is the freshman bill. That is the first point that he makes.

The second point that he makes that is unique about the freshman bill is that it significantly bans soft money, as the Shays-Meehan bill also does. But the freshman bill bans the soft money to the Federal parties. He points out that the soft money loophole, whereas perhaps well-intentioned at the beginning, over the years has been abused. It has been. That is the greatest abuse in our system, the soft money loophole that allows the money that flows outside the regulated system from corporations, from labor unions, from wealthy individuals. That is what is addressed in the freshman bill very significantly.

A third point that he makes is the political realities. The freshman bill passes the political realism test. We are going to have to avoid the extremes. We do that, whether we are talking about free TV or whether you are talking about public financing. The freshman bill is realistic reform that can pass this body in a bipartisan fashion.

The fourth point that he makes that is significant is that the freshman bill breaks the relationship between the Federal officeholder and the chase for soft money. I believe that is unique about the freshman bill, because we prohibit a Federal candidate from soliciting soft money for the Federal parties, but as well as any State party other than his own, I think for any soft money at all; breaks the link between the Federal candidate and the chase for soft money.

These are four important, unique aspects about the freshman bill. It is good legislation that I urge my colleagues to support. First of all, it strengthens the individual role in our campaign system. It does that by preventing the individual role from being drowned in a sea of soft money, so it strengthens the individual; also by providing more information, increasing disclosure, information as to the timeliness of where the money is coming from. Then it stops the erosion of the value of the individual contribution by indexing benefits to the rate of inflation, indexing the contribution limits. That is what is good.

I urge my colleagues to support the freshman bill when it comes up for a vote on the floor.

AMERICANS NEED A PATIENT BILL OF RIGHTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 21, 1997, the gentleman from Maine (Mr. BALDACCI) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. BALDACCI. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to rise this morning to discuss one of the most important issues facing this Congress, the need to adopt a meaningful, comprehensive Patient Bill of Rights. For too long patients have been forced to wage lonely battles against sometimes callous managed care companies. We have heard too many cases where insurance actuaries, not doctors, make the final decision about a patient's medical care. This is wrong, and we must change it.

For years we have tried to help in the health care debate, and we have tried to adjust here or there to try to help people, working families, throughout Maine and America. Constantly the boxes have changed, and as soon as we try to work on something, the managed care companies figure out a way around it.

The best thing that we can do is to give every single American a bill of rights as it pertains to their health care policies, so regardless of whether the company is putting forward a PPO, an HMO, or whatever they wanted to call it, every single American will have a bill of rights as it pertains to their health care, so they will have their rights, regardless of the policies that a company or individual government entities would like to put forward; every American would have these basic rights.

It is a very important issue for all Americans. As they are being denied care in emergency rooms, as they are being denied the proper drug treatment that has been prescribed by a physician, and as they have been having insurance company bureaucrats making medical decisions and determining where and when and what type of health care individuals should receive, then those insurance companies, those insurance company bureaucrats, ought to be held medically liable. If physicians have to get medical malpractice insurance to protect themselves in their duties, and if insurance company executives are going to make those same decisions, they should also be held medically liable for that decision.

In my State, where there are many seniors that require many prescription drugs, between Parkinson's and other types of drugs that must be taken, they are expensive, and physicians are saying that the right treatment, the right mix has to be given. If it is upset or they cannot use the right medications, it is going to upset that person's health care.

In many cases, insurance companies give lists of drugs that can be given, and no other drugs. In order to appeal those decisions, to have the right treatment, we need to make sure that we have an enforcement mechanism, holding people medically responsible if they are not going to give seniors the types of prescription medication they need to have.

As far as information, it is so vitally important that a patient have the information as to their health care, as to their needs, and not to have that information kept from the patient because of the agreements and contracts that have been worked out behind the scenes between insurance companies and between some physicians. We as patients, as health care consumers, need to have that information.

I think this is a very important piece of legislation. I have signed the discharge petition that Members have signed to force this issue, in an unprecedented move to have over 218 Members forcing this issue to be debated before this House this week, because it is the most important issue in America today, to make sure that people have an individual Patient Bill of Rights, regardless of the health care they are being offered.

We must have this. It is a bipartisan effort. It knows no party. It is supported throughout America by Republicans, Democrats, Independents, people of all political stripes. It is something we need to do.

In my own State of Maine, where we have approximately 1.2 million people, over 200,000 are unrolled in HMO plans, and more is yet to come. Medicare is being formed into managed care. Other types of insurance companies and business are grouping together.

It is so important and imperative that we get this passed by this Congress this week. If they are going to make the decisions which harm individuals, then insurance companies are going to have to be held medically responsible and medically liable if they are going to be making these decisions. This will make sure that insurers are accountable for their actions.

As we become increasingly dependent upon computers and computerized records, this legislation makes important steps towards insuring confidentiality of medical records. We cannot allow the misuse of private medical information.

Finally, I am pleased that this bill takes steps to insure that plans which cover the drugs are going to cover all drugs which are medically indicated.

Later this week we are going to have an opportunity to vote on this plan offered by our Republican colleagues. While I am pleased that they have offered a plan, their plan leaves many millions uninsured and uncovered. I believe their plan comes up short because not only does it leave them uncovered, but it also does not have an enforcement mechanism to hold the insurance company and team making the decision to a responsible treatment and liability.

This is a bipartisan, comprehensive bill that will give Americans meaningful rights.

URGING MEMBERS TO STUDY THE ARTICLE ''STATESMANSHIP AND ITS BETRAYAL''

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 21, 1997, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. BARR) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. BARR of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, very infrequently I come across an article written by a person that rises so far above and beyond the normal, mundane literature we read daily in newspapers and see and hear visually and

verbally on television that it bears special attention.

I rise today to share with my colleagues an article which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on July 2 by Mark Helprin entitled ''Statesmanship and Its Betrayal.''

Mr. Speaker, I will read just a few eloquent passages of Mr. Helprin's exposition on statesmanship, and then urge all of my colleagues, indeed, all who peruse the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, to do likewise.

He speaks, in part, as follows:

We had men of integrity and genius: Washington, Hamilton, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. These were men who were in love with principle as if it were an art, which, in their practice, they made it. They studied empires that had fallen, for the sake of doing what was right in a small country that had barely risen, and were able to see things so clearly that they surpassed in greatness each and every one of the classical models that they had approached in awe.

Now. . . when we desperately need their high qualities of thought, their patience for deliberation, and their unerring sense of balance, we have only what we have.

Which is a political class that in the main has abandoned the essential qualities of statesmanship, with the excuse that these are inappropriate to our age. They are wrong. Not only do they fail to honor the principles of statesmanship, they fail to recognize them, having failed to learn them, having failed to have wanted to learn them.

In the main, they are in it for themselves. This constitutes not merely a failure, but a betrayal, and not only of statesmanship and principle, but of country and kin.

And why is that? It is because things matter. Even though it be played like a game, by men who excel at making it a game, our life in this country, our history in this country, the sacrifices that have been made for this country, the lives that have been given to this country, are not a game. My life is not a game. My children's lives are not a game. My parents' lives were not a game. Your life is not a game.

Yes, it is true, we do have great accumulated stores of power and wealth and decency—against which those who pretend to lead us can draw when as a result of their vanity and ineptitude they waste and expend the gifts of previous generations. The margin of error bequeathed to them allows them to present their failures as successes.

They say, ''As we are still standing, and a chicken is in the pot, what does it matter if I break the links between action and consequence, work and reward, crime and punishment, merit and advancement?'' I myself cannot imagine a military threat (and never could), so what does it matter if I weld shut the silo hatches on our ballistic missile submarines? What does it matter if I weld shut my eyes to weapons of mass destruction in the hands of lunatics who are building long-range missiles? Our jurisprudence is the envy of the world, so what does it matter if now and then I perjure myself, a little? What is an oath? What is a pledge? What is a sacred trust? Are not these things the province of the kinds of people who were foolish enough to do without all their lives, to wear the ruts into the Oregon Trail, to brave the seas, to die on the beaches of Normandy and Iwo Jima and on the battlefields of Shiloh and Antietam, for me, so that I can draw from America's great accounts, and look good, and be presidential, and have fun, in all kinds of ways?

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Helprin goes on at some length to use words that conjure up, as few in American history, perhaps only most recently President Reagan could, to reach down into the soul of America, to remind us once again, we are and were and should and must be a Nation of principle, personified by statesmen, not crass political leaders looking only for themselves, only for today, and forgetting not only the great history of an America past, but looking forward to a great history of America future.

I commend Mark Helprin's article, which appeared in the Wall Street Journal on July 2 of this year, entitled ''Statesmanship and Its Betrayal,'' to be read and reread by my colleagues and by every American who cares about this great country, its history, and its future.

The article referred to is as follows:

STATESMANSHIP AND ITS BETRAYAL

(By Mark Helprin)

When Marco Polo entered Xanadu, the capital of the Great Khan, he crossed ring after ring of outer city, each more splendid and interesting than the one that had come before. He was used to greatness of scale, having traveled to the limits of the ordered world and then twice as far into the unknown, where no European had ever set foot, over the Hindu Kush and beyond the Pamir, and through the immense empty deserts of Central Asia. And yet after passing through the world's most ethereal regions he was impressed above all by Xanadu, a city of seemingly infinite expanse, the end of which he could not see no matter in which direction he looked.

For almost 1,000 years, this city floated at the peak of Western imagination. Unlike Jerusalem, it had vanished. Unlike Atlantis, someone had actually seen it. Even during the glory of the British Empire, Coleridge held it out for envy. But no more. Now it has been eclipsed, with ease, by this, our country, founded not as a Xanadu but with the greatest humility, and on the scale of yeomen and their small farms, and as the cradle of simple gifts.

This country was not expected to be what it became. It was expected to be infinite-seeming in its rivers, prairies and stars, not in cities with hundreds of millions of rooms, passages, halls, and buildings a quarter-mile high. It was expected to be rich in natural silence and the quality of light rather than in uncountable dollars. It was expected to be a place of unfathomable numbers, but of blades of grass and grains of wheat and the crags of mountains, rather than millions upon millions of motors spinning and humming at any one time, and wheels turning, fires burning, voices talking and lights shining.

But this great inventory of machines, buildings, bridges, vehicles and an incomprehensible number of smaller things, is what we have. A nation founded according to a vision of simplicity has become complex. A nation founded with disdain for power has become the most powerful nation.

THE ESSENTIAL QUALITIES

When letters took a month by sea and the records of the U.S. government could be moved in a single wagon pulled by two horses, we had great statesmanship. We had men of integrity and genius: Washington, Hamilton, Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Madison and Monroe. These were men who were in love with principle as if it were an art, which, in their practice, they made it. They studied empires that had fallen, for the sake of doing what was right in a small country that had barely risen, and were able to see things so clearly that they surpassed in greatness each and every one of the classical models that they had approached in awe.

Now, lost in the sins and complexity of a Xanadu, when we desperately need their high qualities of thought, their patience for deliberation, and their unerring sense of balance, we have only what we have.

Which is a political class that in the main has abandoned the essential qualities of statesmanship, with the excuse that these are inappropriate to our age. They are wrong. Not only do they fail to honor the principles of statesmanship, they fail to recognize them, having failed to learn them, having failed to have wanted to learn them.

In the main, they are in it for themselves. Were they not, they would have a higher rate of attrition, falling with the colors of what they believe rather than landing always on their feet—adroitly, but in dishonor. In light of their vows and responsibilities, this constitutes not merely a failure but a betrayal, and not only of statesmanship and principle but of country and kin.

And why is that? It is because things matter. Even though it be played like a game, by men who excel at making it a game, our life in this country, our history in this country, the sacrifices that have been made for this country, the lives that have been given to this country, are not a game. My life is not a game. My children's lives are not a game. My parents' lives were not a game. Your life is not a game.

Yes, it is true, we do have great accumulated stores—of power, and wealth, and decency—against which those who pretend to lead us can draw when as a result of their vanity and ineptitude they waste and expend the gifts of previous generations. The margin of error bequeathed to them allows them to present their failures as successes.

They say, ''As we are still standing, and a chicken is in the pot, what does it matter if I break the links between action and consequence, work and reward, crime and punishment, merit and advancement? I myself cannot imagine a military threat (and never could), so what does it matter if I weld shut the silo hatches on our ballistic missile submarines? What does it matter if I weld shut my eyes to weapons of mass destruction in the hands of lunatics who are building long-range missiles? Our jurisprudence is the envy of the world, so what does it matter if, now and then, I perjure myself, a little? What is an oath? What is a pledge? What is a sacred trust? Are not these things the province of the kinds of people who were foolish enough to do without all their lives, to wear the ruts into the Oregon Trail, to brave the seas, to die on the beaches of Normandy and Iwo Jima and on the battlefields of Shiloh and Antietam, for me, so that I can draw from America's great accounts, and look good, and be presidential, and have fun, in all kinds of ways?

BLOOD ONTO SAND

That is what they say, if not in words then, indelibly, in actions. They who, in robbing Peter to pay Paul, present themselves as payers and forget that they are also robbers. They who, with studied compassion, minister to some of us at the expense of others. They who make goodness and charity a public profession, depending for their election upon a well-mannered embrace of these things and the power to move them not from within themselves or by their own sacrifices but, by compulsion, from others. They who, knowing very little or next to nothing, take pride in eagerly telling everyone else what to do. They who believe absolutely in their recitation of pieties not because they believe in the pieties but because they believe in themselves.

Nearly 400 years of America's hard-earned accounts—the principles we established, the battles we fought, the morals we upheld for century after century, our very humility before God—now flow promiscuously through our hands, like blood onto sand, squandered and laid waste by a generation that imagines history to have been but a prelude for what it itself will accomplish. More than a pity, more than a shame, such a thing is despicable. And yet, this parlous condition, this agony of weak men, this betrayal and this disgusting show, are not the end of things.

Principles are eternal. They stem not from our resolution or lack of it but from elsewhere, where in patient and infinite ranks they simply wait to be called. They can be read in history. They arise as if of their own accord when in the face of danger natural courage comes into play and honor and defiance are born. Things such as courage and honor are the mortal equivalent of certain laws written throughout the universe. The rules of symmetry and proportion, the laws of physics, the perfection of mathematics, even the principle of uncertainty, are encouragement, entirely independent of the vagaries of human will, that not only natural law but our own best aspirations have a life of their own. They have lasted through far greater abuse than abuses them now. They can be neglected, but they cannot be lost. They can be thrown down, but they cannot be broken.

Each of them is a different expression of a single quality, from which each arises in its hour of need. Some come to the fore as others stay back, and then, with changing circumstance, those that have gone unnoticed rise to the occasion. Rise to the occasion. The principle suggests itself from a phrase, and such principles suggest easily and flow generously. You can grab them out of the air, from phrases, from memories, from images.

A statesman must rise to the occasion. Even Democrats can do this. Harry Truman had the discipline of plowing a straight row 10, 12 and 14 hours a day, of rising and retiring with the sun, of struggling with temperamental machinery, of suffering heat and cold and one injury after another. After a short time on a farm, presumptions about ruling others tend to vanish. It is as if you are pulled to earth and held there.

The man who works the land is hard put to think that he would direct armies and nations. Truman understood the grave responsibility of being the president of the United States, and that it was a task too great for him or for anyone else to accomplish without doing a great deal of injury—if not to some, then to others. He understood that, therefore, he had to transcend himself. There would be little enjoyment of the job, because he had to be always aware of the enormous consequences of everything he did. Contrast this with the unspeakably vulgar pleasure in office of President Clinton.

Truman, absolutely certain that the mantle he assumed was far greater than he could ever be, was continually and deliberately aware of the weight of history, the accomplishments of his predecessors, and, by humble and imaginative projection, his own inadequacy. The sobriety and care that derived from this allowed him a rare privilege for modern presidents, to give to the presidency more than he took from it. It is not possible to occupy the Oval Office without arrogantly looting its assets or nobly adding to them. May God bless the president who adds to them, and may God damn the president who loots them.

America would not have come out of the Civil War as it did had it not been led by men like Lincoln and Lee. The battles raged for five years, but for 100 years the country, both North and South, modeled itself on their characters. They exemplified almost perfectly Churchill's statement that ''public men charged with the conduct of the war should live in a continual stress of soul.''

This continual stress of soul is necessary as well in peacetime, because for every good deed in public life there is a counterbalance. Benefits are given only after taxes are taken. That is part of governance. The statesman, who represents the whole nation, sees in the equilibrium for which he strives a continual tension between victory and defeat. If he did not understand this, he would have no stress of soul, he would be merely happy—about money showered upon the orphan, taken from the widow. About children sent to day care, so that they may be long absent from their parents. About merciful parole, of criminals who kill again. Whereas a statesman knows continual stress of soul, a politician is happy, for he knows not what he does.

It is difficult for individuals or nations to recognize that war and peace alternate. But they do. No matter how long peace may last, it will end in war. Though most people cannot believe at this moment that the United States of America will ever again fight for its survival, history guarantees that it will. And, when it does, most people will not know what to do. They will believe of war, as they did of peace, that it is everlasting. The statesman, who is different from everyone else, will, in the midst of common despair, see the end of war, just as during the peace he was alive to the inevitability of war, and saw it coming in the far distance, as if it were a gray wave moving quietly across a dark sea.

The politician will revel with his people and enjoy their enjoyments. The statesman, in continual stress of soul, will think of destruction. As others move in the light, he will move in darkness, so that as others move in darkness, he may move in the light. This tenacity, that is given to those of long and insistent vision, is what saves nations.

A statesman must have a temperament that is suited for the Medal of Honor, in a soul that is unafraid to die. Electorates rightly favor those who have endured combat, not as a matter of reward for service, as is commonly believed, but because the willingness of a soldier to give his life is a strong sign of his correct priorities, and that in the future he will truly understand that statesmen are not rulers but servants. It seems clear even in these years of squalid degradation that having risked death for the sake of honor is better than having risked dishonor for the sake of life.

HUNGER FOR A STATESMAN

No matter what you are told by the sophisticated classes that see virtue in every form of corruption and corruption in every form of virtue, I think you know, as I do, that the American people hunger for acts of integrity and courage. The American people hunger for a statesman magnetized by the truth, unwilling to give up his good name, uninterested in calculation only for the sake of victory, unable to put his interests before those of the nation. What this means in practical terms is no focus groups, no polls, no triangulation, no evasion, no broken promises and no lies. These are the tools of the chameleon. They are employed to cheat the American people of honest answers to direct questions. If the average politician, for fear that he may lose something, is incapable of even a genuine yes or no, how is he supposed to rise to the great occasions of state? How is he supposed to face a destructive and implacable enemy? How is he supposed to understand the rightful destiny of his country, and lead it there?

At the coronation of an English monarch, he is given a sword. Elizabeth II took it last, and as she held it before the altar, she head these words: ''Receive this kingly Sword, brought now from the altar of God and delivered to you by us, the Bishops and servants of God, though unworthy. With this Sword do justice, stop the growth of iniquity, protect the holy Church of God, help and defend widows and orphans, restore the things that are gone to decay, maintain the things that are restored, punish and reform what is amiss, and confirm what is in good order; that doing these things you may be glorious in all virtue; and so faithfully serve our Lord.''

Would that we in America come once again to understand that statesmanship is not the appetite for power but—because things matter—a holy calling of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice. We have made it something else. Nonetheless, after and despite its betrayal, statesmanship remains the manifestation, in political terms, of beauty, and balance, and truth. It is the courage to tell the truth, and thus discern what is ahead. It is a mastery of the symmetry of forces, illuminated by the genius of speaking to the heart of things.

Statesmanship is a quality that, though it may be betrayed, is always ready to be taken up again merely by honest subscription to its great themes. Have confidence that even in idleness its strengths are growing, for it is a providential gift given to us in times of need. Evidently we do not need it now, but as the world is forever interesting the time will surely come when we do. And then, so help me God, I believe that, solely by the grace of God, the corrupt will be thrown down and the virtuous will rise up.

THE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN HEALTH CARE REFORM BILLS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 21, 1997, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, for months now the movie ''As Good as It Gets'' has become symbolic here in Washington with the debate over managed care reform.

Everyone knows by now that in the movie, actress Helen Hunt unleashes an epithet-laden attack on her HMO after her HMO gives her trouble when she is trying to get treatment for her asthmatic son.

In an effort to stop getting beat over the head with this example and what it symbolizes, last Friday the Republican leadership unveiled the language of its long-awaited managed care reform bill. To state it simply, Mr. Speaker, this Republican bill is as bad as it gets.

The Republican leadership has really outdone itself with this bill. It is easily one of the worst speaks pieces of legislation they have put forward since they took control of the House in 1994. It is an unabashed sell-out to the insurance industry. In fact, it looks as if it were written by the insurance industry itself.

Although it is called the Patient Protection Act, in an attempt to confuse it with the Democrats' Patients' Bill of Rights, a more appropriate title for the