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Congress of the United States Committee on International Relations

House of Representatives
 Washington, D.C. 20515

July 17, 1975

MARIAN A. CZARNECKI
 CHIEF OF STAFF

Dear Colleague:

The International Relations Committee has reported out a compromise bill (S. 846) which restores to our government some flexibility to help bring peace in Cyprus. We expect it will come to the floor on or about Tuesday, July 22.

We believe that the bill offers the most evenhanded treatment of two good NATO allies - Greece and Turkey - that could be produced in this emotionally charged situation. This bill will demonstrate to both parties that Congress favors neither side, but that we, nevertheless, intend to continue to play an active role in this critical problem in the Eastern Mediterranean.

S. 846 provides a limited release of military equipment to Turkey. It also proposes new economic and military assistance to Greece and additional humanitarian assistance to Cyprus.

The approximately \$185 million in military articles to be released to Turkey were frozen in the pipeline since February 5, 1975. These defense items were contracted for by Turkey before the embargo began and to a large extent have already been paid for by the Turkish Government. There will be no grant military assistance authorized.

Under an amendment to H.R. 8454, offered by Don Fraser and adopted unanimously in Committee, any new military credits or Government-to-Government sales to Turkey will only become effective upon enactment of Foreign Assistance Legislation for FY 76, giving the Congress an additional period to observe whether this limited lifting of the embargo induces Turkey to seek a compromise of its differences with Greece on Cyprus.

Thus the integrity of Congressional action to oversee the use to which U.S.-supplied arms are put by an ally will have been preserved while at the same time we will be encouraging a return to harmony between two important NATO partners.

Our continuing commitment to common defense in Europe through NATO is of the utmost importance to U.S. interests. We cannot meet that commitment if the Eastern-most members of NATO remain at swords points. Nor can we maintain the integrity of the alliance -- and our access to very important bases -- when we have totally embargoed military equipment from one of its members. A map showing bases in Turkey, which are available to the U.S. and NATO, is enclosed.



We believe that we have put before the House a good balanced program, one that will serve the cause of peace, without compromising the principles for which this House has acted.

Without this bill, we foresee a descending spiral of events resulting in serious and lasting damage to our relations with Greece and Turkey and profound harm to NATO.

We strongly urge you to join us in voting to support S.846 when it comes to the floor next week.

Sincerely yours,

William S. Broomfield

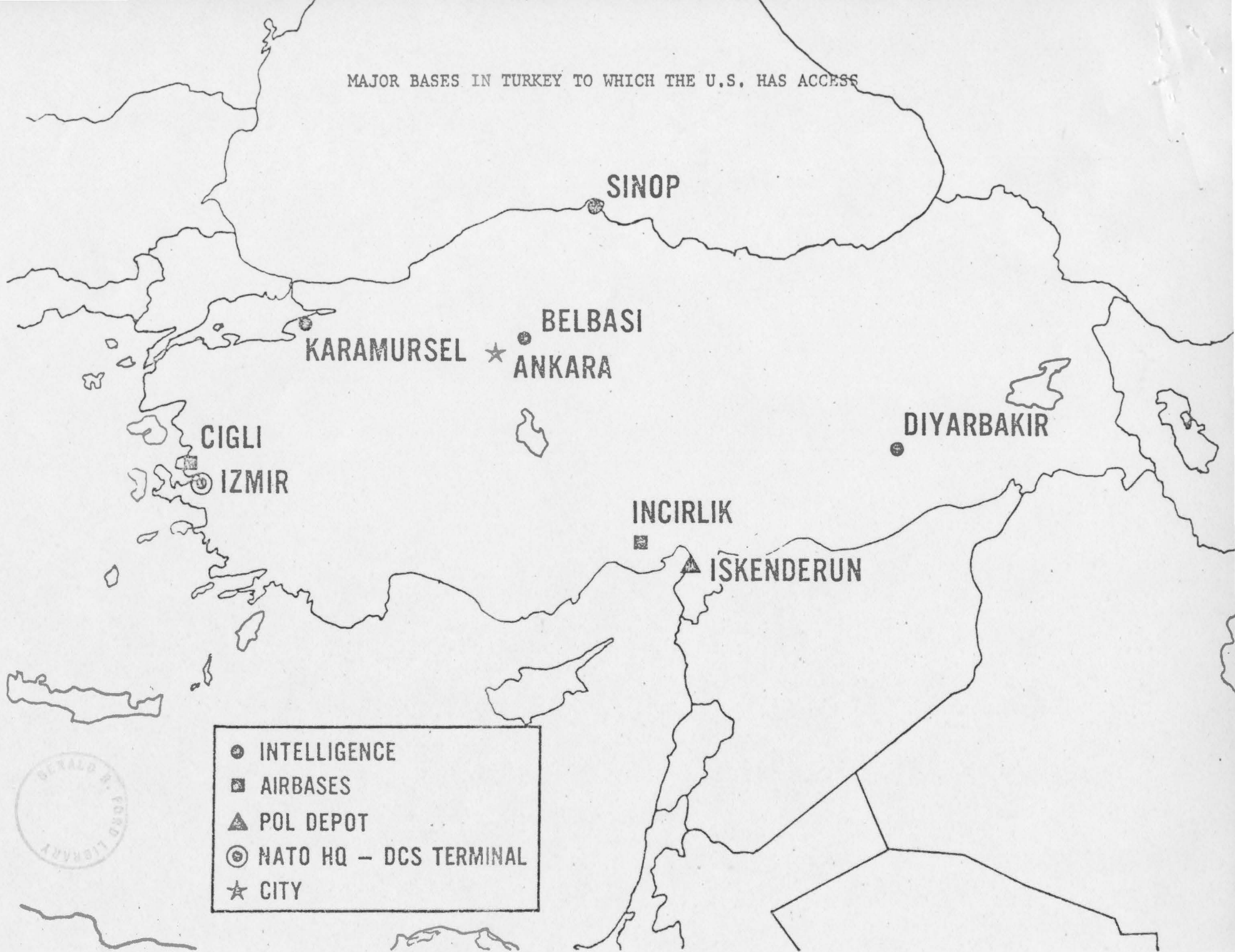
William S. Broomfield
Ranking Minority Member

Thomas E. Morgan

Thomas E. Morgan
Chairman



MAJOR BASES IN TURKEY TO WHICH THE U.S. HAS ACCESS



July 16, 1975

A. The so-called compromise is no compromise.

1. Turkey gets arms but Turkey is required to do nothing with respect to the Turkish action which caused the cutoff--the use of American arms on Cyprus.
2. Opponents of arms to Turkey have consistently favored resumption of arms provided Turkey makes concessions on Cyprus, especially on the humanitarian problem of refugees.

B. Approval of arms condones violations of conditions of U.S. law and of bilateral agreements between U.S. and Turkey.

1. The rule of law must be upheld.
2. Congress is not meddling in the conduct of foreign policy when Congress insists that the laws of the land be enforced.

C. Approval of arms encourages other nations buying or receiving U.S. arms to use them without inhibition.

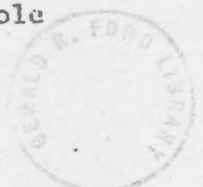
1. Example, the dangers of increased supplies of arms to the Persian Gulf States.
2. George Ball's warning of the "explosive" effect of a U.S. failure to insist on restrictions on use of U.S.-supplied arms.

D. Approval of arms now would condone aggression by Turkey.

1. Turkey continues to occupy Cyprus with U.S. arms.
2. The arms have already been cut off and for the U.S. now to resume arms without any remedial action on Cyprus by Turkey would only be to condone the Turkish action, despite what the State Department says.

E. Resumption of arms would have a very damaging impact in Greece.

1. It could threaten the new democracy there. George Ball says it would have a "catastrophic" impact in Athens with little hope of inducing constructive response in Ankara.
2. Could endanger both U.S. bases in Greece and a revived role for Greece in NATO.



F. To the argument that the arms embargo has not worked:

1. It has not been effectively tried, for Ford and Kissinger have undercut it both publicly and privately.
 - a. On February 16, eleven days after the ban went into effect, the Scott-Mansfield Administration bill was introduced.
 - b. Public statements of Ford, Kissinger and Macomber attacking Congress on its action and urging a reversal.
2. All these statements encouraged Turkey to believe that the Administration would reverse Congress and there was therefore no incentive for Turkey to make concessions on Cyprus.
3. Moreover, arms flowed to Turkey from July to February, but the Turks did nothing in the way of concessions on Cyprus.

G. Resumption of arms would be to yield to Turkish blackmail threats on the U.S. bases.

1. This despite Kissinger's statement in Atlanta that the U.S. would not yield to threats of blackmail
2. Proponents of the arms cutoff are strongly pro-NATO.
3. To yield to Turkey here would be to invite similar threats to U.S. bases by other countries.

H. The bill reported by the International Relations Committee is a bad bill: See attachment.



What S. 846, as amended, does re: U.S. arms for Turkey:

(1) Section 2 allows immediate shipment of \$185 million of arms sales to Turkey contracted for prior to February 5, 1975.

It is not known how much, if any, of the \$185 million represents cash payments.

(2) Section 2 also allows unlimited commercial sales by U.S. arms manufacturers to Turkey, by cash or credit.

(3) Both of the above categories of arms sales are allowed "notwithstanding any other provision of law." This means that Turkey could occupy all the Aegean islands or go to war with Greece, using the weapons specified above without violating any American law. Even the general provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act and the Foreign Military Sales Act prohibiting aggressive use of aid are suspended for the categories.

(4) Section 3 of the bill also automatically allows resumption this year of all sales by our government of military goods to Turkey by cash or by credit subsidized by American taxpayers, immediately upon enactment of the regular military assistance bill.

(5) The only arms for Turkey not authorized by this bill are in grant assistance. However, the President already has waiver authority to give Turkey up to \$50 million this fiscal year, more grant assistance than Turkey received in Fiscal Year 1974.



A. The So-Called Compromise is no Compromise

The Administration has asked for a total removal of the arms embargo against Turkey. The compromise legislation, as amended:

- removes the suspension with respect to defense articles and services for which Turkey has already signed contracts; and
- lifts the embargo on commercial sales to Turkey.
- prevents future military sales on a cash or credit basis by the U.S. Government until the next Foreign Assistance Act is considered by the Congress, probably not until the end of this year.
- includes provisions for consultations with Greece for military and economic assistance in that country; and
- provides for continuation of humanitarian aid for Cyprus refugees.

In addition, the legislation requires periodic reports from the President on progress toward a Cyprus settlement.

The Committee bill maintains substantial restrictions. It represents much less than was requested, but is a responsible effort at compromise.



B. Approval of Arms Condone Violations of Conditions of U.S. Law and of Bilateral Agreements Between U.S. and Turkey

The Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) and Foreign Military Sales Act (FMSA) both state that military assistance to friendly countries will be provided "solely for internal security, for legitimate self-defense, and to permit the recipient country to participate in regional or collective arrangements or measures consistent with the Charter of the United Nations . . ." (FAA, Sec. 502; FMSA, Sec. 4). Neither act is cast in terms of specifying where the weapons may or may not be utilized.

Turkey considers its military action on Cyprus as consistent with the United Nations Charter and the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee under which Turkey, Greece, the United Kingdom, and Cyprus undertook to safeguard the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. Turkey has said that its actions on Cyprus were fully justified by the threat to the Turkish Cypriot community posed by the July 1974 coup d'etat against Archbishop Makarios and by subsequent events which in their view suggested the likelihood of union of the island with Greece, an unacceptable threat to Turkish security (and -- in their eyes -- a very real and grave threat to the lives of the Turkish Cypriot minority).

C. Approval of Arms Encourages Other Nations Buying or Receiving U.S. Arms to Use Them Without Inhibition

The proposed bill does not imply that the U. S. has failed, or would fail, to insist upon observance of restrictions on the use of U. S. supplied arms. Any violation of an agreement with the United States would remain subject to the provisions of existing law. That law establishes limited purposes for which arms can be provided, requires agreement by the recipient to use those arms only for those purposes, and establishes consequences for violation of that agreement.

D. Approval of Arms Now Would Condone Aggression by Turkey

As answered previously, the earlier Turkish actions on Cyprus are subject to various interpretations. The arms embargo has been in effect for six months and has had no constructive effect on the Cyprus situation. Passage of the bill before the House represents the only basis for further progress and for maintaining important U. S. security interests.

E. Resumption of Arms Would Have a Very Damaging Impact in Greece

The Administration intends to continue efforts with each of the parties to reach an agreed settlement on Cyprus. We have no interest in making choices between Greece and Turkey. The United States needs a close security relationship with both, bilaterally and through NATO. The present lack of progress is not in the interest of any of the parties.

The proposed legislation requests the President to determine the most urgent needs of Greece for economic and military assistance and to make FY 1976 recommendations to the Congress. This is consistent with our policy of supporting the Greek government and the great importance we attach to our security relationship with Greece.

F. To the Argument that the Arms Embargo has not Worked

The aid cut-off by the Congress was intended to influence Turkey in the Cyprus negotiations. But the results of the Congressional action has been to block progress towards reconciliation, thereby prolonging the suffering on Cyprus; to complicate our ability to promote successful negotiations; to increase the danger of a broader conflict.

The Turkish aid cut-off has not brought concessions from the Turks. Instead, it has hardened their position in the Greek-Cyprus-Turkish crisis; it has fueled Greek-Turkish tensions in the Aegean; and we now run the very real risk of losing important U.S. capabilities in Turkey and serious damage to US-Turkish relations and NATO relations.

G. Resumption of Arms Would be to Yield to Turkish Blackmail
Threats on the U. S. Bases

There remains a strong basic mutuality of interests between the US and Turkey. But Turkey feels that this alliance mutuality is being eroded by a legislative embargo that cuts Turkey off completely from access to U.S. arms, in a manner in conflict with mutual security agreements between the U. S. and Turkey.

Continuation of the embargo both jeopardizes vital bilateral ties with Turkey and erodes the NATO defenses in the area, since virtually all U.S. facilities in Turkey relate to our capacity to support NATO defense objectives in the area. Also, to the extent that the embargo limits U.S. effectiveness in contributing to a Cyprus settlement, the outlook for Greek-Turk relations remains clouded, thus weakening an important element of overall NATO defense arrangements.

In no other allied country have we applied sanctions as severe as we have to Turkey. Mutual security relationships require cooperation on both sides. Our allies have provided essential facilities and we have provided military assistance where it was needed. An ally is bound to feel that the U. S. has failed to uphold its end of the security relationship when essential assistance is cut off.

H. The bill reported by the International Relations Committee is a bad bill.

As stated in the response to Item A, the bill reported out is a genuine and fair compromise. Specific comments on the bill follow:

Criticism:

"(1) Section 2 allows immediate shipment of \$185 million of arms sales to Turkey contracted for prior to February 5, 1975.

"It is not known how much, if any, of the \$185 million represents cash payments."

Response:

Section 2 removes the ban against deliveries under existing FMS contracts. However, most of the items making up the total contract value of \$185 million are not yet manufactured and ready for delivery. Less than \$60 million, mostly F-4 aircraft bought in 1972 and fully paid for, could be shipped immediately. Turkey has paid over \$100 million toward the purchase of undelivered aircraft. These funds have been borrowed from the United States over the last three years and are being repaid with interest. In addition, Turkey has paid more than \$12 million as down payments on FMS cash purchases for which contracts have been signed and delivery has not been made.

Criticism:

"(2) Section 2 also allows unlimited commerical sales by U. S. arms manufacturers to Turkey, by cash or credit.

Response:

All but a few countries in the world can buy items from U. S. firms through direct commercial channels. The only U. S. Government involvement in such sales is the issuance of export control licenses. Any credit obtained by Turkey would be from private financial sources, not from the U. S. Government. The quantity of commerical purchases would be limited by need, price, and availability, and the nature of the items would be limited by established U. S. export control policies.

Criticism:

"(3) Both of the above categories of arms sales are allowed 'notwithstanding any other provision of law.' This means that Turkey could occupy all the Aegean island or go to war with Greece, using the weapons specified above without violating any American law. Even the general provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act and the Foreign Military Sales Act prohibiting aggressive use of aid are suspended for the categories."

Response:

The authorization to complete deliveries of previously contracted for items "notwithstanding any other provision of law" makes clear that existing statutes, particularly section 620(x) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, will not be an impediment to such delivery. Similar superseding language is routinely contained in other foreign assistance legislation. This notwithstanding clause relates only to delivery of goods contracted for under the Foreign Military Sales Act and subject to the provisions of that Act. It does not relieve Turkey from its obligations under the existing contracts and agreements which contain all of the conditions on use, transfer and security of U.S. furnished arms required by U.S. law and policy.

Criticism:

"(4) Section 3 of the bill also automatically allows resumption this year of all sales by our government of military goods to Turkey by cash or by credit subsidized by American taxpayers immediately upon enactment of the regular military assistance bill."

Response:

Cash sales are for value and are not subsidized. Credits may be considered subsidies, like any other form of foreign assistance. But the funds go entirely to U.S. business and the credits are repaid in full with interest. By conditioning the resumption of government sales to Turkey upon the enactment of subsequent legislation, the Committee bill provides a second opportunity for Congress to reevaluate the situation, and to further modify the legislation if appropriate, before section 3 takes effect. This is hardly automatic.

Criticism:

"(5) The only arms for Turkey not authorized by this bill are in grant assistance. However, the President already has waiver authority to give Turkey up to \$50 million this fiscal year, more grant assistance than Turkey received in Fiscal Year 1974."

Response:

The President does have the authority under section 614(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act to authorize up to \$50 million in military assistance to Turkey. Exercise of that authority, and the resulting assistance, would be no substitute for the authority sought in the proposed legislation. For one thing, equipment now in the military assistance "pipeline" and which could be released by such a waiver would not satisfy Turkey's most pressing needs. Moreover, it would be obviously illogical to provide grant assistance while not first seeking authority for cash, credit and commercial sales. Lastly, the President has felt from the beginning, and continues to feel, that cooperation with the desires of Congress would be the surest route toward restoration on a firmer basis of the flexibility he needs so that the United States may play a meaningful role in the search for a resolution of the Cyprus problem while helping Turkey to fulfill its important responsibilities in a strong North Atlantic Alliance. The FY 1974 grant program for Turkey was \$63.3 million. During that period, deliveries of grant material and services were approximately \$52.8 million.

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Congress of the United States Committee on International Relations

House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

July 17, 1975

MARIAN A. CZARNECKI
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We strongly urge you to join us in voting to support S.846 when it comes to the floor next week.

Sincerely yours,

William S. Broomfield

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Ranking Minority Member

Thomas E. Morgan

Thomas E. Morgan
Chairman



MAJOR BASES IN TURKEY TO WHICH THE U.S. HAS ACCESS



- INTELLIGENCE
- AIRBASES
- ▲ POL DEPOT
- ⊙ NATO HQ - DCS TERMINAL
- ★ CITY



7/24/75

THE SEVEN (7) VOTES IN THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

- x - anti-administration vote
- + o - pro-administration vote
- A - absence
- ↔ leaning toward administration
- ↔ leaning away

VOTE #1: Sept. 24 - Rosenthal-DuPont IV Amendment passed 307 to 90 prohibiting funds for military assistance to Turkey until the President certifies to Congress that a satisfactory agreement has been reached regarding military forces in Cyprus.

VOTE #2: Oct. 7 - House rejects the Conference Committee language by 291 to 69 and passes the Rosenthal Motion by voice vote.

VOTE #3: Oct. 11 - The House rejects the Mansfield Motion, SJ Res 247 by 187 to 171, which then brings on a Presidential veto. (The Congress had plans to recess for Elections on this date but had to return to Session the next week because of the Veto.)

VOTE #4: Oct. 15 - The House failed to override Presidential veto by vote of 223 to 135 (16 votes short) and new legislation required.

VOTE #5: Oct. 16 - House passes Rosenthal Compromise Amendment by 194 to 144 providing for cut-off military aid to Turkey if any U. S. equipment given to Turkey is shipped to Cyprus.

VOTE #6: Oct. 17 - The House failed to override the President's veto of Oct. 16, two vote short (161-83); then passed HJ Res 1167 by vote of 191-33, which the President signed into law. (Senate passed HJ Res 1167 by voice vote, same day)

VOTE #7: Dec. 11 - Rosenthal Amendment to provide for an immediate cut-off of military aid to Turkey unless the President certified to Congress that Turkey was in compliance with the Foreign Aid and Foreign Military Sales Acts and that substantial progress had been made toward a military settlement on Cyprus. Adopted 297-98.



Passman

Sept. 24

Oct. 7

Oct. 11

Oct. 15

Oct. 16

Oct. 17

Dec. 11

WH Breakf
July 9

WH Breakf
July 7

Name	Code	Sept. 24	Oct. 7	Oct. 11	Oct. 15	Oct. 16	Oct. 17	Dec. 11	
Patman, Wright (Tex.)			O	X	A	A	X	A	X
Patten, Edward J. (N.J.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Patterson, Jerry M. (Calif.)	D	NM							
Pattison, Edward W. (N.Y.)	D	NM							
Pepper, Claude (Fla.)	✓ S	X	A	X	X	X	X	X	X
Perkins, Carl D. (Ky.)	S	X	X	O	X	O	X	X	X
Peyster, Peter A. (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	X	A	X	X	A	X	X
Pickle, J. J. (Tex.)	✓ S	O	O	O	O	X	X	X	X
Pike, Otis G. (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Poage, W. R. (Tex.)		O	A	O	O	O	O	O	O
Pressler, Larry (S. Dak.)	✓ S	NM							
Preyer, Richardson (N.C.)		X	A	O	X	O	O	O	O
Price, Melvin (Ill.)	D	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pritchard, Joel (Wash.)	S	X	A	A	X	X	O	X	X
Quie, Albert H. (Minn.)	✓ S	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Quillen, James H. (Jimmy) (Tenn.)		X	X	O	O	O	A	O	O
Railsback, Tom (Ill.)	✓ S	O	X	O	X	O	A	X	X
Randall, Wm. J. (Mo.)	D	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rangel, Charles B. (N.Y.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rees, Thomas M. (Calif.)	W	X	X	O	O	O	A	X	X
Regula, Ralph S. (Ohio)	✓ SW	X	X	X	A	X	X	X	X
Reuss, Henry S. (Wis.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rhodes, John J. (Ariz.)		O	A	O	O	O	O	O	O
Richmond, Frederick W. (N.Y.)		NM							
Riegle, Donald W., Jr. (Mich.)		A	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rinaldo, Matthew J. (N.J.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Risenhoover, Theodore M. (Tedd) (Okla.)	D	NM							
Roberts, Ray (Tex.)	W	X	A		X				
Robinson, J. Kenneth (Va.)	D	X	X	O	O	O	O	X	X
Rodino, Peter W., Jr. (N.J.)		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Roe, Robert A. (N.J.)		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rogers, Paul G. (Fla.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Roncalio, Teno (Wyo.)	D	X	X	A	A	A	A	X	X
Rooney, Fred B. (Pa.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rose, Charles (N.C.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rosenthal, Benjamin S. (N.Y.)		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rostenkowski, Dan (Ill.)	W	X	X	X	X	X	A	X	X
Roush, J. Edward (Ind.)		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Rousselot, John H. (Calif.)	✓ S	X	X	O	A	A	A	X	X
Roybal, Edward R. (Calif.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Runnels, Harold (N. Mex.)	D	X	A	O	O	X	O	X	X
Ruppe, Philip E. (Mich.)	✓ S	O	O	O	A	A	A	O	O
Russo, Martin A. (Ill.)		NM							
Ryan, Leo J. (Calif.)	S	O	O	O	O	A	A	O	O
St Germain, Fernand J. (R.I.)		X	X	X	X	X	A	X	X
Sentini, Jim (Nev.)	✓ S	NM							
Sarasin, Ronald A. (Conn.)	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sarbanes, Paul S. (Md.)		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Satterfield, David E. III (Va.)	✓ S	X	X	O	O	X	X	X	X
Scheuer, James H. (N.Y.)	✓ S	NM							

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		Sept. 24	Oct. 7	Oct. 11	Oct. 15	Oct. 16	Oct. 17	Dec. 11
Whitten, Jamie L. (Miss.)		O	O	O	O	O	O	X
Wiggins, Charles E. (Calif.)		O	O	O	O	O	A	O
Wilson, Bob (Calif.)	D	X	X	O	O	O	A	O
Wilson, Charles (Tex.)		O	O	O	O	O	A	X
Wilson, Charles H. (Calif.)	D	A	O	O	O	O	X	O
Winn, Larry, Jr. (Kans.)	✓ S	O	O	O	O	A	A	O
Wirth, Timothy E. (Colo.)	DS	NH						
Wolff, Lester L. (N.Y.)		X	X	X	X	A	A	O
Won Pat, Antonio Borja * (Guam)								
Wright, Jim (Tex.)	W	A	X	X	A	X	A	X
Wylder, John W. (N.Y.)	S	X	X	X	A	X	A	X
Wylie, Chalmers P. (Ohio)	W	X	X	X	X	X	A	X
Yates, Sidney R. (Ill.)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Yatron, Gus (Pa.)		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Young, Andrew (Ga.)	✓ S	X	X	O	A	X	A	X
Young, C. W. Bill (Fla.)	✓ S	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Young, Don (Alaska)	✓ S	X	X	A	A	A	A	X
Young, John (Tex.)	S	X	X	X	X	O	X	X
Zablocki, Clement J. (Wis.)		O	O	O	X	O	O	O
Zeferetti, Leo C. (N.Y.)	✓	NH						
Vander Just, Guy (Mich.)	✓ S	X	X	O	X	O	A	A
Vander Veen, Richard E. (Mich.)		X	X	A	X	A	A	X
Vanik, Charles A. (Ohio)	✓ S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Vigorito, Joseph P. (Pa.)		A	X	X	X	A	A	X
Waggoner, Joe D., Jr. (La.)		X	X	O	O	O	A	X
Walsh, William F. (N.Y.)	W	X	X	O	O	O	A	X
Wampler, William C. (Va.)	✓ S	X	X	O	O	O	A	X
Waxman, Henry A. (Calif.)		NH						
Weaver, James (Oreg.)		NH						
Whalen, Charles W., Jr. (Ohio)	✓ S	X	X	O	X	X	X	X
White, Richard C. (Tex.)	† D	O	O	A	O	O	O	X
Whitehurst, G. William (Va.)	D	X	A	A	X	A	A	X
Van Deerlin (Calif.)		X	X		X			

X/O

X

O

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IWH B&E
7/17



REPUBLICAN WHIP—ROBERT H. MICHEL

Date: 7/23/75 - 11 AM

94th Congress
Tally Sheet

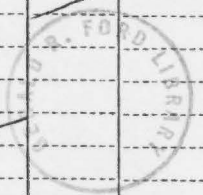
Question: Turkey Aid (Cyprus)

Western and Plains (Talcott)

	Yes	No	Und.	N/R
California				
Bell	/			
Burgener	/			
Clausen		/		
Clawson		/		
Goldwater	/			
Hinshaw		/		
Ketchum	/			
Lagomarsino (ARW)	/			
McCloskey	/			
Moorhead	/			
Rousselot		/		
Talcott	/			
Wiggins	/			
Wilson	/			
<i>Pittler</i>	?			
Alaska				
Young	/			
Arizona				
Conlan		/		
Rhodes	/			
Steiger		/		
Colorado				
Armstrong (ARW)	/			
Johnson	/			
Idaho				
Hansen	/			
Symms	/			
New Mexico				
Lujan		/		
Washington				
Pritchard	/			
Kansas				
Sebelius	/			
Shriver	/			
Skubitz	/			
Winn	/			
Nebraska				
McCollister	/			
Smith	/			
Thone (ARW)	/			
North Dakota				
Andrews	/			
Oklahoma				
Jarman	/			
South Dakota				
Abdnor	/			
Pressler			/	
Total	28	7	1	0
Total pages 1 and 2	101	25	16	3

Midwestern States (Myers)

	Yes	No	Und.	N/R
Indiana				
Hillis	/			
Myers	/			
Iowa				
Grassley		/		
Michigan				
Broomfield	/			
Brown	/			
Cederberg	/			
Esch			/	
Hutchinson	/			
Ruppe	/			
Vander Jagt	/			
Minnesota				
Frenzel (ARW)	/			
Hagedorn	/			
Quie	/			
Wisconsin				
Kasten	/			
Steiger	/			
Ohio				
Ashbrook		/		
Brown (ARW)	/			
Clancy	/			
Devine	/			
Gradison	/			
Guyer	/			
Harsha				/
Kindness				/
Latta	?			
Miller		/		
Mosher		/		
Regula		/		
Stanton	/			
Whalen	/			
Wylie				/
Illinois				
Anderson	/			
Crane				/
Derwinski		/		
Erlenborn	/			
Findley (ARW)	/			
Hyde	<i>if needed</i>			/
Madigan	/			
McClory	/			
Michel	/			
O'Brien				/
Railsback	?			
Total	28	6	5	2



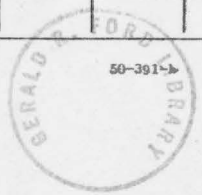
Date: _____
Question: _____

Border and Southern (Young)

New England and Mid-Atlantic (McDade)

	Yes	No	Und.	N/R
<i>Maryland</i>				
Gude	/	/		
Holt	/	/		
Bauman	/	/		
<i>Missouri</i>				
Taylor (ARW)	/	/		
<i>Kentucky</i>				
Carter	/	/		
Snyder	/	/		
<i>Tennessee</i>				
Beard	/	/		
Duncan	/	/		
Quillen	/	/		
<i>Florida</i>				
Bafalis	/	/		
Burke	/	/		
Frey	/	/		
Kelly	/	/		
Young	/	/		
<i>North Carolina</i>				
Broyhill	/	/		
Martin	/	/		
<i>South Carolina</i>				
Spence	/	/		
<i>Virginia</i>				
Butler	/	/		
Daniel	/	/		
Robinson	/	/		
Wampler	/	/		
Whitehurst (ARW)	/	/		
<i>Alabama</i>				
Buchanan	/	/		
Dickinson	/	/		
Edwards	/	/		
<i>Arkansas</i>				
Hammerschmidt	/	/		
<i>Louisiana</i>				
Moore	/	/		
Treen	/	/		
<i>Mississippi</i>				
Cochran	/	/		
Lott	/	/		
<i>Texas</i>				
Archer	/	/		
Collins	/	/		
Steelman	/	/		
Total	23	8	7	0

	Yes	No	Und.	N/R
<i>Connecticut</i>				
McKinney	/	/		
Sarasin	/	/		
<i>Delaware</i>				
duPont	/	/		
<i>Maine</i>				
Cohen	/	/		
Emery	/	/		
<i>Massachusetts</i>				
Conte (ARW)	/	/		
Heckler	/	/		
<i>New Hampshire</i>				
Cleveland	/	/		
<i>New Jersey</i>				
Fenwick	/	/		
Forsythe	/	/		
Rinaldo	/	/		
<i>Vermont</i>				
Jeffords	/	/		
<i>New York</i>				
Conable	/	/		
Fish	/	/		
Gilman	/	/		
Hastings	/	/		
Horton	/	/		
Kemp	/	/		
Lent	/	/		
McEwen	/	/		
Mitchell (ARW)	/	/		
Peyser	/	/		
Walsh	/	/		
Wydler	/	/		
<i>Pennsylvania</i>				
Biester	/	/		
Coughlin	/	/		
Eshleman	/	/		
Goodling	/	/		
Heinz	/	/		
Johnson (ARW)	/	/		
McDade	/	/		
Myers	/	/		
Schneebeli	/	/		
Schulze	/	/		
Shuster	/	/		
Total	22	4	8	1

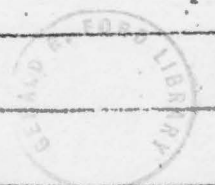


VOTE
JULY 24

Abdor (R-S. D.)	yea
Abzug (D-N. Y.)	nay
Adams (D-Wash.)	may
Addabbo (D-N. Y.)	may
Albert (D-Okla.)	
Alexander (D-Ark.)	yea
Ambro (D-N. Y.)	may
Anderson, Glenn (D-Calif.)	may
Anderson, John (R-Ill.)	yea
Andrews, Ike (D-N. C.)	may State
Andrews, Mark (R-N. D.)	yea
Annunzio (D-Ill.)	may
Archer (R-Tex.)	yea
Armstrong (R-Colo.)	yea
Ashbrook (R-Ohio)	may DOD
Ashley (D-Ohio)	yea
Aspin (D-Wisc.)	may
AuCoin (D-Oreg.)	may
Badillo (D-N. Y.)	may
Bafalis (R-Fla.)	may
Baldus (D-Wisc.)	yea
Barrett (D-Pa.)	may
Baucus (D-Mont.)	may
Bauman (R-Md.)	may DOD
Beard (D-R. I.)	may
Beard, R. (R-Tenn.)	yea
Bedell (D-Iowa)	may
Bell (R-Calif.)	yea
Benitez (D)	
Bennett (D-Fla.)	may DOD



Bergland (D-Minn.)	noy	State
Bevill (D-Ala.)	yea	
Biaggi (D-N. Y.)	noy	
Biester (R-Pa.)	yea	
Bingham (D-N. Y.)	yea	
Blanchard (D-Mich.)	noy	
Blouin (D-Iowa)	noy	
Boggs (D-La.)	noy	State
Boland (D-Mass.)	noy	
Bolling (D-Mo.)	yea	
Bonker (D-Wash.)	noy	
Bowen (D-Miss.)	yea	
Brademus (D-Ind.)	noy	
Breaux (D-La.)	yea	
Breckinridge (D-Ky.)	yea	
Brinkley (D-Ga.)	yea	
Brodhead (D-Mich.)	noy	
Brooks (D-Tex.)	noy	
Broomfield (R-Mich.)	yea	
Brown, C. J. (R-Ohio)	yea	
Brown, G. (R-Mich.)	yea	
Brown G. E. (D-Calif.)	noy	
Broyhill (R-N. C.)	yea	
Buchanan (R-Ala.)	yea	
Burgener (R-Calif.)	yea	
Burke, J. H. (R-Fla.)	noy	State
Burke, J. A. (D-Mass.)	noy	
Burke, Y. B. (D-Calif.)	noy	
Burleson (D-Tex.)	yea	
Burlison (D-Mo.)	yea	
Burton, John (D-Calif.)	noy	
Burton, Phil (D-Calif.)	noy	
Butler (R-Va.)	yea	



Byron (D-Md.)

may DOD

Carney (D-Ohio)

may

Carr (D-Mich.)

may

Carter (R-Ky.)

Casey (D-Tex.)

yea

Cederberg (R-Mich.)

yea

Chappel (D-Fla.)

yea

Chisholm (D-N. Y.)

may

Clancy (R-Ohio)

may WH

Clausen (R-Calif.)

yea

Clawson (R-Calif.)

may DOD

Clay (D-Mo.)

may

Cleveland (R-N. H.)

yea

Cochran (R-Miss.)

yea

Cohen (R-Maine)

yea

Collins, C. (D-Ill.)

may

Collins, J. (R-Tex.)

yea

Conable (R-N. Y.)

yea

Conlan (R-Ariz.)

may DOD

Conte (R-Mass.)

may STE

Conyers (D-Mich.)

may

Corman (D-Calif.)

may

Cornell (D-Wisc.)

may

Cotter (R-Conn.)

may

Coughlin (R-Pa.)

may DOD

Crane (R-Ill.)

may DOD

D'Amours (D-N. H.)

may

Daniel, D. (D-Va.)

yea

Daniel, R. (R-Va.)

yea

Daniels (D-N. J.)

may

Danielson (D-Calif.)

Davis (D-S. C.)

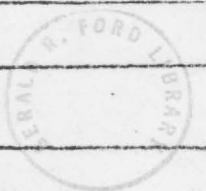
may DOD

de la Garza (D-Tex.)

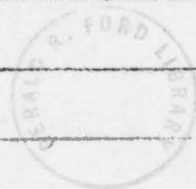
yea

Delaney (D-N. Y.)

may WH-VP



Dellums (D-Calif.)	nay	
de Lugo (D-Del.)		
Dent (D-Pa.)	yea	
Derrick (D-S. C.)	nay	DOD
Derwinski (R-Ill.)	nay	WH
Devine (R-Ohio)	yea	
Dickinson (R-Ala.)	yea	
Diggs (D-Mich.)	nay	
Dingell (D-Mich.)	nay	
Dodd (D-Conn.)	nay	
Downey (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Downing (D-Va.)	nay	DOD
Drinan (D-Mass.)	nay	
Duncan, J. (R-Tenn.)	nay	WH
Duncan, R. (D-Oreg.)	yea	
duPont (R-Del.)	nay	
Early (D-Mass.)	nay	
Eckhardt (D-Tex.)	nay	
Edgar (D-Pa.)	nay	
Edwards, D. (D-Calif.)	nay	
Edwards, J. (R-Ala.)	yea	
Eilberg (D-Pa.)	nay	
Emery (R-Maine)	nay	AID
English (D-Okla.)	yea	
Erlenborn (R-Ill.)	yea	
Esch (R-Mich.)	nay	DOD
Eshelman (R-Pa.)	yea	
Evans, D. (D-La.)	nay	
Evans, F. (D-Colo.)	yea	
Evins (D-Tenn.)	yea	
Fascell (D-Fla.)	nay	
Fauntroy (D-D. C.)		
Fenwick (R-N. J.)	yea	



Findley (R-Ill.)

yea

Fish (R-N. Y.)

yea

Fisher (D-Va.)

nay

Fithian (D-Ind.)

nay

Flood (D-Pa.)

nay

Florio (D-N. J.)

nay

Flowers (D-Ala.)

yea

Flynt (D-Ga.)

yea

Foley (D-Wash.)

nay

Ford, H. E. (D-Tenn.)

nay

Ford, W. D. (D-Mich.)

nay

Forsythe (R-N. J.)

yea

Fountain (D-N. C.)

yea

Fraser (D-Minn.)

yea

Frenzel (R-Minn.)

yea

Frey (R-Fla.)

yea

Fulton (D-Tenn.)

yea

Fuqua (D- Fla.)

yea

Gaydos (D-Pa.)

nay

Gaiimo (D-Conn.)

nay

Gibbons (D-Fla.)

yea

Gilman (R-N. Y.)

yea

Ginn (D-Ga.)

nay

Doc

Goldwater (R-Calif.)

yea

Gonzalez (D-Tex.)

yea

Goodling (R-Pa.)

yea

Gradison (R-Ohio)

yea

Grassley (R-iowa)

yea

Green (D-Pa.)

nay

Gude (R-Md.)

nay

State

Guyer (R-Ohio)

yea

Hagedorn (R-Minn.)

yea

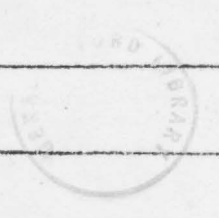
Haley (D-Fla.)

yea

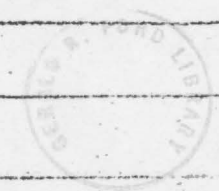
WH-Chair



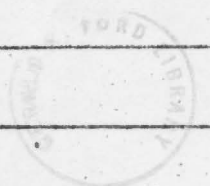
Hall (D-Ill.)	may	
Hamilton (D-Ind.)	yea	
Hammerschmidt (R-Ark.)	yea	
Hanley (D-N. Y.)	may	
Hannaford (D-Calif.)	may	
Hansen (R-Idaho)	yea	
Harkin (D-Iowa)	may	
Harrington (D-Mass.)	may	
Harris (D-Va.)	may	
Harsha (R-Ohio)	yea	
Hastings (R-N. Y.)	yea	
Hawkins (D-Calif.)	may	
Hayes (D-Ind.)	may	
Hays (D-Ohio)	yea	
Hebert (D-La.)	yea	
Hechler (D-W. Va.)	may	
Heckler (R-Mass.)	may	leaves alone
Hefner (D-N. C.)	may	
Heinz (R-Pa.)		
Helstoski (D-N. J.)	may	
Henderson (D-N. C.)	yea	
Hicks (D-Wash.)	yea	
Hightower (D-Tex.)	yea	
Hills (R-Ind.)	yea	
Hinshaw (R-Calif.)		
Holland (D-S. C.)	may	
Holt (R-Md.)	may	State
Holtzman (D-N. Y.)	may	
Horton (R-N. Y.)	yea	
Howard (D-N. J.)	may	
Howe (D-Utah)	may	
Hubbard (D-Ky.)	yea	
Hughes (D-N. J.)	may	
Hungate (D-Mo.)	yea	



Hutchinson (R-Mich.)	yea	
Hyde (R-Ill.)	may	AED
Ichord (D-Mo.)	yea	
Jacobs (D-Ind.)	may	
Jarman (R-Okla.)	yea	
Jeffords (R-Vt.)	yea	
Jenrette (D-S. C.)	may	
Johnson, A. W. (R-Pa.)	yea	
Johnson, H. T. (D-Calif.)	may	
Johnson, J. P. (R-Colo.)	yea	
Jones, E. (D-Tenn.)	yea	
Jones, J. R. (D-Okla.)	yea	
Jones, R. E. (D-Ala.)	yea	
Jones, W. B. (D-N. C.)	yea	
Jordan (D-Tex.)	may	
Karth (D-Minn.)	yea	
Kasten (R-Wisc.)	yea	
Kastenmeier (D-Wisc.)	may	
Kazen (D-Tex.)	yea	
Kelly (R-Fla.)	may	DOD
Kemp (R-N. Y.)	yea	
Ketchum (R-Calif.)	yea	
Keys (D-Kan.)	may	
Kindness (R-Ohio)	yea	
Koch (D-N. Y.)	may	
Krebs (D-Calif.)	may	
Krueger (D-Tex.)	yea	
LaFalce (D-N. Y.)	may	
Lagomarsino (R-Calif.)	yea	
Landrum (D-Fla.)	yea	
Latta (R-Ohio)	yea	
Leggett (D-Calif.)	yea	
Lehman (D-Fla.)	may	



Lent (R-N. Y.)	may	wt
Levitas (D-Ga.)	may	
Litton (D-Mo.)	yea	
Lloyd, M. (D-Tenn.)	may	
Long, C. (D-Md.)	may	
Long, G (D-La.)	yea	
Lott (R-Miss.)	yea	
Lujan (R-N. Mex.)	may	DOD+
McClöry (R-Ill.)	yea	
McCloskey (R-Calif.)	yea	
McCullister (R-Nebr.)	yea	
McCormack (D-Wash.)	yea	
McDade (R-Pa.)	may	CL - leave alone
McDonald (D-Ga.)	yea	
McEwen (R-N. Y.)	yea	
McFall (D-Calif.)	yea	
McHugh (D-N. Y.)	may	
McKay (D-Utah)	yea	
McKinney (R-Conn.)	may	CL - AID
Macdonald (D-Mass.)	may	
Madden (D-Ind.)	may	
Madigan (R-Ill.)	yea	
Maguire (D-N. J.)	may	
Mahon (D-Tex.)	yea	
Mann (D-S. C.)	yea	
Martin (R-N. C.)	may	State
Mathis (D-Ga.)	yea	
Matsunaga (D-Hawaii)	yea	
Mazzoli (D-Ky.)	yea	
Meeds (D-Wash.)	yea	
Melcher (D-Mont.)	yea	
Lloyd, J. (D-Calif.)	yea	



Metcalf (D-Ill.)

nay

Meyner (D-N. J.)

yea

Mezvinsky (D-Iowa)

nay

Michel (R-Ill.)

yea

Mikva (D-Ill.)

nay

Milford (D-Tex.)

yea

Miller, C. (R-Ohio)

nay DOD

Miller, G. (D-Calif.)

nay

Mills (D-Ark.)

yea

Mineta (D-Calif.)

nay

Minish (D-N. J.)

nay

Mink (D-Hawaii)

nay

Mitchell, D. (R-N. Y.)

yea

Mitchell, P. (D-Md.)

nay

Moakley (D-Mass.)

nay

Moffett (D-Conn.)

nay

Mollohan (D-W. Va.)

nay

Montgomery (D-Miss.)

yea

Moore (R-La.)

yea

Moorhead, C. (R-Calif.)

nay

Moorhead, W. (D-Pa.)

yea

Morgan (D-Pa.)

yea

Mosher (R-Ohio)

yea

Moss (D-Calif.)

nay

Mottl (D-Ohio)

nay

Murphy, J. (D-N. Y.)

nay

Murphy, M. (D-Ill.)

nay

Murtha (D-Pa.)

yea

Myers, G. (R-Pa.)

yea

Myers, J. (R-Ind.)

yea

Natcher (D-Ky.)

nay

Neal (D-N. C.)

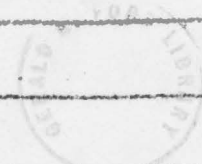
nay

Nedzi (D-Mich.)

nay

Nichols (D-Ala.)

yea



Nix (D-Pa.)	nay	
Nolan (D-Minn.)	nay	
Nowak (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Oberstar (D-Minn.)	nay	
Obey (D-Wisc.)	yea	
O'Brien (R-Ill.)	nay	DoD
O'Hara (D-Mich.)	nay	
O'Neill (D-Mass.)	nay	
Ottinger (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Passman (D-La.)	yea	
Patman (D-Tex.)	nay	
Patten (D-N. J.)	nay	
Patterson (D-Calif.)	nay	
Pattison (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Pepper (D-Fla.)	nay	
Perkins (D-Ky.)	yea	
Pettis (R-Ohio)	yea	
Peyser (R-N. Y.)	nay	State
Pickle (D-Tex.)	yea	
Pike (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Poage (D-Tex.)	yea	
Pressler (R-S. D.)	nay	WH
Preyer (D-N. C.)	yea	
Price (D-Ill.)	nay	AD
Pritchard (R-Wash.)	yea	
Quie (R-Minn.)	yea	
Quillen (R-Tenn.)	yea	
Railsback (R-Ill.)	yea	
Randall (D-Mo.)	yea	
Rangel (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Rees (D-Calif.)	yea	
Regula (R-Ohio)	nay	DoD



Reuss (D-Wisc.)	nay	
Rhodes (R-Ariz.)	yea	
Richmond (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Riegle (D-Mich.)	nay	
Rinaldo (R-N. J.)	nay	?
Risenhoover (D-Okla.)	yea	
Roberts (D-Tex.)	yea	
Robinson (R-Va.)	yea	
Rodino (D-N. J.)	nay	
Roe (D-N. J.)	nay	
Rogers (D-Fla.)	yea	
Roncalio (D-Wyo.)	nay	
Rooney (D-Pa.)	nay	
Rose (D-N. C.)	nay	State
Rosenthal (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Rostenkowski (D-Ill.)	nay	
Roush (D-Ind.)	nay	
Rousselot (R-Calif.)	nay	DOD
Roybal (D-Calif.)	nay	
Runnels (D-N. Mex.)	nay	
Ruppe (R-Mich.)	yea	
Russo (D-Ill.)	nay	
Ryan (D-Calif.)	yea	
St. Germain (D-R. I.)	nay	
Santini (D-Nev.)	nay	
Sarasin (R-Conn.)	nay	WH
Sarbanes (D-Md.)	nay	
Satterfield (D-Va.)	yea	
Scheuer (D-N. Y.)	nay	
Schneebeli (R-Pa.)	yea	
Schroeder (D-Colo.)	nay	
Schulze (R-Pa.)		



Sebelius (R-Kansas)

yea

Seiberling (D-Ohio)

nay

Sharp (D-Ind.)

nay

Shipley (D-Ill.)

nay

Shriver (R-Kansas)

yea

Shuster (R-Pa.)

yea

Sikes (D-Fla.)

yea

Simon (D-Ill.)

nay

Sisk (D-Calif.)

yea

Skubitz (R-Kans.)

yea

Slack (D-W. Va.)

yea

Smith, N. (D-Iowa)

nay

Smith, V. (R-Nebr.)

yea

Snyder (R-Ky.)

yea

Solarz (D. N. Y.)

yea

Spellman (D-Md.)

nay

Spence (R-S. C.)

nay DOD

Staggers (D-W. Va.)

yea

Stanton, J. W. (R-Ohio)

yea

Stanton, J. V. (D-Ohio)

nay

Stark (D-Calif.)

nay

Steed (D-Okla.)

yea

Steelman (R-Tex.)

nay OK-DOD

Steiger, S. (R-Ariz.)

nay WH-CL

Steiger, W. (R-Wisc.)

yea

Stephens (D-Ga.)

yea

Stokes (D-Ohio)

nay

Stratton (D. N. Y.)

yea

Stuckey (D-Ga.)

yea

Studds (D-Mass.)

nay

Sullivan (D-Mo.)

nay

Symington (D-Mo.)

yea

Symms (R-Idaho)

yea



Talcott (R-Calif.)

yea

Taylor, G. (R-Mo.)

yea

Taylor, R. (D-N. C.)

noy

OK. State

Teague (D-Tex.)

yea

Thompson (D-N. J.)

noy

Thone (R-Nebr.)

yea

Thornton (D-Ark.)

yea

Traxler (D-Mich.)

noy

Treen (R-La.)

yea

Tsongas (D-Mass.)

noy

Udall (D-Ariz.)

noy

Ullman (D-Oreg.)

yea

VanDeerlin (D-Calif.)

yea

VanderJagt (R-Mich.)

yea

VanderVeen (D-Mich.)

yea

Vanik (D-Ohio)

noy

Vigorito (D-Pa.)

noy

Waggoner (D-La.)

noy

Walsh (R-N. Y.)

yea

Wampler (R-Va.)

yea

Waxman (D-Calif.)

yea

Weaver (D-Oreg.)

noy

Whalen (R-Ohio)

noy

White (D-Tex.)

yea

Whitehurst (R-Va.)

yea

Whitten (D-Miss.)

yea

Wiggins (R-Calif.)

noy

no way - Dod

Wilson, B. (R-Calif.)

yea

Wilson, C. (D-Tex.)

yea

Wilson, C. H. (D-Calif.)

yea

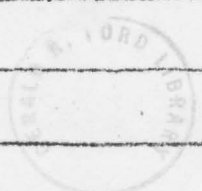
Winn (R-Kans.)

yea

yea

yea

yea



Wirth (D-Colo.)

noy

Wolff (D-N. Y.)

noy

WonPat (D-Guam)

Wright (D-Tex.)

yea

Wydler (R-N. Y.)

noy WH-ee

Wylie (R-Ohio)

yea

Yates (D-Ill.)

noy

Yatron (D-Pa.)

noy

Young, A. (D-Ga.)

noy

Young, C. W. B. (R-Fla.)

yea

Young, D. (R-Alaska)

yea

Young, J. (D-Tex.)

yea

Zablocki (D-Wisc.)

yea

Zeferetti (D-N. Y.)

noy

