

Director of the AFL-CIO Office of Employment and Training.

Born in Shanghai, China, in 1930, the child of missionary teachers, Roberts graduated from Princeton University in 1951 with an A.B. in Public Affairs. He received an M.A. in Economics in 1960 and the Ph.D. in Economics in 1970 from American University. He worked at the Washington Star newspaper from 1952 to 1957. From 1958 to 1961 he was a legislative assistant to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. Since 1962 he has worked at the AFL-CIO, first as a legislative assistant in the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation and, since 1971, as an economist in the AFL-CIO Department of Economic Research. In 1985 he was named Director of the AFL-CIO Office of Employment and Training. In 1989 he also became Assistant Director of Economic Research.

In recognition of his experience and achievements in the field of industrial relations and collective bargaining, Roberts was elected to the executive board of a national professional association, the Industrial Relations Research Association in 1977. In recognition of his accomplishments in the field of unemployment compensation, he was elected to the National Academy of Social Insurance in 1991.

Mr. Roberts is a publications consultant to Economics America, the National Council for Economic Education, and a member of the advisory board for "The Senior Economist."

He has a long list of publications which include "Making Sense of Federal Employment and Training Policy for Youth and Adults" and "Labor's Key Role in Workplace Training."

RONALD REAGAN AT 85: A BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, today was a very special day at the Senate Republican policy lunch, as we spoke with President Reagan on the phone, and wished him a very happy 85th birthday.

Last week, the Senate passed a resolution paying tribute to President Reagan on this occasion, and I have seen a variety of other salutes in recent newspapers.

One of the best of these was written by long time White House correspondent Trude Feldman, and is published in today's Wall Street Journal.

Trude first met Ronald Reagan when, as the then-president of the Screen Actors Guild, he signed her SAG card. She also covered the Reagan presidency, as she has so many others. And her portrait of him is rich in personal recollections and fond memories. In short, it captures the essence of this remarkable man.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article by Trude Feldman be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From The Wall Street Journal, Feb. 5, 1996]

RONALD REAGAN AT 85: A BIRTHDAY TRIBUTE

(By Trude B. Feldman)

Tomorrow Ronald Reagan celebrates his 85th birthday, thus becoming the fifth American president to reach that milestone. "The anniversaries of my birth aren't important," he once told me. "What is important is that I've tried to lead a meaningful life, and I think I have."

The meaning of his extraordinary life goes beyond his various achievements as our 40th president. Those achievements would not have been possible were it not for a moral fiber and affability that most Americans expect but seldom get from their presidents. While Ronald Reagan's ethics and principles played a major role in his efforts to balance economic growth with true human needs, his courage and steadfast convictions helped set a new, positive direction for America—lifting it from a feeling of discouragement, and giving the people renewed confidence and pride in their nation. His commitment also served as the necessary catalyst in developments that led to the end of the Cold War.

In an era of cynicism about the character and veracity of political leaders, Mr. Reagan's integrity and vision warrant particular attention on this, the 85th anniversary of his birth.

THE "GREAT COMMUNICATOR"

His courage as the "Great Communicator" was evident in his dramatic open letter 15 months ago in which he revealed that he had been diagnosed with the early stages of Alzheimer's disease. His handwritten letter was poignant, and vintage Reagan. Afflicted with the irreversible neurological disorder, he wrote that "In sharing the news, it might promote greater awareness of this condition. . . I intend to live the remainder of the years God gives me, doing the things I've always done. I now begin the journey that will lead me into the sunset of my life."

Colin Powell is among the millions who were moved by Mr. Reagan's gesture. "It was a beautiful personal letter to everyone," Gen. Powell told me. "Frankly, that action made it easier for me to deal with my wife's depression when it became public."

During a conversation I had with Ronald Reagan last year, he wondered aloud whether he had inherited the illness from his mother. Alzheimer's may have somewhat diminished his spark, but Mr. Reagan's genuineness and charisma still shine through. Away from the Oval Office for seven years now, he still looks presidential. Routinely working in his office, he continues to captivate visitors with his inimitable personality and attentiveness.

His dark brown hair is now tinged with a bit of gray, and he remains the model of good grooming and fashion. One day last week, he was his old handsome self attired in a blue pinstripe suit and blue tie, accentuated by a gold tie clip in the shape of the state of California, where he served eight years as governor. "The reason I'm doing as well as I am," he says, "is because of loving support from Nancy [his wife of 44 years]. She is my comfort, and has enhanced my life just by being a part of it. She has made it so natural for us to be as one that we never face anything alone."

Mr. Reagan's close brush with death 15 years ago changed his attitude toward life and death. It was on his 69th day as president when, from a distance of 13 feet, I saw him shot by a would-be assassin. Mr. Reagan told me the traumatic experience had given him a greater appreciation of life that he had previously taken for granted. "My survival was a miracle," he said. "The ordeal strengthened my belief in God and made me realize anew that His hand was on my shoulder, that He has the say-so over my life. I often feel as though I'm living on the extra time God has given me."

When Ronald Wilson Reagan was born in Tampico, Ill., his delivery was so complicated that his mother was cautioned not to bear more children. So she doted on him and soon became the primary influence in his life. From her, he acquired the stability and confidence that later enabled him to

weather personal and political storms with equanimity. She fostered in him and his brother an incentive to work hard, and to live by the Ten Commandments and by the Golden Rule.

"My parents were rich in their love and wisdom, and endowed us with spiritual strength and the confidence that comes with a parent's affection and guidance," the former president told me. "The Reagans of Illinois had little in material terms, but we were emotionally healthy."

The Rev. Billy Graham describes Ronald Reagan as a man of compassion and devotion, a president whom America will remember with pride. "He is one of the cleanest, most moral and spiritual men I know," Mr. Graham told me. "In the scores of times we were together, he has always wanted to talk about spiritual things."

On many occasions over the past 21 years, Mr. Reagan shared with me his philosophies and his views on politics, foreign affairs, religion and human nature. "I believe that each person is innately good," he observed. "But those who act immorally do so because they allow greed and ambition to overtake their basic goodness."

These beliefs, while the source of many of his greatest triumphs, also set the stage for some of his disappointments. One regret was that he did not demand greater accountability from his staff—"especially those who abused their power with arrogance." He acknowledged that the tendency not to fire anyone had serious ramifications. "For instance, any errors in our dialogues with Iran resulted because some of my subordinates exceeded their instructions without reporting back to me," he stressed. "When I read the Tower Commission Report, it looked as if some staff members had taken off on their own."

Another issue that troubled him was the public perception that he was prejudiced against minority groups and not concerned about the poor. He maintains that he had fought for legislation that would make welfare programs more effective. "My economic program was based on encouraging businessmen to create more jobs and to better the conditions of their employees," he noted. "I think I succeeded."

On the day before his presidency ended, Mr. Reagan granted me his last interview in the Oval Office. He told me that the saddest day of his eight-year tenure was on Oct. 23, 1983, when 241 U.S. servicemen died in a terrorist bombing in Beirut, Lebanon. "To save our men from being killed by snipers from private armies that were causing trouble in Lebanon, it was decided to shelter them in a concrete-reinforced building," he recalled. "But no one foresaw that a suicide driver with a truckload of explosives would drive into the building and blow it up."

At the close of that Oval Office interview, I asked him to describe his presidency in one line. "We won the Cold War," he said without hesitation. "That phrase didn't originate with me, but I'll settle for it. What counts is that there is an end to the Cold War, and I now feel justified in my theme of 'Peace Through Strength.'"

Former President George Bush adds: "Ronald Reagan's foresight put us in a position to change our relationship with the Soviet Union and to make it possible for the changes that took place in Eastern Europe. And he certainly helped bring democracy to our hemisphere."

Mr. Bush, having worked closely with Mr. Reagan as his vice president, also told me: "True, he was a man of principle on the issues. But, even more than that, the American people loved him for his genuine decency, his unfailing kindness and his great sense of humor. He is a true believer in the goodness of America."

THE FINEST GIFT

Edwin Meese III, former attorney general, notes that Mr. Reagan's legacy to America continues to this day. "Many are calling the congressional leadership's agenda the Second Reagan Revolution," he says. "More importantly, Mr. Reagan continues to inspire Americans of all ages to value the patriotism and leadership which he so splendidly demonstrated."

Longtime Reagan aide Lyn Nofziger concurs, adding: "History will surely record that the finest birthday gift already given to Mr. Reagan by Americans is a Republican House and Senate that are determined to carry on the Reagan Revolution."

Yet Mr. Reagan says that the best birthday gift for him this year would be that scientists receive the support they need to find a treatment and a cure for Alzheimer's so that others will be spared the anguish that the illness causes.

Ever the altruist, Ronald Reagan—even for his birthday wish—places the welfare of others above his own. It is a characteristic that has served him faithfully until now, and is one that will sustain him on his "journey into the sunset" of his life.

THE BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, a lot of folks do not have the slightest idea about the enormity of the Federal debt. Every so often, I ask groups of friends, how many millions of dollars are there in a trillion? They think about it, voice some estimates, most of them wrong.

One thing they do know is that it was the U.S. Congress that ran up the enormous Federal debt that is now about \$13 billion shy of \$5 trillion. To be exact, as of the close of business yesterday, February 5, the total Federal debt—down to the penny—stood at \$4,987,400,986,833.50. Another sad statistic is that on a per capita basis, every man, woman, and child in America owes \$18,930.61.

So, Mr. President, how many million are there in a trillion? There are a million million in a trillion, which means that the Federal Government will shortly owe 5 million million dollars.

Sort of boggles the mind, doesn't it?

MEDICARE: A CALL FOR REFORM

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I rise today because I cannot in good conscience remain silent. As we all know, for many years, the Medicare board of trustees has warned of the impending bankruptcy of the Medicare trust funds. Many in Congress and in the administration dismiss these annual warnings, preferring to spend blindly, counting on a wish and a prayer for our children and grandchildren. They say they do not believe that Medicare will really go bankrupt. They continue to say this, despite all evidence to the contrary. They have accused those of us who want to save Medicare of destroying one of the most popular programs in American history. But this time, Mr. President, history and the hard data, prove them wrong.

The front page of yesterday's New York Times proclaimed: "Shortfall

Posted by Medicare Fund Two Years Early". What that means is that—for the first time in its history—Medicare spent more money than it took in through payroll taxes. Mr. President, those of us who have been telling the truth about Medicare knew the situation was serious. But, this article tells us that it is even worse than we knew. Experts had predicted in good faith that the Medicare trust fund would grow, but despite their best efforts, they were off by nearly \$5 billion. And we know for certain that once the trust fund begins to lose money, it is on a rapid path to depletion. Richard Foster, the Health Care Financing Administration's chief actuary, is quoted as saying, "Obviously, you can't continue very long with a situation in which the expenditures of the program are significantly greater than the income. * * * Once the assets of the trust fund are depleted, there is no way to pay all the benefits that are due." Within less than six years, Mr. President, there will be no money to pay for any hospital services, for any senior citizen in this country. This is not expected to occur in the distant future. Again, this will happen within the next 6 years, perhaps even before the end of my Senate term.

There are no signs of improvement in the near future. Mr. Foster, points out the causes of the shortfall: First, income to the trust fund through dedicated payroll taxes was less than expected; second, hospital admissions increased; third, patients were sicker; and fourth, hospitals filed claims more quickly. Projections are never going to be perfect, but the important thing is that most of the prediction error was that Medicare spending grew faster than was projected. Without fundamental restructuring of the Medicare Program, bankruptcy is certain, and increasingly swift.

The reaction of the Health Care Financing Administration in the past has been to analyze and attempt to figure out the problem. Once again, that has been HCFA's response to the latest reports. Historically, the Federal Government is far slower than the private sector to respond with action to such problems. We must learn from the private sector about the value of prudent and decisive action. The 1996 trustees report is due out in less than 2 months. We cannot wait around for another report that promises bankruptcy, meanwhile wringing our hands. Medicare must be restructured to build on the experience of the private sector. Proposals to reform the Medicare Program have been proposed in Congress for more than a decade. The key fundamental change was to allow Medicare beneficiaries a limited choice of private health plans—restricted to federally qualified health maintenance organizations [HMOs]—thus by definition, omitting the many plans available today. Yet, where available, these plans are delivering more health care benefits and greater out of pocket pro-

tection to seniors and the disabled than are available from the current Medicare Program.

I urge my colleagues and the American public to call for bipartisan action to preserve, protect and strengthen Medicare. Saving Medicare in the short term—the next 10 years—should be the easy part. We must revisit the issue as we prepare for the future and the enrollment of the baby boomer generation. Changes must be made now to protect our seniors and the disabled. If we fail to act now, a much higher price will eventually be paid by our children and grandchildren.

The irresponsible approach is to think of Medicare as a non-evolving program. It must keep pace with the times. It must be cost-effective and deliver quality care to our seniors and our disabled. Only fundamental restructuring of the Medicare Program offers stability for the future. We must not fall back on the traditional approach of raising payroll taxes and ratcheting down provider fees. We must reintroduce the private sector principles into this public program. Restructuring does not result in a fundamental dismantling of the program. Rather, it offers beneficiaries the same choice of high quality health care available to younger Americans. It offers greater out-of-pocket protection, more choice of benefits and services and greater continuity of care. It brings Medicare from a pretty good program based on the 1965 health care market to a great program ready to meet the needs of the next century.

A CELEBRATION OF THE LIFE OF ERNIE BOYER

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, on Sunday, January 21, 1996, over 500 people from across the country and world, gathered at the Princeton University Chapel in New Jersey to share their memories of one of the giants of American education, Ernie Boyer, who died on December 8, 1995.

Ernie was a great friend to me, and many others in Congress, and a great champion of education. Millions of people have better lives today because of Ernie. I believe that the tributes given at the memorial service will be of interest to all of us in Congress, and I ask unanimous consent that the following remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY

Ernie once said that "knowledge has, without question, become our most precious resource." He believed so strongly in the value and importance of knowledge that he devoted his life to searching for it, sharing it with others, and summoning—and sometimes even shaming—the nation to guarantee that more Americans have the opportunity to achieve it.

Ernie began to quench his thirst of knowledge before most children can drink from a glass. On his first day of school, he walked