

the health care they need. Millions more will have to choose between food on the table, adequate heat in the winter, paying the rent, or medical care. This budget resolution is cruel. It is unjust. Senior citizens have earned their Medicare payments. They have paid for them, and they deserve them.

Medicare cuts in this resolution harm more than senior citizens. These proposals will strike a body blow to the quality of American medicine by damaging hospitals and other health care institutions that depend upon Medicare. These institutions provide essential care for Americans of all ages, not just senior citizens. And progress in medical research and training of health professionals depends upon their financial stability. The academic health centers, the public hospitals, and the rural hospitals will bear especially heavy burdens. As representatives of the academic health centers that are the guarantors of excellence in health care in America said of this budget, "Every American's quality of life will suffer as a result," because there will be less funding to support the best health professional education and training to the young people of this country, and there will be a diminution in support for the research that is associated with the great medical centers in this country.

In addition, massive Medicare cuts will inevitably impose a hidden tax on workers and businesses, who will face increased costs and higher insurance premiums as physicians and hospitals shift even more costs to the nonelderly. According to the recent statistics, Medicare now pays only 68 percent of what the private sector pays for comparable physician services; for hospital care, the figure is 69 percent. The proposed Republican cuts will widen this already ominous gap.

The impact of these cuts on local communities will be astounding. In my State of Massachusetts we have 123 hospitals. Historically, one of the best and most efficient hospitals has in Barnstable County, not far from my home on Cape Cod. But it has had increasing difficulty serving its patients in recent years. What changed? The doctors have not changed. The nurses have not changed. The ability to get the good kind of equipment has not changed. The training that they went through has not changed. What has changed? The percentage of Medicare beneficiaries being attended to in that hospital changed.

In my State of Massachusetts, any hospital that gets close to 55 and 67 percent Medicare is headed for bankruptcy because of the reimbursement rates. What are we doing? Do you know what happens? Hospitals must cut back on the nurses; they cut back on their outreach programs in the community to work with children; they cut back on their training programs; they cut back, as much as they regret it, on the quality of care people get—not just for

the elderly people, but for all the people being served.

What happens locally? Communities raise local taxes to try to assist hospitals, or they appeal to the State house and try to get additional resources. They try to get the revenues from someplace. Either localities accept a decline in health care quality or they have to raise additional resources locally or at the State level. Maybe some other States are experiencing generous surpluses, but you are not going to find many that are in our region of the country.

Financial cutbacks that have occurred in the past have made it difficult for hospitals to provide the excellent services they are used to providing, and the kinds of cutbacks being discussed by the Republicans now will only exacerbate this problem.

The right way to slow Medicare cost growth is in the context of a broad health reform program that will slow health inflation and in the economy as a whole. That is the way to bring Federal health care costs under control without cutting benefits or shifting costs to the working families.

In the context of a broad reform, the special needs of the academic health centers, the rural hospitals, and inner-city hospitals can also be addressed. Unilateral Medicare cuts alone, by contrast, could destroy the availability and the quality of care for the young and old alike.

The President said that he is willing to work for a bipartisan reform of the health care system, but our friends on the other side have said no. The only bipartisan shift they seem to be interested in is the kind that says, "Join us in slashing Medicare." That is not the kind of bipartisanship the American people want.

The authors of the budget resolution claim to protect Social Security while making draconian cuts in Medicare. But the distinction is a false one because Medicare is part of Social Security. Like Social Security, it is a compact between the Government and the people that says, "Pay into the trust fund during your working years and we will guarantee decent health care in your old age." This Republican budget breaks that compact.

As the ceremonies on V-E Day this past week remind us, today's senior citizens have stood by America in war and in peace, and America must stand by them now. The senior citizens have worked hard. They brought us out of the Depression. They fought in the Second World War. Their sons fought in the Korean war, and the Vietnam War. They have sacrificed greatly to advance the interests of their children. They played by the rules.

If this country is the great country that all of us believe that it is, it is really a tribute to the senior citizens. They have contributed to Medicare. They have earned their Medicare benefits. And they deserve to have them.

This Republican budget proposes to take those benefits away, and it should be rejected.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN ISRAEL

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have sought recognition this afternoon to respond to those who have raised an issue about the current efforts to have the United States Embassy moved to Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, instead of its current location in Tel Aviv.

There have been some suggestions that we are motivated for political purposes in 1995 to raise this issue. The history of these efforts conclusively refutes that contention. A bill was introduced on October 1, 1983, S. 2031, co-sponsored at that time by 50 United States Senators, which sought to have the United States Embassy and the residence of the American Ambassador to Israel hereafter be located in the city of Jerusalem.

That resolution was referred to committee and was not called for a vote, but it was later noted that in addition to the 50 U.S. Senators, there were 227 Members of the House of Representatives who joined in endorsing that transfer of the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Then on March 26, 1990, Senate Concurrent Resolution 106 was introduced, which called for the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and that resolution was passed in the Senate by a voice vote.

Then, following those actions, on February 24, 1995, a letter was sent to Secretary of State Warren Christopher signed by 92 U.S. Senators evidencing strong bipartisan support, again calling for the moving of the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Mr. President, I was an original co-sponsor of S. 2031 which was introduced back on October 31, 1983; supported Senate Concurrent Resolution 106 back in 1990; and joined in the letter of February 24, 1995, evidencing my consistent support for this program.

Recently, the Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin, was in Washington, and the issue was raised as to whether or not action by the Congress of the United States in calling for the removal of the Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem would be an impediment to the peace process which is ongoing at the present time because obviously we do not wish to interfere with the peace process. At that time, Prime Minister Rabin responded that it was a

matter for U.S. Congressmen, Senators and Representatives, to express themselves as they saw fit. He did not appear perturbed that action in this way would be an impediment to the peace process in the Mideast.

The negotiators of Israel and the PLO are scheduled, as I understand it, to take up the status of Jerusalem approximately a year from now. I think there is no doubt about the Israeli position that Jerusalem is an undivided city, and certainly I think there is no doubt in the Congress of the United States about Jerusalem being an undivided city and it being the judgment of Israel as to where its capital should be. The tradition is, the unbroken tradition is that the embassies are located in the capital city, and it is a fundamental matter therefore that the United States Embassy and the Ambassador's residence ought to be located in the capital of Israel just as the Embassy and Ambassador's residence are located in the capital city of every nation with the host nation determining where its capital should be.

We have to make decisions on matters of this sort, Mr. President, as we see it. There is no doubt about the strong relationship between the United States and Israel, but judgments need to be made by Senators and Congressmen as to what we think is appropriate. Many of us have joined over the years in urging that the Embassy be moved to Jerusalem, and I think that the record is consistent over such a long period of time that there is no appropriate way someone could make a claim that it is a matter for political purposes.

The distinguished majority leader, Senator DOLE, has been singled out in a number of newspaper editorials, others of us less prominent than the majority leader have not been so identified, but I am confident that all of us in exercising our judgment in calling for the location of the U.S. Embassy to be in Jerusalem instead of Tel Aviv are doing it because we think it is the appropriate course of conduct, and no one, no fairminded person, can say that when the record goes back to 1983 in the endorsement of this resolution, there could be any political motivation. I think that ought to be considered and the record ought to be set straight on this issue.

CONTRACT WITH THE AMERICAN FAMILY

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have sought recognition to comment on the proposed Contract With the American Family which was the subject of an early morning "Good Morning America" telecast where Ralph Reed, Jr., appeared as the spokesman in favor of the Contract With the American Family, and I was invited to appear and did appear in expressing my personal views on that subject.

It is my view, Mr. President, that we have the fundamental contract which

governs the relationship of Americans with their Government, U.S. citizens with their Government, and the relationships among U.S. citizens, and that basic contract is called the Constitution of the United States. It is a document which has served this country very, very well since 1787. And there is appended to the U.S. Constitution a Bill of Rights which has served this country very well since 1791.

The first amendment of that Bill of Rights provides for freedom of religion, which is the very basis of our American society—freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of petition our Government.

The United States was founded by the Pilgrims who came to this country in the early 1600's, coming for religious freedom. And if I may on a personal note, Mr. President, say that my parents came to this country in the early 1900's for the same reason.

When the so-called Contract With the American Family calls for a constitutional amendment involving freedom of religion and the first amendment, I believe it is not well placed. I believe that the Jeffersonian wall of separation of church and state is firmly established for the benefit of America, and I think it is most unwise to have an amendment to the first amendment freedom of religion, which is what is called for by this newly drafted Contract With the American Family.

When Mr. Ralph Reed, Jr., speaks on behalf of that contract, and when his mentor, Rev. Pat Robertson, speaks on the subject, Reverend Robertson makes the statement that there is no constitutional doctrine of separation of church and state, that it is a lie of the left, I believe that is directly contrary to the Constitution itself, to the intent of the Founding Fathers. Certainly this is not ARLEN SPECTER's statement. This is the statement of Thomas Jefferson, articulating the doctrine of separation of church and state.

When Mr. Ralph Reed, Jr., articulates a need to change the law of the land as articulated by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Casey versus Planned Parenthood and Roe versus Wade*, which held on a constitutional basis that a woman has a right to choose, there again we are looking for constitutional change, which I submit is unwise and is unwarranted.

There are some parts of the proposals which I think are fine. When they call for an attack on criminals and in support of benefits for victims, I heartily endorse that and have done that for many years since my days as an assistant district attorney, through the DA of Philadelphia, through my service in this body with special reference to the Judiciary Committee.

When they call to crack down on pornography as it relates to children, there is no doubt that the Supreme Court of the United States has set a very rigid standard and we should do all we can to enforce that standard.

There, again, is something I have done personally over the years in the district attorney's office in Philadelphia and here in the U.S. Senate.

And when there is a call to have women who are homemakers have available to them the same opportunities for individual retirement accounts, I say that is just and right.

We have a contract with America in the Constitution which has served this country so well. And in the House of Representatives there has been a Contract With America which has been adopted in large measure in the House and has been adopted to some extent in the Senate and is under further consideration and I think will be adopted with few significant changes.

But if every group comes forward to insist, Mr. President, on their own view of what there should be in the relationship between the Government and its citizens, among its citizens, then I suggest to you that we are going to be a very, very fragmented society, and that it is not wise to have any one group seek to determine the social mores of this country.

This country is strong because it is a melting pot. It is strong because we recognize diversity. America is strong because we do not break into individual groups and have one group seek to impose its ideas on any other group.

So when an idea comes forward that there ought to be an amendment to the Constitution, I say no. When the idea comes forward that there ought to be a change in the first amendment's freedom-of-religion provision, I say no. When the idea comes forward that there ought to be a change in the Constitution as it has been interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States on a woman's right to choose, I say no.

It is time, Mr. President, in America for unifying actions, not for divisive actions. One Contract With America from the Congress elected by the people of the United States is sufficient. What we really need to do is rely on the basic contract with America, and that is the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. President, in the absence of any other Senator on the floor, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ABRAHAM). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

SCHEDULE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, let me indicate to my colleagues that there is an effort underway to come to some agreement on H.R. 483, the Medicare Select bill. Hopefully, we can reach an agreement and pass the bill, maybe with one or two agreed upon amendments. If we can do it by voice vote,