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TRIBUTES TO HON. ERNEST F. HOLLINGS

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Ernest F. Hollings

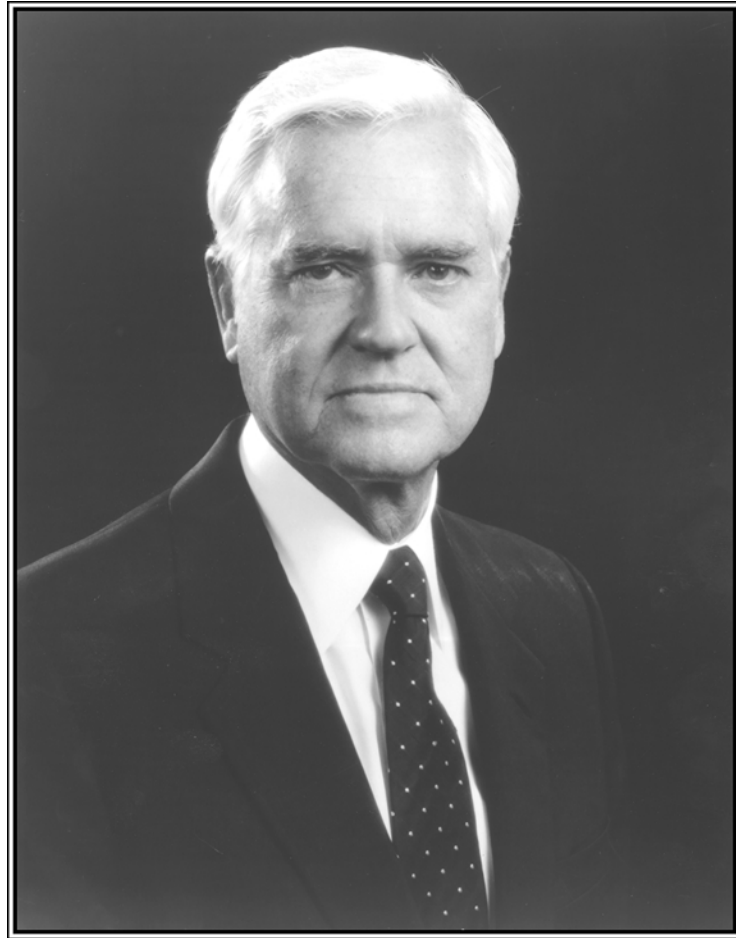
U.S. SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA

TRIBUTES

IN THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES



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Ernest F. Hollings

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S. Doc. 108-26

Tributes
Delivered in Congress

Ernest F. Hollings
United States Senator
1966-2005



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*Compiled under the direction
of the
Joint Committee on Printing
Trent Lott, Chairman*

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Biography

“Performance is better than promise.” That’s the creed by which U.S. Senator FRITZ HOLLINGS modeled his lifetime of public service. He was committed to generating economic growth for South Carolina; promoting education and equal opportunity; and providing the opportunity for all citizens to have healthy, secure and productive lives. He recognized early on that government must be fiscally accountable to the people in order to achieve these goals. A brief examination of Senator HOLLINGS’s record of legislative achievement reveals that he remained true to his mission throughout a distinguished political career.

FRITZ HOLLINGS fought for South Carolina most of his life. A native of Charleston, he graduated from the Citadel in 1942 and immediately received a commission from the U.S. Army. He served as an officer in the North African and European campaigns in World War II, receiving the Bronze Star and seven campaign ribbons. When he returned from the war, he entered the University of South Carolina School of Law. Working through holidays and summers, he graduated in 1947—less than 3 years after he began.

The following year, at age 26, he began his long career of public service when he was elected to the South Carolina House of Representatives. In his second term, his peers voted him speaker pro tempore, a post to which he was re-elected in 1953. Two years later, he became Lieutenant Governor. In 1958, recognizing his leadership, achievements and dedication to public service, the people of South Carolina chose him for the highest office in the State. At 36, he was the youngest man in the 20th century to be elected Governor of South Carolina.

PROGRESSIVE GOVERNORSHIP

As Governor, HOLLINGS established his well-deserved reputation for economic common sense and laid the foundation for the economic growth that has made South Carolina a modern success story. South Carolina was stalled in the late fifties, mired in an outdated economy with a budget in the red. HOLLINGS balanced the State’s budget for the first time

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since 1895 and, under his leadership, South Carolina became the first southern State to earn the coveted AAA credit rating.

He was also the father of technical education in South Carolina, starting the statewide system of technical colleges. With this training, South Carolinians who grew up on farms and in mill towns were able to learn marketable vocational skills for the first time— skills that enabled them to obtain better jobs and wages. Thanks to Senator HOLLINGS’s vision of education that emphasizes job training, South Carolina has attracted multinational companies like BMW and Michelin. The State also enjoys one of the lowest rates of unemployment in the Nation.

EARLY SENATE YEARS

In 1966, South Carolinians elected HOLLINGS to the U.S. Senate to fill the unexpired term of Olin Johnson, an office to which he’s been elected seven times. Early in his Senate career, Senator HOLLINGS focused on the poverty and hunger that gripped the rural South and urban areas of the country. In 1968 he embarked on his now famous hunger tours, which spawned his acclaimed 1970 book *The Case Against Hunger: A Demand for a National Policy* and fostered a new government commitment to improving programs for the poor. Senator HOLLINGS believed it was “better to feed the child than to jail the man” so he co-authored national legislation that created the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children, popularly known as WIC, which was modeled after a pilot program in South Carolina’s Beaufort County.

Senator HOLLINGS was also quick to establish what has become a long-standing commitment to environmental policies when, in 1972, he wrote and steered through Congress the National Coastal Zone Management Act, the Nation’s first land use law designed to protect coastal wetlands. In the early and mid-seventies he also pushed to establish the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), authored the Marine Mammal Protection Act, and fought for passage of the Ocean Dumping Act and the Fishery Conservation and Management Act.

RECENT SENATE WORK

Senator HOLLINGS was elected to the Senate for the seventh time in 1998. In 2004 he was the fourth most senior Member of the Senate.

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Senator HOLLINGS served as ranking member on the Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee where he championed a wide range of issues such as telecommunications, transportation security, consumer protection, coastal preservation and research, and trade policy. As a principal author of the 1996 Telecommunications Act, HOLLINGS worked throughout his career to promote competition within the telecommunications industry and to ensure that consumers benefit from innovative technologies at reasonable prices. As a result of the September 11 attacks, HOLLINGS led the effort to pass transportation security legislation for our Nation's port, railroad, and aviation systems in an effort to bolster national security and protect American citizens.

In terms of U.S. trade policy, Senator HOLLINGS sought to reinvigorate economic competitiveness and protect American jobs, while improving U.S. manufacturing and production capabilities. Additionally, HOLLINGS believed that greater understanding and improved management of ocean and coastal ecosystems were essential to maintain healthy coasts and to prepare communities for natural hazards such as hurricanes. He worked to better the lives of South Carolinians and the people of our Nation.

Senator HOLLINGS also served as the longest-serving member of the Senate Budget Committee where he worked to take the country down the path to "true surplus." He was the first voice in the Senate to decry the practice of looting Social Security, Medicare and other trust funds to camouflage the size of the deficit. HOLLINGS continued to fight for fiscal responsibility, and he constantly pressed Congress to put the Nation back on a "pay-as-you-go" basis rather than burdening future generations with escalating Federal deficits and debt.

As the third ranking Democrat on the Senate Appropriations Committee and the ranking member of the Commerce, Justice, State, and the Judiciary Appropriations Subcommittee, Senator HOLLINGS used his seniority, experience and know-how to fight for responsible government and South Carolina's fair share. He initiated a nationwide effort to combat breast and cervical cancer by utilizing his seat on the Appropriations Committee to secure funding for a pilot screening program. Thanks to Senator HOLLINGS, South Carolina was among six States selected for this landmark initiative, which screened 115,000 South Carolina women and detected more than 1,300 occurrences of cancer. With Senator HOLLINGS's help, the State received funding for this

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program as well as others to complete new infrastructure projects, improve public education, attract new businesses, and protect the environment in South Carolina.

Senator HOLLINGS was raised in a family with four siblings and a hard-working mother and father. He is the father of four children and has seven grandchildren. He and his wife, Peatsy, are very involved in South Carolina as well as in the Washington community. From World War II officer to South Carolina legislator to Governor to U.S. Senator, Senator HOLLINGS dedicated his life to public service. He worked to generate economic growth for South Carolina, promote education and equal opportunity, and advocate a progressive, national public policy. An independent leader who tells it like it is, HOLLINGS does not rely on rhetoric. His record speaks for itself.

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Farewell Speech

Tuesday, November 16, 2004

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, my distinguished colleague, Senator Graham, has been more than generous, and I thank him not just for today but for the years to come. I do so genuinely in the sense that his coming here as a Senator is like going over on the wall and turning on the lights. Here I had somebody diligently working to get things done. That is why I came to the Senate, to get things done for South Carolina. And Senator Graham has not only worked hard—we all work hard; there is no lazy Senator in the 100 Senators—but he has that secret of making friends. After all, this is a political body, and you cannot get things done unless you make friends.

He instantly came to the Chamber and started working with Democratic Senators, which was a surprise to me. Things are so confrontational at the present time in politics, to see that occur, I said: That fellow is going to be here a long time. And I believe it. He is going to be here a long time.

Just this past week, he got on to my crusade of trying to get jobs and industry. He's following in the footsteps of our distinguished former colleague, the senior Senator from Kentucky, Wendell Ford, who is on the floor and graces us. He makes me feel like old times when he was our whip, and no one, as chairman of the Rules Committee, did a better job. But Lindsey Graham went out of his way to get things done.

This past week he has been taking around Ambassadors from various countries to prompt their interest in investing in South Carolina. As Governor, I started going on trips in 1960 to encourage businesses to move to South Carolina, and now we have 134 German companies in South Carolina. We have French Michelin, and we have Japanese Hitachi, Fuji, and others. Now, Senator Graham is working the beat. He is a realist, and he knows how to get things done.

I cannot thank him enough for being already distinguished, not just because we gave him the title, but because I have heard from colleagues on both sides of the aisle: That

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fellow, Lindsey Graham, is really a fine fellow. He is working, and you really ought to be proud of him.

I address the distinguished Senator from South Carolina by saying that the only way I can show my gratitude is to make sure he gets this desk. I have the John C. Calhoun desk. You will laugh, Wendell. When I got here I told Senator Russell, "I would like to have this desk." He said: "Colleague, colleague, colleague"—you know how he talked—"I guess you would like to have this desk. My father sat at this desk, my mother sat at this desk, and I am sitting at this desk."

I said: "Excuse me, I didn't know all three of them had been there."

He came to me the night before he left, and gave me the Calhoun desk, and I am going to make sure the Sergeant at Arms gets this desk to Senator Graham.

This is my chance to thank my colleagues for putting up with me for 38 years. I thank the distinguished staff, not just my staff and the committee staff, but particularly this afternoon the floor staff, Marty and Lula and everybody else. We couldn't get anything done without their wonderful help. And I thank the poor reporters. If you can understand what I am saying—They are always asking later, Mr. President: What did he say and how did he say it?

I will never forget politicking for President. I went up to Worcester, MA. I kept calling it Worcester. I knocked on the door and the lady said: Who are you? I said: FRITZ HOLLINGS. She thought it was a German trucking company. I do thank the reporters who have done an outstanding job for me over the many years.

I started my career as a trial lawyer, and I made enough as a good trial lawyer to afford to come to Washington and be in the U.S. Senate. Senators don't make enough money. You ought to double their pay, and I say that before leaving. I have said that along with Ted Stevens for years. No little young fledgling lawyer, such as HOLLINGS, can afford to run, keep up two homes, and everything else. It can't happen anymore. You all are just politically using the salary and not really attracting the best of the best.

I don't leave with the idea that the Senate is not what it used to be in the sense of personnel. We have a way better group of Senators. We had five drunks or six drunks when I came here. There is nobody drunk in the U.S. Senate. We don't have time to be drunk and, more than that, we have the women. We had one woman [in the Senate] early in my

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career. She was outstanding, but she was outstandingly quiet. That was Margaret Chase Smith from Maine, a wonderful lady. Now we have 14, and you can't shut them up. They keep on talking and talking and talking. If you get into a debate with Barbara Mikulski or Barbara Boxer, they will take your head off, I can tell you that. They know how to present a viewpoint, and that is very valuable.

The Senators have done a wonderful job. The Senate itself is the greatest of institutions, but I know we can do better. As a trial lawyer, I was overjoyed. When I came here, we had the proceeding to learn the truth and we could hear the best of witnesses. I had better clients as a U.S. Senator, and obviously, I could make the final argument to the jury and then go in the jury room and vote. That, to me, is a trial lawyer. I had reached the ultimate.

Yet as I am leaving, I am very sensitive to the full docket of unfinished business. I am constantly being asked about legacy, legacy, legacy. I am thinking the things we ought to have done long ago and have not done because rather than seeking the truth—and I say this advisedly—we have obscured it.

Take right now the issue that is going to confront us tomorrow afternoon or Thursday of raising the debt limit. I read the business page of *The New York Times* this morning. We are spending at the rate of \$600 billion more than we are taking in. That is a deficit.

Don't give me this doubletalk of on-budget deficit, off-budget, or government debt and public debt. We are spending \$600 billion more than we are taking in, which is 6 percent of our GNP. In the European Union, if you exceed 3 percent of your gross national product, you are not eligible to be in the European Union. Here we are telling the world what they ought to do in diplomacy, international affairs, defense affairs, and fiscal affairs, and we would not even be eligible to be in the European Union.

We have, Mr. President, the economy on steroids. Add it up. Add up the deficit of 2001, 2002, 2003, and 2004—those 4 years—and you have \$1.7 trillion that we have goosed into the economy with these tax cuts. We have not increased spending on the war \$1.7 trillion. No, no. We have tax cut, tax cut, tax cut, and they still want more tax cuts. I am talking bipartisan because both sides are guilty. I am not talking in a partisan fashion.

We have to do something about that deficit. I was here when we balanced the budget without Social Security in

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1968. President Clinton got the government back into the black. But when Bush came in he turned a \$6 trillion projected surplus to a \$5 trillion projected deficit, and now we have to increase the debt limit. Now the dollar is in a deep dive. Interest rates are going to have to go up. We are depending on financing our debt some \$700 billion by the Japanese, \$170 billion by the Chinese, and \$67 billion by Korea. Can you imagine going with a tin cup to Korea, begging: Please finance my debt because I need another tax cut?

What about Social Security? Let's tell the truth about it because there isn't any question that we have been spending Social Security moneys for any and everything but Social Security, in violation of the law.

And don't give me this thing about, oh, yeah, Lyndon Johnson used Social Security. He did not. Look at the record. He balanced it, and we did not spend Social Security moneys until the seventies when Wilbur Mills, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee on the House side, started giving these inordinate COLAs. We started draining the fund.

We appointed the Greenspan Commission in 1983. The Greenspan Commission came out with an inordinately high tax to take care of the baby boomers in the next generation. Don't misunderstand me. They act like the baby boomers are coming along as a new problem. We foresaw that in 1983. We said, as a result of this high tax, do not spend this money on anything but Social Security.

I fought like a tiger, but we finally got it into law. On November 5, 1990, George Herbert Walker Bush signed into law section 13301 that says that the President and the Congress cannot use Social Security moneys for budget purposes.

I was talking a minute ago to my distinguished colleague from South Carolina. He is going to try, I guess, to raise taxes. I would support it so long as we are not raising taxes for anything and everything but Social Security. You are going to have to increase the age. You are going to have to get some revenues to make it fiscally sound. But if we started immediately with the Social Security surplus going to just the Social Security Trust Fund, we immediately have \$160 billion, and with that \$160 billion in 7 years, we would have \$1 trillion and you wouldn't have to worry until 2045 or 2050, and there would not be any crisis. We ought to study that.

It is the same with trade. Everywhere in the land people cry: Free trade, free trade, free trade. There is no such thing; never has there been and never will there be free trade. I

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know about freer governmental restrictions, subsidies, and quotas, but that is not going to happen.

People ought to remember that we built this industrial giant and power, the United States of America, with protectionism. The Brits corresponded with the Founding Fathers, and they said: Under David Ricardo's comparative advantage, what needs to be done is we will trade with you what we produce best and you trade back with us what you produce best. Free trade, free trade, free trade.

Hamilton wrote the Report on Manufacturers. He said to Britain: Bug off, we are not going to remain your colony. We are going to maintain our own manufacturing capacity. The second bill that ever passed this Congress in history, on July 4, 1789, was a 50-percent tariff on articles and we started with protectionism, linking the steel mills with protectionism. Roosevelt came in with protective subsidies on agriculture. Our friend, President Eisenhower, had import quotas on oil—protectionism. President Kennedy came in with a 7-point program to protect textiles. More recently our good friend President Ronald Reagan put in voluntary restraint agreements on automobiles, steel, hand tools, and semiconductors.

Ask Andy Grove if he would have Intel today if President Reagan had not put in that protectionist measure. There would not be any Intel.

We did that with Sematech and everybody knows it. But we were treating trade as aid in the war of capitalism versus communism right after World War II. We had the only industry. So we sent over, with the Marshall Plan, money, experts, equipment, and we started giving away my textile industry—giving it away.

Right now 70 percent of the clothing I am looking at is imported; 86 percent of the shoes on the floor are imported. It is all gone. All that time they said: Don't worry. We are going to be a service economy. My light bill in South Carolina is administered in Bangalore, India. So we have lost the service economy. We have lost the manufacturing economy and capacity.

What happens is your security is like a three-legged stool. You have the one leg, your values as a nation. Around the world we stand for individual freedom and democracy. We have the second leg, unquestioned, as a military superpower. The third leg—the economy—has been fractured intentionally and we are happy about it because capitalism has defeated communism in Europe, in the Soviet Union, and in

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the Pacific rim. And it is defeating it right now in China. Let's not disturb it and what have you, except to begin to compete. As Akio Morita says: "That world power that loses its manufacturing capacity will cease to be a world power. What we need to do is to rebuild."

We can begin to immediately rebuild by changing the culture, the mindset, the legislation. Around here we passed, 4 weeks ago, a \$50 billion tax cut bill that was supposed to represent foreign credit sales. Instead, it subsidized the export of jobs, the outsourcing of jobs overseas.

We are still treating trade as aid. If you are going to open up Sununu Manufacturing, before you open the door you have to have a minimum wage, clean air, clean water, Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, plant closing notice, parental leave, OSHA, a safe working place, safe machinery, and I can go all the way down. And in Manchester, NH, your competition has moved to China because they can operate and produce there for 58 cents an hour and none of those requirements. If you don't move to China yourself, you are going broke. You will go bankrupt.

The policy of the crowd that is hollering and wailing and moaning about the outsourcing of jobs is exactly the policy of the very crowd that is causing that outsourcing. If you head up a multinational, you are supposed to compete and make a profit.

We are supposed to create a strong economy and produce jobs. The Congress of the United States, the Senate, we are the guilty parties. We have to put in a change of the culture. We need a Department of Trade and Commerce, and to put the Special Trade Representative over there and to do away with the International Trade Commission, because this is just a sop. The International Trade Administration—and not Commission—should find the penalty rather than having that separate hearing and say there is no injury and everything else of that kind.

I have worked with the lawyers. We need a Deputy Attorney General for Trade in the Justice Department. We have one for antitrust. We have one for civil rights. We have one for taxation. We don't have one for trade. We need somebody enforcing those laws. We need, by gosh, to turn around and start competing the way they have done.

Let me just say what we need to do is get ahold of ourselves and realize we have a problem. I was at a meeting earlier today where one of the Senators was counseling the new Senators: "Don't take too many committees. The new

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ones are going to take all the committees.” Our time has come. We want it all. So we want all the committees.

The rules ought to say a Senator should not be on any more than two committees. You can’t keep up with it. I am on the Appropriations Committee. They used to have 17 members; now they have 29 members. You know, the Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense has 19 members. You can’t hardly get a quorum for the Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense. Everybody wants to be on all the committees, so you have your staffs doing all the work, because you can’t keep up.

But the main culprit, the cancer on the body politic, is money: Money, money, money. When I ran 6 years ago, in 1998, I raised \$8.5 million. That \$8.5 million is \$30,000 a week, every week, for 6 years. If you miss Christmas week, you miss New Year’s week, you are \$100,000 in the hole and don’t you think we don’t know it and we start to work harder at raising money.

As a result, the Senate doesn’t work on Mondays and Fridays. We have longer holidays. The policy committee is adjourned and we go over to the campaign building because you can’t call for money in the office. So we go over to the building and call for money and obviously we only can give attention to that. We don’t have time for each other. We don’t have time for constituents, except for the givers. Somebody ought to tell the truth about that. Unless and until we excise this cancer, the Congress and government are going to languish alone because it has to be done.

When I helped write the Federal Election Campaign Practices Act in 1973, we said each Senator would be limited to so much per registered voter. That meant that Strom Thurmond and I were limited to \$637,000. Fast forward 25 years, add in inflation, and give me \$2.5 million. Quadruple it, \$2.5 million but not \$8.5 or \$10 million that you have to spend because all your time is on the campaign and not the country. I can tell you right now we are in real, real trouble.

I worked with John McCain and Russell Feingold on the McCain-Feingold bill; I worked with Senator Biden on public finance. What really needs to be done, and I tried 20 years ago, is to put in a constitutional amendment that Congress is hereby empowered to regulate or control spending in Federal elections.

Then we can go back to the 1973 act: So much per registered voter. When you are limited to \$2.5 million, you have limited the campaign. You have limited the time of the cam-

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paign; you have limited the expenditures of the campaign. Then you have time for constituents. Then you have time for problems.

When I came here, Mike Mansfield would have a vote at 9 o'clock just about every Monday morning and we would work to Friday at 5 o'clock. We all stayed here on the weekends and we didn't have all of these long holidays we have now.

But if you want to limit campaigning and if you want to change—as Abe Lincoln said—disenthrall ourselves of the dogmas of the quiet past that are inadequate for the stormy present of money grubbing, then we have to think anew and act anew. We need to disenthral ourselves from this money grubbing and go to work finally for the country instead of the campaign.

That is our situation. I have watched it. I have studied it. I have seen it. They don't have me going to meetings. They have me going to the telephone and calling and calling, traveling all over the country for money. Money is a cancer on the body politic.

Other than that, I have spoken seriously about trying to face up to some of these problems that we have confronting us. There are a lot of opportunities.

They are talking now about immigration. Mexico is not a foreign country. They are our neighbor. All you have to do is put down the billions that we spend: Give them a Marshall Plan, increase their standard of living just like Canada. Then you don't have immigration. I can tell you right now, the money spent on immigration, drugs, and border patrol, and financing that government out of the banks in New York and then refinancing it on us taxpayers, we could have a Marshall Plan and solve the problem.

There are a lot of problems that we can solve. But if there is a last word, it is one of gratitude. This has been the finest experience I have ever had. When you come right down to it, I was always worried that I couldn't make enough money to stay in Washington. Now I have looked at my trial lawyer colleagues who made a lot of money. Most of them are dead. Those who are alive are looking for a new golf course and a new drink and they don't know anything about what is going on and they are not interested in anything going on. If you really want to be enriched in your life be a U.S. Senator. The best postgraduate course is to run and be in this Senate.

It is with heartfelt gratitude I thank the colleagues for their indulgence this afternoon, particularly my colleague,

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Senator Graham. We just have a fine time working together, and I know he will be representing us in the Senate for years to come.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

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ERNEST F. HOLLINGS

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Proceedings in the Senate

TUESDAY, *November 16, 2004*

Mr. GRAHAM of South Carolina. Mr. President, the task at hand for me is a difficult one. I want to take some time to talk about my senior Senator, Senator HOLLINGS, who is retiring. Trying to do justice to his career is going to be a difficult task for me, but I will do my best.

I want the people of South Carolina to understand that whatever differences I may have with Senator HOLLINGS, they are political in nature. They have never been personal, and I cannot thank him enough for the time he has dedicated to the transition from the House to the Senate for our office. Senator HOLLINGS has been a tremendous benefit to me personally. He has made the transition from the House to the Senate very enjoyable. He has helped my staff. He has been indispensable in our getting started in the Senate. I want to thank him personally and thank him for the kindnesses he has shown to me.

Trying to follow Senator Thurmond and Senator HOLLINGS is a tough act. South Carolinians have relied on these two great gentlemen for literally my entire lifetime. With the retirement of Senator HOLLINGS, I think it is going to be hard to put in words how much he will be missed by the Senate and South Carolina.

But when you start talking about a man, trying to give tribute to him, I think the first thing you have to start with is what means most to that person, to the man himself, and to his family. His wife Peatsy is one of the most delightful people you ever hope to meet. She is beloved by the colleagues in this Chamber and their spouses on both sides of the aisle. She is a joy to be with. She is a lot of fun, and she has been a great soulmate to Senator HOLLINGS for many years. I know he is equally proud of his children. He lost a daughter. It is a terrible thing to have happen. He is the father of four children and I think he has seven grandchildren.

For those people listening in South Carolina, the demands on one's time in this job are immense, and your family sac-

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rifices in a variety of ways, whether it is going back home on the weekend to try to say hello to constituents or to be in a parade. I don't think we stress enough how important families are to Members. Senator HOLLINGS has enjoyed the support of a first-class group of family members who have represented South Carolina very well.

Wherever Peatsy Hollings goes, South Carolina goes, and there is no better way to be introduced in our State than to meet her.

Senator HOLLINGS's time in the Senate will be coming to an end. He has chosen to retire. It is a lifetime of public service that I will try to talk about in the next 10 or 15 minutes.

As his generation is noted for "The Greatest Generation," the World War II generation, he seems to have been there every time his State and his country needed him. He was a graduate of the Citadel. He graduated in 1942.

As you can tell by his accent, which is the ultimate low country accent, he is from Charleston. If you had to create an image of a Senator, he would be my model. He looks like a Senator and he sounds like a Senator, and he also acts like a Senator. I mean that in the highest form of a compliment.

He has represented my State since 1996 in the Senate but that is not the first time he has represented my State. It is not the first time he has served this country. As I mentioned, in 1942 he graduated from the Citadel. That was the class that got their diploma in the morning, got commissioned in the afternoon, and their orders the next day and they went off to fight a war. He is very emblematic of that generation. They never really had a chance to be young because the day they graduated college they went off to take on a vicious enemy.

People talk about 1-year tours and the stress it puts on families—that is true—but in World War II you signed up for the duration. You didn't know when you were coming home and you didn't know if you were coming home. You were coming home when the war was over, when Berlin fell and when Tokyo fell. His generation never enjoyed the benefits of getting out of college and being young men or young women because they had a tough task at hand at an early age.

Let it be said for Senator HOLLINGS and an entire generation, you handled the job exceedingly well. You rose to the occasion. You made the world free. If the Senator had done nothing else, that would have been a pretty good legacy for

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life. He went on to fight in North Africa and Europe. He fought the Nazis. He received the Bronze Star and seven campaign ribbons. He was in the action. He did his job well. He commanded troops in combat.

At the ripe old age of 26 he went back to South Carolina, but a 26-year-old back then is not like a 26-year-old in normal times. I would argue that the 26-year-olds who come back from Iraq are going to be a little bit different, too. I can only imagine how war matures and ages you. It makes you able to put in perspective what is important. And his entire generation has had that perspective from the time they came back from the war and for the rest of their lives.

It was shown in Senator Thurmond's and Senator HOLLINGS's lives. Both are World War II veterans. When he came back to South Carolina, he was elected to the House of Representatives at the age of 26. Shortly thereafter, he became speaker pro tempore. So his colleagues saw in him something of a leader at an early age. They saw what the rest of South Carolina has seen for decades: Somebody who will speak their mind. You can be on the receiving end of speaking that mind—I have been on the receiving end—but he is fair. He has been tough on everybody. But people know he has a good heart. And he also has a good heart for South Carolina. That is why his colleagues put him at a young age in charge in the House.

In the *Brown v. Board of Education* litigation, one of the first cases that came about was the South Carolina case involving Clarendon County. Senator HOLLINGS participated in that case. It was a life-changing experience.

In 1953, he became Lieutenant Governor. In 1958, he was elected Governor, the youngest Governor in South Carolina history at that time. From 1959 to 1963, he was a young Governor who had served in World War II, participated in one of the greatest legal cases of our time, and he took that experience and changed my State for the better.

From 1959 to 1963, if you open up any history book, particularly in the South, these are tremendously troubling times. Social change is abounding. The old way of doing business is being challenged. People are fighting and sometimes dying throughout the South to bring about a new way of doing business.

I never will forget Senator HOLLINGS telling me about the court appearance in the Supreme Court when an African American lawyer stood up and talked about fighting in the war, coming back home and being told to go to the back of

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the bus. And Senator HOLLINGS said, “that ended it for me. There was no way that I was going to be a voice for segregation.” It hit him like a ton of bricks.

One of his best legacies for my State and the Nation and the power of the Governor from 1959 to 1963—no lives were lost in South Carolina—as he was leaving the office, there are all kinds of speeches going on in the South by Governors. Some people were standing in front of a schoolhouse and saying: You are not coming in; segregation now and segregation forever. Senator HOLLINGS said that in South Carolina we will be a government of laws, not men. He challenged my State to accept the inevitable. He challenged my State to respect the Supreme Court decision. He led the way to the successful integration of Clemson University in 1963.

The list goes on and on of what he has done to empower African Americans in South Carolina. He has been a champion for racial fairness his entire time. It is fashionable now. It is the politically correct thing to do now. But in 1963 it was not the politically correct thing to do in South Carolina or any other southern State. But he chose the path less traveled. Our State is better off for it, and because of his leadership and others who followed, we were able to do things in South Carolina in a way of which we should all be proud. Hats off to you for that, Senator HOLLINGS.

During the time as Governor, he did some things economically that we have the benefit of today. Our technical school program, for those who are not familiar with South Carolina, is No. 1 in the Nation. If you are looking at doing business in South Carolina, we have a technical school system that will meet your needs. We will design a training program for your employees, specifically for your business. We have thousands of South Carolinians receiving college level education through our technical schools in an affordable manner. We have 16 colleges now, over 160 career programs and high-tech professionals who have made the Michelins, BMWs, and Fujis possible to come to our State. He is the father of that legislation.

If he had done nothing else, that would have been a great tribute, but there is a lot more that he has done. He created the South Carolina public broadcasting system, one of the best in the Nation, if not the best in the Nation. South Carolina ETV is known all over the world, really.

As a young Governor, he took the road less traveled; he invested in education in a new and different way that pays

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dividends today. That is something he should be proud of and I am proud of on his behalf.

In 1966, as a young man, he came to the Senate. I don't have the time to read his legislative accomplishments because it would take most of the afternoon. It is fair to say that since Senator HOLLINGS has been in the Senate he has not let any grass grow under his feet. He has been one of the most proactive Senators I have ever known. Almost anything that has been done in South Carolina with Federal assistance has been as a result of his efforts and that of Senator Thurmond.

Primarily, Senator HOLLINGS has led the charge on the Appropriations Committee in making sure South Carolina was as well taken care of in terms of Federal Government assistance as humanly possible. You will be missed, Senator HOLLINGS.

I will have, along with Senator DeMint, a very tough act to follow. We will try our best. But the Senator has done some things that I don't think most people know about but which have had a huge impact on who we are as a State and really the Nation.

The Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972 was Federal legislation for the first time addressing the coastal areas of the United States. In 1972, you were so far ahead of your time. The Coastal Zone Management Act allowed Senator HOLLINGS to be named Environmentalist of the Year by about every group in the Nation. Because of that act, we have come up with a plan to manage our coastline in terms of erosion.

The Senator has also contributed to the clean health of the ocean, in 1976, with the Ocean Dumping Act and the Maritime Transportation Act, a series of legislation that Senator HOLLINGS offered that has changed the way we treat our coastlines as a nation.

He probably has the most proactive environmental policy that we have had as a nation dealing with our coastal areas. It was a result of his efforts. Long after he is gone, the coastline of South Carolina and every other coast in the United States will be the beneficiary of his time in the Senate.

He was talking about deficits before it was fashionable. Gramm-Rudman-Hollings was an attempt in the eighties to bring fiscal sanity to the Congress. By the time the nineties came along, it becomes the way we campaign. About 10 years after his efforts—along with his colleagues, Senators

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Gramm and Rudman—it got to be the fashionable thing in politics to talk about not running up the debt.

Senator HOLLINGS was talking about the social integrity of Social Security before anyone else I have ever known. What are we talking about today? We are going to save Social Security. I hope we do. It would be wise to listen and learn from what he has been trying to instruct us to do.

The first national park and only national park in South Carolina happened a couple years ago, the Congaree Swamp. That will be a monument to a balance between development and the environment for the rest of the time that South Carolina exists. Long after we are gone the Congaree Swamp will be well taken care of.

There are so many things. The Ace Basin is probably one of the best monuments to our Creator. God has been good to South Carolina. When you travel through our State from the mountains to the sea, you will see some nature that is beyond description. From the mountains to the sea, Senator HOLLINGS has been integrally involved in preserving what God has given us. The Ace Basin is a project he helped fund that has saved some coastal areas and some waterways in South Carolina. The whole basin is a monument to the environment. We worked together preserving over 30,000 acres in perpetuity in South Carolina. The Congaree Swamp is in the middle.

As we look back over Senator HOLLINGS's time in the Senate, you can see that he used his power in the Senate to make sure that future generations of South Carolinians would enjoy the things he has experienced as a young man. What better legacy to leave than a State that maintains its beauty.

He has been aggressive when it comes to changing the fabric of the education climate in South Carolina with technical schools. One thing he should be most proud of is the Hollings Cancer Institute at the Medical University of South Carolina. South Carolina has pockets of health care problems that are Third World in nature. One day we are going to conquer these problems, but we have a litany of health care problems in South Carolina. My mother died of Hodgkin's disease. The Hollings Cancer Institute and the Medical University of South Carolina is doing some research that will pay great dividends in the future in terms of conquering this disease called cancer.

My personal commitment to Senator HOLLINGS is that I will continue to build upon what the Senator has started. It

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is my hope that the National Cancer Institute will designate this and we will try our best to make sure this happens as a tribute to the Senator.

Again, I could go through legislative enactments, specific projects that have helped South Carolina, but I would like to end by saying that life is short. No matter how long it seems you have been around, it really is a small time in the scheme of things. South Carolina has enjoyed two long-serving Senators: Senator Thurmond and Senator HOLLINGS. Both will have departed the Senate come next January. Let it be said about Senator HOLLINGS that his time in the Senate will be felt by South Carolinians as long as there is a South Carolina. What the Senator has been able to do with the power entrusted to him by the people of South Carolina is to bring about a lot of good, Senator HOLLINGS. The Senator has made our State a better place to live. The Senator has preserved things that would have been lost without the Senator. The Senator has talked about the future in responsible terms. The Senator has served our Nation during peace and war. The Senator has served South Carolina and the Senate well.

I am honored to call you my senior Senator. It is my wish that you have many more years to help my State, help our State, and help our Nation. I hope that comes to pass.

As I try to go forward as a Senator from South Carolina, I hope I am smart enough to draw upon what you have done and look at the model you have created and build upon that model.

I am a Republican; Senator HOLLINGS is a Democrat. That means something, but it really does not mean that much because we are both Americans, and we both love South Carolina.

God bless, Godspeed, and well done.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I wanted to come to the floor to say that this Senator is going to miss the booming voice and the southern drawl of the Senator from South Carolina who is one of a few who has relentlessly, over a long period of time, talked about the issue of international trade. He has talked about how it relates to our country's economy. Very few come to the floor to talk about the doctrine of comparative advantage and Adam Smith and the kind of things that I have had the privilege of hearing from Senator HOLLINGS.

As one who comes to the floor to talk about trade a lot, I am going to miss very much the work which has been done

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by Senator HOLLINGS and which he has been doing for so many years. He is absolutely right about these issues.

They will take a look at statements and say, well, he is a protectionist. I don't view Senator HOLLINGS as wanting to put up walls around this country. I think if the charge is that Senator HOLLINGS or I or others want to protect the economic interests of the United States, we ought to plead guilty quickly. That is why I am here and why he has served this country for so many decades. We want to protect the economic interests of this country.

I wanted to say, having heard the comments just offered by my colleague from South Carolina, how proud I am to have served with him. Being here when Senator HOLLINGS was here and when Senator Byrd has been here and a few others is a very special privilege for someone like myself.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, will the distinguished Senator yield?

Mr. DORGAN. Of course, I yield.

Mr. HOLLINGS. I wanted to thank the distinguished Senator from North Dakota. He has been in the vanguard. He headed up our policy committee and we have learned more. I was on the original policy committee under Senator Mansfield. But it has been quite an education. He has really put the program so we can learn about the issues. I thank him for that. But I particularly want to commend him for his leadership on trade because he has been leading the way on that score. I thank him very much.

Mr. DORGAN. I thank my colleague from South Carolina and wish him well.

THURSDAY, *November 18, 2004*

Mr. BURNS. I came down here today to talk about other men who will be leaving this Senate, including Senator HOLLINGS from South Carolina. He was chairman of the Commerce Committee when I first came here in 1988 and 1989. I was up to my eyes in confusion, trying to drink out of a fire hydrant to take it all in. My former chairman of the Commerce Committee was part of my education, a very important part of it, in understanding the work done in the committees and this business of setting policy that conforms

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to the wants and desires of our States and what is good for the country.

One time I offered a little amendment that had a far-reaching effect in the debate of regulating the cable industry. I didn't want to do that but I wanted to give him a little competition to make them better. I offered an amendment without telling anybody on the committee, without telling a soul.

I will tell the Presiding Officer I know what it is like to sit way down at the end of the committee because when I came here my seniority was S100.

I remember the chairman, Mr. HOLLINGS, saying, I've never heard of anything like that. It was pretty obvious we were going to have to go to a vote. He didn't know if he had enough votes to defeat it and I didn't know if I had enough votes to pass it. An instance such as that calls for a little backroom sitdown, talk about this, and see what it does to the issue.

I was right there with him. Senator Inouye from Hawaii was also in the meeting. One can start to learn the ways of the Senate especially in the areas of committee work.

I will miss ERNEST HOLLINGS because he has been an institution here serving from the 89th through the 108th Congress. That is a great tradition.

The Presiding Officer knows and understands ERNEST HOLLINGS. We may disagree on philosophy but we did not disagree on America. * * *

As to all of these men, I want to say you do form relationships here, and there is a certain bond that attracts us all, as we learn that even though you may be on the same side of the aisle or the opposite side of the aisle, one could always agree or disagree without being disagreeable. That is what makes the Senate a special place.

We will miss all of these men, but I am looking forward to those who take their place as, there again, new relationships will be developed, a new bond dealing with the old challenges of a free society, with those who love the Constitution and love this country who were prepared to die for it and would if asked to do so today. No one doubts the depth of their patriotism nor their service to their country. We welcome them as we say goodbye to old friends, old relationships that will never be forgotten.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the end of the 108th Congress marks the end of an era. It marks the end of a remarkable career of a remarkable man.

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I will not say goodbye to Senator HOLLINGS. His personality, his sense of humor, his achievements, his legacy will forever be a part of this Chamber. But I do take a few minutes of the Senate's time to thank Senator ERNEST HOLLINGS.

I thank him for being an outstanding Senator. I thank him for his service to our country. I thank him for being a friend. I have been honored to call him my colleague for almost 40 years.

The man who is destined to become a legend in the political history of South Carolina politics was a New Year's Day baby. He was born on January 1, 1922. After graduating from the Citadel, he served in the U.S. Army during World War II. This combat veteran, who served in North Africa and in Europe, was awarded seven campaign stars and was discharged with the rank of captain.

After the war, he earned his law degree from the University of South Carolina in 1947 and then began his extraordinary career in public service in 1947. That was the year in which he earned his law degree.

In 1947, at the age of 26, he was elected to the South Carolina State Legislature where he served until 1954, while 1947 was the year in which I was sworn in at the West Virginia House of Delegates in Charleston, WV.

During his last 3 years in the South Carolina State Legislature, he served as its speaker pro tempore.

In 1954, at the age of 32, he was elected Lieutenant Governor of South Carolina.

Four years later, in 1958, at the age of 36, he became one of the youngest men ever elected Governor of his beloved State. From what I understand, he was an outstanding Governor. Senator HOLLINGS would be outstanding in any office in which he would ever serve. He earned a reputation as the education Governor because he raised teachers' salaries, launched new and innovative educational programs, including a superb technical training program, and set up a commission that improved the State's higher education system.

In 1966 he was elected to the Senate. Here he has stayed for 38 years. I am glad he stayed. He has been a very colorful Senator, an outstanding and outspoken Senator with a booming voice.

The stentorian voice could be heard, I am sure, throughout this Chamber, without a public address system. When he first came here we had no public address system in the Senate. When I first came here, we had no public address sys-

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tem in the Senate, but we had Senators who could be heard. It was a practice in those days for other Senators to gather closer to the Senator who was speaking. It was also a practice for other Senators to be informed when a new Senator was going to speak. New Senators did not speak the first week or the first month, but only after several months did they speak. Before they spoke, the word went around that so and so was going to deliver his maiden speech or her maiden speech. In those days there was one lady in the Senate, Margaret Chase Smith of Maine. But we didn't have any public address system.

I recall when we started to discuss having a public address system in the Senate, I was opposed to it. I wanted the Senate to remain the Senate of the decades that had preceded our own times.

But he was colorful and he was a Senator who had that booming voice that could be projected and heard in the galleries, and today Senator HOLLINGS does not need a microphone.

He was from the old school of Senators who placed public interest over partisan politics. Oh, that we had more Senators like that, more Senators like Senator HOLLINGS who put first the public's interest, the interest of those people who are watching through that electronic eye just behind the Presiding Officer's desk; the eyes of the people come through that electronic eye, which extends the galleries beyond the capacity that we see here. It extends those galleries out to the outermost parts of the country, north and south, out to the Pacific, out to the great Rocky Mountains, out to the broad prairies, out to the farms, out to the hills of West Virginia, that great medium.

This Senator from South Carolina, unlike so many Senators of today, placed the public interest over partisan politics. And he still does. He never hesitated to criticize a President of his own political party as well as the opposition party when he knew in his heart and in his conscience that President was wrong. If it were a President of his own party, let it be.

While in the Senate, Senator HOLLINGS has served on the Senate's Budget and Appropriations Committees, served as chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, served as chairman of a number of Senate subcommittees. Just as he had been a loyal and proud servant of his own State of South Carolina, he has been a loyal and proud servant of our country. In the Senate, he has been a forceful advocate of a re-

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sponsible energy policy. In fact, as early as 1967, Senator HOLLINGS was warning that our country faced a future of energy crises, and he was calling for a national energy policy.

He authored legislation to create the Department of Energy and the Automobile Fuel Economy Act that requires the miles-per-gallon sticker on new cars.

He has been a determined advocate of a cleaner and healthier environment. In this effort, he formulated legislation to protect our marine environment, sponsored legislation to prevent the dumping of polluting materials in the ocean, and authored the Coastal Zone Management Act to protect our coastal waters and tidelands. He is the recognized legislative “father” of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, NOAA.

In the Senate, Senator HOLLINGS continued promoting technical training as he fought to establish trade schools that specialize in retraining workers and offer alternatives for people who choose not to pursue a university degree.

In the Senate, Senator HOLLINGS has tenaciously opposed trade deals that threaten American jobs. Oh, if there were more like him. His fights in this area have involved opposing Presidents, opposing Presidents whom he charged were “giving away the store” in our trade treaties. He has fought to protect and increase Social Security benefits for our elderly Americans.

Concerned about the widespread poverty across the South, in 1968, he undertook a series of “hunger tours” that highlighted the issue. He later authored a powerful study, *The Case Against Hunger: A Demand for a National Policy* that advocated programs to address the persistence of abject poverty in the United States. Putting his words into action, he helped lead the congressional effort to establish the Women, Infants and Children—WIC—Nutritional Assistance Program, and he helped to advance the Nation’s community health centers, which provide primary and preventive health services in underserved communities.

Long before the Bush administration’s record-breaking budget deficits, long before today’s incredible \$7 trillion national debt, Senator HOLLINGS was an eloquent and powerful advocate of budget discipline. I did not always agree with his efforts, such as the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law, but I never questioned Senator HOLLINGS’s dedication to trying to restore fiscal sanity to America’s deficit addictions.

Although he has long been a Senator of power and influence, during the great majority of his time in this Chamber,

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he remained the junior Senator from his State. Even after serving 36 years in the Senate, he was still outranked by his colleague from South Carolina, Senator Strom Thurmond, making Senator HOLLINGS the longest serving junior Senator in history, whatever that means. I have often wondered, having been a junior Senator and being a senior Senator now, what we mean by “junior Senator”? Well, we know what it means, but that is all.

It was at the age of 80 that Senator HOLLINGS finally became the senior Senator from South Carolina. He had earned it. He had earned it just as he has earned the respect and the gratitude of the people of South Carolina and the men and the women in this Chamber.

Now, unfortunately, my friend and colleague is leaving us. Again, I will not say farewell to him. I will only thank him for his service and wish him well in his private life.

I will always remember and cherish our years of working together on the Appropriations Committee and for the best interests of our great country.

It isn't enough that we say in our hearts
That we like a man for his ways;
And it isn't enough that we fill our minds
With psalms of silent praise;
Nor is it enough that we honor a man
As our confidence upward mounts;
It's going right up to the man himself
And telling him so that counts.

Then when a man does a deed that you really admire,
Don't leave a kind word unsaid,
For fear to do so might make him vain
Or cause him to lose his head;
But reach out your hand and tell him, “Well done,”
And see how his gratitude swells;
It isn't the flowers we strew on the grave,
It's the word to the living that tells.

Now, unfortunately, my friend and colleague—a strong colleague on the Appropriations Committee, where we two have served all these many years—is leaving us. Again, I will not say farewell to Senator HOLLINGS. I will only thank him for his service and wish him well in his private life. I will always remember and cherish our years of working together.

I shall always remember, too, that loyal, dedicated, devoted helpmate, Peatsy, who stood always at his side, always there to be his best confidant. Yes, Erma and I will miss Peatsy.

In closing, then, let me speak just a few words from the “Character of the Happy Warrior” by William Wordsworth,

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because I think they represent my feelings toward ERNEST FRITZ HOLLINGS:

Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
* * * 'Tis, finally, the Man, who, lifted high,
Conspicuous object in a Nation's eye,
Or left unthought-of in obscurity,—
Who, with a toward or untoward lot,
Prosperous or adverse, to his wish or not—
Plays, in the many games of life, that one
Where what he most doth value must be won:
Whom neither shape or danger can dismay,
Nor thought of tender happiness betray;
Who, not content that former worth stand fast,
Looks forward, persevering to the last,
From well to better, daily self-surpast:
Who, whether praise of him must walk the earth
For ever, and to noble deeds give birth,
Or he must fall, to sleep without his fame,
And leave a dead unprofitable name—
Finds comfort in himself and in his cause;
And, while the mortal mist is gathering, draws
His breath in confidence of Heaven's applause:
This is the happy Warrior; this is he
That every man in arms should wish to be.

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I would like to take a few minutes to talk about our departing colleague, the senior Senator from South Carolina, the senior Senator after many years of waiting in the wings, and that is Senator FRITZ HOLLINGS.

I first got to know FRITZ HOLLINGS after I came to the Senate in 1986. My wife Annette and I have worked with FRITZ and his wife Peatsy. We have traveled around the United States with them. We have been with them in their home. We visited them in Charleston. We traveled around the world with them.

He is a unique individual, to say the least, but he has had, as the Presiding Officer knows, a distinguished career as a State senator in his native South Carolina and then Lieutenant Governor and Governor of his State before he came to the Senate I believe in 1966.

He has had a distinguished career as chairman of the Commerce Committee for many years and as a senior member of the Appropriations Committee and chairman for many years, and ranking member now, of the Appropriations subcommittee dealing with State-Justice.

FRITZ, we are going to miss you. We are going to miss your humor. We are going to miss your frankness. We are going

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to miss your wisdom. And we are going to miss your wife Peatsy about whom we all care and love. You have invited a lot of us to visit you in Charleston. I hope you add some more rooms to that House there because a lot of us will be coming to see you. You have been a great American.

In addition to public service to his State and to the Nation, FRITZ HOLLINGS was a young graduate of the Citadel in his hometown of Charleston before the Second World War, and he served with distinction as an officer in Europe for a long time through many battles.

I respect you, FRITZ. I commend you for your service, and I look forward to visiting you both here and in Charleston in the years to come.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, FRITZ HOLLINGS is a passionate advocate for the people of South Carolina, a true statesman, and a fine gentleman. He is one of the most senior Members of our body and, to all of us, he is a friend, a mentor and a guide. He has devoted his life to public service.

FRITZ HOLLINGS has always shown courage, conviction, and an ability to get things done. His work has touched every corner of our country and every American's life.

FRITZ helped our Nation confront its spiraling budget deficits, maintain a strong posture against the Soviet Union, integrate our schools, and create the WIC Program. His work has helped protect our coastal ecology, preserve our oceans, and defend our transportation networks from terrorist attacks. And, when a family eats dinner without interruption, free from never-ending telemarketing calls, well, we can all thank FRITZ for that too.

On trade, on spending, on taxes, on military issues, and on Senate pay, he has never been afraid to speak his mind, even when his own party, or sometimes even most of the Senate, disagrees with him. In the end, he has always been a winner thanks to his grace and honor. A summary of FRITZ's legislative achievements reads an astounding eight single-spaced pages. He's always campaigned on the creed that: "Performance is better than promise." And he has lived up to it.

We'll all miss FRITZ: His friendship, his principles, and his willingness to tell it like it is. We wish FRITZ and Peatsy all the best and want them to know that they will always have a home, a family and a place in the history of the U.S. Senate.

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Mr. EDWARDS. I thank my fellow Senate retirees Senator Breaux and Senator HOLLINGS. One thing I guarantee you: Our accents will be missed here on the floor of the Senate. Hopefully, there will be others who will be able to speak the way we speak.

FRIDAY, *November 19, 2004*

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I would like to make some comments about our friends who are departing the Senate. * * *

I also want to say how much I am going to miss FRITZ HOLLINGS, an amazing man; protector of the consumers, guardian of the budget. * * *

Thank you very much.

Mr. DAYTON. Mr. President, I want to close by associating myself with the remarks of the Senator from California and her regards and respect to the other retiring Members.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, while the Senate is holding in abeyance for the final omnibus appropriations bill that the House is getting ready to file sometime tonight, I want to take the opportunity to pay tribute to our retiring Senators: Tom Daschle, FRITZ HOLLINGS, Don Nickles, John Breaux, Ben Nighthorse Campbell, John Edwards, Peter Fitzgerald, Zell Miller, and Bob Graham.

I wish to make a speech about each one of these Senators who has become a dear friend, in some cases, over the years, such as FRITZ and Peatsy Hollings, who took special interest in me as I came to the Senate and made sure I got on his Commerce Committee, which has been just an extraordinary experience with him as chairman, as well as with the present chairman, John McCain. * * *

So for all of these names I have mentioned, in the great poem "Ulysses," "I am a part of all that I have met," and I am a part of all these great Senators. I am much richer for it and for having been their friend.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I talked before about Tom Daschle. I also will discuss the rest of our colleagues who are leaving the Senate.

When the 109th Congress convenes in January, nine of our current colleagues will not be here. I take a few moments to

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pay tribute to them. Collectively, our colleagues have served in the Senate for 144 years. We will miss them.

First of all, FRITZ HOLLINGS, the most senior Member leaving the Senate at this time, had a distinguished career in public service. It started in 1942, the same year I joined the Army. After he graduated from the Citadel and he received a commission from the U.S. Army, he served as an officer in the North African and European campaigns in World War II. He had a lot of time in combat. He got the Bronze Star and seven campaign ribbons.

In 1948 he was elected to the South Carolina House of Representatives. Ten years later, and still only 36, FRITZ HOLLINGS was elected Governor of South Carolina. As Governor, he showed his fearlessness and independence as a progressive southern Democrat, especially when he integrated Clemson University.

In 1966, FRITZ was elected to the Senate. I don't have time to list all of the things he has done in 30 years in the Senate or 56 years in public office, but early in his Senate career FRITZ focused on poverty and hunger that gripped the rural South and urban areas of the country. In 1968, he embarked on his now famous hunger tours. In 1970, he wrote about what he saw in a highly acclaimed book entitled *The Case Against Hunger: A Demand for a National Policy*. What a wonderful program that was.

He followed up by co-authoring a bill that created the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children. We call it WIC.

In 1972, continuing this very active campaign of writing legislation, he wrote the National Coastal Zone Management Act, the Nation's first land use law designed to protect coastal wetlands. He played a pivotal role in establishing the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the Marine Mammal Protection Act, the Ocean Dumping Act, and the Fishery Conservation Management Act.

Perhaps he is best known for his tireless fight for fair trade and being a true fiscal conservative. Who can forget Gramm-Rudman-Hollings? I served with him many years on the Committee on the Budget and I can attest to his determination to put our Nation on the pay-as-you-go path rather than burdening future generations with escalating Federal deficits and debt.

On a parochial note, I thank the Senator from South Carolina on behalf of the people of New Jersey. After September 11, he made our ports safer by helping to get security fund-

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ing for our ports. FRITZ HOLLINGS gallantly laid out an inspiring vision for the future of passenger rail service in our country. Through it all, FRITZ HOLLINGS has always been a southern gentleman and a Senator's Senator.

FRITZ's remarks in committee and his speeches in the Senate have always been worth listening to even if some of us had difficulty deciphering them. He has been a true original, and the Senate will be poorer for his departure.

I know he wants to spend more time with his beloved Peatsy, his children, and his seven grandchildren.

FRITZ, we will miss you. I never stop being surprised when FRITZ HOLLINGS recalls things he did 20 or 40 years ago and recall them with fairly precise detail. He always has colorful language—except in places like the Senate—that attract attention and yet he completes his serious mission with humor, candor, and courage.

I ask unanimous consent a press release entitled “38 Years in the Senate, 38 of His Greatest Hits” be printed in the *Record*.

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

38 YEARS IN THE SENATE, 38 OF HIS GREATEST HITS

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 2004

Washington, DC.—In 38 years in the U.S. Senate, FRITZ HOLLINGS has compiled one of the most remarkable legislative records of any Senator in the last century. From his first days in office to his last, he has written legislation that has changed America. Following are 38 ways the Nation will remember him:

1. Started the Women, Infants and Children (WIC) Program, one of the most successful government health care measures ever undertaken. It has reduced infant mortality, low birth rates, and premature births. Today, WIC provides nutritional counseling and access to health services for low-income women and children in 10,000 nationwide clinics. Impetus for the program came from Senator HOLLINGS's 1970 book *The Case Against Hunger*.

2. Championed the Community Health Center Program to bring medical care to low-income Americans. In 1969, South Carolina opened one of the first community health centers in the Nation, and today the centers nationally provide primary and preventive health services for 10 million patients in underserved communities.

3. Initiated the nationwide breast and cervical cancer screening program. Begun in 1990 as a project in South Carolina and five other States, the program quickly expanded to a highly successful national effort. Through the years, Senator HOLLINGS also has led efforts to significantly boost funds for cancer research and to double the National Institutes of Health's budget.

4. The father of the Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) Standards, Senator HOLLINGS wrote the law in 1975 forcing automakers to build more fuel-efficient cars. Thirty years later, CAFE standards save more than 3 million barrels of oil per day.

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5. Authored the Aviation Security Act immediately after September 11. It created the Transportation Security Administration and set up the screening system now underway for airport passengers. Always a strong believer in the need for security, Senator HOLLINGS knew the aviation system, and America's economy, would not recover without government's help. He authored the legislation at age 80.

6. Authored the Maritime Security Act, also immediately following September 11. Concerned for many years that ports and borders were the weak link in America's security system, he pushed the legislation through—the first ever aimed at increasing security at America's ports.

7. The father of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), he established the agency in just his fourth year in office. He did it at a time when the ocean was not the popular topic it is today. In 2000, he created the U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy to help Congress determine the future of the Nation's oceans.

8. Authored the National Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972, which established Federal policy for protecting coastal areas. It also authorized grants to States to establish and operate coastal zone management programs.

9. A friend of marine mammals, he wrote the legislation in 1972 to protect whales, dolphins, sea otters, and other mammals. It became the model for other countries.

10. Authored the Ocean Dumping Act of 1976, which extended Federal authority over previously unregulated dumping of pollutants in the ocean. It banned dumping by U.S. vessels, or vessels sailing from a U.S. port.

11. Wrote the Oil Spill Bill in 1990, following the disaster of the *Exxon Valdez*. Senator HOLLINGS led the Senate investigation of the oil spill, and pushed the legislation requiring more effective cleanup, and forced oil companies to use double-hull ships, which are less likely to have a spill.

12. At the forefront of promoting American technology, he created the Advanced Technology Program in the Commerce Department, which invests in high-risk research projects that promise big payoffs and widespread benefits to the Nation.

13. Co-authored Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, the landmark legislation that broke budget gridlock in the mid-eighties. By making automatic spending cuts, it reversed 20 years of increased Federal spending and cut tens of billions from the budget deficit.

14. Was the first Senator to decry the practice of looting Social Security, and made truth in budget reporting a priority. In 1990, his legislation required that the President and Congress, when reporting a budget, do not count Social Security surpluses to mask the true size of the deficit.

15. Has been the voice for fiscal sanity on the Senate floor for three decades, but too often the lone voice. Twenty-two years ago, he was the first to offer a budget freeze, and has offered them many times since. He has slammed tax-cutting Republicans for voodoo economics. He promised he would jump off the Capitol dome if ever there was a balanced budget, but because too few listened to the only original member of the Senate Budget Committee, the country has a \$600 billion deficit, and Senator HOLLINGS retires without jumping.

16. The Senate's loudest voice on trade issues, he opposed NAFTA, GATT, and trade deals with China and Africa—all of which have sent massive jobs overseas. Time has proven him right. He opposed giving the President fast-track negotiating authority, constantly reminding his colleagues of Article 1,

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Section 8 of the Constitution: “Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with Foreign Nations.”

17. Textile’s best friend in the Senate, he has pressured every President since Lyndon Johnson to protect the industry so important to South Carolina.

18. Created the Manufacturing Extension Partnership Centers in 1988 to help small manufacturers survive and grow. Now with 350 locations around the country, they annually help almost 20,000 companies. In honor of the Senator, Federal legislation was passed to rename them the Hollings Centers.

19. A friend of the consumer, he created a competitive telecommunications industry through the Telecommunications Act of 1996, the first major rewrite of the Communications Act of 1934. He fought to ensure it provided new services to consumers at affordable rates.

20. Strengthened online privacy and gave Internet users control over their own personal data with legislation he authored in 2000 and 2002.

21. Gave millions of Americans freedom from telemarketers, by co-authoring the do-not-call list law in 2002, and the law that banned computer voiced telephone calls and restricted junk faxes in 1991. Calling it “telephone terrorism” Senator HOLLINGS has given tens of millions of Americans quiet evenings at home.

22. Reined in the cable TV monopolies, as the driving force in the early nineties for the Cable and Consumer Protections Act. Persistent service and rate abuses by TV cable companies around the country prompted Senator HOLLINGS to lead the charge in giving the Federal Communications Commission authority to regulate basic cable TV rates and set minimum service standards.

23. Authored the 1990 Children’s TV Act, requiring stations to carry educational programming for children and limiting the amount of commercials aired during children’s programming.

24. Wrote laws to drug-test transportation employees and military enlistees. By requiring mandatory random drug and alcohol testing for safety-sensitive transportation employees, he has made America’s roads safer. The law has allowed the military to confront drug abuse in uniform and has significantly increased overall readiness.

25. Was one of the first to rebuild America’s defense in the eighties, authoring amendments in the 1980 budget that provided the first significant increase in defense spending in the post-Vietnam era.

26. Saved the Department of Education through budget amendments, after Ronald Reagan took office with the express purpose of abolishing the Department. In the mid-nineties he stopped House Republicans from radically cutting student loan programs.

27. Authored energy conservation standards for Federal buildings, during the 1970 energy crisis, resulting in millions of dollars of savings for taxpayers.

28. Led the efforts to fund innovative law enforcement programs, such as Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) that put more than 100,000 police officers on the streets in 13,000 communities across the country.

29. To prevent crime that has hit American schools, he steered through the Senate his Safe Schools Initiative, putting police officers on patrol in schools nationwide.

30. Authored legislation to nail criminals involved in church burnings, by strengthening Federal authority to prosecute them.

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31. For the first time in American history, he got the full Congress to give its highest honor, the Congressional Gold Medal, to a farmer, gas attendant, maid, and preacher for the hardships they faced in desegregating South Carolina's schools. The medals were presented in 2004, the 50th anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education*.

32. Champion for American Embassies across the world, he fought hard to ensure government preserves their historic significance.

33. The longest serving junior Senator in American history, he served 36 years as a junior Senator before becoming South Carolina's senior Senator at age 81 in 2003.

34. As Governor of South Carolina from 1959 to 1963, he was the first modern southern Governor to bring about economic and social progress. He started South Carolina's technical education system that now trains 235,000 students annually; balanced the State's budget for the first time in 65 years; obtained the State's first AAA bond rating; traveled 200,000 miles around the world to bring industry to South Carolina; and peacefully integrated Clemson University while other southern Governors resisted the civil rights movement.

35. Was the Senator with no poll in his pocket. He gave unforgettable floor speeches where he spoke his mind and told the truth. No one dared debate him, because they'd lose.

36. He brought different points of view to complex situations and identified solutions long before others recognized there were even problems.

37. Though many of his favorite bills never passed, he never stopped pushing for what he believed. He is still calling for tax hikes to pay for the war on terrorism; legislation to protect children from violence on television; and a constitutional amendment permitting limits on campaign expenditures, preventing wealthy candidates and their friends from buying elections.

38. He leaves at the top of his game, writing meaningful legislation for America and working for his constituents until his last day in office.

It is amazing to see how many things FRITZ HOLLINGS has touched in his life. Once again, he will be sorely missed. * * *

I close my remarks by noting that these men have made remarkable contributions to our society, and all Americans should be grateful. I would tell those who are retiring, I retired 4 years ago, and I did not like it. So here I am. Perhaps there is hope for any of them who want to rejoin. If you want to come back, I am here to tell you it can be done. Just make sure that you get to keep your seniority.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and thank my colleagues for their indulgence while I made my remarks.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, let me say—this is probably the first and only time I have ever said this—I have been listening carefully to my friend from New Jersey, and I agree with everything he said.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I know the hour is getting late and others want to be heard, but I briefly want to express

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some thoughts about our colleagues who are leaving this wonderful body. Today we have heard some very compelling speeches, particularly the one given by my good friend, Tom Daschle of South Dakota, our Democratic leader.

I was pleased to see so many of our colleagues remain on the floor to listen to the departing Democratic leader. The words he expressed about his State, his staff, his colleagues, his feelings about the country, and the future, are instructive. I know it can sound repetitive when people hear us talk about our colleagues this way, but I think it is important for the public to note that while they might hear only about the bickering, the part that you do not often see is the deep respect, affection, and caring that goes on among the Members of this body. This affection comes despite the differences that exist in red States and blue States, or being strongly conservative or strongly liberal.

There is this weaving of a common denominator through each and every one of us, particularly after years of common service in this remarkable institution we call the Senate. There is a deep and abiding respect for those who have come here, those who have served here, those who have tried to make a difference for our country.

It may seem like it is inside discussion, but I hope the public understands how deeply felt these comments are about colleagues who will no longer have the pleasure of spending each and every day in this Chamber, but whose friendship and collegiality will continue in the years ahead as we encounter each other in different walks of life.

FRITZ HOLLINGS has now served with two generations of my family. He served with my father briefly, and over the last 24 years we have served together in this Chamber. I have not had the pleasure of serving with FRITZ HOLLINGS, except once on the Budget Committee for a few years.

We have become very good friends though. We have traveled together. We have spent a lot of time together. I have been to his State. I have gone to South Carolina at his invitation to speak to South Carolinians. Inviting this swamp Yankee from Connecticut to come south of the Mason-Dixon line was a source of tremendous joy and pleasure, especially to be with FRITZ HOLLINGS, his lovely wife Peatsy, and their constituents not too many months ago, on a St. Patrick's Day event in Charleston, SC.

FRITZ HOLLINGS has done a remarkable job for his State of South Carolina, as well as for his Nation, beginning with his career in the military, serving in North Africa and in Eu-

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rope during World War II. He was awarded the Bronze Star and seven campaign ribbons; elected to South Carolina's House of Representatives at the age of 26, the youngest Governor in that State in the 20th century; and during his 4 years as Governor, balanced the State budget, dramatically improving South Carolina's economy.

He was elected to the Senate in 1964. His resume included an incredible list of legislative accomplishments. Anyone who would have accomplished any one of these things could have considered their career a successful one. He was the author of the Women, Infants and Children Program, the WIC Program. During my early years in the Senate, I had the pleasure of working with him on the famous Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act in 1985, which was called by the Brookings Institution one of the most significant pieces of legislation in the 20th century.

He wrote the first law designed to protect our coastal wetlands, and initiated a nationwide effort to encourage women to screen themselves for breast and cervical cancer.

Over the past few years he spoke forcefully about the dangers facing this country due to the outsourcing of jobs.

Senator HOLLINGS has always been a strong and loud voice against fiscal irresponsibility in our government and in favor of creating American jobs.

FRITZ is an American original. The Senate is not likely to see his like here again. Whatever else you may have thought, he was direct and forceful, and spoke with great passion about the things he believed in. It is the kind of public service and the kind of stewardship in this body that others could duplicate in years to come. They would do well to follow the example of FRITZ HOLLINGS, a wonderful Senator, a delightful friend. I shall miss his service here, but I am very confident I will see him over and over again in years to come. And I wish, as my colleagues have, that he, Peatsy, and his family have many years of joyful retirement. * * *

I apologize for taking this extra time. It is important that the public hear Members talk about each other, even those who disagreed on matters, that they understand why this institution works more than 230 years after the Founders created it.

I, as a Senator from Connecticut, take unique pride in the Senate because it was Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth, both of Connecticut, who offered at the Constitutional Convention the idea of the Senate representing small and large States. Arguing over a unicameral system, Sherman and

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Ellsworth said, how about having a second body with equal representation, regardless of the size or the population of the State. As a result, this institution was created. It has been a great place that has served our Nation for so long and I am confident it will in the future.

We have been blessed by the participation of those who are leaving. All of us wish each and every one of them the very best in the years to come.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, for the past 38 years, Senator HOLLINGS has served the State of South Carolina in the U.S. Senate with honor, grace, and, most famously, a fiery wit. It is an understatement to say that the Senate will not be the same without him. During his 38-year career, he has been an outspoken champion of fiscal discipline, an early proponent of maintaining Social Security solvency, and a fighter against trade agreements that put the domestic textile industry at an unfair disadvantage.

I will particularly miss Senator HOLLINGS whenever I attend meetings of the Budget Committee. Senator HOLLINGS is the only Senator who has served on the Senate Budget Committee since it was created in 1974. As the last of the original members of the committee, his institutional knowledge and passion for fiscal discipline will be missed.

Budget issues have always been a passion of Senator HOLLINGS, and he shares my penchant for using charts to prove a point. Senator HOLLINGS's favorite chart shows gross debt, and I am sure he will be taking it with him when he leaves. Senator HOLLINGS was tireless in his efforts to educate his Senate colleagues and the public on the dangers of gross Federal debt and the need to use honest numbers in describing our budget outlook. His dedication to bringing truth to budgeting was unsurpassed.

Senator HOLLINGS also relentlessly defended Section 13301 of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990—requiring official budget numbers to exclude Social Security. As a number of OMB and CBO Directors came to discover, Senator HOLLINGS was not one to sit quietly through a Budget Committee hearing while they attempted to obscure deficit figures by including Social Security revenues in their budget calculations.

Perhaps most of all, Senator HOLLINGS will be remembered for his efforts to protect Social Security, long before protection of this entitlement became fashionable. As we move into a new debate over the future of this vital program, the Nation will surely regret that we did not earlier pay

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heed to his warnings to prepare for the baby boom retirement by paying down Federal debt. Senator HOLLINGS will be missed in the coming discussion over Social Security, but I am sure he'll make his views well known with his uncanny ability to describe complex issues in simple and straightforward terms.

Finally, I will remember Senator HOLLINGS for his fierce criticism of trade agreements that threatened the textile and agricultural sectors of South Carolina. He spoke out against GATT and NAFTA, and continued to fight for fair trade throughout his service. His strong opposition to unfair trade agreements will be sorely missed by the workers and farmers for whom he fought.

Given his long history in the Senate, and his penchant for speaking out with a cutting wit on important issues, I know that Senator HOLLINGS will continue to fight for the causes in which he believes. However, his individuality, his respect for learning the complexities of issues, and his dedication to South Carolina and the United States will be missed in the Senate. I wish him well as he heads home to Charleston, and thank him for his many years of hard work.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, the retirement of our colleague from South Carolina, Mr. HOLLINGS, signals the end of an era in southern politics. He succeeded as few in our section of the country did in leading us through a troubled time of transition. From segregation to integration in our public schools, and from an agrarian economy to a more modern and diversified industrial economy, he led with political courage and keen insight about what was right and what was wrong, and what was hopeless and what was possible.

I have always admired FRITZ HOLLINGS because he acted on his convictions. But, he was not a gadfly. His efforts to enact new budget rules under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill were an example of his effective leadership to impose restraints on Federal spending.

He was an effective leader on the Budget Committee, the Appropriations Committee, and the Commerce Committee in a wide range of issues including national defense, trade, communications, ocean policy, budget policy, education, and foreign relations.

I always enjoyed hearing FRITZ tell stories about his fellow southern Governors. He will be missed for many reasons, but especially for always being himself, without pretense or apology.

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Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to some of my colleagues who will be leaving the Senate at the end of this session. * * *

The Senate is also losing a legend with the retirement of Senator FRITZ HOLLINGS. For 38 years, he has fought for South Carolina, bringing home jobs and economic development, and he has made a lasting impression on the lives of Americans across this country.

Senator HOLLINGS helped start the Women, Infants and Children—WIC Program, one of the most successful government health care measures ever undertaken, helping reduce infant mortality, low birth weights, and premature births nationwide.

He is the father of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration—NOAA. Senator HOLLINGS pushed through the legislation that created NOAA during his very first term as a Senator.

And he co-authored Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, the landmark legislation that broke budget gridlock in the mid-eighties. By making automatic spending cuts, it reversed 20 years of increased Federal spending and cut tens of billions from the budget deficit.

Senator HOLLINGS's strong leadership and sense of humor will be deeply missed in this Chamber.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I rise today to take this opportunity to honor our departing colleagues who are leaving the Senate. In almost each new Congress a different group of 100 men and women comes together from different backgrounds and political philosophies, representing different interests and constituencies, but through all our differences, we develop respect and admiration for each other. Many times we step across the aisle and work together on legislation and oftentimes genuine friendships are created. As I pay tribute to these departing Senators, whether they have been here one term or seven, they are a remarkable group and we thank them for their honorable service.

ERNEST "FRITZ" HOLLINGS devoted his entire adult life to public service. He admirably served 7 terms as a U.S. Senator and today he is the fourth most senior Member of the Senate, and he also holds the distinction of being the longest serving junior Senator in history.

His service to our country began immediately after he graduated from the Citadel in 1942 when he received a commission from the U.S. Army. Throughout his honorable military service Senator HOLLINGS received the Bronze Star and

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seven campaign ribbons. He served as an officer in the North African and European campaigns during World War II.

After returning from the war, FRITZ attended the University of South Carolina School of Law where he completed his Juris Doctorate in less than 3 years. At the age of 26, FRITZ HOLLINGS launched his public service career when he was elected to the South Carolina House of Representatives. He went on to become speaker pro tempore, Lieutenant Governor, and at the age of 36, Governor of South Carolina becoming the youngest man in the 20th century to be elected Governor of South Carolina.

It has been a great honor to work with FRITZ HOLLINGS over these many years. We were able to work together while serving on the Senate Budget Committee and the Senate Appropriations Committee together. He consistently fought for fiscal responsibility and a reliable government for the people.

As a principal author of the 1996 Telecommunications Act, Senator HOLLINGS was a perfect candidate to serve as the ranking member on the Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee during the 108th Congress. Through this position, Senator HOLLINGS developed legislation to strengthen national security for our Nation's port, railroad, and aviation systems.

Senator HOLLINGS has served the Senate in so many ways over the past 42 years it is impossible to know where to begin showcasing his contributions. Therefore, I would just like to say that he has continued over the years to work to better not only the lives of South Carolinians, but all the people of our Nation.

Senator HOLLINGS will certainly be missed around here. I bid him farewell and extend my best wishes to him and his family.

SATURDAY, *November 20, 2004*

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Madam President, I rise to say goodbye to several of my colleagues, dear friends and colleagues with whom I have had the pleasure to work in the Senate.

From the day I first arrived in the Senate, until today, Senator HOLLINGS has been a force in the Senate. His institutional memory, his command of the issues, and his speaking style are recognized from both sides of the aisle.

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He has been a tireless advocate of his State and his political beliefs, earning him a role as one of the Senate's elder statesmen.

Senator HOLLINGS fought in World War II, won his first election at age 26, served as the youngest Governor of his State, and was elected to seven terms in the Senate. Incredibly, FRITZ HOLLINGS was in public service since 1948 and somehow managed to be his State's junior Senator until 2 years ago. It must be something in the water in South Carolina.

During his career, Senator HOLLINGS has had an impact on a wide range of legislation, including measures to protect the environment, balance the budget, and update telecommunications law.

I am very appreciative of his initiation of a nationwide effort to combat breast and cervical cancer by utilizing his seat on the Appropriations Committee to secure funding for a pilot screening program. This will be one of the many lasting legacies of FRITZ HOLLINGS. * * *

Madam President, I will miss all of my colleagues. As we take the opportunity to go forward in a new Congress, we will make new friends, but we will never forget the old ones.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I want to share my views, as did Senator Hutchison and others, about our colleagues who are leaving for new adventures in life.

I wish all the best to Senator HOLLINGS. We will miss his booming voice. We will miss Senator Edwards, Senator Graham of Florida, and Senator Daschle. We will also miss John Breaux, a man we know will enjoy life with his good common sense and sense of humor. He is a good friend.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I want to spend a few minutes talking about the Senators who will not be here when the Senate starts over again this January. The first I ever heard about Senator FRITZ HOLLINGS was while watching a television program where Senator HOLLINGS was running for President, and he said, during a Presidential debate, when the issue of the day was whether there should be a nuclear freeze, which had been propounded by Alan Cranston, another candidate, when asked about the nuclear freeze, Senator HOLLINGS said, "Until a few days ago, I thought this was a new kind of dessert." That wit is typical of FRITZ HOLLINGS.

Mr. President, FRITZ HOLLINGS is a man who is, as far as I am concerned, the epitome of what it means to be a Sen-

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ator. He is a person who looks the role and is everything that I am not—tall, handsome, with flowing white hair, and very articulate. This is a man who was one of the original southern politicians who thought it was appropriate to start talking about the evils of segregation. FRITZ HOLLINGS is a man with a great voice, a great sense of humor; and he is somebody for whom I have the greatest respect. I will miss him so much.

He, Peatsy, and I have traveled. He is someone who has been so good to the State of South Carolina. I have been to his home. He has given me a tour of Columbia, SC, where he is a legend in his own time. He showed me the place where he was born.

I want to extend through the magic of television to everyone within the sound of my voice the fact that FRITZ HOLLINGS is a great Senator and will go down in the history of the Senate as one of the great Senators.

I also want FRITZ and Peatsy to know how much I care for them, and I appreciate very much their generosity and friendship to Landra and me over these many years.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleagues in tribute to Senator ERNEST “FRITZ” HOLLINGS. I will miss my good friend from South Carolina, who in 2003, at the age of 81, finally became his State’s senior Senator—after 36 years as a junior Senator.

In addition to being remembered as a co-author of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings legislation that cut tens of billions of dollars from the Federal budget deficit, FRITZ HOLLINGS has left an indelible mark on our Nation in the areas of health care, environmental protection, resource conservation, technology development, job creation, transportation security, and law enforcement, to name a few.

Immediately after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on America, Senator HOLLINGS worked to protect the safety of our traveling public by authoring the Aviation Security Act which created the Transportation Security Administration. Similarly, recognizing that America’s ports and borders were our Nation’s weak security links, Senator HOLLINGS championed legislation to increase security at America’s ports.

As the father of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Senator HOLLINGS recognized the extent to which the ocean environment sustains us—from human uses in commerce and recreation to being the original cradle of life on our planet. He knew the importance of taking appro-

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priate steps to be responsible stewards of this rich, yet fragile resource.

His oceans legacy includes authorship of the National Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972, which established Federal policy for protecting coastal areas, and the Marine Mammal Protection Act, which also became the model for other countries, for the protection of dolphins, sea otters and other mammals. In a continuing effort to do what is best for our ocean environment, Senator HOLLINGS created the U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy in 2000, to review the accomplishments of the last 30 years, and recommend actions for the future. Upon the issuance of the report, Senator HOLLINGS laid the groundwork for legislation to adopt the recommendations of the Ocean Commission. I am the proud cosponsor of two of those measures, S. 2647, the FRITZ HOLLINGS National Ocean Policy and Leadership Act, and S. 2648, the Ocean Research Coordination and Advancement Act.

Beyond the oceans, Senator HOLLINGS worked to make our communities and schools safer, through programs such as Community Oriented Policing Services—COPS—that put more than 100,000 police officers on the streets in 13,000 communities across the country. The COPS Program is also the largest source of dedicated funding for interoperable communications for public safety officers.

Senator HOLLINGS brought competition to the telecommunications arena which resulted in new services to consumers at affordable rates.

I will miss Senator HOLLINGS's wisdom, vision, and wit, but, most of all, his friendship.

I wish FRITZ and his wife Peatsy a fond aloha.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a legend of a man who has spent his career dedicated to working for the great people of South Carolina. There is nothing small about Senator HOLLINGS. From his height, to his storied career, to his large booming voice and southern drawl you can always hear calling “yea” or “nay” during roll-call votes, Senator HOLLINGS is a giant. A reporter once said that if you sent to central casting for a Senator, you got FRITZ HOLLINGS. I have had the pleasure of serving with Senator HOLLINGS for all 30 of my years in the Senate and during that time he, and his wife Peatsy, have been dear friends.

Before setting foot in this Chamber, Senator HOLLINGS had amassed a career that any man would be proud of. He

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attended the Citadel, the military college of South Carolina, and upon his graduation in 1942 accepted a commission in the U.S. Army. He served our country honorably in the campaigns in North Africa and Europe during World War II, and received a Bronze Star for his valor. Senator HOLLINGS began his political career when he was 26 as he was elected to the South Carolina House of Representatives. During his second term he was voted speaker pro tempore and a short 4 years later he was elected Lieutenant Governor. In 1958 at age 36 he was elected as Governor, the youngest Governor of South Carolina in the 20th century.

Senator HOLLINGS was first elected to the Senate in 1966 and has subsequently been reelected to six additional terms, making him the ninth longest serving Member of this body. Throughout his entire career the Senator has been a leader, fighting to protect our ports, our neighborhoods and American manufacturing jobs. He has been an outspoken advocate for fiscal responsibility, for civil rights and against hunger.

In 1974, he led the creation of the Women, Infants and Children—WIC—Nutritional Assistance Program. In 1978, he sponsored legislation and helped secure funding for South Carolina’s first National Park, Congaree Swamp. He has stood tall in protecting our oceans and coasts. He authored the Marine Mammal Protection Act and the Oceans Act of 2000, which created the U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy.

Since 1967 Senator HOLLINGS has been a member of the Commerce Committee and from his co-authorship of the 1996 Telecommunications Act that deregulated the telecom industry to his work on the FTC “Do Not Call List,” he has consistently looked out for the best interests of consumers. In 2000, Senator HOLLINGS and I, along with Senators Sarbanes and Wyden, were successful in beating back the wholesale Federal preemptions of State consumer protection laws during negotiations of the e-commerce bill which I sponsored.

Senator HOLLINGS is the longest serving Democrat on the Budget Committee, and is the only Democrat to have served on the committee every year since its creation. In 1984 Senator HOLLINGS collaborated with Senators Phil Gramm and Warren Rudman to establish the Gramm-Hollings-Rudman deficit reduction legislation that helped reduce the deficit by \$70 billion in its first year of enactment.

I have had the pleasure to serve with Senator HOLLINGS on the Appropriations Committee, where he has served since 1971, and is currently the third highest ranking member.

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From this position he has helped important initiatives both in South Carolina and nationally, such as a cause I have always strongly supported, the battle against cancer. Senator HOLLINGS helped create a nationwide program to screen women for breast and cervical cancer and worked to establish a cancer center at the Medical University of South Carolina that bears his name.

Earlier this fall more than 600 friends came together to celebrate Senator HOLLINGS's career in the Senate, an event that raised \$2 million for the Hollings Cancer Center. We toasted his accomplishments and his incredible career of public service that has spanned more than five decades in State and national politics. I joined this body in 1974 and I immediately learned that Senator HOLLINGS is a man who always speaks his mind. His straightforward manner, dynamic personality and unwavering integrity are qualities that make me proud to call him my friend. I have valued his friendship and his camaraderie over these past 30 years, and I wish FRITZ and his wife Peatsy the best of lives in their beloved South Carolina.

Mr. DASCHLE. Today, I would like to say a few words about eight Senators with whom I have served these last historic 6 years, all of whom will be leaving when this Congress ends.

Senator Nickles, Senator Campbell, Senator Fitzgerald, and Senator Miller, it has been a privilege to work with each of you. You have each sacrificed much to serve our Nation and I am sure you will continue to serve America well in the years to come.

Six Democratic Senators are leaving at the end of this Congress. * * *

Another remarkable Senator who is retiring this year is FRITZ HOLLINGS.

I used to joke with FRITZ HOLLINGS that he is the real reason C-SPAN first started its closed-caption broadcasts. FRITZ's deep Charleston accent, like the man himself, is an American classic.

When you look inside FRITZ HOLLINGS's desk on the Senate floor, you see the names of giants: John Calhoun, Huey Long, Russell Long, Wayne Morse—courageous men who never hesitated to speak their minds. FRITZ has earned the right to stand with those legends.

He was 36 years old when he was elected Governor of South Carolina. As Governor, he wrote the book on governing in the New South. He raised teacher salaries, in-

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vested in education and training, and laid the foundation for South Carolina's economic transformation from an agrarian State to a high-tech, high-wage State.

One of the amazing things about FRITZ HOLLINGS is how often he has been able to see the future before others—not just on matters of race, but on issue after issue.

He was the first Deep South Governor to acknowledge the existence of widespread hunger in his State. He was also the first southern Governor to understand that you can't create a modern economy simply by cutting taxes, you have to invest in education and training.

He has been a relentless advocate of balanced budgets and fiscal discipline since long before they became political buzzwords. In 1984—years before Ross Perot uttered the words, FRITZ HOLLINGS made deficit reduction a central plank in his Presidential bid.

He has been fighting for fair trade, and against the export of American jobs, his entire career. He has been calling for a long-term, comprehensive energy plan since before the first OPEC oil crisis in 1973. He wrote America's first fuel-efficiency standards—in 1975.

He was in the forefront of the movement to protect America's oceans in the early seventies. He saw the future of telecommunications before a lot of Americans knew what "surfing the Internet" meant. He was pushing for increased port and air security before September 11.

If some people have occasionally found FRITZ a little difficult to understand, I suspect it was not so much because of his wonderful Charleston accent but because he was so often ahead of his time.

Now FRITZ and Peatsy are moving home to live full time in their beloved South Carolina, but they will always have a special place in the Senate family. We wish them the very best.

I have to be honest, Mr. President, it was not my wish to depart with these fine Senators. But it has been my honor and a joy to serve with them, and one that I will remember all the days of my life.

Mr. McCONNELL. We cannot conclude the 108th Congress without a sense of sadness. There are many—in fact there are too many—great Senators who are leaving this institution. I have already had an opportunity to express my goodbyes to Senator Nickles, Senator Campbell, and Senator Fitzgerald.

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I also wish a happy and healthy future to our colleagues across the aisle, Senator Daschle, Senator Breaux, Senator HOLLINGS, Senator Bob Graham, Senator John Edwards, and Senator Zell Miller. Each of these men has made a lasting contribution to this marvelous institution.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I have served here long enough now that I have witnessed a lot of the comings and goings of many fine public servants whom I have known on the floor of the Senate.

Today, I would like to comment about those who are leaving us, and I want to start, first, with my good friend from South Carolina. FRITZ HOLLINGS and his wife Peatsy are very close friends of ours. They have been friends since we first came to the Senate. FRITZ and I served in World War II. We have traveled to places where he served and I served in World War II, and we are comrades in the deepest sense of that word.

He is a very interesting man. I remember earlier this year, when I was asked to cut a tape to be used at a retirement dinner for Senator HOLLINGS, I told my press secretary I did not think I could do it. As a matter of fact, I ended up appearing in person. As I told my staff, I really cannot conceive of the Senate without FRITZ HOLLINGS. It will be a different Senate. We have not always agreed, but we have always been friends.

There have been good times together. I can remember some of the fish that FRITZ and Peatsy caught in Alaska, and I can remember tales about some that they did not catch, the big ones that got away.

But I do know that having visited with them in their home in South Carolina, and visiting with their friends in Charleston, they have a really great life to go home to. They are wonderful people, and we are going to miss them a great deal.

I will say this, that when I first heard of Senator HOLLINGS, it was in a story about his role as Governor of South Carolina. He had become Governor, and as he entered the grounds of the Governor's House, he found there were places inside the grounds where prisoners were kept. There were literally, at that time, I think, cells that were partially underground. FRITZ did not like that any more than I would have, and he found ways to free those people and to give them another life. As a matter of fact, I remember meeting one of them who was very devoted to Senator HOLLINGS.

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Senator HOLLINGS is a man with a great heart and a great mind and a great spirit and a temper almost as bad as mine. We are going to miss him, miss him terribly.

I hope he will come back often and visit us. I think he has the longest career of all of those who are retiring, obviously, because he is the oldest. But he was one of the Ten Outstanding Men of the Year in the United States when he was young. I don't like to tell stories about him, but I think he actually attended a Republican Convention at one time.

As a member of the statehouse, as Governor, and as a member of the Hoover Commission, he distinguished himself in many ways, in commissions where he was appointed by both President Eisenhower and President Kennedy.

We are losing a man who has had a great role in public service. I hope we will all wish him well as he departs the Senate.

Mr. HARKIN. Madam President, when the man who sits right next to me across this aisle over here, the senior Senator from South Carolina, FRITZ HOLLINGS, retires at the end of this Congress, this body will lose one of its most distinctive and eloquent voices. We will lose a master legislator, a person who will go down in history as one of the truly consequential Senators of the second half of the 20th century. Of course, we will lose the presence of a great friend, a colleague whose passion and wit burn just as intensely today as when he first entered this Chamber nearly four decades ago.

As I said, Senator HOLLINGS sits directly across the aisle to my left, at the desk that was once occupied by another extraordinary individual from South Carolina, Senator John C. Calhoun. But Calhoun was a voice of the Old South, a defender of slavery in the great debates prior to the Civil War. FRITZ HOLLINGS, first as Governor, and for the last 38 years as a Senator, has epitomized the New South.

FRITZ HOLLINGS became Governor in 1958, at the tender age of 36. He immediately set about diversifying South Carolina's textile and farming economy. He planted the State thick with technical colleges. He aggressively recruited new industries to the State. But, most important, he set in motion the peaceful transformation of racial relations in South Carolina.

Now, remember—I remember it well; I was a senior in high school just going into college at that time—this was a time when other southern Governors were pledging massive resistance to integration. They literally stood in the school-

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house door. They incited people to keep African Americans from going into school or sitting at lunch counters or riding on buses.

But FRITZ HOLLINGS charted a different course as Governor. He showed tremendous leadership, real political courage, as he orchestrated the peaceful integration of Clemson University. So FRITZ HOLLINGS epitomizes the New South.

He also epitomizes the Greatest Generation. In World War II, right out of the Citadel, he served as an Army officer in North Africa and later in Italy earning seven campaign ribbons and the Bronze Star.

But I have always believed that what made the Greatest Generation truly great was not just what they did during the war but what they did after the war. As I said, FRITZ HOLLINGS played a transformational role in South Carolina. Then he came to the Senate, and he played an equally dramatic role on the national stage.

In 1968, he conducted a series of “hunger tours” across South Carolina, exposing poverty and Third World living conditions. He went on to co-author national legislation that created the Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children, which we now know today as the WIC Program. He championed the Community Health Center Program, bringing medical care to the poor and underprivileged. And now thousands of community health centers dot the landscape in every State of our Union.

FRITZ became a passionate advocate for medical research and the National Institutes of Health, especially cancer research. I know how proud FRITZ is of the nationally respected cancer research and treatment center at the Medical University of South Carolina, now known appropriately as the Hollings Cancer Center. In fact, at his farewell gala a couple months ago that I went to downtown, FRITZ HOLLINGS raised more than \$2 million for the center’s programs.

Well, it would take a long time to stand here and do justice to Senator HOLLINGS’s legacy of legislative accomplishments. I will not do so. I am tempted to do so because there is so much there. But those of us who have served with him over the decades know there is no more dedicated fighter for fiscal conservatism in this body or anywhere in this Congress. There is no one who has fought harder for what I call fiscal rationality in our spending and taxing programs than FRITZ HOLLINGS.

There is no one who has done more when it comes to protecting our oceans and coasts. It was Senator HOLLINGS who

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passed the Coastal Zone Management Act in 1972, the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972, the Oceans Dumping Act of 1976, and the Sustainable Fisheries Act of 1996. So the next time you go out to look at whales or you see the dolphins swimming, the next time you walk along a beach and you don't see all that junk washing up on the shoreline, thank FRITZ HOLLINGS. He led the charge on it.

And long before it became fashionable, FRITZ HOLLINGS was speaking out against the indiscriminate outsourcing of American jobs, first in the textile industry, then jobs in the steel industry and manufacturing. In literally scores of speeches on this floor, he has educated Members of this body about the fallacies and human costs of so-called free trade. That is not fair trade. He has spoken out with passion and persistence for fair trade and a fair shake for American workers.

FRITZ HOLLINGS leaves a personal legacy in this Senate. We will always remember his sharp mind in debate, his wit, and a very sharp tongue that could cut to the quick and get at the essence of what the debate was all about. And there is no one who had a greater sense of humor or was more generous and more kind than FRITZ HOLLINGS. He could craft humor about others, and he could craft humor about himself—a great individual, FRITZ HOLLINGS.

I would be remiss if I did not also publicly pay a big thank you to FRITZ HOLLINGS for the opportunity he gave me 16 years ago. I had just been elected to the Senate. I was in my first term. It was 1988. Lawton Chiles, who was then a Senator from Florida, was retiring as chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education.

I was a freshman Senator. I was at the bottom of the ladder. So Lawton left that position and went back to Florida. Most of the Democrats ahead of me—the Democrats were in charge at that time—had other subcommittee chairmanships they didn't want to give up. So it came down to FRITZ HOLLINGS and me. I knew of the passion that FRITZ had for health and education issues. So I assumed he was going to take chairmanship of that subcommittee. But I called up FRITZ. I let him know that if he didn't take it, I was next in line, that I always had a great interest in this area. Well, he said he would take that into consideration. I will never forget it. I was at home on a Sunday night. He called me up and said: Well, Tom, I have been thinking about this. He said I would really like to have the Labor, HHS, Education;

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this is in my interest. I have spent so much time on health issues.

Well, I thought this was his nice way of telling me, I am sorry, Tom, I am going to take the chairmanship, tough luck. But at the end, he said: Well, I want you to know I am going to stay with the Commerce-State-Justice Subcommittee.

I could hear him laughing. He had kind of strung me out during this whole phone call, leading me to the point where he was going to say, I am really sorry, Tom, but I am going to take it. Then he turned 180 degrees and said: I am going to stay with Commerce-State-Justice. I could hear him chuckling in the background, knowing that he had given me a great gift.

It was a huge opening for me as a freshman Senator to chair the second largest Appropriations subcommittee. I will always be grateful for the confidence and the trust that he had in me at that time. I hope I have not disappointed him.

FRITZ HOLLINGS has cast more than 15,000 votes here. He has passed major bill after major bill. He has spoken out courageously on issues of war and peace, trade and budget, civil rights and human rights. He has been a voice for the poor and for the sick and for those who have no voice in the political arena. I know FRITZ is very fond of a particular quote from Elihu Root, Teddy Roosevelt's Secretary of State. Those of us who were at the farewell banquet for FRITZ in September heard him repeat it on that occasion. He said:

Politics is the practical art of self government, and someone must attend to it if we are going to have self government. The principal ground of reproach against any American citizen should be that he is not a politician.

For more than five decades, FRITZ HOLLINGS has been a proud politician, an extraordinary public servant, one of the truly magnificent Senators in the history of this body. We will remember his legacy. I am going to miss him as a friend and as someone I could converse with, gain insight from, and share a laugh with, listening to FRITZ go on about fiscal responsibility.

Peatsy and FRITZ have been a team. I was fortunate to have taken a congressional delegation trip with FRITZ and Peatsy last December. We went down to Brazil, looking at all the different things in Brazil—everything from rain forests to agriculture to labor conditions. It was truly a magnificent week to spend with FRITZ and Peatsy. I will never forget it. I will never forget both of them. So I wish both FRITZ and

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Peatsy a long and wonderful retirement in their beloved Charleston, SC.

MONDAY, *December 20, 2004*

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, with the retirement of Senator FRITZ HOLLINGS, the Senate is losing its fourth most senior member, an extraordinary and important repository of institutional history. The people of South Carolina are losing an outspoken and respected spokesperson for their needs and concerns. All of us who have served with him are losing an effective colleague, a wise counselor, and a good friend.

FRITZ HOLLINGS has spent well over half a century in public service, beginning with nearly 3 years of military service during World War II in the North African and European theaters. He returned to civilian life, received his law degree at the University of South Carolina, and in 1948 was elected to the South Carolina House of Representatives, where he served three terms, two of them as the House speaker pro tempore. In 1954 he was elected Lieutenant Governor, and 4 years later he was elected Governor. He was then 36 years old—the youngest Governor of South Carolina in the 20th century.

Over many years and on many issues, FRITZ HOLLINGS has shown himself to be a public servant with solid common sense. He is also a visionary. Very early he foresaw the need for technical education, and as Governor nearly 50 years ago, he established South Carolina's system of technical colleges. In the late fifties, when other Governors in the South were setting out plans to preserve legal segregation notwithstanding the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the young Governor of South Carolina rallied the people of his State to comply with the law. "He managed the peaceful integration of Clemson University back when other Southern Governors were fighting to keep their universities all-white," Mike Wallace has observed.

The people of South Carolina, the Members of this body, and people in every corner and region of the United States have seen FRITZ HOLLINGS's forceful combination of common sense and vision at work on issues like hunger, the environment, jobs, and fiscal policy. Soon after coming to the Senate, he helped focus the Nation's attention on hunger; WIC, the Women, Infants and Children's Special Supplemental Food Program, was modeled on a pilot program in South Carolina.

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For more than three decades he has played a major part in the vital movement first to establish, then to maintain and strengthen the legislative framework for protection of the natural environment. It was FRITZ HOLLINGS who wrote this Nation's first land-use law to protect coastal wetlands. Admiral James Watkins, USN (Ret.), who chairs the U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy, recently recognized his efforts saying: "Senator Hollings' tireless work on behalf of this Nation's oceans and coasts will help preserve and protect our precious marine and coastal resources for generations to come . . . (including) his work to establish the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) over 30 years ago"

It was his concern for jobs in South Carolina that led him to establish the State's technical colleges while Governor, and in recent years has made him a forceful critic of policies that facilitate outsourcing. "In South Carolina," according to the Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, Jean Toal, "we have heard him talk about the debt and outsourcing jobs for 30 years, and all of that is now what the American public is so focused on. He was always ahead of his time."

FRITZ HOLLINGS believes in the good that government can accomplish. In a recent interview on "Sixty Minutes," he said: "We believe in feeding the hungry, and housing the homeless, and educating the uninformed and everything else like that . . . in 'We the people in order to form a more perfect Union.'" In his many years of service to the people of South Carolina and of this Nation, FRITZ HOLLINGS has faithfully honored that principle. His common sense, his vision, and his great humor will be missed, but surely not forgotten.

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