

Next I have written to HCFA to alert them to the seriousness of this situation for my constituents. I want HCFA to wake up and see what is happening on the central coast of California.

What I see are seniors frightened that their health plans are being taken from them and frustrated that they have to switch plans or go back to basic Medicare with all its high costs and confusing rules. I join the Senate Finance Committee Chairman, BILL ROTH, in urging HCFA to look at its recent actions that may be adding to this crisis in rural America. HCFA needs to be flexible in how these new rules are implemented.

Finally, I have called on the governor of our great State to advise him of the powers of his office in this matter. Many Members may not be aware of a little-known provision in the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. It allows a governor to request that HCFA redefine the service areas that managed care companies must cover within their State. While service areas are now county by county, they could encompass several counties over the entire State.

□ 1045

What that means is that the governor could require that managed care companies cover low-reimbursement, low-profit areas along with the high-reimbursement, high-profit areas. This simple tool, if wielded properly, could provide an incentive for managed care companies to increase coverage throughout States like California that have some high-profit areas and some low-profit areas.

Mr. Speaker, this Congress has made a lot of noise about increasing senior citizens' access to managed care and about controlling Medicare costs through increased use of managed care. Seniors in my district have expressed a desire to join HMOs, and we should make it easier for them to do so. And yet managed care companies are pulling out of my district, and others across the country, like rats deserting a sinking ship, and they are leaving frightened, frustrated and stranded seniors in their wake. This is simply wrong.

We must take action. The actions I have outlined above would ensure that seniors in my district and seniors across the country have access to reliable, quality and affordable health care. There is no excuse for not acting now, before this Congress goes home to campaign, before this Congress renames another post office, before we disintegrate into yet another partisan fight about this issue or that. We need to consider now this bipartisan issue facing seniors with Medicare and HMOs.

#### PURPOSE OF IMPEACHMENT PROCEEDINGS IN HOUSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PETRI). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 21, 1997, the gen-

tleman from Arkansas (Mr. HUTCHINSON) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, for the last 2 weeks, the House Committee on the Judiciary has worked diligently to review the referral of the Independent Counsel, as directed by the resolution of this House and adopted by a bipartisan majority. Now, after completion of that important task, the committee can focus on its second responsibility: To determine whether there is reasonable cause to believe that impeachable offenses may have been committed.

If the committee, and later the House, says yes, there is reasonable cause to believe, that does not mean there should be an impeachment or that anyone is guilty. It simply says there is enough merit to have a formal inquiry and hearings. That is an effort to get all the facts from all the parties in an attempt to get at the truth. These steps should not be taken lightly, because they have serious ramifications, but it does not represent the final conclusion nor does it indicate the outcome of this constitutional process.

As the committee considers this issue, it is important to make three points.

First of all, there are those that say we need to define what is an impeachable offense before we even consider the referral of the Independent Counsel. But I would say it is not our responsibility to define the term "high crimes and misdemeanors" set forth in our Constitution. Our founding fathers did not define it, previous Congresses did not define it, and it is not our duty to define it for the uncertain future. Indeed, to get some kind of narrow restrictive standard would be an unwise precedent that could hamstring future Congresses from doing their duty.

It is our responsibility not to define it but to reach a conclusion; to conclude whether the allegations and the facts presented to us may constitute impeachable offenses. This point was made very clearly by the staff report of the House Committee on the Judiciary in 1974, prior to the Watergate impeachment hearings. The staff said, "This memorandum offers no fixed standards for determining whether grounds for impeachment exists. The framers did not write a fixed standard. Instead, they adopted from English history a standard sufficiently general and flexible to meet future circumstances and events, the nature and character of which they could not foresee."

That leads me to the second point. Even though we cannot define impeachable offenses to a greater degree than the Constitution, we should recognize the uniqueness of the language "high crimes and misdemeanors". While criminal conduct may constitute an impeachable offense, every crime may not rise to that level. The framers of the Constitution focused on the pub-

lic trust at stake, and impeachment is designed to address conduct that violates that high trust. If the House considers the report from the Independent Counsel in that way, we distinguish the important Constitutional concern from that of conduct which may be personal in character and not violative of the public trust.

Our founding fathers illustrated their intent that "high crimes and misdemeanors" embrace a breach of the public duty. The Constitution itself describes officeholders under the Constitution as those who hold an office of trust or profit, directly associating public office with a notion of trust. In the federalist papers, Alexander Hamilton was quoted as saying, "The subject of its impeachment jurisdiction are those offenses which proceed from the misconduct of public officers."

The third point I would emphasize is that the constitutional idea of impeachment is not about punishment. There are those, including some of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, who say that impeachment is to punish officers for misconduct, if established. The purpose of an impeachment proceeding is not to punish, but the purpose is to repair the breach. This would occur either from the conclusion that the facts do not merit further inquiry, from an acquittal in the Senate, or from a conviction that may result from removal from office. Certainly there must be consequences to a finding that there has been a breach of the public trust, but pursuit of punishment should not be our motive.

In the end, the question we must ask ourselves is whether we are willing to close down the Constitutional process or whether we will seek out all the facts and bring this matter to a close. It is certainly a difficult time for our country, but if we remind ourselves of the principles established by the drafters of our Constitution, then we will keep our feet on solid ground throughout this proceeding and we will be judged well by history.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair will remind all persons in the galleries that they are here as guests of the House, and that any manifestation of approval or disapproval of proceedings from the gallery is a violation of the rules of the House.

#### CONGRESS SHOULD PASS D.C. AP- PROPRIATION BILL SO CAPITAL CAN CONTINUE TO MAKE PROGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 21, 1997, the gentlewoman from the District of Columbia (Ms. NORTON) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, October 1st is fast approaching, this Thursday,