

would continue to hold up the treaty in his Foreign Relations Committee; (2) meanwhile, influential former national-security officials would continue to be lined up in opposition to it; and (3) Kyl and Coverdell would continue to work the vote count. By the time of a Sept. 14 meeting in Lott's office, Kyl could guarantee 34 votes in opposition—just enough. He could also deliver the energetic help of former secretary of defense (and secretary of energy) James Schlesinger.

Before long, the education effort by treaty opponents was in full swing. Kyl's staff prepared briefing books to distribute to other Senate staffers. Two nuclear-weapons experts who had worked in the labs briefed senators both individually and in small groups. And Schlesinger, who had served in both Republican and Democratic administrations, spoke at a luncheon for Republican Senators, then returned for more briefings the following week. "He was key to us," says the Senate aide. The effort began to show in the steadily rising vote count: Sept. 14-34 opposed; Sept. 17-35; Sept. 22-38; Sept. 30—an amazing 42.

At the same time, Democrats heedlessly stepped up their agitation for action on the treaty. North Dakota Senator Byron Dorgan was threatening to tie up Senate business, getting under Lott's skin. "They were a huge influence on the decision to say, 'Okay, let's just hold this vote,'" says Coverdell about the Democrats. On Sept. 28, Biden showed Helms a resolution that he planned to offer, proposing hearings on the treaty this year and a vote by March 31, 2000. Biden's ploy seemed to indicate that the Democrats now planned to raise the temperature on the treaty in the spring, when it would get enmeshed in the presidential campaign and discomfit George W. Bush. As a result, Lott decided to move. He quietly reassured Biden that his resolution would be unnecessary.

On Sept. 30, Lott offered a "unanimous consent" agreement—all Senators have to sign on to such an agreement for it to go into effect—to bring up the treaty for an immediate vote. Daschle objected, charging that, among other things, there wasn't enough time for debate. Lott gave the Democrats the additional time they wanted, and on Oct. 1, Daschle lent his support to a new agreement. There would be a vote on the treaty within two weeks. Every Democrat in the Senate had endorsed the timing—and this was a mistake of major proportions.

Why did the Democrats do it? In part, they were trapped by their own rhetoric. Gleeful GOP staffers had a sheaf of statements from Democrats demanding a treaty vote this year. How could they back out now? They were also probably unaware of the direness of their situation. "It was plain arrogance," says Kyl. "They didn't have any idea they wouldn't win." Democrats also might have figured that they could, if necessary, cut a last-minute deal with Lott to avert a vote. The final days of the treaty fight featured a panicked Democratic effort to reverse course and do just that, even as the vote count against them continued to mount: Oct. 1-43 against; Oct. 7-45.

Lott was still open to avoiding a vote, but only if he could get an ironclad agreement from the Democrats that it would not come up again for the duration of the Clinton administration. It was this possibility—and the wiggle room the administration would surely find in any such deal—that had treaty opponents on edge. "We were nervous until the vote took place that something was going to sidetrack it," says Arkansas Senator Tim Hutchinson. On Oct. 12, Daschle sent Lott a

letter proposing to shelve the treaty, barring "unforeseen changes." Lott promised to run it by his members. Hence the call that brought Helms, Kyl, and Coverdell dashing to Lott's office. Daschle's staff was already telling reporters that a deal was at hand, prompting yet another treaty opponent, Oklahoma's Jim Inhofe, to sprint to Lott's office unbidden.

Kyl, Helms, and Coverdell huddled with Lott over Daschle's proposal. What did "unforeseen changes" mean? Coverdell thought it was a "glaring escape clause." The consensus of the group was that it was unacceptable. "We couldn't have had a more calm, considerate discussion," says Kyl. "Lott didn't need to be persuaded or harangued in the least." There was a brief discussion of going back to the Democrats with a draft of a foolproof deal. But it dawned on everyone that any deal would be impossible. The Democrats weren't serious, and some Republicans were unwilling to go along no matter what. Inhofe, arriving at Lott's office, emphasized just that. The only way out, as one Senate aide puts it, would have been "an internal Republican bloodbath."

So, the next day, all systems were go. Lott firmly rejected a last-minute floor attempt by Democratic lion Robert Byrd to place obstacles in the way of a vote. Byrd threw a fit—to no avail. It was too late. Republican Senator John Warner was running around the floor, still gathering signatures on a letter asking that the vote be put off. Again, too late. President Clinton called Lott, asking if there was anything he could do. Replied Lott: Too late. When the floor debate was concluded, 51 Republican Senators voted down the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in the face of international pressure, the opposition of the White House, and hostile media.

Surprising? Well, yes. "I thought we had 50," says Jon Kyl. ●

RECOGNITION OF JULIE ROLING

● Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I rise today to express my appreciation for the hard work of Julie Roling, a Brookings Institution Fellow who has worked as part of my staff for the past six months. Julie has been a tremendous asset to my legislative staff, and I am fortunate to have had her assistance. When she returns to the National Security Agency in December, I know she will be missed by me and my staff.

Very often, Brookings Fellows have reputations that precede them in Capitol Hill offices. Known as some of the best and brightest government employees, they are considered secret weapons to the Members they assist. Julie has been no exception. She came to my office with a wealth of government experience and policy knowledge, as well as a model work ethic and positive attitude. While her expertise lies in defense procurement, Julie welcomed projects in a broad array of new issue areas and contributed a great deal to my legislative staff.

Throughout the past six months, Julie has worked on a number of projects dealing with the environment, natural resources, agriculture and trade. Julie led research efforts regarding a controversial wetlands policy during her time in my office. The un-

fortunate circumstances surrounding this issue pitted the interests of agricultural producers against environmental groups. It was imperative that my staff and I have access to the most recent information, in order to effectively address the concerns of my constituents. Julie's research provided my office with up-to-date and unbiased information that enabled me to communicate clearly with both farmers and environmentalists during this time. Julie handled frequent communication with government agencies and almost daily communications with South Dakotans.

Julie also provided valuable assistance on crop insurance legislation this year as well. Both the House of Representatives and the Senate introduced numerous bills to reform the crop insurance program in this Congress, an issue of great importance to the farmers of South Dakota. Julie collected and synthesized information that enabled me and my staff to decide which crop insurance reform bills most effectively addressed the concerns of South Dakota farmers.

One of the most challenging tasks Julie undertook was the creation of a comprehensive resource guide regarding restructuring of the electricity industry. The end result of Julie's work was a thorough index of restructuring terms, industry positions, key issues and legislative proposals. Anyone who is familiar with the complexity of deregulation proposals can appreciate the hard work and attention to detail required to create such a resource, which will be invaluable to me as the Senate Energy Committee continues to discuss and evaluate restructuring legislation.

Again, I wish to express my deep gratitude to Julie for a job well done. I wish her the very best in her future endeavors. ●

TRIBUTE TO CIVIL WAR HERO FREDERICK ALBER

● Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to the late Frederick Alber of Lapeer County, MI. On November 13, 1999, the community of Oregon Township will dedicate a new headstone for Mr. Alber and also honor other veterans buried in the Oregon Township Cemetery.

Frederick Alber enlisted in the Seventeenth Michigan Infantry on July 2, 1862 at age 24 and served valiantly during the Civil War. On July 30, 1896, Private Alber was issued the Medal of Honor for his undaunted bravery in the wilderness and his heroic actions at Spotsylvania. On May 12, 1864, Private Alber rescued Lieutenant Charles Todd of the 17th Michigan Infantry who was in the hands of a party of rebels. Private Alber shot down one enemy rebel and knocked over another with the butt of his musket. He then took the rebels as prisoners and conducted them both to the rear of the formation.