have survived 38 years despite the draconian U.S. embargo during that entire period. The notion that allowing Americans to spend a few dollars in Cuba is somehow going to give major aid and comfort to the Cuban regime is without basis, in my view.

Political rhetoric is not sufficient reason to abridge the freedoms of American citizens. Nor is it sufficient reason to stand by a law which counteracts one of the basic premises of American foreign policy; namely, the spread of democracy. The time has come to allow Americans—average Americans—to travel freely to Cuba not make it even more difficult to do so.

Mr. President, a small number of individuals in the Congress may have temporarily succeeded in hijacking the democratic process with respect to this issue and in thwarting the will of the majority with respect to loosening U.S. restrictions on travel and sales of food and medicine to Cuba. But let me assure you that this issue is not settled. Those of us who want to see meaningful change in our Cuba policy will be back next year raising this matter on the floors of the House and Senate. And I predict that when the democratic process is allowed to work, the results of last night's conference will be decisively reversed and U.S. policy toward Cuba will be finally put on the right track and the prospects of a peaceful democratic transition in that country greatly enhanced, and the 11 million Cubans will know that the American people care about them despite their strong objections to the Government which runs that country today.

I yield the floor and 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. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, it is my understanding that Mr. DOMENICI, and then Mr. MCCAIN, have orders for recognition.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may briefly speak now, and that I may also be recognized following the speech by Mr. MCCAIN and the speech by Mr. DOMENICI for not to exceed 45 minutes.

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

MAUREEN MANSFIELD

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, on Wednesday, September 20, the Senate lost one of its own family members. Not a member with a capital ''M,'' elected by the people, but an unpaid, unsung, but O so important member of the Senate family. On Wednesday, Maureen Mansfield, the beloved wife of former majority leader Mike Mansfield, passed away.

It is safe to say that without the efforts, energy, dedication, and love of Maureen Mansfield, the Senate and the people of Montana might never have benefited from the extraordinary talents of Mike Mansfield. Like myself, Mike was raised by an aunt and uncle after the death of his mother when he was just 3 years old. During the First World War, Mike Mansfield dropped out of school and joined the Navy, and he also served with the Army and the Marine Corps.

Upon his return to Montana, he worked as a mucker in the copper mines and did not resume the schooling he had left in the eighth grade.

Maureen, a high school teacher when her younger sister introduced her to Mike, encouraged him to return to school. She helped him to apply to Montana State University and helped him complete his high school equivalency courses before completing college. She cashed in her life insurance and worked as a social worker in order to support her husband in school. Then both of them went on to earn Master's degrees. Maureen Mansfield did not believe, and disproved, the old saw that you cannot change a man and that all efforts to do so are futile.

Mike Mansfield's congressional career also benefitted from Maureen Mansfield's support. Maureen would campaign for Mike in Montana, sometimes on her own when Mike could not get away from Washington. Mike Mansfield served five terms in the House before his first election to the Senate. In the Senate, Lyndon Johnson picked Mike for party whip.

In those days, it was different from what it is now because a leader would not pick another Member for the office of party whip. That is a matter that the Members will resolve.

Mike went on to serve as Majority Leader himself for sixteen years, longer than any other Senator. I served as his party whip. I continued to hold Mike Mansfield in the highest respect. Mike and Maureen have always been good friends to me and Erma, and we will both miss their companionship and the very deep affection and esteem with which they treated each other, and which sustained them through 68 years of marriage.

Erma and I have 5 more years to go before we can say we have been married 68 years. But Mike and Maureen set an example as an exemplary creative family in that regard.

Mike Mansfield never lost his appreciation for his wife's support. He always readily gave Maureen the credit that he felt she was due and which I, having enjoyed the same kind of love and support from my wife, readily endorse. These talented, organized, gracious women, such as Maureen Mansfield and Erma Byrd, could have commanded armies. They could have run universities or won Senate seats in their own right. But they chose instead to hitch their stars to the wagons of their husbands. And Mike Mansfield and I are definitely the better for it. I believe, too, that the nation is better off as result as well.

The demands of the Senate, particularly the demands placed upon Majority Leaders, are stressful, time-consuming, and exhausting. It is even more than a two-person job. I could concentrate on Senate matters knowing that Erma was there at home to support me and to give the love, affection, and attention to our two daughters that they so much deserved. I am here to say that one old adage is certainly true, and we have all heard it many times. That is, behind any great man is an even greater woman. To the extent that I ever wanted to be great, I have been denied that. But I can say that I have Erma to thank for whatever I have been able to accomplish. I know Mike Mansfield would say the same about Maureen.

Now that Maureen has found new life in the shelter of God's hand, I hope that Mike, his daughter Anne, and his granddaughter might sympathize with the words of ''The Beyond,'' penned by Ella Wheeler Wilcox (1855–1919):

It seemeth such a little way to me,
Across to that strange country, the Beyond;
And yet, not strange, for it has grown to be
The home of those of whom I am so fond;
They make it seem familiar and most dear,
As journeying friends bring distant countries near.

And so for me there is no sting to death,
And so the grave has lost its victory;
It is but crossing with bated breath
And white, set face, a little strip of sea,
To find the loved ones waiting on the shore,
More beautiful, more precious than before.

We miss her here, but she surely waits for Mike.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico is recognized.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, first, I want to congratulate Senator BYRD on his comments with regard to the very distinguished Mike Mansfield, and what happened to him recently with the passing of his beautiful and wonderful wife. I, too, in reading about him—I didn't experience as much of him as the Senator from West Virginia did—but he did things in a rather sensational and unique way.

Even though I didn't know him as long as the Senator from West Virginia, and didn't feel his presence as much, he is a very wonderful American.

Can you imagine in his early life what he did, how he became educated and found himself majority leader of the Senate? He did that for a long time, and is still the recordholder.

Mr. BYRD. He is. He was majority leader longer than any other Senator.

Mr. DOMENICI. Frankly, from what I understand, he did it with a very cool hand. Maybe it was different in those days. It was less confrontational than today, as I understand it—with no criticism and no inferences; just that it was different when he was leading.

Mr. BYRD. We were in very different times, and we were dealing with different personalities. He was a remarkable man, however.

I thank the very distinguished senior Senator from New Mexico for his words.

Mr. DOMENICI. I thank the Senator.

THE GORE BUDGET

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, yesterday, and maybe two previous occasions on the Senate floor, I discussed the Gore budget and what is going to happen to the huge amount of money that we are getting from the taxpayers, which we have begun to call a ''surplus.'' I choose now to call it the ''tax overpayment.'' It is what the people are paying in that we don't need.

I would like to, once again, make sure the Republican candidate for President, George W. Bush, and the candidate for Vice President—who last night did such a marvelous job—the distinguished former Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney—I urge them to continue to tell the American people what the Gore budget will look like.

When it is mentioned, everybody says this came from the Budget Committee staff and the Republicans, and, therefore, you shouldn't use it; that it is partisan; that it is like paper that is not even worth using.

I say to our two candidates, keep using it. Keep saying it is true because they are about as good as any people we have ever had to look at budgets. I am chairman of that committee, and, frankly, I have relied on their expertise year after year. I don't think I have to exaggerate and say they are the best. They are the best at getting to the bottom of programs and analyzing them. I asked them to do it. They did it. They gave us a major report on the subject, and I will say to our candidate—to the Governor of Texas, to the former Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney—no matter what they say about it, you use it.

The Gore budget has 200 new programs in it. If you estimate appropriately their cost based upon what is said about the program, you cannot pay for those programs without using all of the on-budget surplus and $700 to $900 billion of the Social Security surplus.

Now, that is our version. We think it is true. And we don't believe the American people actually think when you finally have a surplus—because we are paying so much more in taxes than we need—we don't think the American people want the Government to grow at the largest rate in modern history. Probably if you put the Gore expenditure budget into effect, you will increase Government in 1 to 2 years, more than any modern year, excepting maybe the Lyndon Johnson Great Society years.

Now, it doesn't matter to me as the chairman of the Budget Committee what Vice President GORE says about these figures, nor what our distinguished Senator from Connecticut, Vice Presidential nominee who I have great, great respect for, it doesn't matter what they keep saying. The truth is, we have an analysis of that budget. Early next week we will have a full analysis. They finally put their budget on to sheets of paper. It is a very large budget. We will finally have that analyzed. I am told it will come out no different. It will come out the same way, 200-plus new programs, the largest new expenditure in the next 5 years that we have ever had in the Government. If you take them at their word and do all of them, you cannot do it without spending part of the Social Security surplus. No matter what they say about its source, it is as good as anything they have.

I have great respect for the Vice Presidential nominee. He knows that. Last night he said something that wasn't true, and I ask him to revisit this. He said their budget, the budget they have, analyzed for the future, was done by a neutral body called the Congressional Budget Office. That is to make sure that everybody would think it is authentic and that the Domenici budget analysis is not authentic. I assure everyone, the Congressional Budget Office does not do an analysis of either candidate's budget. In fact, that is not within their prerogative. They have not analyzed the Gore budget. They have not analyzed the budget of the Governor of Texas, either. And they won't.

The Democrats have somebody analyzing theirs, watching out for them, who is on their team, and they want everybody to think ours, and the majority staff has worked on this for years, they want everyone to believe it has no credibility. I think to the contrary.

My friend Dick Cheney will be in my State in a few days. I hope he talks about this subject. Let them bring up the fact that Democrats don't think it is worth very much. We will make sure the public understands we have as good an analysis as anyone. If the Democratic nominee for President does every program he contemplates—there are some that are superexpensive. There are some universal programs in there that will never get adopted by Congress, but we might as well make sure the public understands they are expected, they are contemplated, they are out there to tell the people, elect us and we will do all these things.

That is part of my reason for coming to the floor, so anyone who wonders whether that is authentic, I can assure Members, I will not give ground on this through the election and after the election. I believe it is right. I think our candidates ought to use it.

Now I will talk about the so-called Al Gore tax cut plan and the George W. Bush plan. I don't know if I have enough time today to go through the George W. Bush plan, which is very simple. I am not sure I can do that because today I want to talk a little bit about a rather unique way to cut taxes, or allege you are cutting taxes, for middle-income America when you are not.

If there is a middle-income American who happens to be listening, and they say, oh, boy, Vice President GORE has spoken so much about giving the middle class a tax cut, I will get a tax cut—my friends, you are not necessarily going to get the tax cut. The Gore plan says the Internal Revenue Service will decide whether you get a tax cut. And you are going to apply for it when you file your tax return, and if you are a family, you have to go through up to 25 different tests with the Internal Revenue Service to determine what you are entitled to. In fact, if the people think the Internal Revenue Code is complicated, and IRS is not doing a good job, then remember that every single so-called tax cut that Vice President GORE is telling you about is going to be administered by the Internal Revenue Service, which is going to pass judgment on whether you are entitled to one of the scores of tax credits or other tax benefits. Let me go further, the IRS will determine what tax refunds or government check you are entitled to, because under Vice President GORE's plan not only taxpayers get tax breaks, people who pay no taxes get government checks.

People will fill out their federal tax return. They will find a check in the mail from the Internal Revenue Service, even though they pay no taxes.

That is part of his tax plan. The part for middle Americans, middle-income Americans, you cannot just file your tax return and say, I am a middle-income American earning $65,000, and I want my 5-percent tax cut, or 7 or 10, you have to ask yourself if you qualify for a tax credit or a refundable tax credit under this plan. There are all kinds of reasons you might get some tax relief, but they are all going to administered by the Internal Revenue Service.

Isn't that nice? So if you apply, and the IRS agrees, you get to use your tax money. If you apply and if you fit, you get to use your taxpayer dollars for a certain specified purpose.

The most significant difference in the two men's tax proposals is that George W. Bush gives you a tax refund and you can spend it for whatever you want. The Vice President, the nominee from the Democratic Party, gives you no tax cut to spend as you may. Since it is your money, you have to qualify as if you were under a Federal program.

GORE wants to imbed social policy of the country into the tax code. We are substituting the Internal Revenue Service as the one that gets to see whether or not you are going to be able to have these particular services paid for by the Federal Government. I cannot believe when the American people understand this that they are going to say they want that tax approach.