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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*I think I should
write a note of
appreciation*

YRT

Date 10-8-74

TO:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

WILLIAM TIMMONS
B.T.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION _____

FOR YOUR COMMENTS _____

FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING _____

OTHER GEN. SCOWCROFT

SAID YOU WANTED TO
SEE VOTES ON CONFERENCE
REPORT (TURKISH CUT-OFF)

8251

Speaker announced that the nays appeared to have it.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently, a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify the absent Members.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, are we to vote on the previous question?

The SPEAKER. The Chair understood that the previous question was ordered without objection.

The Chair put the question on the motion of the gentleman from Texas, and then declared that the nays had it. The gentleman from Michigan has objected to the motion on the ground that a quorum is not present. The Chair believes that a quorum is not present, that a rollcall is ordered, and that Members will record their vote by electronic device.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, would the Chair entertain a unanimous-consent request to vacate that voice vote if someone made that request?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Texas, while in the well, moved the previous question. The Chair said, "Without objection, the previous question is ordered."

Then, the Chair put the question on the motion. There is a rollcall on the board. Those in favor of the motion offered by the gentleman from Texas will vote "yea"; those opposed, will vote "nay."

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, a further parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, if those who wish to adopt the motion made by me, as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, with respect to Greece and Turkey; if they wish to approve the conference report with respect to this matter, they would vote "yea." If they wish to support Mr. ROSENTHAL, they would vote "no"?

The SPEAKER. The question pending is on the motion of the gentleman from Texas. Those in favor of it will vote "yea."

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Is this vote on the previous question?

The SPEAKER. The vote is on the motion.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 69, nays 291, not voting 74, as follows:

[Roll No. 573]

YEAS—69

Anderson, III. Bowen
Arends Bray
Biester Breaux
Bingham Broomfield

Collier
Davis, Wis.
de la Garza
Dennis
Dulski
Erlenborn
Evins, Tenn.
Fisher
Fountain
Frelinghuysen
Goodling
Green, Oreg.
Griffiths
Gubser
Hamilton
Hastings
Ichord
King
Lott
McEwen

NAYS—291

Abdnor
Abzug
Addabbo
Alexander
Anderson, Calif.
Andrews, N.C.
Andrews, N. Dak.
Annunzio
Ashbrook
Ashley
Aspin
Badillo
Bafalis
Baker
Barrett
Bauman
Beard
Bennett
Bergland
Bevill
Biaggi
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Breckinridge
Brinkley
Brooks
Brotzman
Brown, Calif.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan
Burgener
Burke, Fla.
Burke, Mass.
Burton, John
Burton, Phillip
Butler
Byron
Camp
Carney, Ohio
Casey, Tex.
Chappell
Chisholm
Clancy
Clark
Clausen, Don E.
Clay
Cleveland
Cochran
Collins, Ill.
Collins, Tex.
Conlan
Conte
Corman
Cotter
Coughlin
Crane
Cronin
Culver
Daniel, Dan
Danielson
Davis, Ga.
Davis, S.C.
Delaney
Dellenback
Dellums
Denholm
Dent
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dingell
Donohue
Downing
Drinan
Duncan
du Pont

McFall
Madigan
Mahon
Martin, Nebr.
Melcher
Michel
Montgomery
Myers
Passman
Pickle
Price, Tex.
Quile
Robison, N.Y.
Ruppe
Ryan
Schneebeli
Sebellius
Shriver
Shuster
Skubitz

Slack
Smith, N.Y.
Steed
Thornton
Treen
Veysey
Ware
White
Whitten
Wiggins
Wilson,
Charles H., Calif.
Wilson,
Charles, Tex.
Winn
Wyatt
Young, Fla.
Zablocki
Zwach

Spence
Stagers
Stanton,
J. William
Stanton,
James V.
Stark
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Stokes
Stubblefield
Studds
Sullivan
Talcott

Taylor, N.C.
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Thone
Traxler
Udall
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vander Veen
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
Walsh
Wampler

NOT VOTING—74

Adams
Archer
Armstrong
Bell
Blackburn
Brasco
Brown, Mich.
Burke, Calif.
Carey, N.Y.
Carter
Clawson, Del.
Cohen
Conable
Conyers
Daniel, Robert W., Jr.
Daniels,
Dominick V.
Diggs
Dorn
Eckhardt
Findley
Gialmo
Grasso
Hammer-
schmidt

Hanna
Hansen, Idaho
Hays
Hébert
Hinshaw
Hudnut
Hunt
Johnson, Colo.
Jones, Okla.
Lujan
Lukens
McCloskey
Mallary
Maraziti
Mathias, Calif.
Mathis, Ga.
Mills
Minshall, Ohio
Mitchell, N.Y.
Nielsen
Pepper
Poage
Podell
Powell, Ohio
Preyer

So the motion was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Hébert with Mr. Dorn.
Mr. Dominick V. Daniels with Mr. Eckhardt.
Mr. Sikes with Mr. Stuckey.
Mr. Stratton with Mr. Nielsen.
Mr. Adams with Mr. Minshall of Ohio.
Mr. Carey of New York with Mr. Mallary.
Mr. Gialmo with Mr. Widnall.
Mr. Mathis of Georgia with Mr. Hansen of Idaho.
Mr. Rooney of New York with Mr. Robert W. Daniel, Jr.
Mr. Roberts with Mr. Bell.
Mr. Hays with Mr. Cohen.
Mr. Conyers with Mr. Luken.
Mr. Reid with Mr. Conable.
Mr. Diggs with Mr. Tiernan.
Mr. Teague with Mr. Del Clawson.
Mr. Ullman with Mr. Archer.
Mr. Pepper with Mr. Carter.
Mr. Preyer with Mr. Findley.
Mr. Roy with Mr. Blackburn.
Mr. Symington with Mr. Hammerschmidt.
Mr. Hanna with Mr. Brown of Michigan.
Mrs. Grasso with Mrs. Burke of California.
Mr. Jones of Oklahoma with Mr. Hinshaw.
Mr. Mills with Mr. Hudnut.
Mr. Rarick with Mr. Hunt.
Mr. Rannels with Mr. Lujan.
Mr. Shoup with Mr. Maraziti.
Mr. Steele with Mr. Mathias of California.
Mr. Snyder with Mr. McCloskey.
Mr. Symms with Mr. Mitchell of New York.
Mr. Taylor of Missouri with Mr. Pritchard.
Mr. Whitehurst with Mr. Steelman.
Mr. Young of South Carolina with Mr. Towell of Nevada.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

MOTION OFFERED BY MR ROSENTHAL

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker. I offer a motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. ROSENTHAL moves that the House recede from its disagreement to Senate amendment numbered 3 and concur therein with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by Senate

amendment numbered 3, insert the following: "or for the transportation of any military equipment or supplies to Turkey until and unless the President certifies to the Congress that the Government of Turkey is in compliance with the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, the Foreign Military Sales Act, and any agreement entered into under such Acts, and that substantial progress toward agreement has been made regarding military force in Cyprus."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Delaware (Mr. DU PONT), pending which I yield myself 5 minutes.

(Mr. ROSENTHAL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I shall be brief, because we have been up and down this hill not only this afternoon, but previously, but I think it is obligatory on me that I say a few words.

Mr. Speaker, this amendment puts back essentially the same language that the House passed by a previous vote, and also adopts a part of the conferees' language.

In essence, in purpose it does exactly what the House previously wanted, and I think in that sense needs no further explanation.

Mr. Speaker, I merely want want to comment briefly, if I might, on the substantive issue.

As all of the Members know, as I said earlier in debate, I spent 3 days in Athens and 3 days in Ankara less than 1 month ago. I talked with senior officials of both governments. My conclusion was that no negotiations could start until Turkey and Greece both understood that U.S. military equipment would cease being an insurmountable obstacle to negotiations. Both countries want to negotiate; both must negotiate but Greece cannot enter into negotiations as long as it faces, and as long as the Greek Cypriot community faces, overwhelming Turkish armed might on the island of Cyprus. Only the United States can stop the continued flow of equipment which so disrupts the political equilibrium as to render negotiations impossible.

To those who want to insure that the United States not become involved further in the Cyprus dispute, let me say that the best assurance would be for the military aid flow to Turkey to stop. As long as our aid continues, Greece cannot negotiate. No country could negotiate in these circumstances.

My amendment restates the House position taken on September 24. It reaffirms the law of this country which clearly says that aid must cease to an aggressor country. It allows the President to resume aid to Turkey only when the concerned parties, which includes Greece and the Greek Cypriot community, in the Cyprus dispute have made "substantial" progress toward agreement on military forces on Cyprus. This means that negotiations must start and progress must be made on the key question of removing the invader force. Until such progress is made the United States should not be,

and must not be, in the position of aiding one principal in the dispute.

My amendment says: Obey the law and we will also do the very best thing we can to help the principals into negotiations. This amendment supposes no midnight phone calls, no shuttle diplomacy, and no heavy-handed diplomatic role for the United States. For by obeying our own laws, we will help others solve their problems.

The language of my amendment comes largely from the conferees own language with the important exception that we substitute the House-approved language for that of the State Department.

In conclusion, I ask my colleagues to reaffirm the rule of law which must apply to each person, lowly or exalted, in this land.

Mr. KAZEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. KAZEN. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I want to ask the gentleman in the well, is this the same amendment that we adopted originally when the House was considering this bill?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. This contains exactly the same amendment. However, in the totality, it includes some of the language that the conferees added. They restated the law, but in essence it contains exactly the same language that we passed here when we said that all military assistance must stop until the President certifies that substantial progress has been made regarding military forces in Cyprus. This differs from the conferees language in that they wanted good-faith efforts toward a settlement. It is my view that if we terminate military aid to Turkey, then the parties, themselves, will take a move toward settlement.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. SARBANES. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I want to commend the gentleman from New York for the motion that he has offered and the language that it contains. I think it carries out the view which this House has previously expressed. It makes very clear that the law must be complied with and also carries forward the House language previously adopted, 307 to 90, that there should be substantial progress toward agreement regarding military forces in Cyprus. I commend the gentleman from New York. I hope his motion offering the substitute language will be adopted.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan, only for the purpose of asking one question.

Mr. CEDERBERG. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

The gentleman made a statement here about something to the effect that we should intrude into Cyprus regarding the equipment that is already there.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. No, no. I said we cannot intrude into negotiations. We

have a responsibility for the U.S. military equipment that is involved in Cyprus now.

Mr. CEDERBERG. That is in Turkey now?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. No, that is on Cyprus.

Mr. CEDERBERG. Equipment on Cyprus. How does the gentleman propose that we intrude?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. No, no. The way we do it is the President determines that. That is his responsibility under the law.

Mr. CEDERBERG. But that does not remove any equipment from Cyprus?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. It will, perhaps, convince the Turkish Government that they ought to take some troops and equipment out of Cyprus. Besides, we had no choice in the matter. The law was violated. The President has a clear duty to abide by the law. He has failed to do that, and we have a responsibility.

Mr. CEDERBERG. I wanted to make it clear the gentleman is not suggesting that this aid cut-off take place and that we have the responsibility to go into Cyprus and take the equipment away from them?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. By no means. By no means.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. DU PONT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. DU PONT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DU PONT. Mr. Speaker, I am not going to take very long. We all know what the issue is. We can bring it to a vote very quickly.

Let me say to my friends who have been worried about the effect of the action we have been taking in these amendments, this is a good amendment. The language is sensible, and I do not believe it is going to get us into any kind of trouble.

It says, first of all, that before military aid can resume, the President has to certify that the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 has been complied with. Who can disagree with that? We passed the act here. We intended it to be complied with. It should be complied with.

Second, we say that there must be some substantial progress toward its agreement regarding military forces. That is a much narrower amendment than we were voting on a few moments ago, because it does not get into the whole Cypriot question; it only gets into the question of military forces.

I think this is an amendment which will strengthen the hand of the U.S. Government in negotiations. It will follow up on the announced congressional policy of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. I urge adoption of the amendment.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes for debate only to the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, there may be those who think that if this amendment is adopted into law many of the problems in the Middle East will disappear and a solution will be forthcoming.

I measure my words when I predict

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 9, 1974

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS
FROM: JERRY H. JONES
SUBJECT: Votes on Conference Report
(Turkish Cut-Off)

The information you sent to the President on October 8 regarding the above subject has been reviewed and the following notation was made:

-- I think I should write a note of appreciation.

Please follow-up with the appropriate action.

Thank you.

cc: Don Rumsfeld