

On January 24, 1956, *Look* magazine published an article in which both Bryant and Milam described the murder in detail. They received \$4000 to tell their story. *Look* published a subsequent article, where Milam stated that he did not regret the killing.

Both Roy Bryant and J.W. Milam lived the rest of their lives as free men and died of natural causes; Milam died in 1980 and Bryant in 1990. Mamie Till died in January 2003. Keith A. Beachamp—a documentary film maker from Fort. Greene, Brooklyn—found new evidence about the case, including never-before-heard eyewitness accounts, while making his documentary which will air soon, “The Untold Story of Emmett Louis Till.” The witnesses claim that there were several other people involved in the murder plot and that some of these individuals are still alive.

Mamie Till lived in Chicago until she died in January of 2003. She was rather close to Congressman BOBBY RUSH who was a colleague of mine when I served in the House. When Congressman RUSH found out about this documentary, he introduced a resolution calling for the Justice Department to reopen this case and determine whether it was still possible to prosecute some of these other individuals who, according to Mr. Beachamp, were indeed involved in this crime. Since these other individuals were never tried, much less acquitted, it would still be constitutionally possible to prosecute them, especially in the Federal court, because there had never, unfortunately, been Federal actions or Federal indictments brought against any of these individuals who were involved.

Senator SCHUMER was considering filing a companion resolution in the Senate earlier this year. He approached me to see if I wanted to cosponsor it with him. I was very interested in doing that. We both had contacted the Justice Department before we were able to sponsor that resolution. I am pleased to say the Justice Department did reopen the case, that was in May, and the Justice Department has been investigating ever since.

This week Congressman RUSH, Congressman CHARLIE RANGEL, Senator SCHUMER, and I have sponsored in the House and in the Senate a new resolution calling on the Justice Department to devote whatever resources are necessary to investigate this matter expeditiously and report back to the Congress and to do justice after 50 years.

I am sorry to say—I am ashamed to say—that Mamie Till tried over and over again for almost 50 years to get the Federal Government to do something, which she was unable to do so, particularly in the 1950s when this evidence was fresh, when a Federal charge could have been brought without violating the constitutional rule against double jeopardy, but it was not brought. For that, the Federal Government has to accept responsibility.

We do not know what an expeditious and complete investigation will reveal.

I suppose it is possible either other people were not involved in this or that a case cannot be made against them at this late date. What we do know is that any remaining witnesses, people who might have been coconspirators in this terrible tragic crime, are getting older. If a case is to be made, it must be made soon because witnesses may die, evidence may become even more stale and unusable.

Justice needs to be done for a lot of reasons, in part because, as Congressman RANGEL says, you have to confront these kinds of crimes, these kinds of tragedies, these wrongs if you are ever to get past them, in part because there may be murderers at large who need to be brought to justice, in part because it is only through the courage of Mamie Till and the courage of Moses Wright who, in 1955, followed their convictions and protested publicly about this. It took enormous courage for that mother to keep that casket open so the world could see what happened. It took enormous courage for Moses Wright to walk into that courtroom and testify against these white men, but he did it.

As a result, this whole incident was one of the seminal events that led to the civil rights movement in the 1950s and the 1960s with all the progress we have achieved as a result of that.

It is owing to these individuals and to their courage that we do the right thing after all this time. I certainly intend to continue doing whatever I can to make certain the Justice Department is held accountable for taking action. I know Senator SCHUMER feels strongly the same way. This is a subject I intend to bring up with Mr. Gonzales as his confirmation process moves through the Senate. I certainly hope he is confirmed and I do intend to support that. I think he will make a great Attorney General. But I want to make certain that he is personally aware of this and personally committed to devoting such resources as are necessary, as expeditiously as possible, to see that justice so long delayed is now done in this case.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

TRIBUTES TO RETIRING SENATORS

FRITZ HOLLINGS

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 per-

son 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 importantly, 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 schoolhouse 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 coauthor 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' 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 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; 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 dif-

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized.

A DEEPLY FLAWED PROCESS

Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, we are here late on a Saturday afternoon as part of what has become truly a deeply flawed process.

We have been presented with this huge stack of paper. I think this is well over 3,000 pages. We got it in the middle of the night. We didn't have a hard copy until somewhere after noon today. We are being told that we will vote on it shortly. It reminded me very much of attending one of the State of the Union Addresses in my first years in the Senate. It was in 1988. President Reagan was talking to the Nation, and he held up what was then a conference report that he reported was over a thousand pages long, weighing 14 pounds. Then he held up a reconciliation bill that was 6 months late and was 1,200 pages long, weighing 15 pounds, and a long-term continuing resolution of over 1,000 pages, weighing 14 pounds. He reminded us that was 43 pounds of paper and ink, and you had 3 hours—yes, 3 hours—to consider each. He said it took 300 people at his Office of Management and Budget just to read the bill so the Government would not shut down. He concluded that Congress should not send him another one of these. He said: If you do, I will not sign it.

President Reagan was right. This is not the way we should do the people's business. We should not have, late on a Saturday, 3,000 pages; and there are not more than a handful of people here who know what is in it. I know what is in it for the State of North Dakota. I know that. But I don't know what else is in here.

I have found one thing that is in here that I think will shock every one of my colleagues. There is a little nugget tucked away in this package that says the Appropriations Committee chairmen, or their designees, can call up the tax returns of any individual, any company and, without civil or criminal penalty, do whatever they want with those returns.

Madam President, think about that. Are we really going to pass legislation that says an Appropriations Committee staffer can look at the individual returns of any American, any company, and there are no civil or criminal penalties for their release of the contents of that return? I don't think so. That is in this stack of papers.

We have provisions saying that the chairman of the Finance Committee