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BUFFALO SOLDIERS: PROUD TRADITION, MODERN SOLUTION

by

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ABSTRACT

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Crime is increasing throughout America. This study postulates that contemporary social upheaval - violence, substance abuse and disregard for law and order parallels post Civil War events that occurred as the United States transitioned from an agrarian to an industrial economy.

In the paper, the author recommends governmental utilization of an Army training model that replicates the post Civil War "Buffalo Soldier" regiment, the Tenth Cavalry. The regimental training model is a long-term partial solution for reducing the number of young criminals in America.

INTRODUCTION

During the first curricula course taught at the United States Army War College, the faculty encouraged the 1994 class to break paradigms. This paper breaks a number of paradigms to provide a partial solution to a complex American issue--the war on crime.

Crime is increasing throughout America. While many reasons exist for the increase, this paper focuses on answering the phenomena identified by economist Lester Thurow:

In the United States we are building a third world society inside a first world economy. The third world society kids living in Los Angeles are members of our [American] team. How do we make the American democratic system work so that the [total] team wins?¹

The goal of this paper is to recommend governmental adoption of an Army model that provides a long-term partial solution for reducing the increase of youthful criminals in America. The study assumes that the United States government, specifically the Executive and Legislative branches, could immediately direct the adoption of the paper's recommendation to designate the Army as the Federal Executive Agent for a model youth training program. To provide a long-term solution to a vexing social problem, federal agencies would contract the Army to develop and implement this model because the current programs of punishment and incarceration of youthful offenders have not been effective. The recommendation involves the Active Army in training selected multi-

cultural, multi-ethnic, underclass American youth aged 11 to 16 in critical citizenship skills at selected installations for a period that would not exceed one year.

Adoption of this paper's proactive recommendation provides immediate benefits by saving money; deterring youth from committing crimes; justifying the Army by its assumption of a critical societal mission; helping to provide American industry with a disciplined, capable workforce; developing a reliable, partially pre-trained mobilization base; providing selected installations with a mission; and providing the nation focus and consensus in revitalization of American "core values."

The paper's approach is pragmatic and based on the premise that the American Army is really the people's Army.² Review of history indicates "the people's Army" has been previously utilized to resolve social issues.

In the background section the paper cites selected events of the post-Civil War era as an example of the Army's use to implement social change and deter crime. Further, the background section identifies the Tenth Cavalry regiment as one successful Army model for training young men to become capable and productive citizens in society. Succeeding sections indicate the trends and current status of youth crime in America and cite specific conclusions for utilizing an Army model patterned after the successful Tenth Cavalry Regimental model to counter the contemporary American increase in youth crime. The concluding section identifies specific recommendations for implementing the model.

THE PAST: THE TENTH CAVALRY REGIMENT

Background

On July 28, 1866, Congress enacted legislation to reorganize and restructure the United States Army and to establish six black regiments in the regular Army.³ As a result of that legislation, the Tenth Cavalry Regiment was formed at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas in September 1866.

This section presents a historical synopsis of that legendary "Buffalo Soldier" Regiment. By way of introduction, a brief sketch of George Washington Williams, one of the first soldiers who joined the Tenth at Fort Leavenworth, is presented. Washington's biography reveals the positive affect of the Tenth Cavalry and Army service on his life and also introduces the succeeding historical perspective. Further, the section demonstrates that historical references exist for a program that targets and trains young men from humble beginnings so that, as with Williams, they can become good and proud American citizens. Finally this section provides the context of the regiment's formation as a means to parallel events of the post-Civil War era with contemporary American society and addresses the bureaucratic issues involved in establishing that program.

One Buffalo Soldier's Story⁴

*Out of the night that covers me,
Black as the pit from pole to Pole,
I thank whatever gods may be
For my unconquerable soul.⁵* William Ernest Henley

George Washington Williams was born in 1849 to free parents of humble beginnings in Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania. Williams ran away from home in 1864, joined the Union Army, and served during the last year of the Civil War. At the time of his enlistment in the United States Colored Troops, he was fourteen years old. After the War ended, Williams enlisted in the Tenth Cavalry.

Soldiering and learning to read were two of the many attributes Williams mastered while serving with the Tenth in the West. Other skills included self-discipline, goal setting, belief in self, belief in a supreme being, working with others, and communication skills. However, while campaigning Williams sustained serious injuries during an Indian raid and was medically discharged from the Tenth after serving for two years.

Following his discharge from the Army in 1868, Williams entered Newton Technological Seminary. In 1873 following his commencement, Williams pastored the Twelfth Baptist Church in Boston and then edited *The Commoner* newspaper in Washington, DC. He eventually settled in Cincinnati where he pastored a church, was a columnist for another newspaper, *The Commercial*, studied law with President William

Howard Taft's father, and became the first black member of the Ohio State Legislature. Later Williams served as a Special Envoy for President Harding on the status of African Americans.

This extraordinary gentleman was the first African-American historian. Williams researched, wrote, and published the first history of African-Americans, *The History of the Negro Race in America from 1619-1880* in 1883. His other major work, *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion* was published in 1888.

Although contemporary historian John Hope Franklin chronicled his life, George Washington Williams is virtually unknown. Yet this accomplished visionary represents the dreams and aspirations of millions of ethnic minority and poor youth because his accomplishments are a Horatio Alger story, representing the very essence of American ideals. Williams, or any other poor and/or black man, could have only accomplished such achievements during the nineteenth century in America where the training, exposure, and experience of service with the Tenth Cavalry broke the paradigm of humble birth.

The reason that the Tenth is to used in this analysis is because of the regiment's history as an American social experiment. As contrasted from the other three black regiments, or any white regiment of its day, the Tenth was an unheralded experimental program that incorporated military campaigning and hard work with special leadership training. For eighteen years, the regiment was led by one commander, Colonel Benjamin Grierson. In a style reminiscent of George Washington, Grierson's paternalism and enlightened leadership positively impacted the Tenth cavalrymen. Through judicious

treatment, training in citizenship, religion, human values and ethics, the Tenth changed young black men. The critical issue is that Williams' experience was extraordinary, but it was not unique among Tenth Cavalry veterans. His life would have been decidedly different had he not served in the Tenth Cavalry Regiment.

The Historical Perspective

After the Civil War ended at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, the victorious Union Army paraded in Washington, DC, on May 23 and May 24, 1865 and then quickly demobilized. The rapid downsizing reaffirmed the nation's abhorrence of war. But the subsequent peace revealed the effect of the war on American society. The Civil War changed social, political and economic institutions, including the Army.

Initially the Army's went from a wartime strength of 1,000,692 in 1865, to a peacetime strength of 57,072 in 1866.⁶ The Army returned to its prewar authorization of thirty regiments: 19 infantry, 5 artillery, and 6 cavalry.⁷ As the citizen-soldiers departed, the Regular Army assumed three operational missions. In effect, the missions required separate armies: The first was southern reconstruction duties; the second was the constabulary role of fighting Indians on the Frontier in the west; the third involved coastal protection for the east and the far west.

The Army Reorganization Act of 1866 raised the total regiment authorization to sixty: 45 infantry, 12 cavalry, and 5 artillery.⁸ Also, the Act reversed the government's pre-Civil War practice of excluding blacks from peacetime military service. Section 3 of

the Act authorized six regiments of black soldiers: four infantry--the 38th, 39th, 40th and 41st--and two cavalry--the Ninth and Tenth.⁹ Later, the Army Reorganization Act of 1869 subsequently consolidated the four infantry regiments into two, the 24th and 25th.¹⁰ The legislation contained special considerations for the Negro regiments. Each regiment was assigned a Chaplain to perform educational and spiritual duties in the unit. Prior to the 1866 Act, chaplains were assigned only at posts and stations.¹¹

The Act also provided for examinations of all the commanders of the regiments by a board of officers appointed by the Secretary of War.

Two years of active field service in the Civil War were required of all officers...two-thirds of those holding the rank of captain or above were drawn from the volunteer regiments and one-third from the Regular Army. Officers of lower rank were to be drawn exclusively from the volunteer service.¹²

The selection and appointment of officers to serve in the Tenth was based on the War Department's officer appointment and commissioning process. During the Civil War, more than eighty black officers served in the Union Army, including Frederick Douglass' son, H. Ford Douglass. The respective states commissioned all the black officers who obtained Federal recognition. During the Civil War, the War Department created the Bureau of Colored Troops (USCT) to raise black units and obtain officers.¹³ In Section 24 of the Act, Congress extended the Bureau of Colored Troops officer selection process as a prerequisite for commission to all the new regiments.¹⁴ However, after establishment of the post war regiments, the Bureau for Colored Troops did not commission black officers. Although the Act did not exclude commissioning of blacks,

none of them were selected for officer positions in the six black regiments.¹⁵ Instead, the bureau sought only qualified white men.

The War Department established a competitive selection system for Civil War veterans seeking Regular Army appointments and commissions similar to that used by the Bureau Colored Troops. This new system required officers to apply for a commission and appear before examining boards. The selective process had two phases. The first required all candidates, regardless of their previous rank, to submit a comprehensive application for commission and appointment in a specified regiment. A minimum application included a letter requesting appointment as an officer, letters of endorsement from previous commanders, records of prior service, and recommendations from civic or community leaders.¹⁶ After completion of the application process, the War Department scheduled candidates for oral examination by boards of officers "from the arm of the service in which the applicant was to serve." Based on successful completion of the oral board, an order of merit delineated which applicants received commissions, and their respective rank based upon the recommendation of senior officers, certification of the candidate's physical fitness, and demonstrated competence.

Though bureaucratic and time consuming, the competitive selection process was a means of obtaining superior white officers who were necessary to dispel the American attitude toward the Army, to recruit, train, and lead substandard soldiers, and to negotiate the bureaucratic organization within the Army. Americans viewed the post-Civil War soldier, white and black, with contempt; veterans and civilians considered peacetime

service beneath the dignity of a true soldier, and an anti-military attitude prevailed throughout the post-Civil War era which considered Army Regulars as vagabonds or do-nothings.

Wars were (considered) relatively clear-cut, brief segments in time. To conduct them, the government had to enlist thousands...in the Civil War, hundreds of thousands and, as a result, the military engaged people who otherwise had perhaps never even seen a soldier.¹⁷

The post-Civil War Army's service on the frontier contributed to society's contempt. The military represented less than 2 percent of the labor force, and few outside the Army supported the frontier mission or understood the harshness, rigors, and hazards of service. Ironically, the western settlers were often contemptuous of the frontier soldiers; their attitudes towards the soldiers depended on the proximity of hostile indians. When the threats subsided, settlers preferred that the soldiers leave the area.¹⁸

From 1865 until the end of the Indian Wars in 1898, more than two-thirds of the Regular Army soldiers fought Indians on the western frontier. The other third served in the "eastern Army" where the missions were coastal protection, southern reconstruction duties and garrison duties. Both officers and enlisted preferred the eastern garrison duties because of the isolation and hardships associated with frontier duty. Limited Army authorizations, substandard equipment, and substantial personnel shortages which prevailed throughout the Frontier Army contributed to the preference for duty in the east. Hardships and drudgery in the west contributed to the Army's recruitment problems.

Recruitment shortages and retention of soldiers were major problems in the post-Civil War military.

Unlike the conscript and volunteer Civil War citizen-soldiers, post-Civil War volunteer soldiers did not represent a cross-section of American society. Most white enlistees were from the lower class. Estimates are that native-born Americans comprised less than 60 percent of the white Regulars; immigrants accounted for the remainder.¹⁹ Over half of the white recruits were unemployed before joining the Army and enlisted to go west for adventure, to secure employment, or to improve their life condition.

Although the four black regiments recruited only black enlisted men, few differences existed between the education and training of the black men initially assigned to the Tenth and white recruits.²⁰ After the war ended, apart from agriculture, minimal opportunities existed for blacks. The disbandment of the U.S. Colored Troops and unavailability of gainful employment became major inducements for blacks to enlist in the Army. In addition to the same reasons whites enlisted, blacks sought an education, considered military service a honorable occupation and perceived that the Army would provide protection from southern injustices as lynching and Jim Crow statutes. Further, Army compensation of clothing, food, shelter and pay of thirteen dollars a month exceeded what the majority of blacks could earn as private citizens.²¹

While southern recruitment stations excluded former Confederates and exclusively enlisted blacks, all the enlistment stations sent the new enlistees to recruit depots. Cavalry recruits enlisted in the Army for five years, and traveled to the Jefferson

Barracks Depot in Missouri. The three year infantry enlistees went to one of three Infantry Recruit depots located at David's Island, New York; Columbia Barracks, Ohio; XoNewport Barracks, Kentucky.²²

At the depots, the recruits were issued clothing, oriented to basic Army requirements, and assigned to units according to their enlistment contracts and race. The clothing issued in the depots was ill-fitting, and the equipment leftover from the Civil War stocks.²³ Typically spending a week or less at the depot, recruits received instruction in personal hygiene, limited close order drill, and discipline. Desertions from the depot or shortly after arriving in the regiment were common because black and white recruits resented the harsh conditions and treatment they received from the noncommissioned officers.

In order to minimize desertions and to insure their timely arrival, recruits departed the depot and traveled as a group, escorted by a noncommissioned officer. Only those recruits living in the west or those who enlisted with a regimental recruiter went directly from their enlistment stations to their new unit.

On August 4, 1866, General Ulysses S. Grant nominated a fellow Illinois citizen, Benjamin H. Grierson, to command the Tenth Cavalry.²⁴ Grant based the nomination on Grierson's distinguished military career during the Civil War. Before the Civil War, Benjamin Grierson was a businessman and music teacher in Jacksonville, Illinois.²⁵ An avid Republican, he campaigned and actively supported Abraham Lincoln's presidential nomination. When President Lincoln requested volunteers, Grierson applied for a commission in the infantry.²⁶ Instead, Grierson received an appointment as a major in

the 6th Illinois Cavalry where he quickly earned a reputation as a proficient, demanding, and fair Cavalry officer. Grierson secured uniforms and equipment for the men, implemented strict training programs, demanded discipline, and instilled a spirit of pride throughout his unit.²⁷ Committed to caring for and training his men, he personally taught the regiment's officers cavalry tactics. His high standards and leadership attributes gained him the respect of the soldiers and officers, won him command of the regiment, and promotion to Colonel.²⁸ In the spring of 1863, Grant personally selected Grierson to lead the famous diversionary cavalry raid of the War.²⁹ Covering six hundred miles in sixteen days from LaGrange, Tennessee, through Mississippi, and ending at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Grierson won acclaim and an appointment to Brevet Brigadier General; prior to the end of the war, Grierson was promoted to Brevet Major General.

A supporter of emancipation, Grierson also commanded blacks during the Civil War and considered them excellent soldiers. After the war, Grierson publicly stated his commitment and support of the freedman's needs for training, an education, and better living conditions. In testimony to the House subcommittee on March 2, 1866, he endorsed the establishment of the black regiments.³⁰

Before his muster out of the Union Army, Grierson requested Sherman's assistance in securing a commission in the Regular Army. Based on Sherman's endorsement, General Grant recommended Grierson for command of the Tenth; the War Department subsequently approved the nomination. When Grant offered the command and appointment as a Regular Army Colonel, Grierson immediately accepted.³¹ Orders were issued, and on September 10, 1866, Grierson reported to Major General Winfred

S. Hancock, commander of the Department of the Missouri in St. Louis.³² In St. Louis, he began recruiting the regiment's officers.³³ Grierson departed St. Louis and proceeded directly to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to organize the Tenth.

Once organized and in the field, the regiment gained a reputation for bravery, and the sentiments of many who had first opposed the use of blacks as soldiers changed. General William T. Sherman reversed his view and encouraged the integration of blacks throughout the Army. In 1876 he wrote that "time would soon...obliterate the old prejudices that led to the formation of colored cavalry and infantry."³⁴ As a young officer, General John J. Pershing served with the Tenth, and his nickname, "Black Jack," was from his service with the unit. General Pershing continually praised the Tenth throughout his distinguished career and in 1921 wrote:

It has been an honor which I am proud to claim to have been at one time a member of that intrepid organization of the Army which has always added glory to the military history of America, the 10th Cavalry.³⁵

Along with the other cavalry and infantry units, the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry regiments gained prominence fighting Indians on the western plains. For the first twenty years following its formation, the Tenth fought in campaigns against the Indians on the western frontier.³⁶ Tenth cavalymen fought and died to protect western settlers, guard workers, construct the railroads, protect towns, build and secure western posts. In spite of racial discrimination, the regiment was immediately successful and was instrumental in advancing civilization along America's last continental frontier.³⁷ The Indians respected the black cavalymen's bravery, and reportedly called them "Buffalo Soldiers," after the buffalo whom they held in high esteem.

The regiment's service continued after the Indian Wars as the Tenth fought in the War with Spain, the Philippine Insurrection, Punitive Mexican Expedition, and World War II. The regiment also served in Vietnam as an integrated unit.³⁸

Shortly after the Tenth Cavalry was formed the commander envisioned that the Tenth formation's would be far more than merely a milestone in U.S. military history. Indeed, Dudley Cornish asserted in The Sable Arm, that American military history, by the very nature of our society and the organization of our army and our government, is more nearly social and political history than mere military analysis.³⁹

The Tenth Cavalry was a successful social experiment in a period when American society was experiencing massive transformation as is occurring today. George Washington Williams' life reflects the positive affect of the Tenth Cavalry and Army service and provides a historical perspective of coeval American events. In contrast from the other three black regiments, or white regiments of the day, the Tenth was a dual success in both military campaigning and special citizenship training. The Tenth's training changed young black men like George Washington Williams. This regiment's renown past provides indicators for training youth for citizenship--the other multi-cultural, multi-ethnic George Washington Williams living in New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Birmingham, Detroit, small cities, and towns.

THE PRESENT: YOUTH CRIME IN AMERICA

May you live in interesting times. Chinese Proverb

Although the United States is not monolithic, the 1992 Presidential election results revealed national interest had shifted from the international to the domestic scene. During his State of the Union speech, President William J. Clinton identified his administration's agenda as primarily domestic—the economy, health care, reduction of the deficit, housing, welfare reform, and crime reduction.⁴⁰

It appears that crime has emerged today as the primary domestic agenda issue. Indeed anxiety over crime is a daily concern and has become America's unifying, national issue. This section identifies the current status and trends of youth crime in contemporary American society.

Contemporary American society is experiencing unprecedented upheaval that includes violence, abuse, and disregard for law and order. Leaders at all levels and citizens demand an end to the widespread crime and violence prevalent in most American communities; federal, state and local leaders have requested additional funding to punish offenders.

Considered a violent country by any standards, the United States averages a homicide rate of 11 murders per 110,000 inhabitants. Most European nations average under four.⁴¹ As crime continues to increase at alarming rates—our major means for control, punishment, and incarceration have not abated the rise. Over the last three

decades crime and the number of inmates have more than doubled. The simplest measure of these changes is the national incarceration rate.

In 1970 there were fewer than 200,000 inmates of federal and state prisons in the United States; by mid-1984, 484,000 or about 195 of every 100,000 were in state or federal prisons...the increases in the prison populations represented a greater proportion of convicted felons going to prison--and staying longer when they went. (These figures do not include the rising population in local jails).⁴²

Experts now predict that unless the number of first term and repeat offenders is substantially reduced, our nation faces turbulence in the 21st century.⁴³

It is ironic that during this decade when democracy has triumphed over communism throughout the world, America is threatened by domestic crime. The further irony is America's great power emanates from, and at the same time is threatened by, her own citizens. Although America's lands are replete with natural resources, her greatest asset is her citizens. That human infrastructure insured past successes and is our insurance for the future success.

In the years since America's founding, thousands have emigrated for a better life for themselves and their children because of the American principles of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness embodied in the nation's laws. However, the contemporary phenomena of diminishing expectations potentially threatens America's social and economic core; lack of opportunity prompts youth who would not otherwise have done so to commit crimes.

This diminishing expectation phenomena has been occurring for generations of young Americans who did not or could not transition within the acceptable democratic

mores. As the nation transitions to the information age, successive generations of young men and women may be further hampered. Many explanations are cited for this apparent lack of opportunity: notably poverty, education, lack of jobs, discrimination and housing. But it now appears the primary reason is the nation's transformation from an industrial to an information society.

This transformation is enacting enormous tolls and suffering on significant segments of American society. As the information age emerges, former industrial working class communities are being transformed into underclass areas. This multi-cultural phenomena first wreaked havoc in black urban communities; now it is insidiously spreading to other segments of American society.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan was one of the first to predict the impending chaos in black communities when in 1965 he warned of the danger of an underclass culture dominated by male violence.

From the wild Irish slums of the 19th century Eastern seaboard to the riot-torn suburbs of Los Angeles, there is one unmistakable lesson in American history. A community that allows a large number of young men to grow up in broken families, dominated by women, never acquiring any stable relationship to male authority, never acquiring any rational expectations about the future--that community asks for and gets chaos...crime, violence, unrest, unrestrained lashing out at a whole social structure--these are not only to be expected, they are virtually inevitable.⁴⁴

The aimless male violence that Moynihan predicted thirty years ago as an gradual disintegration of the African-American nuclear family enveloped black urban neighborhoods and is now expanding to white urban and suburban America.

Throughout the last three decades, politicians dismissed Senator Moynihan's warnings of the necessity for immediate intervention to prevent the collapse of the black family structure and the accompanying male violence as a uniquely inner-city, minority issue. Thirty years later events and statistics verify Moynihan's assessment was correct in two major areas: First, the phenomena is multi-cultural and multi-ethnic; and, second, the black community's terrible social costs exceeded Moynihan's predictions. However, a far more alarming issue has emerged. The politician's dismissal of Moynihan's warnings may have placed America at risk.

In an influential article entitled "The Coming of the White Underclass," sociologist Charles Murray admonishes politicians for their disregard of Moynihan's predications. Murray reveals that the problems previously identified as indicative of the urban black underclass are quickly spreading into mainstream American society.⁴⁵

Utilizing current data, Murray cites dire statistics: The white illegitimate birth rate is 22 percent, only 3 points below the black rate when Moynihan issued his warnings in the 1960s; alarmingly, the illegitimate birth rate among low income whites exceeds the aggregate rate of 22 percent; among white high school dropouts, the illegitimate rate is 48 percent. Murray cautions that when Senator Moynihan predicted the disintegration of the black family in the 1960s, the black out-of-wedlock birth rate was approximately 25 percent. He validates Moynihan's conclusions of the family breakdown and accompanying social ills were conservative because the terrible social and societal consequences of the destruction of the black nuclear family far exceeded Moynihan's estimates.

Further, Murray warns that white underclass problems are already visible in American society. "European-American whites are the ethnic group with the most arrests for serious crimes, the most illegitimate children, the most families on welfare, and the most persons in poverty."⁴⁶

Other notable findings support both Moynihan and Murray assertions. In his book, Index of Leading Cultural Indicators, Dr. William J. Bennett shows that America has experienced substantial social regression over the last three decades.

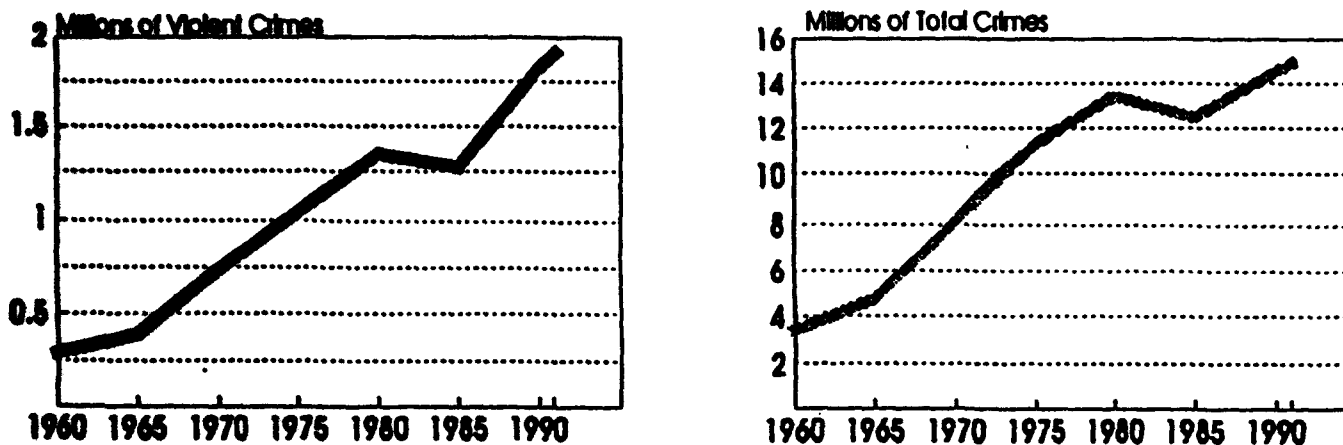
The following charts (Figures 1-4) are excerpted from the Index of Leading Cultural Indicators and cite U.S. Bureau of Census and government data to indicate the status of the nation's human infrastructure. As the charts reveal, contemporary American society has rapidly deteriorated. William J. Bennett asserts that

The social regression of the last 30 years is due in large part to the enfeebled state of our social institutions and their failure to carry out a critical and time honored task: the moral education of the young. We desperately need to recover a sense of the fundamental purpose of education, which is to engage in architecture of souls. When a self-governing society ignores this responsibility...it does so at great peril.⁴⁷

Economist Lester Thurow summarizes events best when he declared, "In the United States, we are building a third world society inside a first world economy."⁴⁸

The 1990 Blue Ribbon commission of prominent political, medical, education, and business leaders who studied the health of America's teenagers supports Dr. Thurow's assertion. In their 1990 report, Code Blue, the commission declared that "never before has one generation of American teenagers been less healthy, less cared for, or less prepared for life than their parents were at the same age."⁴⁹

Number of Crimes Committed



Source: FBI.

Crime Numbers and Rates

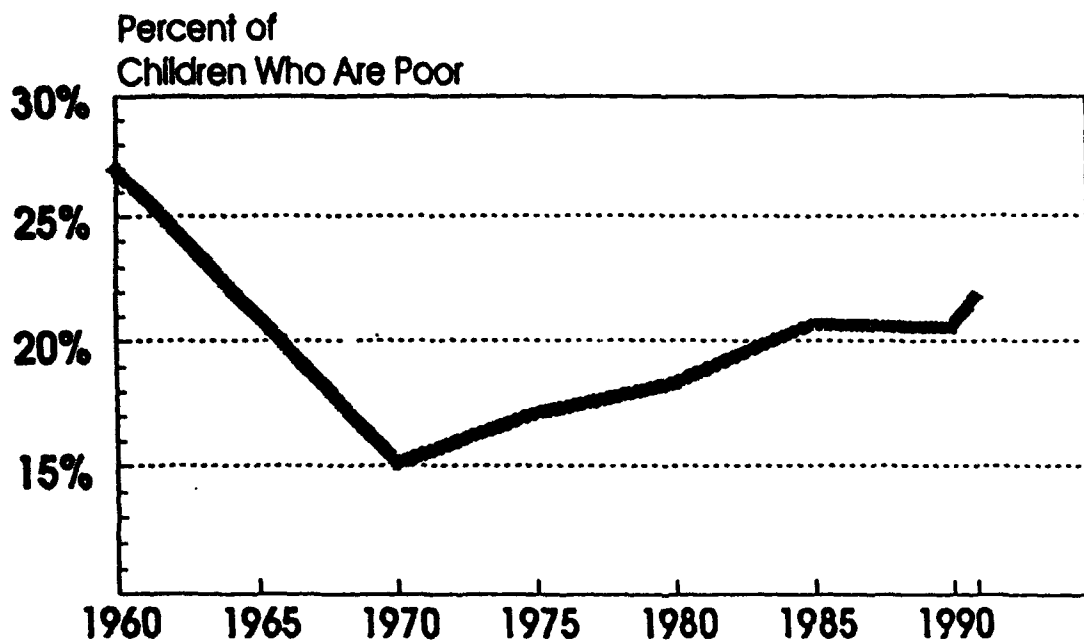
| Year | Violent Crimes | Violent Crime Rate (per 10,000) | Total Crimes | Total Crime Rate (per 10,000) | Total Population (in millions) |
|------|----------------|------------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1960 | 288,460 | 16.1 | 3,384,200 | 188.7 | 179.3 |
| 1965 | 387,390 | 20.0 | 4,739,400 | 249.9 | 193.5 |
| 1970 | 738,820 | 36.4 | 8,098,000 | 398.5 | 203.2 |
| 1975 | 1,039,710 | 48.8 | 11,292,400 | 559.9 | 213.1 |
| 1980 | 1,344,520 | 59.7 | 13,408,300 | 695.0 | 225.3 |
| 1985 | 1,273,280 | 53.3 | 12,431,400 | 520.5 | 238.7 |
| 1990 | 1,820,130 | 73.2 | 14,475,600 | 582.0 | 248.7 |
| 1991 | 1,911,770 | 75.8 | 14,872,900 | 589.8 | 252.2 |

Source: FBI.

Figure 1.

Analysis: Since 1960 while the American population increased approximately 41 percent, violent crimes have increased more than 500 percent and total crimes over 300 percent. Within their lifetime, eight out of 10 Americans will be victims of violent crimes at least once in their lives.⁵⁰

Child Poverty



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

-Figure 2-

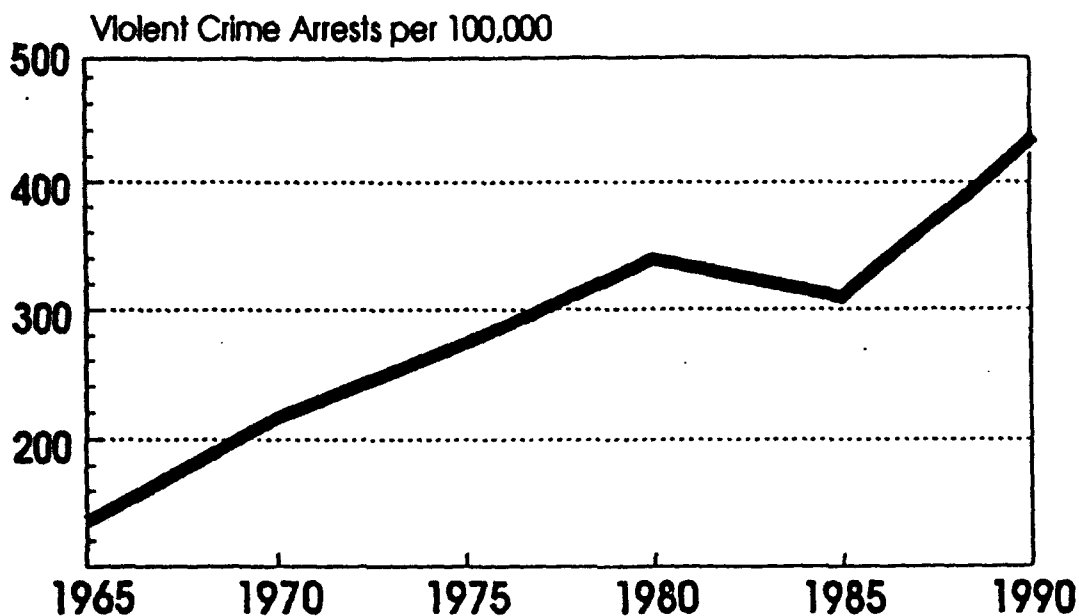
Children in Poverty

| Year | Number (millions) | Percent |
|------|----------------------|---------|
| 1960 | 17.6 | 26.9 |
| 1965 | 14.7 | 21.0 |
| 1970 | 10.4 | 15.1 |
| 1975 | 11.1 | 17.1 |
| 1980 | 10.5 | 18.3 |
| 1985 | 13.0 | 20.7 |
| 1990 | 13.4 | 20.6 |
| 1991 | 14.3 | 21.8 |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Analysis: American youth is the fastest growth segment in the nation's criminal population. The FBI reports that juvenile arrests have quadrupled. The increase represents all races, all social classes, and lifestyles, not just "disadvantaged minority youth in urban areas."⁵¹

Juvenile Violent Crime Arrest Rates



Source: FBI.

-Figure 3-

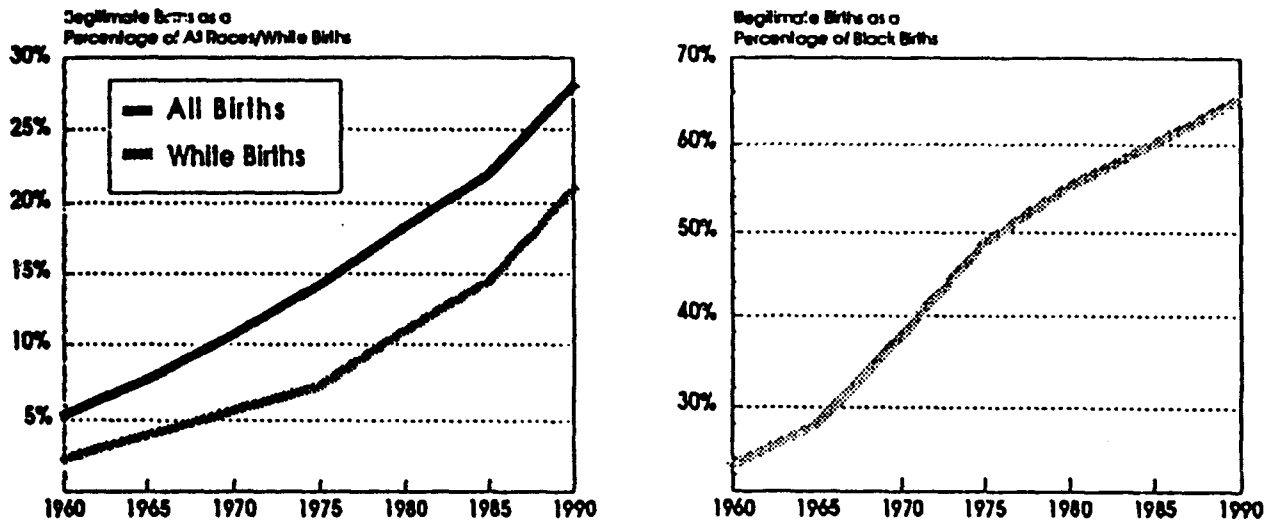
Juvenile Violent Crime Arrest Rates

| Year | Arrest Rates (per 100,000) |
|------|----------------------------|
| 1960 | NA |
| 1966 | 137.0 |
| 1970 | 215.9 |
| 1978 | 272.4 |
| 1980 | 338.1 |
| 1985 | 308.6 |
| 1990 | 430.6 |

Analysis: Of all age groups, children are the most likely to be poor; one out of every five in the nation lives in poverty.⁵²

William Gladstone, Domestic Counsel to President Clinton, asserts that "changes in family structures over the past (three) decades are strongly correlated with the rising rates of poverty among children."⁵³

Births to Unmarried Women



Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Births to Unmarried Women

| <i>All Races</i> | | |
|------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| Year | Number | Percentage of all Births |
| 1960 | 224,300 | 5.3 |
| 1965 | 291,200 | 7.7 |
| 1970 | 398,700 | 10.7 |
| 1975 | 447,900 | 14.2 |
| 1980 | 665,747 | 18.4 |
| 1985 | 828,174 | 22.9 |
| 1989 | 1,094,169 | 27.1 |
| 1990 | 1,165,384 | 28.0 |

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

| <i>Whites</i> | | |
|---------------|---------|--------------------------|
| Year | Number | Percentage of all Births |
| 1960 | 82,500 | 2.3 |
| 1965 | 123,700 | 4.0 |
| 1970 | 175,100 | 5.7 |
| 1975 | 186,400 | 7.3 |
| 1980 | 320,063 | 11.0 |
| 1985 | 432,969 | 14.5 |
| 1989 | 593,911 | 19.0 |
| 1990 | 647,376 | 21.0 |

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

| <i>Blacks</i> | | |
|---------------|---------|--------------------------|
| Year | Number | Percentage of all Births |
| 1960 | 138,744 | 23.0 (est.) |
| 1965 | 162,215 | 27.9 (est.) |
| 1970 | 215,100 | 37.6 |
| 1975 | 249,600 | 48.8 |
| 1980 | 325,737 | 55.2 |
| 1985 | 365,527 | 60.1 |
| 1989 | 457,480 | 64.5 |
| 1990 | 472,660 | 65.2 |

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

-Figure 4-

Analysis: In 1965 Senator Daniel P. Moynihan warned that single-parent families threatened the well being of the African-American community. Three decades later the statistics reveal the same phenomena is occurring with respect to white America.⁵⁴

Further, the commission indicated that the "explanation for teenagers' deteriorating condition lies with their behavior and not (as was the case in the past) with physical illness."⁵⁵

Federal Bureau of investigation (FBI) reports predict more youth will enter the underclass; crime data reveals that new offenders are increasingly younger, underclass Americans and repeat offenders. Reports conclude that crime abatement requires earlier alternatives to educate and deter youth. Yet contemporary crime abatement programs primarily focus on apprehension, punishment, and incarceration. Currently, neither deterrence or education dominate federal or state crime strategies. Rather, the opposite is occurring with respect to education.

The recently released Carnegie Report documents that American society is not adequately preparing children across the spectrum for the future. While implementation of the report's recommended strategies will better equip most young Americans for the 21st century; neither the report nor its strategies address preparation of underclass youth. In the United States, the primary institution responsible for training youth is the family. But, statistics indicate the American family is changing. Increasingly, schools assume more responsibility for what was once the family's role.

As our society continues to transform, it appears more youth will need the training once provided at home. This portends dual missions for schools that they are ill prepared to handle, producing a further acceleration of crime and violence. If America is to remain strong, the nation must reverse this rise by developing and immediately

implementing a strategy that provides underclass youth training and self-discipline. The nation's schools could then return to their primary mission--education.

This section has outlined the current status of youth crime in American society. Although this great nation won the cold war, we have not identified or developed a winning strategy to deter crime. When over 160,000 children are bringing guns to school, our society cannot continue to rely on the schools or a single crime strategy for punishing offenders. It is time for a change!

THE FUTURE: BREAKING A PARADIGM TO REDUCE CRIME

"A new idea is first condemned as ridiculous or impossible, and then dismissed as trivial, until finally it becomes what everybody knows"
William James

It is difficult to see or accept that change is required, yet American society must change. American society must better prepare all youth for the changes that will continue to occur as the nation enters the information age. However, crime statistics from the past three decades cited earlier in this paper demonstrate that unless immediate, proactive counter strategies are implemented, youth crime will continue at astronomical rates. This section asserts that the time for a change in the crime strategy is now.

One fact is emerging. Once the young, undisciplined Americans enter the underclass culture, traditional methods to deter or control them are wholly inadequate. To be effective, the nation's crime strategy must effectively identify and deter potential

offenders before their first criminal act is committed. Ideally, deterrence would preclude any act of unlawfulness.

In essence, we must view reforming the criminals of today as a secondary issue; continuation of our current incarceration methods to deal with those offenders is appropriate. Rather, the nation and our communities need a strategy to deter young, underclass American youth from committing a crime. Training and education are the key components of a deterrence strategy and should be given primacy over punitive programs.

History and the United States Army provide the means for the nation to develop consensus and adopt a winning strategy. The events cited in section two indicate a model already exists for countering youth crimes. Specifically, George Washington Williams' life and the Tenth Cavalry Regiment's history indicates the Army has previously trained and provided citizenship skills to young men that enabled them to overcome unfortunate family situations.

George Washington Williams' biography demonstrates the Army's training was successful. Ironically, just as Senator Moynihan's thesis on the disintegration of the black family prophesied the contemporary disintegration of American family structure and values, so can the Tenth Cavalry regiment experiences that impacted Williams' life be a model for healing the malaise of aimless youth violence in American society. As the many Buffalo Soldiers' stories indicate, the Tenth regiment's training transformed youth (whether free or former slave) into democratic citizen-leaders in their communities and the nation. The Tenth Cavalry continually turned away would-be volunteers in an era

when all the other regiments could not meet their quotas and experienced high desertion rates. The Tenth trained and inculcated the cavalymen with both agrarian and industrial age skills.⁵⁶ Underclass youth in our society are at risk as they were in the 19th century. Nineteenth century America underwent massive transformation as the nation expanded west and industrialized. Lawlessness prevailed in many areas during the era and the Army was a critical democratization agent for inculcating uneducated and untrained young men with American values. Now, as then, the Army can provide underclass youth with vital socialization training.

Perhaps the communitarian view that Amitai Etzioni asserts in his book, The Spirit of Community, best describes the compelling need for the Army to provide this training to underclass youth.

Schools (are) the second line of defense. Unfortunately, millions of American families have weakened to the point where their capacity to provide moral education is gravely impaired. And the fact is that communities have only a limited say over what families do. At best it will take years before a change in the moral climate restores parenting to its proper status and function for many Americans. Thus, by default, schools now play a major role, for better or worse, in character formation and moral education. We ought to teach those values Americans share...that dignity of all persons ought to be respected, that tolerance is a virtue, and discrimination abhorrent, that peaceful resolution for conflicts is superior to violence, that generally truth telling is morally superior to lying, that democratic government is morally superior to totalitarianism and authoritarianism, that one ought to give a day's work for a day's pay, that saving for one's own and one's country's future is better than squandering one's income and relying on other's to attend to one's future needs...To a much greater extreme, moral education (and training) is fostered through personal example and, above all, through fostering the proper institutional culture...Though government should not seek to replace local communities, it may need to empower them by strategies of support...There is a great need for...creative use of the structures of civil society and public-private cooperation, especially where the delivery of health, education, and social services are concerned.⁵⁷

Our society desperately needs a renaissance of a Buffalo Soldiers' regimental citizenship training because schools do not meet the needs of underclass youth. To fail to recognize the societal implications and make a significant paradigm shift, may place our nation at risk.

There are not enough bricks in America to build prisons to incarcerate all youthful offenders. No one is safe from them--rich or poor. Rather, the nation must begin anew by giving these troubled youth a new beginning.

America can win the war on crime. But to win requires radically different ways and means to construct and implement a comprehensive crime strategy. At a minimum, the strategy must incorporate a triad consisting of (1) punishment and incarceration of current offenders; (2) a comprehensive drug prevention treatment policy; and (3) a program that reduces the number of youth offenders by training and deterring them from committing crimes.

Senator Sam Nunn asserts that "the American people have made an enormous investment in developing the skills, capabilities and resources of the Armed Forces. These resources, according to Nunn, if properly matched to local needs and coordinated with civilian efforts, can make a useful contribution to addressing the serious domestic needs of the United States."⁵⁸ History indicates there is considerable precedent for the Army to perform domestic missions. America's Army can be instrumental again in a specified, clearly defined role, fighting a new war--a war on reducing youth crime. The succeeding section contains the proposed recommendations to fight and win the war.

THE FUTURE: A RECOMMENDATION FOR CHANGE

This paper proposes the formation of a "Buffalo Soldier" model because the development and establishment of an active Army regiment to train underclass American youth is needed immediately. The training would be conducted on military posts by active duty military personnel during a time period not to exceed one year. After completion of the year of training, the youth would attend school and live in either a boarding school, group home or foster home environment with follow-up study and guidance provided at a minimum, by military veterans and civilian professionals. After four years, the model could be evaluated for national implementation.

However, caution is indicated. Neither the nation or its leaders should expect the military to employ underclass youth as soldiers. To do so would be counterproductive to the desired end state because military missions require highly trained and educated soldiers. The underclass youth would not perform well as military soldiers because they also need formal educational skills. Once they are trained by the military, follow-on education is necessary.

Our country needs to instill in underclass youth that they can "be all that they can be," ordinary men and women who embrace and live John Donne's famous lines, "*No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main.*" Underclass youth act as if they are an island, separate and distinct from others, totally unconnected. Violence, death, wanton destruction nor laws mean nothing to these young folk. The Army is America, and the Army's history is replete with examples of

historic transformations of young men. The Army can be an agent for changing these people who collectively are a domestic threat to America. Specifically, the following actions are recommended:

1. The Department of Labor, Department of Justice, and Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) provide funds to (contract) the Department of Defense to develop, administer, staff and implement an Army regimental training prototype. The training program would be staffed with only high qualified, competitive, active duty military soldiers--officers and enlisted personnel.

2. The United States Army plan, develop, staff and establish a "regimental" prototype to train at least 4,000 designated at-risk youth (11-16 years old). The model regiment would be multi-cultural and multi-ethnic. The structure will parallel that of a successful predecessor unit, the famed Buffalo Soldier, Tenth Cavalry Regiment.

3. The Departments of Justice, and Health and Human Services (HHS) identify, in consultation with the Departments of Education and Labor, the criteria for designating multi-cultural, multi-ethnic youth at-risk and high-risk. The program will not admit any young person who has already committed, is suspected of committing, or is serving a sentence for, a serious or heinous crime.

4. The Department of Justice assume the lead to obtain the legal sanctions necessary to enroll youth in a program that will operate in lieu of their parents or legal guardians. Youth will be voluntarily enrolled in the program and deployed to the designated regimental locations away from their homes. Individual and citizenship training will include courses in hygiene, American customs and traditions, physical

training, leadership, parenting skills, ethics, courtesies, manners, deportment, self-esteem, cleanliness, and health.

5. The Department of Education develop community support at the local and state level for follow-on education. After the youth are trained, they will be deployed to communities--other than their old community--for education and training in grammar, trade, middle, or high school.

6. The Department of Justice develop and monitor critical follow-on programs. After-care programs provided by business, community, private and public support are critical to the strategic success of the full program - Army training, civilian education and then, meaningful work. The Army cannot train the youth in a vacuum; a job is the ultimate requirement not money. Corporate grants and corporation sponsorship are also vital to the follow-on education and placement of the youngsters. When the youth graduate from the Army training, state and local governments are needed to provide alternative home placements and applicable education.

If all the recommended actions are taken, the nation will change direction, and America 's underprivileged youth will join the mainstream and become proud citizens of this great society.

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