

Republican leaders were wary of him even this early. He had run a campaign aimed at garnering the votes of those who would be supporting FDR, and even praised Democratic candidates for other offices.

It was a pragmatism that would characterize Dirksen throughout his career. On his death in 1969, conservative columnist William F. Buckley, Jr., then much more a firebrand than today, would assess the senator in an otherwise glowing obituary as "so much the pragmatist that you couldn't really count on him in a pinch."

The Chicago Sun-Times once estimated that in his 17 years in the House of Representatives, Dirksen changed his mind 62 times on foreign policy, 31 times on military affairs, and 70 times on agriculture issues. Then, in the Senate he outdid that record.

His most famous about-faces were on the nuclear test-ban treaty and the Civil Rights Act. In the summer of 1963 he opposed the enactment of federal guarantees of the right of blacks to use any hotel, restaurant or other public accommodation on property rights grounds, the core of the proposal by President Kennedy, though he supported its other provisions.

The next year, with Johnson having replaced the assassinated JFK, some savvy maneuvering by Democrats for Republican support in the House forced Dirksen in the Senate to soften. He ended up becoming instrumental in passage of the Civil Rights Act, using his party to provide the margin of victory.

Sen. Richard Russell, D-Ga., "says the Attorney General (Bobby Kennedy) has nailed my skin to the barn door to dry," Dirksen told a reporter in typical Dirksenesque language. "Well, nobody has hung up my conscience and my sense of history to dry. Pardon me for the sermon."

Dirksen also immediately opposed upon hearing about it the administration's treaty with the Soviet Union to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere. But by September Dirksen realized that public support for the treaty was very strong. He ended up turning 180 degrees, supporting the test ban entirely, but only after he persuaded Kennedy to write a letter assuring that the U.S. nuclear weapons program would not be slowed down.

"They called him the Wizard of Ooze," recalled former National Review Publisher William A. Rusher, author of "The Rise of the Right," a chronicle of conservatism's struggle to power in the GOP. But Dirksen's smoothness never seemed to leave him alienated from conservatives the way many of today's Republican "pragmatists" are. Much of that undoubtedly stemmed from his support of isolationist Sen. Robert Taft's R-Ohio, failed run for the party presidential nomination in 1952 and Dirksen's opposition to the Senate's censuring of Sen. Joseph McCarthy, R-Wis., in 1954 (though he severed relations with McCarthy very soon after that).

"Certainly, speaking as a conservative, I regarded Everett Dirksen as a friend and I think he would be delighted to see all that's happened," Rusher added.

Lee Edwards, president of the Center for International Relations and author of a soon-to-be-released biography of Barry Goldwater, noted that Dirksen had a strong role early on the Goldwater's rise to power.

On a trip to speak to the Arizona GOP, Dirksen personally took Goldwater aside and advised him to run for the U.S. Senate when the Arizonan was only a city councilman.

"Goldwater has admitted on more than one occasion that it did make a difference in his decision to run," according to Edwards.

His heavy smoking and drinking eventually caught up with Dirksen and he died of complications from lung cancer surgery in 1969. One of the three Senate office buildings across the street from the U.S. Capitol bears

his name, the two others named after Democratic senators. He lay in state under the dome of the Capitol on the same black catafalque as Lincoln, then only the third senator so honored. •

TRIBUTE TO KATHERINE M. LIDDLE

• Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I want to pay tribute to Katherine M. Liddle who died in Reston, VA, on December 1, 1994. Mrs. Liddle was a long-time resident of Pineville, KY, and will be remembered and missed by many.

Mrs. Liddle was born in Oaks, KY. She was a graduate of Pineville High School and Union College in Barbourville, KY. Mrs. Liddle began teaching within the county system in a one-room school with six grades. In 1973 she began teaching the sixth grade at the Pineville Independent School where she finished her teaching career 20 years later.

Mrs. Liddle was the wife of the late James J. Liddle. She had one son, Jack, who now resides in Reston, VA. She was a long-time member of the First Baptist Church in Pineville, KY.

Mr. President, I ask that my colleagues join me in sending the Chamber's sincere condolences to the family of Katherine M. Liddle. I am confident that her strength of character will remain a standard of excellence for generations to come. •

HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON TIBET

• Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, today the Department of State has taken an important step toward recognizing the reality of the status of Tibet. The annual "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices" was released today and for the first time there is a separate section on Tibet.

For years there has been a fundamental difference in the way Congress and the executive branch have viewed Tibet. While the executive branch has attempted to obscure the fact that at one time we did support Tibet, Congress has stated its determination that Tibet is an occupied country. By separating the Tibet section from the China section on the human rights report, there is finally an acknowledgement that the administration recognizes Tibet as distinct from China.

This new Tibet section fulfills one aspect of a provision which I introduced and was later signed into law as part of the State Department authorization act for fiscal year 1994-95. While I do not agree with certain portions of the report on Tibet, it is not without merit, and its authors deserve respect as able diplomats.

This will send a clear signal to those in Beijing as well as those in Dharmasala, India where the Dalai Lama lives in exile, that the United States recognizes the special situation the Tibetans face. Those in Dharmasala have long known Congress supports them; now they can more clearly gauge the sentiments of the administration.

This has been confusing. As the eminent journalist A.M. Rosenthal, who visited the Tibetans in exile in 1988, wrote:

People in Dharmasala are understandably hazy about the intricacies of American government. They cannot quite get it straight how the Congress can be so warm to Tibet and the State Department and the White House make it clear that they intend to disregard Congress and continue the sellout of Tibet.

Perhaps this marks a new chapter in United States foreign policy in which support for the people of Tibet will no longer be hazy. •

LAWSUIT REFORM ACT

• Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask that the text of S. 300 be printed in the RECORD.

The bill follows:

S. 300

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Lawsuit Reform Act of 1995".

SEC. 2. TABLE OF CONTENTS.

The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title.
- Sec. 2. Table of contents.
- Sec. 3. Findings.
- Sec. 4. Authority.
- Sec. 5. Equity in legal fees.
- Sec. 6. Early offer and recovery mechanisms.
- Sec. 7. Reform of joint and several liability.
- Sec. 8. Single recovery.
- Sec. 9. Limitation on punitive damages.
- Sec. 10. Alternative dispute resolution.
- Sec. 11. Reliability of expert evidence.
- Sec. 12. Express authorization for private right of action.
- Sec. 13. Applicability.
- Sec. 14. Severability.
- Sec. 15. Effective date.

SEC. 3. FINDINGS.

The Congress finds that—

(1) the United States civil justice system is inefficient, unpredictable, costly, and impedes competitiveness in the world marketplace for business and employees;

(2) the defects in the civil justice system have a direct and undesirable effect on interstate commerce by decreasing the availability of goods and services in commerce;

(3) reform efforts should respect the role of the States in the development of civil justice rules, but recognize the national Government's role in removing barriers to interstate commerce;

(4) the spiralling cost of litigation has continued unabated for the past 30 years; and

(5) there is a need to restore rationality, certainty, and fairness to the legal system, to promote honesty and integrity within the legal profession, and to encourage alternative means to the contentious litigation system in resolving disputes.

SEC. 4. AUTHORITY.

This Act is enacted pursuant to Congress' powers under Article I, section 8, clauses 3, 9, and 18, of the United States Constitution.

SEC. 5. EQUITY IN LEGAL FEES.

(a) DISCLOSURE OF ATTORNEY'S FEES INFORMATION.—

(1) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this subsection—