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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
	1. <u>Meeting with Republican Congressional Leaders,</u>	9/9/75	
1a. Briefing Paper	Background Material and Talking Points on Restoration of Military Assistance to Turkey (4 pp.) <i>prohins exempted NSC letter 12/7/92 RBH 1/27/93</i>	Undated (ca.9/75)	A
1b. "	Talking Points - Middle East (2 pp.)	Undated (ca.9/75)	A
	<i>Sys. W HM 11/28/00</i>		

FILE LOCATION
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 General Subject File
~~TURKISH~~ Turkey - Military Aid Embargo, 9/75 Box 42

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WHM, 6/23/86

[9/75]

Republicans with Negative
Voting Records on Turkey

- Andrews, Mark
- Armstrong
- Ashbrook
- Bauman
- Burke, J. Herbert
- Clancy
- Clawson, Del
- Collins, James
- Conable
- Conlan
- Conte
- Coughlin
- Crane
- Daniel, Bob
- Derwinski
- Duncan
- du Pont
- Edwards, Jack
- Esch
- Fish
- Goldwater
- Gude
- Hammerschmidt
- Heinz
- Holt
- Lent
- Lujan *Hidalgo*
- McCollister
- McKinney
- Moorhead, Carlos
- Mosher
- Peysner
- Regula
- Rinaldo
- Rousselot
- Sarasin
- Snyder
- Spence
- Steelman
- Steiger, William
- Wydler
- Wylie
- Young, Don
- Whitehurst *visa case*



[9/75?]

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Voting Records on Turkey

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THE SUNDAY SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.
SEPTEMBER 7, 1975
SECTION K •

PERSPECTIVE

ANALYSIS
EDITORIALS
FINANCIAL
TRANSPORTATION
BUSINESS

The inside workings of the U.S. Greek lobby

By RUSSELL WARREN HOWE
and SARAH HAYS TROTT

The Lobby vs. White House battle is over an administration amendment to S. 2230, a communications appropriations bill: the amendment conditionally re-

posts in Turkey (closed by Ankara in retaliation for the arms ban).

The 70-some brash, battlesome, mutually jealous ethnic organizations which

members, founded in the wake of the Cyprus crisis last year. Mr. Rossides and a handful of associates activate and coordinate pressures on Congress mem-

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1975

MEETING WITH REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

Tuesday, September 9, 1975
8:00-9:30 a.m. (90 minutes)
The Cabinet Room

From: Max L. Friedersdorf *M.L.F.*

I. PURPOSE

To discuss with Republican Leaders the veto of the Education Appropriations Bill, status of the energy issue, Turkish Aide and the Middle East settlement.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background:

1. The House will vote today on an attempt to override the President's veto on the Education Appropriations Bill which is \$1.2 billion over the budget. Prospects for sustaining the veto are discouraging.
2. The Senate has scheduled a vote for 3:00 p.m. tomorrow, Wednesday, September 10, on an attempt to override the President's veto of the six month extension of the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act.
3. The House failed by a vote of 206-223 on July 24, 1975, to lift the ban on military aid to Turkey. Attempts to schedule another vote before the August recess failed and the issue is still pending before the House Rules Committee. "Doc" Morgan has indicated he prefers not to push the issue in Rules Committee until talks concerning Cyprus scheduled in New York this week are concluded.
4. Egypt and Israel have signed a Middle East settlement negotiated by Secretary Kissinger. Stationing of American technicians as monitors is receiving scrutiny by Congress and the House and Senate will consider concurrent resolutions of approval. The Administration is hopeful that the concurrent resolution can be approved in the next ten days.

B. Participants: See Tab A



C. Press Plan:

Announce to the Press as a regular Republican Leadership meeting. Press and White House photographers.

III. AGENDA See Tab B

IV. TALKING POINTS See Tab C

1. We have a number of important issues to consider today.
2. The most immediate concern is the veto consideration in the House today of the Education Appropriations Bill which is \$1.2 billion over the budget.
3. Perhaps John Rhodes and Bob Michel can give us a report on the veto vote in the House today?



The President
The Vice President

SENATE

Hugh Scott
Bob Griffin
Carl Curtis
Bob Stafford
John Tower
Ted Stevens
Strom Thurmond
Jake Javits
Paul Fannin
Cliff Case

HOUSE

John Rhodes
Bob Michel
John Anderson
Sam Devine
Jack Edwards
Barber Conable
Lou Frey
Jimmy Quillen
Guy Vander Jagt
Al Cederberg
Al Quie
Herm Schneebeli
Bill Broomfield
Bob Wilson

STAFF

Secretary Kissinger
Secretary Schlesinger
Secretary Morton
Don Rumsfeld
Bob Hartmann
Jack Marsh
Max Friedersdorf
Phil Buchen
Jim Lynn
Alan Greenspan
Bill Seidman
Jim Cannon
Ron Nessen
Frank Zarb
Brent Scowcroft
Dick Cheney
Doug Bennett
Vern Loen

Bill Kendall
Pat O'Donnell
Charles Leppert
Tom Loeffler
Bob Wolthuis

REGRETS

Senator Young
Bill Baroody



8:00-8:15 a.m.
(15 minutes) The President opens the meeting and announces the agenda for discussion (Education Appropriations Bill veto, energy, Turkish Aid, and the Middle East settlement.)

8:15-8:30 a.m.
(15 minutes) The President calls upon Rhodes and Michel for a report on the House vote on the Presidential veto of the Education Appropriations Bill.

8:30-8:45 a.m.
(15 minutes) The President reviews the energy situation and calls upon Frank Zarb for comments.

8:45-9:00 a.m.
(15 minutes) The President introduces the subject of the ban on military aid to Turkey and calls upon Secretary Kissinger for comments.

9:00-9:15 a.m.
(15 minutes) The President refers to the Middle East settlement and calls upon Secretary Kissinger for comments.

9:15-9:30 a.m.
(15 minutes) The President invites leaders to raise any other subjects of interest.

9:30 a.m. The President concludes the meeting.



OIL DECONTROL

1. As most of you know, the Federal allocation and price control authorities on petroleum expired on August 31, 1975.
2. Over the last several months, I have tried repeatedly to compromise with Congress on this issue.
3. Just before the August recess, I submitted a 39-month phased decontrol plan which included a \$11.50 cap on new oil. It went more than half-way in meeting the concerns voiced by Members of Congress. By increasing the quantity of oil decontrolled from 1 1/2% the first year to 2 1/2%, then 3 1/2% in the last 15 months and gradually increasing the cap by \$.05 per month, it would have rolled back prices during the first year and assured that future OPEC price increases would not be mirrored in higher domestic oil prices. Unfortunately, it was rejected by the House of Representatives.
4. At Mike Mansfield's and Carl Albert's request, I indicated that I would be willing to sign a 30-40 day extension of the EPAA if I could be reasonably assured that Congress would accept my 39-month decontrol plan. I believe such an approach is best, and a compromise would be in the nation's best interest.
5. While I would like to compromise, I have heard statements from some Members of Congress who appear to be putting politics ahead of the development of a national energy policy. While I hope they don't prevail, it now appears that compromise is not possible until after my veto of any extension of price controls is sustained. However, to ease the impacts of immediate decontrol, I will take several steps.
6. First, I will remove the supplemental fees on petroleum imports and again support a windfall profits tax and rebates to consumer of the tax revenues. This will keep the price increases from decontrol to very modest levels.
7. As part of the natural gas emergency legislation, I will propose shortly, I will ask for authority to allocate and control the price of propane, such as farmers and rural homes get needed supplies at reasonable prices.
8. Finally, I will submit legislative proposals to help independent refiners and marketers adjust to decontrol. For independent refiners, new legislation will provide a continuation of the subsidies they now receive under the allocation act. These subsidies will phase out gradually to ease the transition back to a free market. For independent marketers of gasoline, I will propose legislation to provide for legal remedies if coercive action is taken by major oil companies.



Propane is a petroleum product which is used in agriculture for crop drying, rural home heating and in industrial and electrical utilities. Under the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act (EPPA), the FEA allocated propane and controlled its price. Using these authorities, historical users such as farmers were assured needed supplies. Because of the natural gas shortage, large industrial and utility users who are curtailed may attempt to substitute propane. Such purchases could divert large quantities of propane from historical users or cause large price increases.

Because the President intends to veto the six month extension of the EPAA, new authorities are needed to protect historical propane users. The President will request legislation as part of comprehensive emergency legislation to deal with the natural gas shortage, which will:

- Provide allocation and pricing authorities for all propane use.
- Assure historical users of adequate supplies at reasonable prices.
- Regulate the use of propane by new industrial users who are experiencing natural gas curtailments.



BACKGROUND MATERIAL AND TALKING POINTS
ON RESTORATION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY

I. BACKGROUND

A. Congressional Developments: On July 24, the House failed to adopt Senate Bill 846, legislation which would have partially lifted the embargo on U.S. military assistance to Turkey. The Senate, on July 31, introduced and passed legislation containing identical language. The bill was then sent to the House and referred to the Rules Committee. Chairman Madden, however, refused to convene his committee in time for the legislation to come to a vote on the House floor before the August recess.

Congressman Morgan, chairman of the International Relations Committee, is not expected to request the Speaker to ask the Rules Committee to act on the bill until after the current round in the intercommunal talks conclude in New York at the end of this week. There are indications from the Hill that there are sufficient votes in the Rules Committee to get the measure reported to the House floor, and that efforts by the opposition to have the bill sent back to the International Relations Committee for additional hearings will fail. If the bill is reported favorably by the Rules Committee after the Yom Kippur recess (September 13-17), the House vote can probably be expected during the fourth week of September.

B. Turkish Developments: Following the failure of the Congress to restore military assistance to Turkey, the Demirel government on July 26 acted to suspend all American activities at the joint US-Turkish bases, indicating that in their view the United States had unilaterally abrogated the 1969 Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) which links the bases with provision of U.S. military assistance. Ankara also announced that Turkey would not renegotiate the DCA while the U.S. arms embargo remains in effect. On July 28, you expressed your concern over the Turkish retaliatory action in a letter to Speaker Albert, calling for House reconsideration of the issue at the earliest opportunity.

CONFIDENTIAL (GDS)
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DECLASSIFIED - E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4
WHOLE DOCUMENT EXEMPTED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 1.3 (a) (X5)

MR 91-35, #12, Use letter 12/7/92

By KBH, NARA, Date 1/27/93

II. TALKING POINTS

A. Legislative Action

1. At the outset, let me express my appreciation to all of you for your efforts before the August recess to gain passage of legislation which would have restored military assistance to Turkey.

2. As I emphasized in my July 28 letter to Speaker Albert, early positive action on Turkish military assistance is essential to U. S. and NATO interests. I would hope that you will be able to move the House bill through the Rules Committee and to the floor without delay, and that a favorable vote would be forthcoming by the end of this month at the very latest.

3. The need is for immediate legislation to restore to an important NATO ally access to U.S. sources of supply to maintain operational their American-furnished military equipment.

4. Resumption of military assistance will enable Turkey to fulfill its NATO commitments, will permit us to renegotiate the use of joint bases in Turkey, and will -- most importantly -- remove a substantial impediment to progress in the Cyprus negotiations.

5. We will need your leadership and support on the House floor when the Turkish aid bill comes to a vote.

6. Have you had the opportunity yet to take a House Whip check? If so, what are the results? What is the mood of the House and when can we expect a vote on this measure?

B. Turkish Developments

1. As a result of the prolongation of the arms embargo, the downward spiral in US-Turkish relations which began last February has continued and intensified.

2. The Turkish suspension of U. S. activities at joint US-Turkish bases has remained in effect since July 26.
.....
.....
.....
.....

3. From the Turkish point of view, the military assistance embargo remains a serious impediment to resolving the bases issue and obtaining substantive progress on Cyprus.

4. The Turks showed flexibility at the last intercommunal talks held in Vienna,

5. Even so, last week the Turks announced the return to Turkey of 1,500 army commandos who had been stationed on the island since last summer.

6.

7.

8. There can be no doubt as to the need to restore military aid to Turkey. It is entirely in the best interests of the United States. Favorable House action is essential.

TALKING POINTS -- MIDDLE EAST

1. Before going into the details of Henry's recent visit to the Middle East, let me make the following comments about the present disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel. First, long before I sent Henry to the area, it was clear that we had to continue movement toward a settlement, either by a partial step or by an overall approach. As you know, we have been attempting for many months to establish a successful negotiation between both countries. The divergence of their positions following the March discussion, however, made this extremely difficult and forced us into a thorough review of our alternative courses of diplomatic action. It was clear, however, that we had to continue movement toward a settlement, either by another partial step or by attempting an overall approach. Accordingly, I sent Henry on this latest trip.
2. I regard this present agreement as an achievement about which the United States can be justly proud. Some Americans are undoubtedly cautious about a deeper U.S. involvement in the Middle East and an American presence in the Sinai as a result of the agreement, but the price this country has to pay is small indeed in comparison to what we would have had to pay if there had been no agreement at all. The positive advantages of the agreement are many -- a stabilization of the conflict for a period, an improvement of the U.S. position in the Middle East, a continued reduction and isolation of Soviet influence in the area, the reaffirmation of the strength of our relationship with Israel, and the opening of a doorway to further future movement toward a final settlement.
3. Henry could you please discuss the results of your trip.

[Secretary Kissinger's remarks.]
4. Let me conclude by reiterating my deep personal gratitude at the success of the negotiations. We have managed to avert a serious deterioration in the Arab-Israeli situation that could have resulted in war; we have given ourselves and our friends important advantages in the Middle East; and we have kept the door open to further future movement toward a final settlement. It is important, in fact, to recognize that this agreement is not a final act but is only a step toward a conclusive and lasting peace.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines
By WHM, NARA, Date 11/29/00



Its significance is that it gives us time and opportunity to solve the other problems related to a final settlement without the threat of imminent conflict.

5. The responsibility, however, to continue our efforts is still with us; to this end, we will need the continued confidence of all parties, Arabs as well as Israelis. We cannot be generous with one side and turn our back on the other; this is the essential reason why I shall be asking the Congress for increased assistance for Egypt when the Administration's assistance request for the Middle East goes forward, and why it is essential that we honor certain requests from Arab countries for U.S. military equipment. I shall count on your support for these programs.
6. I thank you for your encouragement in the past, and I urge your firm and active support for the present agreement.



SEP 11 1975

September 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF
SUBJECT: Turkish Aid

John Rhodes has urgently requested that you call the Speaker as soon as possible to urge him to have Ray Madden schedule the Turkish Aid matter in Rules Committee.

Dick Bolling strongly supports this procedure and has so advised John Rhodes.

Unless Rules takes up the matter this week it will slip over until late next week because of the Yom Kippur recess, September 12 - 17.

In addition, Bernie Sisk will be gone starting next Monday for 4 or 5 weeks due to surgery.

bcc: Don Rumsfeld
Jack Marsh



September 16, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH
FROM: RUSS ROURKE

Jack Maury called to express Secretary Schlesinger's interest in doing everything possible to assist in connection with the Turkish aid vote. Maury feels that the very articulate and informed Secretary should get more exposure on the Hill and be provided with increased opportunities to inform Members on the "facts of life" with regard to the entire Turkish aid controversy. He indicated that Schlesinger is already scheduled to appear before the Democratic Study Group within the next week. Schlesinger would like, however, to be invited to appear before the more Conservative oriented Democratic Research Group. As you know, Dave Satterfield could assist in facilitating such an invitation. Maury felt, that because of your personal relationship with Satterfield, you could be effective in getting Schlesinger invited to appear before that group. Maury suggested a 30-45 minute presentation with Q&As.

I told Maury I would run this by you and get back to him with a report.

RAR/dl



September 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT
FROM: JACK MARSH
SUBJECT: Greek/Turkey Matter

Max has suggested when we consider the Greek/Turkey matter again on the Floor of the House that it would be helpful, several days prior to that, to make Ambassador Bruce available to speak to some of the Members.

Inasmuch as he is not only a distinguished American diplomat, but also the fact that he serves as our Ambassador to NATO will give his views considerable weight.

What would be the chances of his visiting here during that period to point out to Members the key role Turkey plays in the North Atlantic Alliance?

JOM/dl



September 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH
FROM: RUSS ROURKE
SUBJECT: Secretary Schlesinger--Turkish Aid

Jack Maury called again, to point out that Schlesinger is leaving town on September 23. The time frame is, therefore, very tight with regard to his request for assistance in appearing before the Democratic Research Group.

"I know how busy Jack Marsh is and if he is not able to reach Dave Satterfield by today, I will call him myself ... even though I know Jack has far better rapport with Dave."

Please advise.

RAR/dl



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

M

September 17, 1975

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM TO: JACK MARSH
FROM: RUSS ROURKE R

Henry Dudley has just informed me that his law partner had dinner with Doc Morgan last night. He reports that Morgan indicated that he believes we now have the votes on the Rules Committee to get favorable action on the Turkey aid matter. It is scheduled for 2:00 p. m. this afternoon in the Rules Committee.

Morgan further reported that Ray Madden said that he will not object this time. He noted the heavy pressure brought upon him by the American Legion.

Dudley spoke with Claude Pepper last night. Pepper indicated that his vote was guided by his "heavy Greek constituency". "I was even decorated by the Greek Government." Dudley got the impression that Pepper, for the reasons we discussed in our own meeting with Dudley, might vote with us in the Rules Committee, and then vote against us on the Floor.

(FYI, Ralph Vinovich is back in the District today, and was, therefore, not available for a meeting with Dudley.)

cc: MFriedersdorf



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH
FROM: RUSS ROURKE *R*
SUBJECT: Secretary Schlesinger--Turkish Aid

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"I know how busy Jack Marsh is and if he is not able to reach Dave Satterfield by today, I will call him myself ... even though I know Jack has far better rapport with Dave."

Please advise.

D *RIM*



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH

FROM: RUSS ROURKE *R*

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I told Maury I would run this by you and get back to him with a report.

D - Imp.

A/M



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6304

September 22, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK MARSH

FROM:

Brent Scowcroft *(B)*

SUBJECT:

Turkish Aid -- Ambassador Bruce and Congress

This is in reply to your memorandum of September 17, 1975. I concur that it would be helpful to have Ambassador Bruce return prior to House action on Turkish aid, to permit him to meet with members of the House to review the damage to the Alliance being caused by the current embargo.

It is my understanding that a September 19 LIG meeting is set to discuss the best approach to moving the Turkish legislation favorably through the House. Following that meeting we should have a better idea of the best time for Ambassador Bruce to be in Washington. We will then follow through with State to see if the necessary arrangements can be made.

9/23

Max:

For your information and follow up.

Jack



September 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT
FROM: JACK MARSH
SUBJECT: Greek/Turkey Matter

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Inasmuch as he is not only a distinguished American diplomat, but also the fact that he serves as our Ambassador to NATO will give his views considerable weight.

What would be the chances of his visiting here during that period to point out to Members the key role Turkey plays in the North Atlantic Alliance?

JOM/dl

9/23

Max:

For your information and follow up.

Jack



September 22, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
FROM: JACK MARSH

Anticipating the next vote on the Greek/Turkey matter, I believe it would be helpful if we could have the gentleman available several days prior to his consideration, who is the leader in the Greek community and such a close friend of Governor Rockefeller.

I believe Bob Wolthuis has this individual's name and you might touch base with PetteWallison or Jim Cannon to see if that individual is desirous of coming down. I believe his last name is something like Alfange (sp.?).

JOM/dl



MAY
Russ
Brant
Common

F Y I

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

and
your
done 11/26
oe
September 24, 1975
JM

MEMORANDUM FOR HONORABLE JOHN MARSH
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Turkey and the Black Caucus

You will recall that just before the August recess Charlie Rangel held out hopes that he and perhaps several other members of the Black Caucus might vote to lift the embargo on arms shipments to Turkey if in return they were assured that the President would take a stronger stand on narcotics control. The President spoke with Rangel by phone from Helsinki, and sent him a letter. Rangel believes that the President is further committed to:

1. Make a public statement according high priority to narcotics control.
2. Meet with Rangel and other concerned Congressmen to discuss the issue.

If this can be arranged, Rangel has said that he and some friends would support S. 2230.

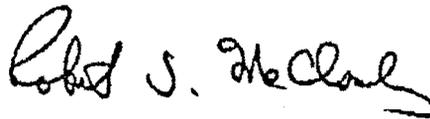
It seems to me that it is in the President's interest to publicly reiterate a strong stand against narcotics trafficking. The possibility of getting some Black Caucus votes for lifting the embargo make this a propitious time to make such a statement.

Consequently, I urge you to recommend to the President that he meet with Rangel and colleagues this week, reiterate his concern over the import of hard drugs, discuss tougher



enforcement measures, and then issue a statement after the meeting that would go something like the following:

"I have invited my colleagues from the Congress, including (special recognition might be given to Rangel as chairman of the Black Caucus and perhaps 2 or 3 others). We discussed the tragic consequences of the continuing illegal import of opium based drugs into this country. I have reiterated the high priority the control of the narcotics traffic has among the objectives of this Administration and pointed out what progress is being made. Helpful suggestions were made by members of Congress for improving enforcement. These suggestions will be studied immediately and implemented as soon as possible."



Robert J. McCloskey



SEP 25 1975

gone to May
9/26

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

[Handwritten signature]

From: Robert T. Hartmann

To: Jack Marsh

Date: _____ Time _____ a.m.
p.m.

Pres said
you should
see this -

Anybody on
Calif delegation
that might be
turned around?





needs. That is the best way to protect the integrity of the plan.

but it proves the point that what the state cannot afford is further neglect of its coast.

influences on an individual.

EUGENE

The A

Arms Embargo: a Proven Error

The House of Representatives will be extending the harm already done to American and NATO security interests if it fails to act soon to lift the embargo on U.S. arms shipments to Turkey.

Far from serving any beneficial purpose, the arms ban, imposed last February at congressional insistence, has had only negative effects: on U.S. Turkish relations, on the Cyprus situation, on the intelligence-gathering capabilities of the Atlantic alliance. Responsibility and good sense both dictate that the embargo be ended.

The Senate has already voted to relax the weapons boycott, and the House International Relations Committee has approved similar legislation. That bill would permit shipment to Turkey of \$185 million in arms already contracted for, and would open the way to future military sales. Grant aid, however, would not be resumed.

In the hope of strengthening Turkey's moderate government, President Ford is urging full House action on the legislation before Oct. 12, when national elections will be held in Turkey. There is no

good reason why that deadline cannot be met. The arms embargo has been thoroughly debated. All that has to be done before the House votes is to weigh the ban's actual results against its intended purpose.

The embargo was meant to pressure Turkey into pulling its army back from the 40% of Cyprus that it occupied last year in the wake of an attempted coup by elements of the Greek Cypriot community. But the embargo instead worked to freeze the situation on Cyprus. The Turkish army has stayed put, Greek Cypriot refugees have not been allowed to return to their homes, negotiations on the island's political future are deadlocked. Meanwhile, important U.S. intelligence-gathering facilities in Turkey have been taken over by the Turks, jeopardizing NATO's ability to keep track of military movements in the southern Soviet Union.

The arms embargo is a proven mistake. The House, which once more has the chance to rectify it, should quickly do so.

I was disappointed in a news story (Sept. 3), "Nonsense, 186 Scientists" and the article by Prof. Abell of UCLA (Opinion "Astrology Can Foster Thinking."

From reading these articles the scientists' view of astrology is incorrect. The science of astrology is not a physical one, except for the determination of longitude, and the relative motion of celestial locations. The influence of astrological phenomena is not a physical force or electromagnetic radiation.

For example, if the planet Mars was physically to disappear from orbit on Jan. 1, 1976, a person born on Jan. 2 would still be under a specific Martian influence if the planet were still there. The reason for this is because Mars is in the universe in two ways: separate, and symbolically. Astrology is concerned with understanding the latter, the subconscious perception. Thus the influence of astrological phenomena comes from within man himself, and the stars fore give him the power to understand the stars. This principle is summed up in the old adage: "The stars are in the eye of the beholder."

The Torturing of Freedom in Brazil

2021
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

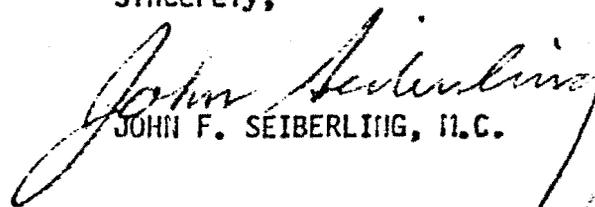
July 31, 1975

Dear Colleague:

Last week I circulated a letter from Dr. Herbert Scoville stating that the Turkish bases have only marginal utility in verifying past and future strategic arms limitation agreements. It seemed to me that Dr. Scoville's views had an important bearing on the claims by the Administration that the Turkish bases were essential for this purpose. Dr. Scoville is one of the foremost U.S. experts in the fields of strategic weaponry, arms control and scientific intelligence gathering, with more than twenty years of service in important posts in the Department of Defense, Central Intelligence Agency and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

In connection with the Administration's efforts to obtain consideration of a revised compromise resolution on a partial lifting of the ban on arms shipments to Turkey, I received a phone call yesterday from Dr. Fred C. Ikle, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Dr. Ikle called to say that he considered the bases very important for monitoring both present and future arms control agreements. I suggested to Dr. Ikle that he review Dr. Scoville's letter and give me his comments, and I offered to give his comments the same distribution that I had given to Dr. Scoville's letter. Both letters are attached, in order that Members may draw their own conclusions as to the adequacy of Dr. Ikle's response to the points made by Dr. Scoville.

Sincerely,


JOHN F. SEIBERLING, U.C.

JFS:jmb



July 31, 1975

Dear Congressman Seiberling:

I wish to follow up on your questions as to the importance of U.S. bases in Turkey for the verification of arms control agreements. In particular, you were interested in my reactions to the letter by Doctor Herbert Scoville, Jr. which you inserted in the Congressional Record of July 22, 1975.

In his letter, Dr. Scoville states that the bases in Turkey are not well located to monitor the SALT Interim Agreement and the ABT Treaty. While the sites in Turkey have made some contribution to monitoring the ABT Treaty, it would be shortsighted to consider the verifiability of only those limitations which were agreed to in the past. The Interim Agreement will expire in two years and the SALT II agreement now under negotiation will have additional limitations more difficult to monitor. Moreover, we must ensure that our verification capabilities will be adequate for further limitations and reductions to be negotiated after SALT II. If we permit our verification capabilities to contract, how can we expand the scope of future arms control limitations?

Many members of Congress expressed an interest in limiting cruise missiles. As far as we can anticipate, the verification of such limits will have to be based primarily on the observation of tests. For this purpose, bases in Turkey would play a crucial role; without them, any actual or likely potential test locations could not be monitored. It would take many years and considerable investment to develop alternate means of verification, if the gap could be closed at all.

We must also keep in mind that the Soviets may change the location of their test sites or the way in which they use them. This possibility lends added importance to the U.S. monitoring facilities in Turkey.

The suggestion has been made that the facilities in Turkey could be moved to another country. But this would forfeit Turkey's unique geographic location. Moreover, such a relocation would almost certainly entail new political vulnerabilities.

Classified data necessarily omitted from this letter would lend greater clarity and force to these conclusions. However, the importance of the Turkish bases for the monitoring of arms limitations agreements can be sufficiently appreciated, I think, from the considerations sketched here.

Please let me know if I can provide you with additional information.

Sincerely,

FRED C. IKLE, Director
United States Arms Control and
Disarmament Agency



July 20, 1975

Dear Congressman Seiberling:

This is in answer to your request for my views on the usefulness of our Turkish bases for verifying the SALT agreements. I understand that it has been argued that these bases are essential for ensuring that the Russians are not violating the SALT I ABII Treaty and Interim Agreement on Offensive Weapons and that they are also necessary if we are to verify any future agreements deriving from the Vladivostok Accords.

While there is no doubt that the Turkish bases provide useful information on certain aspects of the Soviet military complex, to say that they are essential for verifying past or future SALT agreements would appear to be such an exaggeration as to raise questions as to the sincerity of those making the statements.

First, with respect to the ABII Treaty, the bases would appear of marginal if any value. A glance at the globe will show their unsuitability for observations of the Soviet ABII Test Site at Sary Shagan, which is on Lake Balkash about 2,000 miles east of Turkey. That country is far less satisfactory for observing activities at the Test Site than would be bases in countries directly to the south. Turkey is not a good location for observing whether their radars are being tested in the ABII mode or their SAM missiles are being tested against incoming ballistic missiles. It has no value at all for verifying deployment of ABII's. While the Turkish bases are closer to the Russian ICBM, IRBM, or MRBM test launch areas, which are north of the Caspian Sea, information on such firings that might come from the Turkish bases is not of any great value in verifying the ABII Treaty.

The Turkish bases provide no information relative to the Interim Agreement on Offensive Weapons, since this agreement only freezes deployment of offensive missiles, not their development or testing. Information on deployment comes from observation satellites, not from surface observation posts. Thus, the Turkish bases have little if any value in verifying either of the SALT I Moscow Agreements.

It is harder to be so categorical relative to future agreements, since details on these are still unknown. However, looking at the Vladivostok Accords, it is doubtful whether the bases can be very important. As with the Interim Agreement, these bases have no relation to the ceiling on deployment of delivery vehicles.

They could be of some value relative to the ceiling on MIRVd missiles, since a factor here is what types of missiles have been tested with MIRVs. However, the key observation [point] to determine this is not at the launch end of the test range, but at the re-entry point which occurs on the Kamchatka Peninsula in the Pacific Ocean. Both of those areas are subject to observation from U.S. ships or land areas. It is these locations, not the Turkish bases, which have provided the information that the Secretary of Defense has used to announce Soviet MIRV tests. If observation of the launch areas were essential, then verification would be impossible, regardless of whether we had the Turkish bases, since there is nothing to prevent the Russians launching from one of their operational sites far from the Turkish bases. Finally, there are other land areas closer than Turkey for observing the current Soviet missile test launch area to the north of the Caspian Sea.

In sum, the Turkish bases have only marginal utility in verifying past or possible future SALT agreements. Other observation sites and satellites would appear much more useful. SALT cannot be reasonably used as a justification for making a decision on our Turkish aid program.

/s Herbert Scoville, Jr.
Former Assistant Director of CIA for
Scientific Intelligence and Deputy
Director for Research



August 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT
FROM: JACK MARSH

The President is very interested in the attached and wanted you to review it, particularly from the standpoint of developing a position when this matter again comes before the House for debate. I would be very grateful for your guidance.

JOM/dl



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 4, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

LES JANKA

THRU:

JACK MARSH *JM*
BILL KENDALL *BK*

FROM:

CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ*

SUBJECT:

Scoville and Ikle Letter on the Utility
of U. S. bases in Turkey

Max Friedersdorf asked that I obtain a copy of the Scoville letter on the marginal utility of our bases in Turkey and to have you prepare a rebuttal for circulation on the Hill.

Please note that also attached is the response of Mr. Fred C. Ikle.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mem -

Suggest you
have Bob W &
Les J. prepare
this for use
Wed M



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
Memo	From Brent Scowcroft to John O. Marsh, and attachment. 3 pgs.	9/25/75	A

FILE LOCATION

John Marsh Files, Box 42, "Turkish Aid, 9/75 (6)"

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 12356 governing access to national security information.
- (B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
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80 7/1/14

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
Fact Sheet	Military Assistance to Turkey 3 pgs.	[ca. 9/25/75]	A

FILE LOCATION
John Marsh Files, Box 42, "Turkish Aid, 9/75 (6)"

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 12356 governing access to national security information.
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7/1/14

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH
FROM: RUSS ROURKE *R*
SUBJECT: Turkey and the Black Caucus



Obviously, both the goal and the quid pro quo in McCloskey's memo are laudable. I have some concern, however, about the President's making personal deals with Members on matters such as this, even though the substance of the deal is connected with the critically important anti-narcotics trafficking effort.

Prior to setting up any meeting with the Black Caucus, I believe it would be advisable to get some further corroboration on precisely how far the Black Caucus is willing to go in committing itself on a Turkish aid effort if the President decides, indeed, to agree to the meeting and the statement.

R-
Run by MAX, I
share your concerns.
M



September 26

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: RUSS

FROM: JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

_____ For Direct Reply

_____ For Draft Response

_____ For Your Information

_____ Please Advise

FYI and your views please.



*MAY
Russ
Brant
Common*

F Y I

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

*and
your
views
JM*

September 24, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR HONORABLE JOHN MARSH
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Turkey and the Black Caucus

You will recall that just before the August recess Charlie Rangel held out hopes that he and perhaps several other members of the Black Caucus might vote to lift the embargo on arms shipments to Turkey if in return they were assured that the President would take a stronger stand on narcotics control. The President spoke with Rangel by phone from Helsinki, and sent him a letter. Rangel believes that the President is further committed to:

1. Make a public statement according high priority to narcotics control.
2. Meet with Rangel and other concerned Congressmen to discuss the issue.

If this can be arranged, Rangel has said that he and some friends would support S. 2230.

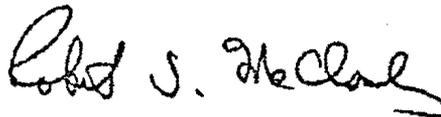
It seems to me that it is in the President's interest to publicly reiterate a strong stand against narcotics trafficking. The possibility of getting some Black Caucus votes for lifting the embargo make this a propitious time to make such a statement.

Consequently, I urge you to recommend to the President that he meet with Rangel and colleagues this week, reiterate his concern over the import of hard drugs, discuss tougher



enforcement measures, and then issue a statement after the meeting that would go something like the following:

"I have invited my colleagues from the Congress, including (special recognition might be given to Rangel as chairman of the Black Caucus and perhaps 2 or 3 others). We discussed the tragic consequences of the continuing illegal import of opium based drugs into this country. I have reiterated the high priority the control of the narcotics traffic has among the objectives of this Administration and pointed out what progress is being made. Helpful suggestions were made by members of Congress for improving enforcement. These suggestions will be studied immediately and implemented as soon as possible."



Robert J. McCloskey



September 26

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Jack:

We tried unsuccessfully to reach Straus-Hupe during the last several days. We left several messages for him.

R

Russ



sent max 9/30 - FYd.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1975

MEMORANDUM

FOR: JACK MARSH ✓
MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM: DON RUMSFELD

Ambassador Strauz-Hupe gave me the following information on his visits with House Members on the Turkish aide issue:

1. Sam Seiger (Arizona) -- might go with us.
2. John Rousselot (California) -- against us.
3. Del Clawson (California) -- definitely with us.
4. Tom Downing (Virginia) -- probably with us.
5. Robert Bauman (Maryland) -- probably with us.
6. Bill Whitehurst (Virginia) -- he would like to go with us but has a large Greek constituency.
7. Don Fuqua (Florida) -- probably with us.

P.S. I am not sure these are going to prove to be accurate.



SEP 26 1975

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1975

MEMORANDUM

FOR: JACK MARSH ✓
MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM: DON RUMSFELD

Attached is the report from Robert Straus-Hupe on his House visits on the Turkish Aide issue.

Attachment



September 25, 1975

Ambassador Straus -Hupe

Phillip Crane----positive

Floyd Spence----likely to be positive

George O'brien---likely to be positive

John Wydler-----negative

Best wishes and he will see you in April.

Judy



SEP 26 1975

September 26, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

SUBJECT: Turkey Aid

Bradenas, Sarbanes and Rosenthal made a very determined effort to defeat in Rules Committee our attempts to report the Turkish Aid Bill.

Dick Bolling was extremely helpful in obtaining the four Democratic votes we received for the rule and if you are talking to Dick it would be good to mention his very helpful assistance on getting this rule.

✓ bcc: Jack Marsh



September 26, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH
FROM: RUSS ROURKE
SUBJECT: Turkey and the Black Caucus

Obviously, both the goal and the quid pro quo in McCloskey's memo are laudable. I have some concern, however, about the President's making personal deals with Members on matters such as this, even though the substance of the deal is connected with the critically important anti-narcotics trafficking effort.

Prior to setting up any meeting with the Black Caucus, I believe it would be advisable to get some further corroboration on precisely how far the Black Caucus is willing to go in committing itself on a Turkish aid effort if the President decides, indeed, to agree to the meeting and the statement.

RAR/dl



SEP 26 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *MF*
SUBJECT: Tobacco Bill/Turkish Aid

Per your request I am listing below how the Congressional delegation whom you visited with yesterday on the tobacco bill voted on the most recent Turkish Aid vote of July 24, 1975:

House

Walter Jones -- Voted OK
Tim Lee Carter -- Absent, but has voted with us on this issue
on past occasions and has indicated he will be
with us next week.
Tom Foley -- Voted wrong
Bill Wampler -- Voted OK
Carl Perkins -- Voted OK
Bob Poage -- Voted OK
John Breckinridge -- Voted OK

Senate

Huddleston -- Voted OK
Ford -- Voted OK
Baker -- Voted OK
Helms -- Voted OK
Morgan -- Voted wrong
Thurmond -- Voted OK
Hollings -- Voted wrong
Nunn -- Voted OK
Stone -- Voted wrong
Dole -- Voted OK



With regard to Walter Jones' report to you on pick ups in the North Carolina delegation, he gives me the following run down.

Walter Jones -- OK before and will be with us again.

Fountain -- OK before and will be with us again.

Henderson -- OK before and will be with us again.

Ike Andrews -- Voted wrong and will definitely switch to vote OK.

Neal -- Voted wrong and now a strong possibility of a switch.

Preyer -- OK before and still with us.

Rose -- Voted wrong before and phoned from Copenhagen to advise that if the President signs the Tobacco Bill he will switch his vote on Turkish Aid.

Hefner -- Voted wrong and now is slight possibility to switch.

Jim Martin -- Voted wrong and still a lost cause.

Jim Broyhill -- Voted OK and still with us.

Roy Taylor -- Voted wrong but has switched and will definitely be with us.

This means we have picked up two definite switches (Andrews and Taylor); one strong possibility (Neal); one slight possibility (Hefner), and one definite switch if you sign the Tobacco Bill (Rose).

As the deadline for signing the Tobacco Bill comes on mid-night October 1, the same day the Turkish Aid Bill will be on the House floor, we could probably definitely wrap up Neal and Hefner if you decide to sign the bill. Walter Jones said to also tell you that if you decide to veto it he would urge that no mention of the Parliamentary procedure be used in your veto statement and I assured him that I felt certain this would not be done.

And as I mentioned to you and Dr. Kissinger, Walter said another big help would be to allow the sale of tobacco to Egypt which wants to buy 14.9 million pounds according to Congressman Jones.



at about Karainlis, one of the statesman in Europe, buffeted on ght and the left? What is the alba-around his neck? Cyprus and its e.

at are we going to do to bring about fully a settlement in that area so he Turks will withdraw their forces Cyprus, so that the independence yprus, which is composed of two ns, even at this time, really within so that the refugees can be taken of? What are we going to do if we t give some assistance at this time, o much to maintain our bases in ey, important though they be, but y the Cypriots, to help the Greeks? y are going to be helped, they have helped from the outside, and the country not a signatory to the in- y and the independence of Cyprus, nly country in a position to do so, en the opportunity, is the United s of America.

I say I hope that this motion to nit this bill to the Committee on gn Relations will fail.

would hope that we would be aware e fact that the House of Represent- s is still in session, and three at- ts to adjourn it tonight beginning ound 8 o'clock have failed.

hat is the House of Representatives ing for? Hopefully for action by the te.

ok at Turkey. If the Senators do hink it is not an important country, k of the thousand-mile frontier with Soviet Union; think of the fact that ey is a Moslem country, which has a through the years adopted a ls-off policy as far as the Middle is concerned.

here are they going to get their e—in Western Europe, in Eastern pe, or in the Soviet Union?

noticed by the ticker that the Soviets contemplating sending helicopters to ey at the present time. I would be e a coup for them.

here are the Turks going to get the ey—from the Arab countries? and where are the Turks going to be e more interested—in the Middle e, a cockpit if ever there was one.

hope, may I say to our colleagues, e they will take all these factors into sideration, because the President is ng to bring about a settlement of s. He needs support. If our colleagues t to do something for Cyprus, if they t to do something for Greece, I say e against the motion to commit and e to pass the resolution reported out he Committee on Foreign Relations. yield back the remainder of my time.

EVERAL SENATORS. Vote! Vote! he PRESIDING OFFICER. Is all time ded back?

ll time having been yielded back, the stion is on agreeing to the motion to nmit.

Ir. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, have yeas and nays been ordered?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas l nays were ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I announce t the Senator from Texas (Mr. BENT-

SEN), the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE), the Senator from Mont- tana (Mr. METCALF), and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. TALMADGE) are neces- sarily absent.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from New York (Mr. BUCKLEY), and the Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER) are necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 43, nays 49, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 372 Leg.]

YEAS—43

Abourezk	Hartke	Muskie
Bayh	Haskell	Pastore
Beall	Hollings	Pell
Biden	Humphrey	Percy
Brooke	Jackson	Proxmire
Burdick	Javits	Ribicoff
Byrd,	Kennedy	Roth
Harry F., Jr.	Laxalt	Schweiker
Cannon	Leahy	Scott,
Church	Magnuson	William L.
Cranston	McGovern	Stevenson
Culver	McIntyre	Stone
Eagleton	Mondale	Tunney
Gravel	Montoya	Weicker
Hart, Gary W.	Moss	Williams

NAYS—49

Allen	Glenn	Nelson
Baker	Griffin	Nunn
Bartlett	Hansen	Packwood
Bellmon	Hart, Philip A.	Pearson
Brock	Hatfield	Randolph
Bumpers	Hathaway	Scott, Hugh
Byrd, Robert C.	Helms	Sparkman
Case	Hruska	Stafford
Chiles	Huddleston	Stennis
Clark	Inouye	Stevens
Curtis	Johnston	Symington
Dole	Long	Taft
Domenici	Mansfield	Thurmond
Fannin	Mathias	Tower
Fong	McClellan	Young
Ford	McClure	
Garn	Morgan	

NOT VOTING—7

Bentsen	Goldwater	Talmadge
Buckley	McGee	
Eastland	Metcalf	

So the motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Foreign Relations was re- jected.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was rejected.

Mr. CASE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is open to amendment.

If there be no amendment to be pro- posed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill hav- ing been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there a suf- ficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a 10- minute rollcall.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without ob- jection, it is so ordered.

Mr. EAGLETON. Mr. President, I ask

unanimous consent that the order for the yeas and nays be negated. I do not see any reason to have them.

Mr. DOLE. I see no objection to that.

Mr. WILLIAM L. SCOTT. I object, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The objection is heard. The clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, may we have order?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Let us have order in the Chamber, please.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And in the galleries, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. And the gal- leries as well. The clerk will not proceed until order is restored.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, no debate is allowed on a rollcall, but there may be further votes tonight, for the information of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk may proceed to call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk resumed the call of the roll.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I ask for the regular order.

Mr. HUGH SCOTT. Mr. President, a Senator who has not voted is coming to the floor. He is entitled to that courtesy. The point was made last Tuesday.

Mr. CASE. I withdraw the request.

The second assistant legislative clerk resumed and concluded the call of the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I announce that the Senator from Texas (Mr. BENT- SEN), the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. EASTLAND), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. MCGEE), and the Senator from Georgia (Mr. TALMADGE) are necessarily absent.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I announce that the Senator from New York (Mr. BUCKLEY) and the Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER) are necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 47, nays 46, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 373 Leg.]

YEAS—47

Baker	Glenn	Metcalf
Bartlett	Griffin	Nunn
Bellmon	Hansen	Packwood
Brock	Hart, Philip A.	Pearson
Bumpers	Hatfield	Randolph
Byrd, Robert C.	Hathaway	Scott, Hugh
Case	Helms	Sparkman
Chiles	Hruska	Stafford
Clark	Huddleston	Stennis
Curtis	Inouye	Stevens
Dole	Johnston	Symington
Domenici	Long	Taft
Fannin	Mansfield	Thurmond
Fong	Mathias	Tower
Ford	McClellan	Young
Garn	McClure	

NAYS—46

Abourezk	Hartke	Muskie
Allen	Haskell	Nelson
Bayh	Hollings	Pastore
Beall	Humphrey	Pell
Biden	Jackson	Percy
Brooke	Javits	Proxmire
Burdick	Kennedy	Ribicoff
Byrd,	Laxalt	Roth
Harry F., Jr.	Leahy	Schweiker
Cannon	Magnuson	Scott,
Church	McGovern	William L.
Cranston	McIntyre	Stevenson
Culver	Mondale	Stone
Eagleton	Montoya	Tunney
Gravel	Morgan	Weicker
Hart, Gary W.	Moss	Williams



NOT VOTING—6

Bentsen Eastland McGee
Buckley Goldwater Talmadge

So the bill (S. 2230) was passed, as follows:

S. 2230

To authorize appropriations for the Board for International Broadcasting for fiscal year 1978; and to promote improved relations between the United States, Greece, and Turkey, to assist in the solution of the refugee problem on Cyprus, and to otherwise strengthen the North Atlantic Alliance

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 8(a) of the Board for International Broadcasting Act of 1973 (22 U.S.C. 2877(a)) is amended—

(1) by striking out "\$49,990,000 for fiscal year 1975, of which not less than \$75,000 shall be available solely to initiate broadcasts in the Estonian language and not less than \$75,000 shall be available solely to initiate broadcasts in the Latvian language" in the first sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "\$65,640,000 for fiscal year 1978"; and

(2) by striking out "fiscal year 1975" on the second sentence and inserting in lieu thereof "fiscal year 1978".

Sec. 2. (a) (1) The Congress reaffirms the policy of the United States to seek to improve and harmonize relations among the allies of the United States and between the United States and its allies, in the interest of mutual defense and national security. In particular, the Congress recognizes the special contribution to the North Atlantic Alliance of Greece and Turkey by virtue of their geographic position on the southeastern flank of Europe and is prepared to assist in the modernization and strengthening of their respective armed forces.

(2) The Congress further reaffirms the policy of the United States to alleviate the suffering of refugees and other victims of armed conflict and to foster and promote international efforts to ameliorate the conditions which prevent such persons from resuming normal and productive lives. The Congress, therefore, calls upon the President to encourage and to cooperate in the implementation of multilateral programs, under the auspices of the Secretary General of the United Nations, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, or other appropriate international agencies, for the relief of and assistance to refugees and other persons disadvantaged by the hostilities on Cyprus pending a final settlement of the Cyprus refugee situation in the spirit of Security Council Resolution 361.

(b) (1) In order that the purpose of this Act may be carried out without awaiting the enactment of foreign assistance legislation for fiscal year 1978 programs—

(A) the President is authorized, notwithstanding section 620 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, to furnish to the Government of Turkey those defense articles and defense services with respect to which contracts of sale were signed under section 21 or section 22 of the Foreign Military Sales Act on or before February 5, 1975, and to issue licenses for the transportation to the Government of Turkey of arms, ammunition, and implements of war (including technical data relating thereto): *Provided*, That such authorization shall be effective only while Turkey shall observe the cease-fire and shall neither increase its forces on Cyprus nor transfer to Cyprus any United States supplied implements of war: *Provided further*, That the authorities contained in this section shall not become effective unless and until the President determines and certifies to the Congress that the furnishing of defense articles and defense services, and the issuance of licenses for the transportation of implements of war,

arms and ammunition under this section are important to the national security interests of the United States; and

(B) the President is requested to initiate discussions with the Government of Greece to determine the most urgent needs of Greece for economic and military assistance.

(2) The President is directed to submit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and to the Foreign Relations and Appropriations Committees of the Senate within sixty days after the enactment of this Act a report on discussions conducted under subsection (b) (1) (B), together with his recommendations for economic and military assistance to Greece for the fiscal year 1976.

(c) (1) Section 620(x) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out all after the word "Provided," and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "That the President is authorized to suspend the provisions of this section and of section 3(c) of the Foreign Military Sales Act only with respect to sales, credits, and guaranties under the Foreign Military Sales Act, as amended, for the procurement of such defense articles and defense services as the President determines and certifies to the Congress are necessary in order to enable Turkey to fulfill her defense responsibilities as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Any such suspension shall be effective only while Turkey shall observe the cease-fire and shall neither increase its forces on Cyprus nor transfer to Cyprus any United States supplied arms, ammunition, and implements of war."

(2) Section 620(x) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is further amended by designating the present subsection as paragraph (1) and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(2) The President shall submit to the Congress within sixty days after the enactment of this paragraph, and at the end of each succeeding sixty-day period, a report on progress made during such period toward the conclusion of a negotiated solution of the Cyprus conflict."

(3) Nothing in this section shall be construed as authorizing (A) military assistance to Turkey under chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, or (B) sales, credits, or guaranties to or on behalf of Turkey under the Foreign Military Sales Act for the procurement of defense articles or defense services not determined by the President to be needed for the fulfillment of Turkey's North Atlantic Treaty Organization responsibilities.

(4) Pursuant to the provisions of this section, in the case of any letter of offer to sell any defense article or defense service pursuant to the Foreign Military Sales Act 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 (A) a brief description of the defense article or defense service to be offered, (B) the dollar amount of the proposed sale, (C) the United States Armed Force which is making the sale, and (D) the date on which any letter of offer to sell is to be issued. The letter of offer shall not be issued 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.

(5) This subsection shall become effective only upon enactment of foreign assistance legislation authorizing sales, credits, and guaranties under the Foreign Military Sales Act for fiscal year 1976.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the remainder of the order be abrogated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives delivered by Mr. H. one of its reading clerks, announced the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 2559. An act to amend United States Code, to apply to the States Postal Service certain provisions of law providing for Federal agency programs and responsibilities, to provide for cost-of-living adjustments of Federal salaries, and for other purposes.

H.R. 8597. An act making appropriations for the Treasury Department, the States Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain Independent Agencies, for the fiscal year ending 1978, and the period ending September 30, 1976, and for other purposes.

H.R. 8714. An act to amend the Unemployment Insurance Act to increase employment and sickness benefits and for other purposes.

The enrolled bills were subsequently signed by the Vice President.

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF COMMITTEE

As in executive session, the following executive report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. MAGNUSON, from the Committee on Commerce: John Holliday Holl of Mississippi, to be a member of the Federal Power Commission.

(The above nomination was with the recommendation that it be confirmed, subject to the nominee's commitment to respond to requests and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.)

NATIONAL PRODUCTIVITY QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE OF 1975

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be proceeded to the consideration of S. 2195, with the understanding that there be a 6-minute limitation for minutes to Mr. NUNN and 3 minutes to Mr. PERCY, and that there be—

Mr. WILLIAM L. SCOTT. The right to object—

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Will you allow me to complete my statement? May I say this bill is cleared on the floor by unanimous consent, Mr. NUNN and Mr. PERCY want to vote. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that at such time as S. 2195 is up and made the pending before the Senate there be a 6-minute limitation thereon to be equally divided between Mr. PERCY and Mr. NUNN at the expiration of the 6 minutes occur thereon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. WILLIAM L. SCOTT. The right to object, I would as a distinguished Senator why can you not do this tomorrow? It is 15 minutes and I see no purpose in voting on any matter that we can vote on tomorrow.

PARTICIPANTS

The President
The Vice President
Secretary Butz

SENATE

Walter Huddleston O.K.
Wendell Ford O.K.
Howard Baker O.K.
Jesse Helms O.K.
Bob Morgan NO
Strom Thurmond O.K.
Fritz Hollings NO
Sam Nunn O.K.
Dick Stone NO
Bob Dole O.K.

HOUSE

Walter Jones - voted O.K.
Tim Lee Carter - absent
Bill Wampler - voted O.K.
Tom Foley - voted wrong
Carl Perkins - voted O.K.
Bob Poage - " " "
John Breckinridge voted O.K.

STAFF

Don Rumsfeld
Jack Marsh
Phil Buchen
Bill Seidman
Alan Greenspan
Max Friedersdorf
Jim Lynn
Jim Cannon
Dick Cheney
Vern Loen
Bill Kendall
John Carlson
Jack Calkins

REGRETS

Sen. Harry Byrd
Sen. Bill Scott
Sen. Brock
Sen. Talmadge
Sen. Chiles



North Carolina

Walter Jones - O.K.
Fountain - O.K.
Henderson - O.K.
⊕ Ike Andrews - NO
+ Neal - NO
Preyer - O.K.
+ Rose - NO
+ Nelson - NO

Jim Martin - NO
Jim Brayhill - O.K.
⊕ Ray Taylor - NO

[Roll No. 429]

YEAS—208

Abdnor	Hagedorn	Nichols
Alexander	Hamilton	Obey
Anderson, Ill.	Hammer	Passman
Andrews,	Hammer	Perkins
N. Dak.	Hansen	Pettit
Archer	Harsha	Pickle
Armstrong	Hastings	Poage
Ashley	Hays, Ohio	Preyer
Baldus	Hébert	Pritchard
Beard, Tenn.	Henderson	Quie
Bell	Hicks	Quillen
Bevill	Hightower	Rallsback
Blester	Hillis	Randall
Bingham	Horton	Bees
Bolling	Hubbard	Rhodes
Bowen	Hungate	Risenhoover
Breaux	Hutchinson	Roberts
Breckinridge	Ichord	Robinson
Brinkley	Jarman	Rogers
Broomfield	Jeffords	Ruppe
Brown, Mich.	Johnson, Colo.	Ryan
Brown, Ohio	Johnson, Pa.	Satterfield
Broyhill	Jones, Ala.	Schneebeil
Buchanan	Jones, N.C.	Schulze
Burgener	Jones, Okla.	Sebelius
Burlison, Tex.	Jones, Tenn.	Shriver
Burlison, Mo.	Karsh	Shuster
Butler	Kasten	Sikes
Casey	Kazen	Sisk
Cederberg	Kemp	Skubitz
Chappell	Ketchum	Slack
Clausen,	Kindness	Smith, Nebr.
Don H.	Krueger	Snyder
Cleveland	Lagomarsino	Solarz
Cochran	Landrum	Staggers
Cohen	Latta	Stanton,
Collins, Tex.	Leggett	J. William
Conable	Litton	Steed
Daniel, Dan	Lloyd, Calif.	Steiger, Wis.
Daniel, R. W.	Long, La.	Stephens
de la Garza	Lott	Stratton
Dent	McClary	Stuckey
Devine	McCloskey	Symington
Dickinson	McCollister	Symms
Duncan, Oreg.	McCormack	Talcott
Edwards, Ala.	McDonald	Taylor, Mo.
English	McEwen	Teague
Erlenborn	McFall	Thone
Eshleman	McKay	Thornton
Evans, Colo.	Madigan	Treen
Evins, Tenn.	Mahon	Ullman
Fenwick	Mann	Van Deerlin
Findley	Mathis	Vander Jagt
Fish	Matsunaga	Waggonner
Flowers	Mazzoli	Walsh
Flynt	Meeds	Wampler
Forsythe	Melcher	Whalen
Fountain	Meyner	White
Fraser	Michel	Whitten
Frenzel	Milford	Wiggins
Frey	Mills	Wilson, Bob
Fuqua	Mitchell, N.Y.	Wilson, C. H.
Gibbons	Montgomery	Wilson, Tex.
Gilman	Moore	Winn
Goldwater	Moorhead, Pa.	Wright
Gonzalez	Morgan	Wylie
Gooding	Mosher	Young, Alaska
Gradison	Murtha	Young, Fla.
Grassley	Myers, Ind.	Young, Tex.
Guyar	Myers, Pa.	Zablocki

NAYS—223

Abzug	Burke, Fla.	Downing, Va.
Adams	Burke, Mass.	Drinan
Addabbo	Burton, John	Duncan, Tenn.
Ambro	Burton, Phillip	du Pont
Anderson,	Byron	Early
Calif.	Carney	Eckhardt
Andrews, N.C.	Carr	Edgar
Annuzio	Chisholm	Edwards, Calif.
Ashbrook	Clancy	Ellberg
Aspin	Clawson, Del.	Emery
AuCoin	Clay	Esch
Badillo	Collins, Ill.	Evans, Ind.
Bafalis	Conlan	Fary
Barrett	Conte	Fascell
Baucus	Conyers	Fisher
Bauman	Corman	Fithian
Beard, R.L.	Cornell	Flood
Bedell	Cotter	Florio
Bennett	Coughlin	Foley
Bergland	Crane	Ford, Mich.
Biaggi	D'Amours	Ford, Tenn.
Blanchard	Daniels, N.J.	Gaydos
Blouin	Davis	Gialmo
Boggs	Delaney	Ginn
Boland	Dellums	Green
Bonker	Derrick	Gude
Brademas	Derwinski	Haley
Brodhead	Diggs	Hall
Brooks	Dingell	Hanley
Brown, Calif.	Dodd	Hannaford
Burke, Calif.	Downey, N.Y.	Harkin

Harrington	Mink	Roush
Harris	Mitchell, Md.	Rousselot
Hawkins	Moakley	Roybal
Hayes, Ind.	Moffett	Runnels
Hechler, W. Va.	Mollohan	Russo
Heckler, Mass.	Moorhead,	St Germain
Hefner	Calif.	Santini
Helstoski	Moss	Sarasin
Holland	Mottl	Sarbanes
Holt	Murphy, Ill.	Scheuer
Holtzman	Murphy, N.Y.	Schroeder
Howard	Natcher	Seiberling
Howe	Neal	Sharp
Hughes	Nedzi	Shipley
Hyde	Nix	Simon
Jacobs	Nolan	Smith, Iowa
Jenrette	Nowak	Spellman
Johnson, Calif.	Oberstar	Spence
Jordan	O'Brien	Stanton,
Kastenmeier	O'Hara	James V.
Kelly	O'Neill	Stark
Keys	Ottinger	Steelman
Koch	Patman, Tex.	Steiger, Ariz.
Krebs	Patten, N.J.	Stokes
LaFalce	Patterson,	Studds
Lehman	Calif.	Sullivan
Lent	Patterson, N.Y.	Taylor, N.C.
Levitas	Pepper	Thompson
Lloyd, Tenn.	Peyster	Traxler
Long, Md.	Pike	Tsongas
Lujan	Pressler	Udall
McDade	Price	Vander Veen
McHugh	Rangel	Vanik
McKinney	Begula	Vigorito
Maddox	Reuss	Waxman
Madden	Richmond	Weaver
Maguire	Riegle	Whitehurst
Martin	Rinaldo	Wirth
Metcalfe	Rodino	Wolf
Mezvinsky	Roe	Wylder
Milva	Roncalio	Yates
Miller, Calif.	Rooney	Yatron
Miller, Ohio	Rose	Young, Ga.
Mineta	Rosenthal	Zerferetti
Minish	Rostenkowski	

NOT VOTING—5

Carter	Fulton	Hinshaw
Danielson	Heinz	

So the bill was not passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs.

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 comprehensive understanding of these issues.

AMENDMENTS TO NATIONAL ADVISORY 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 before "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. I 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 the 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.