

General Scowcroft wants the attached
talker folder retained.



11:30 a.m., Thursday, June 26, 1975
(The Cabinet Room)

The President/Members of Congress
on Turkish Aid

Scowcroft

[General Scowcroft]



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

S/S

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

TO: The Secretary
FROM: Ambassador W. B. Macomber *WBM*

Turkish Aid Cut-off and Arms Embargo

In order to avoid cutting across the bow of the President's and your efforts, I have not, in contacts with House members, discussed specific legislative scenarios or solutions. Instead I have focused on the point that time is about to run out, and on the drastic and adverse consequences which will flow to U.S. interests if prompt action is not taken by the House.

Generally speaking, I have encountered much sympathy, but little in the way of zeal, determination and a real sense of urgency.

I believe the prospects for reaching a satisfactory compromise with the "opposition" at the present stage are illusory. I am concerned that irrecoverable days have been lost in the pursuit of this hope -- and as our supporters have otherwise searched for the best ways to proceed.

I recognize what a difficult situation our friends in the House face. If they don't face it soon, however, it's going to become academic -- at least for quite some time. In other words, I continue to feel that if there is no action by the House by mid-July, this will be as damaging to our interests as an adverse vote.

Drafted:EUR/SE:WBMacomber:ad
6/26/75 x 29336



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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 018026

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction
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FOLDER TITLE June 26, 1975 - Ford, Kissinger,
Bipartisan House Leadership

DATE WITHDRAWN 06/01/2004
WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST GG

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~TOP SECRET~~/SENSITIVEMEETING WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS
ON RESTORATION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY

Thursday, June 26, 1975

11:30 a.m. (60 minutes)

The Cabinet Room

From: Henry A. Kissinger *HK*I. PURPOSE

You have called this meeting with the House leadership to explore alternative legislative proposals for resumption of military aid to Turkey, re-emphasizing the necessity for early action by the House if we are to avoid retaliatory steps by the Turkish government that might damage U.S. and NATO security interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

- A. Background. On Thursday, June 19, and again on Monday, June 23, you met with selected House members to discuss specific legislative options that would restore military aid to Turkey. In both these meetings, the Congressmen expressed the difficulty of acting without prior concessions or assurances from Turkey on the Cyprus situation. They also indicated their preference that you exercise the waiver authority contained in the Foreign Assistance Act as a first step.

Subsequent to the Monday meeting, soundings taken in the House indicate little support for favorable legislative action on the military aid problem at this time. Nevertheless, two legislative alternatives have been prepared in an effort to make progress on this issue, both of which can be expected to gain support in the House International Relations Committee:

-- One alternative (draft text at Tab A) is in effect a modified version of the Scott-Mansfield Bill adopted by the Senate, since it would restore cash and credit sales but would retain for now the

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 118408, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, *State Review 2/6/03*BY *DA*, NARA, DATE *5/20/04*~~TOP SECRET~~/SENSITIVE/XGDS

ban on further grant assistance. This would restore Turkey to an even footing with Greece in terms of access to U.S. military equipment. Greece is currently making purchases on cash and credit, but there is now no grant assistance program for Greece.

-- The other alternative (draft text at Tab B), proposed by Broomfield, would restore cash and credit sales to Turkey, provide both Greece and Turkey with grant military aid, and authorize a budgetary supporting loan to Greece.

Our preference is for the first alternative. Our requirement is for some kind of positive House action at an early date. In this regard, the Turkish Government in mid-June set a 30-day deadline for resumption of aid or consultations on reductions of U.S. facilities on Turkish soil. Accordingly, as a minimum, we need favorable action by the International Relations Committee as soon as possible.

(A summary of the major U.S. intelligence collection facilities in Turkey is at Tab C.)

- B. Participants. Speaker Albert, Congressmen O'Neill, Rhodes, Morgan, Broomfield, Hamilton, Hays, Zablocki, Fascell, Anderson, Michel and McFall, Henry A. Kissinger, John O. Marsh, Donald Rumsfeld, Max Fridersdorf, Ambassador McCloskey, Robert Wolthuis and Brent Scowcroft.
- C. Press Arrangements. The meeting will not be announced; White House photographer only.

III. TALKING POINTS

Need for Early House Action

1. U.S. national interests require immediate legislative action to lift the Turkish arms embargo.
2. The total U.S. embargo on grant assistance, credit and commercial sales of military equipment to Turkey -- so sweeping that even members of the Warsaw Pact can purchase items now forbidden to Turkey -- is jeopardizing our security relationship with this

important NATO ally. A relationship of trust and confidence, built up over many years, has already been seriously and adversely affected. Continuation of the embargo risks further deterioration that could jeopardize our security interests throughout the Eastern Mediterranean area.

3. There is no way to relax restrictions on those portions of the embargo that affect Turkey most -- cash and credit sales -- without legislation. The President's waiver authority under Foreign Assistance legislation is restricted to grant aid. Moreover, the passage of legislation will be a visible sign to the Turks that the U.S. Congress is not committed against Turkey.
4. As a result of the February 5 embargo, Turkey has now informed us that they wish to begin negotiations in mid-July on the future of U.S. facilities. The Turks have not linked the facilities negotiations to progress toward lifting the embargo, but it is clear that the scope of the negotiations will be affected by Congressional action -- or lack thereof.

Alternative Legislative Approaches

1. The alternative pieces of draft legislation you have before you are even-handed, and either of them would, if adopted, demonstrate that the Congress, like the Administration, is committed to even-handedness.
2. One alternative is in effect a modified version of the Scott-Mansfield Bill adopted by the Senate, since it would restore cash and credit sales but would retain for now the ban on further grant assistance. This would restore Turkey to an even footing with Greece in terms of access to U.S. military equipment. Greece is currently making purchases on cash and credit, but there is now no grant assistance program for Greece.
3. The other alternative is also even-handed, although in a different way. The bill would restore cash and credit sales to Turkey, would provide both Greece and Turkey with grant military aid, and would, finally, authorize a budgetary supporting assistance loan to Greece.

4. My preference is for the first alternative; our real requirement is for Congressional action of some kind quickly and, as a minimum, favorable action by the International Relations Committee as soon as possible.

Overall Importance of Restoration of Military Aid

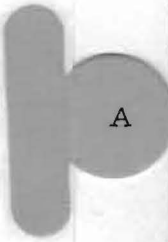
1. The facilities in question are vital to U.S. and Western defense. Among other critical tasks, the installations are centrally involved in monitoring compliance with the Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement.
2. The downward spiral in US-Turkish relations that would result from a prolongation of the embargo is contrary to U.S. and Turkish interests. It will also deal a heavy blow to the NATO alliance, at a time when other major, unsolved problems exist in the Mediterranean (e.g. Portugal, Spain). Diminution of the Western position in Turkey is also likely to have adverse complications for our standing in the Middle East.
3. Turkey remains loyal to NATO. Moreover, with its strategic location and a half million men under arms, its importance to the Alliance should be obvious. Following the U.S. arms embargo, the Turks have said they will not be able to fulfill all their NATO commitments unless U.S. aid is restored.
4. The arms embargo has not been an effective tool in bringing pressure on the Turks regarding a Cyprus settlement. Instead, it has made it politically more difficult for the Turkish Government to offer concessions. Thus it seems that further U.S. approaches to Turkey regarding concessions or assurances in advance of lifting the embargo would be unavailing.
5. However understandable the concern of Congress over actions by the Turks in the crisis of last summer, the effect of the embargo is to ascribe blame totally to one of the parties in a dispute that has its roots in centuries of animosity and for which both sides must share responsibility. Differences on this subject can be debated endlessly.

6. The fact remains that the only way to get what we all want, a broadly acceptable Cyprus settlement, is through negotiations. The U.S. can be helpful in moving the negotiations along only to the extent that we are able to maintain maximum flexibility with all the parties.
7. Since the Cyprus crisis first began last summer, the U.S. Government has been conscientiously even-handed in its approach to Greece and Turkey. We want the friendship of both, just as we think that each country needs firm ties within NATO with us.
8. I would welcome your views on how best to proceed.

[Following discussion]

9. I appreciate your coming down. I cannot emphasize too strongly the importance to U.S. interests and our ability to play a constructive role in working for a Cyprus settlement of prompt action on the arms embargo against Turkey. I hope that I can count on your support to report out a bill immediately following the recess.

16-2



A



14-2

A BILL

To authorize the further suspension of prohibitions against military assistance and sales to Turkey, and for other purposes.

1 Be it enacted by the Senate and the
2 House of Representatives of the United States
3 of America in Congress assembled, That section
4 620(x) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961
5 and section 6 of the Joint Resolution of
6 October 17, 1974 (Public Law 93-448, as amended
7 by Public Law 93-570) are each amended by striking
8 out all after the word "Provided," and inserting
9 in lieu thereof the following:

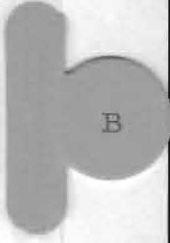
10 "That the President is authorized to
11 suspend the provisions of this section and such
12 Acts if he determines and certifies to the
13 Congress that such suspension is necessary in
14 order to enable Turkey to fulfill her defense
15 responsibilities as a member of the North Atlantic
16 Treaty Organization. Any such suspension shall
17 be applicable only with respect to sales, credits,
18 and guaranties under the Foreign Military Sales
19 Act, as amended, and to licenses with respect
20 to the transportation of arms, ammunition

1 and implements of war (including technical data
2 relating thereto) and shall be effective only
3 if during such suspension Turkey shall observe
4 the ceasefire and shall neither increase its
5 forces on Cyprus nor transfer to Cyprus any
6 United States supplied implements of war."

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

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

14-4



A BILL

To strengthen the North Atlantic Alliance, and for other purposes.

1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of
2 Representatives of the United States of America
3 in Congress assembled, That the Congress re-
4 affirms that it is the policy of the United
5 States to seek to improve and harmonize rela-
6 tions among the allies of the United States
7 and between the United States and its allies,
8 in the interest of mutual defense and the
9 national security of the United States. In
10 particular, the Congress recognizes the special
11 contribution to the North Atlantic Alliance of
12 Greece and Turkey by virtue of their geographic
13 position on the southeastern flank of Europe
14 and is prepared to assist in the modernization of
15 their respective armed forces as members of the
16 NATO alliance. The Congress further reaffirms
17 that it is the policy of the United States to
18 foster and improve the climate for the resolution
19 of outstanding issues between Greece and Turkey.

20 Sec. 2. In order to carry out the
21 purposes of this Act, notwithstanding any other
22 provision of law, the President is authorized to

1 furnish defense articles and defense services
2 to Greece and Turkey under the Foreign Assist-
3 ance Act of 1961, as amended, and the Foreign
4 Military Sales Act, as amended, and to issue
5 licenses for the transportation to Greece and
6 Turkey of arms, ammunition and implements of
7 war, including technical data relating thereto.
8 In addition to amounts otherwise available for
9 such purposes, there is authorized to be ap-
10 propriated to the President for the fiscal year
11 1976 --

12 (1) not to exceed \$ for the
13 purpose of furnishing military assistance to
14 Greece and Turkey, under chapter 2 of part II of
15 the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

16 (2) not to exceed \$30,000,000 for the
17 purpose of furnishing security supporting assist-
18 ance to Greece under chapter 4 of part II of
19 the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

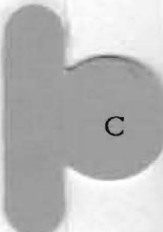
20 (3) not to exceed \$205,000,000 for the
21 purpose of furnishing credits and guaranties
22 under the Foreign Military Sales Act, with
23 respect to the purchase of defense articles and
24 defense services by Greece and Turkey.

1 Sec. 3. (a) Notwithstanding any other
2 provision of law, the President is authorized
3 to obligate amounts appropriated under this
4 Act only after he reports to the Speaker of
5 the House of Representatives and the Chairman
6 of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the
7 Senate (1) the country with respect to which
8 he intends to obligate such funds, (2) the amount
9 of funds to be obligated, and (3) the purpose
10 for which such funds are to be obligated. The
11 President shall provide as part of the report
12 required by this section his determination and
13 certification that such obligation is necessary
14 in order to enable the country concerned to
15 fulfill her responsibilities as a member of the
16 North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and that the
17 furnishing of such assistance, credits or guaranties,
18 as the case may be, will further negotiations for
19 a peaceful solution of the Cyprus conflict:
20 Provided, That any such assistance, credits or
21 guaranties may be provided only so long as the
22 country concerned observes the ceasefire on Cyprus
23 and shall neither increase its forces on Cyprus
24 nor transfer to Cyprus any United States supplied

1 implements of war.

2 (b) In addition to the requirements of
3 subsection (a), the President shall submit to
4 the Congress within thirty days after the
5 enactment of this Act, and at the end of each
6 succeeding thirty day period, a report on
7 progress made during such period toward the
8 conclusion of a negotiated solution of the
9 Cyprus conflict.

H-6



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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
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Bipartisan House Leadership

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
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DESCRIPTION Brent Scowcroft's handwritten notes for
memcon

CREATION DATE 06/26/1975

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