

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 read 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

Republican bill would be the Profit Protection Act.

The worst aspect of this bill is that it allows the insurance companies, and not doctors and patients, to make medical choices. Remarkably, the Republican bill actually reaffirms the status quo and allows insurance company bureaucrats to decide what is medically necessary, so under the Republican plan, HMOs can define "medically necessary" any way they wanted. If you get sick and your insurance company decides the treatment you need is not medically necessary, you are simply out of luck.

This is, in my opinion, truly a sell-out of the highest proportions. It ignores the central catalyst of the whole managed care debate, the strongly held belief among Americans that medical decisions should be made by doctors and their patients.

The Democrats' Patient Bill of Rights, by contrast, insures that medical decisions would be made by doctors and patients. The Democratic bill defines "medically necessary care" based on the generally accepted principles of professional medical practice. What that means is that under the Democratic plan, patients and doctors determine what is the best course of treatment, not HMOs and insurance company bureaucrats.

The Republican bill also fails to ensure access to specialists. If your child gets an illness and you want to bring your son or child to a specialist, you cannot, under the Republican bill. You may not be able to go to that specialist, depending on what the insurance company decides. But the Patient Bill of Rights, the Democratic bill, guarantees patients access to specialists when such access is needed.

Another thing, the Republican plan does not even guarantee you full access to the nearest emergency room if you need emergency care, which has been a big issue during the course of this debate. The Republican bill includes a reasonable person's standard for access to emergency care, but it does not list severe pain as a reason why a person might determine that he or she needs to go to the emergency room.

I want to repeat that, because it is really kind of mind-boggling. Under the Republican plan, severe pain is not considered a symptom of a possible emergency. So that means if you are suffering from severe pain and you rush to the emergency room to receive treatment for a legitimate problem, your HMO can still refuse to pay for it.

The Democrats' Patient Bill of Rights also guarantees patients coverage if they go to an emergency room because they are suffering from severe pain. So regardless of the reason you go to the emergency room that is closest, if you get the emergency room care, the HMO has to pay for it.

The Republican bill is also a failure when it comes to gag clauses. This is particularly interesting, because we passed prohibitions on gag rules here in

the House of Representatives. But under the Republican bill, it would still allow a health plan to restrict communications between doctors and patients.

The Democrats, on the other hand, prohibit plans from gagging doctors to inform patients about treatment options that are not covered by their health plan, and protects providers from retribution by the HMO for telling their patients the truth.

When it comes to accountability, the GOP plan also is riddled with loopholes and omissions. The bill includes an external appeals process, but limits access to that process to individuals in plans under ERISA; in other words, only if your employer is self-insured. If you are covered by ERISA, you get the external review. Otherwise, you are out of luck.

Then finally, and I want to stress this, the GOP plan also denies patients the right to sue their HMOs if they are denied needed care. Again, the right to sue is an enforcement mechanism that is necessary if these patient protections really are going to be enforced.

The Democratic bill enforces all of the patient protections it provides by giving the patients the right to sue their HMO, and holding the HMOs accountable for the decisions they make. Again, this is an extremely important difference between the Democratic and the Republican plans.

CALLING FOR BIPARTISAN
HEALTH CARE LEGISLATION,
AND FOR SUPPORT OF THE MEEHAN-SHAYS CAMPAIGN FINANCE
REFORM MEASURE

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

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Speaker, there is a Democrat health care bill and there is a Republican health care bill, but ultimately, if we are to have a bill, there will have to be a Republican and Democrat bill. I urge both sides on this issue, once the posturing of our various positions is known, to work in a bipartisan agreement to pass meaningful health care reform.

Mr. Speaker, I stand before the Members to thank this Chamber for its support for campaign finance reform legislation that is moving before the House; the Meehan-Shays bill as it is sometimes referred to, or McCain-Feingold.

We have had an extraordinary process that has allowed Members to debate this issue fairly extensively, and before last night we had 55 amendments. We have dealt with 20 of them. We dealt with the one that would have been a killer amendment, and I appreciate the House defeating it.

The bottom line to campaign finance reform is that we need to ban soft money, not just on the Federal level but on the State level, for Federal elec-

tions. Soft money are the unlimited sums that individuals, corporations, labor unions, and other interest groups give to the political parties, unlimited sums. They ultimately get rerouted right back to the candidates to help them in their election, making a mockery of our campaign finance laws.

The second major element, and the Meehan-Shays bill deals with soft money both on the Federal and State level, for Federal elections, it also deals with the sham issue ads and calls them what they are, campaign ads.

It does not mean that if it is a campaign ad, people do not have their voice. They just come under the campaign law. They have to disclose contributions. Contributions are limited but expenditures are not, because the Supreme Court has found that you cannot limit expenditures.

What we do is recognize that a sham issue ad that clearly is a campaign ad, 60 days prior to an election is a campaign ad if it mentions the name of the person or shows a picture or the name of the individual, and is intended to affect the election.

We also codify the court decision on Beck. That was the decision where an individual who was not a member of a union argued that he should not have to make political contributions in his agency fee to the union to be used for candidates that a person opposed. The court heard this case and determined that if you are not a member of a union, your money does not have to go for political purposes, and therefore, your agency fee is less than what the union fee would be.

We also significantly improve FEC disclosure and enforcement, particularly as it relates to disclosure. Any expenditure over \$1,000, 20 days to an election, has to be noted within 24 hours, and then is put on the Internet.

We require, and in terms of enforcement, we give the FEC the ability to dismiss cases that do not have any merit, and to take up cases more quickly that do, before an election, and we also provide for audits of campaign expenditures.

In addition, we make sure it is clear in the law that foreign money cannot be raised, and that we cannot raise money on government property. Members may think that is the law today, but soft money is not deemed campaign money, and therefore, does not come under the Pendleton Act.

So many have argued that they can accept soft money from foreigners, and on government property they can raise money. They do not want people to know they are doing this, because they know morally it is wrong, but legally and technically it is not. That is why we need to amend the law.

Mr. Speaker, we have, as I said earlier, 55 bills or amendments coming before this Chamber. We dealt with 20 last night. I would like to say that we have dealt with a few before. One of the things we are trying hard to do is, as both Republicans and Democrats, to find where we have common ground.