

To : The American People
From: A Group of Concerned Turkish Citizens

TÜSİAD

Subject: Turkish - American Friendship

We are thirteen Turkish private citizens who have come to America at our own expense to try to salvage the friendship that has existed for so long between our two peoples. That friendship to which we Turks have been faithful through thick and thin is now jeopardized by misunderstanding of the Turkish role in Cyprus leading to the cut-off in defense supplies to Turkey by Washington.

In an effort to keep relations between us from deteriorating further, we are taking the liberty of setting forth the key facts relating to events in Cyprus and to the perils of the arms embargo:

1 The Coup in July 1974 was engineered by the military dictatorship in Athens. It was led by Greek army officers with the aim of annexing Cyprus to Greece. It overturned the established regime in violation of the Constitution and broke the International Treaty which had created the state of Cyprus.

2 As one of the guarantors of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, Turkey had no alternative but to take direct action. She had to prevent the unlawful annexation of Cyprus and to protect the Turkish Community treated as second class citizens for many years. This was not aggression!

3 Turkey's aim is to restore peace and promote stability in Cyprus, assuring a chance for the Turkish Cypriot community to live in honor and safety. We believe that after so many bitter experiences for more than a decade this can only be possible under a federation where Turks and Greeks of Cyprus will live side by side on an equal footing. We believe that a durable and peaceful settlement of the Cyprus issue can be reached through negotiations between the Turkish and Greek communities.

4 A misunderstanding of Turkish intentions and responsibilities have led to the arms embargo against Turkey. This action is so unfair that it seems incomprehensible to us. It not only imperils Turkey's security, but it saps NATO defenses, further aggravates relations between Turkey and Greece and serves only to stir up the Cyprus mess instead of clearing it up. Failure to lift the embargo will further provoke Turkish public opinion, because Turks consider any solution imposed under pressure to be dishonorable.

This then is the message we are bringing to our American friends: The arms embargo is counterproductive and self-defeating. It imperils Turkish - American friendship. It undermines NATO. It threatens the security of the free world. Moreover it serves to cast doubt on the value of America's friendship to her allies.

Time is running out...

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A . B . D .
r a p o r u

**Türk
sanayicileri
ve
iş adamları
derneği**

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**A B D
RAPORU**

**İSTANBUL
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İ Ç İ N D E K İ L E R :

A.B.D.Gezisine Katılanlar	1
A.B.D.Gezisinin Düzenlenmesi ile ilgili Açıklamalar	3
A.B.D.Gezisi İzlenimleri	5
A.B.D.Yöneticilerinin Bekleyişleri	7
A.B.D.Temsilciler Meclisinde Türkiye'ye Karşı Beliren Oy Çokluğunun Ortaya Koyduğu Gerçekler	7
Türkiye'ye bu safhada düşen Görev ve Sorumluluklar	8
A.B.D.Başkanı Ford ile Beyaz Saray'da Görüşme	11
Diğer Konular	13
A.B.D.'nde Basın Mensuplarıyla Temaslar	14
A.B.D.'nde Gazetelerde yayınlanan bazı Yazılar	16
A.B.D.Kamu Oyunun Türkiye Hakkında Bildikleri	22
A.B.D.'nde Gazetelerde yayınlanan Duyuru Örneği	25
Günlük Programlar	26
Görüşme Özeti	34
Türkiye İçin Oy Verenler	35
Türkiye'ye Karşı Oy Verenler	38
A.B.D.'nde Konferans Heyetinin düzenlediği Toplantıya Katılan İş Adamları	41
A.B.D. Senatörleri	49
A.B.D. Temsilcileri	50
A.B.D.Kongre Üyelerinin Resimleri	55
İstanbul'a gelen 3 mektup	75

A.B.D. GEZİSİNE KATILANLAR

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A.B.D.GEZİSİNİN DÜZENLENMESİ İLE İLGİLİ AÇIKLAMA

"...Bazı yüksek düzeydeki devlet adamları dışında Amerikalılar, Türkiye'yi tanımazlar. Bu bakımdan haklı olduğumuz davayı Amerikalılara, bütün dünyaya anlatmakta, sadece anlatmakta olsun birleşmemiz lâzımdır."

"...Haklı olduğumuz, bizim için, bölgemiz için, dünya barışı için haklı olduğumuz davayı cihana anlatabilmek için, iktidar ve muhalefet partilerimiz, aydın çevrelerimiz ile basının birleşmesi gerektiğine işaret etmek istiyorum."

Fahri Korutürk
6 Ağustos 1975

Türk Sanayicileri ve İş Adamları Eylül ayı başında A.B.D.'de Kongre ve Temsilciler Meclisindeki Ambargo Görüşmeleri sırasında uygulanmak üzere özel bir program hazırlamışlardır.

A.B.D.'den Kıbrıs ve Silâh Ambargosu ile ilgili herhangi bir talepte bulunmak değil, Amerikan Kamu oyununda özellikle Kıbrıs Harekâtından buyana, Türkiye aleyhine yaratılan ortamı düzeltmek amaç olarak alınmıştır.

Program bütün sanayici ve iş adamlarına açık tutulmuş sanayici ve iş adamları ile birlikte Türk İşçi Temsilcilerinin ve özellikle liderlerinin de katılmasında büyük yarar görülmüş Türk-iş ve Disk Yönetim Kurulu Başkanlıklarına çağrı yazıları gönderilmiştir. Her iki kuruluş da programı desteklediklerini ancak değişik nedenlerle programa katılamayacaklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Programı düzenleyenler Batı Avrupa Topluluğunun bir mensubu olarak Türkiye'nin, bu topluluğun en önemli üyelerinden A.B.D.kamu oyuna Türkiye'nin muhtelif konulardaki görüşmelerini açıklıkla ortaya koyması, yanlış anlamaları bertaraf edecek gayreti göstermesi gerektiği inancı ile harekete geçmişlerdir.

A.B.D.'nin üst seviyeli yöneticilerinin olumlu düşüncelerine rağmen Türkiye'ye karşı baskı gruplarının A.B.D.kamu oyununda Türkiye aleyhine yarattığı kötü imajın, Kıbrıs sorunu ve askeri yardım gibi özel durumlar dışında uzun sürede Türkiye'nin genel menfaatlerini zedelemesi olasılığını bertaraf etmek bu gezinin temel amacı idi.

Gezi Türk Sanayicileri ve İş Adamlarının tamamen kendi inisiyatifleri ile düzenlenmiş, kendi imkânlarıyla uygulanmıştır.

Gezi sırasında Washington Post ve New York Times'da tam sayfa iki duyuru yayınlanmıştır. Bu duyuruların hazırlanması ve yayınlanması, grubun A.B.D.'ndeki programının uygulanmasına yardım amacıyla, sadece bu program süresi ile sınırlı olmak üzere, bir Amerikan halkla ilişkiler firmasıyla anlaşma yapılmış, bu firmanın hizmetlerinden yararlanılmıştır.

A.B.D.'nde Kongre üyeleri, yöneticiler ve basın yayın organları temsilcilerine görüşme talepleri "Türk iyi niyet heyeti mensupları olarak" doğrudan yöneltilmiştir. Bu konuda T.C.Büyükkelçiliği veya A.B.D.Dışişleri Bakanlığının aracılığına herhangi bir şekilde başvurulmamıştır.

Temaslarda "Türk iyi niyet heyeti üyelerinin kişisel görüşleri" ortaya konulmuş, bu heyetin "Türk Hükümetiyle doğrudan veya dolaylı" hiçbir ilişkisi olmadığı, görüşlerin ve ifadelerin Türk Hükümetini bağlayamayacağı bilhassa belirtilmiştir.

Temaslarda hiç kimseden veya hiçbir kuruluştan bir talepte bulunulmamış, sadece Türk kamu oyunun görüş, düşüncü ve beklentilerinin aktarılmasına çalışılmıştır.

A.B.D.GEZİSİNİN İZLENİMLERİ

A.B.D.Kongresinin Türkiye Aleyhine Karar Almasının Nedenleri:

1. Başkan Ford'un Azınlık Partisine Mensup olması
Başkan Ford'un Cumhuriyetçi partisi, 100 üyeli Senato'da 37, 435 üyeli Temsilciler Meclisinde 144 oya sahiptir.
2. Yönetim ile Kongre arasındaki uyumsuzluk
Yönetim ile Kongre arasındaki uyumsuzluk Watergate olayı ile başlamış, Vietnam, CIA ve FBI olayları ile genişlemiştir. Kongre üyelerinin çoğunluğu ve hatta Cumhuriyetçi parti üyeleri Başkan Ford ile Kissinger'in ve yönetimin diğer üyelerinin Kongrenin sorumluluğunu dikkate almadan bütün yetkileri kendilerinde toplamak istedikleri görüşündedirler. Ve bu görüşe dayalı bir tepki göstermektedirler. Örneğin Yönetim Kıbrıs konusunda Kongrenin fikrini almadan hareket etmiştir. Bu gidişe bir dur demek lâzımdır. O halde Kıbrıs konusunda Yönetime karşı girişim gerekir. Kıbrıs konusu Kongrenin Yönetime baş kaldırması için bir vesile olmuştur.
3. Kissinger'in şahsına karşı olan duygular
Kissinger'in Yönetimde sivrilmesi, Başkanı etkilemesi, birçok dış olayda şahsiyetini ortaya koyacak girişimleri, Kongre üyelerinin bir kısmınca tasvip edilmemektedir. Kıbrıs konusunda cephe almak gerekir.
4. Silâh satışlarına karşı olan antipati
Vietnam Harbinden sonra bazı kongre üyeleri A.B.D.'nin artık silâh satışlarına bir son vermesi gerektiğine inanmaya başlamışlardır. Türkiye Amerikan silâhlarını en son olarak kullanan ülke olarak bilinmektedir. O halde hiç olmazsa Türkiye'den başlayarak silâh satışlarına bir son verilebilir.
5. Amerikan Kanunlarına Uygunluk Sorunu
Bazı Kongre üyeleri için ise sorun, anlaşma ve kanunlara uymak, yani bir meşruiyet meselesidir. Anlaşma ve A.B.D. Kanunlarına göre verilen silahlar belirli amaçlarla kullanılabilir. Bu görüşte olan üyeler örneğin Askeri Rejim sırasında Yunanistan'a silâh sevkine bile karşı çıktıklarını ileri sürmektedirler.
6. Afyon konusu
Kongre üyelerinin bir kısmı halâ A.B.D.'nde kullanılan uyuşturucu maddelerin büyük kısmının Türkiye'den geldiği inancındadırlar. Bu nedenle Türkiye'yi cezalandıracak her girişimi desteklemektedirler. Silâh ambargosu konusunda afyon konusu önemli bir unsurdur. Zira A.B.D. Kanunlarına göre Kongre afyon konusunu neden göstererek de silâh satışlarını durdurma yetkisine sahiptir.

7. Rum Lobisi

Rum Lobisinin Rum asıllı kongre üyeleri yürütmekte, finansmanı Yunanlı iş adamları ve A.B.D.'de yerleşmiş 3 milyon dolayındaki Rum sağlamaktadır.

Her kongre üyesinin seçim bölgesinde bir miktar Rum seçmen bulunmaktadır. Bunların sayıları seçim bölgelerine göre 3 veya 5 ile 3.000 arasındadır. Kongre üyelerinin seçiminde oyu etkileyecek çoğunluğa sahip olmamalarına rağmen, çok iyi organize olmaları nedeniyle Kongre üyelerini etkilemektedirler. Örneğin Temsilciler Meclisi Sözcüsü Carl Albert seçim bölgesinde çok az Rum olmasına rağmen Ambargo kararıyla ilgili olarak Rumlar'dan 2 binin üzerinde mektup aldığını ifade etmiştir. Rumlar Kongre üyelerini mektup telefon ile devamlı baskı altına almaya çalışmakta, gazetelerde devamlı ilanlar vermekte, Kıbrıs konusunda çok sayıda yayın yapmaktadırlar.

8. Lobiler arası işbirliği

Etnik grupların temsil ettiği lobiler belli konularda birbirlerini desteklemektedirler. Rum Lobisi İsrail Lobisinden sonra A.B.D.'nde en kuvvetli lobidir. Ayrıca İtalyan, Meksika, Polonya lobileri gibi küçük lobiler vardır. Rum lobisi karşılıklı taviz içinde bu lobilerin desteğini sağlayabilmiştir.

9. Yunanistan'da Demokrasiyi Sürdürme Düşüncesi

Yunanistan uzun bir askeri yönetimden sonra Demokratik yönetime kavuşmuştur. Fakat demokratik yönetim Kıbrıs'taki duruma kabul ettiği için tenkitlere muhatap olmaktadır. Bu konuda Türklerin yarattığı fiili durumu onaylamak Karamanlis'in durumunu sarsabilir. Halbuki Karamanlis Batının desteklediği bir liderdir.

10. Başka ülkelerde örnek olma endişesi

Türkiye Amerikan silahlarının kullanma konusunda bir fiili durum yaratmıştır. Bu fiili durumu kabul etmek, diğer ülkelere de olup-bitti yaratma konusunda cesaret verir. Ambargonun kaldırılması ise, Türkiye'nin üsleri kapatma kararından sonra A.B.D.'nin şantajı boyun eğmesi anlamına gelir ki bu da A.B.D.'nin başka ilişkilerinde A.B.D. aleyhine kullanılacak bir örnek olur.

11. Türkiye'nin tutumu

Bazı Kongre üyeleri ise samimi olarak Ambargo baskısından Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs sorununun halli için birşeyler yapacağına inanmaktadırlar. Bunlara göre, Türkiye Kıbrıs konusunda bugüne kadar hiçbir iyi niyet gösterisinde bulunmamıştır. Ambargo kalkarsa hiçbir şey yapmayacak durum olup-bitti ile sonuçlanacaktır.

12. Ambargonun kalktıktan sonra yeniden konulmasına ilişkin usul güçlükleri ambargonun kaldırılması için oy çoğunluğu yeterlidir. Halbuki tekrar tesisi için usul yönünden 2/3 oy çoğunluğuna gerek duyulabilecektir. Bu çoğunluğu sağlamak mümkün olmayabilir. O halde ambargoyu sürdürmek en emin yoldur.

A.B.D.YÖNETİMİNİN BEKLEYİŞLERİ

Kongreyi karşısına alma pahasına Türkiye'yi destekleyen A.B.D. Yönetiminin ambargoyu kaldırma çabaları, Türkiye ile ilişkilerini sürdürme amacına dayanmaktadır. Fakat bu amacın arkasında Kıbrıs konusunda temel bekleyişleri şunlardır:

1. Kıbrıs'ta devamlı ve adil bir çözüme ulaşılması.
2. Türk ve Yunan ilişkilerinin eski normal durumuna getirilmesi.
3. Türkiye ve Yunanistan'ın NATO içinde tüm sorumluluklarını üstlenmeleri.
4. A.B.D.'nin sattığı silahların A.B.D. Kanunları ve Anlaşmalara aykırı olarak kullanılmayacağını teyidi.

A.B.D.TEMSİLCİLER MECLİSİNDE TÜRKİYE'YE KARŞI BELİREN OY ÇOKLUĞUNUN ORTAYA KOYDUĞU GERÇEKLER

1. A.B.D.Temsilciler Meclisinin ambargo kararı A.B.D.'nin Türkiye'ye karşı olduğu, Yunanistan'ı Türkiye'ye tercih ettiği şeklinde kesin bir yoruma neden olamaz.
 - a. A.B.D.'nde kamu oyu Türkiye'yi tanımamaktadır.^{1/} Türkiye için sınırlı bilgi uyuşturucu madde üretimiyle ilgilidir. Türkiye'nin siyasi ve askeri açıdan A.B.D. için önemini Yönetim ve Kongre üyeleri bilmektedirler.
 - b. Kuvvetli Rum Lobisine, A.B.D.'ndeki Rum nüfusa ve Kıbrıs'ta Rumların mağdur gösterilmelerini hedef alan yoğun propaganda ve Demokratların çoğunluğuna rağmen 24 Temmuz 1975 oylamasında Türkiye'nin Temsilciler Meclisinde oylamayı 206/223 kaybetmesi ilginçtir. Unutulmamalıdır ki, hiç bir girişimde bulunmayan Türkiye A.B.D. Yönetiminin kuvvetli desteğine ve Temsilciler Meclisinde yüzde ellinin pek az altında bir oya sahiptir.

^{1/} New York'ta yapılan ufak bir kamu oyu araştırmasının sonuçları rapora ekli olarak verilmektedir. Bu A.B.D.'nde Türkiye'nin sade vatandaş tarafından ne kadar az tanındığını ortaya koymaktadır.

2. Ambargo konusunda A.B.D.'nde ortaya çıkan gelişmeler, Türkiye'nin Batı camiasından uzaklaştırıldığı, izole edildiği, yalnızlığa itildiği şeklinde yorumlanamaz.

A.B.D. Yönetimi ve Kongre üyelerinin çoğunluğu Türkiye ile iyi ilişkileri sürdürmeye arzulu görünmekte, Türkiye'nin politik ve askeri gücünü değerlendirebilmektedirler. Ambargo Türkiye'ye karşı değil, Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs politikasına ve özellikle ikinci harekâta (ki afyon konusundaki birikim de buna eklenmektedir) bir tepkidir.

3. Karar değiştirmek için bir gerekçe olan ihtiyaç Temas sağlanabilen bazı Temsilciler Meclisi üyeleri Türk görüşünü benimsedikten gerçekleri öğrendikten sonra karar değiştirebilmek, daha önce verdikleri karşı oydan dönebilmek için bir gerekçe olan ihtiyacı ortaya koymaktadırlar. Bu ihtiyaç A.B.D. Yönetiminin de belirtilmiştir. Temsilciler Meclisinin kararını değiştirebilmesinde Denktaş-Klerides görüşmelerinin New York'ta olumlu gelişmesinin büyük etkisi olacağı söyleniyordu.

TÜRKİYE'YE BU SAFHADA DÜŞEN GÖREV VE SORUMLULUKLAR

1. A.B.D.'ne bilgi akımının sağlanması gerekir. Heyet A.B.D.'nde iken Kıbrıs'tan geri çekilen önemli sayıdaki askerle ilişkin hiçbir haber A.B.D.'ne ulaştırılamadı. Kıbrıs Türk ve Rum cemaat liderlerinin daha önceki temaslarında Türk liderin mülteciler konusunda ve diğer konularda Rumlara sağladığı olanaklar hiç bilinmiyor. A.B.D. kamu oyu ve Kongre üyeleri hep Rumlardan aldıkları bilgilerle değerlendirme yapma durumunda kalmaktadırlar.

Bu nedenle en kısa zamanda çok kısa bir şekilde Kıbrıs olaylarından bu yana Türklerin insancıl ve askeri konularda gösterdiği iyi niyetleri ortaya koyacak açıklamaların Kongre üyelerine ulaştırılması ve A.B.D. kamu oyuna duyurulması zorunludur.

Bir çok kongre üyesi bu açıklamaları, oyunu değiştirmede gerekçe olarak kullanabilir.

2. Kongre üyeleriyle temasın sürdürülmesi gerekir Kongre üyeleri hangi görüşte olurlarsa olsunlar kendilerine gelen bilgileri değerlendirmektedirler. Türk heyeti çalışma döneminin yeni başlamasına rağmen Kongrede 62 üye ile bir hafta içinde temas kurabilmiştir. Bu, programlı bir şekilde bütün kongre üyelerine Türk görüşünün anlatılması imkânını ortaya koyan bir örnektir.

3. Yayın organları ile yakın ilişkinin sürdürülmesi
A.B.D.'ndeki yayın organlarında imkân ölçüsünde paralı duyurulara yer verilmesinde yarar vardır. Paralı duyuru yayınlayan gazeteler bir süre sonra o duyuruları yayınlayanların sorunlarına daha ciddi ilgi gösterme zorunluluğunu hissetmektedirler. Buna ilaveten bilgi yönünden gazetelerin devamlı beslenmesi Türkiye görüşünün ortaya konmasına imkân hazırlayacaktır.
4. Amerika'daki Türklerin Organize olmaları
Amerika'da Rumlar kadar olmasa bile önemli sayıda Türk vardır. Fakat Türklerin organize olmamaları nedeniyle seslerini duyurmaları mümkün olamamaktadır. Türkler gazetelere yazı yazmamakta, Kongre üyelerine mektup göndermemektedirler. Görüşülen Kongre üyeleri Rumlardan binlerce mektup alırken hiç bir Türkten mektup almadıklarını belirtmişlerdir.
5. Türkiye'deki olumsuz gelişmeler Rum kaynakları tarafından A.B.D.'ne çok etkili biçimde yansıtılmaktadır.

Türkiye'de tamamen içe dönük olduğu sanılan konuşmalar, yorumlar, yazılar eğer Türkiye aleyhine kullanılabilecek nitelikte ise hemen A.B.D. kamu oyuna yansıtılmaktadır.

Örneğin New York Görüşmelerinden Önce Denktaş'ın Hürriyet Gazetesinde yer alan ve New York'a hiçbir teklifle gidilmediğinden söz eden açıklaması New York görüşmelerinden önce A.B.D.'nde istismar konusu olmuştur.

Partilerimizin Kıbrıs konusunda ortaya koydukları istismara müsait her görüş A.B.D. kamu oyuna Rum kaynaklarınca aktarılmaktadır.

6. Afyon konusu hala istismar edilmektedir.
Afyon konusunda Türkiye gelişmeleri ve durumunu A.B.D. Yönetimine ve kamu oyuna iyi şekilde duyuramamaktadır. Kamu oyu halâ A.B.D.'ndeki uyuşturucu maddelerin ana kaynağının Türkiye olduğuna inanmaktadır. Türkiye'de ekim yasağının olduğu yıllarda bile A.B.D.'ne ulaşan afyonun % 60'ının Türkiye'den geldiği Kongrenin özel komisyonunda kamu yetkililerince ifade edilmektedir.

Türkiye'nin afyon konusunda alınan tedbirleri ve gerçekleri açıklayıcı ciddi girişimlerine ihtiyaç vardır.

7. Türkiye'nin A.B.D.'nde etkili temsili
Türkiye'nin A.B.D.'nde temsili konusunun ciddiyetle ele alınması zorunludur. Dışişleri, Basın ve Yayın, Ticaret ve Maliye temsilcilerinin özel şartların gerektirdiği nitelikleri taşıyan kişiler olması gerekir.

Türk Hükümeti temsilcilerinin, Yönetim ile, Kongre ile, Basın ile ve baskı grupları ile yakın temaslarının olmadığı "masa görevi" dışında özel şartların gerektirdiği çabayı göstermedikleri anlaşılmaktadır.

Örneğin Kıbrıs'tan Eylül ayı ortasında belli sayıda askerin geri çekildiği haberi Kongre üyelerine ve basına Türk Temsilcilerince aktarılamamıştır. New York'daki Denktaş-Klerides görüşmesinden 24 saat sonra görüşmelerin kesilmesinin nedenleri hakkında Türk görüşünü öğrenmek isteyenlere Washington'daki temsilcilerimiz bilgi verememişlerdir.

8. Türkiye'nin A.B.D.'nde tanıtılması

Türkiye'nin A.B.D.'nde tanıtılması uzun vadeli ve geniş bir program içinde ele alınmalıdır. Tanıtma Türkiye'yi (Turizmi-ekonomisi-ticareti-kültür ve sanatıyla) bir bütün olarak tanıtma şeklinde ele alındığında önemli ölçüde ve devamlı bir fona gerek duyulacaktır. Böyle bir fonun teşkili için "Türkiye'yi Tanıtma Vakfı" şeklinde bir kuruluşa gidilmesi, kamu ve özel sektör kaynaklarından sağlanacak imkânların, bürokratik formalitelerle bağlı olmadan etkin şekilde değerlendirilmesi teklif edilebilir.

Kısa dönemde A.B.D.'nde gazetelerde ilân vermek, iyi niyet heyetleri göndermeye devam etmek, A.B.D.'nden tanınmış Kongre üyelerini ve gazetecileri Türkiye'ye davet etmek üzerinde durulması gerekli noktalardır.

A.B.D. BAŞKANI FORD İLE BEYAZ SARAYDA GÖRÜŞME

12 EYLÜL 1975 CUMA 11.00

(Beyaz Saray'da Başkan Ford ile görüşmek üzere beklenirken, Başkan ile toplantıdan çıkan Dışişleri Bakanı Kissinger heyet üyelerinin elini sıkmış ve kendilerine hoş geldiniz demiştir. Başkan, heyeti Bakanlar Kurulu odasında kabul etmiş, yarım saat süren görüşmede heyet üyelerine kahve ikramında bulunmuştur.

Görüşme talebi Başkanın danışmanlarından Hartman aracılığıyla doğrudan Başkana iletilmiş ve Başkanın o günlerdeki yüklü programına rağmen Başkan tarafından kabul edilmiştir. Bu görüşme ile ilgili olarak T.C. Büyükelçiliği veya A.B.D. Dışişleri Bakanlığı herhangi bir tavassutta bulunmamıştır. Başkan, Türk heyetiyle yapılan toplantıdan hemen sonra Gül Bahçesi'nden helikopter ile "Missuri, Kansas ve Texas" bölgelerine yapacağı gezi için hareket etmiştir.)

Başkan Ford - (I am very glad that you have taken the inisiative to come here. I appreciate your coming. It will be really helpful. You shall have the opportunity to tell the other side of the story.)

Sizlerin buraya gelmenizden çok memnun oldum. Gelmeniz sizleri ilgilendiren olayların gerçek yönlerinin anlatılmasına yardımcı olacaktır. Kongrenin nasıl yanlış bir yolda olduğunu ve benim ve Kissinger'in Kongreyi ikna için nasıl bir gayret içinde bulunduğumuzu biliyorsunuz. Bu konuda ben Başkan olarak prestijimi ortaya koydum.

Size şunu söylemeliyim ki Kongrenin kararı beni olduğu kadar Amerikan halkının çoğunluğunu da üzmektedir. Biz burada elimizden gelen gayreti (maximum effort) sarfediyoruz. Türkiye-A.B.D. ilişkilerini restore etmek için çalışıyoruz.

Türkiye'deki depremden çok üzüldük. Hemen yardım teklifinde bulunduk. Bu konuda elimizden geleni yapmaya hazırız.

Temsilciler Meclisi Komisyonu (Rules Committee)1/ ile dün temasa geçtim. Gelecek Çarşamba veya Perşembe günü toplanacaklar. Olumlu sonuç alınacağını sanıyorum. Ben sizin bugüne kadar yaptığınız temaslara nasıl karşılandığını duymak isterim. Sayın Berker bu konuda bana bilgi verirmisiniz?

1/ The Rules Committee (1975 Congressional Directory'e) göre 16 asli üyesi vardır. Bunlar: Madden, Delaney, Bolling, Sisk, Young, Pepper, Matsunaga, Murphy, Long, Moakley, Young, Quillen, Anderson, Latta, Calwson ve Lott'dır. Bu 16 üyenin 11'i Demokrat, 5'i Cumhuriyetçidir. 17 Eylül 1975 Tarihinde Foreign Relations - Dışilişkiler Komitesi Hükümet teklifinin Rules Committee'ye sevkine 25'e karşı 9 oyla karar vermiştir. 24 Eylül 1975 günkü toplantısında ise Rules Committee 6'ya karşı 9 oyla Hükümet teklifinin Temsilciler Meclisine sevkini kabul etmiştir.

Berker - Kongre üyeleri ile temaslarımızı sürdürüyoruz. Biz kongre üyelerinden bir talepte bulunma durumunda değiliz, sadece Türk vatandaşı olarak görüşlerimizi, Türk kamu oyunun Türk-Amerikan ilişkileri konusundaki görüşlerini onlara duyurmak için iyi niyet ziyaretleri yapıyoruz. Bu ziyaretlerimizde çok iyi karşılandık. Brademas ve Sarbanes gibi karşı görüşün ucundaki temsilciler bile ziyaretimizi müsbet karşıladılar. İyi niyetimizi ifade ettik.

Başkan Ford - Ben Brademas ve Sarbanes ile çok konuştum. Hiç biri 20 Temmuz hareketi için bir şey söylemiyorlar. 14 Ağustos hareketi üzerinde duruyorlar. Fakat bazıları bu ikinci hareketten gene birinciye bağlantı kuruyor. Bana ifade ettikleri şu "- Türkiye göçmenler ve sınır tesbiti konusunda iyi niyet gösterisinde bulunmalı ki Temsilciler Meclisi konuyu tekrar ele alabilsin" diyorlar'.

Türkiye'deki kamu oyunun bekleyişlerini, iç politikadaki sorunlarınızı bizler de biliyoruz. Fakat Yunanistan'ın da çok ciddi iç politika sorunları, kamu oyunun Yunan Hükümeti üzerinde çok ciddi baskısı var. Bunun için ambargoyu tam olarak hemen kaldırmak çok kolay değil. Önemli olan şu, Kongrenin ambargo konusunda alacağı olumlu kararı müteakip Türk Hükümetinin Kıbrıs sorununa çözüm getirecek girişimini hemen ortaya koyması gerekir. (...must get quickly an action...) Denktaş-Klerides görüşmesi ertelendi. Kongre ambargo ile ilgili olumlu bir karar aldıktan sonra Türkiye kararlılığını hemen ortaya koyup çözüm tekliflerini getirmez ise, Kongrenin 2 ay sonraki baskısı daha ciddi olur ve buna herhalde karşı koyamam.

Berker - Sizin bu konudaki iyi niyetinize ve gayretlerinize teşekkür ederiz.

Başkan Ford - Yunanistan'ın iç politik olaylarındaki gelişmeler Nato, ve Türk-Yunan ilişkileri açısından aleyhte bir ortamın doğmasına sebep oluyor. Türkiye'de de Hükümetin kamu oyunun desteklemediği hiç bir çözümü benimseyemeyeceğini biliyorum.

Fakat Kıbrıs sorununda zaman çok önemli. (Time is so important-time is the very key issue...) Ambargo herhalde kalkacak. Fakat kalktıktan sonra Kıbrıs sorunu hemen çözüme götürülmeli...

Narin - Temsilciler Meclisi Ambargonun kaldırılması ile ilgili kararında askeri araçların teslimine ilişkin yeni şartlar koyarsa Türk Kamu oyunun ve Türk Hükümetinin bunu kabul etmesi çok güç...

Başkan Ford - Biz Senato'dan geçen şekliyle tasarının kanunlaşmasını istiyoruz. (We prefer the Senate version of the bill.) Gelmeniz çok iyi, bu seyahat çok etkili oldu.

DİĞER KONULAR

1. Gezi ile ilgili temaslar

İyi Niyet Heyeti, geziye çıkmadan (29 Ağustos 1975 Cuma günü) Ankara'da Başbakan Sayın Demirel, Dışişleri Bakanı Sayın Çağlayangil ve Muhalefet Partisi Başkanı Sayın Ecevit'i ziyaret ile gezi programı hakkında bilgi vermiştir.

Dönüşte aynı heyet (23 Eylül 1975 Salı günü) Ankara'da tekrar Başbakan Demirel ve Muhalefet Partisi Başkanı Sayın Ecevit'e gezi sonuçları hakkında hazırlanan ön raporu sunmuşlardır.

2. National Association of Manufacturers (A.B.D.Sanayiciler Milli Birliği)

A.B.D.'nde sanayicilerin kurdukları bir dernek. Üyeleri A.B.D.'ndeki sınıai üretimin % 70'ini temsil ediyor. Gönüllü üyelik esasına dayanıyor. Halen 13 bin üyesi var. Washington'da merkezindeki 30, Washington Merkez Bürosu dışında 100 eleman çalışmakta. Birlik esas itibariyle ekonomik veya sosyal araştırma yapmıyor. Sanayii ilgilendiren politikalar üzerinde çalışıyor. Örneğin, vergi politikası, teknoloji politikası, işveren-işçi ilişkileri gibi. Devamlı faaliyet gösteren 13 politika komitesi mevcut. Sınıai kuruluşlar üst seviyedeki elemanların bu politika komitelerine görevlendiriyorlar.

Birlik Politika ile doğrudan ilgili. Herhangi bir partiyi desteklemiyor. Fakat sanayiın genel menfaatlerini savunan politikacıları destekliyor. (Not the parties but business oriented candidates)

Bu tip kişilerin Kongreye girmeleri için gayret gösteriyor. Yönetim ve Kongre tarafından düzenlenen mevzuatın sanayi açısından değerlendirilmesini yapıyor. Sanayi kesimin görüşüne uygun mevzuat çıkarılması için açık-doğrudan "lobi" faaliyetinde bulunuyor. Washington'da çok kuvvetli profesyonel lobi teşkilatı var. Aynı teşkilat eyaletlerde de kurulmuş. Herhangi bir konuda Birlik davranışsalınca tüm ülke çapında harekete geçiliyor.

(Birlik Yöneticileri Türk-Amerikan Ticaret Odası Kurulmasını temenni ettiler.)

3. World Trade Center

New York'da inşaatı tamamlanmakta olan World Trade Center - Dünya Ticaret Merkezi büyük ölçüde faaliyete geçmiş. Merkezde bütün dünya ülkeleri belli alanlarda kiralamışlar. Merkezin bilgi işlem düzeni işler halde. Merkez bir anlamda dünya alıcılarıyla satıcılarının buluşacakları borsayı kurma görevini üstlenmiş durumda. Türkiye'nin kamu veya özel kesim olarak Merkez içinde bir yer edinmesi ve Türk ekonomisi, sanayii ile ilgili gelişmelerin devamlı olarak Merkezin bilgi işlem araçlarına aktarılması zorunlu.

A.B.D.NDE BASIN MENSUPLARIYLA TEMASLAR

1. 8 Eylül 1975 Pazartesi günü, Washington Milli Basın Kulübünde gazeteciler için bir öğle yemeği tertiplendi. Amerika Radyo TV ve basının başlıca kişilerinden 35 kadar gazetecinin katıldığı bu yemekte heyet mensupları gazetecilerle ayrı ayrı konuşmak ve sonrada toplu olarak sorulan sorulara cevap vermek fırsatını buldular. Berker iyi niyet heyetinin gezi maksadını izah etti. Bundan sonra ambargo, Türk-Amerikan dostluğu ve Kıbrıs'la ilgili muhtelif sorulara Berker, Kocatopçu ve Koç cevap verdiler.
2. 9 Eylül 1975 Salı günü, Washington Post gazetesi Dış Haberler Servisinden Barbara Bright Sagnier, Berker ve Kılıç tarafından yemeğe davet olundu. Bu yemekte gazeteci iyi niyet heyetinin seyahatinin amacını sordu. Kendisine gezinin heyet mensuplarının kendi insiyatifleri ile ve kendi masraflarını görerek yaptıkları bu seyahatte, Yunan Lobisinin masif çabalarına karşı serbest Türk yurttaşları ve Amerikan-Türk dostluğunun zarureatine inanmış insanlar olarak bu dostluğu kurtarmak ve Amerikan kamu oyuna eksik veya yanlış anlatılan şeylerin doğrusunu belirtmek için bu seyahati yaptıkları anlatıldı. Gazetecinin bu konuşmadan sonra yazdığı yazının kopyası ektektir.
3. 10 Eylül 1975 Çarşamba günü, US News and World Report dergisinin sorumluları ile birlikte yemek yendi. Bu yemekte heyetten Kocatopçu, Kılıç, Arman ve Savaş ve dergiden de Dış Haberler Editörü Howard Handelman, Nizar Jwaideh, Alex Campbell, Joe Fromm bulundular. Kendilerine Kıbrıs'taki Türk tutumunun ayrıntıları, Türk-Amerikan dostluğunun nasıl tehlikeye düştüğü ve hiçbir Türk Hükümetinin baskı altında Kıbrıs'ta taviz vermeye zorlanamayacağı anlatıldı. Dergi mensupları da Yunan Lobisinin ve Amerikan iç politikasının şu sıradaki durumunun maalesef Türkiye aleyhine işlediğini belirttiler. Derginin bundan sonraki tutumunda izahat ışığı altında hadiselerin değerlendirileceğine söz verdiler.
4. 10 Eylül 1975 Çarşamba günü, Washington Star gazetesinin başyazarlarından Crosby Noyes ile Berker uzun bir görüşme yaptı. Esasen Türkiye'ye karşı sempatisi olan yazara durum bütün açıklığı ile anlatıldı. Neticede kopyası ekte bulunan yazı gazetede yayınlandı.
5. Christian Science Monitor adlı nüfuzlu ve ağırbaşlı gazetenin Dış politika da ihtisas yapan muharrirlerinden Dana Adams Schmidt ile Berker ve Kılıç konuştu. Kendisine Türk-Amerikan dostluğunun Kongrenin tutumu yüzünden büyük tehlikelere düştüğü anlatıldı. Yazar Yunan Lobisinin kesif faaliyetine karşılık Türkiye'nin Amerikan kamuoyunu etkilemek için hiçbirşey yapmadığını anlattı.

6. New York'ta heyet mensupları New York Times gazetesinin Board Room'unda başta Gazetenin Dış Haberler Müdürü (Foreign Editor) James Greenfield olmak üzere başyazarları Graham Howey ve Peter Gross tarafından kabul edildiler. Bu kimseler de Türkiye'nin kamuoyu oluşturmak çabalarının eksik kaldığını New York Times'ın buna rağmen dengeli haber ve yorum verdiğini anlattılar. Bu arada Kıbrıs'tan bir komanda birliğinin çekilmesi haberinin New York Times'a ve Amerikan basınına intikal etmediği hayretle tespit edildi. Yazarlar özellikle ikinci Müdahalenin gereklerinin izah edilmediğini ileri sürdüler. Çok liberal bir kişi olan Howey Türkiye'nin ikinci Cenevre Konferansında Yunanistan'a 36 saat mühlet vermemek ve ikinci müdahaleyi yapmakla "kötü niyetle" hareket ettiğini ileri sürdü. Kendisine daha fazla müdahale verilmemiş olmasının ve ikinci müdahalenin zarureti izah edildi. Toplantı çok olumlu ve aydınlatıcı oldu.
7. 16 Eylül 1975 Salı günü, Amerika'nın ünlü iş ve endüstri dergisi FORTUNE'nin sorumluları tarafından TIME LIFE binasının özel ziyafet salonunda bütün heyete verilen öğle yemeğinde heyet mensupları toplu olarak ve ayrı olarak meseleleri dergi mensuplarına anlatmak fırsatını buldular. Dergi mensupları da Türkiye'nin Amerika'daki propagandasının zayıf olduğunu ileri sürdüler. Heyet mensupları derginin Türkiye ile ilgili yayınlarının eksik olduğunu hatırlattılar. Derginin Türkiye ile ilgili özel bir sayı yayınlaması ihtimalleri üzerinde duruldu. Bunun kamu ve özel sektör tarafından ilân verilmek suretiyle gerçekleştirilebileceği belirtildi.
8. 17 Eylül 1975 Çarşamba günü, Berker, Arman, Kılıç NEWSWEEK dergisinin özel misafir katında Russell J. Melvin, Robert Christopher, Russell Watson, Dave Pauly, Milt Benjamin ile görüştüler. Bir saatten fazla süren görüşmede ambargonun tehlikeleri, Kıbrıs politikasının ayrıntıları izah edildi. Bu toplantı hakkında dergi Vice President'i Russel Jay Melvin'in yazdığı mektubun kopyası ekte'dir.

GEZİ İLE İLGİLİ OLARAK A.B.D. GAZETELERİNDE YAYINLANAN BAZI YAZILAR

A 4. Friday, Sept. 12, 1975 THE WASHINGTON POST

Activities in Congress

Senate
Meets at noon Monday.
Committees:
Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Multi-
national Corporations—10 a.m. Open. To
hear Lockheed BD Chmn. D. J. Haughton
on overseas payments made by Lock-
heed, 4221 Dirksen Office Bldg.
Public Works Subcommittee on Environ-
mental pollution—10 a.m. Open, mark-
up clean air act. 4200 DOB,
tr for add 1
House
Not in session.
Committees:
Agriculture—10 a.m. Open. Livestock
& Grains Subc. Cont. on HR5806—animal
welfare act amends. 1301 Longworth
House Office Bldg.
Armed Services—10:30 a.m. Open.
Briefing by Sec'y. Kissinger on Sinai
agreement, 2118 Rayburn House Office
Bldg.
Interior—9:45 a.m. Open. Cont. HR1663
—coal slurry pipeline. pub. wit. 1324
LHOB.
International Relations—10 a.m. Open.
Intl. Political & Mil. AFF Subc. Cont.
on seizure of Mayaguez, Dep. Defense
Sec'y. Clements, 2172 RHOB.
Commerce—10 a.m. Open. Health &
Environ Subc. Cont. markup clean air
act amend. 2322 RHOB.
Judiciary—9:30 a.m. Open. Civ. &
Constit. Rights Subc. Cont. HR31—Revise
bankruptcy act. pub. wit. 2237 RHOB.
Judiciary—10 a.m. Open. Admin. Law
& Gov't. Rel. Subc. Cont. lobby dis-
closure hrns. dept. wit. 2141 RHOB.
Merchant Marine & Fisheries—10 a.m.
Open. Coast Guard & Navigation Subc.
HR3630—amend. fed'l. boat safety act.
1234 LHOB.
Ways & Means—9 a.m. Open. Health
Subc. Nat'l. health insurance. pub. wit.
Cmte. Rm. LHOB.
Ways & Means—10 a.m. Closed. Trade
Subc. Multilateral trade negotiations. EF-
100, Capitol.
Ways & Means—9:30 a.m. Open. Un-
employment Comp. Subc. Pending busi-
ness, 1709 LHOB.
Intelligence—10 a.m. Open. Hrns. on
Cyprus. dept. wit. 2128 RHOB.

President's Schedule

The President's appoint-
ments today:
10:30 a.m.—Presentation ceremony to
foster grandparents.
10:45 a.m.—Meeting with Turkish busi-
nessmen.
11:20 a.m.—Departs South Lawn for
Andrews AFB and Missouri, Kansas and
Texas.

A 36 Thursday, Sept. 11, 1975 THE WASHINGTON POST

Turks Lobby Here for Arms Renewal

By Barbara Bright-Sagner
Washington Post Staff Writer

Thirteen Turkish business-
men, who say they fear a con-
tinuation of the embargo on
Turkish arms sales may per-
manently damage U.S.-Turkish
relations, have come to Wash-
ington to try to persuade Con-
gress to lift the ban.

The delegation, sponsored
by the Turkish Industrialists
and Businessmen's Associa-
tion, has set aside \$130,000—
\$10,000 from each member of
the group—to finance six days
of intensive lobbying in Wash-
ington and five days in New
York.

Full-page newspaper adver-
tisements addressed to "the
American people" and signed
by the 13 industrialists, manu-
facturers and trade executives
have appeared in The New
York Times and The Washing-
ton Post.

Feyyaz Berker, who is chair-
man of Istanbul's Tefken In-

dustry and Trading Co. and
heads the group, said yester-
day the businessmen had spo-
ken with nearly 50 members
of Congress since their arri-
val Sunday.

Berker said the businessmen
undertook their "goodwill
mission" because they are con-
vinced the Turkish position
has been misunderstood by
the Congress and the Ameri-
can public.

Congress cut off military

aid to Turkey in February af-
ter that nation used U.S.-sup-
plied arms during an invasion
of Cyprus in July and August,
1974. The Senate has since
approved, by one vote, an ad-
ministration bill that would
restore arms aid, but the
House rejected a similar bill
because "no substantial pro-
gress" had been made toward a
Cyprus settlement.

Turkey retaliated by closing
25 U.S. military bases and in-
telligence-gathering posts
there; but Ankara has allowed
7,000 U.S. personnel to remain
on the idled bases.

House debate on the Turk-
ish embargo is expected to re-
sume after Congress acts on
the interim Sinai agreement.

The Turkish people, accord-
ing to Berker and other busi-
nessmen in the group, feel
that the U.S. arms embargo is
"an act of discrimination."
Turkish intervention on Cy-
prus was justified to protect
the Turkish-Cypriot commu-
nity, claimed Berker.

The Turks also are con-
vinced that Greek forces on
Cyprus used U.S. arms.

Berker accused the United
States of "trying to keep se-
cret" a \$4 million theft of U.S.
ammunition from a U.S. naval
base at Souda Bay in Crete.
The theft, committed about
the time of the Cyprus crisis,
was acknowledged last month
by the State Department,
which said there was no indi-
cation the arms were used on
Cyprus.

"The Greek junta used these
arms to overthrow [Cypriot
President] Makarios," claimed
Berker.

The Washington Star

JOE L. ALLBRITTON, Publisher

JAMES G. BELLOW, Editor

SIDNEY EPSTEIN, Managing Editor

EDWIN M. YODER JR., Associate Editor

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1975

Lift the Turkish ban

When it gets back to the issue of raising the arms embargo on Turkey next week, Congress will be well advised to act swiftly to remove the ban it imposed last year. The chance of a successful negotiation on a settlement of the critical Cyprus problem hangs in the balance.

The prospects for lifting the embargo seem good at this point. The Senate voted to resume arms shipments last spring; a growing number of House members now appear convinced that their original sanctions against Turkey have produced results completely opposite to the ones intended. Not only have they strained Turkish-American relations to the point where Turkey has closed down a number of American bases in that country. They have also greatly contributed to the continuing stalemate in efforts to reach a compromise between Turkish and Greek Cypriots and prolonged the suffering of thousands of refugees on that unhappy island.

The fourth round of negotiations, scheduled to be held in New York under the auspices of United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, have yet to get under way. The realistic prospect is that nothing will happen until after the Turkish parliamentary elections scheduled for October 12. Until then, it is apparent that the Turkish Cypriot representative, Rauf Tenktash, will not be prepared to come out with Turkey's proposal on the most critical issue of the negotiation: the geographical division of the island

into autonomous sectors within a federated Cypriot state.

American congressmen may not understand all of the manifold complications of the situation in Cyprus, Greece and Turkey but they do understand politics. They should, therefore understand the reasons why Turkey is stalling at this point and why it is important that they act on the arms embargo before the Turkish election takes place.

Any proposal that the Turks come up with will necessarily involve giving back to the Greeks a part of the territory occupied by the Turkish army in August, 1974. Such a move would infuriate hard-lining Turks — including some members of the fragile government coalition — who are bitterly opposed to giving up any territory. If the move were made while the arms ban is still in effect, it would create the additional political problem for Turkish Premier Süleiman Demirel of appearing to yield to American pressure.

Lifting the arms embargo would have two results. It would greatly improve the chances of the moderate, pro-American Demirel of surviving the elections. It will also make it easier for the government to compromise on the territorial issue once the elections are over with. Both of these results would bring a settlement on Cyprus closer and are very much in the interests of the United States.

William F. Buckley Jr.

Turkish arms vote — an augur of utter confusion

I did not notice it at the time, but the vote to deny United States weapon-makers the right to sell arms to Turkey, cast on July 26, was narrowly carried (228-206) with the support of the most resolute conservatives and anti-Communists in the House of Representatives. They found themselves voting alongside such as Reps. Conyers, Drinan, Edwards, Harrington, Holtzman, Koch, Rosenthal, and Udall, in one of the strangest coalitions in recent Congressional history. Why?

Viewed with even modest strategic perspective, the vote against selling arms to Turkey was at best perplexing, at worst maniacal. Turkey has been the staunchest ally in the anti-Communist NATO alliance, and is geopolitically as vital to that alliance as the Mississippi River to the greening of the vertebrae of the U.S.

What had happened? I wrote to three conservative Congressmen, good friends and exemplary cold warriors, to express my bafflement.

One of them replied like a district attorney who had wearily closed down a speakeasy, muttering "the law's the law." Indeed Section 505 (B) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, says it quite clearly: that if a country that buys arms from the U.S. goes on to use those arms for other than defensive purposes, then the further sale of arms is prohibited.

* * *

The Controller General of the United States, Elmer Staats, took the position, in a written opinion, that infringement was a matter of historical record. Which is of course true. When the Turks invaded Cyprus, seizing a generous part of it and creating a fresh refugee problem (180,000 Greeks), they unquestionably used arms purchased from the U. S.

It is not to justify the Turkish invasion however to note a) that it was precipitated by a Greek initiative that brought down the military junta; or b) that the question who rightly owns what parts of Cyprus is a question the Roman Emperors were not able to solve; or c) that when a country moves militarily, grabbing its muskets, it tends to be less than inquisitive about the provenance of those weapons, or the terms under which they were purchased.

Turkey's move against Cyprus is as defensible, at the hands of a resourceful lawyer, as any of several moves by Israel against Lebanon and Jordan, but Congress has never passed a law denying Israel, for that reason, the right to buy more arms; nor, so far as I know, has Congress ever roused Elmer Staats to give it a reading of the legality of continuing arms sales to Israel.

Another Congressman gave as his reason for voting against Turkey not only the legal one, but a whole basketful of others. He did not like having been pressured by the Administration. "The Administration's spokesmen appeared to rest their case . . . on the rationale that we must trust the foreign policy of President Ford." This, the Congressman, who distrusts detente, was not prepared to do.

Moreover, he didn't think the Administration was entirely convincing about Turkey's strategic importance: indeed, he didn't think the spokesmen of the Administration had given Congressmen "grown-up" answers to searching questions.

A third naysayer pulled all the stops. In addition to the foregoing objections, he thinks of Turkey as something of a pain in the neck, "intransigent on the matter of refugees and heroin." He did not like what he interpreted as the "increased . . . blackmailing" by our allies—Turkey had threatened to close down American bases, and of course proceeded to do so.

* * *

But then the most striking point. The Congressman felt that a Nay vote was the means of attacking a "disastrous foreign policy." He laughs at the stated concern of Defense Secretary Schlesinger over the threatened loss in intelligence capabilities. "This Administration and previous Administrations have literally destroyed our intelligence apparatuses. They engage in detente with an enemy, talk about giving away the Panama Canal, send critical materials to our avowed enemy, then have the gall to tell us this vote is antithetical to our basic defense and intelligence needs."

On reflection, I think this—give or take the Greek lobby, for whatever it is worth—is the crux of the matter. It makes me deeply despondent, because however pleasant it is to satisfy one's pride at the expense of insufferable allies (most friendly nations, like most friendly friends, are to some extent insufferable), it is generally not the statesman's business to yield to the temptation.

Conservative Congressmen aghast at President Ford's acquiescence in a \$60 billion deficit are not entitled to use their disgust as an excuse for voting an \$80 billion deficit. Still, though my sympathies are with the Administration, I do not see how it can fail to perceive that such disaffections as these will grow and grow, watered by detente, and that one day utter confusion will prevail.

ABD'de bir propoganda savaşı sürüyor

Yunan ve Türk kulisçileri

Kongrenin Türkiye'ye silah yardımının yeniden başlatılması için yeniden yapacağı oylamanın yaklaşığ şu gülerde Yunan ve Türk kulis-giler Amerikan görüşünü kendi tarafı-na çekmek için hararetil bir propa-ganda faaliyetine girişmişlerdir.

Türkiye'nin geçen yas Kıbrıs'a çıkartına yaptığı sırada Amerikan silahlarını kanunsuz kullandığı gerekçesiyle Kongre bu yılın başlarında Türkiye'ye Amerikan yardımının tıltını durdurmustu.

Washington'da Yunanların davasına karşı verilen özdeşlikleri Yunan Elias Dimitracopoulos, yönetimin, Türk tarafını iyi göstermek ve ambargoyu kaldırmak için Yunanlıları hakısuna köstüldüğüne söylemektedir. Dimitracopoulos, cunta döneminde Yunanistan'da görevli olan Amerikan silah yardımı görevlilerinin şimdi ortaya çıkan ve cunta döneminde yapılan büyük ölçekli silah satış susturma ile ilgili olduğunu söyledi.

Türk tarafında ise, Kongre'nin Türkiye'ye haksız davrandığını ileri süren 13 üyeden faaliyet halindedir. Geçen hafta Washington'a gelen bu Türk Heyeti, Başkan Ford'un yanı sıra 7 senatör ve 60 temsilci ile görüşmüşlerdir. Bu

hafta New York'da Amerikan sanayicileri ve bankacıları ile temas edeceklerdir.

Dimiitracopoulos'a göre, Atina'daki Amerikan Sefareti bir yıl önce Batı Girit'teki Soudhas körfezinde bulunan Amerikan silâh deposundan 3 ilâ 5 milyon dolar civarında silâhın Yunan ordu, su tarafından alınmış olduğunu ifşa etti. İle alt üst olmuştur.

Dimitracopoulos, bu yaz sürdürülen bu araştırmanın, Kongrenin Türkiye'ye karşı ithamlarındaki etkiyi azaltarak Yunanlıları da Türklerden aşağı kalmadığını göstermeyi amaçladığını iddia etmektedir. **İki Türk İşadımı ve Tekden Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş. İdare Meclisi Başkanı Feyyaz Berker** de kendisi ile yapılan bir mülakatla bu noktaya değinmiştir.

Fakat Yunan hükümetleri bu açıktan bir çelişki olduğu kanaatinde değildir. Dimitracopoulos, aslında 1974 ağustosunda kendisinin bu hususu daha kapsamlı bir konunun parçası olarak açıkladığında, Dışişleri ve Savunma Bakanlıklarının bunu tekbiz ettiğini söylemektedir.

Dimitrakopoulos'a göre Yunan cum-
tasi, Kıbrıs olayları sırasında ellerinde
Amerikan yardımı ile gönderilen silah

ve cephanenin hemen hemen tükendiğini farkına varmış ve Sanhos Körtzünde ki Amerikan silahlarını ele geçirmişlerdir. Dimitracopoulos bu durumu bir skandal olarak nitelemekle ve kaybolan silah ve cephanenin muhtemelen siyah Afrika ülkelerine satıldığını söylemektedir. Dimitracopoulos, elinde Kongre telerine ve diğer çevrelere açıklayabilecek daha bir sürü belgesi olduğunu belirtmektedir.

Türk delegasyonu Amerikan politikası-
nı bu denli etkileyecek tarzda tebli-
zatlanmamıştır. Onlar, WASHINGTON
POST ve NEW YORK TIMES'deki ma-
sahife başlıklarında da belirttikleri gibi,
ana gayelerinin Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs'a mü-
dahalesinin kanunusuz olmadığını, Türki-
ye'nin garantör bir devlet olarak Kıb-
rıs'ın bağımsızlığını koruması kendine
tanınan kanunî haklara uygun hareket et-
tiğini Amerikan kamuoyuna duyurma ça-
bası olduğunu belirtmektedirler.

Atina'daki diktatörlük tarafından ter-
tiplen Kibris'daki darbe teşebbüsün-
den sonra Türkiye'nin Kibris'ın Yuna-
nistan'a haksızca ilhakını ve Adada-
ki Türklerin güvenliğini korumak zorunda
kaldıklarını ifade etmektedirler."

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MESSENGER

1975

New Congress vote nears on military aid to Ankara

Greek, Turkish lobbyists in

By Dana Adams Schmidt
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
In hopes of swaying American opinion as the time nears for a renewed vote in Congress on resumption of military aid to Turkey, Greek and Turkish lobbyists are waging a war of propaganda.

U.S. military aid to Turkey, a key NATO ally in the eastern Mediterranean, has been entirely cut off since early this year by Congress on the grounds that Turkey illegally used American arms in the landing on Cyprus in the summer of 1974.

On the Greek side is Elias Dimitracopoulos, unofficial spokesman in Washington for Greek causes, who maintains that the administration is unfairly maligning the Greeks in order to put the Turks in a better light and to ease resumption of aid. He claims former U.S. military-aid officials in Greece were involved in huge illicit sales of U.S. arms to officers of the former Greek junta.

On the Turkish side are 13 Turkish businessmen who maintain that Turkey has been wronged by Congress's embargo of U.S. arms. They were in Washington last week where they managed interviews with 7 senators and 60 congressmen as well as President Ford. This week they are in New York meeting American industrialists and financiers.

Mr. Dimitracopoulos, an anti-junta spokesman during the seven years of junta rule, is particularly upset by the disclosure by the American Embassy in Athens on Aug. 21 that about a year earlier arms in an American depot at

This is being brought up now, he said, because the information was the fruit of an investigation by the CIA to offset the effect on Congress of the fact that Turkey ignored the American request for arms for aggressive purposes. The CIA was not to be

that the Greeks are no better. This was an interview here by Feyyaz Besenel of Tefken Industry & Trading Co., chief Turkish spokesman for the group.

But the Greek lobbyist firm, which is now in the process of being liquidated, is not the only one that has been involved in this kind of activity. In fact, the Greek lobby has been active in many other areas, including the defense industry, the energy sector, and the media. The Greek lobby has been successful in many of these areas, and it is likely that it will continue to be successful in the future.

The larger affair, but was based on that when the Greek independence of Cyprus was at that time, these engines of desperation, greedy annexation.

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also hints that this is the real sea sold, probably to be

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... could turn up
... equip

...in full-page ads in the New York Times, is that Turkey's operations in Turkey's

...rights as a
...the military
...had to
...to protect the

of Greek and African nations, experts insist that the coup is a precursor of the kind of dictatorship in Turkey that would prevent the Turkish communists from working on Turkish politics.

12 Kissinger Invited to Tour Harlem Heroin Scene

From Combined Services
WASHINGTON—A special narcotics prosecutor offered to take Secretary of State Kissinger on a tour of Harlem to show him the end of the poppy trail that brings heroin into this country.

The offer was made by New York special prosecutor Sterling Johnson Jr. during a hearing into international narcotics trafficking by the House future resources subcommittee.

Johnson was accompanied by a hooded man, described as an informer, who told Congressmen yesterday he peed that within two months heroin from the new Turkish opium crop would be arriving in Harlem.

The man, said to be a former Harlem street drug pusher, told the committee that in one and a half years he made heroin sales totaling \$500,000—a sum Johnson said was considered "really no money at all" in the narcotics trade.

In making the offer, Johnson said Kissinger "can come up with all his guards, drive

around in an armored car, I'll even walk around with him."

Johnson said he wants Kissinger to see what heroin does to people so he'll pressure the Turks to stop growing the poppies which are used to make heroin.

"The word on the street is that there's a big shipment coming from Turkey this fall," Johnson said, adding he expects a heroin epidemic because Turkey lifted its ban on poppy growing.

The hearing was called by Rep. Lester Wolff (D-L.I.), who said he was highly skeptical of Administration claims that the resumption of opium cultivation in Turkey was accompanied by adequate safeguards to prevent the opium from going on into the illicit market.

"I'm very critical of what they have not done," Johnson said of the State Dept. He said Kissinger has made trips to Turkey but he said he doubted if the subject of poppy growing was brought up by Kissinger with the Turks.

"The people responsible for narcotics enforcement have not been to Harlem to see the end of the poppy trail," Johnson said of Administration officials who run drug enforcement efforts.

He said there are indications now of the coming epidemic: More Turkish heroin on the streets is replacing

Mexican heroin.

New York's financial woes also have contributed to the worsening situation, Johnson said, because it has forced staff cutbacks in his department and stripped police narcotic units of undercover agents needed for investigations.

Because of that, Johnson said, "street-level heroin dealers are becoming more and more blatant.

"Pushers are marketing heroin just as Madison Avenue would do," he said.

"All agree," Johnson said, "we have at the present time all the ingredients for a disaster in New York City. If our efforts in New York City fail, other cities and suburban communities will soon be infected by the disease of addiction."

As an example of how the

narcotics business is becoming more violent, Johnson played a tape recording made by an undercover agent going to make a "buy," a purchase of some heroin.

On the tape are sounds of the officer riding up in an elevator, the elevator door opening and then the officer shouting "Don't shoot," followed by three pistol shots.

The recording, made on a machine concealed on the agent, picked up the dull thud of the officer slumping to the floor and then his gasping efforts to struggle down a flight of stairs for help from backup policemen on the street.

A staff member of the subcommittee said the officer survived, "but he's one of the policemen laid off because of the city's money problems."



A New York drug dealer, hooded to protect his identity, testifies before a House International Relations subcommittee hearing on narcotics trafficking as Rep. Mario Biaggi, standing, and New York's special narcotics prosecutor, Sterling Johnson listen.

Associated Press Wirephoto

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1975

Tobacco Output Up Over '74

WASHINGTON (AP)—Tobacco production this year is estimated at 2.2 billion pounds, down 2 per cent from prospects last month, but 11 per cent above the 1974 output of 1.99 billion pounds, the Agriculture Dept. said yesterday.

DEAL COPY

Perspective on Role of Turkey

By George C. McGhee

WASHINGTON.—It would be useful, as we await the reconvening of Congress, to review the broader implications of the recent narrow House defeat of a bill to restore military aid to Turkey. In doing so it will be helpful to put in perspective the overall role of Turkey in the Middle East.

Many who did not participate in the far-reaching political arrangements after World War II do not perhaps grasp the full significance of the impasse that has arisen between the United States and Turkey over Cyprus. This resulted from stoppage of arms shipments to Turkey by Congress last December for violation of the Foreign Military Assistance and Sales Act. Basic to any such review is a determination of where our national interest lies.

In the immediate postwar period, the Soviets made a series of well-planned moves; to consolidate their positions in Eastern Europe, to take political advantage of the economic collapse of Western Europe and to incorporate in their new empire strategic but weak and isolated Greece, Turkey and Iran. One need not recount the details of how Europe was saved by the Marshall Plan, Iran by the freeing of Azerbaijan and Greece and Turkey by our Greek-Turkish aid, the Marshall Plan and their subsequent admission to NATO. The action of the Turkish parliament in February, 1952 in voting unanimously to accept the NATO invitation represented a historic turning point for Turkey. Once the seat of a proud empire based on historic Constantinople which embraced what are now 18 countries, Turkey in her decline in the 19th century became a puppet of the European powers. After the disastrous Turkish defeat in World War I, Atatürk renounced empire and turned Turkey to the West. The Turkish Republic, a united resolute people with a great fighting tradition, became the Middle East anchor of the NATO line.

Clumsy Efforts

Defense of the Middle East, which had remained unresolved after failure of clumsy allied efforts to create a British Middle East Command, a Middle East Defense Organization and a Northern Tier, was assured. Turkey was to replay its classical role as the "cork in the bottle" of Asia Minor—blocking to any erstwhile invader the land, sea and air nexus between Europe and Asia. Soviet efforts to penetrate the Middle East were stopped cold and have so remained to this day.

But there was nearby a time bomb ticking away. Unfortunately there has long existed on the lonely island of Cyprus, within sight of the Turkish coast, a bitter struggle which on July 14 of last year erupted, as a dormant

volcano, into a full-blown crisis. Its origins lie deep in the history of early Greek settlement, Turkish rule starting in 1570, the 19th century move for Enosis, or union with Greece, and the attendant centuries of religious and economic rivalry between Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Twice in recent years, in 1963 and 1967, the United States persuaded the Turks, against their better judgment, not to intervene in behalf of their endangered Turkish-Cypriot minority.

Zurich Treaty

Few of us, I'm afraid, remember that the 1959 Treaty of Zurich gave the signatory powers—England, Greece and Turkey—the right (Article 4), if common action is not possible, "to take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs created by the present Treaty." No one questions that the present crisis was initiated by the Greek junta, acting through 650 Greek training officers stationed with the Cypriot National Guard who overthrew the Makarios government, putting in power the notorious EOKA gunman, Nikos Samson. Under the circumstances no Turkish government could have failed to respond to the pleas for protection from the 110,000 Turkish minority. The Ecevit government first sought to act in concert with the British, who declined—

also refusing the use of their Cyprus base. The initial Turkish action cannot be interpreted as aggression in any ordinary sense. Could we have failed to react in similar circumstance—say if 100,000 Americans were endangered in Mexico, within sight of the Rio Grande?

In the aftermath of the Turkish landings, which involved fighting with 11,500 so-called "illegal" Greek-Cypriot forces, threats of invasion by Greece and excesses by individuals and groups on both sides, a situation was created which resulted in some 200,000 homeless Greek refugees. This is, of course, a great tragedy which has evoked world-wide sympathy. Under the circumstances, however, it is difficult for outsiders who do not fully understand the complex and emotional issues involved to assess blame or to act as arbiters. Suffice it to say that sincere members of the Congress have concluded that Turkey violated provisions of our arms legislation. Surely, however, our goal should now be an early agreement between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, to alleviate existing hardships and assure a peaceful sharing of the island in the future.

Bulwark

We must also keep in mind the importance of retaining Turkey as our ally in the Middle East. There is no such comparable bulwark available, Greece,

although under democratic rule a valuable ally, does not possess the strategic geography or military strength of the Turks. Two generations of Americans have assisted Turkey in building its armed forces and developing its economy. It is now a developing nation of 40 million people. Its 450,000 troops constitute the largest NATO contingent, except for us and Germany, in which we have invested \$4 billion. We have in Turkey, as has been well publicized, a whole network of intelligence gathering bases where 7,000 Americans are stationed, and a magnificent NATO airfield at Adana to which we and other NATO allies rotate our squadrons. Our rights to these bases are now in jeopardy.

There is now a new government in Turkey. Although it rules with a slim margin, it is on a democratic basis. Prime Minister Demirel and Foreign Minister Caglayangil are known quantities—staunch friends of the United States and NATO. They understand that peace can only be restored, and the world community satisfied, if there is a negotiation in which reasonable compromises are made. The Greek refugees must be given an opportunity to have land and homes and security. The world will not tolerate another Arab refugee fait accompli. At the same time, as I believe most impartial observers recognize, all Turks believe that there is no hope for the future unless Greek and Turkish Cypriots live in separate areas with a high degree of autonomy, under a relatively weak federal government. This was the only solution found for the Greek-Turkish problem itself after World War I, when 1,750,000 Greeks and Turks were exchanged. Separation was the solution recommended by Dean Acheson when he made a survey of Cyprus after his tenure as secretary of state.

Already in Vienna there has been progress in the form of a written acceptance of this concept (the so-called Vienna 3) in negotiations between Greek and Turkish representatives under UN Secretary-General Waldheim. It is reported that these talks have also resulted in an unwritten agreement that 8,000-9,000 Turks will move to the north, surrendering their homes to Greeks, as well as limited movement of Greeks to the north.

The Congress has made its point. The Turks are a proud

people and find it difficult to appear to be forced to action under pressure. The Turkish leaders have, however, felt our pressure and will, I am sure, take it fully into account. We must now relax and give them an opportunity to negotiate. The best argument against a continuance of the embargo is that it is counterproductive. By foreclosing progress it further weakens the pro-American Caramanlis government of Greece. It severely limits the Demirel government in further negotiations, forces them to proceed against our bases and endangers future Turkish relations with us and NATO. The net result is only to prolong the agony of the displaced Cypriots and to postpone a final settlement.

Simultaneous with progress in Vienna, therefore, I hope Congress will authorize resumption of shipments from the \$185-million military pipeline already paid for by the Turks and, as soon as justified by events, resumption of new aid and purchases. This is necessary to keep Turkish forces in fighting form for their NATO mission. This is also necessary to provide Turkey evidence that her position in Cyprus is understood in this country. This will, I am sure, greatly facilitate a broadening of the negotiations and hastening of the time when agreement can be reached in Cyprus which both Greeks and Turks can accept. Only in this way can the traditional enmity between Greece and Turkey be brought again within manageable proportions. Only in this way can Turkey resume her place as a bulwark of NATO and a staunch friend for the United States in the troubled Middle East. This is where our true national interest lies.

Mr. McGhee, a former U.S. ambassador to West Germany, wrote this article for The Washington Post.

A.B.D.KAMU OYUNUN TÜRKİYE'Yİ NE DENLİ
TANIDIĞI KONUSUNDA YAPILAN KÜÇÜK BİR
ARAŞTIRMANIN ÖZETİ

(Açıklama: Bu araştırma Gazeteci Bill Connors tarafından 15 Eylül 1975 günü öğle tatilinde New York'da Rockefeller Center'de herhangi bir örnekleme dayandırmadan tesadüfen mülkate tabi tutulan 12 erkek, 12 kadın 24 Amerikalının banda alınmış görüşlerini yansıtmaktadır.)

1. Kıbrıs'a ilişkin Türkiye ve Yunanistan'ın durumunu etkileyen meselelerin herhangi birini anlıyormusunuz?

Hiçbirini	Erkek: 10	Bazılarını	Erkek: 2
	Kadın: 12		Kadın: 0

Örnek cevaplar:

- Türklerin Kıbrıs'ı istila etkilerini okudum, fakat hakkında hiçbir şey bilmiyorum.
- Ne olduğu hakkında hiç fikrim yok.
- Hiçbir şey anlamıyorum, bu işten doğrusu...

2. A.B.D.'nin Türkiye'ye silah ambargosu uyguladığını biliyormusunuz?

Evet	Erkek: 4	Hayır	Erkek: 8
	Kadın: 2		Kadın: 10

3. Silah ambargosunun ne demek olduğunu biliyormusunuz?

Evet	Erkek: 10	Hayır	Erkek: 2
	Kadın: 7		Kadın: 5

4. A.B.D.'nin Türkiye'ye silah ambargosu uygulaması ile ilgili niyormusunuz?

Evet	Erkek: 3	Hayır	Erkek: 9
	Kadın: 1		Hayır: 11

Örnek cevaplar:

- Haksızlık olduğunu düşünüyorum.
- Hayır, hakkında hiçbir şey bilmiyorum.
- Bütün Araplara silah satışını durdurmalıyız. (Türkiye bir Arap ülkesi olarak nitelendiriliyor.)

5. Eğer Yunanistan ile Türkiye arasında büyük çapta bir askeri hareket gelişse, kimin tarafını tutardınız?

Türkiye	Erkek: 1	Yunanistan	Erkek: 4	Hiçbirini	Erkek: 7
	Kadın: 0		Kadın: 10		Kadın: 2

Örnek cevaplar:

- Hiçbiriyle bir ilişkimiz olmamalı bence
- Bırakın kendi aralarında halletsinler, bizim sorunumuz değil ki...
- Tartışmanın ne olduğu hakkında en küçük bir bilgim bile yok...

6. Türkiye diktatör mü, demokratik mi yoksa komünist bir devlet midir?

Diktatörlük	Erkek: 0	Demokrasi	Erkek: 0
	Kadın: 0		Kadın: 0
Komünist	Erkek: 1	Bilmiyorum	Erkek: 11
	Kadın: 3		Kadın: 9

7. Türkiye bir Avrupa ülkesi midir? Değilse, nedir?

Avrupa	Erkek: 1	Arap	Erkek: 3
	Kadın: 0		Kadın: 5
Orta-Doğu	Erkek: 5	Bilmiyorum	Erkek: 3
	Kadın: 4		Kadın: 3

8. Türk Devletinin başı Başbakan mı, Cumhurbaşkanı mı, kral mı, yoksa sultan mıdır?

Başbakan	Erkek: 1	Cumhurbaşkanı	Erkek: 0	Kral	Erkek: 0
	Kadın: 4		Kadın: 0		Kadın: 0
Sultan	Erkek: 2	Bilmiyorum	Erkek: 9		
	Kadın: 4		Kadın: 4		

9. Önemli bir Türk Devlet adamı veya işadınının adını verebilir-misiniz?

Hayır	Erkek: 12	Evet	Erkek: 0
	Kadın: 12		Kadın: 0

10. Türkiye ile ilişkili bir madde söyleyebilir misiniz?

Tütün	Erkek: 8	Afyon	Erkek: 4
	Kadın: 2		Kadın: 6
Türk Havluları	Erkek: 2	Türk Hamamları	Erkek: 6
	Kadın: 8		Kadın: 0

11. Türkiye hangi ülkelere yakın?

Rusya	Erkek: 4	Çin	Erkek: 3
	Kadın: 5		Kadın: 0
Yunanistan	Erkek: 8	Saudi Arabistan	Erkek: 1
	Kadın: 7		Kadın: 0
Bilmiyorum	Erkek: 2		
	Kadın: 0		

12. Türkiye'ye göre Kıbrıs adasının nerede olduğunu biliyor musunuz?

Hayır	Erkek: 12	Evet:	Erkek: 0
	Kadın: 12		Kadın: 0

(Bu araştırmanın banda alınmış kısımları TUSİAD'dan temin edilebilir.)

To : The American People From: A Group of Concerned Turkish Citizens

Subject: Turkish - American Friendship

We are thirteen Turkish private citizens who have come to America at our own expense to try to salvage the friendship that has existed for so long between our two peoples. That friendship to which we Turks have been faithful through thick and thin is now jeopardized by misunderstanding of the Turkish role in Cyprus leading to the cut-off in defense supplies to Turkey by Washington.

In an effort to keep relations between us from deteriorating further, we are taking the liberty of setting forth the key facts relating to events in Cyprus and to the perils of the arms embargo:

1 The Coup in July 1974 was engineered by the military dictatorship in Athens. It was led by Greek army officers with the aim of annexing Cyprus to Greece. It overturned the established regime in violation of the Constitution and broke the International Treaty which had created the state of Cyprus.

2 As one of the guarantors of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, Turkey had no alternative but to take direct action. She had to prevent the unlawful annexation of Cyprus and to protect the Turkish Community treated as second class citizens for many years. This was not aggression!

3 Turkey's aim is to restore peace and promote stability in Cyprus, assuring a chance for the Turkish Cypriot community to live in honor and safety. We believe that after so many bitter experiences for more than a decade this can only be possible under a federation where Turks and Greeks of Cyprus will live side by side on an equal footing. We believe that a durable and peaceful settlement of the Cyprus issue can be reached through negotiations between the Turkish and Greek communities.

4 A misunderstanding of Turkish intentions and responsibilities have led to the arms embargo against Turkey. This action is so unfair that it seems incomprehensible to us. It not only imperils Turkey's security, but it saps Nato defenses, further aggravates relations between Turkey and Greece and serves only to stir up the Cyprus mess instead of clearing it up. Failure to lift the embargo will further provoke Turkish public opinion, because Turks consider any solution imposed under pressure to be dishonorable.

This then is the message we are bringing to our American friends: The arms embargo is counterproductive and self-defeating. It imperils Turkish - American friendship. It undermines Nato. It threatens the security of the free world. Moreover it serves to cast doubt on the value of America's friendship to her allies.

Time is running out...

Feyyaz BERKER Chairman of the Board TEKFEN Industry and Trading Co., Inc.	Necati AKÇAĞLILAR Chairman of the Board TEKFEN Construction and Installation Co., Inc.	Fuat BEZMEN Chairman of the Board MENSUCAT SANTRAL
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Jak KAMHI Chairman of the Board PROFILO HOLDING Co., Inc.	Ş.Şahap KOCATOPÇU President Turkish Glass Works Industry Group	Asim KOCABIYIK Chairman of the Board BORUSAN GROUP of Companies-Pipe and Steel Industry
Rahmi M. KOÇ Vice Chairman President of the KOÇ HOLDING Co., Inc.	Arman MANUKYAN President MANUKYAN BROTHERS Co.	Melih ÖZAKAT Chairman of the Board BMC Group and ÖZAKAT HOLDING Co., Inc.
		Halit NARIN Chairman of the Board NARIN, Textile Manufacturing Group

GÜNLÜK PROGRAMLAR

PAZAR, EYLÜL 7, 1975

Berker
Gazioğlu
Kocatopçu
Burla

Sen.HARTKE, VANCE (D.Eva.Ind)
Hamilton LEE (D.Eva.Ind.) +

PAZARTESİ, EYLÜL 8, 1975

11 00 Bütün Grup

JOHN McFALL (D, Cal) Çoğunluk Lideri +

12 30 Bütün Grup

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB - Basın Klübünde
Basın ve TV mensupları ile yemekli
toplantı

14 30 Bütün Grup

Carl Albert (D, Okla)
Temsilciler Meclisi Sözcüsü

14 30 Kamhi
Burla

Sidney Yates (D, Ill)-

Lehman, William (Fla) -
Waxman, Henry (Cal) -
Mezvinsky, Edward (Iowa) -
Abzug, Bella (NY) -
Richmond, Frederick (NY) -
Scheuer, James (NY) -
Spellman, Gladys (ND) -
Koch, Edward (NY) -
Rosenthal, Benjamin (NY) -

15 00 Koç
Bezmen
İlkel
Savaş

William Broomfield (R, Mich) -

16 30 Berker
Kocatopçu
Arman

Sam Steiger (R, Ariz) -

17 30 Bütün Grup

T.C. Büyük Elçiliği

SALI, EYLÜL 9, 1975

10 00 Bütün Grup

ARLINGTON Meçhul Asker Anıtında
Kore'de Şehit Türk Askerleri için
merasim

11 30 Akçağlılar
Kocatopçu
Savaş

JAS.JONES (D, Okla) +

12 00	Kamhi Burla	HAYS WAYNE .(O.Ohio) +
	Kamhi Burla	ELLIOTT LEVITAS (D, Ga) -
	Kamhi Burla	LESTER WOLFF (D, NY) -
13 00	Berker Kılıç	BARBARA BRIGHT SAGNIER (Yazar) WASHINGTON POST
13 00	Koç Narin	SILVIO CONTE (R, Mass) -
13 30	Akçağlılar Savaş Kocatopçu	KENNETH GRAY (Kongre eski üyesi)
13 30	Özakar Bezmen Arman	KENNETH ROBINSON (R, Va) +
14 00	Gazioğlu İlkel	JOHN DENT (D, Pa) +
14 30	Gazioğlu İlkel	CLEMENT ZABLOCKI (D, Wisc) +
15 30	Berker Kılıç	MANUEL LUJAN, JR. (R, NM) -
16 00	Koç Narin Arman	TOM RAILSBACK (R, Ill) +
16 15	Özakar İlkel	JIM WRIGHT (D, Tex) +
17 00	Berker Kılıç	JAMES SYMINGTON (D, Mo) +

ÇARŞAMBA, EYLÜL 10, 1975

9 00	Özakar İlkel Gazioğlu	JOHN SLACK (D, WV) +
9 30	Arman Savaş Burla Bezmen	HAROLD JOHNSON (D, Cal) - 2347 Rayburn

10 00	Özakat İlkel Gazioğlu	DEL CLAWSON (R, Cal) -
10 00	Berker Kocatopçu Akçağlılar	CHARLES RANGEL (D, NY) - Zenci Lideri (İki Asistanı-GEORGE A.DALLE)
11 00	Berker Kocatopçu Akçağlılar	THOMAS "DOC" MORGAN (D, Pa) + Uluslararası İlişkiler Komitesi Başkanı
11 00	Arman Gazioğlu	THOMAS O'NEILL (D, Mass) - Çoğunluk Lideri
11 45	Kamhi Arman Gazioğlu	OLIN TEAGUE (D, Tex) +
12 00	Koç Bezmen Narin Kocabıyık	Rotari Klüp Yemeği Washington Hotel
12 30	Berker Burla Akçağlılar Özakat İlkel Kamhi	SEN.HENRY BELLMON Yemeği SEN.HARRY F.BYRD SEN.WILLIAM E.BROCK SEN.ALAN CRANSTON SEN.JAMES PEARSON SEN.WILLIAM V.ROTH
12 30	Arman Kılıç Savaş Kocatopçu	U.S.NEWS ve WORLD REPORT Yemeği (Nizar Jwaideh, Alex Campbell, Howard Handelman, Joe Fromm)
13 30	Gazioğlu Savaş	JOHN SIEBERLING (D, Ohio) -
14 00	Koç Bezmen	RONALD SARASIN (R, Conn) -
14 00	Kamhi Burla	JOSHUA EILBERG (D, Pa) -
14 00	Narin Kocabıyık	LEO RYAN (D, Cal) +

14 30	Berker Arman Kılıç	CROSBY NOYES Mülâkatı (WASHINGTON STAR)
15 30	Kocabıyık Savaş Narin Koç Kılıç	PIERRE DUPONT (R, Del) -
15 30	Berker Burla Arman Kocatopçu Akçağlılar	JOHN BRADEMAs (D, Ind) - PAUL SARBANES (D, Bal) -
16 00	Koç Narin İlkel	WILLIAM WHITEHURST (R, Va) -
18 30	Bütün Grup	T.C. Büyükelçiliği Daveti
19 00	Berker Kocatopçu Koç Burla	SEN. JACOB K. JAVITS (R. NY)

PERŞEMBE, EYLÜL 11, 1975

9 00	Özakat İlkel Gazioğlu	JAMES MARTIN (R, NCar) -
9 30	Berker Burla Kamhi Koç	SKIP BAFALIS (R, Fla) -
11 00	Gazioğlu Savaş	ROBERT HUNTER (SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY'nin Dış İlişkiler Danışmanı)
11 45	Kocatopçu Savaş Narin Bezmen	FRED ROONEY (D, Pa) -
12 00	Koç İlkel Arman	RONALD SARASIN (R, Conn) -
12 00	Akçağlılar Özakat Kocabıyık	HARLEY STAGGERS (D, WV) +
13 00	Burla Kamhi	ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN (D, NY) -
13 30	Bezmen Kılıç Savaş İlkel	DANA A.SCHMIDT Kongrede afyon konusunda tartışma
14 00	Kamhi Burla	RICHARD OTTINGER (D, NY) -
15 00	Berker Koç	ANDREW HINSHAW (R, Cal)
15 30	Berker Narin Kocatopçu Uras	DOUGLAS KENNA National Association of Manufacturers (Sanayiciler Milli Birliği)
16 00	Kamhi Burla	ABNER MIKVA (D, Ill) -

16 00	Kılıç Koç Savaş Arman	JAMES OBERSTAR (D, Minn) - (Kongre eski üyesi John Blatnik-D, Minn)
16 00	Bezmen Özakat Kamhi Burla	JONATHAN BINGHAM (D, NY) +
17 00	Berker Koç	JOHN ROUSSELOT (R, Cal) -

CUMA, EYLÜL 12, 1975

9 00	Koç Burla	G.V.(SONNY) MONTGOMERY (D, Miss) +
9 00	Özakat Kocabıyık	CHARLES WIGGINS (R, Cal) +
9 30	Gazioğlu Bezmen Savaş	BARBARA JORDAN (D, Tex) -
11 00	Bütün Grup	Başkan FORD, Beyaz Saray ziyareti (Dışişleri Bakanı KISSINGER)
14 00	Berker Kılıç Akçağlılar	MELVIN PRICE (D, Ill) -
15 00	Berker Kılıç Akçağlılar Özakat	HENRY REUSS (D, Milw) -
16 00	Berker Akçağlılar Koç	HARMAN CURBY Dışişleri Bakanlığı Türkiye Masası Başkanı
16 45	Özakat Kılıç	MARJORIE HOLT (R, Md) -
16 45	Berker Kocatopçu Akçağlılar	MADDEN RAY J (D.Ind) -

CUMARTESİ, EYLÜL 13, 1975

9 29

New York'a varış (Pierre Hotel)

PAZAR, EYLÜL 14, 1975

PAZARTESİ, EYLÜL 15, 1975

9 15 Bütün Grup

CONFERENCE BOARD'da toplantı
ALEXANDER TROWBRIDGE
CLARK THOMSON

10 30 Berker
Koç
Kılıç
Akçağlılar
Burla

NEW YORK TIMES
Mr. James Greenfield
Foreign Editor
Mr. Graham Howey
Editorial Writer
Mr. Peter Gross
Editorial Writer

12 30 Bütün Grup

First National City Bank Yemeği
G.A. Costanzo
L. Olsen
B.C. Wehrman
R.E. Jerkhorn
A. Sarkissian
Sıtkı Çoşkun, Konsolos

18 00 Bütün Grup

The Conference Board Yemeği
Waldorf Astoria Hotel
Konuşmacı: Donald Rumsfeld, A.B.D.
Başkanı Danışmanı
A.B.D.'nin en büyük 150
firmasının en yetkili
kişileri
(Toplantıya katılanların
listesi eklidir.)

SALI, EYLÜL 16, 1975

11 00 Bütün Grup

Inter Public'de, yapılan tanıtma çar-
lışmalarının değerlendirilmesi

12 30 Bütün Grup

FORTUNE MAGAZINE yemeği
İlter Türkmen
Edward Patric Lenaham
Lewis Beman
Thomas Curtin
Charles Whittingham
Noble Dougherty

15 00	Bütün grup	MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST'ı ziyaret Renier De Vries Vice Pres.(economist) Walter Cadette Economist Godfely T.Rouslover Vice Pres. Tom Salley Asst.Tress. Rochey Wagnes Vice Pres.
17 30	Bütün grup	American Turkish Society Daveti (Türk ve yabancı iş adamları basın temsilcileri) St.Regis Hotel

ÇARŞAMBA, EYLÜL 17, 1975

9 30	Bütün grup	World Trade Center'ı ziyaret
12 30	Bütün grup	Tanınmış İş Adamları ile yemek St.Regis Hotel (Sıtkı Çoşkun Konsolos)
16 00	Berker Kılıç Arman	NEWSWEEK Mülakatı Russell J.Melvin Vice President Robert Christopher Russell Watson Dave Pauly Milt Benjamin

KONGRE ÜYELERİ İLE GÖRÜŞMELER

24 Temmuz 1975 Oylaması Sonuçları

206 Müspet
226 Menfi
5 Oylamada bulunmayan üye

Görüşmeler

21 Müspet
39 Menfi
2 Oylamada Bulunmayanlar
62 Toplam Temsilciler Meclisi Üyesi

Ayrıca 8 senatör ile görüşülmüştür.

— Görüşülenler

() Görüşme Günü

24 TEMMUZ 1975 OYLAMASINDA

MÜSPET - TÜRKİYE LEHİNE OY KULLANAN KONGRE ÜYELERİ

Abdnor	Burleson, Tex.	Evins, Tenn.
Alexander	Burlison, Mo.	Fenwick
Anderson, Ill	Butler	Findley
<u>Andrews</u> (4)	Casey	Fish
N.Dak,	Cederberg	Flowers
Archer	Chapell	Flynt
Armstrong	Clausen,	Forsythe
Ashley	Don H.	Fountain
Baldus	Cleveland	Fraser
Beard, Tenn.	Cochran	Frenzel
Bell	Cohen	Frey
Bevill	Collins, Tex.	Fuqua
Biester	Conable	Gibbons
<u>Bingham</u> (4)	Daniel, Dan	Gilman
Bolling	Daniel, R.W.	Goldwater
Bowen	de la Garza	Gonzalez
Breaux	<u>Dent</u> (2)	Goodling
Breckinridge	Devine	Gradison
Brinkley	Dickinson	Grassley
<u>Broomfield</u> (1)	Duncan, Oreg.	Guyer
Brown, Mich.	Edwards, Ala.	Hagedorn
Brown, Ohio	English	<u>Hamilton</u> (p)
Broyhill	Erlenborn	Hammer-
Buchanan	Eshleman	schmidt
Burgener	Evans, Colo.	Hansen
		Harsha

Hastings	Krueger	Michel
<u>Hays, Ohio</u> (2)	Lagomarsino	Milford
Hébert	Landrum	Mills
Henderson	Latta	Mitchell, N.Y.
Hicks	Legett	<u>Montgomery</u> (5)
Hightower	Litton	Moore
Hillis	Lloyd, Calif.	Moorhead, Pa.
Horton	<u>Long, La.</u> (4)	<u>Morgan</u> (3)
Hubbard	Lott	Mosher
Hungate	McClory	Murtha
Hutchinson	McCloskey	Myers, Ind.
Ichord	McCollister	Myers, Pa.
Jarman	McCormack	Nichols
Jeffords	McDonald	Obey
Johnson, Colo.	McEwen	Passman
Johnson, Pa.	<u>McFall</u> John J. (1)	Perkins
Jones, Ala.	McKay	Pettis
Jones, N.C.	Madigan	Pickle
<u>Jones, Okla.</u> (2)	Mahon	Poage
Jones, Tenn.	Mann	Preyer
Karth	Mathis	Pritchard
Kasten	Matsunaga	Quie
Kazen	Mazzolli	Quillen
Kemp	Meeds	<u>Railsback</u> (2)
Ketchum	Melcher	Randall
Kindness	Meyner	Rees

Rhodes	<u>Symington</u> (2)
Risenhoover	Symms
Roberts	Talcott
<u>Robinson</u> (2)	Taylor, Mo.
Rogers	<u>Teague</u> (3)
Ruppe	Thone
<u>Ryan</u> (3)	Thornton
Satterfield	Treen
Schneebeli	Ullman
Schulze	Van Deerlin
Sebelius	Vander Jagt
Shriyer	Waggonner
Shuster	Walsh
Sikes	Wampler
Sisk	Whalen
Skubitz	White
<u>Slack</u> (3)	Whitten
Smith, Nebr.	<u>Wiggins</u> (5)
Snyder	Wilson, Bob.
Solarz	Wilson, C.H.
<u>Staggers</u> (4)	Wilson, Tex.
Stanton,	Winn
J. William	<u>Wright</u> (2)
Steed	Wylie
Steiger, Wis.	Young, Alaska
Stephens	Young, Fla.
Stratton	Young, Tex.
Stuckey	<u>Zablocki</u> (2)

24 TEMMUZ 1975 OYLAMASINDA

MENFİ - TÜRKİYE ALEYHİNE OY KULLANAN KONGRE ÜYELERİ

<u>Abzug</u> (1)	Boland	Crane
Adams	Bonker	D'Amours
Addabbo	<u>Brademas</u> (3)	Daniels, N.J.
Ambro	Brodhead	Davis
Anderson,	Brooks	Delaney
Calif	Brown, Calif.	Dellums
Andrews, N.C.	Burke, Calif.	Derrick
Annunzio	Burke, Fla.	Derwinski
Ashbrook	Burke, Mass.	Diggs
Aspin	Burton John	Dingell
AuCoin	Burton, Phillip	Dodd
Badillo	Byron	Downey, N.Y.
<u>Bafalis</u> (4)	Carney	Downing, Va.
Barrett	Carr	Drinan
Baucus	Chisholm	Duncan, Tenn.
Bauman	Clancy	<u>du Pont</u> (3)
Beard, R.I.	<u>Clawson, Del.</u> (3)	Early
Bedell	Clay	Eckhardt
Bennett	Collins, Ill.	Edgar
Bergland	Conlan	Edwards, Calif.
Biaggi	<u>Conte</u> (2)	<u>Eilberg</u> (3)
Blanchard	Conyers	Emery
Blouin	Corman	Esch
Boggs	Cornell	Evans, Ind.
	Cotter	Fary
	Coughlin	Fascell

Fisher	Howard	Metcalfe
Fithian	Howe	<u>Mezvinsky</u> (1)
Flood	Hughes	<u>Mikva</u> (4)
Florio	Hyde	Miller, Calif.
Foley	Jacobs	Miller, Ohio.
Ford, Mich.	Jenrette	Mineto
Ford, Tenn.	<u>Johnson, Calif.</u> (3)	Minish
Gaydos	<u>Jordan</u> (5)	Mink
Glaimo	Kastenmeier	Mitchell, Md.
Ginn	Kelly	Moakley
Green	Keys	Moffett
Gude	<u>Koch</u> (1)	Mollohan
Haley	Krebs	Moorhead,
Hall	LaFalce	Calif.
Hanley	<u>Lehman</u> (1)	Moss
Hannaford	Lent	Mottl
Harkin	<u>Levitas</u> (2)	Murphy, Ill
Harrington	Lloyd, Tenn.	Murphy, N.Y.
Harris	Long, Md.	Natcher
Hawkins	<u>Lujan</u> (2)	Neal
Hayes, Ind.	McDade	Nedzi
Hechler, W.Va.	McHugh	Nix
Heckler, Mass.	McKinney	Nolan
Hefner	Macdonald	Nowak
Helstoski	<u>Madden</u> (5)	<u>Oberstar</u> (4)
Holland	Maguire	O'Brien
<u>Holt</u> (5)	<u>Martin</u> (4)	O'Hara
<u>Holtzman</u> (4)		

O'Neill (3)
Ottinger (4)
Patman, Tex.
Patten, N.J.
Patterson,
 Calif.
Pattison, N.Y.
Pepper
Peyser
Pike
Pressler
Price (5)
Rangel (6)
Regula
Reuss (7)
Richmond (1)
Riegle
Rinaldo
Rodino
Roe
Roncalio
Rooney (4)
Rose
Rosenthal (1)
Rostenkowski
Roush
Rousselot (4)
Roybal

Runnels
Russo
St Germain
Santini
Sarasin (3/4)
Sarbanes (3)
Scheuer (1)
Schroeder
Seiberling (3)
Sharp
Shipley
Simon
Smith, Iowa
Spellman (1)
Spence
Stanton,
 James V.
Stark
Steelman
Steiger, Ariz. (1)
Stokes
Studds
Sullivan
Taylor, N.C.
Thompson
Traxler
Tsongas
Udall

Vander Veen
Vanik
Vigorito
Waxman (1)
Weaver
Whitehurst (3)
Wirth
Wolff (2)
Wydler
Yates (1)
Yatron
Young, Ga.
Zeferetti

Oylamada Bulunmayanlar
Carter
Danielsan
Fulton
Heinz
Hinshaw (4)



THE CONFERENCE BOARD

Yemek Daveti
15 Eylül 1975
The Waldorf Astoria

* * * * *

BAŞKAN

Fletcher L. Byrom
Chairman
Koppers Company, Inc.

KONUŞMACI

Donald Rumsfeld
A.B.D. Başkanı Danışmanı

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Daniel S. Ahearn	Senior Vice President and Economist	Wellington Management Co.
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Hulbert S. Aldrich	Chairman	Hill Samuel Inc.
Dieter H. Ambros	President	BASF Wyandotte Corporation
William S. Anderson	Chairman and President	NCR Corporation
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Robinson F. Barker	Chairman of the Board	PPG Industries, Inc.
W. Gardner Barker	Chairman of the Board	Thomas J. Lipton, Inc.
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William O. Beers	Chairman of the Board	Kraftco Corporation
David Beretta	Chairman and President	UNIROYAL, Inc.
Feyyaz Berker	Chairman of the Board	Tekfen Industry and Trading Co., Inc.
John F. Betts	Director	Interpace Corporation
Fuat Bezmen	Chairman of the Board	Mensucat Santral, Textile Industries Group
Howard W. Blauvelt	Chairman and Chief Executive Officer	Continental Oil Company

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William W. Boeschenstein	President	Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corporation
M. R. Bohm	Vice Chairman	General Foods Corporation
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Harry Bridges	President	Shell Oil Company
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Fred Burla	Director	Burla Group of Companies
Jack K. Busby	President	Pennsylvania Power & Light Company
Nicholas J. Campbell, Jr.	Senior Vice President and Director	Exxon Corporation
Albert V. Casey	Chairman and President	American Airlines, Inc.
Todd G. Cole	President	C.I.T. Financial Corporation
John R. Conklin	President	The De Laval Separator Co.
C. W. Cook	Chairman of the Executive Committee	General Foods Corporation
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W. Donham Crawford	President	Edison Electric Institute
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Cris Dobbins	Chairman of the Board	Ideal Basic Industries, Inc.
B. R. Dorsey	Chairman of the Board	Gulf Oil Corporation
John E. Ellsworth	Chairman of the Board	E-B Industries, Inc.
Robert M. Finlayson	Partner	Ernst & Ernst
James D. Finley	Chairman of the Board	J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc.
Henry E. Fish	President	American Sterilizer Company
Shelton Fisher	Chairman of the Board	McGraw-Hill, Inc.
Paul Foley	Chairman and President	The Interpublic Group of Companies, Inc.
John M. Fox	President	H. P. Hood Inc.
David C. Garfield	Vice Chairman	Ingersoll-Rand Company

Muzaffer Gazioglu	Chairman of the Board	Gazioglu Trading and Manufacturing Group
W. H. Krome George	Chairman of the Board	Aluminum Company of America
Robert Gerber	Vice President - Research and Development	Hackensack Water Company
Kelly H. Gibson	Chairman	Westcoast Transmission Company Ltd.
Weldon B. Gibson	Executive Vice President	Stanford Research Institute
Carter H. Golembe	Chairman of the Board	Carter H. Golembe Associates, Inc.
Tatsuro Goto	President	Mitsui & Co. (U.S.A.), Inc.
Katharine Graham	Chairman of the Board	The Washington Post Company
John L. Grant	Executive Vice President	American Standard Inc.
Harry J. Gray	Chairman	United Technologies Corporation
David E. Guerrant	President	The Nestle Company, Inc.
John W. Hanley	President	Monsanto Company
F. Donald Hart	President	American Gas Association
William R. Hartman	President	Interpace Corporation
Robert S. Hatfield	Chairman of the Board	Continental Can Company, Inc.
Arthur Hauspurg	Executive Vice President	Consolidated Edison Company of New York, Inc.
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Ralph L. Hennebach	President	ASARCO Incorporated
Richard D. Hill	Chairman of the Board	The First National Bank of Boston
George P. Hitchings	Vice President and Director	MacKay-Shields Financial Corporation
Leo Hochstetter	Representative	Infoplan - Washington, D.C.
Neil D. Holden	Manager, Economic Services Department	Union Carbide Corporation
Walter S. Holmes	Chairman	C.I.T. Financial Corporation
Amory Houghton, Jr.	Chairman of the Board	Corning Glass Works
Reed O. Hunt	Director	Crown Zellerbach Corporation
Clarence E. Hunter	Former Senior Representative in Europe	U.S. Treasury
Frank N. Ikard	President	American Petroleum Institute

Jack B. Jackson	President	J. C. Penney Company, Inc.
Edward L. Johnson	Chairman and President	Financial Federation, Inc.
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.	Executive Director	National Urban League, Inc.
Jak Kamhi	Chairman of the Board	Profilo Holding Co., Inc.
James S. Kemper, Jr.	President	Kemper Insurance Companies
James R. Kennedy	Vice Chairman	Celanese Corporation
W. J. Kennedy III	President	North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company
Altamur Kilic	Publisher & Former Press Counsellor of Turkey	Washington, D. C.
O. Kim	Director	Korean Trade Association
Rahmi M. Koc	Vice Chairman and President	Koc Holding Co., Inc.
Howard J. Lang	Chairman	Canron Limited
R. Heath Larry	Vice Chairman	United States Steel Corporation
T. V. Learson	Director	IBM Corporation
William J. Ledbetter	Vice President-Finance	Textron Inc.
Frank A. LePage	Executive Vice President	The Firestone Tire & Rubber Company
Robert D. Lilley	President	American Telephone and Telegraph Company
David E. Lilienthal	Chairman and President	Development and Resources Corporation
John A. Love	President	Ideal Basic Industries, Inc.
Charles F. Luce	Chairman of the Board	Consolidated Edison Company of New York, Inc.
Walter T. Lucking	President	Hackensack Water Company
Gavin K. MacBain	Chairman	Bristol-Myers Company
Russell E. MacCleery	Vice President	Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association
Clark MacGregor	Vice President	United Technologies Corporation
Ian MacGregor	Chairman	AMAX Inc.
William V. Machaver	Vice President - Industrial Relations	Sun Chemical Company
Donald S. MacNaughton	Chairman of the Board	The Prudential Insurance Company of America
Richard B. Madden	President	Potlatch Corporation
Arman Manukyan	President	Manukyan Brothers Co.

William A. Marquard	President	American Standard Inc.
Edmund F. Martin	Former Chairman	Bethlehem Steel Corporation
Walter A. Marting	Chairman, Executive Committee	The Hanna Mining Company
James P. McFarland	Chairman of the Board	General Mills, Inc.
Harold W. McGraw, Jr.	President	McGraw-Hill, Inc.
James W. McKee, Jr.	President	CPC International Inc.
Gordon W. McKinley	Senior Vice President	McGraw-Hill, Inc.
W. Earle McLaughlin	Chairman and President	The Royal Bank of Canada
James W. McSwiney	Chairman of the Board	The Mead Corporation
G. William Miller	Chairman of the Board	Textron Inc.
Alfred F. Miossi	Executive Vice President	Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co. of Chicago
David E. Mitchell	President	Alberta Energy Company, Ltd.
William T. Moran	Director of Marketing Research	Lever Brothers Company
Malcolm Muir	Former Chairman of the Board	Newsweek, Inc.
J. Wilson Newman	Chairman, Finance Committee	Dun & Bradstreet Cos., Inc.
General Lauris Norstad	Director	Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corporation
Nelson L. North	Chairman of the Board	The City National Bank of Connecticut
James J. O'Leary	Vice Chairman	United States Trust Company
Reginald B. Oliver	Director of Research	Pershing & Co., Inc.
John D. Ong	President	The B.F. Goodrich Company
W. Irving Osborne, Jr.	Director	Pullman Incorporated
Melih Ozakat	Chairman of the Board	EMC Group and Ozakat Holding Co., Inc.
Edward L. Palmer	Chairman of the Executive Committee	First National City Bank
H. Bruce Palmer	Former President	The Conference Board
Choong Hoon Park	President	Korean Trade Association
Jack S. Parker	Vice Chairman of the Board	General Electric Company
Eugene R. Perry	Corporate Consultant	NVF Company
John B.M. Place	Chairman and President	The Anaconda Company
Kenneth A. Randall	Chairman of the Board	United Virginia Bankshares Inc.
Dennis A. Reider	Executive Vice President	The Interpublic Group of Companies, Inc.

Robert W. Reneker	Chairman of the Board	Esmark, Inc.
Liston G. Rice, Jr.	Assistant Vice President, Corporate Relations	Texas Instruments Inc.
Richard A. Riley	President	The Firestone Tire & Rubber Company
Norman Robertson	Senior Vice President and Chief Economist	Mellon Bank N.A.
James E. Robison	Chairman, Finance Committee	Indian Head Inc.
W. F. Rockwell, Jr.	Chairman of the Board	Rockwell International Corporation
J. B. St. Clair	President	Shell Chemical Company
K. Satta	Vice President	Mitsui & Co. (U.S.A.), Inc.
Vural Savas		Turkuman
Boyd F. Schenk	Chairman of the Board and President	Pet Incorporated
Marvin Schiller	Vice President	A. T. Kearney, Inc.
David C. Scott	Chairman and President	Allis-Chalmers Corporation
Horace A. Shepard	Chairman of the Board	TRW Inc.
Mark Shepherd, Jr.	President	Texas Instruments Inc.
George L. Shinn	Chairman of the Board	The First Boston Corporation
Richard R. Shinn	President	Metropolitan Life Insurance Company
Andrew C. Sigler	President	Champion International
Arthur J. R. Smith	President	The Conference Board in Canada
Roger B. Smith	Executive Vice President	General Motors Corporation
W. Cordes Snyder, Jr.	Chairman	Blaw-Knox Company
Nolan B. Sommer	Senior Vice President	American Cyanamid Company
Hans Stauffer	Former President	Stauffer Chemical Company
E. L. Steiniger	Corporate Director	Sinclair Oil Corporation
Whitney Stevens	President	J. P. Stevens & Co., Inc.
Simon D. Strauss	Executive Vice President	ASARCO Incorporated
John H. Sweet	President	U.S. News & World Report
O. Pendleton Thomas	Chairman of the Board	The B.F. Goodrich Company
Alexander B. Trowbridge	President	The Conference Board

William I.M. Turner, Jr.	President	Consolidated-Bathurst Limited
T. Gungor Uras	Secretary General	Turkish Industrialists & Businessman's Association
C. William Verity	Chairman	Armco Steel Corporation
George R. Vila	Director	UNIROYAL, Inc.
Robert S. Villanueva	Senior Economist	General Electric Company
Martha R. Wallace	Vice President and Director	The Henry Luce Foundation, Inc.
Leslie H. Warner	Chairman of the Board	General Telephone and Electronics Corporation
Stuart D. Watson	Chairman of the Board	Heublein, Inc.
Norman A. Weintraub	Director of Research	International Brotherhood of Teamsters
Ralph A. Weller	Chairman of the Board	Otis Elevator Company
Frederic W. West, Jr.	President	Bethlehem Steel Corporation
Margaret S. Wilson	Chairman	Scarbroughs
Richard D. Wood	Chairman of the Board	Eli Lilly and Company
Charles J. Zwick	President	Southeast Banking Corporation

STAFF

George H. Brown	Corporate Secretary
Stuart R. Clarkson	Director, Conferences
Stuart C. Dobson	Vice President, Publications & Communications
Walter A. Hamilton	Vice President, Public Affairs Research
David G. Moore	Executive Vice President, Research
James K. Ramsey	Director, Service Extension
Albert T. Sommers	Senior Vice President & Chief Economist
G. Clark Thompson	Senior Vice President, Development
Francis J. Walsh, Jr.	Vice President, Finance

A B D SENATÖRLERİ

DEMOKRATLAR (60) Normal Punto ile Yazılı İsimler
 CUMHURİYETÇİLER (37) İtalik Punto ile Yazılı İsimler
 KONSERVATİF-CUMHURİYETÇİ (1) Küçük Puntolu Büyük Harfli
 BAĞIMSIZ (1) Büyük Puntolu Büyük Harfli
 KARARSIZ (1)
 TOPLAM (100)

Abourezk, James Rapid City, S. Dak.
 Allen, James B. Gadsden, Ala.
 Baker, Howard H., Jr. Huntsville, Tenn.
 Bartlett, Dewey F. Tulsa, Okla.
 Bayh, Birch Terre Haute, Ind.
 Beall, J. Glenn, Jr. Frostburg, Md.
 Bellmon, Henry Billings, Okla.
 Bentsen, Lloyd M. Houston, Tex.
 Biden, Joseph R., Jr. Wilmington, Del.
 Brock, William E., 3d Lookout Mountain, Tenn.
 Brooke, Edward W. Newton Centre, Mass.
 BUCKLEY, JAMES L. New York City, N.Y.
 Bumpers, Dale Charleston, Ark.
 Burdick, Quentin N. Fargo, N. Dak.
 BYRD, HARRY F., JR. Winchester, Va.
 Byrd, Robert C. Sophia, W. Va.
 Cannon, Howard W. Las Vegas, Nev.
 Case, Clifford P. Rahway, N.J.
 Chiles, Lawton Lakeland, Fla.
 Church, Frank Boise, Idaho.
 Clark, Dick Marion, Iowa.
 Crauston, Alan Los Angeles, Calif.
 Culver, John C. Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
 Curtis, Carl T. Minden, Nebr.
 Dole, Bob Russell, Kans.
 Domenici, Pete V. Albuquerque, N. Mex.
 Eagleton, Thomas F. St. Louis, Mo.
 Eastland, James O. Doddsville, Miss.
 Fannin, Paul J. Phoenix, Ariz.
 Fong, Hiram L. Honolulu, Hawaii.
 Ford, Wendell H. Owensboro, Ky.
 Garn, Jake Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Glenn, John Columbus, Ohio.
 Goldwater, Barry Scottsdale, Ariz.
 Gravel, Mike Anchorage, Alaska.
 Griffin, Robert P. Traverse City, Mich.
 Hansen, Clifford P. Jackson, Wyo.
 Hart, Gary Denver, Colo.
 Hart, Philip A. Mackinac Island, Mich.
 Hartke, Vance Evansville, Ind.
 Haskell, Floyd K. Littleton, Colo.
 Hatfield, Mark O. Salem, Oreg.
 Hathaway, William D. Auburn, Maine.
 Helms, Jesse Raleigh, N.C.
 Hollings, Ernest F. Charleston, S.C.
 Hruska, Roman L. Omaha, Nebr.
 Huddleston, Walter (Dee) Elizabethtown, Ky.
 Humphrey, Hubert H. Waverly, Minn.
 Inouye, Daniel K. Honolulu, Hawaii.
 Jackson, Henry M. Everett, Wash.

Javits, Jacob K. New York City, N.Y.
 Johnston, J. Bennett Shreveport, La.
 Kennedy, Edward M. Boston, Mass.
 Laxalt, Paul Carson City, Nev.
 Leahy, Patrick J. Burlington, Vt.
 Long, Russell B. Baton Rouge, La.
 McClellan, John L. Little Rock, Ark.
 McClure, James A. Payette, Idaho.
 McGee, Gale W. Laramie, Wyo.
 McGovern, George S. Mitchell, S. Dak.
 McIntyre, Thomas J. Laconia, N.H.
 Magnuson, Warren G. Seattle, Wash.
 Mansfield, Mike Missoula, Mont.
 Mathias, Charles McC., Jr. Frederick, Md.
 Metcalf, Lee Helena, Mont.
 Mondale, Walter F. Minneapolis, Minn.
 Montoya, Joseph M. Santa Fe, N. Mex.
 Morgan, Robert Lillington, N. C.
 Moss, Frank E. Salt Lake City, Utah.
 Muskie, Edmund S. Waterville, Maine.
 Nelson, Gaylord Madison, Wis.
 Nunn, Sam Perry, Ga.
 Packwood, Bob Portland, Oreg.
 Pastore, John O. Cranston, R. I.
 Pearson, James B. Prairie Village, Kans.
 Pell, Claiborne Newport, R. I.
 Percy, Charles H. Wilmette, Ill.
 Proxmire, William Madison, Wis.
 Randolph, Jennings Elkins, W. Va.
 Ribicoff, Abraham A. Hartford, Conn.
 Roth, William V., Jr. Wilmington, Del.
 Schweiker, Richard S. Worcester, Pa.
 Scott, Hugh Philadelphia, Pa.
 Scott, William Lloyd Fairfax, Va.
 Sparkman, John J. Huntsville, Ala.
 Stafford, Robert T. Rutland, Vt.
 Stennis, John C. De Kalb, Miss.
 Stevens, Theodore F. Anchorage, Alaska.
 Stevenson, Adlai E. Chicago, Ill.
 Stone, Richard (Dick) Tallahassee, Fla.
 Symington, Stuart St. Louis, Mo.
 Taft, Robert, Jr. Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Talmadge, Herman E. Lovejoy, Ga.
 Thurmond, Strom Aiken, S.C.
 Tower, John G. Wichita Falls, Tex.
 Tunney, John V. Riverside, Calif.
 Weicker, Lowell P., Jr. Greenwich, Conn.
 Williams, Harrison A., Jr. Westfield, N. J.
 Young, Milton R. La Moure, N. Dak.

A B D TEMSİLCİLERİ

DEMOKRATLAR (289) Normal Punto ile Yazılı İsimler
CUMHURİYETÇİLER (144) İtalik Punto ile Yazılı İsimler
BAĞIMSIZ (2)
TOPLAM (435)

<i>Abdnor, James</i>	Kennebec, S. Dak.	Carr, Bob	East Lansing, Mich.
Abzug, Bella S.	New York City, N. Y.	<i>Carter, Tim Lee</i>	Tompkinsville, Ky.
Adams, Brock	Seattle, Wash.	Casey, Bob	Houston, Tex.
Addabbo, Joseph P.	Ozone Park, N. Y.	<i>Cederberg, Elford A.</i>	Midland, Mich.
Albert, Carl	McAlester, Okla.	Chappell, Bill, Jr.	Ocala, Fla.
Alexander, Bill	Osceola, Ark.	Chisholm, Shirley	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ambro, Jerome A.	East Northport, N. Y.	<i>Clancy, Donald D.</i>	Cincinnati, Ohio.
Anderson, Glenn M.	Harbor City, Calif.	<i>Clausen, Don H.</i>	Crescent City, Calif.
<i>Anderson, John B.</i>	Rockford, Ill.	<i>Clawson, Del.</i>	Downey, Calif.
Andrews, Ike F.	Siler City, N. C.	Clay, William L.	St. Louis, Mo.
<i>Andrews, Mark.</i>	Mapleton, N. Dak.	<i>Cleveland, James C.</i>	New London, N. H.
Annunzio, Frank	Chicago, Ill.	<i>Cochran, Thad.</i>	Jackson, Miss.
<i>Archer, W. R.</i>	Houston, Tex.	<i>Cohen, William S.</i>	Bangor, Maine.
<i>Armstrong, William L.</i>	Johnstown, Ohio.	Collins, Cardiss	Chicago, Ill.
<i>Ashbrook, John M.</i>	Maumee, Ohio.	<i>Collins, James M.</i>	Dallas, Tex.
Ashley, Thomas L.	Racine, Wis.	<i>Conable, Barber B., Jr.</i>	Alexander, N. Y.
Aspin, Les	Forest Grove, Oreg.	<i>Conlan, John B.</i>	Phoenix, Ariz.
AuCoin, Les	Bronx, N. Y.	<i>Conte, Silvio O.</i>	Pittsfield, Mass.
Badillo, Herman	Fort Myers Beach, Fla.	Conyers, John, Jr.	Detroit, Mich.
<i>Bafalis, L. A. (Skip)</i>	Menomonic, Wis.	Corman, James C.	Van Nuys, Calif.
Baldus, Alvin	Philadelphia, Pa.	Cornell, Robert J.	DePere, Wis.
Barrett, William A.	Missoula, Mont.	Cotter, William R.	Hartford, Conn.
Baucus, Max	Easton, Md.	<i>Coughlin, Lawrence.</i>	Villanova, Pa.
<i>Bauman, Robert E.</i>	Cranston, R. I.	<i>Crane, Philip M.</i>	Mount Prospect, Ill.
Beard, Edward P.	Franklin, Tenn.	D'Amours, Norman E.	Manchester, N. H.
<i>Beard, Robin L.</i>	Spirit Lake, Iowa.	<i>Daniel, Robert W., Jr.</i>	Spring Grove, Va.
Bedell, Berkley	Los Angeles, Calif.	Daniel, W. C. (Dan)	Danville, Va.
<i>Bell, Alphonzo</i>	Jacksonville, Fla.	Daniels, Dominick V.	Jersey City, N. J.
Bennett, Charles E.	Roseau, Minn.	Danielson, George E.	Monterey Park, Calif.
Bergland, Bob	Jasper, Ala.	Davis, Mendel J.	Charleston, S. C.
Bevill, Tom	Bronx, N. Y.	de la Garza, E (Kika)	Mission, Tex.
Biaggi, Mario	Furlong, Pa.	Delaney, James J.	Long Island City, N. Y.
<i>Biester, Edward G., Jr.</i>	Bronx, N. Y.	Dellums, Ronald V.	Berkeley, Calif.
Bingham, Jonathan B.	Pleasant Ridge, Mich.	Dent, John H.	Ligonier, Pa.
Blanchard, James J.	Dubuque, Iowa.	Derrick, Butler	Edgefield, S. C.
Blouin, Michael T.	New Orleans, La.	<i>Derwinski, Edward J.</i>	Flossmoor, Ill.
Boggs, Corinne C. (Lindy)	Springfield, Mass.	<i>Devine, Samuel L.</i>	Columbus, Ohio.
Boland, Edward P.	Kansas City, Mo.	<i>Dickinson, William L.</i>	Montgomery, Ala.
Bolling, Richard	Ridgefield, Wash.	Diggs, Charles C., Jr.	Detroit, Mich.
Bonker, Don	Cleveland, Miss.	Dingell, John D.	Trenton, Mich.
Bowen, David R.	South Bend, Ind.	Dodd, Christopher J.	North Stonington, Conn.
Brademas, John	Crowley, La.	Downey, Thomas J.	West Islip, N. Y.
Breaux, John B.	Lexington, Ky.	Downing, Thomas N.	Newport News, Va.
Breckinridge, John	Columbus, Ga.	Drinan, Robert F.	Newton, Mass.
Brinkley, Jack	Beaumont, Tex.	<i>Duncan, John J.</i>	Knoxville, Tenn.
Brodhead, William M.	Birmingham, Mich.	Duncan, Robert	Gresham, Oreg.
Brooks, Jack	Urbana, Ohio.	<i>du Pont, Pierre S., 4th</i>	Rockland, Del.
<i>Broomfield, William S.</i>	Schoolcraft, Mich.	Early, Joseph D.	Worcester, Mass.
<i>Brown, Clarence J.</i>	Colton, Calif.	Eckhardt, Robert C.	Harris County, Tex.
<i>Brown, Garry E.</i>	Lenoir, N. C.	Edgar, Robert W.	Broomall, Pa.
Brown, George E., Jr.	Birmingham, Ala.	Edwards, Don	San Jose, Calif.
<i>Broyhill, James T.</i>	Rancho Santa Fe, Calif.	<i>Edwards, Jack</i>	Mobile, Ala.
<i>Buchanan, John</i>	Hollywood, Fla.	Eilberg, Joshua	Philadelphia, Pa.
<i>Burgener, Clair W.</i>	Milton, Mass.	<i>Emery, David F.</i>	Rockland, Maine.
<i>Burke, J. Herbert</i>	Los Angeles, Calif.	English, Glenn	Cordell, Okla.
Burke, James A.	Anson, Tex.	<i>Erlenborn, John N.</i>	Glen Ellyn, Ill.
Burke, Yvonne B.	Cape Girardeau, Mo.	<i>Esch, Marvin L.</i>	Ann Arbor, Mich.
Burleson, Omar	San Francisco, Calif.	<i>Eshleman, Edwin D.</i>	Lancaster, Pa.
Burlison, Bill D.	San Francisco, Calif.	Evans, David W.	Indianapolis, Ind.
Burton, John L.	Roanoke, Va.	Evans, Frank E.	Beulah, Colo.
Burton, Phillip	Frederick, Md.	Evins, Joe L.	Smithville, Tenn.
<i>Butler, M. Caldwell</i>	Youngstown, Ohio.	Fascell, Dante B.	Miami, Fla.
Byron, Goodloe E.		<i>Fenwick, Millicent</i>	Bernardsville, N. J.
Carney, Charles J.		<i>Findley, Paul</i>	Pittsfield, Ill.

<i>Fish, Hamilton, Jr.</i>	Millbrook, N.Y.	<i>Hutchinson, Edward</i>	St. Joseph, Mich.
Fisher, Joseph L.	Arlington, Va.	<i>Hyde, Henry J.</i>	Park Ridge, Ill.
Fithian, Floyd J.	Lafayette, Ind.	Ichord, Richard H.	Houston, Mo.
Flood, Daniel J.	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	Jacobs, Andrew, Jr.	Indianapolis, Ind.
Florio, James J.	Camden, N.J.	<i>Jarman, John</i>	Oklahoma City, Okla.
Flowers, Walter	Tuscaloosa, Ala.	<i>Jeffords, James M.</i>	Montpelier, Vt.
Flynt, John J., Jr.	Griffin, Ga.	Jenrette, John W., Jr.	North Myrtle Beach, S.C.
Foley, Thomas S.	Spokane, Wash.	<i>Johnson, Albert W.</i>	Smethport, Pa.
Ford, Harold E.	Memphis, Tenn.	Johnson, Harold T.	Roseville, Calif.
Ford, William D.	Taylor, Mich.	<i>Johnson, James P. (Jim)</i>	Fort Collins, Colo.
<i>Forsythe, Edwin B.</i>	Moorestown, N.J.	Jones, Ed	Yorkville, Tenn.
Fountain, L. H.	Tarboro, N.C.	Jones, James R.	Tulsa, Okla.
Fraser, Donald M.	Minneapolis, Minn.	Jones, Robert E., Jr.	Scottsboro, Ala.
<i>Frenzel, Bill</i>	Golden Valley, Minn.	Jones, Walter B.	Farmville, N.C.
<i>Frey, Louis, Jr.</i>	Winter Park, Fla.	Jordan, Barbara	Houston, Tex.
Fulton, Richard H.	Goodlettsville, Tenn.	Karth, Joseph E.	St. Paul, Minn.
Fuqua, Don	Altha, Fla.	<i>Kasten, Robert W., Jr.</i>	Milwaukee, Wis.
Gaydos, Joseph M.	McKeesport, Pa.	Kastenmeier, Robert W.	Sun Prairie, Wis.
Gialmo, Robert N.	North Haven, Conn.	Kazen, Abraham, Jr.	Laredo, Tex.
Gibbons, Sam M.	Tampa, Fla.	<i>Kelly, Richard</i>	Holiday, Fla.
<i>Gilman, Benjamin A.</i>	Middletown, N.Y.	<i>Kemp, Jack</i>	Hamburg, N.Y.
Ginn, Bo	Millen, Ga.	<i>Ketchum, William M.</i>	Bakersfield, Calif.
<i>Goldwater, Barry M., Jr.</i>	Woodland Hills, Calif.	Keys, Martha	Manhattan, Kans.
Gonzalez, Henry B.	San Antonio, Tex.	<i>Kindness, Thomas N.</i>	Hamilton, Ohio.
<i>Goodling, William F.</i>	Jacobus, Pa.	Koch, Edward I.	New York City, N.Y.
<i>Gradison, Willis D., Jr.</i>	Cincinnati, Ohio.	Krebs, John	Fresno, Calif.
<i>Grassley, Charles E.</i>	New Hartford, Iowa.	Krueger, Robert (Bob)	New Braunfels, Tex.
Green, William J.	Philadelphia, Pa.	LaFalce, John J.	Tonawanda, N.Y.
<i>Gude, Gilbert</i>	Bethesda, Md.	<i>Lagomarsino, Robert J.</i>	Ventura, Calif.
<i>Guyer, Tennyson</i>	Findlay, Ohio.	Landrum, Phil M.	Jasper, Ga.
<i>Hagedorn, Tom</i>	Truman, Minn.	<i>Latta, Delbert L.</i>	Bowling Green, Ohio.
Haley, James A.	Sarasota, Fla.	Leggett, Robert L.	Vallejo, Calif.
Hall, Tim L.	Dwight, Ill.	Lehman, William	North Miami Beach, Fla.
Hamilton, Lee H.	Columbus, Ind.	<i>Lent, Norman F.</i>	East Rockaway, N.Y.
<i>Hammerschmidt, John P.</i>	Harrison, Ark.	Levitas, Elliott H.	Atlanta, Ga.
Hanley, James M.	Syracuse, N.Y.	Litton, Jerry	Chillicothe, Mo.
Hannaford, Mark W.	Lakewood, Calif.	Lloyd, Jim	West Covina, Calif.
<i>Hansen, George</i>	Pocatello, Idaho.	Lloyd, Marilyn	Chattanooga, Tenn.
Harkin, Tom	Ames, Iowa.	Long, Clarence D.	Ruxton, Md.
Harrington, Michael J.	Beverly, Mass.	Long, Gillis W.	Alexandria, La.
Harris, Herbert E., 2d	Alexandria, Va.	<i>Lott, Trent</i>	Pascagoula, Miss.
<i>Harsha, William H.</i>	Portsmouth, Ohio.	<i>Lujan, Manuel, Jr.</i>	Albuquerque, N. Mex.
<i>Hastings, James F.</i>	Caneaden, N.Y.	<i>McClary, Robert</i>	Lake Bluff, Ill.
Hawkins, Augustus F.	Los Angeles, Calif.	<i>McCloskey, Paul N. (Pete), Jr.</i>	Menlo Park, Calif.
Hayes, Philip H.	Evansville, Ind.	<i>McCollister, John Y.</i>	Omaha, Nebr.
Hays, Wayne L.	Flushing, Ohio.	McCormack, Mike	Richland, Wash.
Hébert, F. Edward	New Orleans, La.	<i>McDade, Joseph M.</i>	Scranton, Pa.
Hechler, Ken	Huntington, W. Va.	McDonald, Larry	Marietta, Ga.
<i>Heckler, Margaret M.</i>	Wellesley, Mass.	<i>McEwen, Robert C.</i>	Ogdensburg, N.Y.
Hefner, W. G. (Bill)	Concord, N.C.	McFall, John J.	Manteca, Calif.
<i>Heinz, H. John, 3d</i>	Pittsburgh, Pa.	McHugh, Matthew F.	Ithaca, N.Y.
Helstoski, Henry	East Rutherford, N.J.	McKay, K. Gunn	Huntsville, Utah.
Henderson, David N.	Wallace, N. C.	<i>McKinney, Stewart B.</i>	Fairfield, Conn.
Hicks, Floyd V.	Tacoma, Wash.	Macdonald, Torbert H.	Malden, Mass.
Hightower, Jack	Vernon, Tex.	Madden, Ray J.	Gary, Ind.
<i>Hillis, Etwood</i>	Kokomo, Ind.	<i>Madigan, Edward R.</i>	Lincoln, Ill.
<i>Hinshaw, Andrew J.</i>	Newport Beach, Calif.	Maguire, Andrew	Ridgewood, N.J.
Holland, Kenneth L.	Camden, S.C.	Mahon, George H.	Lubbock, Tex.
<i>Holt, Marjorie S.</i>	Severna Park, Md.	Mann, James R.	Greenville, S.C.
Holtzman, Elizabeth	Brooklyn, N.Y.	<i>Martin, James G.</i>	Davidson, N.C.
<i>Horton, Frank</i>	Rochester, N. Y.	Mathis, Dawson	Albany, Ga.
Howard, James J.	Spring Lake Heights, N.J.	Matsunaga, Spark M.	Honolulu, Hawaii.
Howe, Allan T.	Salt Lake City, Utah.	Mazzoli, Romano L.	Louisville, Ky.
Hubbard, Carroll, Jr.	Mayfield, Ky.	Meeds, Lloyd	Everett, Wash.
Hughes, William J.	Ocean City, N.J.	Melcher, John	Forsyth, Mont.
Hungate, William L.	Troy, Mo.		

Meyner, Helen S.	Phillipsburg, N.J.	Rhodes, John J.	Mesa, Ariz.
Mezvinsky, Edward	Iowa City, Iowa.	Richmond, Frederick W.	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Michel, Robert H.	Peoria, Ill.	Riegle, Donald W., Jr.	Flint, Mich.
Mikva, Abner J.	Evanslon, Ill.	Rinaldo, Matthew J.	Union, N.J.
Millford, Dale	Grand Prairie, Tex.	Risenhouwer, Theodore M. (Ted)	Tahlequah, Okla.
Miller, Clarence E.	Lancaster, Ohio.	Roberts, Ray	McKinney, Tex.
Miller, George	Martinez, Calif.	Robinson, J. Kenneth	Winchester, Va.
Mills, Willbur D.	Kensett, Ark.	Rodino, Peter W., Jr.	Newark, N. J.
Mineta, Norman Y.	San Jose, Calif.	Roe, Robert A.	Wayne, N.J.
Minish, Joseph G.	West Orange, N.J.	Rogers, Paul G.	West Palm Beach, Fla.
Mink, Patsy T.	Waipahu, Hawaii.	Roncadio, Teno	Cheyenne, Wyo.
Mitchell, Donald J.	Herkimer, N. Y.	Rooney, Fred B.	Bethlehem, Pa.
Mitchell, Warren J.	Baltimore, Md.	Rose, Charles.	Fayetteville, N. C.
Moakley, John Joseph	Boston, Mass.	Rosenthal, Benjamin S.	Elmhurst, L.I., N. Y.
Moffett, Toby	Unionville, Conn.	Rostenkowski, Dan	Chicago, Ill.
Mollohan, Robert H.	Fairmont, W. Va.	Roush, J. Edward	Huntington, Ind.
Montgomery, G. V. (Sonny)	Meridian, Miss.	Roussacot, John H.	San Marino, Calif.
Moore, W. Henson	Baton Rouge, La.	Roybal, Edward R.	Los Angeles, Calif.
Moorhead, Carlos J.	Glendale, Calif.	Rumels, Harold	Lovington, N. Mex.
Moorhead, William S.	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Ruppe, Philip E.	Houghton, Mich.
Morgan, Thomas E.	Fredericktown, Pa.	Russo, Martin A.	Calumet Park, Ill.
Mosher, Charles A.	Oberlin, Ohio.	Ryan, Leo J.	South San Francisco, Calif.
Moss, John E.	Sacramento, Calif.	St Germain, Fernand J.	Woonsocket, R.I.
Mottl, Ronald M.	Parma, Ohio.	Santini, Jim	Las Vegas, Nev.
Murphy, John M.	Staten Island, N. Y.	Sarasin, Ronald A.	Beacon Falls, Conn.
Murphy, Morgan F.	Chicago, Ill.	Sarbancs, Paul S.	Baltimore, Md.
Murthu, John P.	Johnstown, Pa.	Satterfield, David E., 3d	Richmond, Va.
Myers, Gary A.	Butler, Pa.	Scheuer, James H.	Neponsit, N. Y.
Myers, John T.	Covington, Ind.	Schneebehl, Herman T.	Williamsport, Pa.
Natcher, William H.	Bowling Green, Ky.	Schroeder, Patricia	Denver, Colo.
Neal, Stephen L.	Winston-Salem, N. C.	Schulze, Richard T.	Malvern, Pa.
Nedzi, Lucien N.	Detroit, Mich.	Sebelius, Keith G.	Norton, Kans.
Nichols, William	Sylacauga, Ala.	Seiberling, John F.	Akron, Ohio.
Nix, Robert N. C.	Philadelphia, Pa.	Sharp, Philip R.	Muncie, Ind.
Nolan, Richard	Waite Park, Minn.	Shibley, George E.	Olney, Ill.
Nowak, Henry J.	Buffalo, N. Y.	Shriver, Garner E.	Wichita, Kans.
Oberstar, James L.	Chisholm, Minn.	Shuster, E. G. (Bud)	Everett, Pa.
Obry, David R.	Wausau, Wis.	Sikes, Robert L. F.	Crestview, Fla.
O'Brien, George M.	Joliet, Ill.	Simon, Paul	Carbondale, Ill.
O'Hara, James G.	Utica, Mich.	Sisk, B. F.	Fresno, Calif.
O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr.	Cambridge, Mass.	Skubitz, Joe	Pittsburg, Kans.
Ottinger, Richard L.	Pleasantville, N. Y.	Slack, John M., Jr.	Charleston, W. Va.
Passman, Otto E.	Monroe, La.	Smith, Neal	Altoona, Iowa.
Patman, Wright	Texarkana, Tex.	Smith, Virginia.	Chappell, Nebr.
Patten, Edward J.	Perth Amboy, N.J.	Snyder, M. G. (Gene)	Brownsboro Farms, Ky.
Patterson, Jerry M.	Santa Ana, Calif.	Solarz, Stephen J.	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pattison, Edward W.	West Sand Lake, N. Y.	Spellman, Gladys Noon	Laurel, Md.
Pepper, Claude	Miami, Fla.	Spence, Floyd	Lexington, S. C.
Perkins, Carl D.	Hindman, Ky.	Staggers, Harley O.	Keyser, W. Va.
Peyser, Peter A.	Irvington, N. Y.	Stanton, J. William	Painesville, Ohio.
Pickle, J. J. (Jake)	Austin, Tex.	Stanton, James V.	Cleveland, Ohio.
Pike, Otis G.	Riverhead, N. Y.	Stark, Fortney H. (Pete)	Oakland, Calif.
Poage, W. R.	Waco, Tex.	Steed, Tom	Shawnee, Okla.
Pressler, Larry	Humboldt, S. Dak.	Steelman, Alan	Mesquite, Tex.
Preyer, Richardson	Greensboro, N. C.	Steiger, Sam	Prescott, Ariz.
Price, Melvin	East St. Louis, Ill.	Steiger, William A.	Oshkosh, Wis.
Pritchard, Joel	Seattle, Wash.	Stephens, Robert G., Jr.	Athens, Ga.
Quie, Albert H.	Dennison, Minn.	Stokas, Louis	Cleveland, Ohio.
Quillen, James H.	Kingsport, Tenn.	Stratton, Samuel S.	Amsterdam, N. Y.
Railsback, Thomas F.	Moline, Ill.	Stuckey, W. S. (Bill)	Eastman, Ga.
Randall, Win. J.	Independence, Mo.	Studds, Gerry E.	Cohasset, Mass.
Rangel, Charles B.	New York City, N. Y.	Sullivan, Leonor K.	St. Louis, Mo.
Reas, Thomas M.	Los Angeles, Calif.	Symington, James W.	St. Louis County, Mo.
Regula, Ralph S.	Navarre, Ohio.	Symms, Steven D.	Caldwell, Idaho.
Reuss, Henry S.	Milwaukee, Wis.	Talcott, Burt L.	Salinas, Calif.

<i>Taylor, Gene</i>	Sarcocic, Mo.
<i>Taylor, Roy A</i>	Black Mountain, N.C.
<i>Teague, Olin E</i>	College Station, Tex.
<i>Thompson, Frank, Jr.</i>	Trenton, N.J.
<i>Thone, Charles</i>	Lincoln, Nebr.
<i>Thornton, Ray</i>	Sheridan, Ark.
<i>Traxler, Bob</i>	Bay City, Mich.
<i>Treen, David C</i>	Metairie, La.
<i>Tsongas, Paul E</i>	Lowell, Mass.
<i>Udall, Morris K.</i>	Tucson, Ariz.
<i>Ullman, Al</i>	Baker, Oreg.
<i>Van Deerlin, Lionel</i>	Chula Vista, Calif.
<i>Vander Jagt, Guy</i>	Luther, Mich.
<i>Vander Veen, Richard F.</i>	Grand Rapids, Mich.
<i>Vanik, Charles A.</i>	Euclid, Ohio.
<i>Vigorito, Joseph P.</i>	Eric, Pa.
<i>Waggonner, Joe D., Jr.</i>	Plain Dealing, La.
<i>Walsh, William F.</i>	Syracuse, N.Y.
<i>Wampler, William C.</i>	Bristol, Va.
<i>Waxman, Henry A</i>	Los Angeles, Calif.
<i>Weaver, James</i>	Eugene, Oreg.
<i>Whalen, Charles W., Jr.</i>	Dayton, Ohio.
<i>White, Richard C.</i>	El Paso, Tex.
<i>Whitehurst, G. William</i>	Norfolk, Va.
<i>Whitten, Jamie L.</i>	Charleston, Miss.
<i>Wiggins, Charles E.</i>	Fullerton, Calif.
<i>Wilson, Bob</i>	San Diego, Calif.
<i>Wilson, Charles</i>	Lufkin, Tex.
<i>Wilson, Charles H.</i>	Hawthorne, Calif.
<i>Winn, Larry, Jr.</i>	Overland Park, Kans.
<i>Wirth, Timothy E</i>	Denver, Colo.
<i>Wolff, Lester L.</i>	Grant Neck, N.Y.
<i>Wright, James C., Jr.</i>	Fort Worth, Tex.
<i>Wylder, John W.</i>	Garden City, N.Y.
<i>Wylie, Chalmers P.</i>	Worthington, Ohio.
<i>Yates, Sidney R.</i>	Chicago, Ill.
<i>Yatron, Gus</i>	Reading, Pa.
<i>Young, Andrew</i>	Atlanta, Ga.
<i>Young, C. W. Bill</i>	St. Petersburg, Fla.
<i>Young, Don</i>	Fort Yukon, Alaska.
<i>Young, John</i>	Corpus Christi, Tex.
<i>Zablocki, Clement J.</i>	Milwaukee, Wis.
<i>Zeferetli, Leo C.</i>	Brooklyn, N.Y.

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER

<i>Name</i>	<i>Home post office</i>
Bonitez, Jaime	Cayey, P.R.

DELEGATES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Home post office</i>
de Lugo, Ron	St. Croix, V.I.
Fauntroy, Walter E	Washington, D.C.
Won Pat, Antonio B	Sinajana, Guam.

A.B.D.KONGRE ÜYELERİ

SENATE OFFICIALS



Nelson A. Rockefeller
President of the Senate



James O. Eastland
President pro tempore



J. Stanley Kinnitt
Secretary for the Majority



W. F. Hildenbrand
Secretary for the Minority



Francis R. Valeo
Secretary



William H. Wadswell
Sergeant at Arms



Darrell St. Claire
Assistant Secretary of the Senate



Murray Zweben
Parliamentarian



Carl Albert
Speaker of the House



William H. Brown
Parliamentarian



W. Pat Jennings
Clerk



Kenneth R. Harding
Sergeant at Arms

CAPITOL OFFICIALS



James T. Molloy
Doorkeeper



Robert V. Roia
Postmaster



Rev. Edward L. R. Elson
Senate Chaplain



Rev. Edward G. Latch
House Chaplain



Sen. John J. Sparkman
of Huntsville
Democrat—Nov. 6, 1916



Sen. James B. Allen
of Columbia
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1969



George M. White
Architect of the Capitol



Dr. Freeman H. Cary
Attending Physician



Jack Edwards
of Mobile (1st Dist.)
Republican—6th term



William L. Dickinson
of Montgomery (2d Dist.)
Republican—6th term



William Nichols
of Sylacauga (3d Dist.)
Democrat—5th term



Tom Bevill
of Jasper (4th Dist.)
Democrat—5th term



Walter Flowers
of Tuscaloosa (7th Dist.)
Democrat—4th term



Sen. Theodore F. Stevens
of Anchorage
Republican—Dec. 21, 1968



Sen. Mike Gravel
of Anchorage
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1969



Robert E. Jones, Jr.
of Scottsboro (5th Dist.)
Democrat—15th term



John Buchanan
of Birmingham (6th Dist.)
Republican—6th term



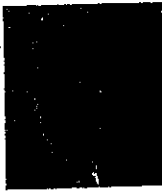
Don Young
of Fairbanks (at Large)
Republican—2d term

HOUSE OFFICIALS

ALABAMA

ALASKA

ARIZONA



Sen. Paul J. Fannin
of Phoenix
Republican—Jan. 3, 1965



Sen. Barry Goldwater
of Scottsdale
Republican—Jan. 3, 1969†



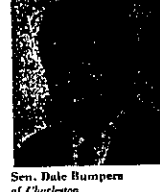
Sam Steiger
of Phoenix (3d Dist.)
Republican—5th term



John H. Conlan
of Phoenix (1st Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Sen. John L. McClellan
of Little Rock
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1943



Sen. Dale Bumpers
of Charleston
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1975



John J. Rhodes
of Mesa (1st Dist.)
Republican—12th term



Morris K. Udall
of Tucson (2d Dist.)
Democrat—8th term



Bill Alexander
of Otero (1st Dist.)
Democrat—4th term



Wilbur D. Mills
of Kansas (2d Dist.)
Democrat—19th term

CALIFORNIA



John P. Hammerschmidt
of Harrison (3d Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Ray Thornton
of Sheridan (4th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Sen. Alan Cranston
of Los Angeles
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1969



Sen. John V. Tunney
of Riverside
Democrat—Jan. 2, 1971



John E. Moss
of Sacramento (3d Dist.)
Democrat—12th term



Robert L. Leggett
of Vallejo (4th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Harold T. Johnson
of Roseville (1st Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



Don H. Clausen
of Menlo Park (3d Dist.)
Republican—7th term



John Burton
of San Francisco (5th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Phillip Burton
of San Francisco (6th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



George Miller
of Martinez (7th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Ronald V. Dellums
of Berkeley (8th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Leo J. Ryan
of South San Francisco
(11th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.
of Menlo Park (12th Dist.)
Republican—5th term



B. F. Sisk
of Fresno (15th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term



Bart L. Talbot
of Salinas (16th Dist.)
Republican—7th term



Fortney H. (Pete) Stark
of Oakland (9th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Dan Edwards
of San Jose (10th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Norman Y. Mineta
of San Jose (13th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



John J. McFall
of Modesto (18th Dist.)
Democrat—10th term

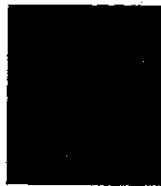


John Krebs
of Fresno (17th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



William M. Keetham
of Haverfield (10th Dist.)
Republican—2d term

CALIFORNIA



Robert J. Lagomarsino
of Ojai (19th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



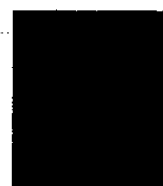
Barry M. Goldwater, Jr.
of Woodland Hills (20th Dist.)
Republican—4th term



Thomas M. Rees
of Los Angeles (23d Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Henry A. Waxman
of Los Angeles (24th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



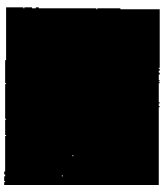
Alphonso Bell
of Los Angeles (27th Dist.)
Republican—8th term



Yvonne B. Bucke
of Los Angeles (28th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



James C. Cornum
of Van Nuys (21st Dist.)
Democrat—8th term



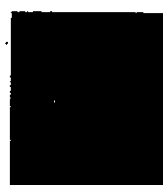
Carlos J. Moschred
of Glendale (22d Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Edward R. Roybal
of Los Angeles (25th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



John H. Rousset
of San Marino (26th Dist.)
Republican—5th term*



Augustus F. Hawkins
of Los Angeles (39th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



George E. Davidson
of Monterey Park (30th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Charles H. Wilson
of Hawthorne (31st Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Glenn M. Anderson
of Harbor City (32d Dist.)
Democrat—4th term



Jim Lloyd
of West Covina (35th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



George E. Brown, Jr.
of Colton (36th Dist.)
Democrat—6th term*



Charles E. Wiggins
of Fullerton (39th Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Andrew J. Minshaw
of Monterey Park (30th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Del Clawson
of Downey (33d Dist.)
Republican—7th term



Mark W. Mansueto
of Lakewood (34th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Jerry M. Patterson
of Santa Ana (38th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Bob Wilson
of San Diego (11st Dist.)
Republican—12th term



Lionel Van Derlin
of Chula Vista (12d Dist.)
Democrat—7th term

37th District—Vacant.

COLORADO



Clair W. Burgener
of Rancho Santa Fe (43d Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Sen. Floyd K. Haskell
of Littleton
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1973



Sen. Gary Hart
of Denver
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1975



Frank E. Evans
of Boulder (3d Dist.)
Democrat—4th term



James P. (Jim) Johnson
of Fort Collins (5th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Patricia Schroeder
of Denver (1st Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Timothy E. Wirth
of Denver (2d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



William L. Armstrong
of Duran (5th Dist.)
Republican—2d term

CONNECTICUT



Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff
of Hartford
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1963



Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
of Greenwich
Republican—Jan. 3, 1971



Robert N. Glinimo
of North Haven (3d Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



Stewart D. McKinney
of Fairfield (6th Dist.)
Republican—3d term



Sen. William V. Roth, Jr.
of Wilmington
Republican—Jan. 1, 1971



Sen. Joseph R. Biden, Jr.
of Wilmington
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1973



William R. Gutter
of Hartford (1st Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Christopher J. Dodd
of South Stoughton (2d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Ronald A. Sarasin
of Southington (5th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Toby Moffett
of Unionville (6th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Pierre S. du Pont 4th
of Rockland (1st Large)
Republican—3d term

FLORIDA



Sen. Lawton Chiles
of Lakeland
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1971



Sen. Richard (Dick) Stuenkel
of Tallahassee
Democrat—Jan. 1, 1975



Charles E. Bennett
of Jacksonville (3d Dist.)
Democrat—14th term



Bill Clappell, Jr.
of Ocala (1th Dist.)
Democrat—1th term



Sam M. Gibbons
of Tampa (7th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



James A. Haley
of Sarasota (9th Dist.)
Democrat—12th term



Robert L. F. Sikes
of Crestview (1st Dist.)
Democrat—18th term



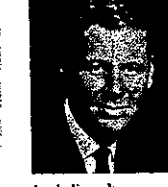
Don Fuqua
of Altus (2d Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Richard Kelly
of Holiday (5th Dist.)
Republican—1st term



C. W. Bill Young
of St. Petersburg (6th Dist.)
Republican—3d term



Louis Frey, Jr.
of Winter Park (9th Dist.)
Republican—1th term



L. A. (Skip) Bafalis
of Fort Myers Beach (10th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Paul G. Rogers
of West Palm Beach (11th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term



J. Herbert Burke
of Hollywood (12th Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Dante B. Fascell
of Miami (15th Dist.)
Democrat—13th term



William Telford
of North Miami Beach
(13th Dist.)
Democrat—24th term



Claude Pepper
of Miami (14th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term

GEORGIA



Sen. Herman E. Talmadge
of Lawrenceville
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1957



Sen. Sam Nunn
of Perry
Democrat—Nov. 3, 1972



Bo Ginn
of Milledgeville (1st Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Dawson Mathis
of Albany (2d Dist.)
Democrat—3d term

GEORGIA



Jack Brinkley
of Columbus (3d Dist.)
Democrat—5th term



Elliott H. Levitas
of Atlanta (4th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Larry McDonald
of Marietta (7th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



W. S. (Bill) Stuckey
of Eastman (8th Dist.)
Democrat—5th term



Sen. Hiram L. Fong
of Honolulu
Republican—Aug. 21, 1959



Sen. Daniel K. Inouye
of Honolulu
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1963



Andrew Young
of Atlanta (5th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



John J. Flynn, Jr.
of Griffin (6th Dist.)
Democrat—12th term



Phil M. Landrum
of Jasper (9th Dist.)
Democrat—12th term



Robert C. Stephens, Jr.
of Athens (10th Dist.)
Democrat—8th term



Spark M. Matsunaga
of Honolulu (1st Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Patsy T. Mink
of Waipahu (2d Dist.)
Democrat—6th term

IDAHO



Sen. Frank Church
of Boise
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1957



Sen. James A. McClure
of Pocatello
Republican—Jan. 3, 1973



Sen. Charles H. Percy
of Wilmette
Republican—Jan. 3, 1967



Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson
of Chicago
Democrat—Nov. 17, 1970



Martin A. Russo
of Chicago (3d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Edward J. Derwinski
of Bloomer (4th Dist.)
Republican—9th term



Steven D. Symms
of Caldwell (1st Dist.)
Republican—2d term



George Hansen
of Pocatello (2d Dist.)
Republican—3d term*



Ralph H. Metcalfe
of Chicago (1st Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Morgan F. Murphy
of Chicago (2d Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



5th District—Vacant



Henry J. Hyde
of Park Ridge (6th Dist.)
Republican—1st term



Cardias Collins
of Chicago (7th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Dan Rostenkowski
of Chicago (11th Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



Frank Annunzio
of Chicago (11th Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Phillip M. Crane
of Mount Prospect (12th Dist.)
Republican—4th term



Tim L. Hall
of Dwight (15th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



John B. Anderson
of Rockford (16th Dist.)
Republican—8th term



Sidney H. Yates
of Chicago (9th Dist.)
Democrat—13th term*



Abner J. Mikva
of Evanston (10th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term*



Robert McClary
of Lake Bluff (13th Dist.)
Republican—7th term



John N. Erlenborn
of Glen Ellyn (11th Dist.)
Republican—6th term



George M. O'Brien
of Joliet (17th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Robert H. Michel
of Peoria (18th Dist.)
Republican—10th term

HAWAII

ILLINOIS



Thomas F. Baileback
of Madison (19th Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Paul Findley
of Pinckney (20th Dist.)
Republican—8th term



Melvin Peter
of East St. Louis (23d Dist.)
Democrat—16th term



Paul Simon
of Carbondale (28th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term

INDIANA



Sen. Vance Hartke
of Evansville
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1979



Sen. Birch Bayh
of Terre Haute
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1963



Edward R. Mullan
of Lincoln (21st Dist.)
Republican—2d term



George E. Shipley
of Olney (22d Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



Roy J. Madole
of Gary (1st Dist.)
Democrat—17th term



Floyd J. Fithian
of Lafayette (2d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



John Brademas
of South Bend (3d Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



J. Edward Roush
of Huntington (4th Dist.)
Democrat—8th term*



John T. Myers
of Corington (7th Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Philip R. Hayes
of Evansville (8th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Andrew Jacobs, Jr.
of Indianapolis (11th Dist.)
Democrat—5th term*



Elwood Hillis
of Kokomo (5th Dist.)
Republican—3d term



David W. Evans
of Indianapolis (6th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Lee H. Hamilton
of Columbus (9th Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Philip R. Sharp
of Muncie (10th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term

IOWA



Sen. Dick Clark
of Marion
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1973



Sen. John C. Culver
of Cedar Rapids
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1975



Charles E. Grassley
of New Hartford (3d Dist.)
Republican—1st term



Neal Smith
of Altona (4th Dist.) -
Democrat—9th term

KANSAS



Sen. James B. Pearson
of Prairie Village
Republican—Jan. 31, 1962



Sen. Bob Dole
of Russell
Republican—Jan. 3, 1969



Edward Mezivinsky
of Iowa City (1st Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Michael T. Blouin
of Dubuque (2d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Tom Harkin
of Ames (5th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Berkeley Bedell
of Spirit Lake (10th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Keith G. Sebelius
of Norton (1st Dist.)
Republican—1th term



Martha Keys
of Manhattan (2d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term

KANSAS



Larry Winn, Jr.
of Overland Park (3d Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Joe Skulitz
of Pittsburg (5th Dist.)
Republican—7th term



Carl D. Perkins
of Hindsman (7th Dist.)
Democrat—14th term

KENTUCKY



Garner E. Shriver
of Wichita (4th Dist.)
Republican—8th term



Sen. Walter (Doc)
Huddleston
of Elizabethtown
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1973



Carroll Hubbard, Jr.
of Mayfield (1st Dist.)
Democrat—1st term

LOUISIANA



Sen. Russell B. Long
of Baton Rouge
Democrat—Dec. 31, 1978



F. Edward Hébert
of New Orleans (1st Dist.)
Democrat—18th term



Sen. Wendell H. Ford
of Owensboro
Democrat—Dec. 28, 1974



William H. Natcher
of Bowling Green (2d Dist.)
Democrat—12th term



Sen. J. Bennett Johnston
of Shreveport
Democrat—Nov. 14, 1972



Carlene C. (Lindy) Rogers
of New Orleans (2d Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Romano L. Mazzoli
of Louisville (3d Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Tim Lee Carter
of Tompkinsville (5th Dist.)
Republican—6th term



David C. Treen
of Monroe (3d Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Otto E. Passman
of Monroe (5th Dist.)
Democrat—15th term



M. G. (Gene) Snyder
of Brownsboro Farms (4th Dist.)
Republican—6th term*



John Breckinridge
of Lexington (6th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Joe D. Waggonner, Jr.
of Plain Dealing (4th Dist.)
Democrat—8th term



W. Henson Moore
of Baton Rouge (6th Dist.)
Republican—1st term

MAINE



John B. Breaux
of Goulet (7th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Willis W. Long
of Alexandria (8th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term*



Sen. Edward S. Muskie
of Waterville
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1959



David F. Emery
of Rockland (1st Dist.)
Republican—1st term



Sen. William D. Hathaway
of Auburn
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1973



William S. Cohen
of Bangor (2d Dist.)
Republican—2d term

MARYLAND



Sen. Charles McF. Mathias,
Jr., of Frederick
Republican—Jan. 3, 1969



Robert E. Bauman
of Easton (1st Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Sen. J. Glenn Beall, Jr.
of Frostburg
Republican—Jan. 3, 1971



Clarence B. Long
of Ruston (2d Dist.)
Democrat—7th term

MARYLAND



Paul S. Sarbanes
of Baltimore (3d Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Marjorie S. Holt
of Severna Park (1th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Farris J. Mitchell
of Baltimore (7th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Gilbert Gude
of Bethesda (1th Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Sen. Edward M. Kennedy
of Boston
Democrat—Nov. 7, 1962



Sen. Edward W. Brooke
of Newton Centre
Republican—Jan. 3, 1967



Charles Nason Spellman
of Laurel (5th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Condlree E. Tyson
of Frederick (6th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Silvio O. Conte
of Pittsford (1st Dist.)
Republican—9th term



Edward P. Boland
of Springfield (2d Dist.)
Democrat—12th term



Joseph D. Early
of Worcester (3d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Robert F. Drinnan
of Norton (1th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Herbert H. Macdonald
of Malden (7th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term



Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
of Cambridge (8th Dist.)
Democrat—12th term



James A. Buehler
of Milton (11th Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



Gerry E. Studds
of Colchester (12th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Paul E. Tsongas
of Lowell (5th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Michael J. Harrington
of Beverly (6th Dist.)
Democrat—1th term



John Joseph Moulhey
of Boston (9th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Margaret M. Hewler
of Woburn (10th Dist.)
Republican—5th term

MICHIGAN



Sen. Philip A. Hart
of Mackinac Island
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1959



Sen. Robert P. Griffin
of Traverse City
Republican—May 11, 1966



Garry E. Brown
of Schuylers (3d Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Edward Hutchinson
of St. Joseph (4th Dist.)
Republican—7th term



Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
of Flint (7th Dist.)
Democrat—5th term



Bob Trowler
of Bay City (8th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



John Conyers, Jr.
of Detroit (1st Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Marvin L. Eash
of Ann Arbor (2d Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Richard F. Vander Veent
of Grand Rapids (5th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Bob Carr
of East Lansing (6th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Guy Vander Jagt
of East Lansing (9th Dist.)
Republican—6th term



Elford A. Corderberg
of Midland (10th Dist.)
Republican—12th term

MICHIGAN



Philip E. Ruppe
of Houghton (16th Dist.)
Republican—5th term



James C. O'Hara
of Uice (12th Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



William B. Ford
of Taylor (16th Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



John D. Dingell
of Trenton (16th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term



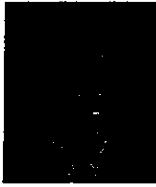
William S. Unsworth
of Birmingham (19th Dist.)
Republican—10th term



Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
of Detroit (13th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term



Lucien N. Nedzi
of Detroit (14th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term



William M. Brodehead
of Detroit (17th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term

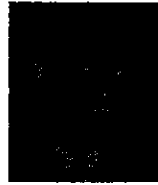


James J. Blanchard
of Pleasant Ridge (18th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term

MINNESOTA



Sen. Walter F. Mondale
of Minneapolis
Democrat—Dec. 30, 1964



Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey
of Waverly
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1971†



Bill Frenzel
of Golden Valley (1st Dist.)
Republican—3d term



Joseph E. Karth
of St. Paul (4th Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



Bob Berglund
of Rossmore (7th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



James L. Oberstar
of Chisholm (8th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Albert H. Quie
of Dennison (1st Dist.)
Republican—10th term



Tom Hagedorn
of Truman (2d Dist.)
Republican—1st term



Donald M. Fraser
of Minneapolis (5th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Richard Nolan
of White Park (6th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term

MISSISSIPPI



Sen. James O. Eastland
of Dicksville
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1943†



Sen. John C. Stennis
of De Kalb
Democrat—Nov. 5, 1947



G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery
of Meridian (3d Dist.)
Democrat—5th term



Thad Cochran
of Jackson (1th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Sen. Stuart Symington
of St. Louis
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1953



Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton
of St. Louis
Democrat—Dec. 28, 1968



Jamie L. Whitten
of Clarksdale (1st Dist.)
Democrat—19th term



David B. Bowen
of Cleveland (2d Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Trent Lott
of Pascagoula (5th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



William L. Clay
of St. Louis (1st Dist.)
Democrat—1th term



James W. Symington
of St. Louis County (2d Dist.)
Democrat—1th term

MISSOURI

MISSOURI



Leonor K. Sullivan
of St. Louis (3d Dist.)
Democrat—12th term



Wm. J. Randall
of Independence (1th Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



Gene Taylor
of Searsville (7th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Richard H. Ichord
of Houston (2th Dist.)
Democrat—8th term



Sen. Mike Mansfield
of Missoula
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1953



Sen. Lee Metcalf
of Helena
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1961



Itzhard Bolling
of Kansas City (5th Dist.)
Democrat—14th term



Jerry Litton
of Chillicothe (6th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



William L. Hungate
of Troy (9th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Bill D. Burleson
of Cape Girardeau (10th Dist.)
Democrat—4th term



Max Baucus
of Missoula (1st Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



John Melcher
of Forsyth (2d Dist.)
Democrat—4th term

NEBRASKA



Sen. Roman L. Hruska
of Omaha
Republican—Nov. 8, 1954



Sen. Carl T. Curtis
of Minden
Republican—Jan. 1, 1955



Virginia Smith
of Clappell (3d Dist.)
Republican—1st term



Charles Thone
of Lincoln (1st Dist.)
Republican—3d term



John Y. McGallister
of Omaha (2d Dist.)
Republican—3d term

NEW HAMPSHIRE



Sen. Thomas J. McIntyre
of Lacandon
Democrat—Nov. 7, 1962

Senate Seat Unfilled



Norman E. D'Amours
of Manchester (1st Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



James C. Cleveland
of New London (2d Dist.)
Republican—7th term



James J. Florio
of Camden (1st Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



William J. Hughes
of Ocean City (2d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Milliecent Fenwick
of Bernardsville (5th Dist.)
Republican—1st term



Edwin B. Forsythe
of Moorestown (6th Dist.)
Republican—1th term

NEW JERSEY



Sen. Clifford P. Case
of Rahway
Republican—Jan. 3, 1955



Sen. Harrison A. Williams,
Jr., of Freefield
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1959



James J. Howard
of Spring Lake Heights
(3d Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Frank Thompson, Jr.
of Trenton (6th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term

MONTANA



Sen. Howard W. Cannon
of Las Vegas
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1959



Sen. Paul Laxalt
of Carson City
Republican—Dec. 18, 1974



Jim Santini
of Las Vegas (at Large)
Democrat—1st term

NEW JERSEY



Andrew Maguire
of Ridgewood (7th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Robert A. Ron
of Wayne (8th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



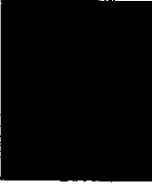
Joseph C. Minich
of West Orange (11th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Matthew J. Rinaldo
of Union (12th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Edward J. Patten
of Perth Amboy (15th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Henry Helatoaki
of East Rutherford (9th Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Peter W. Rodino, Jr.
of Newark (10th Dist.)
Democrat—14th term



Helen S. Meyner
of Phillipsburg (13th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Dominick V. Daniels
of Jersey City (14th Dist.)
Democrat—9th term

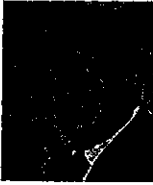
NEW MEXICO



Sen. Joseph M. Montoya
of Santa Fe
Democrat—Nov. 4, 1966



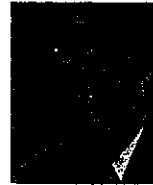
Sen. Pete V. Domenici
of Albuquerque
Republican—Jan. 3, 1973



Sen. Jacob K. Javits
of New York City
Republican—Jan. 9, 1957



Sen. James L. Buckley
of New York City
Conservative-Republican—
Jan. 3, 1971



Jerome A. Ambro
of East Northport (3d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Norman F. Lent
of East Rockaway (4th Dist.)
Republican—3d term



Manuel Lujan, Jr.
of Albuquerque (1st Dist.)
Republican—9th term



Harold Runnels
of Lovington (2d Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Otis G. Pike
of Silverhead (1st Dist.)
Democrat—8th term



Thomas J. Downey
of West Islip (3d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



John W. Wylder
of Garden City (5th Dist.)
Republican—7th term



Lester L. Wolff
of Great Neck (9th Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Joseph P. Addabbo
of Bronx Park (7th Dist.)
Democrat—8th term



Benjamin S. Rosenthal
of Elmhurst (8th Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



James H. Scheuer
of Neponsit (11th Dist.)
Democrat—5th term*



Shirley Chisholm
of Brooklyn (12th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Leo C. Zeferetti
of Brooklyn (15th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Elizabeth Holtzman
of Brooklyn (16th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



James J. Delaney
of Long Island City (9th Dist.)
Democrat—15th term*



Mario Biaggi
of Bronx (10th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term



Stephen J. Solari
of Brooklyn (11th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Frederick W. Richmond
of Brooklyn (16th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



John M. Murphy
of Staten Island (17th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Edward I. Koch
of New York City (18th Dist.)
Democrat-Liberal—4th term

NEW YORK



Charles B. Hangel
of New York City (19th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Bella S. Abzug
of New York City (26th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Peter A. Peyser
of Irvington (23d Dist.)
Republican—3d term



Richard L. Ottinger
of Pleasantville (24th Dist.)
Democrat—4th term*



Matthew F. McHugh
of Ithaca (27th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Samuel S. Stratton
of Amsterdam (28th Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



Herman Badillo
of Bronx (21st Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Jonathan B. Bingham
of Bronx (22d Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Hamilton Fish, Jr.
of Millbrook (25th Dist.)
Republican—4th term



Benjamin A. Gilman
of Middletown (26th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Edward W. Pattison
of West Sand Lake (29th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Robert G. Melwen
of Ogdensburg (30th Dist.)
Republican—6th term



Donald J. Mitchell
of Herkimer (31st Dist.)
Republican—2d term



James M. Hanley
of Syracuse (32d Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Barber B. Conable, Jr.
of Alexander (35th Dist.)
Republican—6th term



John J. LaFalce
of Tonawanda (36th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



James F. Hastings
of Rushford Lake, Oneida
(39th Dist.)
Republican—4th term



William F. Walsh
of Syracuse (33d Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Frank Horton
of Rochester (34th Dist.)
Republican—7th term



Henry J. Nowak
of Buffalo (37th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Jack Kemp
of Hamburg (38th Dist.)
Republican—3d term

NORTH CAROLINA



Sen. Jesse Helms
of Raleigh
Republican—Jan. 3, 1973



Sen. Robert Morgan
of Lillington
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1973



David N. Henderson
of Wallace (3d Dist.)
Democrat—8th term



Ike F. Andrews
of Siler City (4th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Charles Rose
of Fayetteville (7th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



W. G. (Bill) Hefner
of Concord (8th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Walter B. Jones
of Farmville (1st Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



L. H. Fountain
of Tarboro (2d Dist.)
Democrat—12th term



Stephen L. Neal
of Hinton-Salem (5th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Richardson Freyer
of Greensboro (6th Dist.)
Democrat—4th term



James G. Martin
of Davidson (9th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



James T. Braghill
of Lenoir (10th Dist.)
Republican—7th term

NORTH CAROLINA



Roy A. Taylor
of Black Mountain (11th Dist.)
Democrat—9th term

NORTH DAKOTA



Sen. Milton R. Young
of La Moure
Republican—Mar. 12, 1945



Mark Andrews
of Hapsburg (w. Large)
Republican—7th term

OHIO



Sen. Quentin N. Burdick
of Fargo
Democrat—Aug. 8, 1960



Sen. Robert Taft, Jr.
of Cincinnati
Republican—Jan. 3, 1971



Sen. John Glenn
of Columbus
Democrat—Dec. 24, 1974



Willis D. Gradison, Jr.
of Cincinnati (1st Dist.)
Republican—1st term



Donald D. Clardy
of Cincinnati (2d Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Charles W. Whalen, Jr.
of Dayton (2d Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Tennyson Guyer
of Findlay (4th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Clarence J. Brown
of Urbana (7th Dist.)
Republican—6th term



Thomas N. Kindness
of Hamilton (8th Dist.)
Republican—1st term



J. William Stanton
of Palouseville (11th Dist.)
Republican—6th term



Samuel L. Devine
of Columbus (12th Dist.)
Republican—9th term



Delbert L. Latta
of Bowling Green (5th Dist.)
Republican—9th term



William H. Harsha
of Portsmouth (5th Dist.)
Republican—8th term



Thomas L. Ashley
of Maumee (9th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term



Clarence E. Miller
of Lancaster (18th Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Charles A. Mosher
of Oberlin (13th Dist.)
Republican—8th term



John F. Selberling
of Akron (14th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Chalmers P. Wylie
of Worthington (15th Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Ralph S. Regula
of Navarre (16th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Charles J. Carney
of Youngstown (19th Dist.)
Democrat—4th term



James V. Stanton
of Cleveland (20th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Ronald M. Moell
of Piquett (23d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



John M. Ashbrook
of Johnstown (17th Dist.)
Republican—8th term



Wayne L. Hays
of Flushing (18th Dist.)
Democrat—14th term



Louie Stokes
of Cleveland (21st Dist.)
Democrat—4th term



Charles A. Vanik
of Euclid (22d Dist.)
Democrat—11th term

OKLAHOMA



Sen. Henry Bellmon
of Billings
Republican—Jan. 3, 1969



Sen. Dewey F. Burtlett
of Tulsa
Republican—Jan. 3, 1973



Carl Albert
of McAlester (3d Dist.)
Democrat—15th term



Tom Steed
of Shawnee (4th Dist.)
Democrat—14th term



Sen. Mark O. Hatfield
of Salem
Republican—Jan. 10, 1967



Sen. Bob Packwood
of Portland
Republican—Jan. 3, 1969



James R. Jones
of Tulsa (1st Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Theodore M. Risenhoover
of Tahlequah (2d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



John Jarman
of Oklahoma City (5th Dist.)
Republican—13th term



Glen English
of Cordell (6th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Les AuCoin
of Forest Grove (1st Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Al Ullmann
of Baker (2d Dist.)
Democrat—10th term

PENNSYLVANIA



Robert Duncan
of Coxsack (3d Dist.)
Democrat—3d term*



James Weaver
of Eugene (3th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Sen. Hugh Scott
of Philadelphia
Republican—Jan. 3, 1979



Sen. Richard S. Schweiker
of Harrisburg
Republican—Jan. 3, 1969



William J. Green
of Philadelphia (3d Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Joshua Ellberg
of Philadelphia (4th Dist.)
Democrat—5th term



William A. Burrett
of Philadelphia (1st Dist.)
Democrat—15th term*



Robert N. G. Nix
of Philadelphia (2d Dist.)
Democrat—10th term



Richard T. Schulze
of Malvern (5th Dist.)
Republican—1st term



Gus Yatron
of Reading (6th Dist.)
Democrat—5th term



Robert W. Edgar
of Braamhall (7th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Edward G. Biester, Jr.
of Parkton (9th Dist.)
Republican—5th term



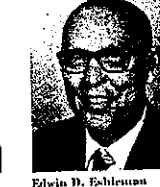
Daniel J. Flood
of Wilkes-Barre (11th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term*



John P. Murtha
of Johnstown (12th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Fred H. Roney
of Bethlehem (15th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Edwin D. Schlessman
of Lancaster (16th Dist.)
Republican—5th term



E. G. (Bud) Sluister
of Everett (9th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Joseph M. McDade
of Scranton (10th Dist.)
Republican—7th term



Lawrence Coughlin
of Williamsport (13th Dist.)
Republican—4th term



William S. Moorhead
of Pottsville (14th Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



Herman T. Schurebelle
of B. Williamsport (17th Dist.)
Republican—9th term



H. John Heinz III
of Pittsburgh (19th Dist.)
Republican—3d term

PENNSYLVANIA



William F. Goodling
of *Jacobus* (19th Dist.)
Republican—1st term



Joseph M. Gaydos
of *Archivesport* (20th Dist.)
Democrat—5th term



Albert W. Johnson
of *Southport* (23rd Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Joseph P. Vigorello
of *Isle* (25th Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Sen. John O. Pastore
of *Connetquot*
Democrat—Dec. 19, 1958



Sen. Claiborne Pell
of *Newport*
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1961



John H. Dent
of *Ligonier* (21st Dist.)
Democrat—10th term



Thomas E. Morgan
of *Fredericktown* (22nd Dist.)
Democrat—16th term



Gary A. Myers
of *Isle* (25th Dist.)
Republican—1st term



Fernand J. St. Germain
of *Wanamet* (1st Dist.)
Democrat—8th term



Edward P. Beard
of *Connetquot* (2nd Dist.)
Democrat—1st term

SOUTH CAROLINA



Sen. Strom Thurmond
of *Aiken*
Republican—Nov. 7, 1956



Sen. Ernest F. Hollings
of *Charleston* (3rd Dist.)
Democrat—Nov. 9, 1966



Butler Derrick
of *Edgewood* (3rd Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



James R. Mann
of *Georgetown* (10th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Sen. George S. McGovern
of *Mitchell*
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1963



Sen. James Abourezk
of *Rapid City*
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1973



Mendel J. Davis
of *Charleston* (1st Dist.)
Democrat—3rd term



Floyd Spence
of *Lexington* (2nd Dist.)
Republican—3rd term



Kenneth L. Holland
of *Columbia* (5th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



John W. Jenrette, Jr.
of *North Myrtle Beach*
(6th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Larry Pressler
of *Humboldt* (1st Dist.)
Republican—1st term



James Mahon
of *Kennebec* (2nd Dist.)
Republican—2nd term

TENNESSEE



Sen. Howard H. Baker, Jr.
of *Huntsville*
Republican—Jan. 3, 1967



Sen. William E. Brock, 3d
of *Lookout Mountain*
Republican—Jan. 3, 1971



Marilyn Lloyd
of *Chattanooga* (3d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Joe L. Exins
of *Southville* (10th Dist.)
Democrat—15th term



Ed Jones
of *Yorkville* (7th Dist.)
Democrat—1th term



Harold E. Ford
of *Memphis* (9th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



James H. Quillen
of *Kingsport* (1st Dist.)
Republican—7th term



John J. Duncan
of *Knoxville* (2nd Dist.)
Republican—6th term



Richard H. Fulton
of *Cookeville* (5th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



Robin L. Beard
of *Franklin* (6th Dist.)
Republican—2nd term



Sen. John O. Pastore
of *Connetquot*
Democrat—Dec. 19, 1958



Sen. Claiborne Pell
of *Newport*
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1961

TEXAS



Sen. John G. Tower
of *Wichita Falls*
Republican—June 15, 1961



Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen
of *Houston*
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1971



James M. Collins
of *Dallas* (3d Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Ray Roberts
of *McKinney* (4th Dist.)
Democrat—8th term



W. R. Aechler
of *Houston* (7th Dist.)
Republican—3d term



Robert C. Eckhardt
of *Harris County* (8th Dist.)
Democrat—5th term



Wright Patman
of *Texasarkona* (1st Dist.)
Democrat—24th term



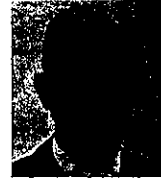
Charles Wilson
of *Lufkin* (2d Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Alvin Steinhilber
of *Mesquite* (5th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



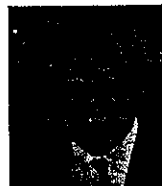
Otto E. Teague
of *College Station* (6th Dist.)
Democrat—10th term



Jack Brooks
of *Beaumont* (9th Dist.)
Democrat—12th term



J. J. (Jake) Pickle
of *Ames* (10th Dist.)
Democrat—7th term



W. R. Ponge
of *Waco* (11th Dist.)
Democrat—20th term



James C. Wright, Jr.
of *Fort Worth* (12th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term



E. (Kika) de la Garza
of *Mission* (15th Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Richard C. White
of *El Paso* (16th Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



George H. Mahon
of *Lubbock* (19th Dist.)
Democrat—21st term



Henry B. Gonzalez
of *San Antonio* (20th Dist.)
Democrat—8th term



Jack Hightower
of *Temple* (13th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



John Young
of *Corpus Christi* (14th Dist.)
Democrat—10th term



Omar Burleson
of *Austin* (17th Dist.)
Democrat—15th term



Barbara Jordan
of *Houston* (18th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Robert (Bolt) Kerr
of *San Antonio* (21st Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Bob Casey
of *Houston* (23d Dist.)
Democrat—9th term

UTAH



Abraham Kazen, Jr.
of *Provo* (23d Dist.)
Democrat—3th term



Dale Milford
of *Grand Prairie* (25th Dist.)
Democrat—2d term



Sen. Frank E. Moss
of *Salt Lake City*
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1959



K. Gunn McKay
of *Huntsville* (1st Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Sen. Jake Garn
of *Salt Lake City*
Republican—Dec. 21, 1973



Allan T. Howe
of *Salt Lake City* (2d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Sen. Robert T. Stafford
of *Provo*
Republican—Sept. 17, 1971



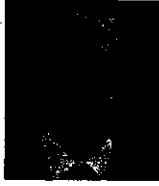
James M. Jeffords
of *Montpelier* (at Large)
Republican—1st term

VERMONT



Sen. Patrick J. Leahy
of *Burlington*
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1975

VIRGINIA



Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr.
of Winchester
Independent—Nov. 12, 1965



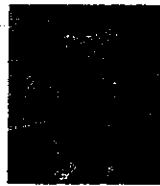
Sen. William L. Scott
of Fairfax
Republican—Jan. 3, 1973



David E. Satterfield 3d
of Richmond (3d Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Robert W. Daniel, Jr.
of Spring Grove (4th Dist.)
Republican—2d term



J. Kenneth Robinson
of Winchester (7th Dist.)
Republican—3d term



Herbert E. Harris 2d
of Alexandria (8th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Thomas N. Downing
of Newport News (1st Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



G. William Whitehurst
of Norfolk (2d Dist.)
Republican—4th term



W. C. (Dan) Daniel
of Danville (5th Dist.)
Democrat—3th term



M. Caldwell Butler
of Roanoke (6th Dist.)
Republican—3d term



William C. Wampler
of Bristol (9th Dist.)
Republican—6th term*



Joseph L. Fisher
of Arlington (10th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term

WASHINGTON



Sen. Warren G. Magnuson
of Seattle
Democrat—Dec. 14, 1941



Sen. Henry M. Jackson
of Everett
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1953



Don Butterick
of Ridgefield (3d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Mike McCormack
of Richland (1th Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Brock Adams
of Seattle (7th Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Joel Pritchard
of Seattle (1st Dist.)
Republican—2d term



Lloyd Meeds
of Everett (2d Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Thomas S. Foley
of Spokane (5th Dist.)
Democrat—6th term



Floyd V. Bieks
of Tacoma (6th Dist.)
Democrat—6th term

WEST VIRGINIA



Sen. Jennings Randolph
of Elkins
Democrat—Nov. 5, 1958



Sen. Robert C. Byrd
of Sophia
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1959



John M. Slack, Jr.
of Charleston (3d Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



Ken Hechler
of Huntington (1th Dist.)
Democrat—9th term



Sen. William Proxmire
of Madison
Democrat—Aug. 28, 1957



Sen. Gaylord Nelson
of Madison
Democrat—Jan. 8, 1963



Robert H. Mollohan
of Fairmont (1st Dist.)
Democrat—6th term*



Harley G. Singers
of Keyser (2d Dist.)
Democrat—11th term



Lew Aspin
of Burlington (1st Dist.)
Democrat—3d term



Robert W. Kastenmeier
of Sun Prairie (2d Dist.)
Democrat—9th term

WISCONSIN

WISCONSIN



Alvin Baldus
of Menomonie (3d Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



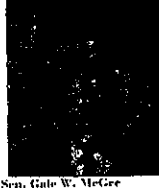
Clement J. Zablocki
of Milwaukee (1th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term



David H. Okey
of Waupun (7th Dist.)
Democrat—1th term



Robert J. Cuenell
of DePue (9th Dist.)
Democrat—1st term



Sen. Gale W. McGee
of Laramie
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1959



Sen. Clifford P. Hansen
of Jackson
Republican—Jan. 3, 1957



Henry S. Reuss
of Milwaukee (5th Dist.)
Democrat—11th term



William A. Steiger
of Oshkosh (6th Dist.)
Republican—5th term



Robert W. Kasten, Jr.
of Milwaukee (9th Dist.)
Republican—1st term



Frank Roush
of Cheyenne (at Large)
Democrat—1th term*

DELEGATE



Walter E. Fauntroy
of Washington, D.C.
Democrat—3d term

DELEGATE



Antonio Barja Wun Pat
of San Juan, Guam
Democrat—2d term

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER



Jaime Benitez
of Guyana, P.R.
Democrat—Jan. 3, 1973

DELEGATE



Ron de Lago
of St. Croix, V.I.
Democrat—2d term

WYOMING

A.B.D.SEYAHATI İLE İLGİLİ 3 MEKTUP

340 So. Regent St.
Port Chester, N.Y. 10573
September 8, 1975

Cumhuriyet Cad. Dorlier
Apt. 18/2 Elmadag
Istanbul, Turkey
Gentlemen:

Your advertisement in today's New York Times was interesting to me, and I trust other countrymen of mine understand your concern for our continued national friendship and cooperation. Communications between nations and cultures under the best of circumstances are a complex matter and your effort is saluted.

If you would consider an outsider's opinion of your effort I suspect that you might want to contemplate an ongoing program to communicate your Nation's views on the many aspects of this problem. Our communication media is expensive as are the public relations experts we have who deal in these matters.

You seem to represent a broad area of Turkey's industrial and trading power. My own background is foreign trade. I make my living here working with imported metals and as counsel in these matters. Why not consider your prospects of setting up a trade consortium here specifically to finance an ongoing communications effort?

The OPEC started a blacklist of firms that did business with Israel. I would suggest you have a more positive approach in forming a "whitelist" of firms who want to benefit from doing business in Turkey. This could be an income base for financing communications here and the trade of commercial goods would be healthy for both countries. Profits can be made on goods being imported or exported and on money itself. It should not be difficult to organize such an effort for you if your members will join in the effort with firm commitments. Perhaps your government offices here could facilitate questions of license and also cooperate in referring interested parties to any goods and services you might choose to offer in such an effort.

Please advise me of specifics that would need to be defined if your group or its individual members would want this line of thinking actuated.

Very truly yours,

Ralph L. Johnson

137 Greenway Road
Lido Beach, N. Y. 11561

September 9, 1975

Mr. Cumhuriyet Cad.
Dortier Apt.
18/2 Elmadag
Istanbul, Turkey

Dear Sir:

I have read the advertisement in yesterday's NEW YORK TIMES and applaud your efforts to bring Turkish-American relations back into balance. There is undoubtedly justification for your argument that the Turkish Cypriot community was discriminated against and that the Cyprus crisis was caused by the Greek military.

However, Turkey in violation of an agreement and undertaking voluntarily entered by the Turkish Government with the United States, used military equipment specifically excluded for just such purpose to take direct action in Cyprus. What was the American government to do unless it resigns itself to the fact that agreements under which it supplies military aid to friendly nations are completely valueless and can be disregarded unilaterally?

Again I applaud your undertaking to salvage the friendship between our two people. But the WHOLE truth must be told. When Turkey says "time is running out" it tries to impose a solution under pressure which would be dishonorable to the United States and would make all agreements with other nations under which we have furnished them with military aid, completely valueless. Unless Turkey takes this into consideration I see little chance that an amicable solution can be reached - which would be a tragedy, I admit.

Sincerely yours


WALTER A. SHELDON

PS: Enclosed is a check for the victims of the recent earthquake.

Newsweek

444 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

Russell J. Melvin
Vice President
(212) 350-2662

September 18, 1975

Mr. Altemur Kilic
c/o Hotel Pierre
2 East 61st Street
New York, New York

Dear Al:

It was good to have your fine group yesterday, and I believe our editors learned much from you.

For your own reference, here is the list of Newsweekers who attended:

Robert Christopher: Editor, International Edition

Russell Watson: Senior Editor, Foreign

Dave Pauly: General Editor, Business

Milt Benjamin: Associate Editor, Foreign.

I hope that -- with or without the stimulus of your group's very persuasive efforts -- matters resolve themselves to a more satisfactory state of affairs than we have drifted into lately.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,



By Messenger

