

In Midland, MI, I spoke with Dr. James Bicknell, head of the emergency room at Mid Michigan Medical Center. He told me that problems sometimes occur when managed care personnel, by telephone, tried to screen people out of the emergency room. Dr. Bicknell said that "managed care companies should be held accountable if patients are harmed because companies deny care."

Stories such as these necessitate reforming the managed care area, which is why passage of a strong Patients' Bill of Rights is so crucial. Let's take the previous examples and apply the Patients' Bill of Rights—a strong one—to see what would have happened to these people had that legislation been enacted.

Donald Anderson would have received a rolling commode, since his doctor determined it was medically necessary. A strong Patients' Bill of Rights allows the physician, not the insurance company, to decide what prescriptions and equipment are medically necessary.

Amaka Onumono, the burn victim, would not have had to get a new referral every time she needed to see a specialist under a strong Patients' Bill of Rights. Our bill would allow the patient with a chronic health problem to have a standing referral to see such a specialist.

The patients of Dr. William Weil, the MSU pediatrician, would not have been denied access to pediatric specialists. The strong Patients' Bill of Rights specifically maintains that an individual should have access to a specialist, including, in the case of a child, the appropriate pediatric expertise.

In the case of Dr. James Bicknell, our Patients' Bill of Rights mandates that all patients receive emergency treatment if a prudent layperson considers the patient's condition to be "an emergency medical condition." So our health care programs, our strong Patients' Bill of Rights, would hold health plans accountable for the decisions they make.

I have heard similar stories all over my home State of Michigan. While most HMOs do a good job of providing quality health care while managing costs, too many put money before good medicine. A good, strong, national Patients' Bill of Rights would establish a Federal framework that would provide very high quality assurance for patients all over the country.

There is overwhelming support in the public for managed care reform. That would include, necessarily, the following patient protections:

First, ensure that treatment decisions are made by a patient's doctor, not a bureaucrat at an insurance company.

Second, hold managed care plans accountable when their decisions to withhold or limit care injure patients.

Third, ensure that patients undergoing treatment can continue to see the same health care provider if their provider leaves the plan or their employer changes plans.

Fourth, allow patients to see an outside specialist at no additional cost whenever the specialist in their plan can't meet their needs.

Fifth, require that insurance companies pay for emergency services if a reasonable person would consider the situation to be an emergency.

Sixth, promote access to clinical trials that may save time.

The idea of a strong Patients' Bill of Rights is not a radical notion. Doctors, for instance, are strongly in favor of this. Doctors who receive years of training and specialization are too often now being told by managed care companies they cannot provide the care that they deem to be appropriate. When doctors are no longer making the decisions they were trained to make, something is wrong.

What is wrong is that too many HMOs are not providing the services which the American public has a right to expect. The way to right this is to adopt a strong Patients' Bill of Rights. I hope the Senate will take this real-life issue up promptly, resolve it, and adopt a strong Patients' Bill of Rights. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HAGEL). The Senator from Kansas.

MARINE COMMANDANT KRULAK

Mr. ROBERTS. A week ago yesterday, Senator BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL and I took the opportunity to travel about 5 miles from Skopje, Macedonia, to a scrub pine-covered hill that was overlooking the Skopje Airport and the valley that leads to Kosovo.

On the way, we saw the U.S. troops, primarily the Army, and then the British, Germans, and the French, all part of the NATO command we now call KFOR, making the preparations for ground entry into Kosovo.

Beyond those encampments, the dusty road led to some high ground. As we topped the hill, about 100 yards into the scrub pine were the members of the 26th Marine Expeditionary Force led by Col. Kenneth Glueck and his XO Lt. Col. Bob Taylor.

Some 1,900 marines and 186 vehicles were deploying into Kosovo. Just a few days earlier, these men and women were aboard ship in an Italian port as members of the Marine Expeditionary Unit. Despite all of the delay in regard to the bureaucratic problems—road and transportation snafus and unfriendly but rather benign protests by some demonstrators in Greece—the marines were deployed and the command post was up and running when the advance units were reporting in.

With great respect for our allies, while their units were conducting maintenance and they were relaxing prior to moving out, the marines had already conducted 2 days of training.

In recent weeks, there has been much discussion and criticism about the use of ground troops in the Balkans. The point has always been made that, sim-

ply given the opposition by NATO countries and the administration to the use of ground troops and the lack of contingency planning, it would take months to put together any contingency plans, the necessary unified command and control, supply lines and battle plans—it would take months.

No need to worry. When the order was given, your Navy-Marine Corps team, a true force in readiness, was there. They were deployed in days—not weeks or months.

I asked Col. Glueck and Lt. Col. Taylor why the marines chose the high ground miles away from the U.S. and allied forces. He responded:

Well, sir, we arrived at 2300, set up our command post and staging base, secured the area, and were ready to go by morning. We just didn't want to lose our edge.

And they haven't. Today those marines are keeping a difficult peace. They are serving as protectors, as police, as judge, as jury, as peacekeepers, and as possible targets. Along with the 82nd Airborne, they are doing an outstanding job. They were doing their best in the Balkan briar patch.

Senator CAMPBELL and I had the privilege of visiting with individual marines and found their dedication and morale was second to none. It was a real "battery charger" for me. As a result, we both stood taller that day.

In a day and age when our military is stressed and strained and hollow in parts, with recruiting and retention reaching alarming levels—so serious, by the way, that the President had to mandate a stop loss order, meaning those on active duty who are scheduled to leave active duty cannot—and with serious problems all throughout our military, asking a military that has been cut by one-third to do more in 93 nations around the world, not to mention the problems in health care, in the quality of life, personnel tempo and operations tempo, readiness, modernization and procurement, mission quality, and all the rest, how on Earth can the U.S. Marine Corps meet its recruiting and retention goals and perform so well in the field?

I will tell you how. It is called leadership, and it is called standards. Those standards, those values, are set by the Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps: Honor, courage, and commitment. They have not changed, and they will not change.

Let me state why, with the following quote:

To Marines, Honor, Courage and Commitment are not simply words or a bumper sticker slogan. They reflect our deepest convictions and dramatically shape everything that we do. We imbue Marines with our core values from their first moments in the Corps because we know that Marines, not weapons, win battles.

As an institution, we have had to fight hard to maintain our standards. To some, they may seem old-fashioned, out of step with society, or perhaps even extremist, but we know that our high standards are the lifeblood of the Corps, so we have held the line!

In this regard, what individual Marines are doing everyday counts far more than anything that is done in Washington. The standards of our Corps are not simply maintained

by generals, colonels, and sergeants major, but, far more importantly, by leaders throughout the Corps, at every level. The Marine conviction that *Semper Fidelis* is a way of life, not just a motto, speaks powerfully and unites us.

In typical fashion, the Marine who spoke those words, gave credit to all Marines for the accomplishments achieved by the Marine Corps these past few years while at the same time providing the leadership that made those accomplishments possible. I am speaking of the 31st Commandant of the Marine Corps who is retiring after four years of outstanding service, General Charles C. Krulak, a Marine's Marine.

It is both an honor and a personal privilege to join Majority Leader LOTT, Senator BURNS of Montana, and other senators as we pay tribute and say thanks and well done to Chuck Krulak.

My colleagues have already spoken to General Krulak's outstanding record, his personal sacrifice, bravery, combat record, accomplishments. A modest, self effacing man, the last thing Chuck Krulak would want is personal tribute, no matter how well deserved. Simply put, the biography of achievement of one Charles C. Krulak is synonymous with honor, courage, and commitment.

A few personal observations however, for the Record. The latest buzz word in military tactics is called "asymmetrical warfare".

Quoting from retired army colonel Ralph Peters, the provocative author of the book, "Fighting for the Future, Will America Triumph":

Around the world, American soldiers, American interests and American citizens face violent men who do not play by the time-honored rules of warfare. These new enemies are warlords, terrorists, charismatic demagogues, international criminals—and the militaries of rogue states. Driven by hatred, greed, and rage, the weapons they use range from knives and bombs to computers and weapons of mass destruction. They fight in urban landscapes and information jungles—not on the neatly contained battlefields of yesterday.

Simply put, Mr. President, as Kosovo will prove—in my personal opinion—all too often the United States is fighting today's wars with yesterday's tactics.

The service chief who has seen this emerging threat with foresight, clarity, and resolve has been General Krulak. A student of history and military tactics and strategy, a veteran of a limited, political war of gradualism where specific mission was difficult to define, Chuck Krulak has literally shaped the U.S. Marine Corps to meet these future challenges. In this regard, the Commandant has provided members of the Armed Service Committees and those within our military schools and think tanks valuable insight and leadership. His 45 minute presentation, starting with the mistakes the Romans made in 9 AD and ending with modern day threats should be required reading for all who care about our national security and individual freedom.

General Krulak has also enabled the Marine Corps to be on the cutting edge of consequence management regarding weapons of mass destruction—especially in regard to the very real dangers of biological contamination whether the situation be on the battlefield or resulting from a terrorist attack.

Majority Leader LOTT stressed in his remarks how much he valued General Krulak's candor and honesty. In my own case, coming from the House to the Senate, my tenure on the Senate Armed Services Committee has been synonymous with General Krulak's service as Commandant of the Marine Corps.

Throughout this time, despite budget restrictions, difficult policy debates and quite frankly a time when the administration and the Congress have asked our military to do more with less, the one thing Chuck Krulak provided our committee and our Marines was honesty. No hedging, no fence straddling, no saluting one way and hunkering down in the weeds when the going got tough the other. No Sir! General Krulak told it just exactly like it is. The Congress, the President, our country and especially our Marines are owed that. And, we owe Chuck Krulak as we work to restore and strengthen our nation's fighting forces.

My father, Wes Roberts, was privileged to serve in the Marine Corps and saw action on Iwo Jima and Okinawa. As it turned out, one of men he has honored to know on a personal basis was the historic and legendary Commandant of that time, "Lem" Shepherd.

When I joined the Corps and was a "shave-tail" lieutenant serving in the Marine Education Center in Quantico, it was my good fortune to serve with General Oscar Peatross, the hero of the Makin Island Raid and then Lt. Col. and later Commandant Robert "Bob" Barrow as the Marines published what I believe to be the first modern-day anti-guerrilla warfare manual in 1959.

The commanding general at Marine Corp Schools and the driving force behind the change in tactics and strategy within the Corps at that time was General Victor "Brute" Krulak, our current Commandant's father.

I am always amazed and humbled at the good fortune that life can bring us. I can assure you that, never in my wildest dreams could I have imagined I would have the privilege of serving in this body as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee and having the honor of working with our Commandant, the son of the man I served under some 40 years ago—and on the very same challenges.

I ask unanimous consent to have two speeches by General Krulak, his "Farewell to the Corp" within the Marine Corps Gazette, and remarks he made for the Pepperdine University Convocation Series last October, printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Marine Corps Gazette, June 1999]

A FAREWELL TO THE CORPS

(By Gen. Charles C. Krulak)

From my earliest days, I was always awed by the character of the Marine Corps, by the passion and love that inspired the sacrifices of Marines like my father and his friends. As a young boy, I admired the warriors and thinkers who joined our family for a meal or a visit . . . Marines like "Howlin' Mad" Smith, Lemuel C. Shepherd, Gerald C. Thomas, and Keith B. McCutcheon. I wondered about the source of their pride, their selflessness, and their sense of purpose. Now, at the twilight of my career, I understand those Marines. I know that they were driven by love for the institution to which they had dedicated their lives and by the awesome responsibility they felt to the Marines who shared their devotion and sacrifice. Today, that same motivation burns deep within the heart of each of us. The ethos of our Corps, purchased so dearly by these heroes of old, reaches into our souls and challenges us to strive tirelessly for excellence in all that we do. It profoundly influences the actions of every Marine who has ever stood on the yellow footprints at our recruit depots or taken the oath as an officer of Marines.

The ethos of our Corps is that of the warrior. It is defined by two simple qualities . . . our two touchstones. The first is our Touchstone of Valor. When we are summoned to battle, we don our helmets and flak jackets; we march to the sound of the guns; we fight and we win—guaranteed. The second is our Touchstone of Values. We hold ourselves and our institution to the highest standards . . . to our core values of Honor, Courage, and Commitment. These two touchstones are inextricably and forever linked. They form the bedrock of our success and, indeed, of our very existence.

Our Touchstone of Valor is the honor roll of our Corps' history. Bladensburg, Bull Run, Cuzco Well, Belleau Wood, Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Iwo Jima, Inchon, the Chosin Reservoir, Hue City, Kuwait . . . the blood and sacrifice of Marines in these battles, and countless others, have been commemorated in gilded script and etched forever on the black granite base of the Marine Corps War Memorial. The names of these places now serve as constant reminders of our sacred responsibility to our Nation and to those whose sacrifices have earned the Marine Corps a place among the most honored of military organizations. The memory of the Marines who fought in these battles lives in us and in the core values of our precious Corps.

To Marines, Honor, Courage, and Commitment are not simply words or a bumper sticker slogan. They reflect our deepest convictions and dramatically shape everything that we do. They are central to our efforts to "Make Marines," men and women of character who can be entrusted to safeguard our Nation and its ideals in the most demanding of environments. We imbue Marines with our core values from their first moments in our Corps because we know that Marines, not weapons, win battles. We also know that success on the battlefield and the support of the citizens whose interests we represent depend on our ability to make moral and ethical decisions under the extreme stress of combat and in the conduct of our daily lives.

As an institution, we have had to fight hard to maintain our standards. To some, they may seem old-fashioned, out-of-step with society, or perhaps even "extremist," but we know that our high standards are the

lifeblood of the Corps, so we have held the line! In this regard, what individual Marines are doing every day counts far more than anything that is done in Washington. The standards of our Corps are not simply maintained by generals, colonels, and sergeants major, but, far more importantly, by leaders throughout the Corps, at every level. The Marine conviction that *Semper Fidelis* is a way of life, not just a motto, speaks powerfully to the citizens whom we serve. It also unites us with our fellow Marines, past and present—inspiring us to push harder, to reach further, and to reject the very notion of failure or compromise.

Sustained and strengthened by the ethos of our Corps, you have accomplished a great deal during the past 4 years. I have been humbled to be part of your achievements and witness to your selfless devotion. Time and again, Marines distinguished themselves in contingencies around the world, across the spectrum of conflict. Marines from across the Total Force were the first to fight, the first to help, and the first to show America's flag—consistently demonstrating our resolve and readiness to win when called to action. With the involvement of the Fleet Marine Force and input from the entire Corps, the Warfighting Laboratory has looked hard at the 21st century strategic environment. Marines "stole a march" on change by testing new concepts and emerging technologies, exploring new tools for developing leaders and decisionmakers, and experimenting in the "Three Block War." Our recruiters, drill instructors, and small unit leaders have implemented the Transformation Process and are recruiting, refining, and developing the "Strategic Corporals" for tomorrow's conflicts. Led by Marines at the Combat Development Command, we have deepened our understanding of operational maneuver from the sea (OMFTS), its enabling concepts and technologies, as well as its many challenges. The men and women serving in the many thankless billets at Headquarters Marine Corps and in the joint arena have developed and articulated our requirements for the future and have secured the resources to translate OMFTS into a reality. Our supporting establishment, at every post and station, has epitomized selflessness and dedication while providing for our readiness requirements. All these things are important—and they are the accomplishments of every Marine. None of them, however, are as significant as maintaining our hands on the twin touchstones of our Corps.

The words of my father rings as true today as when he first wrote them over 50 years ago:

We exist today—we flourish today—not because of what we know we are, or what we know we can do, but because of what the grassroots of our country believes we are and believes we can do . . . The American people believe that Marines are downright good for the country; that the Marines are masters of a form of unyielding alchemy which converts unoriented youths into proud, self-reliant stable citizens—citizens into whose hands the nation's affairs may safely be entrusted. . . And, likewise, should the people ever lose that conviction—as a result of our failure to meet their high—almost spiritual—standards, the Marine Corps will quickly disappear.

May God bless each and every one of you and may God bless our Corps!.

[Remarks for Pepperdine University Convocation Series, October 14, 1998]

COMMENTS ON CHARACTER

By Gen. Charles C. Krulak Commandant of the Marine Corps

I am happy to be here this morning—to have an opportunity to talk to the leaders

and thinkers of tomorrow and, more importantly, the day after tomorrow.

I considered a few different topics to talk to you about this morning: The importance of my Christian faith in guiding my personal and professional life, the Marine Corps' intensive efforts to develop values in our newest Marines, or even my thoughts about our Nation's role in humanitarian missions around the globe . . . I will do that if you would like—but during the Q&As.

There is another topic that I would like to talk about today—one that is critical to each of us, our Nation, and our world—as we move toward the 21st Century . . . A topic that rarely gets talked about in forums such as this, which makes it all the more important to discuss. It serves as the foundation for all that we are, all that we do, and all that we will be . . . I will talk about the importance of character.

I can tell you from personal experience that combat is the most traumatic human event. It strips away an individual's veneer, exposing his true character. If a character flaw exists, it will appear in combat—guaranteed.

This morning, I will tell the story of an American whose true character was tested and exposed in the crucible of war. I will then draw some conclusions that are applicable to how the rest of us should live our lives . . . lives where combat will hopefully never play a role. He was a 19 year old Marine—about the same age as most of you in the audience this morning. His name was LCPL Grable. He was a man of courage . . . a man of character . . . and this is his story . . . Vietnam . . . It was 0600, the third of June, 1966. I was in command of "G" Company, Second Battalion, First Marine Regiment. I was a First Lieutenant at the time, and had been given this command because the previous commander had been killed about one week earlier. My company had been given a simple mission that began with a helicopter assault. We would land in a * * *

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of lesser character. Moral cowards never win in war—moral cowards never win in life. They might believe that they are winning a few battles here and there, but their victories are never sweet, they never stand the test of time, and they never serve to inspire others. In fact, each and every one of a moral coward's "supposed victories" ultimately leads them to failure.

Those who have the courage to face up to ethical challenges in their daily lives will find that same courage can be drawn upon in times of great stress, in times of great controversy, in times of the never ending battle between good and evil . . .

All around our society you see immoral behavior . . . lying, cheating, stealing, drug and alcohol abuse, prejudice, and a lack of respect for human dignity and the law. In the not too distant future, each of you is going to be confronted with situations where you will have to deal straight-up with issues such as these. The question is, what will you do when you are? What action will you take? You will know what to do—the challenge is—will you DO what you know is right? It takes moral courage to hold your ideals above yourself. It is the DEFINING aspect . . . When the test of your character and moral courage comes—regardless of the noise and confusion around you—there will be a moment of inner silence in which you must decide what to do. Your character will be defined by your decision and it is yours and yours alone to make. I am confident you will each make the right one. When that moment of silence comes and you are wrestling with your decision, consider this poem:

THE EAGLE AND THE WOLF

There is a great battle

that rages inside me.

One side is a soaring eagle
Everything the eagle stands for
is good and true and beautiful.

It soars above the clouds.

Even though it dips down into the valleys,
it lays its eggs on the mountain tops.

The other side of me is a howling wolf.

And that raging, howling wolf
represents the worst that is in me.

He eats upon my downfalls and
justifies himself by his presence
in the pact.

Who wins this great battle? . . .
The one I feed.

May God bless you and *Semper Fidelis*!

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, in those remarks, Chuck Krulak talked about character and individual responsibility as it applies to today's America and all of the obligations and challenges that we face today. Character; character—as usual, General Charles C. Krulak simply told the truth. We will be a better nation if we but heed his advice.

Semper Fidelis Commandant Krulak and thank you.

I yield the floor.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING
BUSINESS

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, am I correct in assuming that this is the time, under a previous order, to proceed to the consideration of the agriculture appropriations bill for fiscal year 2000?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. Morning business is now closed.

AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT,
FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION,
AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS
ACT, 2000

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now proceed to the consideration of S. 1233, which the clerk will report.

The legislative assistant read as follows:

A bill (S. 1233) making appropriations for Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2000, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following Appropriations Committee staff members and intern be granted floor privilege during consideration of this bill and any votes that may occur in relation thereto: Rebecca Davies, Martha Scott Poindexter, Hunt Shipman, Les Spivey and Buddy Allen.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, I am pleased to present for the Senate's consideration, S. 1233, the fiscal year 2000 Agriculture, Rural Development, Food