

The original documents are located in Box 41, folder “Turkey - Military Aid Embargo (3)” of the John Marsh Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

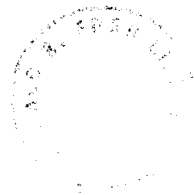
Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Gerald R. Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Some items in this folder were not digitized because it contains copyrighted materials. Please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library for access to these materials.

[7/28/75?]

Hamilton
Morgan
Zablocki
Broomfield
Fraser
Czarnecki
Beerman (sp. ?)
Bob Anderson
Michel
McFall
Hays
Stratton
Sikes
Waggoner
Satterfield
Devine
Holt
Derwinski
Conable
Jack Edwards
Frey



[7/28/75?]

2340

- ~~Hamilton~~
- ~~Morgan~~
- ~~Zablocki~~
- ~~Broomfield~~
- ~~Fraser~~
- ~~Ezarnecki~~
- ~~Beerman (sp.?)~~
- ~~Bob Anderson~~
- ✓ Michel
- ✓ McFall
- ✓ Hays
- ✓ Stratton
- ✓ Sikes
- ✓ Waggoner
- ✓ Satterfield
- ✓ Devine
- ✓ Holt
- ✓ Derwinski
- ✓ Conable
- ✓ Jack Edwards
- ✓ Frey

Rm
2170

Joe

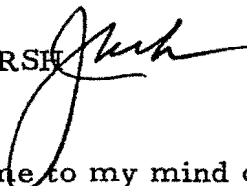
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

JACK MARSH 

Here follows a list of names that come to my mind of persons from whom we should solicit views in reference to the Turkey matter. Some of these have been contacted, but I think contact today prior to noon would be in order.

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Speaker Albert | Minority Leader Rhodes |
| McFall | Michel |
| Hamilton | Morgan |
| Broomfield | Waggoner |
| Hays | Cederberg |
| Mahon | Price |
| Pike | Stratton |
| Satterfield | Representative Group of 39 |
| The Three Who Didn't Vote | Teague |
| Hubbard | Talcott |
| Tom Downing | Conable |
| Anderson | Zablocki |
| Fraser | Joe Sisco |
| Assistant Secretary McCloskey | |

In reference to the above, I believe Lee Hamilton should talk with Fraser. I think Fraser is key and he may decline to go with a reconsideration this week, in which event his failure to do so would cause many difficulties.

By way of a checklist, the following come to mind:

1. What is the exact status of the bases? Is the Turks' ultimatum a real one, or is there a tacit agreement to let us go ahead and continue operating? If the latter, is this a temporary arrangement or will they permit us permanently to function under such an arrangement?

2. What is the parliamentary route we should travel:
 - a. Is the House route the best?
 - b. Can it be done through the Senate?
 - c. Is there some bill that will be brought up this week in the House to which an amendment might be offered on this subject?
 - d. What is the Committee attitude and what would be the reaction in Committee to reconsideration of a Turkey matter?
 - e. Will the measure have to be changed in its language?
 - f. What will these language changes be?
3. What is the attitude of Turkey generally on this? Will they wait for new Congressional action? Does that action have or occur this week or can it wait until after the Recess?
4. In order to be able to respond to questions from Members, what, if any, diplomatic moves is the United States making with Turkey or others to resolve this?
5. What type of activity other than the Turkish base closure action has occurred since the vote:
 - a. On Cyprus?
 - b. On the Mainland, between Greece and Turkey?
 - c. What moves, if any, has Russia made?
 - d. What efforts are being made by our Allies to assist in obtaining a compromise?
6. Should we thinking about a compromise bill:
 - a. What should the bill say?
 - b. What conditions should it contain?

- c. Who should be its sponsors?
 - d. Will the Senate Committee and Senate agree to such a compromise?
7. What is the attitude of Senate leaders about this subject, and their willingness to cooperate on a new bill? Are they agreeable to act before the Recess?
8. What meetings should be held on this subject:
- a. With House leaders?
 - b. With State Department officials?
 - c. With others in the White House?
 - d. Should certain State and Defense leaders meet with Congressional leaders?

I have tried to make a checklist or summary of some of the things that should be addressed today by those of us in Congressional Relations. I think it would be helpful if you and I were to talk and discuss each of these items and perhaps we might wish to get Bob McCloskey over here so we can incorporate his resources in doing the surveys that need to be done between now and noon today.

Finally, I would like to be able to send the President something today not later than 1:00.

July 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
FROM: JACK MARSH

Here follows a list of names that come to my mind of persons from whom we should solicit views in reference to the Turkey matter. Some of these have been contacted, but I think contact today prior to noon would be in order.

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Speaker Albert | Minority Leader Rhodes |
| McFall | Michel |
| Hamilton | Morgan |
| Broomfield | Waggoner |
| Hayes | Cederberg |
| Mahon | Price |
| Pike | Stratton |
| Satterfield | Representative Group of 39 |
| The Three Who Didn't Vote | Teague |
| Hubbard | Talcott |
| Tom Downing | Conable |
| Anderson | Zablocki |
| Fraser | Joe Sisco |
| Assistant Secretary McCloskey | |

In reference to the above, I believe Lee Hamilton should talk with Fraser. I think Fraser is key and he may decline to go with a reconsideration this week, in which event his failure to do so would cause many difficulties.

By way of a checklist, the following come to mind:

1. What is the exact status of the bases? Is the Turks' ultimatum a real one, or is there ~~an~~ ^{at any} agreement to let us go ahead and continue operating? If the latter, is this a temporary arrangement or will they permit us permanently to function under such an arrangement?



2. What is the parliamentary route we should travel:
 - a. Is the House route the best?
 - b. Can it be done through the Senate?
 - c. Is there some bill that will be brought up this week in the House to which an amendment might be offered on this subject?
 - d. What is the Committee attitude and what would be the reaction in Committee to reconsideration of a Turkey matter?
 - e. Will the measure have to be changed in its language?
 - f. What will these language changes be?
3. What is the attitude of Turkey generally on this? Will they wait for new Congressional action? Does that action have to occur this week or can it wait until after the Recess?
4. In order to be able to respond to questions from Members, what, if any, diplomatic moves is the United States making with Turkey or others to resolve this?
5. What type of activity other than the Turkish base closure action has occurred since the vote:
 - a. On Cyprus?
 - b. On the Mainland, between Greece and Turkey?
 - c. What moves, if any, has Russia made?
 - d. What efforts are being made by our Allies to assist in obtaining a compromise?
6. Should we ^{be} ~~this~~ talking about a compromise bill:
 - a. What should the bill say?
 - b. What conditions should it contain?



- c. Who should be its sponsors?
 - d. Will the Senate Committee and Senate agree to such a compromise?
7. What is the attitude of Senate leaders about this subject, and their willingness to cooperate on a new bill? Are they agreeable to act before the Recess?
8. What meetings should be held on this subject:
- a. With House leaders?
 - b. With State Department officials?
 - c. With others in the White House?
 - d. Should certain State and Defense leaders meet with Congressional leaders?

I have tried to make a checklist or summary of some of the things that should be addressed today by those of us in Congressional Relations. I think it would be helpful if you and I were to talk and discuss each of these items and perhaps we might wish to get Bob McCloskey over here so we can incorporate his resources in doing the surveys that need to be done between now and noon today.

Finally, I would like to be able to send the President something today not later than 1:00.

JOM/dl

ll



July 28, 1975

Dear Senator Mansfield:

President Ford has asked me to deliver the attached message to you which he sent from Bonn.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President

Attachment

The Honorable Mike Mansfield
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510
JOM/dl



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BY CABLE

July 27, 1975

Dear Mike:

I have read with admiration the accounts of your remarks on the Senate Floor Saturday urging the House to reconsider its vote on the Turkish arms embargo. You gave an eloquent description of the vital interests of the United States which are jeopardized as long as the present situation continues.

I want you to know I appreciate your statement and everything you have done. Your Leadership on this issue has been of great value. It gives me hope that our continuing effort will succeed.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

/s/ Gerald R. Ford

Received White House Situation Room from Bonn,
West Germany.



OP IMMED
O 271125Z JUL 75
FM BRENT SCOWCROFT/

TO ZEN/BUD MCFARLANE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JULY 27, 1975

1. PLEASE HAVE MARSH'S OFFICE DELIVER FOLLOWING PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO SENATOR MANSFIELD.

2. BEGIN TEXT. DEAR MIKE, I HAVE READ WITH ADMIRATION THE ACCOUNTS OF YOUR REMARKS ON THE SENATE FLOOR SATURDAY URGING THE HOUSE TO RECONSIDER ITS VOTE ON THE TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO. YOU GAVE AN ELOQUENT DESCRIPTION OF THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES WHICH ARE JEOPARDIZED AS LONG AS THE PRESENT SITUATION CONTINUES. I WANT YOU TO KNOW I APPRECIATE YOUR STATEMENT AND EVERYTHING YOU HAVE DONE. YOUR LEADERSHIP ON THIS ISSUE HAS BEEN OF GREAT VALUE. IT GIVES ME HOPE THAT OUR CONTINUING EFFORT WILL SUCCEED. THANK YOU AGAIN. SINCERELY, GERALD R. FORD. END TEXT.

3. FYI: NESSEN HAS BEEN GIVEN GUIDANCE HERE TO EXPRESS PRESIDENT'S APPRECIATION FOR MANSFIELD'S REMARKS. ANDERSON LIKEWISE FOR SECRETARY. THEREFORE, WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE RELEASING THIS MESSAGE, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION IF MANSFIELD CHOSE TO DO SO.

4. WARM REGARDS.

BT
0202



*****WHSR COMMENT*****

MCFARLANE,

RECALLED

PSN:008256 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:208/12:07Z DTG:271125Z JUL 75

*****CONFIDENTIAL***** COPY

Determined to be an administrative marking
Cancelled per E.O. 12356, Sec. 1.3 and
Archivist's memo of March 16, 1983

By NARS date 2/6/86

July 28, 1975

Dear Mike:

I have read with admiration the accounts of your remarks on the Senate Floor Saturday urging the House to reconsider its vote on the Turkish arms embargo. You gave an eloquent description of the vital interests of the United States which are jeopardized as long as the present situation continues. I want you to know I appreciate your statement and everything you have done.

Your Leadership on this issue has been of great value. It gives me hope that our continuing effort will succeed.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

/s/ Gerald R. Ford



July 28, 1975

Dear Senator Mansfield:

President Ford has asked me to deliver the attached message to you which he sent from Bonn.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President

Attachment

The Honorable Mike Mansfield
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

JOM/dl



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BY CABLE

July 27, 1975

Dear Mike:

I have read with admiration the accounts of your remarks on the Senate Floor Saturday urging the House to reconsider its vote on the Turkish arms embargo. You gave an eloquent description of the vital interests of the United States which are jeopardized as long as the present situation continues.

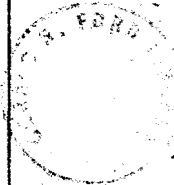
I want you to know I appreciate your statement and everything you have done. Your Leadership on this issue has been of great value. It gives me hope that our continuing effort will succeed.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

/s/ Gerald R. Ford

Received White House Situation Room from Bonn,
West Germany.



July 28, 1975

Dear Mr. Speaker:

The President has asked me to transmit to you the attached communication which was received at the White House Situation Room this morning from Bonn, West Germany.

The full text of the President's message to you is set out on the accompanying attachment.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President

Attachment

The Honorable
The Speaker
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

JOM/dl



July 28, 1975

Dear Mr. Speaker:

The consequences of the House action in failing to lift the arms embargo on Turkey are now becoming apparent. As President of the United States my responsibility for the national security and conduct of foreign affairs have led me to urge in the strongest terms that the House lift the embargo. Despite the House action and subsequent events, I do not believe that the situation is irretrievable today.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the major installations we will lose in Turkey if we cannot remedy the action. Their loss would seriously downgrade our capabilities in major areas of national security. These installations are not replaceable.

In reviewing the debates of the last several months, any fair-minded person would agree that there is not a fundamental dispute on the objective of achieving a peaceful and equitable solution to the tragic Cyprus problem. The Congress has chosen means to accomplish that end which in my judgment would not only delay and impede a Cyprus settlement but, as now can be seen clearly, cause a disastrous deterioration in our security relations with Turkey and in the Eastern Mediterranean in general. In addition, these effects will certainly not make for an improvement in relations between Greece and Turkey, without which a Cyprus settlement is not possible.

My Administration has been and will continue to pursue the cause of a just and peaceful settlement in Cyprus. But I must emphasize in the strongest terms how seriously hobbled our efforts will be if the embargo against Turkey is maintained.



I, therefore, urge through you, Mr. Speaker, the immediate reconsideration of last week's House action. Only if we preserve our vital security relations with Turkey will I be able usefully to assist the parties in the area toward better relations.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

The Honorable
The Speaker
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



July 28, 1975

Dear Mr. Speaker:

The consequences of the House action in failing to lift the arms embargo on Turkey are now becoming apparent. As President of the United States my responsibility for the national security and conduct of foreign affairs have led me to urge in the strongest terms that the House lift the embargo. Despite the House action and subsequent events, I do not believe that the situation is irretrievable today.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the major installations we will lose in Turkey if we cannot remedy the action. Their loss would seriously downgrade our capabilities in major areas of national security. These installations are not replaceable.

In reviewing the debates of the last several months, any fair-minded person would agree that there is not a fundamental dispute on the objective of achieving a peaceful and equitable solution to the tragic Cyprus problem. The Congress has chosen means to accomplish that end which in my judgment would not only delay and impede a Cyprus settlement but, as now can be seen clearly, cause a disastrous deterioration in our security relations with Turkey and in the Eastern Mediterranean in general. In addition, these effects will certainly not make for an improvement in relations between Greece and Turkey, without which a Cyprus settlement is not possible.

My Administration has been and will continue to pursue the cause of a just and peaceful settlement in Cyprus. But I must emphasize in the strongest terms how seriously hobbled our efforts will be if the embargo against Turkey is maintained.



I, therefore, urge through you, Mr. Speaker, the immediate reconsideration of last week's House action. Only if we preserve our vital security relations with Turkey will I be able usefully to assist the parties in the area toward better relations.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

The Honorable
The Speaker
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515



Dear Mr. Speaker:

The consequences of the House action in failing to lift the arms embargo on Turkey are now becoming apparent. As President of the United States my responsibility for the national security and conduct of foreign affairs have led me to urge in the strongest terms that the House lift the embargo. Despite the House action and subsequent events, I do not believe that the situation is irretrievable today.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the major installations we will lose in Turkey if we cannot remedy the action. Their loss would seriously downgrade our capabilities in major areas of national security. These installations are not replaceable.

In reviewing the debates of the last several months, any fair-minded person would agree that there is not a fundamental dispute on the objective of achieving a peaceful and equitable solution to the tragic Cyprus problem. The Congress has chosen means to accomplish that end which in my judgment would not only delay and impede a Cyprus settlement but, as now can be seen clearly, cause a disastrous deterioration in our security relations with Turkey and in the Eastern Mediterranean in general. In addition, these effects will certainly not make for an improvement in relations between Greece and Turkey, without which a Cyprus settlement is not possible.



My Administration has been and will continue to pursue the cause of a just and peaceful settlement in Cyprus. But I must emphasize in the strongest terms how seriously hobbled our efforts will be if the embargo against Turkey is maintained.

I, therefore, urge through you, Mr. Speaker, the immediate reconsideration of last week's House action. Only if we preserve our vital security relations with Turkey will I be able usefully to assist the parties in the area toward better relations.

Sincerely,

The Honorable
The Speaker
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

GRF/JOM/dl



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 26, 1975

Dear Mr. Speaker:

The consequences of the House action in failing to lift the arms embargo on Turkey are now becoming apparent. As President of the United States my responsibility for the national security and conduct of foreign affairs have led me to urge in the strongest terms that the House lift the embargo. Despite the House action and subsequent events, I do not believe that the situation is irretrievable today.

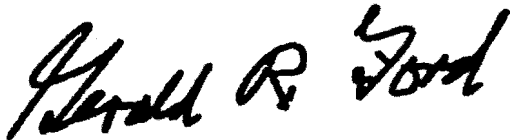
It is difficult to overstate the importance of the major installations we will lose in Turkey if we cannot remedy the action. Their loss would seriously downgrade our capabilities in major areas of national security. These installations are not replaceable.

In reviewing the debates of the last several months, any fair-minded person would agree that there is not a fundamental dispute on the objective of achieving a peaceful and equitable solution to the tragic Cyprus problem. The Congress has chosen means to accomplish that end which in my judgment would not only delay and impede a Cyprus settlement but, as now can be seen clearly, cause a disastrous deterioration in our security relations with Turkey and in the Eastern Mediterranean in general. In addition, these effects will certainly not make for an improvement in relations between Greece and Turkey, without which a Cyprus settlement is not possible.

My Administration has been and will continue to pursue the cause of a just and peaceful settlement in Cyprus. But I must emphasize in the strongest terms how seriously hobbled our efforts will be if the embargo against Turkey is maintained.

I, therefore, urge through you, Mr. Speaker, the immediate reconsideration of the House action. Only if we preserve our vital security relations with Turkey will I be able usefully to assist the parties in the area toward better relations.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Gerald R. Ford". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

The Honorable
The Speaker
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 26, 1975

Dear Mr. Speaker:

The consequences of the House action in failing to lift the arms embargo on Turkey are now becoming apparent. As President of the United States my responsibility for the national security and conduct of foreign affairs have led me to urge in the strongest terms that the House lift the embargo. Despite the House action and subsequent events, I do not believe that the situation is irretrievable today.

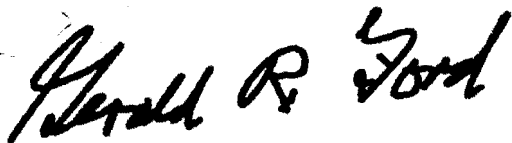
It is difficult to overstate the importance of the major installations we will lose in Turkey if we cannot remedy the action. Their loss would seriously downgrade our capabilities in major areas of national security. These installations are not replaceable.

In reviewing the debates of the last several months, any fair-minded person would agree that there is not a fundamental dispute on the objective of achieving a peaceful and equitable solution to the tragic Cyprus problem. The Congress has chosen means to accomplish that end which in my judgment would not only delay and impede a Cyprus settlement but, as now can be seen clearly, cause a disastrous deterioration in our security relations with Turkey and in the Eastern Mediterranean in general. In addition, these effects will certainly not make for an improvement in relations between Greece and Turkey, without which a Cyprus settlement is not possible.

My Administration has been and will continue to pursue the cause of a just and peaceful settlement in Cyprus. But I must emphasize in the strongest terms how seriously hobbled our efforts will be if the embargo against Turkey is maintained.

I, therefore, urge through you, Mr. Speaker, the immediate reconsideration of the House action. Only if we preserve our vital security relations with Turkey will I be able usefully to assist the parties in the area toward better relations.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Gerald R. Ford". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly slanted style.

The Honorable
The Speaker
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 26, 1975

Dear Mr. Speaker:

The consequences of the House action in failing to lift the arms embargo on Turkey are now becoming apparent. As President of the United States my responsibility for the national security and conduct of foreign affairs have led me to urge in the strongest terms that the House lift the embargo. Despite the House action and subsequent events, I do not believe that the situation is irretrievable today.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the major installations we will lose in Turkey if we cannot remedy the action. Their loss would seriously downgrade our capabilities in major areas of national security. These installations are not replaceable.

In reviewing the debates of the last several months, any fair-minded person would agree that there is not a fundamental dispute on the objective of achieving a peaceful and equitable solution to the tragic Cyprus problem. The Congress has chosen means to accomplish that end which in my judgment would not only delay and impede a Cyprus settlement but, as now can be seen clearly, cause a disastrous deterioration in our security relations with Turkey and in the Eastern Mediterranean in general. In addition, these effects will certainly not make for an improvement in relations between Greece and Turkey, without which a Cyprus settlement is not possible.

My Administration has been and will continue to pursue the cause of a just and peaceful settlement in Cyprus. But I must emphasize in the strongest terms how seriously hobbled our efforts will be if the embargo against Turkey is maintained.

I, therefore, urge through you, Mr. Speaker, the immediate reconsideration of the House action. Only if we preserve our vital security relations with Turkey will I be able usefully to assist the parties in the area toward better relations.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

The Honorable
The Speaker
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515



Determined to be an administrative marking
Cancelled per E.O. 12356, Sec. 1.3 and
Archivist's memo of March 16, 1983

892

*****~~SECRET~~***** COPY

MARKS date 2/6/86

OP IMMED
DE WTE1 #0011 2090955
O 280955Z JUL 75
FM DICK CHENEY

TO DON RUMSFELD

~~SECRET~~

THE ATTACHED LETTER IS TO BE SENT TO THE SPEAKER AND RELEASED TO THE PRESS. YOU AND MARSH ARE AUTHORIZED TO ADD ONE OR TWO PARAGRAPHS IF YOU BELIEVE IT NECESSARY, IN ORDER TO PRESENT OUR CASE MORE EFFECTIVELY. THIS TEXT HAS BEEN APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY KISSINGER. PLEASE CONSULT WITH US IF ANY MAJOR CHANGES ARE REQUIRED. REGARDS.

DRAFT LETTER TO THE SPEAKER
FROM THE PRESIDENT

DEAR MR. SPEAKER:

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE HOUSE ACTION IN FAILING

TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO ON TURKEY ARE NOW BECOMING APPARENT. AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES MY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE NATIONAL SECURITY AND CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAVE LED ME TO URGE IN THE STRONGEST TERMS THAT THE HOUSE LIFT THE EMBARGO. DESPITE THE HOUSE ACTION AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SITUATION IS IRRETRIEVABLE TODAY.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO OVERSTATE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MAJOR INSTALLATIONS WE WILL LOSE IN TURKEY IF WE CANNOT REMEDY THE ACTION. THEIR LOSS WOULD SERIOUSLY DOWNGRADE OUR CAPABILITIES IN MAJOR AREAS OF NATIONAL SECURITY. THESE INSTALLATIONS ARE NOT REPLACABLE.

IN REVIEWING THE DEBATES OF THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS, ANY FAIR-MINDED PERSON WOULD AGREE THAT THERE IS NOT A FUNDAMENTAL DISPUTE ON THE OBJECTIVE OF

***** W H S R C O M M E N T *****

RUMSFELD



PSN:009240

PAGE 01

TOR:209/10:22Z

DTG:280955Z JUL 75

*****~~SECRET~~***** COPY

~~SECRET~~

*****S COPY

ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL AND EQUITABLE SOLUTION TO THE TRAGIC CYPRUS PROBLEM. THE CONGRESS HAS CHOSEN MEANS TO ACCOMPLISH THAT END WHICH IN MY JUDGMENT WOULD NOT ONLY DELAY AND IMPEDE A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT BUT, AS NOW CAN BE SEEN CLEARLY, CAUSE A DISASTROUS DETERIORATION IN OUR SECURITY RELATIONS WITH TURKEY AND IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IN GENERAL. IN ADDITION, THESE EFFECTS WILL CERTAINLY NOT MAKE FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, WITHOUT WHICH A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT IS NOT POSSIBLE.

MY ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE THE CAUSE OF A JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN CYPRUS. BUT I MUST EMPHASIZE IN THE STRONGEST TERMS HOW SERIOUSLY HOBBLING OUR EFFORTS WILL BE IF THE EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY IS MAINTAINED.

I THEREFORE URGE THROUGH YOU, MR. SPEAKER, THE IMMEDIATE RECONSIDERATION OF LAST WEEK'S HOUSE ACTION. ONLY IF WE PRESERVE OUR VITAL SECURITY RELATIONS WITH TURKEY, WILL I BE ABLE USEFULLY TO ASSIST THE PARTIES IN THE AREA TOWARD BETTER RELATIONS.

SINCERELY,

GRNC

*SPEAKER Carl Albert
H O F R.*

PSN:009240

PAGE 02 OF 02

TOR:209/10:22Z

DTG:280955Z JUL 75

~~SECRET~~

*****S COPY

968

~~*****SECRET*****~~

Determined to be an administrative marking
Cancelled per E.O. 12356, Sec. 1.3 and
Archivist's memo of March 16, 1983

DATE 07/28/75

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

By AKD NARA date 2/6/82 PAGE 00

1

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE

DE WTE1 #0011 2090955

O 280955Z JUL 75

FM DICK CHENEY

TO DON RUMSFELD

~~SECRET~~

THE ATTACHED LETTER IS TO BE SENT TO THE SPEAKER
AND RELEASED TO THE PRESS. YOU AND MARSH ARE
AUTHORIZED TO ADD ONE OR TWO PARAGRAPHS IF YOU
BELIEVE IT NECESSARY, IN ORDER TO PRESENT OUR
CASE MORE EFFECTIVELY. THIS TEXT HAS BEEN APPROVED
BY THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY KISSINGER. PLEASE
CONSULT WITH US IF ANY MAJOR CHANGES ARE REQUIRED.
REGARDS.



DRAFT LETTER TO THE SPEAKER
FROM THE PRESIDENT

*****~~SECRET~~*****

DATE 07/28/75

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

1

MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS:

NO MESSAGE ANNOTATIONS

MESSAGE:

IMMEDIATE

DE WTE1 #0011 2090955

O 280955Z JUL 75

FM DICK CHENEY

TO DON RUMSFELD

~~SECRET~~

THE ATTACHED LETTER IS TO BE SENT TO THE SPEAKER AND RELEASED TO THE PRESS. YOU AND MARSH ARE AUTHORIZED TO ADD ONE OR TWO PARAGRAPHS IF YOU BELIEVE IT NECESSARY, IN ORDER TO PRESENT OUR CASE MORE EFFECTIVELY. THIS TEXT HAS BEEN APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY KISSINGER. PLEASE CONSULT WITH US IF ANY MAJOR CHANGES ARE REQUIRED. REGARDS.

DRAFT LETTER TO THE SPEAKER
FROM THE PRESIDENT

DEAR MR. SPEAKER:

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE HOUSE ACTION IN FAILING

TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO ON TURKEY ARE NOW BECOMING APPARENT. AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES MY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE NATIONAL SECURITY AND CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAVE LED ME TO URGE IN THE STRONGEST TERMS THAT THE HOUSE LIFT THE EMBARGO. DESPITE THE HOUSE ACTION AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SITUATION IS IRRETRIEVABLE TODAY.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO OVERSTATE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MAJOR INSTALLATIONS WE WILL LOSE IN TURKEY IF WE CANNOT REMEDY THE ACTION. THEIR LOSS WOULD SERIOUSLY DOWNGRADE OUR CAPABILITIES IN MAJOR AREAS OF NATIONAL SECURITY. THESE INSTALLATIONS ARE NOT REPLACABLE.

IN REVIEWING THE DEBATES OF THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS, ANY FAIR-MINDED PERSON WOULD AGREE THAT THERE

*****~~SECRET~~*****

Determined to be an administrative marking
Cancelled per E.O. 12356, Sec. 1.3 and
Archivist's memo of March 16, 1983

By 910 NARS date 2/1/83



*****SECRET*****

DATE 07/28/75

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

2

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

IS NOT A FUNDAMENTAL DISPUTE ON THE OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL AND EQUITABLE SOLUTION TO THE TRAGIC CYPRUS PROBLEM. THE CONGRESS HAS CHOSEN MEANS TO ACCOMPLISH THAT END WHICH IN MY JUDGMENT WOULD NOT ONLY DELAY AND IMPEDE A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT BUT, AS NOW CAN BE SEEN CLEARLY, CAUSE A DISASTROUS DETERIORATION IN OUR SECURITY RELATIONS WITH TURKEY AND IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IN GENERAL. IN ADDITION, THESE EFFECTS WILL CERTAINLY NOT MAKE FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, WITHOUT WHICH A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT IS NOT POSSIBLE.

MY ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE THE CAUSE OF A JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN CYPRUS. BUT I MUST EMPHASIZE IN THE STRONGEST TERMS HOW SERIOUSLY HOBBOLED OUR EFFORTS WILL BE IF THE EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY IS MAINTAINED.

I THEREFORE URGE THROUGH YOU, MR. SPEAKER, THE IMMEDIATE RECONSIDERATION OF LAST WEEK'S HOUSE ACTION. ONLY IF WE PRESERVE OUR VITAL SECURITY RELATIONS WITH TURKEY, WILL I BE ABLE USEFULLY TO ASSIST THE PARTIES IN THE AREA TOWARD BETTER RELATIONS.

SINCERELY,

GERALD R. FORD

HONORABLE CARL ALBERT, SPEAKER
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

GRNC



PSN: 009240

TOR: 209/10:22Z

DTG: 280955Z JUL 75

*****SECRET*****

~~*****SECRET*****~~

DATE 07/28/75

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 00

2

MESSAGE (CONTINUED):

IS NOT A FUNDAMENTAL DISPUTE ON THE OBJECTIVE OF ACHIEVING A PEACEFUL AND EQUITABLE SOLUTION TO THE TRAGIC CYPRUS PROBLEM. THE CONGRESS HAS CHOSEN MEANS TO ACCOMPLISH THAT END WHICH IN MY JUDGMENT WOULD NOT ONLY DELAY AND IMPEDE A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT BUT, AS NOW CAN BE SEEN CLEARLY, CAUSE A DISASTROUS DETERIORATION IN OUR SECURITY RELATIONS WITH TURKEY AND IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IN GENERAL. IN ADDITION, THESE EFFECTS WILL CERTAINLY NOT MAKE FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, WITHOUT WHICH A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT IS NOT POSSIBLE.

MY ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE THE CAUSE OF A JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN CYPRUS. BUT I MUST EMPHASIZE IN THE STRONGEST TERMS HOW SERIOUSLY HOBBOLED OUR EFFORTS WILL BE IF THE EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY IS MAINTAINED.

I THEREFORE URGE THROUGH YOU, MR. SPEAKER, THE IMMEDIATE RECONSIDERATION OF LAST WEEK'S HOUSE ACTION. ONLY IF WE PRESERVE OUR VITAL SECURITY RELATIONS WITH TURKEY, WILL I BE ABLE USEFULLY TO ASSIST THE PARTIES IN THE AREA TOWARD BETTER RELATIONS.

SINCERELY,

GERALD R. FORD

HONORABLE CARL ALBERT, SPEAKER
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

GRNC



PSN: 009240

TOR: 209/10:22Z

DTG: 280955Z JUL 75

~~*****SECRET*****~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
THROUGH: DICK CHENEY
FROM: JACK MARSH

1. The Senate took favorable action on Diego Garcia today by a vote of 53-43.
2. In reference to the Turkey matter, your letter was delivered to the Speaker and has been released to the press. Max and I have talked with the Speaker, Rhodes and other House leaders and they are of the view they should try to bring this up again this week. Question now is how to accomplish this. A suggestion has been made by Bolling to attach it to a Senate bill in order to obtain a better chance for a rule in the House. Morgan and Zablocki are exploring possible pending measures to accomplish this. Hamilton and Fraser also support reconsideration. Contacts are being made on both sides of the aisle to obtain vote switches with some progress being made, but not as much as we would like. Most Members indicate a need for some change in language or other provisions in the bill in order to justify a switch in position. Key sponsors here are aware that we cannot go with any substantial changes beyond the present House bill.
3. We also talked with Senator Scott, as well as others in the Senate, and there seems to be a favorable reaction there to working with the Administration in getting a reconsideration of the Turkish matter.

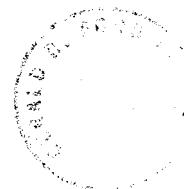
The major difficulty faced at present in both Houses is finding a legislative vehicle to get the bill to the Floor. We will be meeting again with leaders in House and Senate on this Tuesday.



4. The question involving arms sales to Jordan has been deferred in both Houses until after the August Recess.

5. The House will consider Nurses Training override attempt Tuesday. Republican Whip check indicates that the Administration cannot sustain the veto, with maximum of 80 Republicans expected to support the veto.

6. The Rules Committee has delayed action on the Resolution of Disapproval of the President's Decontrol plan and requests that Frank Zarb testify before the Rules Committee Tuesday at 10:00 a. m. before taking final action.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
THROUGH: DICK CHENEY
FROM: JACK MARSH

1. The Senate took favorable action on Diego Garcia today by a vote of 53-43.
2. In reference to the Turkey matter, your letter was delivered to the Speaker and has been released to the press. Max and I have talked with the Speaker, Rhodes and other House leaders and they are of the view they should try to bring this up again this week. Question now is how to accomplish this. A suggestion has been made by Bolling to attach it to a Senate bill in order to obtain a better chance for a rule in the House. Morgan and Zablocki are exploring possible pending measures to accomplish this. Hamilton and Fraser also support reconsideration. Contacts are being made on both sides of the aisle to obtain vote switches with some progress being made, but not as much as we would like. Most Members indicate a need for some change in language or other provisions in the bill in order to justify a switch in position. Key sponsors here are aware that we cannot go with any substantial changes beyond the present House bill.
3. We also talked with Senator Scott, as well as others in the Senate, and there seems to be a favorable reaction there to working with the Administration in getting a reconsideration of the Turkish matter.

The major difficulty faced at present in both Houses is finding a legislative vehicle to get the bill to the Floor. We will be meeting again with leaders in House and Senate on this Tuesday.

4. The question involving arms sales to Jordan has been deferred in both Houses until after the August Recess.

5. The House will consider Nurses Training override attempt Tuesday. Republican Whip check indicates that the Administration cannot sustain the veto, with maximum of 80 Republicans expected to support the veto.

6. The Rules Committee has delayed action on the Resolution of Disapproval of the President's Decontrol plan and requests that Frank Zarb testify before the Rules Committee Tuesday at 10:00 a.m. before taking final action.

July 28, 1975

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY

FROM: JACK MARSH

Just prior to leaving, the President talked on the phone with Senator Case in reference to the arms sales to Jordan.

It was agreed that we would get back to Case with guidance on Monday, before the Committee met.

I suggest you communicate with Breat and get back to me at earliest inasmuch as we have had inquiries from the Senator today on this matter.

~~SECRET~~

JOM/dl

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12856, Sec. 3.4 (b)

White House Guide Lines, Feb. 24, 1983

By Don NARS, Date 3/6/86



July 28, 1975

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY

FROM: JACK MARSH

Just prior to leaving, the President talked on the phone with Senator Case in reference to the arms sales to Jordan.

It was agreed that we would get back to Case with guidance on Monday, before the Committee met.

I suggest you communicate with Brent and get back to me at earliest inasmuch as we have had inquiries from the Senator today on this matter.

~~SECRET~~

JOM/dl

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4 (b)

White House Guide Lines, Feb. 24, 1983

By RAF NARA Date 2/6/86



July 28, 1975

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY

FROM: JACK MARSH

Just prior to leaving, the President talked on the phone with Senator Case in reference to the arms sales to Jordan.

It was agreed that we would get back to Case with guidance on Monday, before the Committee met.

I suggest you communicate with Brent and get back to me at earliest inasmuch as we have had inquiries from the Senator today on this matter.

~~SECRET~~

JOM/dl

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4 (b)

White House Guide Lines, Feb. 24, 1983

By DAP NAF Date 7/6/86



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: JACK MARSH

FROM: DOUG BENNETT

SUBJECT: Turkish Aid

Congressman Charles Rangel, Chairman of the Black Caucus, called me this morning regarding the above matter to indicate that if some positive direction were taken regarding the narcotics situation in this country and its relationship to Turkey, perhaps the 16 votes in the Caucus could be picked up if the Turkish Aid vote is reconsidered. By positive direction, I sense that he meant focused on the problem by the Administration through the DEA, some White House mechanism, or the State Department. Apparently, Kissinger has not focused on this, as when Rangel questioned him it was apparent to Rangel that Kissinger had not given thought to this with respect to Turkey.

July 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: JACK MARSH
FROM: DOUG BENNETT
SUBJECT: Turkish Aid

Congressman Charles Rangel, Chairman of the Black Caucus, called me this morning regarding the above matter to indicate that if some positive direction were taken regarding the narcotics situation in this country and its relationship to Turkey, perhaps the 16 votes in the Caucus could be picked up if the Turkish Aid vote is reconsidered. By positive direction, I sense that he meant focused on the problem by the Administration through the DEA, some White House mechanism, or the State Department. Apparently, Kissinger has not focused on this, as when Rangel questioned him it was apparent to Rangel that Kissinger had not given thought to this with respect to Turkey.

DB:rs

Jain Cannon

worked on this &

saw Rangel. 7/31/75

jm



THE WHITE HOUSE
RECEIVED
WASHINGTON CONGRESS OFFICE

July 29, 1975
JUL 29 PM 6 48

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
THROUGH: DICK CHENEY
FROM: JACK MARSH *JM*
SUBJECT: Turkey Vote

The House leaders are pushing for reconsideration of the Turkey vote by coming up with a proposal to go for the same bill plus the so-called Nelson Amendment as an added section to the bill. (A copy of the Nelson Amendment is at the end of the cable.) We have pointed out to them the Administration's objection to this type proposal but they insisted it is necessary to show some change in the bill in order to justify Members changing their vote. It is their view that we have to have this provision if we want a reconsideration. This proposed addition is the same as the provision which related to the Jordan arms sale.

Vice President met with Bipartisan Senate leaders this morning to urge reconsideration action and they are agreed. The present plan is to attach the Turkey bill as amended to the Board of International Broadcasters bill, currently contained in the State Department Authorization legislation now in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Broadcasters bill has been reported out separately with the Turkey Amendment and is slated for Senate Floor consideration Wednesday. Max advises that Bob Griffin is making a Whip check.

Assuming favorable Senate action, efforts have been made for speedy consideration in the House Rules Committee with the hope for action in the Rules Committee late Wednesday and House Floor action Thursday.

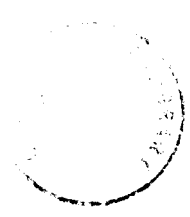
~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.4 (b)

White House Guide Lines, Feb. 24, 1983

By DND Date 2/6/86



~~SECRET~~

-2-

We have made some progress today on turning around House votes but are troubled by the front page story in the New York Times today which indicates that Turkey may not relent on all base closures even if the legislation passes. A copy of the New York Times story is attached. A similar story was carried with a full page headline in the Washington Star today.

Leadership sponsors in the House are at work to either firm up or switch votes there. We are trying to concentrate here on both House and Senate votes but primary effort in the morning directed to the Senate.

Max reports the following Congressional action:

-- The veto on the Health-Nurses Training Bill was overridden in the House by 384 to 43.

-- The Elk Hills Bill passed the Senate by the vote of 93-2.

-- The House Rules Committee today granted a rule on the Resolution of Disapproval for the President's Decontrol plan and this vote will probably occur Wednesday, July 30.

-- The Rules Committee also granted a rule making the Krueger Amendment in order as an amendment to the Dingell energy bill, also under consideration on the House floor. The Krueger Amendment closely parallels the President's Decontrol Plan, but would be subject to amendment on the House Floor.

~~SECRET~~



New York Times

Tuesday, July 29, 1975

Turks Assert Some Bases Will Stay Closed for Good

**Senior Officials Say Domestic Politics
Would Rule Out Reopening Even If
Congress Ultimately Lifts Embargo**

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

On page 5, after line 17, add the following new section:

(e) In the case of any letter of offer to sell any defense article or defense service pursuant to the Foreign Military Sales Act ~~or to furnish grant military assistance under the authority of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961~~ for \$25,000,000 or more, the President shall submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a statement containing (1) a brief description of the defense article or defense service to be offered, (2) the dollar amount of the proposed sale or grant, (3) the United States armed force which is making the sale or grant, and (4) the date on which any letter of offer to sell is to be issued or grant is to be made. The letter of offer shall not be issued nor the grant made if the Congress, within twenty calendar days after receiving any such statement, adopts a concurrent resolution stating in effect that it objects to such proposed sale or grant.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 29, 1975

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
THROUGH: DICK CHENEY
FROM: JACK MARSH
SUBJECT: Turkey Vote

The House leaders are pushing for reconsideration of the Turkey vote by coming up with a proposal to go for the same bill plus the so-called Nelson Amendment as an added section to the bill. (A copy of the Nelson Amendment is at the end of the cable.) We have pointed out to them the Administration's objection to this type proposal but they insisted it is necessary to show some change in the bill in order to justify Members changing their vote. It is their view that we have to have this provision if we want a reconsideration. This proposed addition is the same as the provision which related to the Jordan arms sale.

Vice President met with Bipartisan Senate leaders this morning to urge reconsideration action and they are agreed. The present plan is to attach the Turkey bill as amended to the Board of International Broadcasters bill, currently contained in the State Department Authorization legislation now in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Broadcasters bill has been reported out separately with the Turkey Amendment and is slated for Senate Floor consideration Wednesday. Max advises that Bob Griffin is making a Whip check.

Assuming favorable Senate action, efforts have been made for speedy consideration in the House Rules Committee with the hope for action in the Rules Committee late Wednesday and House Floor action Thursday.

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4 (b)

White House Guide Lines, Feb. 24, 1983

By DAD NARS, Date 2/6/86



~~SECRET~~

-2-

We have made some progress today on turning around House votes but are troubled by the front page story in the New York Times today which indicates that Turkey may not relent on all base closures even if the legislation passes. A copy of the New York Times story is attached. A similar story was carried with a full page headline in the Washington Star today.

Leadership sponsors in the House are at work to either firm up or switch votes there. We are trying to concentrate here on both House and Senate votes but primary effort in the morning directed to the Senate.

Max reports the following Congressional action:

-- The veto on the Health-Nurses Training Bill was overridden in the House by 384 to 43.

-- The Elk Hills Bill passed the Senate by the vote of 93-2.

-- The House Rules Committee today granted a rule on the Resolution of Disapproval for the President's Decontrol plan and this vote will probably occur Wednesday, July 30.

-- The Rules Committee also granted a rule making the Krueger Amendment in order as an amendment to the Dingell energy bill, also under consideration on the House floor. The Krueger Amendment closely parallels the President's Decontrol Plan, but would be subject to amendment on the House Floor.

~~SECRET~~

On page 5, after line 17, add the following new section:

(e) In the case of any letter of offer to sell any defense article or defense service pursuant to the Foreign Military Sales Act or to furnish grant military assistance under the authority of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for \$25,000,000 or more, the President shall submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a statement containing (1) a brief description of the defense article or defense service to be offered, (2) the dollar amount of the proposed sale or grant, (3) the United States armed force which is making the sale or grant, and (4) the date on which any letter of offer to sell is to be issued or grant is to be made. The letter of offer shall not be issued nor the grant made if the Congress, within twenty calendar days after receiving any such statement, adopts a concurrent resolution stating in effect that it objects to such proposed sale or grant.

7/29/75

Committee on International Relations

On page 5, after line 17, add the following new section:

(e) In the case of any letter of offer to sell any defense article or defense service pursuant to the Foreign Military Sales Act or to furnish grant military assistance under the authority of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for \$25,000,000 or more, the President shall submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate a statement containing (1) a brief description of the defense article or defense service to be offered, (2) the dollar amount of the proposed sale or grant, (3) the United States armed force which is making the sale or grant, and (4) the date on which any letter of offer to sell is to be issued or grant is to be made. The letter of offer shall not be issued nor the grant made if the Congress, within twenty calendar days after receiving any such statement, adopts a concurrent resolution stating in effect that it objects to such proposed sale or grant.

Return amendment to Military Sales

Senate has reported BIB, ACDA, U.S. DA.

" Pull BIB separate; consider it;

" go to Rules + get waiver

" vote on amended version

"