's final report on December 10, 1969 was titled, *To Establish Justice, to Insure Domestic Tranquillity*. Our principal finding is that, 30 years later, these goals have not been met.

How do we stand on justice today? Almost a quarter of all children five and under live in poverty. America is the most unequal country in the industrialized world in terms of income and wealth. The "digital divide" is accelerating the gulf between our haves and have nots. The average CEO makes 419 times as much as the average worker, and this ratio has greatly increased over the last three decades. The states spend more on prison building than on higher education, whereas the opposite was true at the time of the Commission. One in three young African-American men is in prison, on probation or on parole, up from 1 in 4 a decade ago. The rate of incarceration of African-American men today is four times higher than the rate of incarceration of Black men in pre-Mandela, apartheid South Africa. A primary reason is the racial bias in our sentencing laws. Filled disproportionately by minorities, our rapidly expanding prison-industrial complex is run by white men, and rural white communities send lobbyists to Washington to win grants for prisons to help in local economic development.

How do we stand on domestic tranquility today? There have been drops in violent crime, fear and unemployment since about 1993. That is welcome news — though homicide increased by about 10% in New York City in 1999.

However the short-run decline in fear and violence since 1993 has led politicians and the media to a new and misplaced "triumphalism." To some extent, the new triumphalism represents a state of denial — in which we exaggerate our recent successes against serious crime and ignore the implications of our high violence rates vis-a-vis other countries, not to mention our vast prison population. But there is also another problem. Although there have been significant reductions in violent crime since the early 1990s, the new triumphalism is misleading on the "why" of those declines. This interpretation is dangerous, in that it could lead us to adopt (or to continue) all the wrong anti-crime policies while ignoring the things that could make an enduring difference.

The misleading triumphalism has two facets. First, it exaggerates the role of tough sentencing laws and tough "zero tolerance" policing in accounting for the welcome declines in crime in the last few years. Second, it *underestimates* the role of other, economic and human investment factors, like reduced unemployment, that may be more important. Put together, those twin fallacies constitute the core of a rigid policy ideology. In the words of historian Barbara Tuchman, "Rigidifying leads to increase of investment and the need to protect egos; policy founded on error multiplies, never retreats."

Most important, in spite of our present short run gains and in spite of a sevenfold increase in the prison population since the Violence Commission, fear and violent crime is for the most part *higher* today than in 1969, when a Commission task force report said "few things are more pervasive, more frightening, more real today than violent crime and the fear of being assaulted, mugged, robbed or raped."

Specifically, in a national poll in 1967, Americans were asked, "Is there any area right around here — that is within a mile — where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" In 1967, 31% answered yes. In 1998, 41% answered yes. Similarly, the FBI Index of violent crime (murder, rape, robbery and assault combined) has increased from a big city offense rate per 100,000 of 860 in 1969 to 1218 in 1998. (Appendix 5). America's rates of violence remain *much higher* than most other industrialized nations, as in the 1960s. Today the rate of homicide death for a young man is 23 times higher in the U.S. than in England. In 1995, handguns were used to kill two people in New Zealand, 15 in Japan, 30 in Great Britain, 106 in Canada, 213 in Germany and 9,390 in the United States.

HOW OFFICIALS AND THE MEDIA UNDERREPORT CRIMINALITY

One of the most distinctive things about the United States with respect to crime and punishment is that we not only have an unusually high level of serious violent crime but we maintain that high level of violent crime despite the fact that we *also* boast the highest level of incarceration of any country in the world but one (and when it comes to incarceration for ordinary street crimes, we probably even beat Russia).

This distinction points to a serious defect in the crime statistics used by our officials and reported by the media. What we call the "crime rate" measures the activity of those criminals who are still on the street. That kind of measure is useful in many ways. But as a measure of the deeper problem of criminality — as an indicator of the tendency of our society to produce criminals — it is obviously defective. Measuring crime this way is like measuring the extent of some physical illness in our society while systematically excluding from the count all those people who are so sick we've had to put them in the hospital. No one would think of doing that in the field of public health. We do it as a matter of course when it comes to the official crime statistics used by our leaders and the media.

If we were to measure our crime problem by our tendency to produce *criminality*, then we may be in a real sense losing the "war on crime" even as we have successfully hidden some of the losses behind prison walls — and therefore appear superficially to be winning it.

That obviously gives us a very different sense of the health of our society and the effectiveness of our present policies. But looking at crime this way is only common sense. We feel intuitively that something is *especially* wrong if we have *both* very high rates of violent crime *and* very high incarceration rates, at the same time — something that isn't captured in the conventional crime rate alone. Suppose two countries have the same official rate of violent crime, but 1 country has, proportionally, five times as many violent offenders behind bars. Do they really have the same violent crime problem?

This is much more than a statistical quibble. The fact is that this is the way we go about measuring most *other* social ills — with the exception of criminality. In a reasonable culture we would not say we had won the war against disease just because we had moved a lot of sick people from their homes to hospital wards. And in a reasonable culture we would not say we have won the war against crime just because we have moved a lot of criminals from the community into prison cells.

WHAT WORKS?

Yet, since the Violence Commission, we have learned a great deal about policy that doesn't work and that does work, based on scientific evaluation. Accordingly, our primary policy recommendation in this 30 year update is to stop doing what doesn't work and to replicate what does work — but at a scale equal to the dimensions of the problem.

What doesn't work particularly well includes prison building, bootcamps, "zero tolerance" policing, the "war on drugs," supply side tax breaks for the rich, Enterprise Zones and the Job Training Partnership Act for high school dropouts.

What doesn't work often is sugar coated with false political rhetoric. For example, America won the Gulf War in the early 1990s with sufficient numbers of sufficiently paid staff and good equipment. Yet we are told that money for staff and equipment for inner city schools and for dynamic, private inner city, nonprofit organizations is not available. Instead, we often are told, inner city solutions largely should be based on "volunteerism," "self-sufficiency" and "empowerment." Sometimes, that is a double standard by officials who will not invest in human capital.

What doesn't work also can be immoral. For example, we believe it is immoral for the states to spend more on prison building than higher education, especially when almost a quarter of the youngest children live in poverty. There is a need for a national campaign to mobilize the clergy to regain the high moral ground.

What works, based on scientific evaluation? Leading examples include Head Start preschool, safe havens after school, the public School Development Plan of Professor James Comer at Yale University, full service community schools in which nonprofit organizations partner with individual inner-city schools, the Ford Foundation's Quantum Opportunities Program to keep inner-city youth in high school and "training first" (not "work first") job preparation for out-of-school youth modeled after the Argus Community in the South Bronx. *All of these successes reduce crime.* All also improve educational performance and develop youth in positive directions. Most also reduce drug involvement and improve employability. All have been successfully replicated.

Other examples of what works include YouthBuild USA, in which dropouts rehab housing; nonprofit community development corporations, modeled after Robert Kennedy's Mobilization for Youth, to generate inner city jobs; community-based banking to generate inner-city capital; problem-oriented, community-equity policing in which young minority officers mentor youth; diversion of nonviolent offenders from prison to treatment as begun by the State of Arizona; proven high quality drug treatment in the community closely integrated with local drug courts; the Delancey Street model in San Francisco for self-sufficiently reintegrating ex-offenders back into the community; and in-prison drug treatment like Delaware's Key Program.

Together, these existing successes simultaneously reduce crime and fear, improve education, increase employment and economically develop the community. Replicated to scale by knowledgeable leaders, *what we already know to work* can create a comprehensive, interdependent, national urban and criminal justice policy that simultaneously

establishes justice and insures domestic tranquility. Such investment needs to be supported by a national economic policy that gives first priority to eliminating child poverty and creating full employment for all, including, especially, the hard-to-employ in the inner city and pockets of rural poverty.

A NEW GRASSROOTS FEDERALISM

Corporations should be asked to play as great a role as they are capable of in such a policy — especially in terms of training and jobs. But the failure of supply side economics has made it painfully clear that only the federal government can raise the funds needed for a national policy that replicates what works to scale, eliminates child poverty and secures full employment for the hard-to-employ. At the same time, we need a new grassroots federalism in which the federal government then distributes most resources directly to local government, and especially to the private, nonprofit, inner-city organizations responsible for so much of what works.

Grassroots federalism replicated to scale should be financed through reductions in programs that don't work; fractional reductions in affirmative action for the rich, corporate welfare and the military budget; and use of a small part of the budget surplus. If, as part of its \$1.8T federal budget, the nation will not find the resources to replicate what works to scale during an unprecedented economic boom, it is uncertain whether America ever will solve its endemic problems, *even though we have the knowledge to do so.*

CHANGING THE WILL OF OUR LEADERS

Public opinion polls tend to support the priorities set forth on these pages. For example, new public opinion findings by Albert and Susan Cantril show a majority of voters are against "government" in the abstract but for specific government investments, especially in education, training and jobs.

In spite of public opinion to the contrary, too much federal legislation in recent years has sought to expand programs that don't work and reduce programs that do work. Nor has there been any federal legislative attempt to replicate what works to a scale equal to the dimensions of the problem.

To change the will and action of political leaders, and, if necessary, to help bypass them through grassroots action and referendums, we need real campaign finance reform and a communicating what works movement that better informs voters that we do have the answers. One part of such a movement is training thousands of grassroots, nonprofit inner city leaders, advocates and clergy in "Television School," to learn how to combat the overemphasis by local television news on negative and violent stories and underemphasis on stories about what works. These local television news priorities can cause many average citizens to believe no positive solutions exist. Another part is for new foundations based on information age fortunes to fund local community web sites through which grassroots leaders and clergy can organize advocacy against misleading mainstream media and for candidates pledged to what works.

SENTENCING, MEDIA AND FIREARMS

A comprehensive national policy based on existing scientific evidence needs to reduce the disparity in sentencing between crack and powder cocaine, by reducing excessively long sentences for crack-related offenses; reduce the power of big media conglomerates so we can diminish entertainment and commercial violence on television; reinvigorate public television; create a national media literacy policy as a core component of the K-12 education curriculum; link firearms control to campaign finance reform; reinforce recent state and local successes in firearms control; encourage litigation against firearms manufacturers; create a national firearms licensing system; enact a federal ban on Saturday night specials; and regulate firearms as consumer products. There is considerable public opinion to support these recommendations — including, for example, new political alliances between central city residents and more conservative "soccer mom" suburbanites in the wake of the recent wave of gun killings of children and youth in our schools, day care centers and places of worship.

A NEW POLITICAL ALLIANCE

To turn our recommendations into policy, we need a new voting majority, a new political alliance. The alliance must bring together middle income Americans (who often need two or three jobs in the family to make ends meet) wage earners (who need to know that their CEOs earn on the average 419 times as much as they do) and the poor (who suffered in the 1980s and hardly improved in the 1990s). The alliance should be based on the common ground of education and re-education, training and re-training for the global marketplace. It also should be based on growing resentment by many Americans of an unfair economic deal — in which the wealth of the super rich who are getting richer is not earned, but falls into place without effort as a result of our one dollar, one vote democracy.

In the late 1960s, after numbing assassinations and street riots, and with an understanding of how America's culture of violence produced crime rates far higher than other industrialized nations, the Violence Commission concluded that the greatness and durability of most civilizations has been determined not by external assault but by internal decay. Our civilization will be no exception.

The challenges within America require vision, not incrementalism and policy bites. Vision is needed from the grassroots to the White House. We need big solutions to big problems. That is what America always has been about. It is about dreaming and trying to fulfill those dreams, however long they may have been deferred.

In the words of historian James MacGregor Burns, "While centrists cautiously seek the middle way, leaders in science, technology, education, entertainment, finance and the media pursue their own transforming visions."² Isn't it time to establish justice and insure domestic tranquility through the transforming visions of grassroots movements and, perhaps, even of our leaders?