

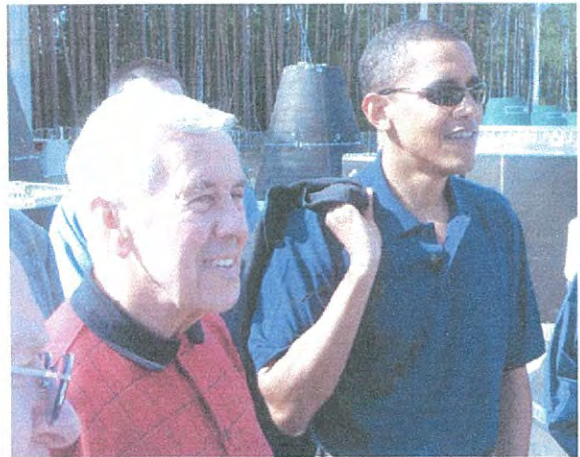
## Russia's Man in Washington

# Former Clinton Official and Hillary Adviser Named as Dupe of Russian Spies

In what could be the biggest State Department scandal since State Department official and United Nations founder Alger Hiss was exposed as a Soviet spy, a top Clinton State Department official and former Time magazine journalist has been identified as having been a trusted contact of the Russian intelligence service.

The sensational charge against **Strobe Talbott** is made in a new book based on interviews with a Russian defector. The book, *Comrade J*, by veteran author and reporter Pete Earley, identifies Talbott as having been manipulated by a Russian official working for Russian intelligence in order to get information about U.S. foreign policy. The same book describes the United Nations as a major base of espionage operations for Russia in the U.S.

But the story gets much more scandalous than that because Talbott himself has just written a book, *The Great Experiment*, describing his own background in the pro-world government World Federalist Movement and naming a network of friends and close associates that includes former President Bill Clinton and billionaire leftist George Soros. Curiously, the book calls for expanding the authority of the U.N. but completely ignores the role of Soviet spy Alger Hiss, himself a top State Department official, in founding the United Nations.



**Strobe Talbott's close friend, Senator Richard Lugar, took Senator Barack Obama to Russia in 2005 to get his support for more foreign aid for the former Soviet Union.**

The purpose of Talbott's book is to promote "global governance," a euphemism for world government. It is defined in the subtitle as "The Quest for a Global Nation."

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Interestingly, one of Talbott's closest friends in the U.S. Senate, Republican Richard Lugar of Indiana, has emerged as a foreign policy adviser to leading Democratic presidential candidate and Senator Barack Obama of Illinois. In 2005, Lugar and Obama made a visit to Russia to promote the scandal-ridden "Cooperative Threat Reduction Program (CTR)," also known as the Nunn-Lugar program for its original Senate sponsors. The CTR has poured about \$6 billion into the former Soviet Union in foreign aid, supposedly for the purpose of preventing nuclear proliferation.

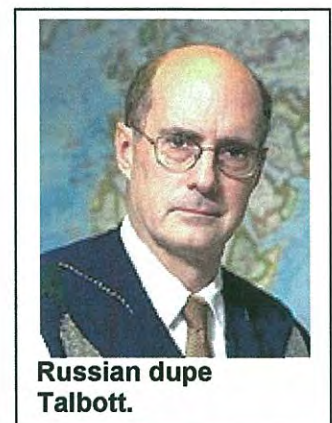
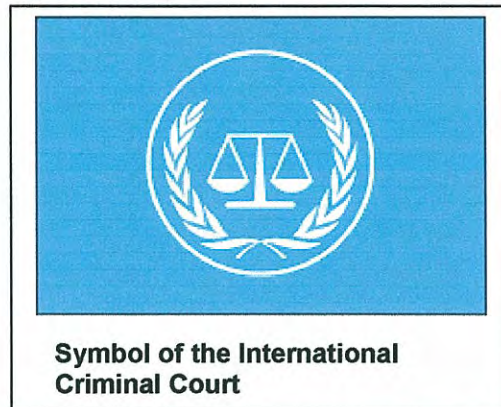
"After actively promoting Nunn-Lugar while at Time [magazine], Talbott was put in charge of the [CTR] program when named by Clinton as ambassador at large to Russia and the newly independent states in February 1993," notes journalist Ken Timmerman, in a report headlined, "Strobe Talbott: Russia's Man in Washington."<sup>1</sup>

### **Talbott Pleased with Hillary and Obama**

Although Talbott has been identified in press accounts as a current adviser to Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign, he showed up to hear Senator Barack Obama deliver a foreign policy address in 2005 to the Council on Foreign Relations and declared "It was very impressive."<sup>2</sup> A story about the speech carried by MSNBC and published on Obama's Senate web site noted that Lugar was "helping" Obama in the foreign policy field, that Obama and Lugar "have formed a political joint venture and mutual admiration society," and that they had traveled to Russia together. The trip to Russia was designed to ensure Obama's support for maintaining and even expanding the foreign aid for Russia through the CTR program.

Although CTR supporters claim it can be effective in keeping nuclear weapons or materials out of the hands of terrorists, various reports from the Government Accountability Office (GAO) reveal that that funds have been used mainly to destroy obsolete weapons that Moscow was going to replace with high-tech arms. The International Proliferation Prevention Program, which has evolved from the CTR, was recently exposed by the GAO as a jobs program for Russian scientists, more than half of which may not have any weapons-related experience.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, Obama said that "few people" understand Russia better than Lugar, a "rock star" on the world stage. Lugar, in turn, calls Strobe Talbott a "good friend" and "source of sound counsel" who "continues to provide outstanding national and international leadership."



## The Significance of Tretyakov

*Comrade J* is about a Russian master spy, Sergei Tretyakov, who defected to the United States because he was disgusted with the Russian/Soviet system and wanted to start a new and better life with his family in America. His allegations about Talbott have been ignored by most of the media.

Tretyakov is described as the highest ranking Russian intelligence official ever to defect while stationed in the U.S. and handled all Russian intelligence operations against the U.S. He served under cover from 1995-2000 at Russia's Permanent Mission to the United Nations but was secretly working for the FBI for at least three years.

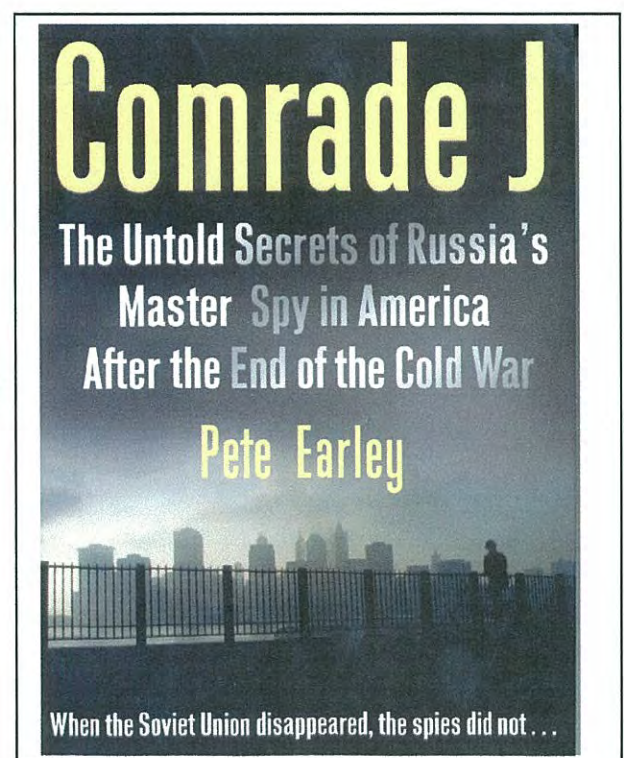
Talbott has been -- and continues to be a -- a major foreign policy thinker. Back in 2000, when he was named head of the Yale Center for the Study of Globalization, he was described as "a key architect of U.S. foreign policy" during the Clinton years. Talbott now serves as president of the liberal think tank, the Brookings Institution, in Washington, D.C., <sup>4</sup> where he gets paid over \$400,000 a year, <sup>5</sup> leads a staff of 277 and presides over an endowment of over \$200 million.

Talbott denies Tretyakov's charges, calling them "erroneous and/or misleading," and his denials are featured on page 184 of the book. He says that he always promoted U.S. foreign policy goals and that the close relationship that he had with a top Russian official by the name of Georgi Mamedov did not involve any manipulation or deception.

## Deja Vu

This is not the first time that Talbott has come under scrutiny for his alleged contacts with agents of a foreign intelligence service. In 1994, when he was being considered for his State Department post in the Clinton Administration, he was grilled by Senator Jesse Helms, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, about his relationship with Victor Louis, a Soviet "journalist" who was actually a Soviet KGB intelligence agent. Talbott had been a young correspondent for Time magazine in Moscow.

As reported by Herbert Romerstein in *Human Events* newspaper, Talbott admitted knowing Louis from 1969 until his death in 1992 but that he was not aware of his "organizational affiliations." Pressed further, Talbott



acknowledged that he was aware of assertions or speculation to that effect about Louis. Helms then confronted Talbott with a 1986 State Department publication revealing that Louis had been identified as a KGB agent by KGB defectors and had been used by the Soviets to spread disinformation. Talbott said he still didn't know for sure that Louis was a KGB agent. Romerstein's *Human Events* article accused Talbott of writing articles following the Soviet line.

However, Talbott had powerful friends, including Senator and fellow Rhodes Scholar Richard Lugar, who supported his nomination.

Romerstein, a retired government expert on anti-American and communist propaganda activities, said the Earley book is valuable because it documents that the Russian intelligence service picked up where the KGB left off, and that operations against the U.S. continued after the end of the Cold War.

But he said the information about Talbott needs further explanation from Talbott himself. "Talbott really has to explain more than he did to Pete Earley what his relationship was to Mamedov, and he should tell us about his relationship with Victor Louis," Romerstein said.

### Talbott's "Vision"

On January 4, Talbott gave a talk at the "Politics & Prose" bookstore in Washington, D.C., where he explained in precise detail what he means by "global governance." He explained that it is not "world government" in the sense of a "single political unit -- one flag, one capital, one political authority, one fleet of black helicopters [that is] dispatched to suppress the sovereignty of individual states." Instead, he said that "global governance" allows for a multiplicity of governments [or] nation states in the world but at the same time depends increasingly on an international system made up of up treaties, international law, institutions, and various arrangements whereby nations in effect pool their national authority in order to deal with certain problems that they cannot deal with all by themselves and they can't deal with in small numbers."

Talbott added, "That is the big idea that the book attempts to describe and trace. And it's not just a utopian dream. **Global governance is a reality. We have it today**" (emphasis added).

Talbott picked out of the audience "three proxies" who "represent what I'm talking about." Two of them were **William Howard Taft IV**, the former United States Ambassador to NATO, former Deputy Secretary of Defense, and former State Department Legal Adviser (under Colin Powell), and his wife **Julia Taft**, a State Department official during the Clinton



Talbott friend and associate William Howard Taft IV was State Department Legal Adviser under Colin Powell.

Administration who served as president of Inter-Action, the pro-foreign aid lobby. The other was **Kemal Dervish**, the administrator of the United Nations Development Program.

Talbott said that the first President Bush and President Clinton “had a great deal in common” and “a lot of continuity” between their administrations because both were committed to the “master builder” role of the U.S. in creating “international institutions.” However, he said that President George W. Bush had tried an “experiment” in “unilateralism” that had failed spectacularly. We must now work to reestablish a “rule-based international order,” he says in his book.

In the future, Talbott says the U.N. will need to be “incorporated into an increasingly variegated network of structures and arrangements – some functional in focus, others geographic; some intergovernmental, others based on systematic collaboration with the private sector, civil society, and NGOs [non-governmental organizations]. Only if the larger enterprise of global governance has that kind of breadth and depth will it be able to supplement what the U.N. does well, compensate for what it does badly, and provide capabilities that it lacks.”

Talbott’s book cites the following that should and must be done by a future U.S. Administration:

- **Special rights for terrorists.** Talbott believes that terrorist detainees should be given protection under the Geneva Conventions and that all should be granted habeas corpus rights. He also wants them covered by the U.N. Convention Against Torture.
- **Passage of the International Criminal Court treaty.** He wants the “revalidation” of President Clinton’s signature on the International Criminal Court (ICC) treaty (it was removed by the George W. Bush Administration). The “resigning” of the treaty would enable the next administration to work with other states to get the treaty ratified by the Senate. Talbott’s book blames “right-wing opposition” for preventing the U.S. “from accepting the jurisdiction” of the ICC.
- **More military power for the United Nations.** Talbott wants the U.S. to encourage “regional” organizations such as the African Union, the Organization of American states, and “various Asian groupings” to provide “multinational units” for “rapid response” to carry out U.N. military operations.
- **A new global warming treaty.** Talbott says the U.S., as the “leading producer of greenhouse gases,” should provide “leadership” in addressing “climate change.” He says the U.S. has to agree to “mandatory cuts” in greenhouse gases in order to bring into being “an effective successor regime” to Kyoto, the global warming treaty rejected by the Bush Administration.
- **Abolish nuclear weapons through negotiations with Russia and other countries.** Talbott says that, in order to reach the goal of abolishing nuclear arsenals, which he says is contained in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the U.S. should “immediately undertake a series of initiatives” on proliferation and work with Moscow to make a “drastic reduction” in nuclear weapons stockpiles.

- **Revive the ABM treaty with Russia.** Talbott considers the Reagan Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), which has been pursued by the George W. Bush Administration, as a “chimera” that must be abandoned. The Bush Administration withdrew the U.S. from the ABM treaty in order to pursue deployment of SDI. Talbott wants the U.S. to negotiate with Russia to bring back the ABM treaty.
- **Pass the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.** Talbott says it was horribly wrong for the U.S. Senate to reject the CTBT, which had been signed by Clinton in 1996. It was rejected because it was unverifiable and could not be monitored.

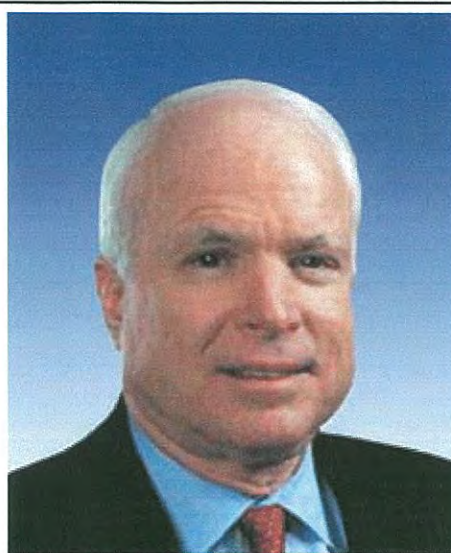
Talbott says that if these steps are taken, “global governance” could be lifted “to a higher level.”

In 1993, when Talbott was nominated by President Clinton as Ambassador at Large and Special Adviser to the Secretary of State on the new Independent States (of the former Soviet Union), Senator John McCain took to the Senate floor to declare that, despite Talbott being a close friend and personal pick of the president’s, “I cannot in good conscience vote to confirm his appointment.”

McCain said that Talbott, as a writer for Time magazine and a commentator, had been guilty of making “mistaken observations” and suggesting “flawed policy solutions” on the matter of whether Russia “will evolve peacefully and democratically, collapse into chaos, or return to totalitarianism, be it Communist or fascist.”

McCain noted that Talbott opposed all of the Reagan initiatives, including deployment of missiles to Europe and the Strategic Defense Initiative, which had kept Europe free from Soviet control and eventually resulted in the demise of the Soviet empire. McCain said that “it would require many more hours for me to cite all the examples of mistakes and inconsistencies upon which Mr. Talbott bases his reputation as a Soviet expert.”<sup>6</sup>

However, on April 2, 1993, Talbott was confirmed by the Senate to this post by a Yea-Nay Vote of 89-9. One of his leading Senate backers was Indiana Republican Senator Richard Lugar. The nine voting against Talbott were Craig (R-ID), Faircloth (R-NC), Gorton (R-WA), Helms (R-NC), Kempthorne (R-ID),



**Senator McCain voted against Strobe Talbott’s nominations.**



**Talbott’s contact, Russian official Georgi Mamedov, was secretly working for Russian intelligence.**

Lott (R-MS), McCain (R-AZ), Smith (R-NH), and Wallop (R-WY).

On February 22, 1994, again with Lugar's vigorous support, Talbott was confirmed by the Senate by a Yea-Nay Vote of 66-31 to the post of Deputy Secretary of State. Once again, McCain voted against him (see roll call on page 12).

While critical of the George W. Bush Administration, Talbott hosted Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice at a May 2007 meeting of the International Advisory Council of Brookings. In his book, he gives credit to Rice for "moderating the tone and substance" of policy coming from the Bush White House in the president's second term.

### Talbott's Friends

Talbott's book, *The Great Experiment*, not only ignores the role of Soviet spy Alger Hiss in founding the U.N. but describes the production of the U.N. Charter as a "very public American project." <sup>7</sup> He thanks George Soros and Walter Isaacson, formerly of Time but now with the Aspen Institute, for their input on his manuscript.

Talbott also gives thanks to convicted document thief Sandy Berger, Bill Clinton's national security adviser who now advises Hillary's presidential campaign; Soros associate Morton Halperin, formerly of the ACLU; Javier Solana of the European Union; and Bill Clinton, "for helping me better to understand several aspects of his view of the world and America's role in it."

A close personal friend of Bill and Hillary Clinton, Talbott is described in the *Comrade J* book as having been "a special unofficial contact" of the Russian intelligence agency, the SVR, when he was Deputy Secretary of State in the Clinton Administration. Talbott had been in charge of Russian affairs.

"Inside the SVR, that term was used only to identify a top-level intelligence source who had high social and/or political status and whose identity needed to be carefully guarded," the book says. On the same level of interest was Fidel Castro's brother Raul, a communist "recruited by the KGB during the Khrushchev era" who continued to work for the Russians after the Soviet collapse, the book says. He, too, was a "special unofficial contact."

Talbott was allegedly manipulated and deceived by Russia's then Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Georgi Mamedov, who was "secretly working" for Russian intelligence, the book alleges. The book, however, does not make the specific charge that Talbott was recruited as a Russian spy or was a conscious agent of the Russian regime.



The book cites Talbott as an “example of how a skilled intelligence agency could manipulate a situation and a diplomatic source to its advantage without the target realizing he was being used for intelligence-gathering purposes.” It says Mamedov was “instructed” by the SVR to ask specific questions to get information about certain matters.

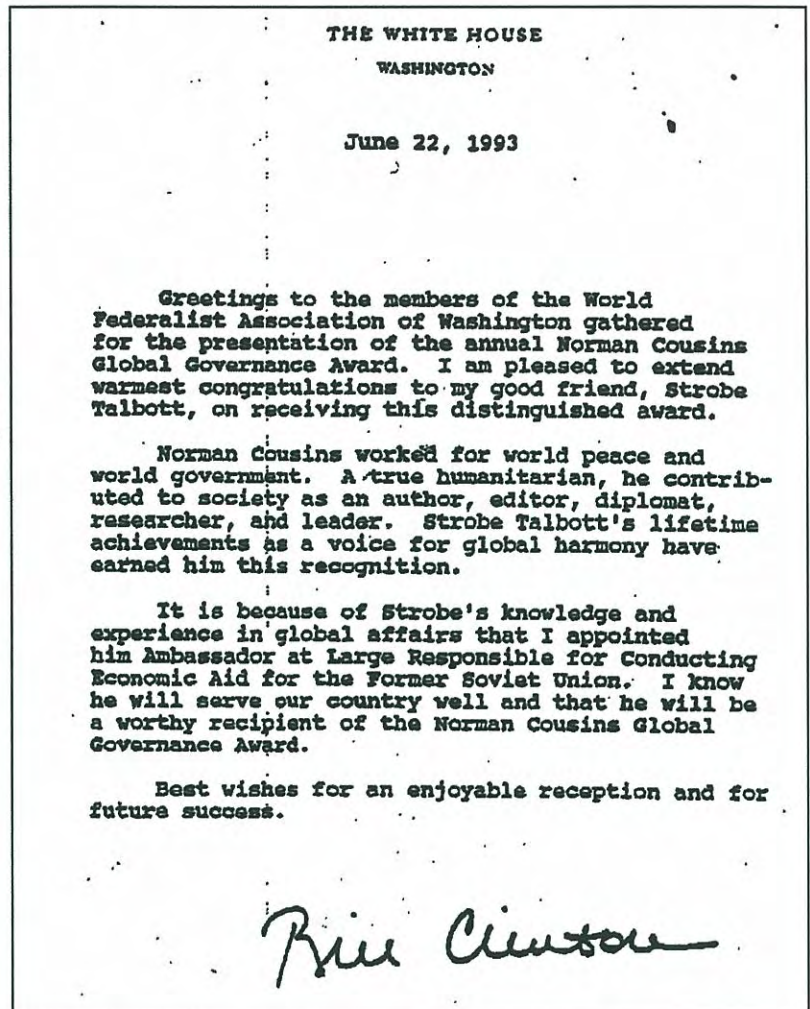
“The point is that there are many ways to get intelligence,” author Pete Earley explained. “And one of the best ways is not by stealing secrets but by becoming friends, getting people to let their guard down, massaging egos, and getting them to tell you helpful information.”

However, the book says that Talbott was so compromised by his relationship with Mamedov that the FBI asked Secretary of State Madeleine Albright not to share information with Talbott about an espionage investigation at the State Department because Mamedov might learn about it and tip off Russian intelligence. Earley says he confirmed this account but that Albright has refused to discuss the incident.

The book cites a House of Representatives report,<sup>8</sup> released in September 2000, which found that the Clinton Administration and Talbott in particular had excused the actions of the Russian government and had failed to promote democracy and free enterprise there.

Earley’s book itself discusses how, during the mid 1990s, Talbott, State Department spokesman Mike McCurry, and President Clinton himself echoed Russian propaganda that justified Russian attacks on Chechnya. This “delighted the propagandists inside the SVR,” which claimed credit” for what the U.S. officials had said, the book says.

It seems that Talbott has a tendency, which continues to the present day, of whitewashing the Russian regime.





In congressional testimony just last October on U.S.-Russian relations, Talbott attacked the Bush Administration for withdrawing from the ABM treaty, urged Russian membership in the World Trade Organization, and advocated more negotiations and agreements with Russia over nuclear arms. The U.S. has “set a bad example” for the Russians in foreign affairs, Talbott said.

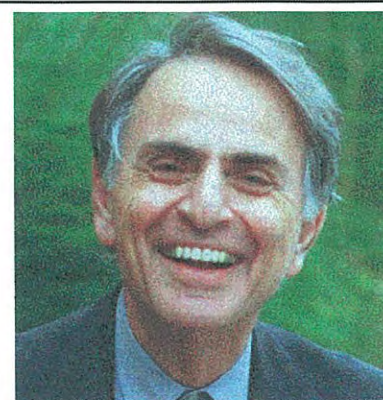
With all of these high-powered connections, the story about Talbott being used by the Russians seems to be a story worth reporting or commenting on. However, if the media examine the charges against Talbott, they might have to deal with other evidence and information in the book about how spies for the Soviet intelligence service manipulated the U.S. media.

The book, for instance, explains how the Soviet KGB peddled charges that deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons to Europe in the 1980s might lead to their use and a “nuclear winter” or climate crisis for the world. The book says the story was cooked up by the KGB and fed to the Western world by anti-nuclear activists such as Carl Sagan, who penned an article on the topic for the Council on Foreign Relations journal Foreign Affairs. The book notes that Sagan later appeared on the ABC television network to talk about the subject.

Tretyakov says he discovered “dozens of case studies” of the KGB using “propaganda and disinformation to influence public opinion” in the West.

### His Time at Time

A prominent journalist himself at one time, Talbott achieved notoriety for writing a July 20, 1992, Time column, “The Birth of the Global Nation,” saying that in the next century “nationhood as we know it will be obsolete,” that we will all some day become world citizens, and that wars and human rights violations in the 20th century had clinched “the case for world government.” This reflects the views of the pro-world government World Federalist movement.



Carl Sagan: Like Strobe Talbott, a dupe of the Russians.

**A Multiplication of Global Functional Organizations.** Still another approach is to advance step by step toward global governance, using the U.N. but without trying to amend the Charter. Let the U.N. establish new agencies such as an International Criminal Court (which can try individuals for violations of international law) or a U.N. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (which can set up a program for arms reduction with verification capabilities and punishments for individuals who try to defy it). An organization is already in the process of being developed to control the exploitation of ocean resources, and similar agencies could be created to govern Antarctica and the moon. The U.N. could be allowed to create its own individually recruited peacekeeping personnel. Peacekeeping operations could be financed through a Peacekeeping Endowment Fund to which multinational corporations and private citizens and non-government organizations could contribute directly without going through national governments. Similar strategies could be adopted for funding environmental programs and population control programs and humanitarian assistance programs and human rights programs. By means of these voluntarily funded functional agencies national sovereignty would be gradually eroded until it is no longer an issue. Eventually a world federation can be formally adopted with little resistance.

**This excerpt from a World Federalist Association report describes how “world federalism” or world government will come about through strengthening the U.N. and passing treaties.**

“The piece made me briefly popular with foreign policy liberals and, not so briefly, a target of brickbats from the right,” he says in his book. He acknowledges that his parents were members of the World Federalist Movement (they were also “active in the internationalist wing of the Republican Party in the late forties and early fifties”) and that he had a dog growing up known as “Freddie,” which was short for World Federalists. The World Federalist Movement collaborated with Soviet front groups such as the Soviet Peace Committee during the Cold War and tried to avoid scrutiny from anti-communist congressional committees after World War II.

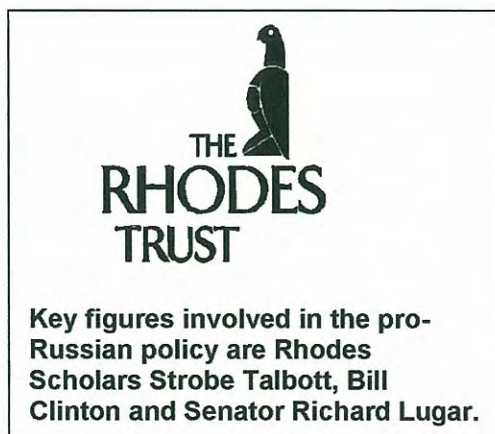
In one of his first major media appearances after his selection as Brookings president, on the Charlie Rose program, he was identified in promotional material as a World Federalist.<sup>9</sup> But this designation doesn’t appear in the official biography on the Brookings web site.

Other prominent World Federalists have been Senator Alan Cranston and Rep. John B. Anderson. Interestingly, Talbott notes that, “A number of young veterans of World War II who had been liberal internationalists in the 1940s joined the CIA in the fifties.” One of them was Cord Meyer, a president of the World Federalists, who gave up the idea of collaborating with the Soviets after the communist regime obtained nuclear weapons.

## World Federalism

Talbott’s global left-wing vision was endorsed personally by President Clinton, who had sent a June 22, 1993, letter to the World Federalist Association (WFA) when it gave Talbott its Norman Cousins Global Governance Award. In the letter, Clinton noted that Cousins, the WFA founder, had “worked for world peace and world government” and that Talbott was a “worthy recipient” of the award. Talbott and Bill Clinton became friends when they were both Rhodes Scholars.

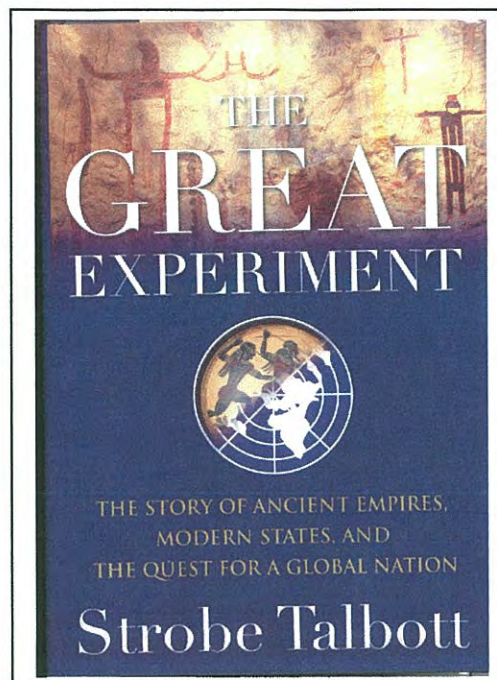
Hillary Clinton, who has been friends with Talbott since their days together at Yale University, gave a videotaped address to the WFA in 1999 on the occasion of the group giving former anchorman of the CBS Evening News Walter Cronkite its global governance award. She praised Cronkite’s work. For his part, Cronkite declared that “we must strengthen the United Nations as a first step toward a world government” and America must “yield up some of our sovereignty.”



The WFA, which renamed itself Citizens for Global Solutions (CGS), lobbies for more power and authority for the U.N., including passage of the Law of the Sea Treaty. Talbott’s book cites the name change as evidence of the group having “retreated” from the cause of world federalism. But it could also just be a public relations move designed to divert attention from its longtime goal of world government.

CGS pours money into Congressional races for the House and Senate and receives funding from major liberal foundations. One of their favorite politicians has been Senator Richard Lugar, perhaps the most prominent Senate proponent of the Law of the Sea Treaty, who joined Talbott at the Brookings Institution last October 8 to discuss U.S.-Russian relations. Lugar has accepted campaign cash from the CGS political action committee.

For its part, the Brookings Institution receives support from major foundations and corporations. In the category of “contributors” giving \$1 million or more in 2007 are the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation. In the category of over \$500,000 but less than \$1 million are the Ford Foundation, the Government of Norway, the Embassy of Qatar and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.<sup>10</sup>



<sup>1</sup> <http://www.iran.org/tib/krt/strobe.htm>

<sup>2</sup> [http://obama.senate.gov/news/051103-obama\\_builds\\_fo/print.php](http://obama.senate.gov/news/051103-obama_builds_fo/print.php)

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d08189.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> Talbott became President of the Brookings Institution on July 1, 2002, by a unanimous vote of the Brookings Board of Trustees, following an eight-month search.

<sup>5</sup> According to the 2005 Brookings 990 IRS filing.

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.fas.org/spp/starwars/congress/1993/s930402b.htm>

<sup>7</sup> *The Great Experiment*, Simon & Schuster, New York: 2008, page 194.

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.fas.org/news/russia/2000/russia/index.html>

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.charlierose.com/guests/strobe-talbott>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.brookings.edu/about/~media/Files/about/annualreport/2007complete.pdf>

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**Question: On the Nomination - Strobe Talbott to be Deputy Sec. of State**

**Vote Number:** 46 **Vote Date:** February 22, 1994, 05:46 PM  
**Required For Majority:** 1/2 **Vote Result:** Nomination Confirmed  
**Nomination Number:** PN1088  
**Nomination Description:** Strobe Talbott, of Ohio, to be Deputy Secretary of State

**Vote Counts:**

YEAs	66
NAYs	31
Not Voting	3

**YEAs ---66**

Akaka (D-HI)  
Baucus (D-MT)  
Biden (D-DE)  
Bingaman (D-NM)  
Boren (D-OK)  
Boxer (D-CA)  
Bradley (D-NJ)  
Breaux (D-LA)  
Bryan (D-NV)  
Bumpers (D-AR)  
Byrd (D-WV)  
Campbell (D-CO)  
Chafee (R-RI)  
Conrad (D-ND)  
Coverdell (R-GA)  
Danforth (R-MO)  
Daschle (D-SD)  
DeConcini (D-AZ)  
Dodd (D-CT)  
Domenici (R-NM)  
Dorgan (D-ND)  
Exon (D-NE)

Feingold (D-WI)  
Feinstein (D-CA)  
Ford (D-KY)  
Glenn (D-OH)  
Graham (D-FL)  
Gregg (R-NH)  
Harkin (D-IA)  
Hatfield (R-OR)  
Heflin (D-AL)  
Hollings (D-SC)  
Inouye (D-HI)  
Jeffords (R-VT)  
Johnston (D-LA)  
Kassebaum (R-KS)  
Kennedy (D-MA)  
Kerrey (D-NE)  
Kerry (D-MA)  
Kohl (D-WI)  
Lautenberg (D-NJ)  
Leahy (D-VT)  
Levin (D-MI)  
Lieberman (D-CT)

Lugar (R-IN)  
Mathews (D-TN)  
Metzenbaum (D-OH)  
Mikulski (D-MD)  
Mitchell (D-ME)  
Moseley-Braun (D-IL)  
Moynihan (D-NY)  
Murray (D-WA)  
Nunn (D-GA)  
Pell (D-RI)  
Pressler (R-SD)  
Reid (D-NV)  
Riegle (D-MI)  
Robb (D-VA)  
Sarbanes (D-MD)  
Sasser (D-TN)  
Shelby (D-AL)  
Simon (D-IL)  
Stevens (R-AK)  
Warner (R-VA)  
Wellstone (D-MN)  
Wofford (D-PA)

**NAYs ---31**

Bond (R-MO)  
Brown (R-CO)  
Burns (R-MT)  
Coats (R-IN)  
Cochran (R-MS)  
Cohen (R-ME)  
Craig (R-ID)  
D'Amato (R-NY)  
Dole (R-KS)  
Durenberger (R-MN)  
Faircloth (R-NC)

Gorton (R-WA)  
Gramm (R-TX)  
Grassley (R-IA)  
Hatch (R-UT)  
Helms (R-NC)  
Hutchison (R-TX)  
Kempthorne (R-ID)  
Lott (R-MS)  
Mack (R-FL)  
McCain (R-AZ)  
McConnell (R-KY)

Murkowski (R-AK)  
Nickles (R-OK)  
Packwood (R-OR)  
Roth (R-DE)  
Simpson (R-WY)  
Smith (R-NH)  
Specter (R-PA)  
Thurmond (R-SC)  
Wallop (R-WY)

**Not Voting - 3**

Bennett (R-UT)

Pryor (D-AR)

Rockefeller (D-WV)