

And as for the tax cuts, they have already been paid for with savings achieved by reducing the bloated Federal bureaucracy, targeting waste and inefficiency, and transferring money and responsibility for programs back to the States.

While our opponents accuse us of cutting Medicare, the truth is Medicare spending will increase.

There will be no cut in Medicare spending. Under our plan, spending for each Medicare beneficiary will increase from \$4,800 this year to \$6,700 in 7 years. That's a 54-percent increase in Medicare spending! In total, we'll be spending \$700 billion more on Medicare over the next 7 years than we did during the past 7 years.

Let me discuss the key elements in our plan to save Medicare and make it better.

Traditional Medicare will be preserved. Any beneficiary wishing to stay in the existing Medicare program can do so. There will be no increase in copayments and no increase in deductibles. They have an absolute right under this plan to stay in the existing Medicare program. That right cannot be taken away, and no beneficiary will be required to change their health care coverage. Most importantly, for those who choose to stay in traditional Medicare, they can continue to be able to choose any doctor and hospital they wish.

In addition to preserving the right to remain in traditional Medicare, our plan offers new, additional choices for elderly Americans. These options will include an opportunity to choose from a number of different coordinated care plans, ranging from health maintenance organizations to preferred provider organizations to medical savings accounts.

In New Jersey there are very few choices of health care plans for older people such as coordinated care plans. But in some States, coordinated care has become a popular alternative to traditional Medicare. In California, for example, fully 34 percent of seniors have chosen some form of coordinated care. These seniors have found that coordinated care greatly reduces their out-of-pocket expenses. Enrollment in one of these plans has enabled many retirees to stop purchasing expensive private MediGap insurance, which currently costs around \$1,200 a year. In addition, coordinated care plans usually provide services not available under traditional Medicare including prescription drugs, dental care and eye glasses.

Let me emphasize that no one will be forced to join any of these coordinated care plans, but they will be available to those who prefer this kind of health care protection. Remember, the existing Medicare coverage beneficiaries now have, will continue to be available.

One question repeatedly raised at my town meetings was why not save Medicare by combating fraud and abuse. The Medicare Preservation Act contains strong measures in the fraud and abuse area, including stricter penalties on Medicare providers who defraud the system. Unfortunately, these savings alone are not enough to avert financial calamity.

Our plan aggressively attacks waste, fraud, and abuse, which is robbing the Medicare system of at least \$18 billion a year. The beneficiaries of Medicare, are the best weapon we have in combatting this waste. But the current system makes it extremely difficult to uncover excessive or unnecessary hospital or medical charges. That's because right now there is no

requirement that the beneficiary receive a detailed explanation of all the hospital, doctor and lab expenses billed to Medicare on your behalf. Under our plan, they will have a new tool to detect waste, fraud and abuse. Our plan requires every health care provider to give a copy of all bills they send to Medicare for payment. The beneficiaries will finally have a legal right to examine every doctor and hospital bill.

In addition, our plan offers a financial reward to any senior who uncovers any unnecessary or excessive Medicare charge. Finally, we will be imposing tough, new criminal penalties on anyone who defrauds the Medicare system.

Health care providers will also make a contribution. Our plan requires doctors and hospitals, as well as older people, to help us save and preserve Medicare. Doctors and hospitals will be asked to accept smaller increases in reimbursement for the services they provide to Medicare patients.

Opponents of our plan contend that reducing reimbursement rates for health care providers will lead to less quality care and hospital closings.

They are not telling the truth. We're not giving doctors or hospitals less money. Over the next 7 years, Medicare will be paying out \$1.6 trillion to health care providers for the treatment of Medicare patients—a substantial increase. But we are putting the brakes on uncontrollable double-digit annual increases in health care costs under Medicare that are driving the program toward bankruptcy. Doctors and hospitals are already being forced to control costs for their patients covered by private health insurance, how they will have to do the same for their Medicare patients.

Finally, we are asking our wealthiest seniors—individuals with annual incomes over \$60,000 and couples with yearly incomes of more than \$90,000—to make a special contribution. Our plan calls for phasing out the government subsidy for Medicare part B that our most affluent seniors currently receive.

But the share of premium costs stay the same. Our critics have charged that there will be exorbitant increases in premiums, as much as \$3,000 per year.

Once again, they are not telling the truth. Right now, premiums paid by seniors cover 31 percent of Medicare part B costs, while general tax revenues pay the remaining 69 percent. Our plan preserves the 31 percent commitment from seniors and the 69 percent commitment from the Federal Government.

Under the Medicare plan proposed by President Clinton, in 7 years seniors will be paying monthly premiums of \$83. Under the House plan monthly premiums will be only \$4 higher in seven years than under the President's proposal. And while the President's plan will keep Medicare part A financially secure for only an additional 3 years, our plan will save both Medicare part A and part B for the next 19 years.

Our plan to preserve, protect and strengthen Medicare is the result of months of study and hearings and listening to our constituents in town meetings in each of our districts. It is the only long-term plan that will guarantee that Medicare is preserved for current beneficiaries and those approaching retirement age, our children.

TRIBUTE TO DR. ARTHUR  
JOHNSON

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1995

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to take a few minutes to tell you about a man who has spent his life working as a healer but he is not a medical doctor. He has not repaired any broken bones or mended any human hearts. But he has devoted his life to healing the bitter and gaping rifts that separate the races in our country.

The man I am describing is Dr. Arthur Johnson, my longtime friend in the struggle for justice, who retired September 30, 1995, as Vice President for University Relations and Professor of Educational Sociology at Detroit's Wayne State University, which just happens to be my alma mater.

His title and his long list of degrees and commendations might lead some to believe he concentrated his civil rights work in the academic arena. That was not the case. His activism, which has spanned six decades, has taken him repeatedly into hostile and dangerous territory. In the 1950's, as executive director of the Detroit branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he helped organize sit-ins at Detroit lunch counters that refused to serve African-Americans.

In the early 1960's, he was at the front of civil rights marches to protest unfair housing practices in Detroit suburbs. Almost 40 years later, these suburbs still hold the dubious distinction of being the most segregated in the Nation.

In the 1970's, he struggled to bring order out of the social chaos in the Detroit Public schools where militant young students disrupted classes and shut down schools to demand a curriculum that reflected their African heritage.

In the last two decades, Dr. Johnson has kept up his hectic pace and worked on numerous projects to increase understanding among the races. He has written passionately about the question of race which still divides this country.

As he recently said, "My experience kept me close to the issue of race and race oppression. The struggle is a part of me." But no matter how harsh the struggle, he never became embittered. He remained outwardly calm, refusing to let the enemy destroy him in anger. That enemy began testing him at an early age.

Born in Americus, GA, in 1925, he grew up in an atmosphere poisoned by hatred and supremacy. But instead of creating hatred in him, that environment made him a determined fighter against the evils of racism.

One incident in his youth helped shape his views. He was 13 years old and his family had moved to Birmingham. The memory of what happened is still vivid in his mind. One time he was walking in downtown Birmingham early in the evening with his uncle, who was about 20 years old. Suddenly they found themselves walking behind a white family—a father, a wife, and a little girl who was about 6 or 7. The girl was not paying attention to what she was doing, and she walked across young Arthur's path. He put his hand on her shoulder

in a caring fashion to prevent her from stumbling. When her father saw that, he began to beat on Johnson as if he had lost his mind.

During the entire beating, Johnson's uncle stood frozen in fear. For years, his uncle's failure to respond troubled him. Only later, when he himself was a grown man, did he fully understand why his uncle just stood there. In that racist climate, the uncle would have been killed for challenging a white man on a public street.

Once he understood what had happened, he did not focus his anger on the specific individuals involved in that incident. Instead, he focused on a perverted system that filled whites with blind rage and blacks with terror. He knew that the ravenous monster called racism had to be attacked. His lifelong struggle began on that Birmingham street.

Johnson's parents were hard-working people who valued education. His mother was a domestic servant; and his father worked in the coal mines and the steel mills. After graduating from Birmingham's Parker High School, he attended college through the help of his grandmother, also a domestic servant. She used the little money she earned to help put him through Morehouse College in Atlanta.

During those Morehouse years, he was part of a class that included students who would alter the course of this Nation: The young Martin Luther King Jr., *Ebony* Magazine Publisher Robert Johnson, and noted historian Lerone Bennett whose work on African-American history has successfully linked generations of black Americans with their past.

Those young men studied in an atmosphere that was carefully crafted by the late Dr. Benjamin Mays, Morehouse president and one of the Nation's premier and dignified voices for social change. Dr. Mays' message was not lost on them. "Dr. Mays challenged us not to accept any measure of racial discrimination we did not have to," he once reflected. "Above all else, he told us to keep our minds free. He told us that nobody can enslave your mind unless you let them."

While on campus, Johnson organized the school's first chapter of the NAACP. Armed with an undergraduate degree in sociology from Atlanta University, Art Johnson moved to Detroit in the early 1950's to take a job as executive secretary for the Detroit branch of the NAACP. He planned to stay in Detroit 3 years so he could get the urge to change the world out of his system before returning to academia. Those 3 years turned into 40.

He remained at the helm of the NAACP for 14 years, guiding the organization through some of the most turbulent years in Detroit. In the 1950's, blacks were blatantly discriminated against in the job market, the housing market, and in hotels and restaurants. The NAACP led protest marches and sit-in demonstrations that battered the door of institutional racism and forced some change.

The group's activism attracted a record number of new members. The Detroit chapter grew from 5,000 members to 29,000 during his tenure. Detroit proudly claimed the title of the largest NAACP chapter in the United States.

Under his guidance, the Detroit chapter initiated the NAACP Freedom Fund Dinner which has become the most successful NAACP fund raiser in the country. Held each year, the event draws thousands of people and has been labeled the largest indoor dinner in the world.

Art Johnson took a struggling local organization and helped it develop into a major force in the local and national struggle for civil rights.

One reason for his success was his uncanny insight into society's problems. During a speech he gave some 35 years ago, he pinpointed six crucial issues facing African-Americans: voting rights, civil rights, segregated housing, inadequate medical care, job discrimination, and segregated schools. Despite some progress, those issues still remain at the top of our agenda.

In 1964, he left the NAACP to become Deputy Director of the newly created Michigan Civil Rights Commission, the first such body in the Nation. The commission needed someone with proven skills. No one doubted that Art Johnson had them.

In one of his first official statements, he made it clear that he had not forgotten that 13-year-old boy who was beaten without cause years earlier. In his low-key, no-nonsense fashion, he said that the struggle for equity and fairness in jobs, housing, education, and police community relations would keep the commission busy.

He spent 2 years getting the commission on a solid footing, then he waded into one of the biggest challenges of his career. The Detroit Public Schools hired him as Deputy Superintendent for School Community Relations at the most turbulent time in the history of the school. The wrenching social upheavals in the streets during the 1960's registered in the classrooms as well. And Arthur Johnson was right in the middle of it all.

In July 1967, Detroit exploded in a civil disturbance that claimed 43 lives and destroyed hundreds of millions of dollars worth of property. Rather than watching the flames from the safety of his office, Johnson joined those who told the rioters to calm themselves and told the police to immediately cease their wanton and often deadly attacks on the citizens.

Conditions were tense in the classroom, too. Students were riding a wave of militancy, and Detroit was at the crest of that wave. Young protestors shut down schools and disrupted board meetings to air their grievances about a curriculum that largely ignored African-American culture.

During one such protest, a group of determined young students "arrested" Johnson and held him captive for 2 hours in a school library to call attention to their demands.

When he was not caught up in the thick of debates with parents, students, and administrators, he was arguing with publishers whose text books failed to accurately and fairly reflect the experiences and contributions of African-Americans. More than once, he infuriated publishers by refusing to accept books that directly or indirectly fostered notions of black inferiority.

After that demanding stint in the public schools, most people would take it easy, but he did not.

In the early 1970's, he traded one group of protesting students for another when he left the public school system and joined Wayne State University, a hotbed of student activism.

As the Vice President for University Relations and as professor of educational psychology, he was right in the middle of the fray. Students demanded increased and immediate access to the decisionmaking process. They tried, as many good students do, to reshape

the school in their image. Art was there, mediating, challenging, explaining and listening. Sometimes the volume of the debate was so high that it was nearly impossible to hear the words, but he persevered.

To me, the most amazing thing about Art Johnson is that he never lets problems trigger an emotional outburst in him. His studied calm has become his trademark.

He has used his intellect to reason with friends and foes. He has walked into hostile and dangerous territory to push for freedom. He has maintained his composure and his dedication despite numerous threats and insults.

When he suffered painful setbacks in the struggle for human rights, he never gave up hope or bowed to temporary defeat.

Throughout his life, he carried the words of his teacher with him. He never allowed anyone to shackle his mind. He has fought consistently and tirelessly against such efforts.

In 1988, he was working at the university, active in a number of community groups and deeply involved in the local NAACP chapter as president, a position he held from 1987 to 1993. During this period he also served a co-chair of the Race Relations Task Force for the Detroit Strategic Plan. As co-chair, he wrote and insightful commentary on race relations that was published in *The Detroit News*.

He wrote:

When we freely examine racism for what it is—through our individual experiences and as exposed in the Race Relations Task Force report and other studies—it becomes clear that the problem of race and racism in its structural and institutional aspects—is in reality the form and practice of our own apartheid.

Because of his insight and his singular dedication to civil rights, Art has been awarded so many honors that it would take far too long to list them all. He wears his well-deserved praise with the humility of a man who realizes he is only doing what is just and right.

In 1979, Morehouse College awarded him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Humane Letters in recognition of his scholarship in the field of sociology and his leadership in the battlefield of civil rights.

His other honors include the Distinguished Warrior Award from the Detroit Urban League, the Greater Detroit Interfaith Round Table National Human Relations Award, the Afro-Asian Institute of Histadrut Humanitarian Award, the Greater Detroit Chamber of Commerce Summit Award, and the Crystal Rose Award from the Hospice Foundation of Southeastern Michigan. The NAACP conferred five Thalheimer Awards upon for outstanding achievement.

Art is a member of a variety of community groups. He sits on the board of directors of the Detroit Science Center, the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, and the American Symphony Orchestra League. Like me, he has a love of music. He is also a trustee for the Founders Society of the Detroit Institutes of Arts and president emeritus of the University Cultural Center Association.

Art is the father of five children. He and his wife, Chacona Winters Johnson, a development executive for the University of Michigan, still live in Detroit.

Even though Art Johnson has retired, he is busier than ever. When it comes to the struggle for justice, he just can not pull himself from the front lines.

The Detroit community, and indeed the Nation, have benefited from his efforts to promote understanding and healing. It is with joy and sincerity that I thank Arthur Johnson. Because he never allowed anyone to shackle his mind, he made it possible for others to know the beauty of freedom.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
GIFT REFORM ACT

SPEECH OF

HON. WILLIAM J. MARTINI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, November 16, 1995

Mr. MARTINI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Gingrich amendment to the Gift Ban Reform Act.

We were elected to Congress to conduct the peoples' business. We were not elected to feed at the trough of the Gucci clad lobbyists and special interests that dominate our Nation's Capitol.

If Members of Congress want to enjoy fine dining, golf excursions, and exotic vacations, then they should be willing to pick up the tab.

The American people have grown sick and tired of perks and privileges extended to Members of Congress.

Our constituents do not receive unsolicited gifts and meals and neither should we.

By eliminating the potential for corruption and perception of impropriety, House Resolution 250 will help to restore the American peoples trust in elected officials and the Congress.

It's time to clean up this institution and restore the public confidence in our Nation's leaders.

We have a moral imperative to hold ourselves to a higher standard of conduct than practices of the past.

The American people have demanded a Federal Government that is open and accountable. We need to assure them that all citizens, not just special interest and lobby groups will have access to elected officials.

By passing the Gingrich proposal, we can demonstrate our sincerity and dedication to ensuring that congressional activities are conducted honorably and legitimately.

The overwhelming majority of my colleagues are sincere, hard working, and dedicated public servants. I am not of the opinion that Members of this body are bought and sold over a dinner or golf outing.

However, by eliminating gifts we remove all doubt of impropriety and wrongdoing.

In my opinion this is all about trust and perception. By banning all gifts and junkets, we can prove to our constituents and to the American people that we are, in fact, sincere about cleaning up Congress.

I urge my colleagues to support the Gingrich proposal.

RENA BAUMGARTNER

HON. PAUL E. KANJORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1995

Mr. KANJORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a personal friend of mine who

has become one of northeastern Pennsylvania's most important and influential political and community leaders, Rena Baumgartner. I am proud to have been asked to participate in a tribute to Rena and to be able to tell my colleagues of her contributions and accomplishments.

As an active member of her community, Rena has participated in numerous clubs and organizations which work diligently to promote the betterment of and ensure safety to the general public. Rena has worked with the West End Ambulance and West End Fire Company Auxiliaries as well as the Polk Township Fire Company Auxiliary. She is a member of the Exchange Club of the Pocono Mountain. In addition to these organizations and others, Rena remains an active member in the United Effort Methodist Church.

Rena may be best known for her leadership positions within the Democratic Party organization. Since 1968 Rena has been active in the political arena, beginning as a Democratic township committee person. From that position, Rena graduated to become the Assistant Secretary of the Monroe County Democratic Committee and eventually the Chairperson of the Monroe County Democratic Committee, a position which she still holds today.

Rena's involvement in the Democratic Party was not limited to local politics. On the statewide level, Rena was appointed Deputy Chairperson of the Democratic State Party and in 1984 was made Vice-Chair of the party.

On the national level, her involvement in the Democratic Party is deserving of even more recognition. Rena has been a member of the Democratic National Committee since 1979 and has taken a leading role in every national election since becoming a member. During the last three presidential elections she served as a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions. She has served on the executive committee of the Democratic National Women's Caucus and has been the Treasurer and Secretary of the Democratic National Committee's Eastern Regional Caucus. Presently, Rena is helping to select the delegation which will be sent to the 1996 Democratic National Convention. No one can question Rena's commitment to the Democratic Party.

Certainly, an accomplishment that Rena can be extremely proud of is her family. With her husband William, Rena has raised two wonderful children, her daughter Robin and her son Bryan. In addition to having such a positive role on her own children, Rena is also able to play an active role in the upbringing of her two grandsons. Throughout all of her other undertakings Rena managed to keep her family at the center of her attention and in a position of importance above everything.

Mr. Speaker, my close friend Rena Baumgartner has been a caring mother and wife. She also has been a strong leader in her community and throughout Monroe County. Finally, Rena Baumgartner has been a true leader in the Democratic Party. I salute and thank Rena for everything she has contributed to the betterment of northeastern Pennsylvania and the Democratic Party.

HEALTHY CHOICE: BALANCING  
THE FEDERAL BUDGET AND IMPROVING MEDICARE

HON. STEVE GUNDERSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1995

Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Speaker, within the past few weeks, Congress has taken historic steps to balance the Federal budget and improve the way the Federal Government provides and delivers health care services to the more than 36 million Medicare beneficiaries. The goal of this reform initiative has been to secure the future of Medicare for today and tomorrow while providing beneficiaries with better benefits, additional health care options, and lower out of pocket costs. All of this will be accomplished while slowing the overall growth of Federal Medicare spending. I commend the House and Senate Committees for their work to improve and preserve Medicare.

Many of the Medicare provisions in the Balanced Budget Act will benefit the ailing health care delivery system in many small communities in my western Wisconsin district and identical communities throughout rural America.

In terms of rural health care, I believe the most dynamic Medicare improvement was changing the adjusted average per capita cost [AAPCC] payment formula. As the cochair of the Rural Health Care Coalition, the dedication of the coalition enabled us to work with the leadership during House and conference committee deliberations to craft a new formula favorable to all beneficiaries regardless of where they live. In this endeavor, the Rural Health Care Coalition had the good fortune to receive outstanding technical assistance, counsel and support from the Fairness Coalition, representing a diverse group of hospital systems, hospital associations, managed care providers, and insurers.

What does an improved AAPCC payment formula mean for Medicare beneficiaries? The AAPCC is the total amount of Medicare fee-for-service dollars spent on doctors and hospitals annually in a county, divided by the number of Medicare beneficiaries in that county. It also represents the dollars available to beneficiaries to purchase health care choices under the new Medicare-plus program.

For Grandma Smith living in the Bronx, NY, her 1995 AAPCC payment is \$679 a month and she can enroll in a health maintenance organization [HMO] providing the required Medicare services and additional benefits or traditional fee-for-service. Grandma Smith's brother living in Fall River County, SD, has a monthly payment of \$177. Unfortunately, because of the low payment an HMO is not available to him, just the traditional fee-for-service. A low AAPCC payment has a devastating effect on the health care choices available to beneficiaries living in rural counties and in those counties with efficient health care markets. Why should there be a 367-percent payment difference between these two Medicare beneficiaries just because of where they live?

The situation facing Grandma Smith's brother is not unusual. Approximately 4 million beneficiaries live in counties that have access only to Medicare fee-for-service. My home State of Wisconsin, with 769,000 Medicare beneficiaries, is 1 of 15 States that currently