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VIATURE

RESTORATION OF MILITARY AID TO TURKEY

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FACT SHEET

- 1. United States military assistance to an old and faithful ally, Turkey, was cut off on February 5 by action of the Congress. This has imposed an embargo on military purchases by Turkey, extending even to items already paid for.
- 2. Although the Senate's passage of the Mansfield-Scott Bill was an important first step toward reestablishing with Turkey our credibility as a trusted friend and ally, Turkish trust in the United States remains shaken. At Brussels, the President and Turkish Prime Minister discussed the military aid cut-off and other aspects of our relations. The Government of Turkey expressed bewilderment and disbelief over the military aid embargo -- citing it as totally contrary to our common interests and our historic ties.
- 3. Our longstanding relationship with Turkey is not a favor to Turkey. It is clear and essential mutual interest. Turkey lies on the rim of the Soviet Union and at the gates of the Middle East. It is vital to the security of the eastern Mediterranean, the southern flank of Western Europe and the collective security of the Western alliance.
- 4. With approximately half a million men under arms, including NATO's second largest land force (375,000 men), and a key strategic position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the Middle East, Turkey makes a vital contribution to the Western alliance. NATO military authorities have stated that a continuation of the U.S. ban on mutual aid to Turkey will seriously degrade the capability of all branches of the Turkish armed forces, and their reinforcement by NATO forces in a time of tension. The U.S. ban therefore imposes a grave limitation on NATO's military posture in the southern region.
- 5. The aid cut-off by the Congress was intended to influence Turkey in the Cyprus negotiations. But the results of the Congressional action have been to block progress towards reconciliation, thereby prolonging the suffering on Cyprus; complicating our ability to promote successful negotiations; and increasing the danger of a broader conflict.
- 6. The Turkish aid cut-off has not forced concessions from the Turks.

 Instead, it has hardened their position in the Cyprus crisis; it has fueled Greek-Turkish tensions in the Aegean; and we now run the very real risk of serious damage to US-Turkish relations and NATO relations.



- 7. Our goal continues to assist the parties in the Cyprus crisis -- Greece,
 Turkey and Cyprus -- to reach a settlement which accommodates the
 interests of each -- and, in turn, contributes to the stability of the
 Mediterranean and the continuing strength of the Alliance. The attitudes
 of Greece and Turkey are of central importance and we cannot continue
 to alienate one of the major participants.
- 8. There is growing frustration and irritation in Turkey over this penalization of a trusted friend and ally by the United States. In this regard, the Turkish Government in mid-June set a 30-day deadline for resumption of aid or consultations on reductions of U.S. facilities on Turkish soil. Turkish moves against our installations would have an adverse impact on U.S. and NATO security interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, and would also further damage prospects for a Cyprus settlement.
- 9. House approval of legislation which restores a proper balance in our relationship with Turkey and which is fair and equitable to Turkey and to Greece will increase our flexibility in working with both sides on a solution to the Cyprus problem.
- 10. Without this legislation, progress toward settlement will not be made and the situation will almost certainly deteriorate. This will work against the interests of all -- Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, the United States and NATO.
- 11. To sum up, the need is for immediate legislation to restore to an important NATO ally access to U.S. sources of supply for spares, components, and other material compatible with previously supplied U.S. military equipment. Lifting the embargo will enable Turkey to fulfill its NATO role, will safeguard vital U.S. installations in Turkey, and will remove a substantial impediment to progress in the Cyprus negotiations.

RESTORATION OF MILITARY AID TO TURKEY

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Memo	From Russ Rour Ke to Jack Marsh, Ipg.	7/10/75	A

Turkish Hid, 7/9-27/1975 (a) John Marsh riles, Box 91,

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

RUSS ROURKE R

I spoke with Bob Wolthuis concerning the Turkish aid matter. It is suggested that Ted Marrs be invited to the Saturday morning meeting with Tex McCrary.

Our assumption is that a scrupulously straight forward effort with regard to AHEPA and the Greek community in general can be pursued under the banner of "outlining the Administration's position, the reasons for its actions, with no effort whatever to directly influence the position of any specific interest group in this country."

This position, of course, can always be challenged on the basis of the anti-lobbying law.

Marsh

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 11, 1975



MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

BOB WOLTHUIS

SUBJECT:

Turkish Aid Vote in the House International

Relations Committee

I talked to Jim Michel and the vote today in the House International Relations Committee does the following:

- 1. It prevents future foreign military sales on a cash or credit basis by the U.S. government until the Foreign Assistance Bill is passed.
 - A. This would have no effect on the items in the pipeline.
 - B. It will have no effect on commercial sales.
- The impact on Turkey is that many sophisticated weapons and parts can only be purchased from the U.S. government.

Jim feels that the impact of the amendment is very bad when viewed realistically and privately. State will take a public position that the amendment is not serious and is a beginning that will allow the pipeline to open up.

We lost some key supporters on the previous question vote which passed 16 to 11. Final passage was by voice vote.

Yeas--Morgan, Zablocki, Wayne Hays, Fraser, Hamilton, Bingham, Ryan, Solarz, Broomfield, Finley, Buchanan, Whalen, Biester, Winn, Gilman, and Lagomarsino.

Nays--Fascell, Nix, Rosenthal, Wolff, Yatron, Roy Taylor, Riegle, Bonker, Derwinski, Herbert Burke, and du Pont.

Ev Bierman says they will not file their report until Wednesday and will go to the Rules Committee on Thursday. He thinks, therefore, it will be Monday, July 21, before it gets to the floor.

WASHINGTON
JULY 11, 1975

NOTE FOR: JACK MARSH

FROM : RON NESSEN

Larywill do -SA to us ASAP-

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RON NESSEN

FROM:

MARGITA E. WHITE MAN

SUBJECT:

Phone calls to editorial writers on Turkish aid

From 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. today, our office called editorial writers from the papers listed at Tab A to offer factual information on resumption of aid to Turkey. On hand in my office to answer specific questions on the subject was William Gehron of the State Department's Bureau of European Affairs. The response from those called was positive, both to our low-key offer to assist on a fast-breaking story and to the information supplied by Mr. Gehron.

R-cuel Carry-Get all editorials f other Columns pulled together by som as possible. Also, discuss with me. Fact Baltimore Sun - Carried editorial in February supporting Congressional action. Gehron had extended conversation with Joseph Sterne, Editor of Editorial Page, who became increasingly sympathic to Gehron's logic regarding NATO and may be turning around.

New York Daily News - Carried a positive editorial this morning but Editor Mike O'Neill may also follow up early next week and will call Gehron for additional information.

Wall Street Journal - Editorial writer Jim Adams is working on an editorial on the subject and interviewed Gehron for 15 minutes on the phone. He asked tough questions and did not indicate which way he was leaning, although one would expect the Journal to come out for resumption.

Los Angeles Times - Editorial writer Lew Flèming is working on an editorial and will interview Gehron by phone at the State Department this afternoon.

Fayetteville (NY) Eagle-Bulletin - George Wortley, the editor of this conservative weekly, called in on another subject but was also briefed on Turkish aid and will write a supportive editorial in his next issue early next week.

Christian Science Monitor - Editor John Hughes is arranging for editorial writer Charlotte Saikowski to call Gehron at State this afternoon for additional information, if needed.

Chicago Tribune - Chief Editorial Writer John McCutchen, Jr., when informed that a vote was expected early next week, said "we had better do something on Monday." Gehron provided him with the highlights of Sisco's testimony.

Milwaukee Journal - Dave Meiser, an editorial writer, had some questions, and indicated they would do an editorial, but Gehron couldn't tell whether or not it would be favorable.

Houston Post - Will do an editorial but again, no indication.

Atlanta Constitution - Hal Gulliver had an editorial in the typewriter at the time of the call--they already did one favorable editorial a couple of months ago, but since then, it appears that the large Greek population in Atlanta has become more vocal.

Other newspapers called whose editorial writers felt they already had sufficient information were:

Minneapolis Tribune
Dallas Morning News
Miami Herald
Indianapolis Star

The State Department is mailing Sisco's testimony to its list of editors and editorial writers around the country.

JAMES ALWARD VAN FLEET

July 14, 1975

Passived in the Washington Office

The Honorable Samuel L. Devine U. S. House of Representatives Washington, D. C., 20515

on JUL 15 1975

Dear Mr. Devine:

As former Commander of the United Nations Forces in Korea (1951-53) and head of the United States Advisory and Aid Group in Greece (1948-50), I am writing to express my strong opposition to S.846, as amended, the bill reported by the House International Relations Committee on July 11, 1975, to authorize the resumption of United States arms shipments to Turkey.

As one whose entire career has been in the armed forces of the United States, I believe that our country and our NATO partners must stand against aggression, whether by friend or foe. To do otherwise would be a renunciation of a fundamental principle of our foreign policy — to oppose aggression, not aid or acquiesce in it.

I must condemn the continued acts of Turkish aggression against Cyprus and its people. I must condemn the illegal use of United States supplied military equipment to attack a small, defenseless nation and its citizens. Such acts are in violation of the Foreign Assistance and Foreign Military Sales Acts, Turkey's bilateral agreements with the United States, and the NATO and United Nations Charters.

Congress, above all, must insist on fidelity to the rule of law and, therefore, to enforcement of these acts and agreements.

Moreover, Greece, our ally in two world wars, and the only surviving democracy in Eastern Europe, is the strategic key to the Eastern Mediterranean and more important than Turkey to the strategic interests of the United States and NATO. Unfortunately, Secretary of State Kissinger's course does grave and permanent damage to American relations with Greece.

It is unconscionable that the government of the United States should surrender to the threat of Turkey to close our bases there. This is capitulation to blackmail and unworthy of our country.

I, therefore, urge the removal of Turkish invasion forces from Cyprus and the immediate return of 200,000 refugees to their homes in accordance with the unanimous United Nations Resolution 3212.

The bill reported by the Committee resumes arms to Turkey without requiring any action whatsoever by Turkey either on troop removal or allowing refugees to return to their homes.

I am enclosing a nationally syndicated column by Clayton Fritchey published on June 19, 1975. I hope that you will read it, for it eloquently states what is at stake regarding the question of renewed United States arms shipments to Turkey.

I urge that you cast your vote against S.846, as amended, when it is considered by the House of Representatives.

Sincerely,

General James A. Van Flee

U. S. Army, Retired

Enclosure

Withlacoochee Ranch Polk City, Florida 33868



Clayton Fritchey

THE TURKISH DOCTRINE

WASHINGTON.

The Turks appear to be well on the way toward proclaiming a substitute for the Truman Doctrine, which for 28 years has been the basis of relations between the U.S. and Turkey. The new "doctrine," in effect, would forbid the U.S. to cut off the flow of arms to Turkey—regardless of how the arms have been used—except, as threatened, on pain of having the American bases in Turkey closed down.

Congress has reacted indignantly to this kind of raw pressure, but President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger are eager to accommodate the hard-boiled Turks with renewed arms shipments, although the Administration keeps saying that it must show the rest of the world that the U.S. is not a paper tiger that can be pushed around.

The object of both the Administration and Congress is to promote a peaceful settlement of the Greek-Turkish conflict over Cyprus by getting the Turks, who invaded the Island equipped with U.S. arms, to make some necessary concessions.

The Administration favors the carrot of maintaining the arms pipeline, even though U.S. law has long forbidden use of American arms for nondefense purposes. Congress, noting that the carrot was tried for many months without any results, turned to the stick of shutting off the pipeline, which so far has produced only Turkish threats of reprisal.

The House International Relations Committee has just started hearings on still another Administration-backed bill to resume the arms shipments, but the bill is given little chance of passage. Kissinger acknowledged to the committee that no progress has been made in getting the Turks to negotiate.

The House has been offended not only by the talk of closing down U.S. bases but also by intimations that Turkey might "rethink" its NATO role, reduce its commitment to that organization, develop a nuclear capacity of its own and generally reposition itself.

American relations with Turkey have been described as "a marriage that has lost its romance." In any case, it is a far cry from March 3, 1947, when President Truman responded to pleas from Greece and Turkey to save them from Communist aggression. Proclaiming the Truman Doctrine, he swiftly got Congress to appropriate \$400 million to help in the defense of the two Mediterranean countries.

Since then Turkey has relied almost entirely on the U.S. to guarantee her security, both bilaterally and through NATO. But now, apparently, the Turkish leaders seem to think they have been doing the U.S. a favor by accepting our arms and military facilities, and by staying in NATO.

The implication is that if we don't watch our step Turkey will stop protecting us. This comes as news to Congress, which has viewed the arrangements in reverse, or at least as mutually advantageous.

All post-World War II U.S. military aid has been given or sold on the understanding that it was exclusively for defense. In 1961, Congress specifically added a penalty clause which made any nation using our weapons for aggressive purposes immediately ineligible for further arms, either by grant or sale.

The legislation was not aimed at Turkey. It simply enforced a principle, which Congress strongly believes in. If an exception was made for Turkey, where would it end?

The U.S., for example, has been sending billions of dollars in arms to the Persian Gulf nations, presumably for defense. If the weapons were used in an attack on Israel, would the U.S. not cut off further shipments?

After last July's Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the State Lept. resisted cutting off arms' to Turkey. First, State said it had to study a law, then it said security reasons should take priority over the law. When Congress insisted on compliance, Kissinger called it a "disaster," a "major mistake" and denounced Congress for interfering in foreign policy.

Time and again Kissinger and the President said they were confident they could move Turkey toward a Cyprus peace agreement if Congress would postpone the cutoff, and Congress repeatedly granted the extra time. Last December, Ford asked for and got a final delay to Feb. 5 this year, but when the President on that date was unable to report any progress on peace the pipeline closed down.

The Secretary General of the UN says the Cyprus efforts are deadlocked. Turkey, confident that Kissinger won't press it too hard, still occupies the island and shows no signs of any give. Most disinterested observers believe that, Turkey is determined to settle the Cyprus problem in its own way in its own time, regardless of U.S. arms policy. In light of that, Sen. Eagleton (P.Mo.) says, "The Senate has an opportunity to show that moral and legal principles can stand at least as tall as military strategies."



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

THROUGH:

PHIL BUCHEN (1. W.B.

FROM:

KEN LAZARUS Y

SUBJECT:

Anti-Lobbying Statute/ Military Aid to Turkey

This is in response to your inquiry of July 7 requesting our views of the impact of the Federal anti-lobbying provision (18 U.S.C. 1913) on an anticipated briefing for Greek community leaders relative to legislation to modify the present restrictions on military aid to Turkey.

It is our view that such a briefing would fall within the valid "information and explanation" functions of the Administration and thus would not run afoul of the anti-lobbying provision. However, in response to possible problems of appearance, we would suggest: (1) that invitations make reference to the invitees "expressed interest in the subject"; and (2) that the tone of the briefing be consistent with your intent in "informing" the participants as opposed to generating any "publicity or propaganda" with the purpose of directly influencing Members of Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHIL BUCHEN

FROM:

JACK MARS

As you are probably aware, the President is seeking legislation in the House to modify the present restrictions on military aid to Turkey. It is expected that House Committee action will begin this week with Floor action probably within the next 10 days.

One of the groups that is most interested in this legislation is the Greek community in the United States. In addition to the AHEPA organization, there have been a number of leaders in the Greek community who have been spokesmen on this subject.

The suggestion has been made that concurrently with the committee's consideration, or shortly thereafter, of this proposal to modify the Turkish ban there should be brought in for a briefing and discussion principle spokesmen for the Greek community including key leaders of AHEPA. This would be in the nature of a briefing and outline of the Administration's proposal in order that they might have a better understanding of the issues involved.

Considering the approach as a possible course of action, the purpose of this memo is to inquire whether there is any prohibition against such a plan in light of the statute against lobbying. Secondly, are there certain guidelines that might be suggested whereby such a program can be undertaken in order to avoid any problems with the anti-lobbying statute.

If this proposal is undertaken, it would probably be under the auspices of the Baroody operation mechanically, but the substance would be made by experts in the field, i.e. State, NSC, Defense, etc. The program would be presented at the White House complex probably in the Theater in the West Wing.

Your comments and suggestions on this would be much appreciated.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

JACK MARSH

We should pull together, through the press office, any of the favorable editorial comments or columns in reference to the Turkish aid matter and put them into a package.

It may be that John Rhodes, Doc Morgan or Bill Broomfield might find these helpful.

Many thanks.

JOM/dl



C-16

COMMENT

Blabbermouths Aren't Told Secrets (Excerpted from The Dallas Morning News) By Jim Wright

Congressmen have been saying for several years now that they want to get back into the foreign policy business. But in recent decades, foreign policy has come to be almost exclusively presidential business.

Clinton Rossiter, probably the greatest expert on the presidency, explains: "Secrecy, dispatch, unity, continuity and access to information -- the ingredients of successful diplomacy -- are properties of his office, and Congress, I need hardly add, possesses none of them."

The contempt for congressional effectiveness that shines through that opinion will be reinforced if Congress allows Rep. Michael Harrington, to carry off his stunt with impunity. If every word of secret testimony is to be gathered for use on order by every self-righteous congressman who wants to win publicity by spilling it to the press, no responsible official should tell anything to the Congress that he wouldn't shout over a bullhorn at the Soviet embassy.

If Congress is going to be a full partner in national leadership, its members are going to have to be more than just sincere. They will need to be prudent enough to consider soberly the probable consequences of their actions.

Harrington clearly lacks that capability. If Congress winks at his press-agent use of secret testimony, it will prove that he's not the only one. (7/15/75)

7/18/75 - 4:15 pm

REPUBLICAN WHIP—ROBERT H. MICHEL
Would you vote for the compromise Morgan-Broomfield, bill H.R. 8454,
Tally Sheet partially lifting the military assistance embargo on Turkey94th Congress

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REPUBLICAN WHIP—ROBERT H. MICHEL

Tally Sheet

94th Congress

Border and Southern (Young)			New England and Mid-Atlantic (McDade)						
Maryland	Yes	No	Und	N/R	Connecticut	. Yes	No	Und	N/B
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FreyKelly	-				Rinaldo				
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Young.	-				Jeffords				
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(Rev. Feb. 1975)

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Sec. of Interior

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE

WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
Memo	From Jack Marsh to Max Friedersdorf regarding Legislative Program/Turkey Aid.	7/21/75	A
	3 pgs		
FILE LOCATION	The Rox HI II T In 1 7/2		l.

Marsh Files, Box 41, "Turkish Aid, 7/9-27/75 (2) John

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Iran Has Not Decided Whether to Bail Out Pan Am

Iranian Ambassador Zahedi said Monday that a final decision has not been reached on whether to proceed with a \$300 million deal to bail out Pan American Airways. -- NBC (7/21/75)

Not-So-Poor Cyprus Still Gets Aid Influx by G. Jefferson Price (Excerpted from the Baltimore Sun)

Cyprus, with fewer than 700,000 persons is receiving more per-capita aid from the US than any other nation in the world, according to official estimates. But some directly involved in aid disbursement believe Cyprus, in fact, may be much less needy than it appears to be and certainly less needy than many underdeveloped countries.

For despite tremendous setbacks to the island's economy since the Turkish invasion and war a year ago, the Greek Cypriot-controlled Central Bank still has huge foreign currency reserves, the Greek Cypriot south is producing again and some observers believe the Greek Cypriot government that gets the bulk of foreign aid is well-fixed to care for its own.

In the final analysis many observers believe \$25 million in U.S. aid has been designed to achieve a political end as much and possibly more than to meet a real need reflected by a lack of money. The U.S. plans to provide another \$25 million in aid in the coming year. (7/21/75)



21 July 1975

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TURKEY VOTE

•	TURKEY	VOTE	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Phone			
Number Pak Laggett		With Admin.	Against Admin
Bob Leggett	Bob Sherman	X	
Dick White	Sheryl Gringles	XLeaning	
Les Aspin		Probably with us.	
Ron Dellums *			x
Pat Schroeder		?	
Chick Kazen		Undecided 7/21	
Bob Carr			x
Larry McDonald	Fred Smith	х	
Tom Downey			
Max Baucus		Undecided 7/21	
Bill Brodhead			x
Caldwell Butler	Chas Wilson		
Bob Cornell	Olga		Protobly
Butler Derrick		Undecided 7/21	_
Bob Duncan (Oreg)	JMM	Probably	·
Dave Emery	Grace Hinderman		Leaning
Floyd Fithian	Warren Stickle		X- with Brademas
Jim Florio			Х
Bo Ginn	Chas Holme		Undecided but leanin
Mark Hannaford	Larry McMichal		Leaning
Tom Harkin	Clyde Brown	·	TORO
Ken Holland	Chas. Smith		X x
Carroll Hubbard	Darrel Hotchkiss	Probably	

	·			
	Phone Number Co	ntact	With Admin.	Against Admi
Bill Hughes	Mike Beni	nett Und	decided	
John Jenrette	Dr. John (Clark Unde	ecided, but leaning	
Bob Krueger	Bob Slau	ghter U	ndecided	
Toby Moffett	Debbie G & Rebecca	Į.		x
Morgan Murphy	Mrs. Pee	erless		X
Rich Nolan	Sandra Ca	ısber	?	
Jerry Patterson	Jim Cousi	ns		X
Ned Pattison			?	
Ted Risenhoover			X	
Teno Roncalio	Dennis Ea	rhart		X
George Shipley		Unde	cided but leaning	
Edward Hebert			X	
Mel Price			X	
Charles Bennett			?	
Stratton		Work	ing for Administration	
Tim Wirth		Lea	ning	
Floyd Hicks			X	
Jack Brinkley				Probably
Lucien Nedzi				X
Mendel Davis				X
Bill Randall				Probably
Charles Wilson (Calif)		X	
·			γ,	

*	Contact	With Admin.	Against Admin
Hal Runnels		?	
Floyd Spence		-	Probably
Marjorie Holt			Undecided
George O'Brien	·		X
Bill Whitehurst			Х
Bob Mollohan			X
Elwood Hillis		Probably	
Dick Schulze			Probably
Andy Hinshaw			Probably
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JIM CONNOR

FROM:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF W.

SUBJECT:

Turkish Aid

Rumsfeld advises the President wants the Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet working on the Turkish Aid vote scheduled for Wednesday or Thursday in the House.

Cabinet Members should urge the Members to support the House International Relations Committee bill partially lifting the Turkish arms embargo. A fact sheet of talking points is attached. The assignments are as follows:

Rep. Con Clausen (Secretary Coleman) Rep. Carlos Moorhead Rep. Andrew Hinshaw (Secretary Schlesinger) Rep. John Rousselot (Secretary Hills) Rep. Charles Grassley (Secretaries Butz & Hills) Rep. Marvin Esch (Secretary Weinberger) (Attorney General Levi) Rep. Ed Hutchinson Rep. Philip Ruppe (Secretary Morton) Rep. Bob Wilson (Secretary Schlesinger) (Secretary Morton) Rep. Don Young (Secretary Hills) Rep. John Conlan Rep. Sam Steiger (Secretary Morton) (Secretary Weinberger) Rep. John Ashbrook Rep. Don Clancy (Secretary Simon) (Secretary Coleman) Rep. Bill Harsha Rep. Tom Kindness (Attorney General Levi) Rep. Manuel Lujan (Secretary Morton) Rep. Clarence Miller (Jim Lynn) Rep. Ralph Regula Rep. Joe Skubitz (Secretary Morton) Rep. Chalmers Wylie (Secretary Hills) Rep. Phil Crane (Secretary Simon) Rep. Henry Hyde (Secretary Hills) (Secretary Schlesinger) Rep. George O'Brien (Secretary Weinberger) Rep. Larry Pressler Rep. Gil Gude (Jim Lynn)

Rep. Stewart McKinney Rep. Ron Sarasin Rep. Pete duPont Rep. Gene Snyder Rep. Silvio Conte Rep. Robin Beard Rep. Jim Cleveland Rep. Jim Martin Rep. Hamilton Fish Rep. Floyd Spence Rep. Jim Hastings Rep. Frank Horton Rep. Norman Lent Rep. Bill Whitehurst Rep. Peter Peyser Rep. Bill Walsh Rep. Jack Wydler Rep. Larry Coughlin Rep. John Heinz Rep. Dave Treen Rep. Joe McDade Rep. Trent Lott Rep. Dick Schulze Rep. Bill Archer

(Secretary Hills) (Secretary Weinberger) (Secretary Kissinger) (Secretary Coleman) (Jim Lynn) (Secretary Schlesinger) (Secretary Coleman) (Secretary Simon) (Attorney General Levi) (Secretary Schlesinger) (Secretary Coleman & Jim Lynn) (Jim Lynn) (Secretary Morton) (Secretary Schlesinger) (Secretary Weinberger) (Secretary Coleman) (Jim Lynn) (Secretary Morton) (Secretary Schlesinger (Jim Lynn) (Secretary Butz) (Secretary Schlesinger) (Secretary Simon)

(Secretary Morton)

cc: Don Rumsfeld Jack Marsh

Rep. Alan Steelman

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Files, Box 41, "Turkish Hid, 7/9-27/75

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RESTORATION OF MILITARY SUPPLIES TO TURKEY

- 1. United States military assistance and sales to Turkey, were cut off on February 5 by action of the Congress. This has imposed an embargo on military purchases by Turkey, extending even to items already paid for.
- 2. The Senate's passage of the Mansfield-Scott Bill was an important first step toward reestablishing with Turkey our relationship as a trusted friend and ally. At Brussels, the President and Turkish Prime Minister discussed the military aid cut-off and other aspects of our relations. The Government of Turkey expressed the view that the embargo is totally contrary to our common interests and our historic ties.
- 3. Our long standing relationship with Turkey is not a favor to Turkey. It is a clear and essential mutual interest. Turkey lies on the rim of the Soviet Union and at the gates of the Middle East. It is vital to the security of the eastern Mediterranean, the southern flank of Western Europe and the collective security of the Western alliance.
- 4. With approximately half a million men under arms, including NATO's second largest land force (375,000 men), and a key strategic position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the Middle East, Turkey makes a vital contribution to the Western alliance. NATO military authorities have stated that a continuation of the U.S. ban on mutual aid to Turkey will seriously degrade the capability of all branches of the Turkish armed forces, and their reinforcement by NATO forces in a time of tension. The U.S. ban therefore imposes a grave limitation on NATO's military posture in the southern region.
- 5. The aid cut-off was intended to influence Turkey in the Cyprus negotiations. But the results of the action have been to block progress towards reconciliation, thereby prolonging the suffering on Cyprus; complicating our ability to promote successful negotiations; and increasing the danger of a broader conflict.
- 6. The Turkish aid cut-off has not forced concessions from the Turks. Instead, it has hardened their position in the Cyprus crisis; it has fueled Greek-Turkish tensions in the Aegean; and we now run the very real risk of serious damage to US-Turkish relations and NATO relations.



- 7. Our goal continues to assist the parties in the Cyprus crisis--Greece, Turkey and Cyprus-- to reach a settlement which accommodates the interests of each -- and, in turn, contributes to the stability of the Mediterranean and the continuing strength of the Alliance. The attitudes of Greece and Turkey are of central importance and we cannot continue to alienate one of the major participants.
- 8. As a result of the February 5 embargo, Turkey has now informed us that they wish to begin negotiations in mid-July on the future of U.S. facilities. The Turks have not linked the facilities negotiations to progress toward lifting the embargo, but it is clear that the scope of the negotiations will be affected by Congressional action -- or lack thereof. Turkish moves against our installations would have an adverse impact on U.S. and NATO security interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, and would also further damage prospects for a Cyprus settlement.
- 9. House approval of legislation which restores a proper balance in our relationship with Turkey and which is fair and equitable to Turkey and to Greece will increase our flexibility in working with both sides on a solution to the Cyprus problem.
- 10. Without this legislation, progress toward settlement will not be made and the situation will almost certainly deteriorate. This will work against the interests of all -- Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, the United States and NATO.
- 11. To sum up, the need is for immediate legislation to restore to an important NATO ally access to U.S. sources of supply for spares, components, and other material compatible with previously supplied U.S. military equipment. This will enable Turkey to fulfill its NATO role, will safeguard vital U.S. installations in Turkey, and will remove a substantial impediment to progress in the Cyprus negotiations.



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WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
Government Report	The Embargo on Turkey, 1 pg. (2 copies)	ca.7/22/15	A
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John Mi	arsh Files, Box 41, " Torkish Aid, 7/9-2-	1/75 (2)	,

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JACK MARSH

SUBJECT:

Turkey Vote

You may get a chance tonight to talk with some of the Leadership about the Turkey vote. As you have heard, we are having slippage on this.

Lee Hamilton believes we are in trouble on the Floor and this is a view shared by others. Although we had a 10-5 vote on the Rules Committee, there was far more difficulty than the vote indicates and at one time it looked like a 8-7 vote. Of the 16 votes in the Rules Committee, it is reported that only 6 will vote for the bill on the Floor.

McFall will have a firmer report on the Democratic strength. The present report shows 50 firm Democrats with a great chance of 40-50 more.

The Republican Whip count shows:

96 Yea

20 ' Nay

19 Undecided

6 No response

The Turkey vote has been slipped to Friday. It is reported that some of the Democrats at the breakfast tomorrow plan to raise with you your request for their help on Turkey while you continue to veto measures they send to you.

I think the response to this is that matters of grave national security should not be subject to a quid pro quo. That whether they agree or disagree, you exercise your veto on what you feel is in the national interest and that you will ask their help on a matter that relates to war and peace because relief to Turkey is in the national interest.

The Members report a tremendous effort by the Greek Lobby, and I have noticed them at work on the Hill.

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Hagedorn Hamilton Abdnor Alexander Anderson, Ill. Hamme schmidt Andrews. N. Dak. Hansen Archer Harsha Armstrong Hasting Hays, Ohio Hébert Ashley Baldus Beard, Tenn. Henderson Hicks Bevill Hightower Hillis Biester Bingham Bolling Hubbard Hungate Breaux Hutchinson Breckinridge Ichord Brinkley Broomfield Jarman Jeffords Brown, Mich. Brown, Ohio Johnson, Colo. Johnson, Pa. Jones, Ala. Jones, N.C. Jones, Okla. Jones, Tenn. Broyhill Buchanan Burgener Burleson, Tex. Burlison, Mo. Kasten Butler Casey Cederberg Kemp Ketchum Chappell Clausen. Kindness Don H. Krueger. Lagomarsino Cleveland Cochran Landrum Cohen Latta Collins, Tex. Leggett Conable Lloyd, Calif. Daniei, Dan Daniei, R. W. Long, La. de la Garza Lott McCloskey Devine McCollister Dickinson Duncan, Oreg. Edwards, Ala. McCormack McDonald English McEwen . McFall Erlenborn Eshleman McKay Evans, Colo. Evins, Tenn. Madigan Mahon Fen wick Mann Findley Mathis Fish Matsunaga Flowers Mazzoli Flynt Meeds Melcher Forsythe Fountain Meyner Fraser Michel Frenzel Milford Frev Mills Fuqua Mitchell, N.Y. Gibbons Montgomery Moore Gilman Goldwater Moorhead, Pa Morgan Mosher Gonzalez Goodling Gradison Murtha Grassley Myers, Ind.

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> Downing, Va. Drinan Duncan, Tenn du Pont Early Eckhardt Edgar Edwards, Calif. Eilberg Emery Esch Evans, Ind. Fary Fascell Fisher Fithian Flood Florio Foley Ford, Mich. Ford, Tenn. Gaydos Ginn Green Gude Haley Hell

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Harrington Harris Hawkins Hayes, Ind. Hechler, W. Va. Heckler, Mass. Hefner Helstoski Holland Holtzman Howard Howe Hughes Hyde Jacobs Jenrette Johnson, Calif. Jordan Kastenmeier Kelly Keys Koch Krebs LaFalce Lahman Lent Lloyd, Tenn: Peyser Pike Luian McHugh McKinney Macdonald Madden Riegle Rinaldo Maguire Martin Metcalfe Mezvinsky Miller, Calif.

Roush Mitchell, Md. Moakley Rousselot Roybal Runnels Russo St Germain Santini Sarasin Sarbanes Scheuer Murphy, N.Y. Natcher Schroeder Seiberling Sharp Shipley Simon Smith, Iowa Spellman Spence Stanton James V. Steelman Patman, Tex. Steiger, Ariz. Stokes Studds Sullivan Taylor, N.C. Pattison, N.Y. Thompson Traxler Tsongas Udall Vander Veen Vanik Vigorito Waxman Weaver Whitehurst Wirth Wolff Wydler Yates

Yatron

Zeferetti

Hinshaw

Young, Ga.

Rostenkowski NOT VOTING

Pulton Carter Danielson Heinz

Miller, Ohio

Mineta

Minish

So the bill was not passed. The Clerk announced the following

Mr. Danielson with Mr. Heinz. Mr. Fulton with Mr. Carter.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. MORGAN, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members desiring to do so may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks in the course of the consideration of the Senate bill, S. 846, which was just defeated.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

(Mr. ANDREWS of North Carolina asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. ANDREWS of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, today I have voted in opposition to S. 846 fully cognizant of the serious implications which this legislation poses for the United States. My review of the legal and foreign policy aspects of the problem indicate that each of the conflicting positions has considerable merit. This is an extremely complicated measure reflective of the events which have taken place in a region of complexity involving two of our Nation's most valued allies. I am continuing my study of this matter with a view to developing a more thorough and compre hensive understanding of these issues.

AMENDMENTS TO NATIONAL AD-VISORY COMMITTEE ON OCEANS AND ATMOSPHERE

Mr. MURPHY of New York, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 5447) to amend the act of August 16, 1971, as amended, which established the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere, to increase and extend the appropriation authorization thereunder, with Senate amendments thereto. and concur in the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill. The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection. The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

-Page 2, line 1, strike out "two" and insert: "2".

Page 2, lines 4 and 5, strike out "each of". Page 2, line 5, strike out "years" and insert: "year".

Page 2, line 5, strike out "1977, and 1978."." and insert: "1977."."

Page 2, after line 5, insert:

SEC. 2. Section 4 of such Act. (33 U.S.C." 857-9) is amended-

(1) by inserting after "review of" and be-fore "the progress" the following: "national ocean policy, coastal zone management, and"; and

(2) striking out "the President." at the end of the second sentence thereof and inserting in lieu thereof "the President and the Congress.

Amend the title so as to read: "An Act to amend the Act of August 16, 1971, as amended, which established the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere, to increase and extend the appropriation authorization thereunder, and for other purposes."

Mr. MOSHER. Mr. Speaker, I agree with my subcommittee chairman, Mr. MURPHY, in supporting the conference. report on H.R. 5447, a bill to extend the authorizations for the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere. agree with only a minor reservation.

Our Committee on Merchant Marine. and Fisheries approved H.R. 5447 on May 16 of this year. The House subsequently considered and approved this authorization on May 19. The bill as passed by the House would have increased the level of authorizations from \$400,000 to \$445,000 for the fiscal years to and including 1978...

The other body has considered this legislation and has passed favorably upon it with the addition of three amendments. These Senate changes to our original bill would accomplish following:

First. It would extend authorization for NACOA for 2 years as opposed to our suggested 3 years;

Second. Instead of requiring NACOA to be exclusively responsive to direct requests by the President, it would add a section to require that the Advisory Committee would have to respond to requests from the Congress and the President.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

RUSS ROURKE R

I spoke with Bob Wolthuis. He, Max and company are orchestrating Hill contacts on House and Senate side re vocal reactions (Floor and press statements) re Turkish base closures. House side includes people like Michel, Rhodes, Hays, Zablocki, Broomfield and Hamilton. Senate side will be fully covered also.

ANKARA (UPI) -- TURKEY FRIDAY ORDERED THE UNITED STATES TO CEASE

OPERATION OF ITS MILITARY BASES IN THIS COUNTRY AS OF SATURDAY.

UPI 07-25 02:16 PED

HDD TURKEY: HNKHKH (UP-100)

"THERE IS NO LEGAL BASIS LEFT FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE BILATERAL DEFENSE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES," A GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCEMENT SAID.

"JOINT DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS SHOULD CEASE ALL ACTIVITIES AS OF TOMORROW."

TURKISH TELEVISION INTERRUPTED ITS NORMAL PROGRAM TO ANNOUNCE THE GOVERNMENT DECISION. IT WAS REPORTEDLY TELEPHONED FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE AS THE CABINET MET IN EMERGENCY SESSION TO DISCUSS THE AMERICAN REFUSAL THURSDAY TO LIFT THE BAN ON ARMS SALES TO TURKEY.

THE BILATERAL DEFENSE AGREEMENT REFERRED TO IN THE ANNOUNCEMENT COVERS THE OPERATION OF TWO DOZEN BASES IN TURKEY THAT ARE RUN BY AMERICANS ALTHOUGH THEY ARE LEGALLY UNDER TURKEY COMMAND.

THE BASES MONITOR TROOP MOVEMENTS IN THE NEIGHBORING SOVIET UNION AND ARE INTENDED TO PROVIDE THE UNITED STATES WITH EARLY WARNING OF A POSSIBLE SOVIET NUCLEAR ATTACK.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT SAID THE TURKS WOULD ALLOW A U.S. FIGHTER PLANE SQUADRON TO CONTINUE OPERATION OUT OF INCIRLIK NEAR ADAMA IN SOUTHERN TURKEY "WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF NATO JOINT DEFENSE FRAMEWORK".

HPT 07-25 02:31 PED

UP-108

ADD TURKEY, ANKARA

1ST ADD 1ST DAY LD TURKEY ANKARA A230 XXX SITUATION."
AN OFFICIAL AT NATO HEADQUARTERS IN BRUSSELS SAID TURKEY'S
DECISION TO CLOSE THE U.S. BASES WOULD DAMAGE THE WESTERN ALLIANCE'S
POSITION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

HE SAID THE TURKISH ACTION "CERTAINLY BEARS OUT THE FEAR" EXPRESSED EARLIER IN THE DAY IN AN OFFICIAL NATO STATEMENT THAT THE REFUSAL BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES TO LIFT THE ARMS BAN ON TURKEY POSED "A SERIOUS DANGER OF WEAKENING ALLIED SECURITY".

ALMOST ALL THE NATO PRESENCE IN TURKEY CAME VIA THE U.S. BASES. WITH THEIR CLOSURE, THIS PRESENCE WILL BE LOST.

THE ONLY NATO INSTALLATIONS LEFT IN TURKEY, OFFICIALS SAID, WILL BE THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN COMMAND HEADQUARTERS AT IZMIR, PLUS STATIONS OF THE NATO RADAR NETWORK AND PIPELINES AND OTHER SUPPORT FACILITIES.

UPI 07-25 02:41 PED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM

RUSS ROURKE

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RAR/dl

