throwing a tantrum, instead of somebody who leads a great institution and is a leader of a great national political party.

The Speaker says he will use this hard-line approach no matter what, declaring, ''I do not care what the price is.'' Treasury Secretary Rubin responded that the President will not be blackmailed by the use of the debt limit as a negotiating level.

Well, I am one Vermonter who feels that issuing ultimatums is dumb and counterproductive. Raising the debt limit should not be a partisan issue. It is just too important.

Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan got it right when he said: ''The issue of default should not be on the table. To default for the first time in the history of this Nation is not something anyone should take in a tranquil manner.''

In fact, such a default would have serious consequences, indeed.

The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, reflecting some of the feelings as Republican Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board recently warned:

> Defaulting on payments have much graver economic consequences than failing to enact discretionary appropriations by the start of the fiscal year * * * even a temporary default—that is, a few days' delay in the Government's ability to meet its obligations—could have serious repercussions in the financial markets. Those repercussions include a permanent increase in Federal borrowing costs * * *.

It is foolish to risk increasing our Federal borrowing costs through a default.

Unfortunately, the United States carries close to a $4.9 trillion debt burden and over 16 percent of our annual budget goes to interest payments on the Federal debt.

Interestingly enough, some of the same people who say that we will not honor this debt today are some of the same Members of Congress who strongly supported the President of their own party who, during the 1980's, tripled the national debt.

One analyst estimated that if the Government's interest rate had been just a 0.01 percentage point higher than the last year, the Government's annual borrowing costs would have increased by $211 million. Those same people say they want a balanced budget are willing to throw away a chance to balance the budget by permanently jacking up the Government's interest costs.

That repercussion of default goes a lot further than just the Government's borrowing costs. It may make some nice political points back home to say, ''We do not care; we will just shut down the Government, that mean, nasty old government. We do not need it anyway.''

Well, they ought to also tell some of their constituents, if they are a homeowner looking for a mortgage, their mortgage rates will go up. If they are consumers shopping for a new car, the costs of that new car will go up. If they are a small business that wanted to expand, wanted to increase their inventory, wanted to increase their equipment, they will pay more for the money to do that.

To crush the dreams of millions of Americans over this silly game of political poker is totally irresponsible. Some have even suggested that the Treasury Department play games with Government trust funds—including the Social Security trust fund, the Medicare trust fund—in order to postpone default. I believe that also is irresponsible.

Every day Treasury collects billions of dollars for these public trust funds for the payroll taxes. They invest the fund surpluses to pay beneficiaries later on. This year, the Social Security trust fund will run a surplus of $481 billion. The Medicare trust fund will run a surplus of $147 billion. Tapping into these funds allows the Treasury to avoid default, but cashing in the surpluses is morally and fiscally wrong.

We made a commitment to the American people to keep these funds in trust for future generations. Divesting the funds ignores the long-term investment needs to provide the baby-boom generation with Social Security and Medicare benefits in the years to come.

The Republican leadership and the President need to get together. The consequences of a Government default are just too serious to be held hostage by partisan politics. To protect our public trust funds, to keep the Government's and private sector's costs down, and maintain America's creditworthiness, we need a bipartisan budget summit now to avoid a debt limit crisis.

CELEBRATING THE ''NEW'' OLD NORTH END

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, Burlington Vermont's Old North End does not look like the kind of community most people, even most Vermonters, envision when they think of Vermont. It is one of the State's most economically depressed neighborhoods, in a city which is the closet thing to urban you will find in Vermont. But the character of Vermonters, is as evident in the Old North End as it is in every corner of Vermont.

One year ago the resident's of the Old North End requested designation as an enterprise community under President Clinton's new enterprise zone initiative. The State and city government, businesses, schools, nonprofit groups, and residents sat down together and came up with a plan to rebuild the Old North End.

I have never seen so many people, from such different backgrounds work so hard to fulfill their dream. That hard work paid off.

This weekend Vermont's only enterprise community celebrates the beginning of its revitalization and the launching of 70 strategies for renewal. I am honored to have been asked to participate in that celebration.

Today, the dream of a new Old North End is well on its way to becoming a reality. The foundations have already been built with the dedication and commitment of a great many people who have shown all of the best qualities Vermont has to offer. Congratulations are in order for every one of them. Let the celebration begin.

ON MEDICAID

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, far too often, in Washington, the human side of Federal programs are forgotten. This year's debate has been more concerned with the bottom line and tax cuts than how best to serve the people. In a recent column in the Burlington Free Press, Barbara Leitenberg put a face on what is at stake in the Medicaid debate. I ask unanimous consent that Ms. Leitenberg's article be printed in the RECORD for my Senate colleagues to read.

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

[From the Burlington Free Press, Sept. 4, 1995]

SENIORS FEAR HOLES IN MEDICAID NET

(By Barbara Lettenberg)

''It's not a Contract with America; it's a contract with death,'' says Lyman Deavitt, 65, of Burlington, his blue eyes flashing in anger. ''I'd like to meet Newt Gingrich one-on-one.''

Deavitt is especially worried about congressional proposals to limit the growth of Medicaid, the ultimate safety net for health-care costs.

He suffers from insulin-dependent diabetes and resulting neuropathy in both legs, two hard-to-treat ancurysms, blood vessel and bowel blockages, cataracts, and infections in his one remaining kidney.

Because of surgery for cancer of the bladder, he must use a device that siphons his urine directly from his kidney to a pouch outside his body.

''I have no way to pay for these things,'' says Deavitt. ''All I have is $704 a month from Social Security. You can understand why I get on a rampage about those jerks in Washington.''

Medicaid is a federal/state program, started in 1965, which provides medical and long-term care for people with very low incomes. In Vermont, that means no more than $683 per month. $741 in Chittenden County. A single person must have no more than $2,000 in resources; a married couple, no more than $3,000.

More than 82,000 Vermonters participate in Medicaid: Almost 45,000 are under 18; 28,000 are 18–64; and 9,500 are 65 and older. Medicaid pays for physician and hospital care, and some home health and personal care. It is the payer of last resort for care in nursing homes. Medicaid also has special programs in which people who do not quite meet its strict income and resource eligibility rules can get benefits when they face extraordinary health-care bills.

In its Budget Resolution, passed in June, Congress proposes to cut $182 billion from Medicaid by the year 2002. This would be done by limiting the rate of increase from about 10 percent a year to just below 5 percent. Although Medicaid will still grow at this lower rate, programs will have to be cut because the lower rate does not account for general and medical care inflation and the growth in the eligible population.

Some 7,100 Vermonters would be cut from the Medicaid rolls between 1996 and 2002 if these changes are approved, says the national Long Term Care Campaign in its study, ''Some Cuts Never Heal.''

Lyman Deavitt was born in Fletcher, one of nine children: five boys and four girls. He attended a one-room schoolhouse and ''just missed graduating from high school in Johnson.'' When he was a young man, his family moved to Essex Junction.

After a series of jobs at the Park Cafe and the old Oakledge Manor in Burlington and after five years working in Boston, he became credit manager at Flanders Lumber Co. in Essex Junction. He stayed there 15 years until his bout with cancer in 1981 and successive disabilities made him unable to work.

''I tried to go back to work at Flanders after my cancer surgery,'' says Deavitt, ''but I could only manage about three hours a day, and they had to let me go. Then I had to spend all of my money on medical care. I was put on disability in 1984.''

Deavitt's mother taught him to crochet after his cancer surgery, and he spends a great deal of his time making afghans. The latest one is going to be raffled off at the senior high-rise on St. Paul Street, with the proceeds going to the Burlington Visiting Nurse Association.

If his benefits from Medicaid are reduced, couldn't Deavitt get help from his family? He has a married daughter in Florida and a grown grandson. ''There's no way my daughter can help,'' says Deavitt. ''She's very ill. My parents and my brothers are dead. Two of my sisters have no money, like me. The other two are married, and I couldn't ask them. I'd rather be put out on the street. That's what's happening: The politicians are forcing people to live on the street.

''It's terrifying for me to hear all this talk about cuts in Medicaid,'' says Deavitt. ''If they want to start cutting programs, they should leave the elderly out, the people with disabilities, the children. Why don't they stop the space program instead? To me, this is a bad setup.''

A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST LANDMINES

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, earlier today, Save the Children, the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, and others joined together to launch a national campaign to ban the production, use, and transfer of antipersonnel landmines.

They spoke of a 2-week conference that has just ended—actually, more than a conference, a gathering of nations—in Vienna, Austria, to reach agreement on ways to stop the killing and maiming of civilians by these indiscriminate weapons.

At that conference in Vienna, officials from governments from around the world, including our own, made speeches about how terrible landmines are. Many of them spoke of the fact that there are 100 million unexploded landmines in over 60 countries, and every day, every 22 minutes, somebody—often a child—is killed or maimed by these landmines. That is 72 people every day of every week of the year. They went on to say how much they all wanted to get rid of them, but. They each had an exception or loophole so their landmines, or their manner of using them, would not be affected.

President Clinton gave a stirring speech at the United Nations last year, where he called for the eventual elimination of antipersonnel landmines. That was an historic milestone. But in Vienna last week, the United States lagged behind several countries, including several of our NATO allies. While Belgium outlawed landmines and Austria renounced their use and France announced that it would no longer produce them, the United States continued to resist these kinds of dramatic steps.

At least the U.S. Senate, a body that can and should be the conscience of the Nation, voted by a two-thirds majority to impose a 1-year moratorium on the use of antipersonnel landmines and to continue our moratorium on the export of landmines.

We here in the U.S. Senate took a leadership position that has been applauded around the world. Editorials around the world have said how far reaching we were. A number of countries have even gone farther.

Why did Belgium, a country that sends people for peacekeeping missions all the time, ban the use of antipersonnel landmines by its own forces? Because when Belgium sends peacekeepers, even after the fighting has stopped and the guns have been withdrawn, there is one killer that remains behind—the millions of antipersonnel landmines, each one waiting for a peacekeeper or a nurse or a missionary to step on a pile of leaves or some grass or a road or walk by a watering hole and suddenly lose their leg or their arm or their life. The same happens when a child picks up a shiny object thinking it is a toy and loses his or her hands or face or eyes or life. That happens every few minutes in the 60-odd countries that are infested with unexploded landmines.

Mr. President, much could be done if the United States had the courage to adopt as its official policy the moratorium passed by the U.S. Senate, Republicans and Democrats, some of the most conservative and some of the most liberal. It was a vote that spanned the political spectrum. I thank the distinguished Presiding Officer who voted for that.

It is no denigration of any of us that we have differences in political philosophy. We come from different parts of the country and different parties. But we approach this issue with the same humanitarian sense.

This is not a Republican issue or a Democratic issue. The distinguished Presiding Officer knows from his past experience in the past administration—he knows how volunteers from this country, carrying out the highest ideals of this country, volunteers in the Peace Corps, go to countries like Ethiopia, and Nicaragua, and perhaps even Bosnia someday. What is one of the biggest dangers they face? It is not malaria, it is not dysentery, although those diseases are there. It is that when they go into a village to help somebody plant a new variety of corn or wheat or help build an irrigation system or teach a group of children how to play baseball, they may not come back alive because of landmines, probably left there by people who were fighting years ago. But the landmines remain.

I hope our country will take more of a lead, that we will start catching up with some of our NATO allies and others who have experienced firsthand the devastation these insidious weapons cause.

I expect we are going to send troops to Bosnia, to fulfill our commitments to NATO. At a meeting of the bipartisan congressional leadership with the President and his Cabinet the other day I said, ''If we do send Americans into Bosnia, into the former Yugoslavia, Mr. President, I hope you will do one thing. I hope you will tell the American people that this is not a risk-free operation. That even if there is a cease-fire, even if there is a cease-fire that holds, the men and women we send in there will face one very grave danger—from landmines. Some estimate over 1.5 million landmines are strewn in Bosnia alone.'' I learned today that there are another 2 million in Croatia.

We need to tell the American people that their sons and daughters may not be shot by one of the warring sides in the former Yugoslavia, but they may be injured or killed tragically by a landmine left behind. And it is quite possible we will not even know which side put it there.

These are the Saturday night specials of civil wars and guerrilla warfare.

So, I applaud those who came together today to renew a national debate on banning landmines. I thank my colleagues here in the Senate who joined to vote for a moratorium on their use. I commend the President for the position he has taken, as far as it has gone. I commend the Secretary of State, UN Ambassador Albright and others who have also, but I urge the administration to redouble its efforts. Only strong leadership, by the world's only superpower, will suffice.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GORTON). Without objection, it is so ordered.

CUBAN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY [LIBERTAD] ACT OF 1995

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise in support of the substitute Cuban