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The John C. Bollens / John C. Ries  
Lecture

**Economic Security  
in a World of Change:  
*Can We Have Both?***

Michael S. Dukakis

Former Governor, State of Massachusetts



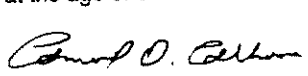
**THE  
JOHN C. BOLLENS/JOHN C. RIES  
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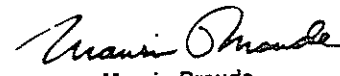


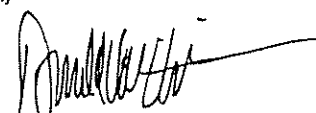
The aim of the John C. Bollens/John C. Ries Lecture Series is to bring together the worlds of academic exploration and practical politics so that the work of those who serve the public will be illuminated by discussion of the broader principles and ideas of representative government. Such a synthesis is true to the spirit of the lecture's namesakes, distinguished professors both in the Department of Political Science at UCLA.

Born in 1920 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, John Bollens earned his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin before joining the UCLA faculty in 1950, becoming a full professor in 1960. A most productive and influential thinker on local government, he was the author of 26 books, including a profile of California governor and presidential candidate Jerry Brown, and served in numerous important appointive positions in the City and County of Los Angeles, as well as in Chicago and Seattle.

Born in 1930 in Marysville, California, John C. Ries earned his doctorate at UCLA as one of John Bollens' most promising students. Following a hitch in the Air Force, he joined UCLA's Political Science Department in 1965. Known as a caring and dedicated teacher both at the undergraduate and graduate levels, he rose to become an associate vice chancellor, while maintaining his commitment to quality teaching at the University. An author or co-author of four books and numerous scholarly articles on defense policy and public administration, his life was tragically cut short by a brain tumor at the age of 57.

  
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**Tenth Annual  
John C. Bollens/  
John C. Ries Lecture**

*MICHAEL S. DUKAKIS*

**“Economic Security in a  
World of Change:  
Can We Have Both?”**

It is a special pleasure to be introduced by somebody who really, in my opinion, exemplifies what public service is all about. We have been talking a little bit this evening, Ed and I, about life after elective politics. And I am going to do the best I can to put on my counseling hat, and bring him along slowly as he makes this adjustment after nearly three decades of great service to this community. And I hope he is going to continue his association with this university, because in establishing the School of Public Policy, I think UCLA is doing something very, very important and in some ways, I suspect, overdue, given what this university is and what it stands for. And what a remarkable achievement it is that in 75 years, you and the people of California have created it, a university like this. It is something to think about and reflect on . . .

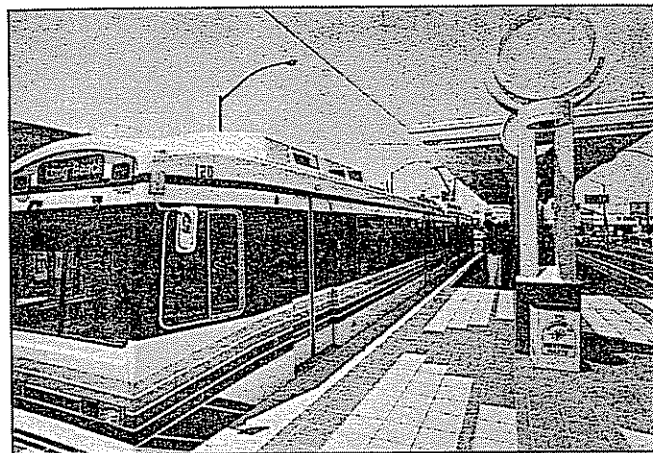
It is great to be with you this evening. This is, after all, a lecture, not a speech. So I really worked at this thing. And you are going to have to sit and listen to me, because I am a professor these days and this has got to have a certain academic cast to it. But we are, I understand, going to have some time to get into a Q and A afterwards, and I am not going anywhere tonight. I have adjusted to the time difference already, so if you want to stick around for awhile I will be happy to engage in a dialogue on anything under the sun, so let me begin.

To suggest that we live in a world very different from the one we experienced as recently as 20 years ago is hardly news to most Americans. We have moved with a speed that in historical terms is positively blinding. Until a few years ago, our economic future largely depended on forces and circumstances here at home. Today, world events and trends in every corner of the globe are having a profound impact on our ability to build a strong economy and to create economic opportunity and security for the American people.

Now the reasons for this fundamental change seem obvious today, but they were little noted or anticipated three decades ago. After all, we were the nation that had rescued Western Europe and Japan from the awful destruction of World War II. The Marshall Plan was hailed, and rightly so, as one of the great public initiatives of all time. The United States was booming in an economy of low inflation, rapidly growing productivity and home mortgage rates — for those of you who are a little younger than I am — of 4.5% or 5%. And our competitive advantage in the post-World War II world was assumed as a matter of course. In fact, when I was taking economics at Swarthmore College in the early 1950's, leading economists were holding and writing about this long and passionately argued debate over what they called the "dollar gap." It is a phrase we never hear these days; a subject of great debate in those days. What was the dollar gap? The notion — get this — that our allies and former enemies, the industrialized world, were doomed forever to run trade deficits with us because they could never catch up with us technologically or competitively. And this was a serious economic concept that was being discussed and debated in the early fifties.

Unfortunately, as we all know, some funny things happened on the way to the 1990's. Germany and Japan, with our help, made remarkable recoveries. Third World nations, especially in Asia, began showing signs of intellectual and economic vitality that would soon vault them into highly competitive roles in the post-World War II economy. U.S. technology was easily transferred, adapted, and in some cases improved beyond our borders. In other areas, we simply failed to take advantage of technology that we had developed. Some of the

early research in high-speed passenger-rail technology, for example, was being done in the United States in the 1950's. But our love affair with the automobile blinded us to the importance of investing in and developing high-speed rail. It was other nations that took the work that had been done here and turned it into impressive and successful rail service in other parts of the world. And today, sadly, the United States has lost its capability to develop and build high-speed trains. We must purchase them from countries that were years behind us economically and technologically just three or four decades ago.



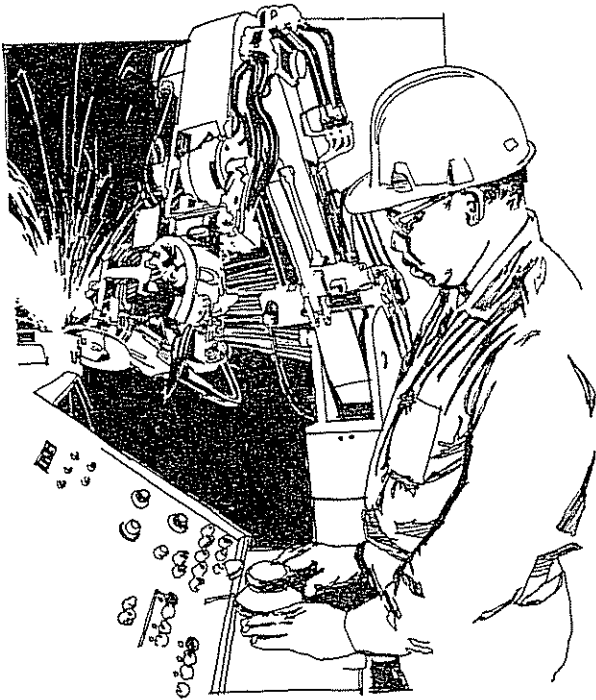
Free universal education, an American idea, became the norm and not the exception in the newly emerging nations of the post-World War II era. Today, highly educated and highly productive workers can be found everywhere, often willing to work for a fraction of U.S. or European wages.

And the supply of such workers has now been greatly enhanced by the end of the Cold War and the addition to the world economy of millions of well-educated workers — technicians and engineers in the former Communist nations of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Just the other day, for example, General Electric announced a breakthrough in light bulb technology that will give us something close to a ten-year light bulb. In the 1950's, that bulb would have been made in one of the GE plants in my state that have been shrinking their employment by the thousands over the past 20 years, and continue to do so in the face of increasing cuts in the defense budget. But

Massachusetts won't get these new jobs nor, by the way, will Louisville. Hungarian workers will be making the new bulb, which has the potential for enormous sales throughout the world.

Japan is probably the most dramatic example of how rapidly the world economy in which we find ourselves has changed in less than a half a century. When I was a kid, Japanese goods were something of a joke in the American marketplace. The Japanese had a penchant for copying our consumer products. They also had a reputation for producing cheap copies that weren't worth buying and wouldn't last.

How that has changed! The Japanese economy, a shambles at the end of World War II, is today the



envy of the world — even as it struggles temporarily with its current economic problems. It took on the American automotive giant at a time when executives scoffed at Japan's ability to produce a decent car. The Japanese not only beat the daylights out of us competitively, especially here in California, but virtually forced the American automobile industry to go back to the drawing board and begin to produce cars with quality and price that could attract American buyers back to American showrooms.

And Japan was not alone. Korea, itself a casualty of a tough and destructive war, has emerged as a first-rate competitor in its own right. So have Taiwan and Singapore. Thailand is not far behind, and I will be very much surprised if Vietnam doesn't join the parade soon. And it isn't just in Asia that this is happening. The last time I bought a sport shirt at Bloomingdale's, which I don't do very often — not Wal-Mart but Bloomingdale's — it was made in India. And my Proctor-Silex coffee maker comes from Mexico.

Nowhere has this new economic order had a more profound effect on the American economy and on American confidence than in the automobile industry itself. After all, we invented the thing, we perfected it, we turned the private motorcar into the transportation choice for average Americans. Every model year was a happening, and millions of Americans were able to support themselves and their families with a very good life by working for the automobile companies, or in the hundreds of thousands of businesses that they spawned. Suddenly, in the 1970's we discovered two things. First, American automobiles were in too many cases pieces of junk — "planned obsolescence," we called it. Remember those days? And secondly, our automobile companies had totally miscalculated the effects of an increasingly interdependent energy world, especially when the shock of the oil embargo hit us like a ton of bricks. The Japanese, for some reason, had figured out how to build an energy-efficient car of very high quality. And the American people began deserting the American automobile industry in droves.

I know, I bought a 1975 Plymouth Valiant. I don't know how many of you had that distinction. And you haven't lived until you have experienced the joys of a 1975 Valiant. It must have stopped dead in the street at least 18 times. I was governor at the time — and by the way, it was Kitty who drove the car most of the time — and finally my dear wife called a vice president at Chrysler and threatened to go public unless somebody fixed the defective carburetor that apparently had been installed in virtually all of these vintage cars. And I can tell you that while we never succumbed to the temptation to buy a foreign car in those years like many



American consumers, we were sorely tempted.

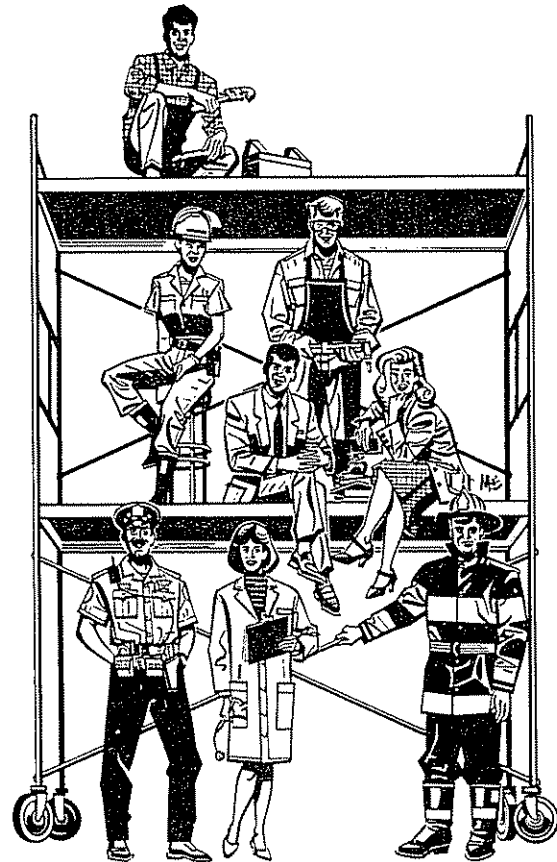
Not only did all of this have a profound effect on the confidence and optimism that had been the hallmark of the American character, our automobile companies began reacting in ways that seemed at times to be fundamentally un-American. They didn't seem to want to produce a better car; they wanted tariff and quota protection. And for awhile they got it in the form of those so-called "voluntary quotas." Of course, all those quotas did was to impose a hidden tax on American consumers while automobile executives tried to figure out where they went wrong, and how to advertise their way out of it. And in fact, as I think we all know, it has only been within the past few years that our friends in Detroit have finally begun to produce a quality car that can compete successfully with foreign competition.

And of course, these developments took place not just in the automotive industry, but across a broad spectrum of traditional American manufacturing industries - steel, textiles, shoes, consumer appliances, consumer electronics. Nor has the high-tech industry escaped unscathed. The hard times at IBM; the difficult and still incomplete downsizing of Digital which continues to plague the economy of my state; the collapse of Wang; the continued struggles at Data General are all reminders that even in our technology-rich economic sectors, there seems to have been a failure to anticipate trends in the marketplace as well as new and more sophisticated processes that have rendered even some of our modern technology virtually obsolete within a matter of years.

The hostile takeover binge in the 1980's didn't help either. Our best young graduate business school students began heading for Wall Street, not the factory floor. A new financial instrument called the "junk bond" suddenly found its way into our financial lexicon. Many takeover artists deliberately acquired companies with the specific intention of breaking them up and selling off their pieces, often with little or no interest in the consequences to long-time employees of those companies or the communities in which they happened to be located. And many takeovers, as we now know, were led by entrepreneurs who knew a lot more about financial high-jinks than they did about

running solid, profitable enterprises. The result in many cases was disastrous — and the specters of the takeovers dealt another blow to the traditional American view that if you worked hard and were loyal to your employer, you would be rewarded with company loyalty in return.

Unfortunately, all of this has had a profound effect on the American psyche and on our expectations and fears about the future. Major American corporations have been shedding jobs by the hundreds of thousands. Jobs which carry good wages and good benefits and virtual life-time security are a thing of the past in many of our industries. It used to be that most of the people who were laid off in this country were blue-collar workers who could collect unemployment compensation for a few months, confident that they would soon be called back. Today, 75% of laid-off American workers will never work again for the company that laid them off. In fact, the average American worker will have to change jobs at least seven or eight times in the course of his or her career.

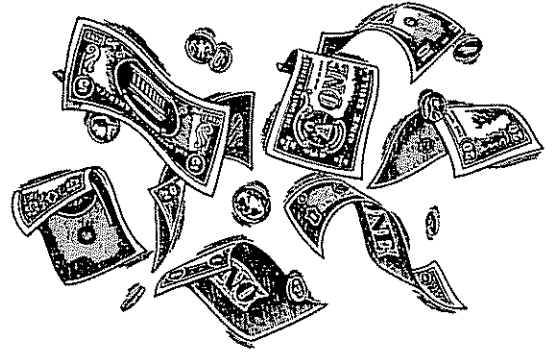


Furthermore, the amount of time it takes to find a new job is also growing. The number of workers who need six months or more to find a new job has doubled in the past 20 years. Those who have the toughest time finding new work have less formal education, are the oldest and were the most senior in tenure with their previous employers. And 20% of these displaced workers who had health insurance in their old jobs don't get it in their new ones.

In the old days, it was blue-collar workers who were most affected by the kind of bewildering economic and corporate changes that seemed to be taking place almost every day. Not so today. Twenty percent of our college graduates are being forced to take jobs that do not require a college education. The proportion of those laid off with college degrees has jumped dramatically. 1993 was the first time that more white-collar workers than blue-collar workers were unemployed in the United States of America. And even when laid-off workers find a new job, they aren't getting work that is even close to being comparable to their old one. A recent study in Pennsylvania, for example, revealed that workers with six or more years of tenure on their previous job were still earning on average 25% less five years after they were laid off by their old employers. And the number of part-time workers in this country is skyrocketing. Six-and-a-half million Americans, many of whom want and need full-time employment, are today holding part-time jobs. And that number hasn't changed in two years despite signs of a national recovery.

Real wages in the United States are also taking a beating. Income that we confidently expected in the 1950's would continue to rise steadily, and help make life better and better for ourselves and future generations, has not only stagnated for Americans with a high school education or less, but real wages in the past 20 years have dropped by 20%. Despite an increasing number of two-income families, median family income in this country began dropping in 1974 and the trend continues. Real wages for white-collar executives and managers, technical workers and college-educated workers all declined in the four-year period from 1989 to 1993. Poverty is up, and one out of five of us is now officially classified as a member of the working

poor — people working full-time, but earning incomes that can't even cover basic necessities.



In the meantime, executive salaries at the high end continue to soar. During the 1980's, the number of people earning \$500,000 or more in this country increased by nearly 1,000%. Combined salaries of those earning \$1 million or more increased by 2,000%. Michael Eisner's pay at Disney last year was nearly equal to the gross national product of Grenada. It's something to think about.

Now, this is not the time or place to get into a detailed discussion of what is "fair" when it comes to paying corporate executives in the United States. Already, however, we have exceeded by an enormous factor the "Platonic ideal" — I had to throw in a reference to ancient Greece here — that none of us should make more than four times what the least is paid. That was Plato's idea. Ben and Jerry's is seven-to-one, I think. At a time when the real incomes of millions of Americans are going down, regular reports of astronomical salaries and juicy stock options for corporate executives don't exactly strengthen public confidence in the fundamental fairness of American life.

Furthermore, because most Americans have gotten used to obtaining their health insurance through their employers, and because the knowledge that our bills will be paid if we or our children get sick is so fundamental to our sense of economic and personal security, the growing insecurity in the job market, as we all know, has finally catapulted the issues of health-care reform onto center stage. Not only are 37 million Americans totally without health insurance, but millions more are without adequate coverage. And, in fact, the Census Bureau

informed us just a few weeks ago that in a given 18-month period in 1992 and 1993 during which this study of theirs was done, one in every four Americans lost his or her health insurance for some period of time. No wonder the President's insistence on guaranteed insurance that can never be taken away has had such an overwhelming response from most Americans. And even if we still have health insurance, we all know at least somebody who has lost it and can't seem to get it back at any price.

Nor can we blame the business community for what is happening in health care in this country. A health-care system that is now taking 15% of the gross national product and costs twice per capita what any of our competitors spend on their health-care systems — all of which, by the way, are universal — has driven many employers in this country to drop or limit coverage for their employees. As a result, we have 10 million more Americans without health insurance today than we had 20 years ago, and 100,000 more Americans are losing their health insurance every month.

In the meantime, even the poorest of the poor in this country — the homeless and those on public assistance — are often trapped in a world that provides precious little security and not much hope. We have closed hundreds of state mental hospitals in this country, and eliminated thousands of beds for those who are chronically and severely mentally ill without the slightest idea how these people would be cared for in the community. And we continue to spend months and years debating



the future of our welfare system when there is good evidence in my own state, and in this state, that we know how to provide welfare mothers with the means and resources to achieve real independence and self-sufficiency.

In the meantime, increasing concerns about crime in urban and suburban neighborhoods are adding to our fears of insecurity in the future. And while there is much talk about community policing and the role of modern policing in creating a sense of security in communities and neighborhoods, there are very, very few communities in this country that are seriously engaged in practicing the kind of community policing that everybody seems to be talking about — and by the way, Jim Wilson was one of the first people to articulate many years ago in a very famous article he and George Kelling, who is a colleague of mine at Northeastern, wrote in the Atlantic Monthly about community policing.

So the fundamental paradox that we face seems to be this: On the one hand, the flexibility and dynamism of the American economy have made it possible for us to come through a period of great change and transition in a way that is creating hundreds of thousands of jobs a month and has created some 20 million new jobs in little more than a decade. And that is good. Europe, with its much heavier social support systems, can't come close to matching that record. In fact, our European friends seem almost resigned to persistent levels of unemployment in the 11% to 12% range — something that would be unthinkable here in the United States.

On the other hand, the people of Europe have not experienced the same reduction in real income that we have experienced since the mid-1970's. The reason for that is clear. Europe has a social safety net for its people which is quite generous, universal and very expensive. So even as we attempt to strike some balance between an economic engine that seems to be creating millions of low-wage/no-benefit jobs, many European leaders are seriously rethinking whether they can continue to afford the kinds of social insurance which provide a true safety net for their people, but which are imposing enormous burdens on their country's economies and on their employers.

Now, these are issues about which the President of the United States has been thinking for a long time. I know, I served with him for years in the National Governors Association, and I worked with him on many of them while he was still governor. And in 1992, I think it is fair to say that these were issues that he understands much more clearly than the man that he beat. Bill Clinton, as you recall, began his campaign by talking about "the forgotten middle class." He said repeatedly during the campaign that the old social contract was badly frayed; that people who, in his words, had worked hard and played by the rules, were not gaining but losing; that we needed a lot of new jobs, but those new jobs should be quality jobs, "good jobs at good wages;" and that issues like family leave and health insurance were an important part of what it would take to restore the social contract and cushion the blows that a dynamic and entrepreneurial economy would inevitably inflict on many of its workers.

businesses to grow and generate the kinds of jobs that he thought we needed.

And, unlike some Democrats, he made no bones about his commitment to opening up world markets through more and freer trade and the importance of an American economy that could, as he said, compete and win in global markets. In fact, in fighting for both NAFTA and the completion of the GATT negotiations — both of which I believe could not have happened in a second Bush administration — he had to take on, as I think we all know, both the labor movement, which was one of his very important constituencies during the campaign, and many of his Democratic colleagues in both the House and Senate.

Interestingly enough, the President addressed the very issue I'm discussing this evening in a little-noted speech at the University of North Carolina last September. He talked at length about what was causing so much insecurity in this country, falling real wages, massive downsizing and layoffs, the fact that people would have to get used to changing jobs many times during the course of their working careers.

"Economic security," he said in that speech, "can no longer be found in a particular job. It must be rooted in a continuing capacity to learn new things . . . so that people are always learning, even into their 50's, 60's and 70's." Maybe that was addressed to us, Ed, I don't know. He talked about the importance of health security and of personal security in one's home and neighborhood. And he argued strongly in that speech for a number of legislative initiatives on the grounds that America would not have the courage to change if it did not provide a sense of security for its people. "When do people most resist change?" he said. "When they are most insecure."

So the challenge he and we face is clear. Can we have an America that is lean, entrepreneurial, dynamic and competitive? An economy that can continue to produce millions of new jobs for the 15% of the American workforce that is officially unemployed, employed part-time but wants full-time work, or so discouraged that they have dropped out of the job market? Can we at the same time create a social safety net, not just for the



Clinton talked at length about what he considered the unfairness of the tax cuts of the 1980's, and our failure to develop a federal tax system that was not only fair, but would provide real incentive to small



poorest of the poor, but for millions of working Americans who will be changing jobs or losing them far more frequently than they ever have before? And can we do so without imposing such heavy burdens on ourselves as taxpayers or on our employers that we will find ourselves confronting the very dilemma that our European friends are now struggling with? It won't be easy. It will be, and in fact already is, highly contentious. But it is a debate that has been underway at least since 1988, because that was the year that Congress finally approved legislation requiring companies with more than 100 employees to give their workers at least 60 days notice before they were laid off.

The family leave bill that Congress approved and the President signed last year was the second step on the road to some degree of economic security for American workers. Now, both bills are very modest in scope and application. They do not apply to companies employing approximately 40% of the American workforce. They do not impose any direct financial burden on employers. Family leave under the 1993 legislation is unpaid family leave.

In short, both bills, however well-intentioned, only begin to scratch the surface of the problem. Four major challenges lie ahead.



First, what can we do to prepare American workers for the fact that they are going to face multiple job changes during the course of their working lives, and assist them in making those transitions and, if possible, take advantage of them? And how do we ensure at the same time that all Americans who work earn a living wage?

Second, how do we provide all Americans with health security so that the loss of a job does not bring with it the loss of health benefits? Or, where an attractive promotion beckons, the fear that health benefits will be lost if one takes a new and better job? And that is happening in this country all the time. We have a new phrase these days. It's called "job lock". People are afraid to move to a better job, a better-paying job, because they are afraid of what will happen to their health benefits.

Third, how can we make our welfare system a route out of poverty for millions of single mothers with children — who, by the way, make up the overwhelming percentage of families on welfare in this country — who neither want nor deserve the kind of insecurity that permeates the existing welfare system?

And fourth, can we combine these steps with a real effort to bring social order and a sense of personal security back to our communities and neighborhoods? Let me try to deal with each of these briefly, but I hope in a way that provokes some discussion this evening.

Congress and the President are already well on their way to tackling the problem of job security in the post-Cold War economy. As I pointed out earlier, the family leave bill is now law. Just a few weeks ago, the President signed school-to-work legislation that is designed to provide high school students who are not college bound with the job skills they will need for good jobs and skilled occupations through co-op programs, expanded vocational education and on-the-job training.

Last month, he and Labor Secretary Robert Reich unveiled sweeping legislation designed to transform our unemployment system into what they call a "reemployment system." Fragmented unemployment and transitional assistance programs for displaced workers will be consolidated. Tax breaks for businesses hiring unemployed workers, that are today costing the federal treasury billions and are having no discernible impact on corporate decisions to hire or not to hire, would be eliminated. The money saved from the elimination of that particular break will be used to expand opportunities for education and training. States will be encouraged to identify the unemployed earlier

and provide job training and education and job search assistance far more aggressively and effectively than they are today. Greater flexibility will be built into the employment assistance programs so as to provide income support for workers in long-term training programs; partial benefits for workers who can find part-time jobs; and the use of benefits, sometimes paid in a lump sum, to assist unemployed workers to set up their own businesses. We have had some success in my own state and other states in pilot programs designed to do that.

The legislation would create one-stop career centers and a national database of available jobs. And that new database, by the way, is already up and running in six states. It can be accessed by modem on personal computers in people's homes, or at some 200 shopping malls across the country. It is currently listing some 50,000 or 60,000 jobs a day, and the goal is 100,000 jobs a day within a year.

My own views are that the President's legislation is on target, but that there should be an even greater emphasis on the individual's responsibility to enter training or further education as a condition for receiving unemployment benefits. If, for example, a worker is laid off but is likely to be rehired or to find a new job within a period of one to three months, then unemployment compensation by itself may suffice. But if more than 20% of the workers that are being laid off in this country are unemployed for six months or more, then I think those employees should be expected to upgrade and enhance their skills while continuing to receive transitional assistance. All of us should be expected to make that kind of effort. Most of us already do so.

Furthermore, I believe it is time that we revisited the issue of a higher, permanently indexed minimum wage. Minimum wages have not kept pace with inflation in this country. Their real value is 20% less than it was 20 years ago. If the minimum wage today had the same real value that it did in 1969, it would be \$5.95.

Now, why is this so important? Because people working for the minimum wage can't possibly support themselves and a family on their current income. In fact, over four million family householders in America earn less than \$5.95 an hour.

Put another way, a minimum wage today that had the same real value as the minimum wage over two decades ago would reduce the poverty rate among families with children by more than 10%. And it would increase the income of the bottom 20% of working families in this country by some \$9 billion. Admittedly, there would be some job loss if the minimum wage was increased. But some recent studies indicate that it would be minimal among adult job-holders and would have an impact primarily on teenagers.

Now, there is, of course, an alternative to an increased minimum wage that keeps pace with inflation. And that is a substantial increase in the so-called Earned Income Tax Credit, which is a desirable piece of social policy, but is essentially a supplemental payment by you and me as taxpayers to low-wage workers — something that the President and Congress to their credit, have now done in the budget of last year, but at a cost of billions and billions of dollars to U.S. taxpayers and the federal deficit.

So the choice is clear. If we want to provide all working Americans with minimally acceptable income security, we will either have to do it by requiring employers with low-wage employees to pay their workers something more, or we will have to dig into our pockets as taxpayers to increase low wage income through the federal treasury. And if we were to ask the American people which course they prefer, I haven't the slightest doubt what their answer would be.

Unfortunately, millions of American workers and their families, as we all know, not only aren't earning a living wage, most of the working poor — and an increasing number of the middle class — have no health insurance and can't possibly afford to pay for it out of their own pockets. And next to a living wage, I know nothing that is so central to a sense of basic economic security than the knowledge that your hospital and medical bills will be paid if you or a member of your family is sick.

By this time, we all know the story. After 50 years of trying, the United States is the only advanced industrial nation in the world that does not guarantee its citizens comprehensive health care.

We used to say that it was only the U.S. and South Africa. But last week, Nelson Mandela, in one of his first policy initiatives, proposed a universal health care plan for all South Africans. And I suspect with the majority he has got in the new Parliament, he is going to get it. So we will then have the distinction of being alone among advanced industrial nations in not providing our citizens with basic health security. And that is why it seems to me this year's debate on health care reform is so important. To the extent that our failure to guarantee health insurance as a condition of employment is convincing more and more people not to take that new or often better job for fear that they and their family will not be able to get health insurance if they make the move, we are denying those families and ourselves the benefit of an economic system that rewards brains and initiative and outstanding performance on the job — all the traditional hallmarks of the American economic system.



Now, how we guarantee security to all Americans is a choice that we, the President and Congress will, I fervently pray, make this year. And there are many ways to achieve that goal. Personally, I believe that a national version of the universal health insurance system that has worked so well in the State of Hawaii for 20 years is the right choice. It is simple, fully privatized, built on tried and tested forms of health care delivery, and protects small businesses while requiring that all businesses contribute to their employees' health insurance. It does not require health alliances, it has very low administrative costs, it guarantees the choice of one's

doctor and it does so without a lot of government or private bureaucracy. Hawaiians today are the healthiest people in America, and it isn't because they are all out surfing at 3:00 in the afternoon. It is because they all have good insurance. And, interestingly enough, in a state with a cost of living which is some 40% higher than it is in the mainland, health costs in Hawaii today are equal to Canada's.

Whatever the ultimate solution, however, one thing is clear. We will not provide working Americans and their families with the kind of security they need in the dynamic and unpredictable world of tomorrow without health security. Comprehensive, understandable and affordable health security.

Moreover, anyone who thinks that the current American welfare system is a guarantee of economic security for its recipients doesn't understand the current American welfare system. It is a demeaning and highly insecure way of life. The real value of welfare benefits has been dropping steadily in most states in this country, especially during the latest recession. Welfare recipients are subject to repeated investigations and income redeterminations. And although we talk a lot about requiring absent fathers to contribute to the support of their children, we are for the most part doing a very poor job of enforcing child support in this country.

The fact is that there is precious little security in going on welfare in America. The real security is in developing the skills and confidence one needs to enter the job market, get a good job and get yourself and your kids off welfare permanently. And despite public rhetoric to the contrary, hundreds of thousands of single women on welfare have done so, and millions more would do so, in my judgment, if given half the chance.

Let me tell you about our experience in Massachusetts, because this is a story that I know best. In 1983, I returned to the governor's office and inherited the latest Massachusetts version at that time of workfare, which had been bequeathed to me by the man who had defeated me in 1978, and whom I then defeated in 1982. Like most workfare programs, it was a failure.

So we decided to take a fresh look at the subject. We talked to a lot of people who had experience with the welfare system, including a lot of welfare mothers. What we discovered was that the vast majority of women on welfare hated the system, that they wanted to get off, that they had relatively low levels of education and job experience, but that they were eager to go into training programs for real jobs so long as they could find somebody to take care of their children while they were getting their training. We also discovered, not surprisingly, that one of the greatest disincentives to getting off welfare was the fear these mothers had that they would lose their Medicaid benefits when they got their job.

And so the Massachusetts ET program was born. It wasn't complicated. Real training for real jobs, child care so that the mother could enter a training program, guaranteed health benefits when she got the job if her employer didn't provide them — a problem, by the way, which disappears if all employers must provide coverage for their employees.

What kind of response did we get? Over half the single mothers on welfare in Massachusetts voluntarily signed up for the program. We had a waiting list of thousands. In fact, our experience and your experience through the GAIN program, and the experience of other pioneering states like Arkansas under its then-governor, were largely responsible for the passage of the Family Support Act of 1988 by the Congress of the United States, which was an attempt to transform these experiments at the state level into national policy.

Now, can we improve on those efforts? Of course we can. Require adults on welfare to enter training programs, provide child care so that they can do so, pass health-care reform so that every job carries health insurance, so that you don't have this disincentive to go to work. And provide that if there are no jobs in the private sector that are available at the end of the training program — and that may happen, as we have seen and as you've seen — in the course of a severe recession, the trainee will be expected to work temporarily in a public or community service position directly related to her training until a job opens up in the

private sector.

The benefits to those single mothers and their children will be enormous. Public anger at what is perceived, rightly or wrongly, as a welfare system that breeds dependency will disappear. And we can get about the business of helping millions of our fellow citizens to earn their piece of the American dream with dignity and with self-respect.

Which leads me to the final building block of an American society which can genuinely provide its citizens with a sense of security that they need to live good and decent and productive lives in the economic future that faces them. I am sure I don't have to tell a Los Angeles audience, or for that matter a Boston or a New York or an Atlanta or a Chicago audience, that most Americans are appalled and frightened by the level of violence that they see around them or see every day in the nightly news. Is some of this a function of "if it bleeds, it leads" television? Of course it is. Violent crime has actually declined somewhat in America, while our national networks, as well as our local TV stations,



are devoting more and more air time to the coverage of violence, preferably live and in living color.

But the problem of violence, especially in our urban neighborhoods, is real, as we all know, and it is spreading to our suburbs. And it is time we did something about it. Time doesn't permit me tonight to describe in detail the things that I believe we have to do to get control of the violence that seems to be plaguing us. Some of the things that are causing it require a serious attack on problems of substandard education and family breakdown and the sense of hopelessness that pervades too many American communities. And many of the solutions, I am sorry to say, that are currently being bandied about have been tried and failed repeatedly. Mandatory minimum sentences, except in limited cases and for a limited period of time, don't work. I fully understand the agony of any parent whose child has been struck down by a three- or four- or six-time felon. And if we are prepared to pay the price in prison costs for "three strikes and you're out," we have a perfect right to do so. That is a judgment we've got to make. But let's not kid ourselves. "Three strikes and you're out" will not significantly reduce the levels of violence in our communities and neighborhoods.

What will get violence under control in those communities, I believe, is a serious effort at community policing. And I mean a serious effort. For despite all the rhetoric about community policing in America today, there are very few communities that are seriously investing in it. Why? Because community policing, my friends, costs money. Because community policing requires the retraining of a whole generation of police officers who have been told that their job is to respond to calls and chase law-breakers. And because it takes a lot more police officers to do community policing right than it does to have a handful of police officers driving around in cars responding to 911 calls.

Real community policing requires police officers who walk a beat, officers who knock on doors and get to know their communities, officers who are in and out of the public schools within their beat and consider that part of their responsibility, officers

who understand that they are not only expected to chase criminals, as they are, but that their ultimate responsibility is to restore a sense of social order within their assigned neighborhood.

Community police officers, I mean real community police officers, do not work a 9-to-5 shift, or for that matter, a 5-to-1 shift. They pick their hours. They vary their shifts. They may work during the day, or at night, or on the weekend. The choice is theirs, and the ultimate responsibility for that neighborhood is theirs. Their primary job? Yes, to reduce the level of violence, but also to assure those communities that municipal services are being provided to them and to their neighborhood, that a trained police officer will be there to deal with domestic disturbances, unruly kids, graffiti-covered walls and trash-strewn lots — all of the things that create a sense of social disorder in which violence and antisocial behavior thrive.



Now, the President is doing his part. He wants to put 100,000 more police officers on the street as part of his crime bill. And I commend him for it. But



isn't this something more than ridiculous? And I say this speaking in a forum whose inspiration was people who cared about county and local government. It seems to me there is something a little ridiculous about our having to go to Washington to get more cops because we aren't willing to tax ourselves to do it here at home. How serious are we? How serious are we about fighting crime with real community policing, anyway? And if it is as important as we say it is, why aren't we prepared to devote the time and the energy and the resources at the state and local level to do something about this most basic of public services.

Those communities which have made that commitment are already seeing the results, not only in reduced crime, but in a renewed sense of hope in their neighborhoods. But such communities are few and far between. It is one thing to talk about violence in our neighborhoods. It is another thing to walk the walk. And we aren't walking the walk in this country — not by a long shot.

Finally, and in some ways this may be the most overarching issue of all, I think it is time that we begin to bring some old-fashioned joy and optimism back into American life, because that's an essential part of any sense of security.

Now, maybe I am just an inveterate optimist. I think you have to be an optimist to be in politics. But my friends, this is an extraordinary time in world history. Nelson Mandela is the newly elected president of South Africa. Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat have shaken hands in an agreement in the Middle East, and the peace process, however difficult, is underway — and in my judgment, is irreversible. Seemingly endless conflict and bloodshed in Central America have abated. And Latin America, with the one conspicuous exception of Haiti, is more democratic by far than it has been at any time in history.

For the first time in the history of mankind, the international community, acting through the United Nations, is attempting to set standards of behavior for the conduct of nation-states and trying to enforce them. We have never tried to do this before. And in many cases, they have had remarkable success, as well as some failures, in South Africa and the Middle East and Central America and in Southeast Asia.

The Cold War is over, and here at home, after nearly half a century of constant tension between Washington and Moscow, communism and capitalism, East and West, we finally have an opportunity to begin tackling some important challenges that for too long we had to neglect because of Cold War demands.

And yet, despite all of this good news, we can't seem to recapture that sense of energy and optimism that have been the hallmark of the American character since the beginning of the Republic — qualities which had so much to do with the respect and affection we held for John Kennedy and his extraordinary First Lady, whose loss we felt so deeply just a few days ago.

I remember coming to this city as a young recent graduate of Harvard Law School in the summer of 1960 to watch John Kennedy accept the nomination for the presidency of the United States.

"This is the choice our nation must make," he said in that acceptance speech. "A choice between the public interest and private comfort; between national greatness and national decline; between the fresh air of progress and the stale, dank atmosphere of normalcy."

He said, "My call is to the young at heart, regardless of age; to the stout in spirit, regardless of party; to all who respond to the scriptural call, 'Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed.' "

So we can legislate until we're blue in the face. We can pass a jobs bill and a health-care reform bill and a welfare reform bill and a crime bill. And I believe the President and the Congress will do all of these things in the next twelve months.

But we can't legislate a return to the vigor that John Kennedy talked about and personified during those all-too-short years we had with him. That will have to come from us, from our political leaders; our churches and synagogues; in our schools and neighborhoods; and in the transformation of our media into an institution that makes a real effort to strike a balance between the bloody and bizarre and the tragic, and the good and the decent and the beautiful.

Can we do it? Yes, as an optimist, I think we can. But it will take the energy and the talent and the

commitment of all of us who care about our communities and about our country and about the future of mankind.

Thank you all very much.



**Q:** I notice you mentioned many things having to do with crime. But there is one necessary part that you never mentioned. I recall many days during the Depression when we hung out on street corners — there was nothing else to do, no place to go. Sometimes they would open up schools to keep us from lingering around. Nowadays the unemployment in youth is particularly high, particularly in the inner city. And nothing seems to be done, nothing seems to be said about the necessity of getting jobs so that they would not be hanging around and planning other things to do.

**A:** Well, I think you are right in your analysis. I am not sure I agree with your conclusion. The President's budget in 1993 — and the school-to-work program is just an aspect of that — is loaded with stuff designed on the one hand to get these kids ready for work, and on the other to try to get some jobs into those inner-city neighborhoods. The community development banks, the empowerment zones, the emphasis on the fact that a lot of our kids will not go to college — there is nothing sinful about that.

The question is, what do we do for non-college bound kids? Clinton himself has talked a lot about the apprenticeship program in Germany and so on. And that is what the school-to-work thing is all about. The Job Corps is being expanded. I thought you were going to mention the CCC. There is nothing wrong with going back to that as well. But all of these things permeate Clinton's economic plan and I am not sure that we are hearing that enough.

I don't think it is the President's fault. Maybe if the national press corps wants to continue to explore investments that, for God's sake, lost money in Arkansas in 1978, maybe we will never hear about this stuff. I remember when Kitty and I were at a town meeting that Hillary and Bill Clinton did down in Clearfield Beach, Florida a couple of months ago. And, you know, it was after this Whitewater thing and the rest of it. And there was some guy down there who said, "Apparently you can't lose money, you can't make money, you've got to break even. Then you better pay your taxes."

So I think some very substantive movement in this direction is kind of being lost in the shuffle. But I can assure you that it is very much a part of the President's plan, that to the credit of the Congress, has been approved and is now moving ahead. And I hope it is going to have a real impact.

But remember all of these things are important, folks. When I talk about real community policing, I mean that is an essential part of this, and let's not forget it.

**Q:** I am an economist. Economists distinguish between efficiency and equity. The first part of your talk talked about how we lost our efficiency basically between the '50's, loss of jobs, reduced real wages and so forth. And in the second part of your talk you talked mainly about equity issues, about distributional issues. You tried to link them by saying that when people are insecure they're less willing to take risks, to take jobs and so forth. In my view that may account for a small part of the loss of our efficiency, our international competitiveness. But that is a tiny part of the story. I think a much more significant part of the story goes back to what Marvin Braude talked about — decision-making. Particularly, decision-making by our business leaders, our political leaders. If you think about our country, we are endowed with fantastic natural resources. We have some of the best workers in the world. We have some of the best education in the world. People from all over the world flock here for education. So why did we flop as an economy? We made some very fundamental

mistakes. When you talked about the people in Detroit, that is emblematic of the kind of mistake made. It was not worker insecurity that led to the loss of our economic competitiveness. The proposals you made at the end of your speech, I agree with every one of them. But I don't think they are going to solve the problem of our inefficiency. I'd like your reactions to that.

**A:** I think the point you make is a good one. Although I think I would argue that after a period of time, when for whatever reason we got fat and happy, we thought we would always have that competitive advantage. You know, the dollar gap was going to exist forever, which led to a great deal of complacency, poor management and poor leadership in the private sector. There was some collaboration, let us admit, between big management and big labor. Remember administered prices and stagflation and all of that business? Labor unions were a part of that arrangement.

I think what happened is that we got an enormous kick in the rear end. And in the last five or ten years, we have begun to get our efficiency back, which is one of the reasons that American industry today is becoming more competitive — not just in automobiles, but in other things.

What I am concerned about is, as we get off the dime and get more efficient — which apparently in the case of many of our corporations, means the shedding of thousands of jobs, which I guess reflect what? A lot of inefficiency.

If in point of fact, IBM didn't need 50,000 or 60,000 or 80,000 or 90,000 people, that sounds to me like a very inefficient company. But those 50,000 or 60,000 or 90,000 people are all breadwinners for families. And so the real challenge seems to be, how do you create, inspire and support? And here again, I think the Clinton budget does that. There is an unprecedented movement of billions of dollars from defense R&D to civilian R&D in ways that we have never done before in this country, in an effort to try to stimulate that kind of efficiency and new technology and so on. How do you do that, and at the same time, do so in a system that is equitable, that is fair? I think that's the challenge.

Now, are there some public policy decisions that are being made every day? Yeah. Maybe you will

have me back to give a seminar on what the Federal Reserve Bank is doing these days. I have very serious concerns about Mr. Greenspan, the Federal Reserve, and whether we aren't tilting at ghosts of the '70's because they don't understand what's happening in the '90's. So I think there are some public policy questions, as well, that I didn't even touch on tonight. But I think we are getting our efficiency back. The problem is that the human costs are very, very painful.



*Governor Dukakis shares an aside with Supervisor Ed Edelman as he waits to be introduced as speaker for the 1994 Bollens/Ries Lecture.*

**Q:** Governor, I hear you speak of school-to-work transition. I hear you speak of retraining of dislocated workers. But where are these jobs coming from? We're seeing downsizing continually — out of the big corporations, anyway. What are these going to be? Our manufacturing base has been decimated. I came out of the footwear industry in New England, so I certainly know about that. But that is only one of them. Where are these jobs coming from?

**A:** Where are they going to come from? They are going to come from smart people. Which, I am happy to say — not only in my state, but in great universities like this one — which is one of the reasons why California with all of its problems has got to continue to invest in the UCLAs and the Berkeleys and this great public education system you have. Look, why is Massachusetts one of the great high-tech and bio-tech capitals of the world? I

would like to tell you it is because Mike Dukakis was governor. (LAUGHTER) I'd like to think maybe I contributed a little bit. Half of the Ph.D.s who get their doctorates from MIT stay in Massachusetts.

Knowledge in the economy of the 21st century is going to be the ticket. Knowledge.

Now, are we going to manufacture textiles? I don't think so, except maybe specialized textiles. Will we manufacture shoes? Only some specialized shoes. We still have got a few shoe companies around. But they are making very specialized brands of stuff. They are going to come from small business. They are going to come from entrepreneurs. A lot of the folks in my state that have been laid off by Digital and Wang are now creating their own companies — fives, tens, fifteens, twenties. Some of them will fail, some of them will succeed. But that is where it is coming from. It is not coming from the Fortune 500 companies. They are not adding jobs.

And so, part of the challenge here is to create an environment within which these entrepreneurs can begin to create jobs, find the capital to invest and so on, and at the same time treat our workers fairly and equitably.

Don't look to the Fortune 500 companies to create these jobs. It could be a lot of small people. A lot — if I can breathe the word — a lot of immigrants. A lot of immigrants, you know.

And by the way, isn't it clear that wave after wave of immigration has been one of the great, great energizing forces in this country's history? Who are the valedictorians in your high schools and universities these days? First-generation kids whose parents were born abroad. I speak with some feeling on that subject, needless to say. The CEO of the Bank of Boston is an Armenian-American, son of Armenian immigrants who are survivors of the genocide. When I was a kid, friends, if anyone had suggested that an Armenian-American was going to be the CEO of the Bank of Boston you'd have said he had lost his mind.

It is happening. That's another reason why this country is going to not only survive, but prosper. But it will be small, bright, smart, knowledge-loaded entrepreneurs and people who are going to create these new jobs. And they can be good jobs.

**Q:** I'm a student at Pepperdine University. You talk about ending the welfare trap. And you did it somewhat on a smaller scale in your state. However, with six million children under the age of five living below the poverty line in this country, that is just children under the age of five, is it economically possible to do that nationwide? How can we provide child care for that many?

**A:** Well, you are either going to provide child care, or you are going to continue to pay welfare. That's the tradeoff. We found that for an investment of approximately \$4,000-\$5,000 per welfare family, we could get somebody off welfare permanently.

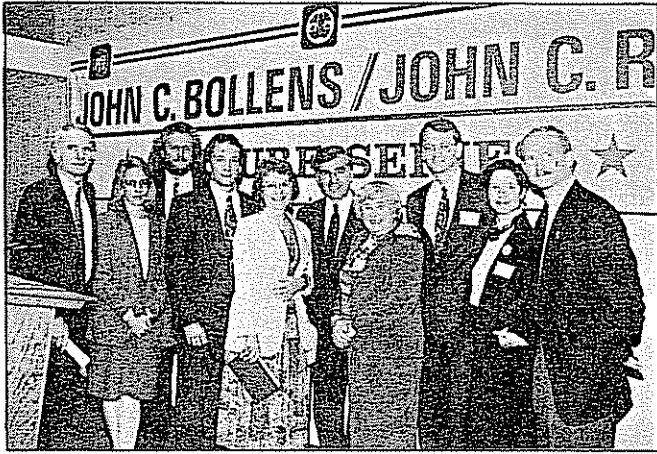
Now, some of these folks will not succeed the first time. They'll go to work and they will fall back on welfare in six months. Okay, you start again. But if I said to you, "supposing we could make a one-time investment of \$5,000 on a welfare family which virtually guaranteed that 80% of those families would be off welfare permanently," would you say to me that's a reasonable investment? You bet! Not only a reasonable investment, as taxpayers, but think of the transformation in that family.

Let me tell you something, folks. I have met with hundreds and hundreds of welfare mothers that were part of this program. It isn't just that they are better off economically. These mothers become role models for their kids. Their kids stay in school. They see their mother working and earning and have the pride of work. It is just extraordinary to meet these folks a year later and to see the transformation in them and their confidence levels and so on.

Some of them will fail. Back you go again. I mean, a few of us have been laid off involuntarily. Take it from me, it's not fun. I got laid off once involuntarily — and let me tell you, it was a lousy feeling — in 1978. So it is a question of making that initial investment, knowing that a substantial percentage of these folks will make it the first time. And if they don't make it the first time, then they will make it the second or the third. That's really the choice that you're making.

**Q:** My question is about community-based policing. We are working very hard to develop these programs and to develop good ones in Los Angeles. I would like to hear who these unique models are

and what they do that is so special and how they demonstrate it.



*Friends and family gather again for the Tenth Annual Bollens/Ries Lecture portrait: From the left, Supervisor Ed Edelman; Alice Lewis and Dr. Ross Bollens; Jim and Rita Ries; Governor Michael S. Dukakis; Virgene Bollens; Dr. Scott Bollens and Claudia Shambaugh; and Professor Donald Chisholm.*

**A:** Let me tell you about Del Rey Beach, Florida, of all places. Now, this is a community which is about 25% minority. It's got a wide range of people, incomes and so on. And up until a few years ago, Del Rey Beach was one of these Southern communities where you had an old-line, white Southern police chief. Relationships between the minority community and the police department were a disaster. The community itself was not doing well.

Well, people finally rose up for a variety of reasons. They threw out the city council and brought in a whole new city council. They hired a new city manager —and a good one. He brought in a new police chief who was very committed to community policing. And they are well on their way — they have a police department of about 140 officers. In about three years, 75 of those 140 officers will be full-time community police officers. Not in specialized units, not running around, not doing D.A.R.E. programs and so forth. They are going to be in the community.

They took an old crack house in one of these minority neighborhoods and turned it into a police substation. Put in a public meeting room, which is part of the substation. That's amazing, right? They

encouraged a group of black men to organize something called "Mad Dads." These guys patrol with cellular phones and they work very closely with the police department.

But the community police officers, folks, are in those neighborhoods — walking or riding bicycles. They are knocking on doors, they're getting to know people. They literally go out and ring doorbells. And to repeat — they do not work a shift! This is very important. They work 40 hours, but *they* decide what 40 hours to work.

One of the community police officers I spent half a day with was a woman, Shirley Palmer, an African-American. A very savvy, tough woman who loved community policing. And by the way, most police officers who begin to do it find that it is far more satisfying and fulfilling personally than driving around in a car all day long. How many of you have ever driven around with a police officer in a patrol car? I mean, this is the most boring thing in the world — around and around and around waiting for a call. These folks aren't driving around.

But, I said to her, "Why don't you work a shift?" And she said, "Are you crazy? If I work nine-to-five, the drug dealers would be out at six. They know me, they know who I am. My job is to keep them off balance so they never know when I'm going to be out."

Now, notice what this does. It puts an enormous amount of responsibility and discretion and potential corruption in the hands of the local police officers. As a matter of fact, one of the reasons we took cops off the beat and put them in cars was because we were worried about local corruption. So part of this involves integrity training, part of it involves human law enforcement relations.

The other thing that we've got to help our police officers to unlearn is that it isn't just chasing lawbreakers and responding to 911 calls. If there is graffiti on the wall, they have to pick up the phone, get hold of the public works department and get them out there and get it cleaned off. If there is a drunk in the gutter, they have got to know where the social service agencies are that can come over to get the guy, detox him and try to get him some treatment.



That is all part of this new forum. Most police officers were never trained to do that. They say they are not social workers, they're cops. And they're good people. But notice that this is a whole different approach to this thing. And I repeat to you, I don't think this is happening in many communities in the United States of America despite tons of rhetoric about community policing and all this kind of stuff. In Del Rey Beach, it's happening and it's very impressive. Crime statistics are dramatically lower.

But it is more than the crime stats. It's the sense in the community that there is a sense of order that is back, and you can walk around at night. Then people start coming out of their houses. And the best security of all, folks, is people out in their neighborhoods and not locked behind doors because they're scared to death. But that is the way good community policing works.

Now, how you take that model and apply it to Los Angeles I don't know, although I suspect you've got to break the community down into — what? — break it down into neighborhoods and sectors and all that kind of stuff.

But notice just how different this is from the professional policing model that in the '50's and '60's was the rage. It doesn't work. This works. If it's done right.

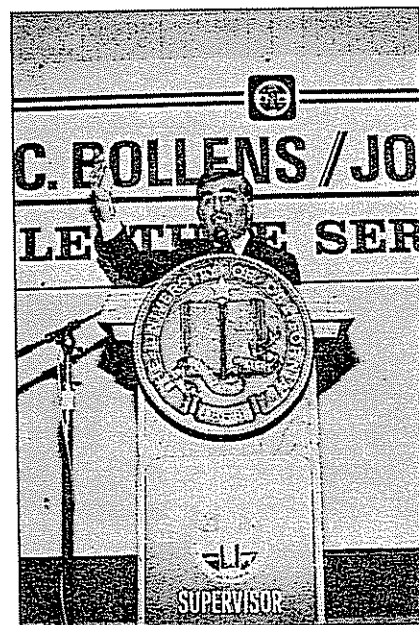
**Q:** I was wondering if you might comment on the government fiscal policy and the national debt and our deficit spending and how that relates to our economic security.

**A:** We are reading about a deficit that was headed for a half a trillion dollars. That doesn't exactly inspire confidence, either in us as individuals or as business people who might want to invest or whatever. And I think this President deserves an enormous amount of credit for going at this thing and doing something about it.

Clinton said during the campaign that he was going to cut the deficit in half in four years. He's almost there already. It took some guts. Dozens and dozens of cuts in programs that people cared about. He made them. A tax program, I think a fair tax program, because it largely took the taxes from the folks that had gotten all the tax breaks in the '80's. But he certainly raised taxes — and he said he

would! And so, at long last, the deficit is on a dramatic downward trajectory. It was supposed to be \$300 billion, it is going to be \$170 billion.

On the other hand, as I think you've been reading, once the Clinton four-year plan is completed, then the deficit is going to do what? It's going to start rising again unless we do something about the most volatile remaining item in the federal budget. And that is no longer defense, it's health care. That is why the cost-control side of any health-care reform bill is so important. If we can bring the rate of inflation in health care down to the general rate of inflation, then we will continue to move toward budget balance. If we don't, if there aren't some tough cost controls in this new health care reform bill, then that deficit is going to go up again. But I agree with you. It is an essential part of restoring economic strength and a feeling of economic security to this country.



*Governor Dukakis responds to an audience question following the 1994 Bollens/Ries Lecture.*

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