

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,