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MARIAN A. CZARNECKI
CHIEF OF STAFF

Dear Colleague:

The International Relations Committee has reported out a compromise bill (S.846) which restores to our government some flexibility to help bring peace in Cyprus. We expect it will come to the floor on or about Tuesday, July 22.

We believe that the bill offers the most evenhanded treatment of two good NATO allies - Greece and Turkey - that could be produced in this emotionally charged situation. This bill will demonstrate to both parties that Congress favors neither side, but that we, nevertheless, intend to continue to play an active role in this critical problem in the Eastern Mediterranean.

S.846 provides a limited release of military equipment to Turkey. It also proposes new economic and military assistance to Greece and additional humanitarian assistance to Cyprus.

The approximately \$185 million in military articles to be released to Turkey were frozen in the pipeline since February 5, 1975. These defense items were contracted for by Turkey before the embargo began and to a large extent have already been paid for by the Turkish Government. There will be no grant military assistance authorized.

Under an amendment to H.R. 8454, offered by Don Fraser and adopted unanimously in Committee, any new military credits or Government-to-Government sales to Turkey will only become effective upon enactment of Foreign Assistance Legislation for FY 76, giving the Congress an additional period to observe whether this limited lifting of the embargo induces Turkey to seek a compromise of its differences with Greece on Cyprus.

Thus the integrity of Congressional action to oversee the use to which U.S.-supplied arms are put by an ally will have been preserved while at the same time we will be encouraging a return to harmony between two important NATO partners.

Our continuing commitment to common defense in Europe through NATO is of the utmost importance to U.S. interests. We cannot meet that commitment if the Eastern-most members of NATO remain at swords points. Nor can we maintain the integrity of the alliance -- and our access to very important bases -- when we have totally embargoed military equipment from one of its members. A map showing bases in Turkey, which are available to the U.S. and NATO, is enclosed.

Congress of the United States
Committee on International Relations

House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

July 17, 1975



We believe that we have put before the House a good balanced program, one that will serve the cause of peace, without compromising the principles for which this House has acted.

Without this bill, we foresee a descending spiral of events resulting in serious and lasting damage to our relations with Greece and Turkey and profound harm to NATO.

We strongly urge you to join us in voting to support S.846 when it comes to the floor next week.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Broomfield

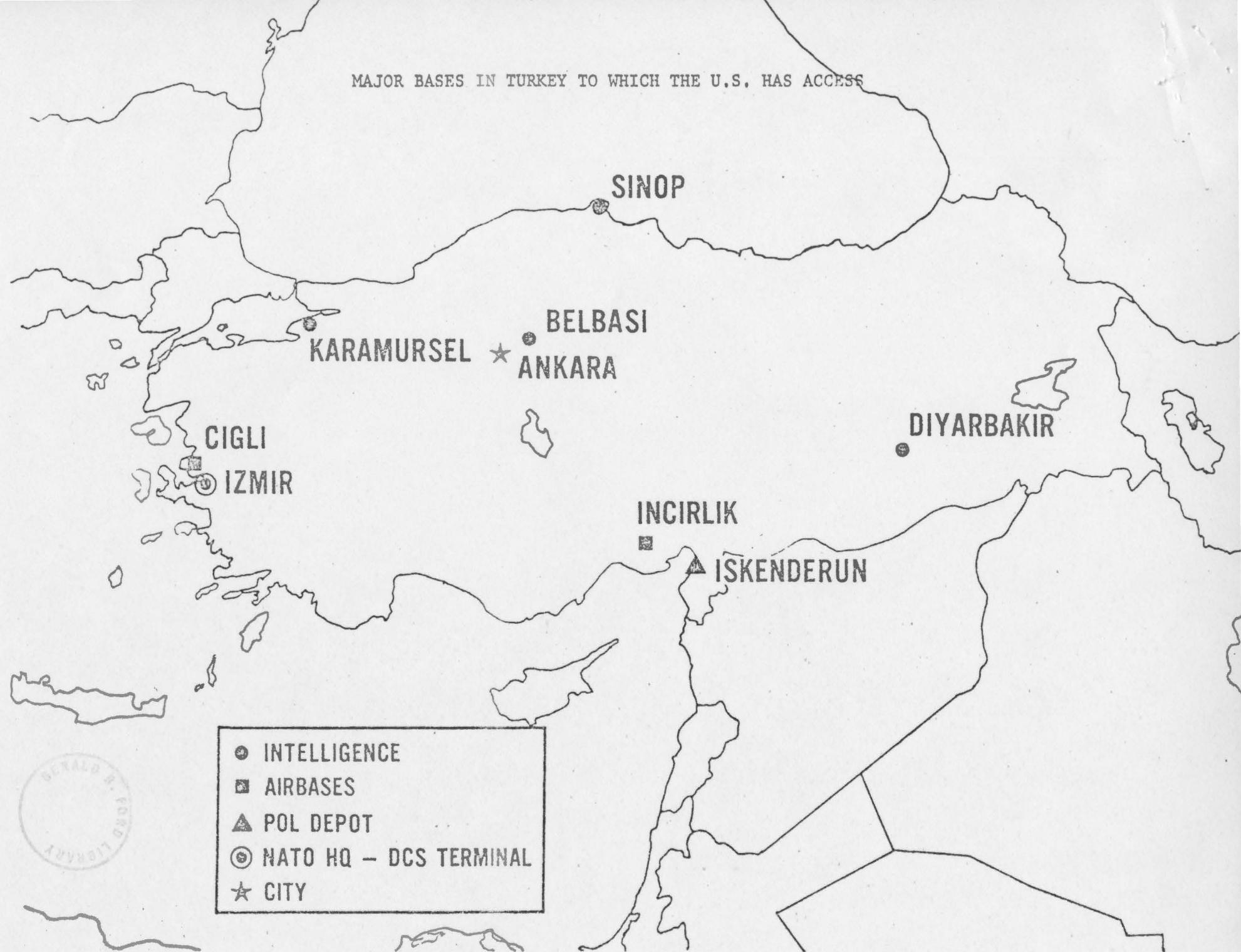
William S. Broomfield
Ranking Minority Member

Thomas E. Morgan

Thomas E. Morgan
Chairman



MAJOR BASES IN TURKEY TO WHICH THE U.S. HAS ACCESS



July 16, 1975

~~C.~~ The so-called compromise is no compromise.

1. Turkey gets arms but Turkey is required to do nothing with respect to the Turkish action which caused the cutoff--the use of American arms on Cyprus.
2. Opponents of arms to Turkey have consistently favored resumption of arms provided Turkey makes concessions on Cyprus, especially on the humanitarian problem of refugees.

~~D.~~ Approval of arms condones violations of conditions of U.S. law and of bilateral agreements between U.S. and Turkey.

1. The rule of law must be upheld.
2. Congress is not meddling in the conduct of foreign policy when Congress insists that the laws of the land be enforced.

~~E.~~ Approval of arms encourages other nations buying or receiving U.S. arms to use them without inhibition.

1. Example, the dangers of increased supplies of arms to the Persian Gulf States.
2. George Ball's warning of the "explosive" effect of a U.S. failure to insist on restrictions on use of U.S.-supplied arms.

~~D.~~ Approval of arms now would condone aggression by Turkey.

1. Turkey continues to occupy Cyprus with U.S. arms.
2. The arms have already been cut off and for the U.S. now to resume arms without any remedial action on Cyprus by Turkey would only be to condone the Turkish action, despite what the State Department says.

~~E.~~ Resumption of arms would have a very damaging impact in Greece.

1. It could threaten the new democracy there. George Ball says it would have a "catastrophic" impact in Athens with little hope of inducing constructive response in Ankara.
2. Could endanger both U.S. bases in Greece and a revived role for Greece in NATO.

F. To the argument that the arms embargo has not worked:

1. It has not been effectively tried, for Ford and Kissinger have undercut it both publicly and privately.
 - a. On February 16, eleven days after the ban went into effect, the Scott-Mansfield Administration bill was introduced.
 - b. Public statements of Ford, Kissinger and Macomber attacking Congress on its action and urging a reversal.
2. All these statements encouraged Turkey to believe that the Administration would reverse Congress and there was therefore no incentive for Turkey to make concessions on Cyprus.
3. Moreover, arms flowed to Turkey from July to February, but the Turks did nothing in the way of concessions on Cyprus.

G. Resumption of arms would be to yield to Turkish blackmail threats on the U.S. bases.

1. This despite Kissinger's statement in Atlanta that the U.S. would not yield to threats of blackmail
 2. Proponents of the arms cutoff are strongly pro-NATO.
 3. To yield to Turkey here would be to invite similar threats to U.S. bases by other countries.
- H. The bill reported by the International Relations Committee is a bad bill: See attachment.



What S. 846, as amended, does re: U.S. arms for Turkey:

(1) Section 2 allows immediate shipment of \$185 million of arms sales to Turkey contracted for prior to February 5, 1975.

It is not known how much, if any, of the \$185 million represents cash payments.

(2) Section 2 also allows unlimited commercial sales by U.S. arms manufacturers to Turkey, by cash or credit.

(3) Both of the above categories of arms sales are allowed "notwithstanding any other provision of law." This means that Turkey could occupy all the Aegean islands or go to war with Greece, using the weapons specified above without violating any American law. Even the general provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act and the Foreign Military Sales Act prohibiting aggressive use of aid are suspended for the categories.

(4) Section 3 of the bill also automatically allows resumption this year of all sales by our government of military goods to Turkey by cash or by credit subsidized by American taxpayers, immediately upon enactment of the regular military assistance bill.

(5) The only arms for Turkey not authorized by this bill are in grant assistance. However, the President already has waiver authority to give Turkey up to \$50 million this fiscal year, more grant assistance than Turkey received in Fiscal Year 1974.



A. The So-Called Compromise is no Compromise

The Administration has asked for a total removal of the arms embargo against Turkey. The compromise legislation, as amended:

- removes the suspension with respect to defense articles and services for which Turkey has already signed contracts; and
- lifts the embargo on commercial sales to Turkey.
- prevents future military sales on a cash or credit basis by the U.S. Government until the next Foreign Assistance Act is considered by the Congress, probably not until the end of this year.
- includes provisions for consultations with Greece for military and economic assistance in that country; and
- provides for continuation of humanitarian aid for Cyprus refugees.

In addition, the legislation requires periodic reports from the President on progress toward a Cyprus settlement.

The Committee bill maintains substantial restrictions. It represents much less than was requested, but is a responsible effort at compromise.



B. Approval of Arms Condones Violations of Conditions of U.S. Law and of Bilateral Agreements Between U.S. and Turkey

The Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) and Foreign Military Sales Act (FMSA) both state that military assistance to friendly countries will be provided "solely for internal security, for legitimate self-defense, and to permit the recipient country to participate in regional or collective arrangements or measures consistent with the Charter of the United Nations . . ." (FAA, Sec. 502; FMSA, Sec. 4). Neither act is cast in terms of specifying where the weapons may or may not be utilized.

Turkey considers its military action on Cyprus as consistent with the United Nations Charter and the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee under which Turkey, Greece, the United Kingdom, and Cyprus undertook to safeguard the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. Turkey has said that its actions on Cyprus were fully justified by the threat to the Turkish Cypriot community posed by the July 1974 coup d'etat against Archbishop Makarios and by subsequent events which in their view suggested the likelihood of union of the island with Greece, an unacceptable threat to Turkish security (and -- in their eyes -- a very real and grave threat to the lives of the Turkish Cypriot minority).

C.

Approval of Arms Encourages Other Nations Buying or
Receiving U.S. Arms to Use Them Without Inhibition

The proposed bill does not imply that the U.S. has failed, or would fail, to insist upon observance of restrictions on the use of U.S. supplied arms. Any violation of an agreement with the United States would remain subject to the provisions of existing law. That law establishes limited purposes for which arms can be provided, requires agreement by the recipient to use those arms only for those purposes, and establishes consequences for violation of that agreement.

D. Approval of Arms Now Would Condone Aggression by Turkey

As answered previously, the earlier Turkish actions on Cyprus are subject to various interpretations. The arms embargo has been in effect for six months and has had no constructive effect on the Cyprus situation. Passage of the bill before the House represents the only basis for further progress and for maintaining important U.S. security interests.

E. Resumption of Arms Would Have a Very Damaging Impact in
Greece

The Administration intends to continue efforts with each of the parties to reach an agreed settlement on Cyprus. We have no interest in making choices between Greece and Turkey. The United States needs a close security relationship with both, bilaterally and through NATO. The present lack of progress is not in the interest of any of the parties.

The proposed legislation requests the President to determine the most urgent needs of Greece for economic and military assistance and to make FY 1976 recommendations to the Congress. This is consistent with our policy of supporting the Greek government and the great importance we attach to our security relationship with Greece.

F. To the Argument that the Arms Embargo has not Worked

The aid cut-off by the Congress was intended to influence Turkey in the Cyprus negotiations. But the results of the Congressional action has been to block progress towards reconciliation, thereby prolonging the suffering on Cyprus; to complicate our ability to promote successful negotiations; to increase the danger of a broader conflict.

The Turkish aid cut-off has not brought concessions from the Turks. Instead, it has hardened their position in the Greek-Cyprus-Turkish crisis; it has fueled Greek-Turkish tensions in the Aegean; and we now run the very real risk of losing important U.S. capabilities in Turkey and serious damage to US-Turkish relations and NATO relations.

G. Resumption of Arms Would be to Yield to Turkish Blackmail
Threats on the U. S. Bases

There remains a strong basic mutuality of interests between the US and Turkey. But Turkey feels that this alliance mutuality is being eroded by a legislative embargo that cuts Turkey off completely from access to U.S. arms, in a manner in conflict with mutual security agreements between the U.S. and Turkey.

Continuation of the embargo both jeopardizes vital bilateral ties with Turkey and erodes the NATO defenses in the area, since virtually all U.S. facilities in Turkey relate to our capacity to support NATO defense objectives in the area. Also, to the extent that the embargo limits U.S. effectiveness in contributing to a Cyprus settlement, the outlook for Greek-Turk relations remains clouded, thus weakening an important element of overall NATO defense arrangements.

In no other allied country have we applied sanctions as severe as we have to Turkey. Mutual security relationships require cooperation on both sides. Our allies have provided essential facilities and we have provided military assistance where it was needed. An ally is bound to feel that the U.S. has failed to uphold its end of the security relationship when essential assistance is cut off.

H. The bill reported by the International Relations Committee is a bad bill.

As stated in the response to Item A, the bill reported out is a genuine and fair compromise. Specific comments on the bill follow:

Criticism:

"(1) Section 2 allows immediate shipment of \$185 million of arms sales to Turkey contracted for prior to February 5, 1975.

"It is not known how much, if any, of the \$185 million represents cash payments."

Response:

Section 2 removes the ban against deliveries under existing FMS contracts. However, most of the items making up the total contract value of \$185 million are not yet manufactured and ready for delivery. Less than \$60 million, mostly F-4 aircraft bought in 1972 and fully paid for, could be shipped immediately. Turkey has paid over \$100 million toward the purchase of undelivered aircraft. These funds have been borrowed from the United States over the last three years and are being repaid with interest. In addition, Turkey has paid more than \$12 million as down payments on FMS cash purchases for which contracts have been signed and delivery has not been made.

Criticism:

"(2) Section 2 also allows unlimited commerical sales by U.S. arms manufacturers to Turkey, by cash or credit.

Response:

All but a few countries in the world can buy items from U.S. firms through direct commercial channels. The only U.S. Government involvement in such sales is the issuance of export control licenses. Any credit obtained by Turkey would be from private financial sources, not from the U.S. Government. The quantity of commerical purchases would be limited by need, price, and availability, and the nature of the items would be limited by established U.S. export control policies.

Criticism:

"(3) Both of the above categories of arms sales are allowed 'notwithstanding any other provision of law.' This means that Turkey could occupy all the Aegean island or go to war with Greece, using the weapons specified above without violating any American law. Even the general provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act and the Foreign Military Sales Act prohibiting aggressive use of aid are suspended for the categories."

Response:

The authorization to complete deliveries of previously contracted for items "notwithstanding any other provision of law" makes clear that existing statutes, particularly section 620(x) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, will not be an impediment to such delivery. Similar superseding language is routinely contained in other foreign assistance legislation. This notwithstanding clause relates only to delivery of goods contracted for under the Foreign Military Sales Act and subject to the provisions of that Act. It does not relieve Turkey from its obligations under the existing contracts and agreements which contain all of the conditions on use, transfer and security of U.S. furnished arms required by U.S. law and policy.

Criticism:

"(4) Section 3 of the bill also automatically allows resumption this year of all sales by our government of military goods to Turkey by cash or by credit subsidized by American taxpayers immediately upon enactment of the regular military assistance bill."

Response:

Cash sales are for value and are not subsidized. Credits may be considered subsidies, like any other form of foreign assistance. But the funds go entirely to U.S. business and the credits are repaid in full with interest. By conditioning the resumption of government sales to Turkey upon the enactment of subsequent legislation, the Committee bill provides a second opportunity for Congress to reevaluate the situation, and to further modify the legislation if appropriate, before section 3 takes effect. This is hardly automatic.

Criticism:

"(5) The only arms for Turkey not authorized by this bill are in grant assistance. However, the President already has waiver authority to give Turkey up to \$50 million this fiscal year, more grant assistance than Turkey received in Fiscal Year 1974."

Response:

The President does have the authority under section 614(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act to authorize up to \$50 million in military assistance to Turkey. Exercise of that authority, and the resulting assistance, would be no substitute for the authority sought in the proposed legislation. For one thing, equipment now in the military assistance "pipeline" and which could be released by such a waiver would not satisfy Turkey's most pressing needs. Moreover, it would be obviously illogical to provide grant assistance while not first seeking authority for cash, credit and commercial sales. Lastly, the President has felt from the beginning, and continues to feel, that cooperation with the desires of Congress would be the surest route toward restoration on a firmer basis of the flexibility he needs so that the United States may play a meaningful role in the search for a resolution of the Cyprus problem while helping Turkey to fulfill its important responsibilities in a strong North Atlantic Alliance. The FY 1974 grant program for Turkey was \$63.3 million. During that period, deliveries of grant material and services were approximately \$52.8 million.

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MAJOR BASES IN TURKEY TO WHICH THE U.S. HAS ACCESS



7/22/75

THE SEVEN (7) VOTES IN THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

→ x - anti-administration vote

+ o - pro-administration vote

A - absence

→ leaning toward administration
← leaning away

VOTE #1: Sept. 24 - Rosenthal-DuPont IV Amendment passed 307 to 90 prohibiting funds for military assistance to Turkey until the President certifies to Congress that a satisfactory agreement has been reached regarding military forces in Cyprus.

VOTE #2: Oct. 7 - House rejects the Conference Committee language by 291 to 69 and passes the Rosenthal Motion by voice vote.

VOTE #3: Oct. 11 - The House rejects the Mansfield Motion, SJ Res 247 by 187 to 171, which then brings on a Presidential veto. (The Congress had plans to recess for Elections on this date but had to return to Session the next week because of the Veto.)

VOTE #4: Oct. 15 - The House failed to override Presidential veto by vote of 223 to 135 (16 votes short) and new legislation required.

VOTE #5: Oct. 16 - House passes Rosenthal Compromise Amendment by 194 to 144 providing for cut-off military aid to Turkey if any U. S. equipment given to Turkey is shipped to Cyprus.

VOTE #6: Oct. 17 - The House failed to override the President's veto of Oct. 16, two vote short (161-83); then passed HJ Res 1167 by vote of 191-33, which the President signed into law. (Senate passed HJ Res 1167 by voice vote, same day)

VOTE #7: Dec. 11 - Rosenthal Amendment to provide for an immediate cut-off of military aid to Turkey unless the President certified to Congress that Turkey was in compliance with the Foreign Aid and Foreign Military Sales Acts and that substantial progress had been made toward a military settlement on Cyprus. Adopted 297-98.



Sept. 24

Oct. 7

Oct. 11

Oct. 15

Oct. 16

Oct. 17

Dec. 11

WH Breakfa.
July 9EA Break
July 9

	W	X	X	O	O	A	A	X	X	✓
Abdnor, James (S. Dak.)	W ✓	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Abzug, Bella S. (N.Y.)	No ✓	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓
Adams, Brock (Wash.)	✓ S	X	A	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓
Addabbo, Joseph P. (N.Y.)	D ✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓
Albert, Carl (Okla.)	✓									
Alexander, Bill (Ark.)	W ✓	X	X	A	X	X	A	X	✓	✓
Ambro, Jerome A. (N.Y.)	✓ S	NM								
Anderson, Glenn M. (Calif.)	✓ S	X	X	A	X	X	A	X	✓	✓
Anderson, John B. (Ill.)	✓ D	O	O	O	O	O	A	O	✓	✓
Andrews, Ike F. (N.C.)	LA ✓	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓
Andrews, Mark (N. Dak.)	✓ SW	X	X	O	X	A	A	X	✓	✓
Annunzio, Frank (Ill.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓
Archer, Bill (Tex.)	W ✓	X	A	O	O	O	O	X	✓	✓
Armstrong, William L. (Colo.)	W ✓	A	A	X	X	X	A	A	✓	✓
Ashbrook, John M. (Ohio)	✓ SW	X	X	X	X	X	A	X	✓	✓
Ashley, Thomas L. (Ohio)	✓ SW	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	✓	✓
Aspin, Les (Wis.)	D ✓	X	X	X	A	A	A	X	✓	✓
AuCoin, Les (Oreg.)	W ✓	NM								
Badillo, Herman (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	✓
Bafalis, L. A. (St. P.) (Fla.)		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	✓
Baldus, Alvin (Wis.)	✓ S	NM								
Barrett, William A. (Pa.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	A	↑	✓
Baucus, Max (Mont.)	D ✓	NM								
Bauman, Robert E. (Md.)	✓ SW	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	✓
Beard, Edward P. (R.I.)		NM								
Beard, Robin L. (Tenn.)	D ✓	O	X	O	O	O	A	O	✓	✓
Bedell, Berkley (Iowa)	✓ S	NM								
Bell, Alphonzo (Calif.)	S ✓	O	A	O	A	O	O	O	✓	✓
Benitez, Jaime ¹ (P.R.)										
Bennett, Charles E. (Fla.)	D ✓	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	✓
Bergland, Bob (Minn.)	W ✓	X	X	X	X	X	A	X	✓	✓
Bevill, Tom (Ala.)	S ✓	O	X	O	O	O	O	A	✓	✓
Biaggi, Mario (N.Y.)	✓ S	A	X	X	A	X	X	X	✓	✓
Biester, Edward G., Jr. (Pa.)	S ✓	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	✓	✓
Bingham, Jonathan B. (N.Y.)	S ✓	X	O	O	X	A	A	X	✓	✓
Blanchard, James J. (Mich.)	✓ S	NM								
Blouin, Michael T. (Iowa)	W ✓	NM								
Boggs, Lindy (Mrs. Hale) (La.)	S ✓	X	X	X	X	X	A	X	✓	✓
Boland, Edward P. (Mass.)	W ✓	X	X	X	X	A	A	X	✓	✓
Bolling, Richard (Mo.)	✓ S	X	X	A	A	A	A	X	✓	✓
Bonker, Don (Wash.)	✓ S	NM								
Bowen, David R. (Miss.)	✓ S	O	O	O	O	O	A	X	✓	✓
Brademas, John (Ind.)		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	✓
Breaux, John B. (La.)	✓ S	O	O	O	O	A	O	X	✓	✓
Breckinridge, John (Ky.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓	✓
Brinkley, Jack (Ga.)	D ✓	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	✓	✓
Brodhead, William M. (Mich.)	D ✓	NM								
Brooks, Jack (Tex.)	S ✓	A	X	X	X	A	A	X	✓	✓
Brownfield, Wm. S. (Mich.)	S ✓	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	✓	✓
Brown, Clarence J. (Ohio)	✓ S	X	X	O	O	O	O	A	✓	✓
Brown, Garret (Mich.)	✓ S	X	A	O	X	O	A	X	✓	✓

	Sept. 2 ⁴	Oct. 7	Oct. 11	Oct. 14	Oct. 1	Dec. 11	WH Breakf July 9	JWH Blkft:
Brown, George E., Jr. (Calif.)	✓ S	X X A X A A X					?	
Brownhill, James T. (N.C.)	✓ S	X X O O O A A X						
Buchanan, John (Ala.)	✓ S	X X O O X X X O						
Burdener, Clair JV. (Calif.)	✓ S	X X A X O A A X						
Burke, J. Herbert (Fla.)	W	X X A A A A A X						
Burke, James A. (Mass.)	✓ S	X X X X X X X X						
Burke, Yvonne Brathwaite (Calif.)	✓ S	X A X X X X A A X						
Burleson, Omar (Tex.)	O O	O O O O O O O O						
Burlison, Bill D. (Mo.)	D	O O O X O O A A						
Burton, John L. (Calif.)	X X	X X X X X X X X						
Burton, Phillip (Calif.)	✓ S	X X X X X X X X					X	
Butler, M. Calbrell (Va.)	D	X X O A O O O O						
Byron, Goodloe E. (Md.)	✓ S	X X X X X X X X						
Carney, Charles J. (Ohio)	X X	X X X A A A X						
Carr, Bob (Mich.)	D	N/M						
Carter, Tim Lee (Ky.)	?	A O O O O A O						
Casey, Bob (Tex.)	✓ S	X X X X O O O X						
Cederberg, Elford A. (Mich.)	O O	O O O O O O O O						
Chappell, Bill, Jr. (Fla.)	D	X X O O O O O A						
Chisholm, Shirley (N.Y.)	✓ S	X X X X X X X X						
Clancy, Donald D. (Ohio)	W	X X X X A A A X						
Clausen, Don H. (Calif.)	X X	O O X X A A A X						
Clawson, Del (Calif.)	✓ S	X A A X O O A X						
Clay, William (Bill) (Mo.)	✓ S	X X X X X X X A						
Cleveland, James C. (N.H.)	✓ S	X X X O O O O O X						
Cochran, Thad (Miss.)	X X	O O O O O O A X						
Cohen, William S. (Maine)	✓ S	X A A X O O O O						
Collins, Cardiss (Ill.)	✓ S	X X X X X X X X						
Collins, James M. (Tex.)	W	X X A A A A A X						
Conable, Barber B., Jr. (N.Y.)	✓ S	O H A A A A A A						
Conlan, John B. (Ariz.)	W	X X A A A A A X						
Conte, Silvio O. (Mass.)	✓ S	X X X X X X A X					?	
Convers, John, Jr. (Mich.)	X A	X A X A X X X X						
Corman, James G. (Calif.)	X X	X X X X X X X X						
Cornell, Robert J. (Wis.)	D	N/M						
Cotter, William R. (Conn.)	X X	X X X X X X A X						
Coughlin, Lawrence (Pa.)	✓ S	X X O O A A X X X						
Crane, Philip M. (Ill.)	✓ S	X X X A A A A X						
D'Amours, Norman E. (N.H.)	✓ S	N/M						
Daniel, Dan (Va./W.C.)	D	X X O O X O X X					↑	
Daniel, Robert W., Jr. (Va.)	D	X A A X A A A X					↑	
Daniels, Dominick V. (N.J.)	X A	X X X X X X X X						
Danielson, George E. (Calif.)	X X	X X X X X X A X						
Davis, Mendel J. (S.C.)	D	X X X X X X X X						
de la Garza, E (Tex.)	✓ S	O O A A O O O X						
DeLaney, James J. (N.Y.)	✓ S	X X X X X X X X						
Dellums, Ronald V. (Calif.)	D	X X X X X X X X						
de Lugo, Ron ² (V.I.)	N/M						↓	
Dent, John H. (Pa.)	A X	X X X X X X X X						
Derrick, Butler (S.C.)	D	N/M						
Derwinski, Edward J. (Ill.)	W X	X X X X X A X X						

Sept. 24

Oct. 1

Oct. 11

Oct. 15

Oct. 16

Oct. 17

Dec. 11

XOO

WH Breakfast
July 9

WH Blkt:

7/7

Devine, Samuel L. (Ohio)

S	O	X	O	O	O	A	O
D	O	X	O	O	O	A	O
Diggs, Charles C., Jr. (Mich.)	A	A	X	X	X	X	X
Dingell, John D. (Mich.)	X	X	X	X	X	A	X
Dodd, Christopher J. (Conn.) ✓	S	N/M					
Downey, Thomas J. (N.Y.)	D	N/M					
Downing, Thomas N. (Va.)	W	X	X	X	O	X	X
Drinan, Robert F. (Mass.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Duncan, John J. (Tenn.)	W	X	X	A	X	X	X
Duncan, Robert (Ore.)	D	N/M					
du Pont, Pierre S. (Dela) (Dela) ✓	S	X	X	X	X	X	X
Early, Joseph D. (Mass.) ✓	N/M						
Eckhardt, Bob (Tex.)	S	A	A	X	X	X	X
Edgar, Robert W. (Pa.)	S/A	N/M					
Edwards, Don (Calif.) ✓	S	X	X	X			
Edwards, Jack (Ala.)	D	X	X	A	X	A	X
Eilberg, Joshua (Pa.) ✓	S	X	X	A	X	X	X
Emery, David F. (Maine)	D	N/M					
English, Glenn (Okla.)	W	N/M					
Erlenborn, John N. (Ill.)	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Esch, Marvin L. (Mich.)	S	X	X	A	X	A	X
Eshleman, Edwin D. (Pa.)	X	X	O	O	O	O	A
Evans, David W. (Ind.) ✓	S	N/M					
Evans, Frank E. (Colo.) ✓	S	X	X	X	X	A	X
Evins, Joe L. (Tenn.)	W	O	O	O	O	A	X
Fascell, Dante B. (Fla.) ✓	S	X	X	X	X	X	X
Fauntroy, Walter E. (D.C.)							
Fenwick, Millicent (N.J.) ✓	S	N/M					
Findley, Paul (Ill.)	S	X	A	A	O	A	O
Fish, Hamilton, Jr. (N.Y.) ✓	S	X	X	X	X	X	X
Fisher, Joseph L. (Va.) ✓	S	N/M					
Fithian, Floyd J. (Ind.)	D	N/M					
Flood, Daniel J. (Pa.)	X	X	X	X	A	X	X
Florio, James J. (N.J.)	D	N/M					
Flowers, Walter (Ala.) ✓	S	O	X	A	X	X	X
Flynt, John J., Jr. (Ga.)	D	X	X	X	X	A	X
Foley, Thomas S. (Wash.)	S	X	X	X	X	A	X
Ford, Harold E. (Tenn.) ✓	S	N/M					
Ford, William D. (Mich.) ✓	S	X	X	A	X	X	A
Forsythe, Edwin B. (N.J.) ✓	S	X	X	O	A	X	X
Fountain, L. H. (N.C.)	A	O	O	O	O	O	X
Fraser, Donald M. (Minn.) ✓	S	X	X	X	X	X	X
Frenzel, Bill (Minn.) ✓	S	X	X	O	O	X	X
Frey, Louis, Jr. (Fla.)	W	X	X	O	O	O	X
Fulton, Richard H. (Tenn.) ✓	S	O	X	X	A	A	X
Fuqua, Don (Fla.)	W	X	X	X	O	X	X
Gaydos, Joseph M. (Pa.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Giaimo, Robert N. (Conn.)	D	X	A	X	X	X	A
Gibbons, Sam (Fla.)	W	X	X	X	X	X	A
Gilman, Benjamin A. (N.Y.) ✓	S	X	X	A	X	X	X
Ginn, Bo (Ga.)	D	X	X	X	X	X	X

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WH Breakfast
July 9
WH Dift 11

Sept. 24

Oct. 7

Oct. 11

Oct. 15

Oct. 16

Oct. 17

Dec. 11

	S	X	X	A	X	A	X	O
Goldwater, Barry M., Jr. (Calif.)	S							
Gonzalez, Henry B. (Tex.)	W	A	X	X	X	O	X	X
Goodling, William F. (Pa.)	W	O	O	O	O	O	O	X
Gradison, Willis D., Jr. (Ohio)	W	NM						
Grassley, Charles E. (Iowa)	W	NM						
Green, William J. (Pa.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gude, Gilbert (Md.)	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Guyer, Tennyson (Ohio)	S	X	X	O	O	O	O	X
Hagedorn, Tom (Minn.)	S	NM						
Haley, James A. (Fla.)	W	X	X	X	O	X	X	X
Hall, Tim L. (Ill.)		NM						
Hamilton, Lee H. (Ind.)	S	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Hammerschmidt, John Paul (Ark.)	W	X	A	A	A	A	A	X
Hanley, James M. (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	A	X
Hannaford, Mark W. (Calif.)	D	NM						
Hansen, George (Idaho)	✓ S	O	A		X			
Harkin, Tom (Iowa)	D	NM						
Harrington, Michael (Mass.)	✓ S	X	X	A	X	A	A	X
Harris, Herbert E., II (Va.)		NM						
Harsha, William H. (Ohio)	✓ S	X	X	X	O	A	O	O
Hastings, James F. (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	O	O	A	A	A	O
Hawkins, Augustus F. (Calif.)	✓ S	A	X	X	X	A	A	X
Hayes, Philip H. (Ind.)	W	NM						
Hays, Wayne L. (Ohio)	S	X	A	O	A	X	X	O
Hebert, F. Edward (La.)	D	O	A	A	O	A	A	A
Hechler, Ken (W. Va.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Heckler, Margaret M. (Mass.)	✓ S	A	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hefner, W. G. (Bill) (N.C.)	W	NM						
Heinz, H. John, III (Pa.)	✓ S	X	X	O	O	X	X	A
Helstoski, Henry (N.J.)	✓ S	X	X	A	X	X	A	X
Henderson, David N. (N.C.)	W	X	X	O	O	O	O	X
Hicks, Floyd V. (Wash.)	D	X	X	X	X	X	A	X
Hightower, Jack (Tex.)	W	NM						
Hillis, Elwood (Ind.)	D	X	X	X	O	O	O	X
Hinshaw, Andrew J. (Calif.)	D	X	A	O	O	O	A	X
Holland, Kenneth L. (S.C.)	D	NM						
Holt, Marjorie S. (Md.)	WD	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Holtzman, Elizabeth (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Horton, Frank (N.Y.)	S	X	X	X	X	X	A	X
Howard, James J. (N.J.)	S	X	X	X	X	X	A	A
Howe, Allan T. (Utah)	W	NM						
Hubbard, Carroll, Jr. (Ky.)	D	NM						
Hughes, William J. (N.J.)	D	NM						
Hungate, William L. (Mo.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hutchinson, Edward (Mich.)	D	X	O	O	O	O	O	O
Hyde, Henry J. (Ill.)	W	NM						
Ichord, Richard H. (Md.)	D	O	O	O	O	A	O	
Jacobs, Andrew, Jr. (Ind.)	✓ S	NM						
Jarman, John (Okla.)		X	X	O	O	O	O	X
Jeffords, James M. (Vt.)	W	NM						
Jenrette, John W., Jr. (S.C.)	D	NM						

OK?



	Sept. 24	Oct. 1	Oct. 11	Oct. 15	Oct. 16	Oct. 17	Dec. 11	WH Breakf July 9	WH Breakf July 9
Johnson, Albert W. (Pa.)	S	X	X	O			O		
Johnson, Harold T. (Calif.)	W	X	X	X					
Johnson, James P. (Jim) (Colo.)	W	A	A	A					
Jones, Ed (Tenn.)	✓ S	X	X	O	O	O	O	X	
Jones, James R. (Okla.)	W	A	A	O A	O	A	X		
Jones, Robert E. (Ala.)	W	X	X	X X	O	X	X		
Jones, Walter B. (N.C.)	W	X	X	O O	O	A	A		
Jordan, Barbara (Tex.)	✓ S	X	X	X X	X X	X X	X X		
Karth, Joseph E. (Minn.)	X	X	X	X X	X X	X X	X X		
Kasten, Robert W., Jr. (Wis.)	✓ S	N/M					O		
Kastenmeier, Robert W. (Wis.)	S	X	X	X X	X	X X			
Kazen, Abraham, Jr. (Tex.)	D	X	X	X X	X X	X X			
Kelly, Richard (Fla.)	W	N/M							
Kemp, Jack F. (N.Y.)	D	X	X	O O	X	A X			
Ketchum, William M. (Calif.)	S	X	X	O X	X X	X O	O		
Keys, Martha (Kans.)	✓ S	N/M							
Kindness, Thomas N. (Ohio)	W	N/M							
Koch, Edward I. (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	X	X X	X X	X X			
Krebs, John (Calif.)	N/M								
Krueger, Robert (Bob) (Tex.)	D	N/M							
LaFalce, John J. (N.Y.)	N/M								
Lagomarsino, Robert J. (Calif.)	S	X	X	X X	X X	X X			
Landrum, Phil M. (Ga.)	✓ S	O	X	O O	O A	A A	X		
Latta, Delbert L. (Ohio)	X	X	O O	O O	O A	A O			
Leggett, Robert L. (Calif.)	D	X	X	O X	X X	X X			
Lehman, William (Fla.)	✓ S	A	X	X A	X X	X X			
Lent, Norman F. (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	X	X X	X X	X X			
Levitas, Elliott H. (Ga.)	N/M								
Litton, Jerry (Mo.)	W	X	X	O O	A A	A A			
Lloyd, Jim (Calif.)	D	N/M							
Lloyd, Marilyn (Tenn.)	W	N/M							
Long, Clarence D. (Md.)		X	X	X X	X X	X X			
Long, Gillis W. (La.)	W	X	X	X A	A A	A X			
Lott, Trent (Miss.)	O O	O O	O A	O O	O O	O O	O		
Lujan, Manuel, Jr. (N. Mex.)	✓ S	X	A	X X	X X	X X			
McClory, Robert (Ill.)	S	X	X	O O	O O	O O	O		
McCloskey, Paul N., Jr. (Calif.)	X	A	O O	O O	O A	A O			
McCollister, John Y. (Nebr.)	W	X	X	X A	A A	A X			
McCormack, Mike (Wash.)	W	X	X	X X	X A	A X			
McDade, Joseph M. (Pa.)	✓ S	X	X	O O	X X	X X	O		
McDonald, Larry (Ga.)	D	N/M							
McEwen, Robert C. (N.Y.)	W	O	O	O O	O O	O X	O		
McFall, John J. (Calif.)	O O	O O	O X	O O	X O	O O	O		
McHugh, Matthew E. (N.Y.)	✓ S	N/M							
McKay, Gunn (Utah)	W	X	X	A X	X X	A X		?	
McKinney, Stewart B. (Conn.)	S	X	X	X X	X X	X X			
Macdonald, Torbert H. (Mass.)	X	X	X X	X X	X A	A X			
Madden, Ray J. (Ind.)	X	X	X X	X X	X X	X X			
Madigan, Edward R. (Ill.)	O O	O O	O O	O O	O O	O O	O		
Maguire, Andrew (N.J.)	N/M								
Mahan, George H. (Tex.)	D	O O	O O	O O	O O	O O	O		

Sept. 24

Oct. 1

Oct. 11

Oct. 15

Oct. 16

Oct. 17

Dec. 11

WH Breakfast
July 9WH Breakfast
July 9

Mann, James R. (S.C.)	✓ S	X	X	O	O	O	O	A
Martin, James G. (N.C.)	✓ S	X	X	O	X	O	O	X
Mathis, Dawson (Ga.)	✓ S	X	A	O	O	O	X	X
Matsunaga, Spark M. (Hawaii)	S	O	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mazzoli, Romano L. (Ky.)	W	X	X	O	X	X	X	O
Meeds, Lloyd (Wash.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Melcher, John (Mont.)	W	O	O	O	O	A	A	X
Metcalfe, Ralph H. (Ill.)	✓ S	A	X	X	X	X	A	X
Mevner, Helen S. (N.J.)	S	NM						
Mezvinsky, Edward (Iowa)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Michel, Robert H. (Ill.)		O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Mikva, Abner J. (Ill.)	✓ S	NM						
Milford, Dale (Tex.)	W	X	X	X	O	O	O	X
Miller, Clarence E. (Ohio)	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Miller, George (Calif.)	✓ S	NM						
Mills, Wilbur D. (Ark.)		X	A	A	A	A	A	A
Mineta, Norman Y. (Calif.)	✓ S	NM						
Minish, Joseph G. (N.J.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mink, Patsy T. (Hawaii)		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mitchell, Donald J. (N.Y.)	D	X	A	O	O	O	A	X
Mitchell, Parren J. (Md.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Moakley, Joe (Mass.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Moffett, Anthony Toby (Conn.)	D	NM						
Mollohan, Robert H. (W. Va.)	D	X	X	X	X	A	A	X
Montgomery, G. V. (Sonny) (Miss.)	D	O	O	O	O	O	A	O
Moore, W. Henson (La.)	W	NM						
Moorhead, Carlos J. (Calif.)	W	X	X	O	A	A	A	X
Moorhead, William S. (Pa.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	A	X
Morgan, Thomas E. (Pa.)	S	X	X	O	X	X	X	O
Mosher, Charles A. (Ohio)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	O
Moss, John E. (Calif.)		X	X	A	X	A	A	X
Mottl, Ronald M. (Ohio)	✓ S	NM						
Murphy, John M. (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Murphy, Morgan F. (Ill.)	D	X	X	X	A	X	X	X
Murtha, John P. (Pa.)	S	X	X	O	X	O	X	O
Myers, Gary A. (Pa.)	W	NM						
Myers, John T. (Ind.)	W	O	O	O	O	O	O	X
Natcher, William H. (Ky.)		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Neal, Stephen L. (N.C.)	✓ S	NM						
Nedzi, Lucien N. (Mich.)	D	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nichols, Bill (Ala.)	D	O	X	O	O	O	A	O
Nix, Robert N. C. (Pa.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	A	X
Nolan, Richard C. (Ind.)	D	NM						
Nowak, Henry J. (N.Y.)	✓ S	NM						
Oberstar, James L. (Minn.)		NM						
Obey, David R. (Wis.)	✓ S	X	X	O	X	O	D	X
O'Brien, George M. (Ill.)	D	X	X	X	X	O	X	X
O'Hara, James G. (Mich.)	✓ S	X	X	O	X	A	O	O
O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr. (Mass.)	W	A	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ottinger, Richard L. (N.Y.)	S	NM						
Passman, Otto E. (Tenn.)		O	O	O	O	O	O	O

WH Break
July 9
WH Effect: 7/

Passman	Sept. 24	Oct. 1	Oct. 11	Oct. 15	Oct. 16	Oct. 17	Dec. 11
Fatman, Wright (Tex.)	✓ S	0	X	A	A	X	A X
Patten, Edward J. (N.J.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X X
Patterson, Jerry M. (Calif.)	D	NM					
Pattison, Edward W. (N.Y.)	D	NM					
Pepper, Claude (Ga.)	✓ S	X	A	X	X	X	X X
Perkins, Carl D. (Ky.)	S	X	X	O	X	O	X X
Peyser, Peter A. (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	X	A	X	X	A X
Pickle, J. J. (Tex.)	✓ S	O	O	O	O	X	X X
Pike, Otis G. (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X X
Poage, W. R. (Tex.)	O	A	O	O	O	O	O
Pressler, Larry (S. Dak.)	✓ S	NM					
Prever, Richardson (N.C.)	X	A	O	X	O	O	O
Price, Melvin (Ill.)	D	X	X	X	X	X	X X
Pritchard, Joel (Wash.)	S	X	A	A	X	X	O X
Quie, Albert H. (Minn.)	✓ S	O	O	O	O	O	O O
Quillen, James H. (Jimmy) (Tenn.)	X	X	O	O	O	A	O
Railsback, Tom (Ill.)	✓ S	O	X	O	X	O	A X
Randall, Wm. J. (Mo.)	D	X	X	X	X	X	X X
Rangel, Charles B. (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X X
Rees, Thomas M. (Calif.)	W	X	X	O	O	O	A X
Regula, Ralph S. (Ohio)	✓ SW	X	X	X	A	X	X X
Reuss, Henry S. (Wis.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X X
Rhodes, John J. (Ariz.)	O	A	O	O	O	O	O
Richmond, Frederick W. (N.Y.)	NM						
Riegle, Donald W., Jr. (Mich.)	A	X	X	X	X	X	X X
Rinaldo, Matthew J. (N.J.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X X
Risenhoover, Theodore M. (Tex.)	D	NM					
(Okla.)							
Roberts, Ray (Tex.)	W	X	H	X			
Robinson, J. Kenneth (Va.)	D	X	X	O	O	O	X
Rodino, Peter W., Jr. (N.J.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Roe, Robert A. (N.J.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rogers, Paul G. (Fla.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	O
Roncalio, Teno (Wyo.)	D	X	X	A	A	A	X
Rooney, Fred B. (Pa.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rose, Charles (N.C.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rosenthal, Benjamin S. (N.Y.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rostenkowski, Dan (Ill.)	W	X	X	X	X	A	X
Roush, J. Edward (Ind.)	X	X	X	X	Y	X	X
Rousselot, John H. (Calif.)	✓ S	X	X	O	A	A	X
Rovbal, Edward R. (Calif.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X
Runnels, Harold (N. Mex.)	D	X	A	O	O	X	O
Ruppe, Philip E. (Mich.)	✓ S	O	O	O	A	A	O
Russo, Martin A. (Ill.)	NM						
Ryan, Leo J. (Calif.)	✓ S	O	O	O	A	A	O
St Germain, Fernand J. (R.I.)	X	X	X	X	X	A	X
Sentini, Jim (Nev.)	✓ S	NM					
Sarasin, Ronald L. (Corn.)	S	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sarbanes, Paul S. (Md.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Satterfield, David E. (III) (Va.)	X	X	O	O	X	X	X
Schoenar, James H. (N.Y.)	✓ S	NM					

WH Breakfast
July 9
WH Bkft: 7/17

	Sept. 24	Oct. 1	Oct. 11	Oct. 15	Oct. 16	Oct. 17	Dec. 11	
Schneebeli, Herman T. (Pa.)	O	O	O	O	O	A	O	
Schroeder, Patricia (Colo.)	D	X	X	X	A	A	X	
Schulze, Richard T. (Pa.)	D	NM						
Sebelius, Keith G. (Kans.)	S	O	O	A	O	O	O	
Seiberling, John F. (Ohio)	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	↑ O
Sharp, Philip R. (Ind.)	S	NM						
Shipley, George E. (Ill.)	D	X	X	X	X	A	X	
Shriver, Garner E. (Kans.)	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	
Shuster, Bud (Pa.)	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	
Sikes, Robert L. F. (Fla.)	D	X	A	O	O	O	O	O
Simon, Paul (Ill.)	S	NM						
Sisk, B. F. (Calif.)	W	A	X	X	O	X	X	
Skubitz, Joe (Kans.)	O	O	O	O	O	A	O	
Slack, John M. (W. Va.)	S	X	O	X	O	O	X	
Smith, Neal (Iowa)	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Smith, Virginia (Nebr.)	W	NM						
Snyder, Gene (Ky.)	W	X	A	A	A	A	X	
Solarz, Stephen J. (N.Y.)	S	NM						O
Spellman, Gladys Noon (Md.)	S	NM						
Spence, Floyd (S.C.)	D	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Staggers, Harley O. (W. Va.)	S	V	X	X	X	X	X	
Stanton, J. William (Ohio)	W	O	X	O	O	O	X	
Stanton, James V. (Ohio)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Stark, Fortney H. (Pa.) (Cal.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Steed, Tom (Okla.)	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	
Steelman, Alan (Tex.)	W	X	A	A	X	A	X	
Steiger, Sam (Ariz.)	S	X	X	O	O	A	X	
Steiger, William A. (Wis.)	S	X	X	O	X	O	A	→
Stephens, Robert G., Jr. (Ga.)	X	X	A	X	X	A	X	
Stokes, Louis (Ohio)	X	X	A	X	X	X	X	
Stratton, Samuel S. (N.Y.)	D	X	A	O	X	O	A	O
Stuckey, W. S. (Bill), Jr. (Ga.)	S	X	A	A	X	X	A	X
Studds, Gerry E. (Mass.)	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Sullivan, Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
(Mo.)								
Symington, James W. (Mo.)	S	X	A	X	X	X	X	O
Symms, Steven D. (Idaho)	W	O	A	A	O	A	A	O
Talcott, Burt L. (Calif.)	S	X	X	O	O	O	A	X
Taylor, Gene (Mo.)	W	X	A	O	O	A	A	O
Taylor, Roy A. (N.C.)	X	X	O	X	O	O	X	X?VY
Teague, Olin E. (Tex.)	S	O	A	X	X	A	X	X
Thompson, Frank, Jr. (N.J.)	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Thone, Charles (Nebr.)	W	X	X	O	O	A	A	O
Thornton, Ray (Ark.)	W	O	O	O	O	O	O	X
Traxler, Bob (Calif.)	X	X	X	X	X	A	X	
Treen, David C. (La.)	D	O	O	O	O	X	A	O
Tsongas, Paul E. (Miss.)	NM							
Udall, Morris K. (Ariz.)	S	X	X	X	A	A	X	X
U.S. - 11/09/71	O	A	O	O	O	A	X	

TWH B&F
7/17

	Sept. 24	Oct. 7	Oct. 11	Oct. 15	Oct. 16	Oct. 17	Dec. 11
Whitten, Jamie L. (Miss.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	X
Wiggins, Charles E. (Calif.)	0	0	0	0	0	A	0
Wilson, Bob (Calif.)	D	X	X	0	0	A	0
Wilson, Charles (Tex.)	0	0	0	0	0	A	X
Wilson, Charles H. (Calif.)	D	A	0	0	0	X	0
Winn, Larry, Jr. (Kans.)	✓ S	0	0	0	A	A	0
Wirth, Timothy E. (Colo.)	DS	NH					
Wolff, Lester L. (N.Y.)		X	X	X	A	A	0
Won Pat, Antonio Borja * (Guam)							
Wright, Jim (Tex.)	W	A	X	A	X	A	X
Wydler, John W. (N.Y.)	S	X	X	A	X	A	X
Wylie, Chalmers P. (Ohio)	W	X	X	X	X	A	X
Yates, Sidney R. (Ill.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X
Yatron, Gus (Pa.)		X	X	X	X	X	X
Young, Andrew (Ga.)	✓ S	X	X	A	X	A	X
Young, C. W. Bill (Fla.)	✓ S	0	0	0	0	0	0
Young, Don (Alaska)	✓ S	X	X	A	A	A	X
Young, John (Tex.)	S	X	X	X	0	X	X
Zablocki, Clement J. (Wis.)	0	0	0	X	0	0	0
Zeferetti, Leo C. (N.Y.)	✓	NH					
Vander Jagt, Guy (Mich.)	✓ S	X	X	0	X	A	A
Vander Veen, Richard F. (Mich.)	X	X	A	X	A	A	X
Vanik, Charles A. (Ohio)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X
Vigorito, Joseph P. (Pa.)	A	X	X	X	A	A	X
Waggoner, Joe D., Jr. (La.)	X	X	0	0	0	A	X
Walsh, William F. (N.Y.)	W	X	X	0	0	0	A
Wampler, William C. (Va.)	✓ S	X	X	0	0	A	X
Waxman, Henry A. (Calif.)	NM						
Weaver, James (Oreg.)	NM						
Whalen, Charles W., Jr. (Ohio)	S	X	X	0	X	X	X
White, Richard C. (Tex.)	D	0	0	A	0	0	X
Whitehurst, G. William (Va.)	D	X	A	A	X	A	X
Van Deerlin (Calif.)		X	X		X		



REPUBLICAN WHIP—ROBERT H. MICHEL

Date: 7/23/75 - 11 AM

Question: TURKEY AID (Cyprus)

94th Congress
Tally Sheet

Western and Plains (Talcott)

	Yes	No	Und.	N/R
California				
Bell	/			
Burgener	/			
Clausen	/			
Clawson	/			
Goldwater	/			
Hinshaw	/			
Ketchum	/			
Lagomarsino (ARW)	/			
McCloskey	/			
Moorhead	/			
Rousselot	/			
Talcott	/			
Wiggins	/			
Wilson	/			
Pettus	?			
Alaska				
Young	/			
Arizona		?		
Conlan	/			
Rhodes	/			
Steiger	/			
Colorado				
Armstrong (ARW)	?			
Johnson	?			
Idaho				
Hansen	/			
Symms	/			
New Mexico				
Lujan	/			
Washington				
Pritchard	/			
Kansas				
Sebelius	/			
Shriver	/			
Skubitz	/			
Winn	/			
Nebraska				
McCollister	/			
Smith	/			
Thone (ARW)	/			
North Dakota				
Andrews	/			
Oklahoma				
Jarman	/			
South Dakota				
Abdnor	/			
Pressler	/			
Total	28	7	1	0

Midwestern States (Myers)

	Yes	No	Und.	N/R
Indiana				
Hillis	/			
Myers	/			
Iowa				
Grassley	/			
Michigan				
Broomfield	/			
Brown	/			
Cederberg	/			
Esch	/			
Hutchinson	/			
Ruppe	/			
Vander Jagt	/			
Minnesota				
Frenzel (ARW)	/			
Hagedorn	/			
Quie	/			
Wisconsin				
Kasten	/			
Steiger	/			
Ohio				
Ashbrook	/			
Brown (ARW)	/			
Clancy	/			
Devine	/			
Gradison	/			
Guyer	/			
Harsha	/			
Kindness	/			
Latta	?			
Miller	/			
Mosher	/			
Regula	/			
Stanton	/			
Whalen	/			
Wylie	/			
Illinois				
Anderson	/			
Crane	/			
Derwinski	/			
Erlenborn	/			
Findley (ARW)	/			
Hyde	referred			
Madigan	/			
McClory	/			
Michel	/			
O'Brien	/			
Railsback	?			
Total	28	6	5	2

Total pages 1 and 2

101 25 16 3

REPUBLICAN WHIP—ROBERT H. MICHEL

Date:
Question:94th Congress
Tally Sheet

Border and Southern (Young)					New England and Mid-Atlantic (McDade)				
	Yes	No	Und.	N/R		Yes	No	Und.	N/R
<i>Maryland</i>					<i>Connecticut</i>				
Gude					McKinney				
Holt					Sarasin				
Bauman					<i>Delaware</i>				
<i>Missouri</i>					duPont				
Taylor (ARW)					<i>Maine</i>				
<i>Kentucky</i>					Cohen				
Carter					Emery				
Snyder					<i>Massachusetts</i>				
<i>Tennessee</i>					Conte (ARW)				
Beard					Heckler				
Duncan					<i>New Hampshire</i>				
Quillen					Cleveland				
<i>Florida</i>					<i>New Jersey</i>				
Bafalis					Fenwick				
Burke					Forsythe				
Frey					Rinaldo				
Kelly					<i>Vermont</i>				
Young					Jeffords				
<i>North Carolina</i>					<i>New York</i>				
Broyhill					Conable				
Martin					Fish				
<i>South Carolina</i>					Gilman				
Spence					Hastings				
<i>Virginia</i>					Horton				
Butler					Kemp				
Daniel					Lent				
Robinson					McEwen				
Wampler					Mitchell (ARW)				
Whitehurst (ARW)					Peyser				
<i>Alabama</i>					Walsh				
Buchanan					Wydler				
Dickinson					<i>Pennsylvania</i>				
Edwards					Biester				
<i>Arkansas</i>					Coughlin				
Hammerschmidt					Eshleman				
<i>Louisiana</i>					Goodling				
Moore					Heinz				
Treen					Johnson (ARW)				
<i>Mississippi</i>					McDade				
Cochran					Myers				
Lott					Schneebeli				
<i>Texas</i>					Schulze				
Archer					Shuster				
Collins					Total				
Steelman									
Total	23	8	2	0					

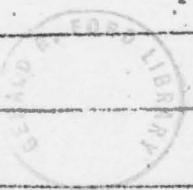


VOTE
JULY 24

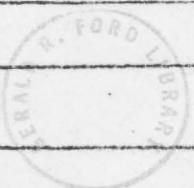
Abdor (R-S. D.)	yea
Abzug (D-N. Y.)	nay
Adams (D-Wash.)	nay
Addabbo (D-N. Y.)	nay
Albert (D-Okla.)	
Alexander (D-Ark.)	yea
Ambro (D-N. Y.)	nay
Anderson, Glenn (D-Calif.)	nay
Anderson, John (R-Ill.)	yea
Andrews, Ike (D-N. C.)	nay <i>Stet</i>
Andrews, Mark (R-N. D.)	yea
Annunzio (D-Ill.)	nay
Archer (R-Tex.)	yea
Armstrong (R-Colo.)	yea
Ashbrook (R-Ohio)	nay <i>DOD</i>
Ashley (D-Ohio)	yea
Aspin (D-Wisc.)	nay
AuCoin (D-Oreg.)	nay
Badillo (D-N. Y.)	nay
Bafalis (R-Fla.)	nay
Baldus (D-Wisc.)	yea
Barrett (D-Pa.)	nay
Baucus (D-Mont.)	nay
Bauman (R-Md.)	nay <i>DOD</i>
Beard (D-R. I.)	nay
Beard, R. (R-Tenn.)	yea
Ecdell (D-Iowa)	nay
Bell (R-Calif.)	nay
Benitez (D-	yea
Bennett (D-Fla.)	nay <i>DOD</i>



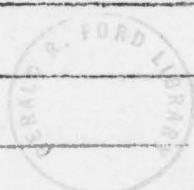
Bergland (D-Minn.)	nay	State
Bevill (D-Ala.)	yea	
Biaggi (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Biester (R-Pa.)	yea	
Bingham (D-N. Y.)	yea	
Blanchard (D-Mich.)	nay	
Blouin (D-Iowa)	nay	
Boggs (D-La.)	nay	State
Boland (D-Mass.)	nay	
Bolling (D-Mo.)	yea	
Bonker (D-Wash.)	nay	
Bowen (D-Miss.)	yea	
Brademas (D-Ind.)	nay	
Breaux (D-La.)	yea	
Breckinridge (D-Ky.)	yea	
Brinkley (D-Ga.)	yea	
Brodhead (D-Mich.)	nay	
Brooks (D-Tex.)	nay	
Broomfield (R-Mich.)	yea	
Brown, C. J. (R-Ohio)	yea	
Brown, G. (R-Mich.)	yea	
Brown G. E. (D-Calif.)	nay	
Broyhill (R-N. C.)	yea	
Buchanan (R-Ala.)	yea	
Burgener (R-Calif.)	yea	
Burke, J. H. (R-Fla.)	nay	State
Burke, J. A. (D-Mass.)	nay	
Burke, Y. B. (D-Calif.)	nay	
Burleson (D-Tex.)	yea	
Burlison (D-Mo.)	yea	
Burton, John (D-Calif.)	nay	
Burton, Phil (D-Calif.)	nay	
Butler (R-Va.)	yea	



Byron (D-Md.)	nay	DOD
Carney (D-Ohio)	nay	
Carr (D-Mich.)	nay	
Carter (R-Ky.)	nay	
Casey (D-Tex.)	yea	
Cederberg (R-Mich.)	yea	
Chappel (D-Fla.)	yea	
Chisholm (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Clancy (R-Ohio)	nay	WH
Clausen (R-Calif.)	yea	
Clawson (R-Calif.)	nay	DOD
Clay (D-Mo.)	nay	
Cleveland (R-N. H.)	yea	
Cochran (R-Miss.)	yea	
Cohen (R-Maine)	yea	
Collins, C. (D-Ill.)	nay	
Collins, J. (R-Tex.)	yea	
Conable (R-N. Y.)	yea	
Conlan (R-Ariz.)	nay	DOD
Conte (R-Mass.)	nay	STR
Conyers (D-Mich.)	nay	
Corman (D-Calif.)	nay	
Cornell (D-Wisc.)	nay	
Cotter (R-Conn.)	nay	
Coughlin (R-Pa.)	nay	DOD
Crane (R-Ill.)	nay	DOD
D'Amours (D-N. H.)	nay	
Daniel, D. (D-Va.)	yea	
Daniel, R. (R-Va.)	yea	
Daniels (D-N. J.)	nay	
Danielson (D-Calif.)		
Davis (D-S. C.)	nay	DOD
de la Garza (D-Tex.)	yea	
Delaney (D-N. Y.)	nay	WH .VP

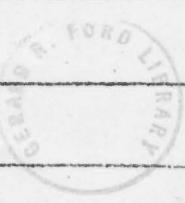


Dellums (D-Calif.)	nay
de Lugo (D-Del.)	yea
Dent (D-Pa.)	yea
Derrick (D-S.C.)	nay DOD
Derwinski (R-Ill.)	nay WH
Devine (R-Ohio)	yea
Dickinson (R-Ala.)	yea
Diggs (D-Mich.)	nay
Dingell (D-Mich.)	nay
Dodd (D-Conn.)	nay
Downey (D-N.Y.)	nay
Downing (D-Va.)	nay DOD
Drinan (D-Mass.)	nay
Duncan, J. (R-Tenn.)	nay WH
Duncan, R. (D-Oreg.)	yea
duPont (R-Del.)	nay
Early (D-Mass.)	nay
Eckhardt (D-Tex.)	nay
Edgar (D-Pa.)	nay
Edwards, D. (D-Calif.)	nay
Edwards, J. (R-Ala.)	yea
Eilberg (D-Pa.)	nay
Emery (R-Maine)	nay AID
English (D-Okla.)	yea
Erlenborn (R-Ill.)	yea
Esch (R-Mich.)	nay DOD
Eshelman (R-Pa.)	yea
Evans, D. (D-La.)	nay
Evans, F. (D-Colo.)	yea
Evins (D-Tenn.)	yea
Fascell (D-Fla.)	nay
Fauntroy (D-D.C.)	
Fenwick (R-N.J.)	yea



Findley (R-Ill.)	yea
Fish (R-N. Y.)	yea
Fisher (D-Va.)	nay
Fithian (D-Ind.)	nay
Flood (D-Pa.)	nay
Florio (D-N. J.)	nay
Flowers (D-Ala.)	yea
Flynt (D-Ga.)	yea
Foley (D-Wash.)	nay
Ford, H. E. (D-Tenn.)	nay
Ford, W. D. (D-Mich.)	nay
Forsythe (R-N. J.)	yea
Fountain (D-N. C.)	yea
Fraser (D-Minn.)	yea
Frenzel (R-Minn.)	yea
Frey (R-Fla.)	yea
Fulton (D-Tenn.)	yea
Fuqua (D- Fla.)	yea
Gaydos (D-Pa.)	nay
Giaimo (D-Conn.)	nay
Gibbons (D-Fla.)	yea
Gilman (R-N. Y.)	yea
Ginn (D-Ga.)	nay
Goldwater (R-Calif.)	yea
Gonzalez (D-Tex.)	yea
Goodling (R-Pa.)	yea
Gradison (R-Ohio)	yea
Grassley (R-Iowa)	yea
Green (D-Pa.)	nay
Gude (R-Md.)	nay
Guyer (R-Ohio)	yea
Hagedorn (R-Minn.)	yea
Haley (D-Fla.)	nay

WH-Charles



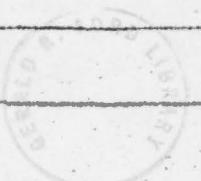
Hall (D-Ill.)	nay
Hamilton (D-Ind.)	yea
Hammerschmidt (R-Ark.)	yea
Hanley (D-N. Y.)	nay
Hannaford (D-Calif.)	nay
Hansen (R-Idaho)	yea
Harkin (D-Iowa)	nay
Harrington (D-Mass.)	nay
Harris (D-Va.)	nay
Harsha (R-Ohio)	yea
Hastings (R-N. Y.)	yea
Hawkins (D-Calif.)	nay
Hayes (D-Ind.)	nay
Hays (D-Ohio)	yea
Hebert (D-La.)	yea
Hechler (D-W. Va.)	nay
Heckler (R-Mass.)	nay
Hefner (D-N. C.)	nay
Heinz (R-Pa.)	
Helstoski (D-N. J.)	nay
Henderson (D-N. C.)	yea
Hicks (D-Wash.)	yea
Hightower (D-Tex.)	yea
Hills (R-Ind.)	yea
Hinshaw (R-Calif.)	
Holland (D-S. C.)	nay
Holt (R-Md.)	nay
Holtzman (D-N. Y.)	nay
Horton (R-N. Y.)	yea
Howard (D-N. J.)	nay
Howe (D-Utah)	nay
Hubbard (D-Ky.)	yea
Hughes (D-N. J.)	nay
Hungate (D-Mo.)	yea

Hutchinson (R-Mich.)	yea	
Hyde (R-Ill.)	nay	AID
Ichord (D-Mo.)	yea	
Jacobs (D-Ind.)	nay	
Jarman (R-Okla.)	yea	
Jeffords (R-Vt.)	yea	
Jenrette (D-S. C.)	nay	
Johnson, A. W. (R-Pa.)	yea	
Johnson, H. T. (D-Calif.)	nay	
Johnson, J. P. (R-Colo.)	yea	
Jones, E. (D-Tenn.)	yea	
Jones, J. R. (D-Okla.)	yea	
Jones, R. E. (D-Ala.)	yea	
Jones, W. B. (D-N. C.)	yea	
Jordan (D-Tex.)	nay	
Karth (D-Minn.)	yea	
Kasten (R-Wisc.)	yea	
Kastenmeier (D-Wisc.)	nay	
Kazen (D-Tex.)	yea	
Kelly (R-Fla.)	nay	DOD
Kemp (R-N. Y.)	yea	
Ketchum (R-Calif.)	yea	
Keys (D-Kan.)	nay	
Kindness (R-Ohio)	yea	
Koch (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Krebs (D-Calif.)	nay	
Krueger (D-Tex.)	yea	
LaFalce (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Lagomarsino (R-Calif.)	yea	
Landrum (D-Fla.)	yea	
Latta (R-Ohio)	yea	
Leggett (D-Calif.)	yea	
Lehman (D-Fla.)	nay	

Lent (R-N. Y.)	nay	WT
Levitas (D-Ga.)	nay	
Litton (D-Mo.)	yea	
Lloyd, M. (D-Tenn.)	nay	
Long, C. (D-Md.)	nay	
Long, G (D-La.)	yea	
Lott (R-Miss.)	yea	
Lujan (R-N. Mex.)	nay	DOD+
McClory (R-Ill.)	yea	
McCloskey (R-Calif.)	yea	
McCollister (R-Nebr.)	yea	
McCormack (D-Wash.)	yea	
McDade (R-Pa.)	nay	ab - leave alone
McDonald (D-Ga.)	yea	
McEwen (R-N. Y.)	yea	
McFall (D-Calif.)	yea	
McHugh (D-N. Y.)	nay	
McKay (D-Utah)	yea	
McKinney (R-Conn.)	nay	CL - AID
Macdonald (D-Mass.)	nay	
Madden (D-Ind.)	nay	
Madigan (R-Ill.)	yea	
Maguire (D-N. J.)	nay	
Mahon (D-Tex.)	yea	
Mann (D-S. C.)	yea	
Martin (R-N. C.)	nay	stop
Mathis (D-Ga.)	yea	
Matsunaga (D-Hawaii)	yea	
Mazzoli (D-Ky.)	yea	
Meeds (D-Wash.)	yea	
Melcher (D-Mont.)	yea	
Lloyd, J. (D-Calif.)	yea	

Metcalf (D-Ill.)	nay	
Meyner (D-N. J.)	yea	
Mezvinsky (D-Iowa)	nay	
Michel (R-Ill.)	yea	
Mikva (D-Ill.)	nay	
Milford (D-Tex.)	yea	
Miller, C. (R-Ohio)	nay	DOD
Miller, G. (D-Calif.)	nay	
Mills (D-Ark.)	yea	
Mineta (D-Calif.)	nay	
Minish (D-N. J.)	nay	
Mink (D-Hawaii)	nay	
Mitchell, D. (R-N. Y.)	yea	
Mitchell, P. (D-Md.)	nay	
Moakley (D-Mass.)	nay	
Moffett (D-Conn.)	nay	
Mollohan (D-W. Va.)	nay	
Montgomery (D-Miss.)	yea	
Moore (R-La.)	yea	
Moorhead, C. (R-Calif.)	nay	
Moorhead, W. (D-Pa.)	yea	
Morgan (D-Pa.)	yea	
Mosher (R-Ohio)	yea	
Moss (D-Calif.)	nay	
Mottl (D-Ohio)	nay	
Murphy, J. (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Murphy, M. (D-Ill.)	nay	
Murtha (D-Pa.)	yea	
Myers, G. (R-Pa.)	yea	
Myers, J. (R-Ind.)	yea	
Natcher (D-Ky.)	nay	
Neal (D-N. C.)	nay	
Nedzi (D-Mich.)	nay	
Nichols (D-Ala.)	yea	

Nix (D-Pa.)	nay	
Nolan (D-Minn.)	nay	
Nowak (D-N.Y.)	nay	
Oberstar (D-Minn.)	nay	
Obey (D-Wisc.)	nay	
O'Brien (R-Ill.)	yea	
O'Hara (D-Mich.)	nay	DOD
O'Neill (D-Mass.)	nay	
Ottinger (D-N.Y.)	nay	
Passman (D-La.)	yea	
Patman (D-Tex.)	nay	
Patten (D-N.J.)	nay	
Patterson (D-Calif.)	nay	
Pattison (D-N.Y.)	nay	
Pepper (D-Fla.)	nay	
Perkins (D-Ky.)	yea	
Pettis (R-Ohio)	yea	
Peyser (R-N.Y.)	nay	Stat.
Pickle (D-Tex.)	yea	
Pike (D-N.Y.)	nay	
Poage (D-Tex.)	yea	
Pressler (R-S.D.)	nay	WH
Preyer (D-N.C.)	yea	
Price (D-Ill.)	nay	AID
Pritchard (R-Wash.)	yea	
Quie (R-Minn.)	yea	
Quillen (R-Tenn.)	yea	
Railsback (R-Ill.)	yea	
Randall (D-Mo.)	yea	
Rangel (D-N.Y.)	nay	
Rees (D-Calif.)	yea	
Regula (R-Ohio)	nay	DOD

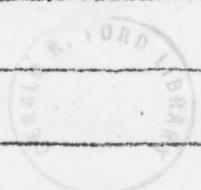


Reuss (D-Wisc.)	nay
Rhodes (R-Ariz.)	yea
Richmond (D-N.Y.)	nay
Riegle (D-Mich.)	nay
Rinaldo (R-N.J.)	nay?
Risenhoover (D-Okla.)	yea
Roberts (D-Tex.)	yea
Robinson (R-Va.)	yea
Rodino (D-N.J.)	nay
Roe (D-N.J.)	nay
Rogers (D-Fla.)	yea
Roncalio (D-Wyo.)	nay
Rooney (D-Pa.)	nay
Rose (D-N.C.)	nay State
Rosenthal (D-N.Y.)	nay
Rostenkowski (D-Ill.)	nay
Roush (D-Ind.)	nay
Rousselot (R-Calif.)	nay DOD
Roybal (D-Calif.)	nay
Runnels (D-N.Mex.)	nay
Ruppe (R-Mich.)	yea
Russo (D-Ill.)	nay
Ryan (D-Calif.)	yea
St. Germain (D-R.I.)	nay
Santini (D-Nev.)	nay
Sarasin (R-Conn.)	nay NW
Sarbanes (D-Md.)	nay
Satterfield (D-Va.)	yea
Scheuer (D-N.Y.)	nay
Schneebeli (R-Pa.)	yea
Schroeder (D-Colo.)	nay
Sthulze (R-Pa.)	



Sebelius (R-Kansas)	yea
Seiberling (D-Ohio)	nay
Sharp (D-Ind.)	nay
Shipley (D-Ill.)	nay
Shriver (R-Kansas)	yea
Shuster (R-Pa.)	yea
Sikes (D-Fla.)	yea
Simon (D-Ill.)	nay
Sisk (D-Calif.)	yea
Skubitz (R-Kans.)	yea
Slack (D-W. Va.)	yea
Smith, N. (D-Iowa)	nay
Smith, V. (R-Nebr.)	yea
Snyder (R-Ky.)	yea
Solarz (D-N. Y.)	yea
Spellman (D-Md.)	nay
Spence (R-S. C.)	nay DOD
Staggers (D-W. Va.)	yea
Stanton, J. W. (R-Ohio)	yea
Stanton, J. V. (D-Ohio)	nay
Stark (D-Calif.)	nay
Steed (D-Okla.)	yea
Steelman (R-Tex.)	nay OK-DOD
Steiger, S. (R-Ariz.)	nay WH-CL
Steiger, W. (R-Wisc.)	yea
Stephens (D-Ga.)	yea
Stokes (D-Ohio)	nay
Stratton (D-N. Y.)	yea
Stuckey (D-Ga.)	yea
Studds (D-Mass.)	nay
Sullivan (D-Mo.)	nay
Symington (D-Mo.)	yea
Symms (R-Idaho)	yea

Talcott (R-Calif.)	yea	
Taylor, G. (R-Mo.)	yea	
Taylor, R. (D-N. C.)	nay	OK. Sote
Teague (D-Tex.)	yea	
Thompson (D-N. J.)	nay	
Thone (R-Nebr.)	yea	
Thornton (D-Ark.)	yea	
Traxler (D-Mich.)	nay	
Treen (R-La.)	yea	
Tsongas (D-Mass.)	nay	
Udall (D-Ariz.)	nay	
Ullman (D-Oreg.)	yea	
VanDeerlin (D-Calif.)	yea	
VanderJagt (R-Mich.)	yea	
VanderVeen (D-Mich.)	nay	
Vanik (D-Ohio)	nay	
Vigorito (D-Pa.)	nay	
Waggonner (D-La.)	yea	
Walsh (R-N. Y.)	yea	
Wampler (R-Va.)	yea	
Waxman (D-Calif.)	nay	
Weaver (D-Oreg.)	nay	
Whalen (R-Ohio)	yea	
White (D-Tex.)	yea	
Whitehurst (R-Va.)	nay	noway - DOD
Whitten (D-Miss.)	yea	
Wiggins (R-Calif.)	yea	
Wilson, B. (R-Calif.)	yea	
Wilson, C. (D-Tex.)	yea	
Wilson, C. H. (D-Calif.)	yea	
Winn (R-Kans.)	yea	



Wirth (D-Colo.)	nay
Wolff (D-N. Y.)	nay
WonPat (D-Guam)	
Wright (D-Tex.)	yea
Wydler (R-N. Y.)	nay WH-ee
Wylie (R-Ohio)	yea
Yates (D-Ill.)	nay
Yatron (D-Pa.)	nay
Young, A. (D-Ga.)	nay
Young, C. W. B. (R-Fla.)	yea
Young, D. (R-Alska)	yea
Young, J. (D-Tex.)	yea
Zablocki (D-Wisc.)	yea
Zeferetti (D-N. Y.)	nay

