



ADDRESS TO THE ACADEMY OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE SCIENCES

"CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESEARCH IN THE 1980'S:
NEW APPROACHES TO CRITICAL PROBLEMS"

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IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE HERE TODAY.

I PARTICULARLY WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THIS IMPORTANT GROUP -- WHICH PROVIDES EDUCATORS, RESEARCHERS AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE PRACTITIONERS WITH A FORUM TO PURSUE AN ACTIVE PARTNERSHIP. A PARTNERSHIP TO PROMOTE THE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS, INSIGHTS AND EXPERIENCES WHICH IS VITAL TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY-RELEVANT RESEARCH IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

THE ACADEMY OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE SCIENCES REFLECTS -- IN ITS MEMBERSHIP AIMS AND PUBLICATIONS -- THE IMPORTANCE OF THAT PARTNERSHIP. I APPLAUD YOUR EFFORT TO ENCOURAGE NEW PEOPLE AND IDEAS IN THE FIELD OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESEARCH. IN SEEKING TO UPGRADE THE STANDARDS OF EDUCATION AND TO ADDRESS THE SPECIFIC NEEDS OF POLICY-MAKERS AND PRACTITIONERS, YOU ARE ESTABLISHING THE CREDIBILITY OF JUSTICE RESEARCH AS A SCIENCE.

YOUR ROLE HAS NEVER BEEN MORE CRITICAL THAN TODAY -- WHEN MANY OF THE ASSUMPTIONS WHICH HAVE DOMINATED OUR RESPONSE TO

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CRIME AND PUNISHMENT OVER THE LAST 20 YEARS ARE BEING QUESTIONED. QUESTIONED NOT ONLY BY CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROFESSIONALS, BUT BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

POLICY-MAKERS ARE CONFRONTED BY A GROWING SENSE OF PUBLIC FRUSTRATION. A SENSE THAT WE HAVE LOST A PROPER BALANCE IN AMERICAN JURISPRUDENCE. LOST A SENSE OF THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSES OF JUSTICE -- AND OF WHOM THE JUSTICE SYSTEM EXISTS TO SERVE.

THAT FRUSTRATION IS REFLECTED IN THE RELUCTANCE OF THE PUBLIC TO CONTRIBUTE ADDITIONAL FISCAL RESOURCES TO A JUSTICE SYSTEM THAT IS NOT FULFILLING THEIR EXPECTATIONS OF IT. THAT DOES NOT SEEM TO BE EFFECTIVE IN CONTROLLING CRIME. AND, IN THIS CLIMATE, POLICY-MAKERS NEED NEW IDEAS AND STRATEGIES OF DIRECT PRACTICAL USE IN FIGHTING CRIME. THEY NEED THE HARD KNOWLEDGE THAT RESEARCH CAN GENERATE. KNOWLEDGE THAT CAN PIERCE THROUGH THE ACCEPTED WISDOM -- AND EXAMINE THE ISSUES OF FUNDAMENTAL CONCERN.

IF WE ARE TO RESPOND TO THAT NEED, THEN WE -- AS CRIMINAL

JUSTICE PROFESSIONALS -- MUST RE-EXAMINE OUR OWN ASSUMPTIONS. WE NEED TO REFLECT ON OUR ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES. TO LOOK AT THE LESSONS LEARNED FROM OUR FAILURES AND OUR SUCCESSES. WE NEED TO DEVELOP A COHERENT AND EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO THE NEW TRENDS IN OUR SOCIETY.

RESEARCH MUST BE PERTINENT TO THE TIMES. OUR USEFULNESS DEPENDS ON OUR RECOGNIZING AND ACTING TO MEET THESE NEW TRENDS. TO MEET THE NEED FOR CHANGE. BUT MORE FUNDAMENTALLY, THE SURVIVAL AND GROWTH OF OUR SOCIETY REQUIRES THE VISION THAT WILL ALLOW US TO ADAPT. THOMAS JEFFERSON EXPRESSED IT WELL, OVER 200 YEARS AGO, WHEN HE SAID: "I AM NOT AN ADVOCATE FOR FREQUENT CHANGES IN LAWS AND CONSTITUTION. BUT LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS MUST GO HAND IN HAND WITH THE PROGRESS OF THE HUMAN MIND. AS THAT BECOMES MORE DEVELOPED AND MORE ENLIGHTENED AS NEW DISCOVERIES ARE MADE, NEW TRUTHS DISCOVERED AND MANNERS AND OPINIONS CHANGE, WITH THE CHANGES OF CIRCUMSTANCES, INSTITUTIONS MUST ADVANCE ALSO TO KEEP PACE WITH THE TIME. WE MIGHT AS WELL REQUIRE A MAN TO

WEAR STILL THE COAT WHICH FITTED HIM WHEN A BOY AS CIVILIZED SOCIETY TO REMAIN EVEN UNDER THE REGIME OF THEIR BARBARIC ANCESTORS."

AND THIS IS, INDEED, A TIME OF DRAMATIC CHANGE IN THIS COUNTRY. A TIME OF REAPPRAISAL AND TRANSITION -- NOT ONLY IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE, BUT IN ALMOST EVERY SPHERE ON AMERICAN LIFE.

THERE IS A RESURGENT SPIRIT OF SELF-RELIANCE AMONG AMERICANS TODAY. AND A MOOD OF ACTIVISM IN THE BODY POLITIC. AMERICANS HAVE BEGUN TO REALIZE THAT IN A FREE DEMOCRACY, GOVERNMENT CANNOT -- AND WAS NEVER INTENDED TO -- COMPLETELY MEET THE NEEDS OF SOCIETY. AND TODAY MORE AND MORE AMERICANS WANT TO INFLUENCE THE ACTIONS OF GOVERNMENT. THEY WANT TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN SHAPING THE CRITICAL DECISIONS WHICH AFFECT THEIR LIVES. THEY ARE REDISCOVERING A FAITH IN THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION -- AND MOVING AWAY FROM THE PASSIVE DEPENDENTS OF INSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY WHICH HAS PREVAILED SINCE THE 1930'S.

THAT TENDENCY TO DEPEND ON CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WAS, IN PART,

A RESULT OF THE DEPRESSION -- WHEN THE CONFIDENCE OF AMERICANS IN THE INDIVIDUAL'S ABILITY TO TAKE CARE OF HIMSELF WAS BADLY SHAKEN, WHEN AMERICANS FELT, THAT IF SUCH A DISASTER WERE TO BE AVOIDED IN THE FUTURE, THEN MORE POWER HAD TO BE ENTRUSTED TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, TO LARGE INSTITUTIONS. AND THAT SENSE OF VULNERABILITY, OF INSECURITY, GAVE RISE TO THE POLITICS OF EXPERTISE. AND LED TO AN ERA OF WITHDRAWAL IN AMERICA THAT SHOWED ITSELF IN NUMEROUS WAYS.

IT SHOWED ITSELF IN THE HEALTH FIELD -- WHERE AMERICANS RELIED ON MEDICAL SCIENCE FOR THEIR WELL-BEING. IT SHOWED ITSELF IN EDUCATION -- WHERE AMERICANS HANDED THEIR CHILDREN OVER TO THE SCHOOLS. IT WAS EVIDENT IN HOUSING. IN THE CARE OF THE ELDERLY -- AND IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE FIELD.

AS A POLICE OFFICER IN OAKLAND, IN THE 1960'S, MY TRAINING STRESSED THE IDEA OF PROFESSIONALISM IN LAW ENFORCEMENT. THE IDEA THAT THE PRIVATE CITIZEN WOULD ONLY OBSTRUCT THE EXPERT -- AND SHOULD NOT GET INVOLVED IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CRIME.

YET IF THE 60'S CAN BE INCLUDED IN THE ERA OF THE EXPERT -- OF CITIZEN WITHDRAWAL -- THEN IT ALSO CONTAINED THE SEEDS OF THE RENEWAL THAT WE ARE WITNESSING TODAY. IT WAS A TIME OF QUESTIONING. WHEN MANY YOUNG AMERICANS BEGAN TO CHALLENGE THE POWER OF INSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY. WHEN THEY BEGAN TO ATTACK GOVERNMENT POLICY ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES, FROM ENVIRONMENTAL PRESERVATION TO CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE VIETNAM WAR.

AS THAT GENERATION MATURED INTO THE 1970'S, THEY DID NOT GIVE UP THE CHALLENGE. RATHER, IT CHANGED IN QUALITY. IT CEASED TO BE MERELY A MATTER OF BLAME -- OR REBELLION. THE IDEA OF WITHDRAWING INTO AN 'ALTERNATIVE SOCIETY' WITHIN A SOCIETY, WAS DISCARDED. THE REBELLION OF THE 60'S EMERGED AS THE CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIVISM I MENTIONED EARLIER. AMERICANS RECOGNIZED THAT CHALLENGING AUTHORITY REQUIRES INDIVIDUALS TO DEVELOP AND ACTIVELY CHAMPION VIABLE NEW ALTERNATIVES. THAT IF INDIVIDUALS WERE JUSTIFIED IN HOLDING OTHERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR ACTIONS -- THEN INDIVIDUALS MUST, THEMSELVES, ACT RESPONSIBLY.

THAT RECOGNITION WAS REFLECTED IN A VARIETY OF NEW ATTITUDES. AMERICANS BEGAN TO QUESTION THE INVINCIBILITY OF MEDICAL SCIENCE. THEY SAY THAT IN HEALTH, PREVENTION IS BETTER THAN CURE -- AND THAT THE INDIVIDUAL, THROUGH SELF-CARE, COULD TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR HIS OWN WELL-BEING. THE SAME IS TRUE IN EDUCATION WHERE PARENTS HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY INVOLVED IN HOW OUR CHILDREN ARE EDUCATED.

AND IN CONFRONTING CRIME, AMERICANS BEGAN TO CHALLENGE MANY OF OUR ASSUMPTIONS. THEY CHALLENGE THE IDEA THAT CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR WAS LARGELY SOCIETY'S FAULT. THAT CRIMINALS BORE ONLY A LIMITED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR ACTIONS. AND THAT THEREFORE, PUNISHMENT WAS UNJUSTIFIED. AND OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE, THEY CHALLENGE THE IDEA THAT CITIZENS COULD DO LITTLE TO PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM CRIME. THEY CHALLENGE THE ETHOS OF EXPERTISE. AND IT IS THIS NEW SPIRIT OF INVOLVEMENT AND CHALLENGE THAT FACES CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROFESSIONALS TODAY. THAT FORCES US TO EXAMINE THE ASSUMPTIONS OF THE LAST 20 YEARS AND THE POLICIES THEY

PRODUCED.

CONSIDER SENTENCING AND PRISON POLICY. THE ACCEPTED WISDOM HELD THAT PRISONS WERE OF LITTLE OR NO USE IN CONTROLLING CRIME. THAT THEIR EFFECT, IF ANYTHING, WAS NEGATIVE. THAT THEIR PURPOSE SHOULD BE TO REHABILITATE -- NOT TO PUNISH.

AS A RESULT, WE LARGELY FAILED TO INCREASE PRISON SPACE, AND ARE NOW ALL TOO FAMILIAR WITH THE CHARGE THAT OUR PRISONS AND JAILS ARE OVER-CROWDED. THAT AT 450,000 INMATES, OUR PRISON POPULATION IS TOO HIGH. AND IT IS TRUE THAT THE PRISON POPULATION HAS RISEN TO AN ALL TIME HIGH. BUT THE CRUCIAL CONSIDERATION IS NOT THE COMPARISON BETWEEN PRISON POPULATIONS NOW AND IN THE PAST. IT IS BETWEEN PRISON POPULATIONS AND THE CRIME RATE. AND CRIME RATES HAVE SOARED SINCE THE 1960'S. AMERICANS WERE THE VICTIMS OF 5 MILLION VIOLENT CRIMES LAST YEAR -- 40 MILLION CRIMES IN ALL. YET TODAY, THE RISK OF IMPRISONMENT TO OFFENDERS IS ONLY HALF THAT OF 1960.

THAT SITUATION HAS LED TO A PUBLIC DEMAND FOR GREATER

SEVERITY IN SENTENCING. AND A DEMAND THAT CONVICTED CRIMINALS SHOULD SERVE MOST -- IF NOT ALL -- OF THE SENTENCING IMPOSED. LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT PROTECTION FROM THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM. AND INCREASINGLY, THEY ARE INSISTING THAT THE CRIMINAL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS ACTIONS -- AND BE PUNISHED.

ANOTHER AREA WHERE PUBLIC SENTIMENT HAS UNDERGONE A DRASTIC CHANGE REGARDS THE TREATMENT OF VICTIMS. WHILE THE RIGHTS OF THE DEFENDANT ARE EXPLICIT IN OUR CONSTITUTION -- AND ARE JEALOUSLY GUARDED IN PRACTICE -- THE RIGHTS OF THE VICTIM HAVE BEEN NEGLECTED. FOR THEM THE INITIAL VICTIMIZATION IS OFTEN ONLY THE BEGINNING OF THE ORDEAL.

THE DEFENDANT ASKS FOR REPEATED CONTINUANCES AND GET THEM. THE VICTIM ISN'T CONSULTED. AWAITING TRIAL, THE DEFENDANT IS HOUSED, CLOTHED, FED AND GIVEN MEDICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTENTION. THE VICTIM IS IGNORED. VICTIMS ARE OFTEN NOT INFORMED IF THEIR ASSAILANT IS OUT ON BAIL. OR OF THE SENTENCE

IMPOSED. OR ABOUT PROBATION OR PAROLE DECISIONS.

YET, THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM EXISTS, FIRST AND FOREMOST, TO REDRESS THE GRIEVANCES OF THE VICTIM.

THE DISCONTENT AMONG AMERICANS WITH THE TREATMENT OF VICTIMS IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IS, PERHAPS, MOST CLEARLY ILLUSTRATED BY THE NOW FAMOUS RESPONSE OF CITIZENS IN CALIFORNIA.

IN 1982, PROPOSITION 8 APPEARED ON THE BALLOT FORMS IN THE CALIFORNIA STATE ELECTIONS. IT CALLED FOR FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE STATE CONSTITUTION AND PENAL CODE. AND INCLUDED THE 'VICTIM'S BILL OF RIGHTS.' PROPOSITION 8 GREW FROM A SENSE OF PUBLIC FRUSTRATION. AND A LARGE MAJORITY OF VOTERS SUPPORTED IT AT THE POLLS. ITS RECOMMENDATIONS ARE NOW IN FORCE THROUGHOUT CALIFORNIA. AND IT IS A CLEAR EXAMPLE OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ORGANIZED ACTION BY PRIVATE CITIZENS.

IN A RELATED AREA, AS PART OF THE EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE TREATMENT OF VICTIMS - AND TO ENSURE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM - THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE

SPONSORED A NATIONAL JUDICIAL CONFERENCE ON VICTIM'S RIGHTS. WE KNEW THAT JUDGES WERE KEY PLAYERS IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROCESS. WE KNEW THEY HAD THE POWER TO BRING ABOUT CRUCIAL CHANGES IN THAT PROCESS. AND AT THE END OF LAST YEAR, WE BROUGHT TOGETHER 104 JUDGES FROM ACROSS THE UNITED STATES.

BUT THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE LIES IN THE RECOGNITION, BY THOSE JUDGES, OF THE NEED FOR CHANGE. AND THE RECOGNITION THAT THEY HAD THE POWER -- AT THE LOCAL LEVEL AND WITHOUT THE NEED FOR EXTENSIVE NEW LEGISLATION -- TO INTRODUCE IMPORTANT INNOVATIONS. DURING THAT HISTORIC MEETING, THOSE JUDGES DEVELOPED A SERIES OF MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS. AND ASSUMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR IMPLEMENTING REFORM IN THEIR STATES.

BUT PERHAPS THE MOST DRAMATIC EXAMPLE OF CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT IN THE FIELD OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE COMES FROM THE GROWING PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION GROUPS AND THE POLICE. WHERE CITIZENS ARE TAKING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR OWN WELL-BEING -- AND THAT OF THEIR NEIGHBORS. PROGRAMS LIKE

NEIGHBORHOOD WATCH, APARTMENT WATCH AND CRIME STOPPERS HAVE SPREAD ACROSS AMERICA. THEY HAVE PROVEN SUCCESSFUL -- AND PROVIDE ELOQUENT TESTIMONY TO THE NEW SENSE OF COMMITMENT AND CARING AMONG AMERICANS TODAY. SINCE 1981, THESE PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN CREDITED WITH SOLVING 46,000 CRIMES -- AND THE RECOVERY OF PROPERTY AND NARCOTICS WORTH AN ESTIMATED \$183 MILLION.

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE IS DEDICATED TO PROMOTING THE KIND OF INITIATIVES I'VE MENTIONED. WE ARE CURRENTLY EVALUATING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SENTENCING GUIDELINES AND MANDATORY SENTENCING -- AS MEASURES TO CREATE GREATER CONSISTENCY IN SENTENCING.

WE ARE EXPLORING A VARIETY OF NEW APPROACHES IN THE FIELD OF CORRECTIONS. WE ALREADY KNOW THAT PRISON DOES EFFECTIVELY INCAPACITATE CRIMINALS. AND THERE IS EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT GREATER CERTAINTY OF PUNISHMENT DOES HAVE A DETERRENCE EFFECT. INDEED, RESEARCH INDICATES THAT, CONTRARY TO PREVIOUS ASSUMPTIONS, PRISON MAY BE BOTH THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND THE MOST

ECONOMIC MECHANISM FOR PREVENTING CRIME.

THE INSTITUTE IS SEEKING TO ANSWER SOME OF THE SERIOUS QUESTIONS RAISED CONCERNING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF REHABILITATION PROGRAMS. WE ARE LOOKING AT BETTER WAYS OF UTILIZING EXISTING PRISON SPACE -- AND AT ECONOMIC WAYS OF INCREASING SPACE.

THE INSTITUTE IS LOOKING AT THE REFORMS INTRODUCED IN CALIFORNIA TO EVALUATE THE BENEFITS OF CONSULTING VICTIMS ON CONTINUANCES. OF ALLOWING VICTIM IMPACT STATEMENTS DURING COURT PROCEEDINGS. AND OF VICTIM PARTICIPATION IN PROBATION AND PAROLE HEARINGS.

THESE ARE JUST A FEW EXAMPLES THAT SERVE TO ILLUSTRATE THE INSTITUTE'S COMMITMENT TO A RESEARCH AGENDA DESIGNED TO FACILITATE AND IMPROVE THE INITIATIVES OF PRIVATE CITIZENS. TO DEVELOP THE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN LAW ENFORCEMENT AND COMMUNITY GROUPS. TO BUILD A BODY OF POLICY-RELEVANT RESEARCH LITERATURE. AND TO GET THE WORD OUT TO THE POLICY-MAKERS AND PRACTITIONERS WHO NEED IT.

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THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE HAS -- WITH THE GUIDANCE AND COUNSEL OF ITS ADVISORY BOARD; AND THROUGH CONSULTATIONS WITH EDUCATORS, RESEARCHERS AND PRACTITIONERS -- DEVELOPED A PROGRAM OF RESEARCH PRIORITIES WHICH REPRESENT THE MAJOR THRUST OF RESEARCH FOR THE FUTURE. MUCH OF WHAT I HAVE ALREADY DESCRIBED TO YOU AS BEING THE CRITICAL CONCERNS FOR THE FUTURE ARE INCORPORATED INTO OUR RESEARCH AGENDA.

THE INSTITUTE WILL CONTINUE TO REFINE AND IMPROVE METHODS OF IDENTIFYING THE HIGHLY-ACTIVELY CAREER CRIMINAL. WE WILL SEEK TO CONSOLIDATE ON THE SUCCESS OF RECENT COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION EFFORTS. THE INSTITUTE WILL CONDUCT STUDIES TO IMPROVE CRIME STOPPERS AND NEIGHBORHOOD WATCH INITIATIVES. AND WILL EXPLORE WAYS OF INVOLVING CORPORATE INTERESTS IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM ON A BROADER SCALE.

FUTURE RESEARCH WILL INCLUDE A MAJOR INITIATIVE TO HELP CRIMINAL JUSTICE ADMINISTRATORS MAKE BETTER COST EFFECTIVE CHOICES IN RESOURCE ALLOCATION. THE CRITICAL PROBLEM OF COURT

DELAY WILL CONTINUE TO BE A MAJOR PRIORITY. AND WE WILL EXAMINE THE FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE PRETRIAL RELEASE DECISIONS AND LOOK AT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ALTERNATIVE DISPUTE RESOLUTION FORUMS AS A WAY OF RELIEVING CASE BACKLOGS.

RESEARCH WILL CONTINUE TO PROMOTE BETTER TREATMENT OF VICTIMS IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM. AND WE WILL SEEK TO DEVELOP TECHNIQUES TO ENHANCE THEIR USEFULNESS AND EFFECTIVENESS AT TRIAL. STUDIES TO ASSIST PRISON OFFICIALS IN MANAGING CROWDED INSTITUTIONS ARE ALREADY UNDERWAY. AND THE INSTITUTE WILL EXAMINE VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES TO CONVENTIONAL INCARCERATION FOR CERTAIN CLASSES OF PRISONERS.

WE ARE LOOKING AT THE WIDER REPERCUSSIONS OF PROBATION AND PAROLE AND ARE EXAMINING THE IMPLICATIONS OF ABOLISHING PAROLE ALTOGETHER.

FINALLY, THE INSTITUTE WILL SUPPORT THIS ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORT TO IMPROVE COOPERATION AND COORDINATION AMONG LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES. WE WILL LOOK AT THE BENEFITS OF INCREASED

SHARING OF FEDERAL RESOURCES WITH STATE AND LOCAL JURISDICTIONS
-- AND SEEK TO ENHANCE THE LAW ENFORCEMENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
PROGRAM.

I BELIEVE THE PRIORITIES I HAVE JUST OUTLINED REPRESENT A
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WE HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TODAY, TO FORGE A NEW SOCIETY.
AMERICANS WANT A BETTER QUALITY OF LIFE -- AND ARE WILLING TO
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ALL MEN ARE HELD TO BE CREATED EQUAL. WHERE MEN ARE FREE -- AND

WHERE THAT FREEDOM IS GUARANTEED BY THE RULE OF LAW.

AMERICANS ARE SEEKING TO RECLAIM THAT FUNDAMENTAL
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WE ARE ON THE VERGE OF A NEW ERA IN THE UNITED STATES. AND
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