

outthinking
the right.

2004 annual report

DRUM
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INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC
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5 DAILY MOJO
May 21, 2004

**Middle Class 2003:
How Congress Voted**
Who's better off under a Republican White House and Congress? Not the middle class. So finds a very useful new report out today from the non-partisan think tank. The report, titled "Middle Class 2003: How Congress Voted," takes a look at several major pieces of legislation considered by the 108th Congress

ALSO TODAY
Also from U.S.-Shiite tension threatens to bring relations with Iran new low.

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6/9/2004 Authorizing Torture
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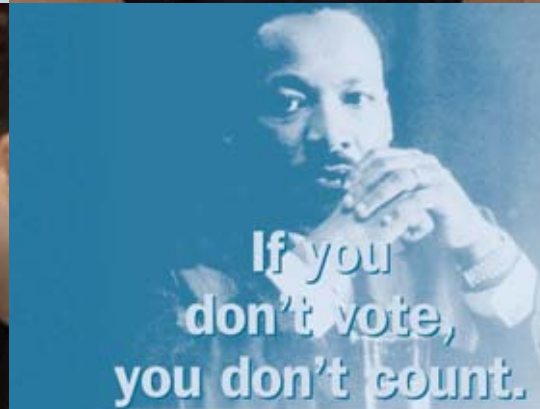
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The Middle-Class Squeeze:



EL DIARIO
LA PRENSA

Está en: Opinión

Sección : Opinión Fecha : 14 de Noviembre 2003

Falta de intérpretes viola ley de derechos civiles
andrew friedman

Irania Sánchez comenzó a trabajar a pocos días de emigrar a Estados Unidos de una Nicaragua vaciada por la guerra en los años 80. Ella estaba demasiado ocupada trabajando en líneas de ensamble, o como una mecánica, para estudiar inglés. Pagó sus impuestos y se ocupó tanto de su hija Gabriela como de su madre Urmia. Recientemente, la recurrente infección bronquial y el asma de Gabriela se intensificaron que Sánchez tuvo que dejar su trabajo para poder conectar su hija a un respirador cada unas



WELCOME TO AN EVENING HONORING

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FIGHTING TO PRESERVE THE AMERICAN DREAM

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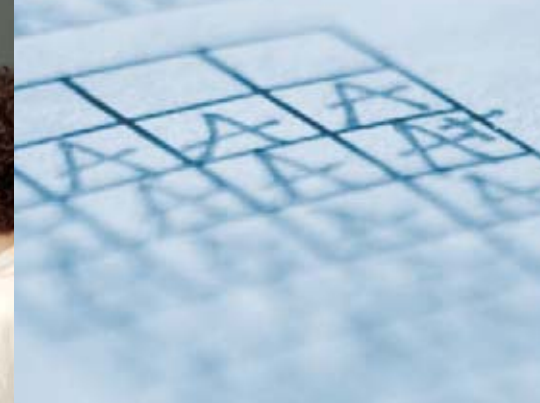
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Politics and Economy:

Who is the Middle Class?

More of This Story:

...called a "middle-class country" but needs...
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DRUM MAJOR INSTITUTE ANNUAL REPORT 2004

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DAILY NEWS
Monday, January 5, 2004

BE OUR GUEST
By JONATHAN ROSEN

**Congress owes
unemployed**



The Nation.
Unconventional Wisdom Show 10/5/04

Home Rapid Response Weblogs Editor's Cut

NationMart
"Garry" and "Black Swan" titles...
...and...
...and...

editor's cut by Katrina vanden Heuvel

A Middle Class Scorecard
05/22/2004 @ 12:56am

The non-partisan Drum Major Institute has just released its first-ever scorecard of votes on legislation that significantly impact America's middle class. In "Middle Class 2003: How Congress Voted," representatives were graded on their votes on key legislation that both helps the middle class (the American Dream



I applaud hip-hop's leap into civil rights

By ANDREW YOUNG
Published on: 11/10/04

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., U.S. Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.), Walter Fauntroy, R-Simmons, Sean "P. Diddy" Combs, 50-Cent and Outkast. Rarely are these names in the same sentence. The presidential election showed that maybe they should be.

When the civil rights movement worked to protect the door for American social, cultural and today in the hip-hop community. These cultural and securing the voice of many young Americans who their right to vote in the recent presidential election 1964 to 2004 — thanks to the legacy of the civil spirit of its offspring: the hip-hop generation. The 40th anniversary of the Voting Rights Act.

When I arrived at the polls Nov. 2, most of the people waiting in line — even though we were in an old Atlanta community — were young. My impression that the turnout was unprecedented. This was co-



DRUM MAJOR INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY

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PROG BLOG

The Drum Major Institute for Public Policy

The Drum Major Institute for Public Policy





why dmi?

It was a time of turmoil abroad and dissent at home. The President called nearly 150,000 guardsmen and reservists to active duty to confront a gathering military threat 4,000 miles away. Protestors had taken to the streets. The Attorney General was acting to enforce the controversial decisions of the Supreme Court.

2004? No, it was 1961.

It was in this time of turmoil that the late Harry Wachtel founded the Drum Major Foundation. Wachtel, a lawyer and an advisor to Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., set the Foundation to work, providing the civil rights movement with fundraising, strategic development and legal support. The efforts paid off with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act the following year.

In 1999, when Wachtel's son Bill and King's son Martin revived the Drum Major Foundation as the Drum Major Institute, they could not have known that the group would be operating in similarly turbulent times five years later. Yet here we are. And here is today's Drum Major Institute.

The Drum Major Institute for Public Policy (DMI) is a non-profit, non-partisan organization with two principal goals: to serve as a renowned think tank defining the progressive agenda on the national level and to provide a major voice in the policy debates that affect our hometown, New York City.

We take our name, and our calling, from the words of Dr. King who asked his parishioners to: "...say that I was a drum major for justice, say

Our unique strategy is the reason that President Clinton said, "The work of the Drum Major Institute needs to become a more urgent priority for our nation."

that I was a drum major for peace, say that I was a drum major for righteousness..." We honor those words by advancing an agenda of social and economic fairness.

Like Wachtel's original Foundation, DMI is focused not on polemics, but on problem solving; not on politics, but on policy. We don't issue reports to see our name in print or hold forums for the sake of mere talk. Who has the time for that?

The extreme right wing of this nation came together over thirty years ago to shape a long-range plan for framing the public discourse. Their labor has born copious fruit: After spending \$1 billion over the last decade, they have made it acceptable to privatize Social Security, to disinvest in the very vehicles that helped create the American Dream, to make policy by tax cut.

DMI is taking them on. We ask questions of vital importance to Americans whose lives are hopelessly buffeted by the tidal cycle of electoral politics. Through our relationships with policymakers and opinion leaders, we gain an audience for our work. We offer platforms to amplify the ideas of those who are working for social and economic fairness. We cultivate messengers who can most powerfully deliver the progressive message.

Our unique strategy is the reason that President Clinton said, "The work of the Drum Major Institute needs to become a more urgent priority for our nation." It's the reason we have engaged leaders, including Senator John Edwards, former Senators Bill Bradley and Bob Kerrey, New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer, Congressman Charles Rangel, *New York Times* op-ed columnist Paul Krugman, Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton and others. It's the reason several thousand people have attended our events and visit our Web site each day. We were once called "the mouse that roared." And in 2004, roar we did.

As the national political discourse threatened to be swamped by the personal, negative campaign tactics of the right and the left, DMI led the national conversation about the real needs of America's embattled middle class. We did so even though the left too often neglects the middle class, assuming they can fend for themselves, while the conservative right wins them over on "values." We did so because the squeeze on middle-class families is the best lens through which to view the failure of this administration's social and economic policy. We did so because a strong middle class is key to the promise of the American Dream.



We released “Middle Class 2003: How Congress Voted,” a scorecard displaying how national representatives voted on legislation important to preserving the American Dream. Rep. Nancy Pelosi, House Minority Leader, distributed it to members of Congress while international unions made sure it got into the hands of their local organizers. Using the scorecard, the news media, including *The Nation*, *Mother Jones*, *Alternet.org*, *New York Newsday*, CNN’s *Lou Dobbs* and PBS’s *Now with Bill Moyers*, were able to discuss the true concerns of the middle class. It was used in Congressional races in Michigan, California, North Carolina and Florida. According to TomPaine.com, “...someone had the good sense to investigate where legislators stand on helping the middle class.” *The Nation* said, “‘Middle Class 2003: How Congress Voted’ makes it possible to hold elected officials accountable for the legislation that determines the quality of life for middle-class families... It’s a valuable tool for the press, policy makers, and voters alike.” Our work connects to those who make, influence, and report on policy. Just as when a tree falls in the forest, if a report is never read, was it really written?

Located in New York City, DMI is intent upon advancing a progressive agenda for urban America—a subject long ignored in the national political debate. We released a study of the changing demographic landscapes of our nation’s big cities that led to conferences in New York and Los Angeles. We focused attention on the need to restore relationships between schools and communities. We looked at how the New York City press covered our recent budget crisis with

the goal of enabling even more New Yorkers to understand the implications of the decisions being discussed by their representatives. We have taken our ideas to the op-ed pages of our city’s newspapers with pieces about the minimum wage, worker safety, federal extension of unemployment benefits and state budget fairness.

DMI believes that the best discussions about public policy are grounded in a combination of rigorous research and awareness of the reality of people’s lives. That’s why we launched a fellows program in 2004 that gives a platform to leaders working in the communities of New York City. The DMI Fellows is not a cushy ivory tower for wonks to speak down from, but a program that provides resources and support for inventive thinkers who are already working to improve their communities.

Andrew Friedman, DMI’s Senior Fellow on immigrant rights, is such a leader. Friedman is co-founder of Make the Road by Walking, a Bushwick-based non-for-profit that organizes community residents to act collectively to improve neighborhood life. “It has been an exciting honor to work with DMI as a Senior Fellow,” Friedman said. “The program has provided invaluable research support, helped me sharpen my skills and been effective at elevating the profile of important public policy issues emerging from the grassroots.”

DMI’s clarity of mission and audience, its ability to bring stakeholders to the table, to hold elected officials accountable regardless of their party affiliation, to focus on cultivating new ideas and

the messengers for those ideas—all are why we were a model for progressive momentum in 2004. As Eliot Spitzer, New York State Attorney General, said, “DMI is really what we need more of in this country—a think tank dedicated to creativity when it comes to progressive politics. The intellectual ferment has been from the other side of the aisle. That is not a healthy thing. In the long term, ideas do matter. The Drum Major Institute is going to be, over the next decade the foundation for the ideas that hopefully will drive New York and national politics.”

So why DMI? Today, talk of policy in America threatens to become a one-sided conversation as the conservative wing consolidates its power and the left too often settles for being right-light. In this environment, it is crucial that we speak openly about the challenges to social and economic justice in our nation. In these turbulent times of trouble abroad and dissent at home, DMI’s mission is more important than ever and our resolve is even more steadfast. We must outthink the right.

“The Drum Major Institute is going to be, over the next decade the foundation for the ideas that hopefully will drive New York and national politics.”

—Eliot Spitzer

Attorney General, New York State



What does it mean to be middle class in America today?

Owning your own home and a station wagon, knowing you can send your kids to college, feeling secure about a retirement that rewarded your years of hard work—that's what it used to mean.

Today it's a different story. To be middle class means worrying about how you can retire when you can barely save, how to avoid the bankruptcy that is becoming epidemic, how you can pay for health insurance for yourself and your family in the face of skyrocketing costs.

So why is an organization founded during the civil rights movement talking about the middle class? Because when the American Dream fails the middle class, it denies poor and low-income Americans access to the ladder of economic mobility.

Progressives have long been allergic to talking about the middle class. The middle class can fend for itself, they say. Our duty is to those who are truly struggling. The right, meanwhile, uses the middle class when talking about shared "values" but ignores their economic concerns. If progressives want to stop playing defense, they will have to talk to, and about, the middle class in ways they never have before.

DMI's work in 2004 clarified the issues at stake for middle-class families and gave them a way to hold policymakers accountable. As Katrina vanden Heuvel, editor of *The Nation*, put it: "Fortunately, groups like DMI are

around to inform Americans of policies which counter the GOP's ruthless war against the middle class."

In 2004, we maximized the attention paid every four years to the middle class by forcing the conversation to shift from rhetoric to reality. We surveyed the candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination to get them on the record about how they would address the middle-class squeeze. Knowing that there is no greater force than incumbency in politics, we looked at the plight of working families in the states in which 26 Senators were running for re-election and highlighted what they had done to make it better or worse.

You see, the middle-class squeeze didn't happen by accident. It was the result of public policy. That's why in May, DMI released "Middle Class 2003: How Congress Voted," a scorecard ranking members of Congress based on their votes on legislation of importance to America's middle class. As Dr. Elizabeth Warren, author of "The Two Income Trap: Why Middle-Class Mothers and Fathers Are Going Broke," so rightly said, "Decent, hard-working parents who play by the rules cannot get ahead. A good week is a week they don't fall farther behind. Middle class families... represent the one special interest that doesn't get the help they need or deserve. The Drum Major Institute's middle class scorecard will help focus attention on the families who represent not only the economic future of this country, but its heart."

Focus attention it did. Major news outlets reporting on "Middle Class 2003" included

CNN's *Lou Dobbs*, *Mother Jones*, *National Public Radio*, and *The Nation*. Equally as gratifying, however, was that local papers like *The Savannah Now* used "Middle Class 2003" to talk about how their local representative had fared. Jennifer Cunningham, executive director of the 1199 SEIU New York State Council, called it "a clear picture for working men and women to look at as they assess how hard their congressperson or Senator fought for the middle class—and whether to cast their vote in favor of sending them back to Washington! We'll be putting it to good use in our campaigns." In fact, the report was used in Congressional campaigns around the country and distributed by unions to their organizers. Rep. Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick shared her score with the people of Michigan, saying she was "proud to receive this rating from the Drum Major Institute, an organization dedicated to educating policy makers on issues of economic fairness." "Finally," *Tompaine.com* said, "someone had the good sense to investigate where legislators stand on helping the middle class."

But election years always feature the concerns of the middle class prominently. What happens for the millions of struggling middle-class families when the campaign is over? That's what DMI sought to answer through "The Middle-Class Squeeze: Moving Beyond Rhetoric," a December gathering of prominent American economists and strategists who talked about defining the middle-class agenda for the next presidential term.

There are some bright spots in this troubled time, and they come in the form of those patriots



“Finally, someone had the good sense to investigate where legislators stand on helping the middle class.”

—TomPaine.com

fighting to preserve the American Dream. The Drum Major Institute recognized two of them in June: Senator John Edwards and Linda Chavez-Thompson. Senator Edwards, who got the nod for Vice President three weeks after our benefit, used his primary campaign to speak openly about the stain of poverty on our nation while offering a visionary plan to empower America's middle class. Ms. Chavez-Thompson, the highest-ranking woman in the labor movement, is the daughter of sharecroppers who uses her position at the AFL-CIO to fight for the kind of good jobs that enable families to put food on their kitchen tables and retire in comfort after a lifetime of hard work.

Making the left feel comfortable talking to and about the middle class, and enabling the middle class to see that its interests would be best represented in coalition with the other Americans who have been left out of our nation's prosperity, is a long-term fight. Dr. King would speak of doing more than throwing coins to beggars on the Jericho Road—he would speak of transforming that road. DMI is committed to transforming the landscape of public policy until sound economic policy becomes the norm and not the exception.

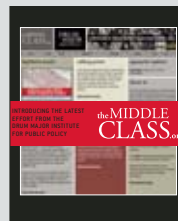
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MIDDLE CLASS 2003: HOW CONGRESS VOTED

Did your representative make the grade? With *Middle Class 2003*, DMI sent every member of Congress home with a report card. Representatives were graded on their 2003 votes on legislation that helps the middle class (such as the American Dream

Downpayment Act and the Pharmaceutical Market Access Act) and hurts it (such as the Bankruptcy Abuse Prevention and Consumer Protection Act and the Death Tax Repeal Act). While the Senate received a B overall, and the House of Representatives a C, these average grades mask deep divisions in each party's approach to addressing the middle-class squeeze.



THEMIDDLECLASS.ORG

TheMiddleClass.org is an online headquarters for information about today's squeezed middle class. It's a toolkit for those who make, influence and monitor public policy on the state of the middle class and the policies that impact their lives. There you will find: the latest news, talking points to

examine issues through the lens of their impact on middle-class families, an interactive map highlighting how members of Congress voted on pieces of legislation of importance to the middle class, and more.



THE MYTH OF THE MIDDLE? CAMPAIGN 2004 ON AMERICA'S MIDDLE CLASS

This survey of the candidates for the 2004 Democratic nomination for President looks at their positions on issues important to preserving the American Dream, including raising the minimum wage, expanding access to health care, making college education

more affordable and restructuring the tax code to benefit middle-class families. Candidates also identified the major challenges facing the middle class and what they would do as President to restore economic mobility to poor and working-class Americans.



THE 2003 DMI YEAR IN REVIEW

What a difference a year makes. The *DMI Year in Review* provides context in which to evaluate the direction of policy in America each year. From Medicare reform to the Bush tax cuts to the squeezing of state budgets, the *DMI Year in Review* offers a scathing indictment of the national administration while

highlighting the positive developments of 2003, from the recognition of the ongoing need for affirmative action in our universities to the preservation of the Child Tax Credit for working families with school-aged children. The *DMI Year in Review* features "The Best and Worst of Public Policy," "The State of the States," and "Best of the ProgBlog," as well as important statistics in the "Injustice Index" and commentary from prominent Americans on the 2004 progressive agenda.



CAMPAIGN 2004 FOR THE U.S. SENATE

In 2004, 16 U.S. Senators with a history of supporting policies to strengthen and expand the middle class, and ten U.S. Senators with a history of voting against the interests of the middle class, were seeking re-election. *Campaign 2004* looked at the plight of working families in the 26 states in which these incumbents

were running and highlighted what these Senators had done to perpetuate or alleviate the middle-class squeeze.



ELIZABETH WARREN ON THE TWO-INCOME TRAP

Dr. Elizabeth Warren, Harvard Law professor and author of the "The Two-Income Trap: Why Middle-Class Mothers and Fathers Are Going Broke," spoke to DMI at an event co-sponsored with Demos in December 2003. Dr. Elizabeth Warren discussed her book,

called "the scariest book of the summer" by *Money* magazine, and the un-serendipitous confluence of changes in American demographics, work habits and the relaxation of government regulation of the credit industry that will force more American children to see their families file for bankruptcy this year than for divorce.

dmia at home

The Manhattan Institute is the largest and most powerful think tank in New York City. It prides itself on providing the basis for President Bush's "compassionate conservatism." Its fellows ask "Why can't our immigration authorities deport the hordes of illegal felons in our cities?" It asserts that "Gay activist groups, with teachers' union applause, are importing a disturbing agenda into the nation's public schools." It publishes reports falsely claiming that the national administration's policy of trickle-down economics benefits the people of our city.

We think New York can do better. And that's why the Drum Major Institute is committed to offering a fresh, compelling and rigorous voice that tells the truth about the challenges our city is facing and helps shape the policies to meet them.

Though New York City is the center of the world to those who live here, the future of American cities is almost never discussed—as witnessed in the 2004 presidential election. As demographics change because of suburbanization and immigration, our cities face unique challenges. How do we maintain urban democracies when the population of our cities looks nothing like the population of those elected to represent them? DMI explored this question in our "People and Politics in America's Big Cities" report by leading demographers John Mollenkopf and John Logan. Along with the Century Foundation, we organized subsequent conversations in New York City and Los Angeles, featuring prominent policymakers, political strategists and opinion leaders. We will continue to ask this question because if we fail to confront the nature of this

"With the future of New York City at a critical moment...we need a strong voice articulating a progressive agenda."

"representation gap" nor take steps to close it, our cities will pay a heavy price.

True to our legacy, DMI asks the questions that matter to all the people and not just to the elite few. For example: If New Yorkers don't understand the implications of the decisions being debated by their representatives, how can they hold them accountable? In May, we released "Class Acts: How New York City Newspapers Covered the Budget Crisis after 9/11," an analysis by nationally recognized media scholar Robert Entman that found melodrama on the pages of our city's daily papers, not substantive discussions of how policies impact people.

"Taxing and spending is the core function of government. For citizens to judge whether these functions are being carried out well requires a sustained and comprehensive commitment from the news media. Without it, we're flying blind. Hopefully this study will increase the visibility that these issues deserve and lead over time to a more informed discourse by the broad voting public," said Dan Cantor, executive director of New York's Working Families Party about "Class Acts."

We believe that the reform of the New York City public schools cannot happen from the top-down and should not happen behind closed doors, but it must include those who are integral to school transformation: students, parents and communities. That's why we released "From Governance to

Accountability: Building the Relationships That Make Schools Work" with the New York University Institute for Education and Social Policy and used it to successfully elicit a commitment from the Department of Education to hold all school staff accountable for the extent to which they engage parents as partners.

To inspire current and future policymakers in New York City, DMI provides a platform for progressives to talk about how they have successfully put their values into practice. We've featured Howard Dean (before he became *Howard Dean*), Attorney General Eliot Spitzer, *New York Times* op-ed columnist Paul Krugman and architect Steven Binger on collaborating with community members to find nontraditional spaces for schools in overcrowded districts. Through our Speakers Series, we challenge the notion that fair social and economic policy is just the hope of the idealistic.

Most importantly, DMI thinks outside the box about what it means to be a think tank. When it comes to our Fellows, we don't need to match the institutes of the right wonk for wonk, detached academic for detached academic, or show off with former government apparatchiks. Our Fellows program is built from the ranks of grassroots leadership.

We identify talented, up-and-coming activists and organizers—the kinds of grassroots entrepreneurs who go to sleep with an op-ed in their head every



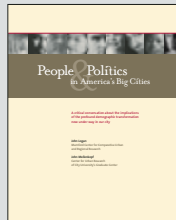
the dmi library projects & publications

night but lack the resources to get their views heard by a larger audience—and provide them with rigorous research and communications support. With DMI's backing, this crop of dynamic leaders is able to translate its experiences of working with New Yorkers into the public policy conversations that determine our future.

In 2004, DMI published important pieces by our Fellows on the minimum wage, the need for translators in hospitals, extending unemployment insurance and protecting the safety of immigrant workers on the pages of papers such as *Newsday*, the *New York Daily News*, *amNew York News*, *El Diario La Prensa*, and *Gotham Gazette*. And this is just the beginning. As we grow our program, we aim to reclaim the discussion about policy in this city from the conservative ideologues whose work emanates from the protected halls of privilege.

“DMI offers all of us who care about fairness the kind of analysis and language we need to move beyond our narrow issues to create a broader, values-based agenda the majority of Americans can embrace,” says Helena Huang, a New York-based national criminal justice funder.

With the future of New York City at a critical moment, when decisions are being made on issues from public education to housing to economic development, that will impact whether we become a city of the elite or remain the city of those who make it work, we need a strong voice articulating a progressive agenda. DMI, through the fusion of our cutting-edge research and our commitment to shaping the public dialogue, will provide the foundation for a fairer and more just New York City.



PEOPLE AND POLITICS IN AMERICA'S BIG CITIES

The changing face of America is creating new challenges and opportunities for America's urban centers. Immigration has transformed the competition for political power in large cities from one that pits native minorities against whites to one that pits new immigrants not only against

whites, but also against native minority groups. This report, commissioned by DMI, The Century Foundation and Metropolitan College of New York, and written by leading demographers John Mollenkopf and John Logan, analyzes the impact of these demographic changes on urban democracy.



DMI SPEAKERS SERIES

DMI launched its Speakers Series to provide a platform to progressives who have been able to put their values into practice with success. Instead of arguing theory, DMI connects a diverse audience of thinkers, advocates, media and public officials with people who have successfully worked for social

and economic fairness in our public institutions. Since its inception, we've heard from Paul Krugman, economist and *New York Times* op-ed columnist; Howard Dean, former Vermont Governor; Eliot Spitzer, Attorney General of New York State; and Steven Binger, architect and former advisor to the United States Secretary of Education.



THE MYTH OF THE MIDDLE: THE INCREASING FRAGILITY OF NEW YORK CITY'S MIDDLE CLASS

The Myth of the Middle, a survey of 300 New York City likely voters about their economic security and concerns,

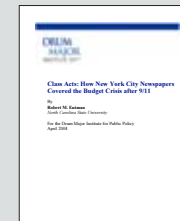
reveals that: 1) Being middle class in New York City isn't what it used to be; 2) Many New York City voters will identify as middle class and say they feel secure but are rarely able to save for the future and find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet; and 3) New Yorkers are worried about education, health care and affordable housing, and they want critical services protected.



"IF YOU DON'T VOTE, YOU DON'T COUNT" PUBLIC SERVICE CAMPAIGN

In a non-partisan effort to boost voter turnout, DMI launched a Public Service Announcement campaign featuring never before seen images of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The print version of DMI's PSA, "If you don't vote, you don't count," features an image of Dr.

King and reads: "He paid the ultimate price to win our right to vote. Are you going to give that right away?" The televised version reached thousands of households across the country. The campaign has been approved by The Ad Council.



CLASS ACTS: HOW NEW YORK CITY NEWSPAPERS COVERED THE BUDGET CRISIS AFTER 9/11

As New York City was enmeshed in the debate about how to resolve its significant budget crisis, DMI faced two questions it felt compelled to explore: Were New York City's daily newspapers doing a good job of helping the general public to understand

the budget debate and the proposals being discussed by their elected representatives? And would they help New Yorkers of all income levels to understand how these policy proposals would specifically affect them? In this report, leading media scholar Robert M. Entman of North Carolina State University provides his response in an analysis of New York City daily newspaper coverage of the budget debate following 9/11.



FROM GOVERNANCE TO ACCOUNTABILITY: BUILDING RELATIONSHIPS THAT MAKE SCHOOLS WORK

For the third time in the last 50 years—and the second time in a decade—the New York State legislature has passed a law that significantly altered the structure of the public school system. This report, by Kavitha Mediratta and Norman Fruchter of the New

York University Institute for Education and Social Policy, offers a new perspective on the debate between governance and accountability, ultimately concluding that "developing a new community accountability system that anchors the essential relationships between schools and communities in ongoing efforts to improve schools is one of the most critical tasks before us."



a conversation with Andrew Young & Fernando Ferrer

For much of 2004, the United States was divided into the **red states** & the **blue states**.

Although this happens every four years, observers far and wide agreed that this was the most extreme example in recent history.

Beyond partisan victories, it seems clear that a union of the red states and the blue states is necessary to advance a progressive agenda for social and economic fairness in America.

So we asked two prominent Americans, one from a blue state and the other from a red state, to give us their thoughts about the election and the issues that unite our country.

The following are conversations with **Andrew Young**, chairman of the Drum Major Institute and former mayor of Atlanta, and **Fernando Ferrer**, president of the Drum Major Institute and former borough president of the Bronx.

Do you think that the most important issues facing Americans were raised in this presidential election?

Andrew Young: Not at all. Both candidates danced around the serious issues. There is no question that war is a serious issue. It was addressed, but not

“The most shocking aspect of the 2004 presidential campaign was the almost complete absence of debate and discussion about the future of America’s cities.”

—*Fernando Ferrer*

discussed in detail. Poverty was never discussed. The question of health insurance was raised, but not necessarily the question of health. Education was raised in such a manner that there was no discussion of funding, curriculum or teaching methodology. The environment wasn’t discussed at all. We had four hurricanes in Florida, and neither candidate discussed global warming. The candidates acted as if there were no cities at all. They discussed no questions of urban life; urban redevelopment; generation of jobs; or agricultural policy issues that focus on how to relate to our farming communities in

rural America. So it was a very superficial campaign in which the candidates tended to attack each other rather than share the details of their vision.

Fernando Ferrer: This race for the presidency ran on three tracks—the first, Americans’ legitimate concern with another terrorist attack on our soil and the steps our government should take to keep us safe. The war against terrorism that began in Afghanistan ended up being played out in Iraq. The parallels to Vietnam, with the loss of life and national treasure, loomed large over the campaign.

Second was the politicization of “morality” in certain battleground states, by means of referenda that were aimed at boosting conservative voter turnout.

Third was the state of the economy and its negative effects on the American middle-class, jeopardizing social and economic mobility of the working-class and the poor due to a massive loss of American jobs.

You have represented a red state, Georgia, in various capacities throughout your career. Do you think that there are issues that unite the people of both the red states and the blue states?

Andrew Young: Georgia is a state that has always been vulnerable to exploitation. For years conservatives found ways to raise the race question to deliberately divide the majority from the minority. Surprisingly enough, that’s changing. I think it’s changing slowly, but Georgia is a red state largely because in previous elections progressives abandoned the get-out-the-vote strategy.

You have represented a blue state, New York, in various capacities throughout your career. Do you think that there are issues that unite the people of both the red states and the blue states?

Fernando Ferrer: The effective fight against terrorism and economic expansion with job growth had all the potential to create the common ground on which a majority of the American people could have stood. As it turns out, however, the Iraq debate and the eleven so-called “gay marriage” referenda on the ballots of battleground states effectively divided the electorate along mostly symbolic and not substantive lines. The obvious result was another missed opportunity to unite rather than to divide.

“The urban agenda for the next presidential term should focus on uniting the cities and the suburbs, as well as the rich, the poor and the middle class.”

—Andrew Young

Most would agree that the future of America’s cities was paid little attention throughout this campaign, even though 75 % of the nation’s population lives in urban areas. What do you think is the urban agenda for the next presidential term?

Andrew Young: The urban agenda for the next presidential term should focus on uniting the cities and the suburbs, as well as the rich, the poor and the middle class. Poor people want jobs and rich people want profits. Jobs and profits are different terms but the same language. If jobs are created, businesses grow and profits are created. The economy is in a crisis now because people have tried to get profits without creating jobs; they have outsourced and tried to grow their business by cutting it and downsizing it. The urban agenda has to be set by creative and visionary mayors who implement new things in different cities and in different neighborhoods within the cities. Hubert Humphrey used to say we don’t want trickle down economics. We want percolator economics. It starts at the bottom and percolates up.

Fernando Ferrer: The most shocking aspect of the 2004 presidential campaign was the almost complete absence of debate and discussion about the future of America’s cities. I think voters in large cities could have been motivated to vote in far larger numbers if the debate had happened.

One of the issues that the Drum Major Institute focuses on is the plight of America’s increasingly fragile middle class. How does the middle-class squeeze play out in Georgia and places like it?

Andrew Young: The middle class in Georgia is quite healthy, largely because the middle class has rather successfully integrated. For example, most of our suburban high schools are fairly well integrated in the South. The South is also more stable now. You have people who have known each other over three or four generations. So in Georgia, the middle class is not a sudden middle class. It’s been developing for generations. You see this example with Martin Luther King, III and Ivan Allen, III. That’s three generations of people who have worked together.

Fernando Ferrer: The newest twist on “trickle-down” economics works like this: The wealthiest get a tax cut; states, cities and counties lose funding and have to resort to higher taxes to pay for things like cops, firefighters, teachers and health care, and the middle class has to pay for it with increased personal and property taxes. This is bad enough for the middle class, but a disaster for those Americans who want to work their way into the middle class. And anyone who points out the unfairness of this scheme is immediately labeled a “class warrior,” as though protesting a divisive policy were, itself, divisive.

What do you think progressives should work towards in 2005?

Andrew Young: Can free enterprise work for poor people? This is the key issue for the century. Access to capital at every level in our society has to be seen as a basic human right.

Fernando Ferrer: It’s clear to me that we progressives must do three things in order to regain the trust of the American voter: First, tell them in the most unequivocal way who we are; second, tell them what we believe in; and third, tell them where we want to take them.



William B. Wachtel Founder

Fourty-four years ago, a 29-year old Andy Young, a 32-year old Martin King and a 41-year old Harry Wachtel (my dear father) had the audacity to believe that our society could learn to care. They shared the core conviction that our nation could not move forward if it was leaving so many of its own behind. With this moral mandate, the Drum Major Foundation was established.

As the 2000 election neared and my own children were reaching voting age, I realized that an entire generation of Americans could not appreciate the power of the civil rights movement and enormity of non-violent social change.

It was that sentiment that led me back into the embrace of my then only living hero, Ambassador Andrew Young. And through providence of sheer coincidence, Andy was equally concerned about the renewed silence of good people throughout America, especially young adults. So we resolved to set a beat for the new millennium... hence the creation of the Drum Major Institute.

My parents were deeply committed to helping Dr. King make our nation one in which the rising tide lifts all boats. As such, I had the indescribable opportunity to learn first hand the magical ways of a unique American who had what he described as the “audacity to believe that people everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, quality, and freedom for their spirits.”

I hope you will join us so that the steady beat of a renewed drum major can once again resound as all of us dare to be audacious for the sake of our democracy.

thank you to all of our 2004

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the importance of giving to dmi

Conservative think tanks spent \$1 billion from 1990 to 2000 to influence public opinion and thought.

And they aren't letting up. According to a National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy report, “The Axis of Ideology,” 79 conservative foundations made more than \$254 million in grants to their think tanks from 1999 to 2001!

Is there any doubt—judging by policy being handed down on federal and state levels, from the reduction of government to a rebirth of trickle-down economics to a crackdown on civil liberties—that this investment is paying off?

The presidential election showed that those of us concerned with creating social change *can* put their money where their mouths are.

But we need to do more than give to political campaigns every four years.

We need to enter the so-called “values debate.” We need to show that economic justice is a moral value. We need to do so by connecting the failure of policy to the reality of struggling Americans' lives.

We need to outthink the right.

I hope that the pages of this annual report demonstrate the Drum Major Institute's leadership on these issues and the strength of our approach. But we need your help.

It may not be glamorous to write a check to a “think tank.” But the work of changing public policy isn't supposed to be. The conservative right understands that, and that's why they've plugged along, slowly but surely shaping the future of our nation.

It's time to give them some competition.

Please give to DMI today.

Andrea Batista Schlesinger
DMI Executive Director



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“Every American city will face major hurdles in the coming years as we are all being challenged to do more with less-but fairly. We need imaginative approaches and new thinking. The Drum Major Institute is a much needed voice in the debate,” **Charles Phillips.** Charles is the President of Oracle Corporation and has been recognized as one of the 50 most important African Americans on Wall Street by Black Enterprise.

“The project of the Drum Major Institute is of paramount importance,” **Melvyn I. Weiss.** Mel is a founding partner of Milberg Weiss Bershad & Schulman LLP, one of the most respected and effective plaintiff law firms in the United States. He is a leading authority on shareholder and consumer rights and a trustee of the N.Y.U. School of Law.

“The Drum Major Institute is a source of smart, unbiased research on public issues that affect people’s lives. Anyone who believes that democracies require knowledge to work effectively should support them,” **Chris McNickle.** Chris is Managing Director of Greenwich Associates, a market research and strategy consulting firm for the financial industry. He is also author of “To Be Mayor of New York: Ethnic Politics in the City” (Columbia University Press, 1993).

“DMI provides a voice for those who are often overlooked in our society. It strives to create and lead an agenda that works to substantially better the lives of Americans who deserve to be heard,” **Jennefer Witter.** Jennefer is the president and founder of The Boreland Group Inc., a boutique public relations agency that specializes in corporate and executive visibility. Previous to forming The Boreland Group, Ms. Witter was a vice president at Ketchum, the award-winning global public relations agency.

“As someone who runs a community based organization, I am grateful to DMI as it provides sound thinking, solid research and clear voice to the ideas we are making manifest on the grassroots level,” **Cecilia Clarke.** Cecilia is Founding Director of the Sadie Nash Leadership Project, a unique educational program that promotes leadership, service and activism among young women in high school.

“I am proud to be a founding sponsor and Board member of the Drum Major Institute. I know that the Institute can bring progressives together around an agenda for economic justice,” **Dennis Rivera.** Dennis is the president of 1199/SEIU, New York’s Health and Human Services Union, which represents more than 200,000 health care workers in the greater New York City metropolitan area.

“DMI gives me a chance to put my principles into practice, to get off the sidelines and into the fray, and to work for a better, stronger, more inclusive republic,” **Tom Watson.** A New York Internet pioneer, Tom is co-founder of Changing Our World Inc., and publisher of its media arm, onPhilanthropy.com. He has been a columnist for *The New York Times* and a contributing writer to *The Industry Standard*.

“DMI leads a dialogue designed to influence policies and their policy makers so they can serve the people effectively, and so the people can hold them accountable for it,” **Rosanna Durruthy.** Rosanna is the founder and President of Aequus Group, a human capital development consultancy. In 2002, Rosanna was recognized by both Hispanic and Hispanic Business magazines on their annual lists of leading Hispanic Women.



DMI honors Progressive Patriots Senator John Edwards & Linda Chavez-Thompson

On June 16, the Drum Major Institute was proud to honor two Progressive Patriots who are fighting to preserve the American Dream. Senator John Edwards inspired the nation with his presidential campaign, speaking openly about the stain of poverty on our nation. Senator Edwards proved that progressives can talk about the inequality crippling our nation—in fact, it is their patriotic duty.

Linda Chavez-Thompson is the embodiment of the spirit in which the Drum Major Institute was founded in 1961. The highest ranking woman in the labor movement, she rose through the ranks to become executive vice president of the AFL-CIO. The daughter of sharecroppers, Ms. Chavez-Thompson has fought for good jobs for Americans throughout her career—jobs that enable families to put food on their kitchen table, to put away money to send their kids to college and to retire in comfort.

“This institute does extraordinary work. We need the Drum Major Institute out there being a voice for people who need someone to speak for them.”

—Senator John Edwards