

## House Calendar No. 48

113TH CONGRESS }  
*1st Session*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

{ REPORT  
113-176

IN THE MATTER OF ALLEGATIONS RELAT-  
ING TO STAFF TRAVEL PROVIDED BY THE  
TURKISH COALITION OF AMERICA IN AU-  
GUST 2008

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R E P O R T

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS



JULY 26, 2013.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be  
printed

**IN THE MATTER OF ALLEGATIONS RELATING TO STAFF TRAVEL PROVIDED BY THE  
TURKISH COALITION OF AMERICA IN AUGUST 2008**

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**LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL**

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS,  
*Washington, DC, July 26, 2013.*

Hon. KAREN L. HAAS,  
*Clerk, House of Representatives,*  
*Washington, DC.*

DEAR MS. HAAS: Pursuant to clauses 3(a)(2) and 3(b) of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, we herewith transmit the attached report, "In the Matter of Allegations Relating to Staff Travel Provided by the Turkish Coalition of America in August 2008."

Sincerely,

K. MICHAEL CONAWAY,  
*Chairman.*

LINDA T. SÁNCHEZ,  
*Ranking Member.*



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IN THE MATTER OF ALLEGATIONS RELATING TO STAFF  
TRAVEL PROVIDED BY THE TURKISH COALITION OF  
AMERICA IN AUGUST 2008

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JULY 26, 2013.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

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Mr. CONAWAY, from the Committee on Ethics,  
submitted the following

R E P O R T

I. INTRODUCTION

Beginning in the last Congress, the Committee on Ethics (Committee) undertook a review of a multi-day, privately-sponsored trip to Turkey in August 2008 that was paid for, in part, by the Turkish Coalition of America (TCA). Five House employees sought and received Committee approval to participate in the trip. However, the Committee later learned that at the time of the travel, TCA employed or retained a federally-registered lobbyist, making it ineligible to sponsor a multi-day trip under the House's privately-sponsored travel rules.

The Committee's review found that the employees who traveled acted in good faith, relied on the Committee's review and approval of the trip, and had no knowledge that TCA employed or retained a lobbyist. The Committee determined that no investigation or further action was necessary. After concluding its review, the Committee received three referrals from the Office of Congressional Ethics (OCE) regarding the same matter on June 13, 2013. In its referrals, OCE also determined that the employees acted in good faith, were not aware that TCA employed a lobbyist, and thus did not knowingly accept an impermissible gift.

Accordingly, after careful consideration, the Committee has unanimously voted to dismiss the matters referred by OCE, determined that no further action is required, and agreed to end its review of this matter with the publication of this Report, which includes the materials referred to the Committee by the OCE.

## II. HOUSE RULES, LAWS, REGULATIONS, OR OTHER STANDARDS OF CONDUCT

House Rule XXV, clause 5 (the Gift Rule), permits Members and staff to accept travel paid for by a private source under certain circumstances and only after pre-approval by the Committee.<sup>1</sup> The rule provides that if the traveler receives advance authorization from the Committee, the necessary travel costs “shall be considered a reimbursement to the House and not a gift prohibited by” the Gift Rule.<sup>2</sup> One of the restrictions to the acceptance of such travel is that federally-registered lobbyists or registered foreign agents are banned from being involved in the planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging of most trips.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, travel paid for by private sponsors who retain or employ lobbyists is limited to one day of officially-connected activity.<sup>4</sup>

House Rule XXIV prohibits a Member, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner from maintaining an unofficial office account. This prohibition applies to accounts maintained by third parties for a Member’s benefit, even if they are not maintained for the Member’s direct use. It further extends to any process whereby funds are received or expended regardless of whether an actual account or repository is maintained.<sup>5</sup> Thus, private, in-kind contribution of goods or services for official purposes are banned under House Rule XXIV.<sup>6</sup> However, one exception to this rule allows Members to use funds from their principal campaign accounts for official expenses with some restrictions. For example, expenses for officially-connected travel may be reimbursed out of the principal campaign account and not violate the unofficial office account prohibition. Additionally, a Member may use personal funds to pay any official expenses.<sup>7</sup> However, House employees may not reimburse official expenses from their own funds. For this reason, although Members may repay the costs for privately-sponsored travel out of their personal or campaign funds, were employees to do so, they might run afoul of House Rule XXIV.

When a Member or employee receives a gift that is unacceptable under the gift rule, and for which a gift waiver is not available, the recipient generally must either return the gift or pay the market value of the gift.<sup>8</sup> In a case where travel was an impermissible gift, the Committee has traditionally requested the recipients pay back the cost of the travel to the original sponsors or to the United States Treasury if the sponsors could not be specifically identified.<sup>9</sup>

## III. BACKGROUND

### A. COMMITTEE PRACTICE

In 2007, the House Rules were amended to require House Members and employees to seek prior written approval of the Com-

<sup>1</sup> House Rule XXV, clause 5(d)(2). See also, *House Ethics Manual (2008)* at 89.

<sup>2</sup> House Rule XXV, clause 5(b)(1)(A) and (C).

<sup>3</sup> House Rule XXV, clause 5(c)(2). See also, *House Ethics Manual (2008)* at 89.

<sup>4</sup> House Rule XXV, clause 5(b)(1)(C)(ii). See also, *House Ethics Manual (2008)* at 89.

<sup>5</sup> *House Ethics Manual* at 328.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* at 328.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* at 329.

<sup>8</sup> *House Ethics Manual* at 73.

<sup>9</sup> See Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multinational Business Conferences in 2007 and 2008*, H. Rpt. 111-422, 111th Congress (February 25, 2010).

mittee before accepting travel paid for by a private source, and the Committee adopted regulations to implement this new requirement. Pursuant to those rules and regulations, the Committee has conducted a thorough review of each proposed privately-sponsored trip. Committee staff recommends changes where necessary to bring trips into compliance with relevant laws, rules, or regulations and, on occasion, informs House Members and employees that a proposed trip is not permissible.<sup>10</sup>

In 2008, the Committee's practice for multi-sponsor trips was to require only one private sponsor of a trip, not all private sponsors, to sign and complete the Sponsor Form. The Committee has since changed its policy to now require all sponsors of a multi-sponsor trip to complete and sign the Sponsor Form in most cases. A private sponsor is required to complete a Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form and must certify that the information on the form is true, complete, and correct to the best of their knowledge. The Committee was relying on the representations made on the travel forms as certified by the trip sponsor. At the time of this trip, just over one year after the mandatory approval process began, the Committee did not independently verify a sponsor's assertion that it did or did not retain or employ a federally-registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent.

Since that time, as the Committee has seen various concerns arise, such inquiries, and other similar extra steps, have become a regular part of the Committee's review of privately-sponsored travel. These changes to the Committee's process for review of privately-sponsored travel reflect the Committee's constant effort to improve its work and better serve the House community and the public. The Committee recognizes both the significant benefit the public receives when their Representatives and their Representatives' staff receive hands-on education and experience, as well as the mandate that outside groups be appropriately limited in what gifts and support they are allowed to provide to Members of Congress and congressional staff.

#### B. COMMITTEE REVIEW

The Committee found that five House employees participated in a privately-sponsored, officially connected trip to Turkey from August 2, 2008, through August 8, 2008.<sup>11</sup> The trip was sponsored by the American Turkish Coalition (ATC) and TCA. At the time of the trip, TCA employed or retained a federally-registered lobbyist, but ATC did not. Under the privately-sponsored travel rules and regulations, entities that employ or retain lobbyists may sponsor travel

<sup>10</sup>The time-consuming nature of this thorough review is one of the reasons the Committee found it necessary at the end of the 112th Congress to amend the travel regulations to push back the deadline for submission of privately-sponsored travel forms to the Committee from 14 days before the trip to 30 days before the trip.

<sup>11</sup>Of the five employees who attended the trip, two had left their employment with the House before OCE began its review. A third employee was employed during the OCE review, but informed OCE that he would be leaving his House employment before OCE voted on that employee's referral. However, he apparently did not provide written confirmation of his impending departure to OCE. That employee left the House on June 1, 2013, one day after OCE voted to refer the matter to the Committee. Because House Rules appear to intend that the Committee only be required to publish referrals if the subject is a Member, officer, or employee of the House on the day of (or at least the day before) the publication deadline, the Committee is not releasing the report of the third subject of OCE's referral at this time. See House Rule XI clause 3(b)(8)(A)(ii). However, the Committee concluded that the facts regarding that individual's travel were indistinguishable from the other two House employees, and that it would have dismissed that referral had he remained within the Committee's jurisdiction.

for House Members and employees, but such travel may only be for a one-day trip.

Prior to participating in the trip, the five House employees sought and received the Committee's approval of the trip.<sup>12</sup> Following the Committee's privately-sponsored travel regulations, the employees each submitted to the Committee both the Privately Sponsored Travel: Traveler Form (Traveler Form) and the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form (Sponsor Form). While the Sponsor Form, which was prepared by ATC, correctly identified both ATC and TCA as sponsors of the trip, only ATC completed the Sponsor Form. Thus, when ATC responded to question 9 on the Sponsor Form by indicating that "[t]he sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent," this statement was correct for ATC, but it was not true of TCA.

Because the Committee was not aware that TCA employed or retained a lobbyist at the time of the trip, and all other information reflected that the trip was permissible, the Committee granted approval to all travelers who had sought to attend the trip. There is no indication that any of the travelers knew or had reason to know that TCA employed or retained a lobbyist.

#### C. OCE REFERRAL

As noted above, the OCE also reviewed three employees' acceptance of the 2008 trip to Turkey. On June 13, 2013, the OCE sent three referrals to the Committee recommending further review of allegations regarding two current House employees and one former House employee who participated in the 2008 trip to Turkey that was paid for in part by TCA. Consistent with the Committee's findings, the OCE determined that there was no evidence that any of the House employees knew that TCA retained a lobbyist at the time of the trip. Instead, the OCE found that all three travelers relied on ATC's "pre-travel disclosure form" in "good faith." The OCE also found that TCA only learned of the potential House rule violation after the August 2008 trip, and that, when TCA became aware of the change in the House Rules regarding sponsorship of privately-sponsored travel by entities that employ or retain lobbyists, TCA terminated its relationship with its lobbyist and contacted Committee staff to receive advice about how to address the August 2008 trip. TCA told the OCE that Committee staff informed TCA that they would get back to TCA about the issue but never did. The Committee has no record of any such communications with TCA.

Despite the lack of evidence of wrongdoing, OCE referred the matter to the Committee with a recommendation for further review because "pursuant to precedent of the Committee on Ethics, a person's ignorance of the true source of travel expenses is not an absolute shield from liability for receipt of travel expenses from an improper source." While this is a true statement, such precedents are distinguishable from this case for several reasons.

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<sup>12</sup>As of July 2013, only two of the travelers on this trip are still employees of the House, and only one of those travelers still works for the same employing Member. The employing Members at the time of travel for the other employees are no longer Members of the House.

## D. RELEVANT PRECEDENT

The most significant Committee precedent holding that a traveler may need to repay privately-sponsored travel from an improper source is the Committee's investigation and conclusion in the "Carib News" matter.<sup>13</sup> In the Carib News matter, the travel did not conform to the facts addressed in the Committee's approval, because there were numerous unnamed sponsors of the trip. In addition, the Committee concluded that individuals associated with the sponsor made false statements to the Committee. (Ultimately, the Department of Justice obtained a conviction against the signator of the Sponsor Form for false statements to the Committee about that trip.) Still, despite the Committee's finding that all but one of the travelers in that case had no reason to be aware of the false information, the Committee did determine that the travelers all needed to refund to the Treasury the cost of the impermissible trip.

The Committee's determination in the Carib News matter that House travelers needed to refund the costs of the trip, however, was based to a large extent on the fact that two of the improper trip sponsors were foreign governments. The U.S. Constitution prohibits federal government officials from receiving "any present . . . of any kind whatever" from a foreign state or representative of a foreign state without the consent of Congress. Congress has primarily consented through two statutes, the Foreign Gifts and Decoration Act and the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act, but neither statute applied to the circumstances of that matter and the Committee does not have the discretion to waive this constitutional prohibition. Thus, the Committee requested that the travelers in the Carib News matter repay the costs of the trip, largely to keep them from being in violation of the U.S. Constitution.

Another important distinction between this matter and the Carib News matter is that the travelers in Carib News were Members, whereas the travelers in this case were all staffers. House Rule XXV provides that if a traveler receives advance authorization from the Committee to accept privately sponsored travel, the necessary travel costs "shall be considered a reimbursement to the House and not a gift prohibited by" the House Gift Rule. For this reason, any reimbursement of privately-sponsored travel costs would be considered a gift to the House. Such support by an employee for official activities of the employing Member could potentially run afoul of House Rule XXIV, which generally prohibits outside or staff financial support for official activities. Thus, while the use of a Member's own personal funds to supplement the work of the House does not violate House Rule XXIV, the use of staff funds to do so would. For this reason, Members may repay the costs for privately-sponsored travel out of their personal funds, but were employees to do so, they might run afoul of House Rule XXIV. Therefore, when a House employee participates in an improper trip, it is generally the employing Member at the time of the trip that is asked to refund the improper gift.

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<sup>13</sup> See Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, *In the Matter of the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multinational Business Conferences in 2007 and 2008*, H. Rpt. 111-422, 111th Congress (February 25, 2010).

#### IV. CONCLUSION

Only two of the travelers on this trip are still employees of the House, and only one of those travelers still works for the same employing Member. The employing Members at the time of travel for the other employees are no longer Members of the House, and thus, are outside of the Committee's jurisdiction. Therefore, were the Committee to require refunding the cost of this trip, only one of five applicable Members would be required to produce the funds. To be clear, nothing in either the Committee's review or OCE's three referrals suggested that any Member acted improperly or inadvertently violated any House Rule.

While TCA should not have been permitted to sponsor a trip of this length while they retained a lobbyist, because the House employees made a good faith effort to comply with the travel regulations and neither the other sponsor nor the House employees knowingly submitted misleading travel approval forms, the Committee has determined that the employees may rely on the Committee's pre-travel approval and that they did not themselves violate any House Rules, laws, or regulations. Further, because there is no prohibition on the trip that is outside of the Committee's discretion to waive, the Committee has determined to waive the gift rule in this unique circumstance and not require the one remaining Member to refund the cost of the trip to Turkey.

Finally, while TCA should not have sponsored the trip, they did not themselves make any false statements to the Committee. The Committee can neither confirm nor dispute that TCA made efforts to self-report and remedy their violation when they discovered it. TCA did indeed terminate their relationship with a registered lobbyist effective December 31, 2008. For all these reasons, the Committee will take no further action regarding TCA with respect to the August 2008 trip.

For all these reasons, and after careful consideration, the Committee has unanimously voted to dismiss the matters referred by OCE, determined that no further action is required, and agreed to end its review of this matter with the publication of this Report.

Pursuant to House Rule XI, clause 3(b)(8)(A) and Committee Rules 17A(c)(2), the Committee hereby publishes the OCE's Report and Findings related to the allegations that the two current House employees participated in a privately-sponsored, officially connected trip, that was paid for in part by TCA.

The Chair is directed, upon providing the notices required pursuant to House Rule XI, clause 3(b)(8)(A), and Committee Rule 17A(a)(2), to file this report with the House, together with copies of OCE's Reports and Findings in this matter.<sup>14</sup> The filing of this report, along with its publication on the Committee's Web site, shall serve as publication of OCE's Reports and Findings in this matter, pursuant to House Rule XI, clause 3(b)(8)(A), and Committee Rule 17A(b)(3) and 17A(c)(2).

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<sup>14</sup>House Rule XI, clauses 3(a)(2) and 3(b).

**VI. STATEMENT UNDER RULE XIII, CLAUSE 3(c) OF THE  
RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

The Committee made no special oversight findings in this report. No budget statement is submitted. No funding is authorized by any measure in this report.

# APPENDIX A

CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**REPORT**

Review No. 13-5845

The Board of the Office of Congressional Ethics (the "Board"), by a vote of no less than four members, on May 31, 2013, adopted the following report and ordered it to be transmitted to the Committee on Ethics of the United States House of Representatives.

SUBJECT: Mr. Walter Gonzales

NATURE OF THE ALLEGED VIOLATION: Walter Gonzales accepted travel expenses for a trip to Turkey in August 2008 that the American-Turkish Coalition and the Turkish Coalition of America ("TCA") co-sponsored. TCA retained a lobbyist. The pre-travel disclosure form that the co-sponsors filed with the House of Representatives certified that TCA did not retain a lobbyist. Mr. Gonzales relied on the co-sponsors' certification that TCA did not retain a lobbyist and received the travel expenses.

If Mr. Gonzales received travel expenses for a multiple-day trip from an entity that retained a lobbyist, he may have violated House rules.

RECOMMENDATION: The Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the allegation above because there is substantial reason to believe that although Mr. Gonzales did not knowingly accept, he nevertheless received, an impermissible gift proscribed by House rules.

VOTES IN THE AFFIRMATIVE: 4

VOTES IN THE NEGATIVE: 2

ABSTENTIONS: 0

MEMBER OF THE BOARD OR STAFF DESIGNATED TO PRESENT THIS REPORT TO THE COMMITTEE ON ETHICS: Omar S. Ashmawy, Staff Director and Chief Counsel.

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

**FINDINGS OF FACT AND CITATIONS TO LAW**

Review No. 13-5845

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**FINDINGS OF FACT AND CITATIONS TO LAW**

Review No. 13-5845

On May 31, 2013, the Board of the Office of Congressional Ethics (the "Board") adopted the following findings of fact and accompanying citations to law, regulations, rules, and standards of conduct (*in italics*).

The Board notes that these findings do not constitute a determination that a violation actually occurred.

**I. INTRODUCTION**

1. The American-Turkish Council ("ATC") invited Walter Gonzales to attend a congressional staff trip to Turkey in 2008.
2. ATC provided a pre-travel disclosure form to Mr. Gonzales that listed the Turkish Coalition of America ("TCA") as a co-sponsor. Despite the fact that TCA retained a lobbyist, the form certified that the co-sponsors did not retain a lobbyist.
3. Mr. Gonzales attended the trip that was financed by TCA. However, as described in the Board's findings below, there is no evidence that Mr. Gonzales knew that TCA retained a lobbyist.
4. The Board finds that Mr. Gonzales relied on the co-sponsors' pre-travel disclosure form in good faith.
5. Nevertheless, pursuant to precedent of the Committee on Ethics, a person's ignorance of the true source of travel expenses is not an absolute shield from liability for receipt of travel expenses from an improper source.

**A. Summary of Allegations**

6. Mr. Gonzales may have violated House rules by receiving travel expenses for a multiple-day trip from an entity that retained a lobbyist.
7. The Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the allegation above because there is substantial reason to believe that although Mr. Gonzales did not

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

knowingly accept, he nevertheless received, an impermissible gift proscribed by House rules.

**B. Jurisdictional Statement**

8. The allegations that are the subject of this review concern Walter Gonzales, Senior Policy Advisor for Representative Dutch Ruppersberger. The Resolution the United States House of Representatives adopted creating the Office of Congressional Ethics (“OCE”) directs that, “[n]o review shall be undertaken . . . by the board of any alleged violation that occurred before the date of adoption of this resolution.”<sup>1</sup> The House adopted this Resolution on March 11, 2008. Because the conduct under review occurred after March 11, 2008, the OCE has jurisdiction in this matter.

**C. Procedural History**

9. The OCE received a written request for a preliminary review in this matter signed by at least two members of the Board on January 25, 2013. The preliminary review commenced on January 26, 2013.<sup>2</sup> The preliminary review was scheduled to end on February 24, 2013.
10. At least three members of the Board voted to initiate a second-phase review in this matter on February 22, 2013. The second-phase review commenced on February 25, 2013.<sup>3</sup> The second-phase review was scheduled to end on April 10, 2013.
11. The Board voted to extend the second-phase review for an additional period of fourteen days on March 22, 2013. The second-phase review ended on April 24, 2013.
12. The Board voted to refer the matter to the Committee on Ethics and adopted these findings on May 31, 2013.
13. This report and findings were transmitted to the Committee on Ethics on June 13, 2013.

**D. Summary of Investigative Activity**

14. The OCE requested and received documentary and, in some cases, testimonial information from the following sources:
- (1) Walter Gonzales;
- (2) ATC President;

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<sup>1</sup> H. Res. 895, 110th Cong. §1(c), as amended (the “Resolution”).

<sup>2</sup> A preliminary review is “requested” in writing by members of the Board of the OCE. The request for a preliminary review is “received” by the OCE on a date certain. According to the Resolution, the timeframe for conducting a preliminary review is thirty days from the date of receipt of the Board’s request.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Resolution, the Board must vote on whether to conduct a second-phase review in a matter before the expiration of the thirty-day preliminary review. If the Board votes for a second-phase, the second-phase begins when the preliminary review ends. The second-phase review does not begin on the date of the Board vote.

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

- (3) ATC Executive Director;
- (4) ATC Government Affairs Director;
- (5) TCA President;
- (6) TCA Vice President;
- (7) TCA Attorney;
- (8) Former TCA Project Coordinator; and
- (9) Former TCA Lobbyist.

**II. THE TURKISH COALITION OF AMERICA HAD A REGISTERED LOBBYIST WHEN IT FINANCED THE CONGRESSIONAL STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY IN 2008**

**A. Laws, Regulations, Rules, and Standards of Conduct**

- 15. *Pursuant to the House Rule 25, clause 5, an “employee of the House may not knowingly accept a gift from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal except as provided in sub paragraph (3) of this paragraph.”<sup>4</sup>*
- 16. *“A reimbursement (including payment in kind) to a Member, Delegate, Resident Commissioner, officer, or employee of the House for transportation, lodging, and related expenses for travel to a meeting, speaking engagement, factfinding trip, or similar event in connection with the duties of such individual as an officeholder shall be considered as a reimbursement to the House and not a gift prohibited by this clause when it is from a private source **other than a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or a private entity that retains or employs registered lobbyists . . .**”<sup>5</sup>*
- 17. **One-Day Event Trip.** *The sole exception to the general prohibition on accepting officially-connected travel from a private source that retains or employs lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal is for trips involving attendance at or participation in one-day event (exclusive of travel time and an overnight stay).*

*Under the rule, it is permissible for a Member or staff person to accept and meals related to a **single night’s lodging** and meals related to the trip, if offered by the trip sponsor. Members and staff must limit their involvement in connection with the event to **a single calendar day**, exclusive of travel time and an overnight stay. A Member or staff person*

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<sup>4</sup> House Rule 25, clause 5(a)(1)(A)(ii).

<sup>5</sup> House Rule 25, clause 5(b)(1) (emphasis added).

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

*may therefore attend only a single day of a multiple-day conference, forum, or other event that is being hosted primarily for individuals other than congressional invitees.*<sup>6</sup>

18. *In the Report of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct of the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multi-National Business Conferences in 2007 and 2008, the Committee found that “[b]ecause [the Representative] did not have any knowledge of the true source of funding for these two trips, the Subcommittee does not find that he violated any law, House Rule, regulation, or any other standard of conduct. However, because he received impermissible gifts proscribed by House Rules, other remedies are necessary. [The Representative] should return or pay for any gifts or benefits he received that were impermissible.”*<sup>7</sup>

**B. TCA Co-Sponsored a Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey in 2008**

19. TCA co-sponsored a congressional staff trip to Turkey from August 2, 2008 to August 10, 2008 (“2008 Turkey Trip”).<sup>8</sup> TCA “was founded in 2007 as an educational, charitable organization and works to [f]oster friendship, understanding and cooperation between the United States and Turkey . . . .”<sup>9</sup> TCA donated approximately \$35,000 to ATC to finance the 2008 Turkey Trip.<sup>10</sup>
20. ATC is a trade association “dedicated to effectively strengthening US-Turkish relations through the promotion of commercial, defense, technology and cultural relations.”<sup>11</sup> Its membership includes “US and Turkish companies, multinationals, nonprofit organizations and individuals with an interest in US-Turkish relations.”<sup>12</sup>
21. ATC used TCA’s donation to pay for travel expenses of the congressional staff including transportation, meals, and lodging.<sup>13</sup>
22. A total of thirteen individuals attended the trip: six House staff members; two Senate staff members; two ATC staff members; one TCA staff member; and two representatives from ATC membership organizations.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> House Ethics Manual (2008) at 92-93 (citing House Rule 25, clause 5(b)(1)(C) (emphasis in original)).

<sup>7</sup> Report of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct of the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multi-National Business Conferences in 2007 and 2008, Feb. 25, 2010, at 172.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Gonzales Pre- and Post-Travel Disclosure Forms (“Travel Disclosure Forms”) (Exhibit 1 at 13-5845\_0002-0021).

<sup>9</sup> Turkish Coalition of America 2011 Annual Report 2, available at [http://www.tc-america.org/files/about/TCA\\_Annual\\_Report\\_2011.pdf](http://www.tc-america.org/files/about/TCA_Annual_Report_2011.pdf).

<sup>10</sup> ATC Invoice for TCA (Exhibit 2 at 13-5845\_0023-0024); TCA Profit and Loss Detail (Exhibit 3 at 13-5845\_0026-).

<sup>11</sup> ATC Mission Statement and Overview, available at <http://www.the-atc.org/data/aboutus/>.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*

<sup>13</sup> ATC Congressional Staff Trip 2008 Budget (Exhibit 4 at 13-5845\_0028-0031).

<sup>14</sup> ATC 2008 Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey Briefing Book (Exhibit 5 at 13-5845\_0033-0115).

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23. The invitation for the trip that ATC sent to congressional staff stated that the trip was intended to provide “a unique opportunity for select Congressional Staff to gain personal insights about Turkey.”<sup>15</sup>
24. Based on the evidence before the OCE, Mr. Gonzales accepted approximately \$6,120 in travel expenses for the 2008 Turkey Trip.<sup>16</sup>

**C. TCA Retained a Lobbyist**

25. TCA retained an outside lobbyist from March 2008 to December 2008.<sup>17</sup> The lobbyist worked for his own lobbying firm and filed his lobbyist registration on behalf of TCA on April 8, 2008 (effective registration date March 1, 2008).<sup>18</sup> He filed his report terminating his lobbying registration for TCA on January 15, 2009 (effective termination date December 31, 2008).<sup>19</sup>
26. Former TCA Lobbyist told the OCE that TCA hired him primarily to increase the number of Members of Congress on the Congressional Turkey Caucus.<sup>20</sup> TCA President told the OCE that Former TCA Lobbyist was hired to educate TCA on how Congress functions and to provide opinions on legislation.<sup>21</sup> He also stated that Former TCA Lobbyist advised him on how to encourage Members of Congress to join the Turkish Caucus.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Letter from James H. Holmes to Walter Gonzales, dated June 23, 2008 (Exhibit 6 at 13-5845\_0017-0018); Draft Invitation Letter (Exhibit 7 at 13-5845\_0120-0121).

<sup>16</sup> Travel Disclosure Forms (Exhibit 1 at 13-5845\_0002).

<sup>17</sup> TCA Lobbyist LDA Registration and Termination Reports (Exhibit 8 at 13-5845\_0123-0126).

<sup>18</sup> *Id.* at 13-5845\_0123.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.* at 13-5845\_0125.

<sup>20</sup> Memorandum of Interview of Former TCA Lobbyist, March 13, 2013 (“Former TCA Lobbyist MOI”) (Exhibit 9 at 13-5845\_0129).

<sup>21</sup> Memorandum of Interview of TCA President, March 7, 2013 (“TCA President MOP”) (Exhibit 10 at 13-5845\_0133).

<sup>22</sup> *Id.*

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**D. TCA Did Not Disclose that it Retained a Lobbyist**

27. Although TCA retained a lobbyist at the time of the 2008 Turkey Trip, the pre-trip Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form that ATC submitted to House staff members for filing with the House Committee on Ethics certifies on question 9(b) that “the sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent.”<sup>23</sup>

U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Standards of Official Conduct	
<b>PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM</b> (provide directly to each House invitee)	
<p>This form should be completed by private entities offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to House Members, officers or employees under House Rule XXV, clause 5. A completed copy of the form (and any attachments) should be provided to each invited House Member, officer or employee, who will then forward it to the Committee. The trip sponsor should NOT submit the form directly to the Committee.</p> <p>Private sponsors are urged to submit this form to each House invitee at least 30 days before travel is scheduled to begin. The failure to provide the Committee with adequate time to review the form and attachments may result in the invitee not receiving approval for the trip. The submission of an incomplete form will delay the review process. Before completing this form, sponsors are urged to carefully review the Committee's private travel guidelines and advisory memoranda detailing the rules and restrictions for private travel, as well as the instructions for completing this form. Sponsors should call the Committee with any questions prior to submitting the form. Please type form.</p>	
1. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip):	American-Turkish Council and the Turkish Coalition of America
2. I represent that the trip will not be financed (in whole or in part) by a federally-registered lobbyist or a registered foreign agent (signify "yes" by checking box):	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. I represent that the trip sponsor(s) has not accepted from any other source funds earmarked directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip (signify "yes" by checking box):	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No
5. Provide names and titles of ALL House invitees; for each invitee, provide explanation of why the individual was invited (include additional pages if necessary):	Please see the attached document
6. Dates of travel:	Depart Washington, Dulles Airport on August 2 and return 10 August, 2008
7. Cities of departure - destination - return:	Washington, D.C. to Istanbul and return. In addition the group will travel to two other cities within Turkey, Ankara and Patara.
8. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities taking place during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities) (signify "yes" by checking box):	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
9. I represent that (check one of the following):	
a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965:	<input type="checkbox"/> or
b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent:	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> or
c. The trip is for attendance at a one-day event and lobbyist involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was de minimis under the Committee's travel regulations.	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. If travel is for participation in a one-day event (i.e., if you checked Question 9(c)), check one of the following:	
a. One-night's lodging and meals are being offered:	<input type="checkbox"/> or
b. Two-nights' lodging and meals are being offered:	<input type="checkbox"/>
If "b" is checked, explain why the second night is warranted:	

28. The Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form was signed by ATC President.<sup>24</sup> ATC President told the OCE that ATC Government Affairs Director prepared the travel

<sup>23</sup> Travel Disclosure Forms (Exhibit 1 at 13-5845\_0006).

<sup>24</sup> *Id.* at 13-5845\_0008.

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- disclosure form and ATC President reviewed and signed it.<sup>25</sup> He said that he thought the disclosure form was accurate and he did not know Former TCA Lobbyist.<sup>26</sup>
29. ATC Government Affairs Director told the OCE that she checked the box on Question 9(b) that indicated that the sponsors did not retain a federally registered lobbyist. She stated that she likely asked the TCA Vice President whether TCA had a lobbyist.<sup>27</sup> She does not know Former TCA Lobbyist.<sup>28</sup>
30. On the contrary, TCA Vice President told the OCE that no one ever asked her whether TCA retained a lobbyist, including ATC Government Affairs Director.<sup>29</sup> She also stated that she was not involved in the preparation of the pre-travel disclosure form and does not recall ever seeing the document.<sup>30</sup>
31. The OCE asked TCA President, who hired Former TCA Lobbyist, about the Private Sponsor Certification Form. He told the OCE that at the time of the 2008 Turkey Trip he never saw the Private Sponsor Travel Disclosure Form and he understood that ATC was responsible for filing the form and that TCA would be listed as a sponsor.<sup>31</sup>
32. The pre-travel disclosure form that Mr. Gonzales filed with the House Ethics Committee asks "Did the trip sponsor answer 'yes' to Question 9(b) on The Trip Sponsor form (*i.e.*, the travel is being sponsored by an entity that employs a lobbyist)?" Mr. Gonzales checked the "No" box.
33. When asked why he answered "No" to the question whether the sponsor retained a lobbyist, Mr. Gonzales told the OCE that he asked ATC Government Affairs Director over the phone whether they had a lobbyist.<sup>32</sup> He said she must have told him no for him to check answer the question "No."<sup>33</sup>
34. Mr. Gonzales told the OCE that he did not know Former TCA Lobbyist and never communicated with him.<sup>34</sup>
35. Former TCA Lobbyist told the OCE that he did not know Mr. Gonzales and does not recall ever communicating with him.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Memorandum of Interview of ATC President, March 14, 2013 (Exhibit 15 at 13-5845\_0153-0154).

<sup>26</sup> *Id.*

<sup>27</sup> Memorandum of Interview of ATC Government Affairs Director, March 14, 2013 ("ATC Government Affairs Director MOI") (Exhibit 11 at 13-5845\_0139).

<sup>28</sup> *Id.* at 13-5845\_0137.

<sup>29</sup> Memorandum of Interview of TCA Vice President, April 16, 2013 (Exhibit 12 at 13-5845\_0142).

<sup>30</sup> *Id.*

<sup>31</sup> TCA President MOI (Exhibit 10 at 13-5845\_0134).

<sup>32</sup> Memorandum of Interview of Walter Gonzales, March 27, 2013 ("Gonzales MOI") (Exhibit 13 at 13-5845\_0146).

<sup>33</sup> *Id.*

<sup>34</sup> *Id.*

<sup>35</sup> Former TCA Lobbyist MOI (Exhibit 9 at 13-5845\_0129).

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36. Former TCA Lobbyist was not involved in planning or organizing the 2008 Turkey Trip and he did not attend the 2008 Turkey Trip.<sup>36</sup>

**E. TCA Knew of the Potential House Rule Violation after the Trip**

37. TCA knew of the potential House Rule violation after the 2008 Turkey Trip.<sup>37</sup>

38. According to TCA President, around November 2008, he learned during a casual conversation about ethics rules at a reception that TCA could not sponsor congressional trips if it had a lobbyist.<sup>38</sup>

39. TCA President then asked TCA Attorney to research the issue of whether TCA could sponsor congressional trips.<sup>39</sup> TCA President also notified Former TCA Lobbyist of the issue, which Former TCA Lobbyist had his attorneys research.<sup>40</sup>

40. In December 2008, TCA Attorney determined that TCA could not retain lobbyists if it planned to conduct congressional trips.<sup>41</sup>

41. With respect to the 2008 Turkey Trip, TCA Attorney contacted ATC's attorney in January in 2009 and told her that TCA retained a lobbyist at the time that it sponsored the trip.<sup>42</sup> They decided to alert the House Ethics Committee of the issue.<sup>43</sup>

42. TCA Attorney stated that he called the House Ethics Committee on January 27, 2009, explained the issue with the 2008 Turkey Trip, and asked for advice on how to disclose and remedy the problem.<sup>44</sup> He was told that he would receive a call back from the House Ethics Committee.<sup>45</sup> When he did not receive a call, he assumed that the House Ethics Committee contacted ATC directly to resolve the problem.<sup>46</sup> ATC Government Affairs Director stated that she did not have any contacts with the House Committee on Ethics following the trip.<sup>47</sup>

43. TCA President did not notify Mr. Gonzales or any of the congressional staff who attended the 2008 Turkey Trip of the issue concerning the travel expenses.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> *Id.*

<sup>37</sup> TCA President MOI (Exhibit 10 at 13-5845\_0134-0135); Memorandum of Interview of TCA Attorney, March 8, 2013 ("TCA Attorney MOI") (Exhibit 14 at 13-5845\_0150).

<sup>38</sup> TCA President MOI (Exhibit 10 at 13-5845\_0134).

<sup>39</sup> *Id.*

<sup>40</sup> *Id.*

<sup>41</sup> TCA Attorney MOI (Exhibit 14 at 13-5845\_0150).

<sup>42</sup> *Id.*

<sup>43</sup> *Id.*

<sup>44</sup> *Id.*

<sup>45</sup> *Id.*

<sup>46</sup> *Id.*

<sup>47</sup> ATC Government Affairs Director MOI (Exhibit 11 at 13-5845\_0139).

<sup>48</sup> TCA President MOI (Exhibit 10 at 13-5845\_0134).

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44. Mr. Gonzales told the OCE that no one from ATC or TCA ever contacted him following the trip concerning the issue of TCA's employment of a lobbyist.<sup>49</sup>

**F. Mr. Gonzales' Knowledge of TCA's Lobbyist**

45. The OCE did not receive any evidence that Mr. Gonzales knew that TCA retained a lobbyist at the time that he accepted the travel expenses.

46. Based on the following facts, the Board finds that Mr. Gonzales did not knowingly accept travel expenses from an entity that retained a lobbyist:

- a. Mr. Gonzales submitted the co-sponsors' pre-travel disclosure form to the Committee on Ethics for pre-approval;
- b. Mr. Gonzales submitted his personal pre-travel disclosure form, which was based on information that he received from the co-sponsors, to the Committee on Ethics for pre-approval;
- c. Mr. Gonzales provided a complete and accurate statement of all material facts related to the co-sponsors' employment of a lobbyist to the extent known to him at the time; and
- d. The Committee on Ethics provided written approval of his acceptance of the travel expenses.

47. In many circumstances, the apparent lack of knowledge and good faith reliance on both the assertions of the private sponsor and the written approval of the Committee on Ethics would result in no liability on the part of Mr. Gonzales. However, under the precedent established by the Committee on Ethics in certain, limited circumstances, an individual who relies on approval from the Committee on Ethics in accepting a proscribed gift, may nevertheless be liable for its receipt.

48. In this matter, the Board finds that Mr. Gonzales acted in good faith reliance on the written pre-approval that the Committee on Ethics provided. However, he still received travel expenses from a private entity that retained a lobbyist during the 2008 Turkey Trip. In similar matters, the Committee on Ethics has found that the receipt of the gift was impermissible and proscribed by House rules even though an individual may reasonably have believed otherwise.

49. Accordingly, the OCE Board finds there is substantial reason to believe that although Mr. Gonzales did not knowingly accept, he nevertheless received, an impermissible gift proscribed by House rules.

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<sup>49</sup> Walter Gonzales MOI (Exhibit 13 at 13-5845\_0147).

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**III. CONCLUSION**

50. ATC and TCA submitted a pre-travel disclosure form for the 2008 Turkey Trip to Mr. Gonzales, which did not disclose that TCA retained a lobbyist.
51. The Board finds that Mr. Gonzales' did not knowingly accept travel expenses from an entity that retained a lobbyist because:
- a. Mr. Gonzales submitted the co-sponsors' pre-travel disclosure form to the Committee on Ethics for pre-approval;
  - b. Mr. Gonzales submitted his personal pre-travel disclosure form, which was based on information that he received from the co-sponsors, to the Committee on Ethics for pre-approval;
  - c. Mr. Gonzales provided a complete and accurate statement of all material facts related to the co-sponsors' employment of a lobbyist to the extent that it was known to him at the time; and
  - d. The Committee on Ethics provided written pre-approval of his acceptance of the travel expenses.
52. Based on the above findings, Mr. Gonzales acted in good faith and did not know that TCA retained a lobbyist at the time of the trip. However, the Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the allegation above because there is substantial reason to believe that although Mr. Gonzales did not knowingly accept, he nevertheless received, an impermissible gift proscribed by House rules.

**EXHIBIT 1**

LEGISLATIVE RESOURCE CENTER

Original  Amendment

2008 OCT 21 AM 11: 33

EMPLOYEE  
POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Name of Traveler (print or type): Walter Gonzales

2. a. Name of Accompanying Family Member (if any): \_\_\_\_\_  
 b. Relationship to Employee:  Spouse  Child  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
3. a. Date of Departure and Date of Return: 08/02/2008 to 08/10/2008  
 b. Dates at personal expense (if any): \_\_\_\_\_
4. Itinerary (cities of departure - destination - return): Istanbul - Ankara - Istanbul - Patara - Istanbul
5. Sponsor(s) (who paid for the trip): American Turkish Council and Turkish Coalition of America
6. Describe meetings and events attended (attach additional pages if necessary): See attached

7. Attached to this form are EACH of the following (signify that each item is attached by checking the corresponding box):
- a.  the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form completed by the trip sponsor, including all attachments;
- b.  the Traveler Form completed by the employee; *and*
- c.  the Committee on Standards' letter approving my participation on this trip.
8. a. I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the sponsor's agenda. (Signify that statement is true by checking box):
- b. If not, explain: \_\_\_\_\_

9. TRAVEL EXPENSES: Obtain actual dollar amounts from the sponsor. If exact dollar amounts are unavailable by the due date, provide a good faith estimate and file an amended form once the correct amounts are received.

	Total Transportation Expenses	Total Lodging Expenses	Total Meal Expenses
For employee:	\$3775.00	\$1,750.00	\$1,350.00
For accompanying family member:			

	Other Expenses (dollar amount)	Specific Nature of Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For employee:	\$80.00	Parking
For accompanying family member:		

RUPPERSBERGER

Original  Amendment

U.S. House of Representatives  
110<sup>th</sup> Congress

EMPLOYEE  
POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from private sources for meetings, speaking engagements, fact-finding trips, or similar events undertaken in connection with official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report all privately-funded travel on the annual Financial Disclosure Statements of those persons required to file them. In accordance with House Rule 25, clause 5, complete this form and file it with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, B-106 Cannon House Office Building, within 15 days after travel is completed. The Clerk is to make the second page of this form publicly available as soon as possible after it is filed.

Name of Traveler (print or type): Walter Gonzales

I certify that the information contained on all pages of this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

SIGNATURE OF TRAVELER: 

DATE: October 21, 2008

I authorized this travel in advance. I have determined that all of the expenses listed on this form were necessary and that the travel was in connection with the employee's official duties and would not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

NAME OF SUPERVISING MEMBER: Ruppertsberger

SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISING MEMBER: 

DATE: October 21, 2008

Version date 9/2008 by Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

RUPPERTSBERGER.

Turkey Staff Trip  
August 2, 2008 to August 10, 2008  
List of Meetings and Events Attended

Dinner/Meeting with Turkish Council of America- Overview meeting.

Meeting with Turkish Council of America and Turkish Council Foundation-

Meeting with four NGO's ranging from women participation in government to education reform- NGO views on issues in Turkey and how to resolve them.

Meeting with local Turkish Minority Leaders from Jewish and Armenian Communities- Addressing Turkey/Armenian issues and treatment of minorities in Turkey.

Dinner with Turkish American Businessmen- How to create better relations between US/Turkey in all sectors.

Meeting with US Consulate General- US views on Turkey.

Meeting with TUSKON- How to create better relations between US/Turkey in terms of businesses.

Dinner with Turkish American Business Association

Wreath Laying Ceremony and Singing Official Visitors Book

Meeting with Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs- US/Turkish relations intelligence sharing, fighting terrorism, regional security, role with Iraq.

Meeting with Undersecretary for Defense Industries- US/Turkey Defense cooperation.

Meeting with US Ambassador and Embassy Staff- Future of US/Turkish relations and what to expect 5-20 years down the line.

Meeting with Eurasian Strategic Research Institute- US-Turkey relations in context of regional security.

Dinner with American Turkish Council Corporate Partners

Visited site of endangered Loggerhead Turtles

Dinner with local elected officials and businessmen in Kalkan.

Turkey Staff Trip  
August 2, 2008 to August 10, 2008  
List of Meetings and Events Attended

Dinner/Meeting with Turkish Council of America

Meeting with Turkish Council of America and Turkish Council Foundation

Meeting with four NGO's ranging from women participation in government to education reform.

Meeting with local Turkish Minority Leaders from Jewish and Armenian Communities.

Dinner with Turkish American Businessmen

Meeting with US Consulate General

Meeting with TUSKON

Dinner with Turkish American Business Association

Wreath Laying Ceremony and Singing Official Visitors Book

Meeting with Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs

Meeting with Undersecretary for Defense Industries

Meeting with US Ambassador and Embassy Staff

Meeting with Eurasian Strategic Research Institute

Dinner with American Turkish Council Corporate Partners

Visited site of endangered Loggerhead Turtles

Dinner with local elected officials and businessmen in Kalkan.

U.S. House of Representatives  
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

**PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM**  
(provide directly to each House invitee)

This form should be completed by private entities offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to House Members, officers or employees under House Rule XXV, clause 5. A completed copy of the form (and any attachments) should be provided to each invited House Member, officer or employee, who will then forward it to the Committee. The trip sponsor should NOT submit the form directly to the Committee.

*Private sponsors are urged to submit this form to each House invitee at least 30 days before travel is scheduled to begin. The failure to provide the Committee with adequate time to review the form and attachments may result in the invitee not receiving approval for the trip. The submission of an incomplete form will delay the review process. Before completing this form, sponsors are urged to carefully review the Committee's private travel guidelines and advisory memoranda detailing the rules and restrictions for private travel, as well as the instructions for completing this form. Sponsors should call the Committee with any questions prior to submitting the form. Please type form.*

1. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): American-Turkish Council and the Turkish Coalition of America
2. I represent that the trip will not be financed (in whole or in part) by a federally-registered lobbyist or a registered foreign agent (signify "yes" by checking box):
3. I represent that the trip sponsor(s) has not accepted from any other source funds earmarked directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip (signify "yes" by checking box):
4. Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?  Yes  No
5. Provide names and titles of ALL House invitees; for each invitee, provide explanation of why the individual was invited (include additional pages if necessary): Please see the attached document
6. Dates of travel: Depart Washington, Dulles Airport on August 2 and return 10 August, 2008
7. Cities of departure -- destination -- return: Washington, D.C. to Istanbul and return. In addition the group will travel to two other cities within Turkey, Ankara and Patara.
8. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities taking place during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities) (signify "yes" by checking box):
9. I represent that (check one of the following):
  - a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965:  or
  - b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent:  or
  - c. The trip is for attendance at a one-day event and lobbyist involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.
10. If travel is for participation in a one-day event (i.e., if you checked Question 9(c)), check one of the following:
  - a. One-night's lodging and meals are being offered:  or
  - b. Two-nights' lodging and meals are being offered:
 If "b" is checked, explain why the second night is warranted: \_\_\_\_\_

11. If the trip is not sponsored by an institution of higher education, I represent that a federally-registered lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip (signify "yes" by checking box):
12. Private sponsors must have a direct and immediate relationship to the purpose of the trip or location being visited. Describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip: \_\_\_\_\_  
Please see the attached document  
\_\_\_\_\_
13. Describe each sponsor's organizational interest in the purpose of the trip: \_\_\_\_\_  
Please see the attached document  
\_\_\_\_\_
14. Describe the type and class of the transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first-class transportation will be provided. In addition, for travel via aircraft, please indicate if travel is being offered on a commercial flight, chartered flight or on an aircraft operated or paid for by a carrier not licensed by the Federal Aviation Administration to operate for compensation or hire (i.e., a private aircraft). If first-class fare is being provided, or if travel is via chartered or private aircraft, please provide an explanation describing why such travel is warranted: \_\_\_\_\_  
Each participant is travelling coach class on a commercial airline.  
\_\_\_\_\_
15. I represent that the expenditures related to local area travel during the trip will be unrelated to personal or recreational activities of the invitee(s). (signify "yes" by checking box):
16. I represent that either (check one of the following):  
a. The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees:  or  
b. The trip involves events that are arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:   
If "b" is checked, detail the cost per day of meals (approximate cost may be provided): \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
17. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: \_\_\_\_\_  
Please see the attached document  
\_\_\_\_\_
18. Name of hotel or other lodging facility: Please see attached document  
\_\_\_\_\_
19. Cost per night of hotel or other lodging facility (approximate cost may be provided): \_\_\_\_\_  
Approximate cost per night at each of the hotels is \$250 + tax  
\_\_\_\_\_
20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility: \_\_\_\_\_  
Please see the attached document  
\_\_\_\_\_

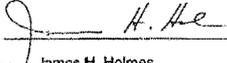
21. TOTAL EXPENSES FOR EACH PARTICIPANT:

<input type="checkbox"/> actual amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> good faith estimates	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or employee	\$3,300.50	\$1970.00	\$850.00
For each accompanying family member			

	Other Expenses (dollar amount)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or employee	\$400.00	Taxi fare, entrance fee, security, interpreter fees, etc.
For each accompanying family member		

22. I represent that reimbursement for miscellaneous travel expenses for the trip, such as travel to and from airports, security costs, interpreter fees, visa application fees, and similar expenses, will be for actual costs incurred and are necessary for the purpose of the trip (signify "yes" by checking box):

23. I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature:   
 Name and title: James H. Holmes  
 Organization: American-Turkish Council  
 Address: 1111 14th Street N.W., Suite 1050, Washington, D.C. 20005  
 Telephone number: 202-783-  
 Fax number: 202-783 0511  
 Email Address: @the-atc.org

The Committee staff may contact the above individual above if additional information is required.

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee at the following address:

Committee on Standards of Official Conduct  
 U.S. House of Representatives  
 HT-2, The Capitol  
 Washington, DC 20515  
 (202) 225-7103 (phone)  
 (202) 225-7392 (general fax)  
 (202) 226-7172 (fax for travel approvals)

Version date 4/2007 by Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

**American-Turkish Council Congressional Staff Visit to Turkey**

**Objectives for Congressional Staffers**

- Promote and enhance the U.S.-Turkey relationship.
- Engage in dialogue with Senior Turkish government officials, U.S. Embassy representatives, NGOs, and Turkish business executives.
- Experience the heritage, landscape and overall cultural richness of Turkey.
- Observe first-hand the workings of the Turkish business community and government.
- Understand the political, cultural and social dynamics of Turkey and its region.
- Gain valuable information and insight from the Turkish media.

**Overview of Potential Briefing Topics**

- **Strengths and weaknesses of Turkey's current economic and political situation.**
- **International issues central to Turkish foreign relations**
  - The war in Iraq and Afghanistan and implications for the surrounding region
  - Turkey/Iran relations
  - Turkey's EU accession process
  - Turkey's role in NATO and with its neighbors
  - Caucasus, including Turkey/Armenian relations.
  - U.S.-Turkey cooperation against terrorism in the region.
  - Turkey's role in the rebuilding of Afghanistan and Iraq.
  - Cyprus and the continued isolation of Turkish Cypriots
- **Areas of economic and political bilateral relations between the U.S. and Turkey**
  - Defense and Security Affairs
  - Construction and Energy Security
  - Foreign Direct Investment
  - Pharmaceuticals
  - Agribusiness and Food Industries
  - Banking and Finance
  - Health
  - Information Technology and Telecommunications
  - Turkish Export Market
  - Bi-lateral Trade Promotion
- **Turkish Government Issues**
  - Constitutional Court Case
  - Secularism versus democracy
  - Management of Kurdish issues

**Meetings with Turkish Government Officials**

- Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Other Officials of the Ministry
- Defense procurement issues with Undersecretary for National Defense (SSM)
- Local and Municipal Government Leaders
- Parliamentarians

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

**Names and titles of each invitee and the reason for their selection (question 5 on both Senate and House form):**

**House:**

Mr. Lawrence J. Halloran  
Minority Staff Director  
House Committee on Oversight

Ms. Helen Hardin  
Chief of Staff  
Office of Representative Zach Wamp ((R-3<sup>rd</sup> TN)

Mr. Kenneth Kraft  
Deputy Chief of Staff and Appropriations Counsel  
Office of Representative David L. Hobson (R-7<sup>th</sup> OH)

Mr. Sean O'Brien  
Legislative Director  
Office of Representative Heath Shuler (D-11<sup>th</sup> NC)

Mr. Walter Gozales  
Senior Policy Advisor  
Office of Representative Dutch Ruppersberger (D-2<sup>nd</sup> MD)

**Senate:**

Mr. Paul Kong  
Legislative Director  
Office of Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE)

Mr. Garrett Eucalitto  
Deputy Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant  
Office of Senator Joseph Lieberman (Independent-CT)

Invited staffers are selected according to one or several of the following:

- Staffers from the Congressional offices of the members of The Caucus on U.S.-Turkish Relations and Turkish Americans
- Offices of Representatives and Senators who follow issues with regards to Turkey and the region and let us know of their interest
- Names of interested parties are given to us by our membership
- Word-of-mouth recommendations from past trip participants from the House and Senate
- A balanced group of both Democratic and Republican offices are given opportunities to send Staff members on these trips

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

**Description of each Sponsor organizing the trip and their interest in the purpose of the trip (questions 12 and 13 on both Senate and House forms):**

American-Turkish Council each year selects group of Congressional Staffers who are invited to visit Turkey. This is an educational trip that combines meetings with top-level Government of Turkey and parliamentarians, U.S. Embassy and Consulate officials, NGOs, and opportunities to visit some of the outstanding historical and cultural sights of the country. This trip also gives ATC an opportunity to show the achievements of Member US companies within Turkey such as power plants, factories, healthcare and educational facilities, joint ventures and other businesses. This is the eleventh year that the ATC is organizing this trip.

**American-Turkish Council:** *(A non-profit organization, is exempt from federal income taxation under Section 501 ©6 of the Internal Revenue Code. Dues, contributions, or gifts to ATC are not tax deductible as charitable contributions. However, they may be tax deductible as ordinary and necessary business expenses to the extent such contributions are not applied for the purposes of influencing legislation as that term is defined under the Internal Revenue Code.)*

As one of the leading business associations in the United States, American Turkish Council (ATC) is dedicated to strengthening US-Turkish relations through the promotion of commercial, defense, technology and cultural relations. Its diverse membership includes Fortune 500, US and Turkish companies, multinationals, nonprofit organizations and individuals with an interest in US-Turkish relations. Guided by member interests, ATC strives to enhance the growing ties between the US and Turkey by initiating and facilitating efforts to increase investment and trade between the two countries.

**GOALS OF AMERICAN TURKISH COUNCIL**

- To help resolve problems and disputes that affect US-Turkish commercial, defense and cultural relations.
- To encourage trade and investment between the United States and Turkey.
- To educate the public and private sectors on the importance of the strategic alliance between the United States and Turkey.
- To increase the understanding and appreciation of the history, culture and traditions of the United States and Turkey.
- To promote awareness of US-Turkish issues. To facilitate dialogue between the government agencies of both Turkey and the United States and the private sector.

**Turkish Coalition of America:**

The Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) is an educational, charitable organization incorporated in February 2007. Based in Washington, D.C., TCA's objectives are to:

- Educate the general public about Turkey and Turkish Americans and voice their opinion on critical issues to interested parties.
- Engage and cultivate a new generation of young politically active Turkish American leaders.
- Promote and advance the interests of the Turkish American community and Turks.
- Foster friendship, understanding and cooperation between the United States and Turkey.
- Protect the character and ensure a realistic portrayal of Turkey and Turkish Americans in the media and the arts.
- Serve as a think tank of expertise and a clearinghouse of information on Turkey and Americans of Turkish descent.

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

- Identify and recognize the achievements of Turkish Americans in academia, arts, business, education, government, public service and science.

In carrying out its mission, TCA is committed to building coalitions and working with all like minded organizations, based on shared values and goals, at local, state and national levels through the sponsorship and organization of :

- Educational programs on Turkish American issues, Turkish heritage and Turkey.
- Civic consciousness seminars on issues affecting Turkish Americans and the importance for Turkish Americans being involved in the political process.
- Scholarships and internship programs for Turkish Americans interested in political science, public administration and communication.
- Dissemination of news about the activities and achievements of Turkish Americans and the Turkish American perspective on critical issues.
- Educational and cultural tours of Turkey and the United States.
- Sister city relationships between Turkish and American cities.

**Reason for selecting the location of the trip (Question 17 on House form and 18 on Senate form):**

Every year the trip encompasses the capital city of Ankara where meetings with the Government and Military officials are conducted, and Istanbul for the NGO and business communities. In order to give Staff members opportunity to see some of the vast diversity and cultural richness of Turkey and the delegation visits a third location in the country. This year we've chosen the antique city of Patara, which has a unique historical relationship to the United States and is important for modern Turkey for its environmental activism and as a region rich in agriculture and land development.

**Name of hotel or other lodging facility (Question 18 on the House and 19 on the Senate form)**

Whenever possible ATC uses facilities owned or operated by ATC's members, as is the case with the Hyatt Hotel in Istanbul. It is the aim of ATC and TCA to make sure that the visitors return home with positive impressions. Proper and affordable lodging within the limits set by the USG's per diem standards, creates a positive impression.

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

**Monday August 4, 2008**

<b>08:15</b>	Depart Hotel for Breakfast with TCA & TCF
<b>08:30</b>	Arrive at the Turkish Coalition of America and Turkish Cultural Foundation Offices
<b>08:45 – 09:45</b>	Breakfast briefing with TCF & TCA Chairman & Officers
<b>10:00 – 11:00</b>	Meeting with NGO's
<b>11:10</b>	Depart Meeting for Leaders of the minority community at Zeyrekhané
<b>11:30 – 13:30</b>	Meeting with Leaders of the Jewish, Greek & Armenian Communities & Lunch

**MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN TURKEY:**

The Empire of the Occident had ancient Rome as the capital, while the Eastern Roman Empire, kept Constantinople as its capital. Western Rome did not survive this partition for a long time and the barbarians (Franks, Goths, Lombardic, Norman) used the weakness of the Westerners, to invade all territory and to enter Rome in 476. Roman Empire limited itself to its Eastern part, including the territories of the south of the Balkans, Southern Italy and Sicily, the north of Africa including Tripolitaine, the Near East with Syria and Mésopotamia. In spite of the wars of succession, collapses of small regional States, the plagues, Eastern Roman Empire remained intact until 1453, the date when the Ottomans invaded Constantinople and put an end to the empire of the millennium. When Constantine moved the capital, he also deported a part of the population of Rome. The Latin language prevailed in the administration, in the court and in the middle classes, while Greek was spoken by the majority population of the city, the Balkans and Asia Minor. The capital had the name of New-Rome, in the course of the centuries, the Latin language disappeared replaced by Greek and the city was named Constantinople, after its founder, Constantine. Empire was multi-ethnic, just as the capital, but the Greek language remained as the only administrative language used by almost all the population until 1453.

Constantinople remained as the capital of powerful Ottoman Empire until the formation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. The population of the Empire did not change radically, and the Greek language was still widely spread beside Slavic and Turkish. Islam had made its appearance at the end of the XIth century, but Christianity held on strong until the territories of Ottoman Empire from the Arab countries of North Africa to the East of the Caucuses began converting to Islam. Multi-ethnicity and multi-religions were therefore two main characteristics of the Empire, from its creation and till its end in 1923. To manage this cosmopolitan population, Sultan Mehmet II gave statutes to four main nations of his empire. These statutes, which had only religious bases, envisaged a broad autonomy in the administration of communities. The Muslims fell directly under the authority of the sultan, himself admitted by the *müftü* (religious authority), who also had the possibility of displacing the sultan; the Orthodox Christians had a leader and representative of the community, the Greek Patriarch who assembled in the Fener (Phanar) district of Constantinople; the Gregorian Christians had their own patriarchy, first established in the district of Samatya, then in Kumkapi. Finally, all Jews were under the authority of the Big Ottoman Rabbinate, which assembled in the district of Balat. Every community kept its institutions and its particular language: Turkish - Ottoman for the Muslims, Greek for the Orthodoxes, Armenian for the Gregorian, and Judaeo-Spanish for the Jews (also known as Ladino), from 1492 onwards. Later, other "nations" were admitted by the Ottoman State. The Ottoman system of "nations", allowed the Romans to keep Greek language and orthodox Christian religion. It is noted by historian today that if it had not been for this particular system, the Greek language would have the same fate as that of Latin, and would have disappeared.

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

In 1829-30, the Peloponnese declared independence, which later became the Kingdom of Greece. Always supported by Russia and the Balkan States, this small kingdom several times went to war against the Ottoman Empire which, under threats of the foreign powers, left large territories between 1876 and 1912 (Thessalie, Epire of the South, Macedonia, Western Thrace and Crete). However, the last Greek offensive against the Empire was a disaster. Indeed, after Ottoman defeat in the conflict of 1914-18, the imperialist armies (England, France, Italy) occupied all of the Ottoman territories, with the aim of distributing it among themselves. Greece, with the downstream part of Great Britain, had annexed the oriental Thrace to Silivri (to 40 km of the capital), but especially the city of Smyrne (Izmir) and the neighbouring provinces. Encouraged by the orthodox populations of the region, the Greek army attacked the rest of the Asia Minor and fought with the Turkish revolutionary army. Defeat was disastrous for the Greeks, who were driven out of Izmir by the Turks. In 1922 Greece signed the capitulation and in 1923, Greece and the Turkish Republic signed the Treaty of Lausanne, which determined the borders of the new Turkish State and Greece. This was followed by an exchange of populations. The Greeks of Muslim origin left Greece, while Greek population of Anatolia and Thrace returned to Greece. This exchange of population between both countries, displaced a total of two million Greeks, with millions of Muslims of the Caucasus and the Balkans, who took refuge in the new Turkish Republic. Since 1923, the Greeks of Turkish nationality together with the other minorities living in Turkey, benefit from a specific status, which allows them to keep their culture, language, schools, and religious institutions. This status admitted by the Treaty of Lausanne, is based on the Ottoman system of "nations".

Throughout history, hundreds, thousands, millions of people lived in Anatolia, the present day Turkey. At times, their existence was marked by battles, and at others, peace reigned. The Armenians were among the inhabitants of this rich and vast area, which over the centuries was ruled by the Persians, Macedonians, Seljuks, Romans, Byzantines and Arabs. When the Turks gained sovereignty over Anatolia, in 1071, fighting gradually diminished and Byzantine persecution left its place to the just, tolerant, humanitarian and unifying beliefs and traditions of the Seljuks. Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, who put an end to Byzantine rule in 1453, allowed the foundation of the Armenian Patriarchate, an unprecedented move for the Armenians to whom he granted freedom of conscience and faith. The transformation of the Armenian Episcopate in Western Anatolia to the Istanbul Patriarchate, following a decree he issued in 1461, is clear evidence of the vision and tolerance displayed by Mehmed and of the subsequent Ottoman Sultans toward other faiths.

As a matter of fact, the present day Armenian Patriarch Mesrob II was quoted by saying: " We can duly grasp the significance of tolerance between different religions and cultures, as well as the value of this incident dating back to 538 years, by taking into account the tensions witnessed throughout the world on the threshold of a new millennium, the ongoing wars beyond our borders in particular."

Following the reign of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, Turco-Armenian relations continued excellently until the end of the 19th century. In fact, Armenians were by far, the greatest beneficiaries of the opportunities offered by the Ottoman Empire to all industrious, efficient, honest and productive subjects of the non-muslim communities. Being exempted from the military service and to a great extent from taxation, the Armenians had the opportunity to make headway in trade, agriculture, craftsmanship and administration, and by reason of their loyalty to the Empire, as well as their ability to intermingle with other subjects, they had duly attained the title of 'loyal people'

Today the Armenians continue to enjoy the "nations" status given to all the minorities during the Ottoman Empire. They are the largest Christian minority, over than 100,000, living in present day Turkey.

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

Of the 25,000 Jews living in Turkey, 22,000 of them reside in Istanbul. Most of them are ancestors of those expelled from Spain in 1492, and offered a safe haven by the Sultan Mehmet. Although they are Orthodox Jews, their practices are a bit different. They do not belong to a synagogue - only to the Jewish community. Overall, there are seventeen synagogues in Istanbul and most of them are still active. The most important of these are the Neve Salom Synagogue, the Askenazi Synagogue, the Ahrida (Ohrida) Synagogue, the Sisli and Ortakoy Synagogues. Jews are active in every aspect of Turkish life: education, politics, media, financing, the arts, and trade and commerce.

**13:45** Depart Zeyrekhane for Sultanahmet  
**14:30 – 17:30** Visit to the Historical sites in Sultanahmet including the Topkapi Palace, Hagia Sophia, Museum of Islamic Art & Archeology  
**17:30** Depart for the Hotel  
**19:00** Depart Hotel for the Kabatas Dock  
**19:30 – 22:00** Board boat at Kabatas for dinner with the Business community in Istanbul  
**22:00** Arrive at Kabatas Dock and depart for Hotel

**Tuesday August 5, 2008**

**07:30** Check out from Hotel and depart for the US Consulate General  
**08:00 – 09:00** Breakfast Meeting with the US Consul General and Officers of the Consulate  
**09:15** Depart Consulate for Bosphorus Straits Traffic Control HQ  
**09:45 – 11:00** Briefing and visit at the BSTC HQ  
**11:10** Depart BSTC HQ for luncheon meeting with TUSKON Board and members at their HQ  
**11:45 – 13:30** Meeting & Lunch at TUSKON (Confederation of Businessmen & Industrialist) at their Sisli HQ  
**13:30** Depart TUSKON for the Airport  
**14:00** Arrive at Istanbul Ataturk Airport  
**15:00** Depart Istanbul for Ankara on TK 128  
**16:00** Arrive at Ankara Esenboga Airport

**ANKARA:**

Ankara lies deep within the heartland, protected and insulated from uninvited guests. Atatürk chose Ankara as the political capital for his new republic. While Istanbul was the seat of an imperial and dissolute empire, he saw Ankara as the clean-slate capital of an entirely new Turkish state. In the 80 years since Atatürk rode in on a dirt road and literally lifted Ankara out of the ashes, the city has established itself as the political and cultural center of Turkey.

Ankara is almost exclusively geared toward sustaining all elements of the national government, a wide-ranging population of foreign ambassadors, visiting dignitaries, local politicians, and politically minded business enterprises. It also boasts a number of prestigious universities and technical colleges, as well as the largest library in the country.

Ankara is a center for opera, ballet, jazz, and modern dance, and is home of the Presidential Symphony Orchestra, the State Theatre, and the State Opera and Ballet. Ankara has transformed from the quiet center of the Turkish Republic to a city of more than three million and a hub of non-stop activity. The city is bubbling over with new construction, chic restaurants, cozy cafés, and dazzling nightlife.

**16:30** Depart Ankara Airport for Hotel  
**17:30** Check in to the Hotel  
**19:30** Depart Hotel for Kale Washington Restaurant  
**20:00 – 22:00** Briefing and Dinner with TABA (Turkish-American Business Association)

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

and the Press at Kale Washington

**Wednesday August 6, 2008**

**07:45** Breakfast at Hotel  
**08:45** Depart Hotel for Anitkabir

**ATATURK'S MAUSOLEUM – ANITKABIR**

In an imposing position in the Anittepe quarter of the city stands the Mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic. Completed in 1953, it represents the fusion of ancient and modern architectural ideas and was at its building considered the best of modern Turkish architecture. There is a museum housing a superior statue of Atatürk, writings, letters and other items belonging to Atatürk, as well as an exhibition of photographs recording important moments in his life and the establishment of the Republic.

Construction of Anitkabir commenced on 9 October 1944 with a splendid ceremony by laying the first stone of the foundation. Construction of Anitkabir took nine years in four stages. You will be expected to sign its book of visitors with an appropriate note of respect.

**09:30 – 10:00** Wreath Laying Ceremony and the signing of the Official Visitors Book  
**10:00 – 10:30** Visit the Mausoleum Museum  
**10:30** Depart Anitkabir for the Undersecretariat of Defense Industries (SSM)  
**11:00** Meeting with Mr. Murad Bayar, Undersecretary of SSM  
**12:00** -- Depart SSM for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

**MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MFA)**

Since the inception of the Republic, the vision and principles of the founder of the Republic, Atatürk (meaning Father of the Turks, a name given to him by the people), have guided Turkish foreign policy and his maxim "peace at home, peace in the world" continues to constitute the fundamental objective of Turkish foreign policy. The Republic of Turkey is now represented by 162 missions throughout the world. These missions comprise of 93 Embassies, 11 Permanent Missions to international organizations, and 58 Consulate Generals.

Serving under the leadership of the former Minister for the Economy the 41<sup>st</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Ali Babacan, the Turkish Foreign Service consists of approximately 90 diplomats who conduct and promote Turkey's international political, economic and cultural relations in its region and beyond.

For nearly half a century, NATO ally Turkey was a bulwark in NATO's Cold War policy of containment against the Soviet Union. While Turkey's relations with Russia are good today, issues throughout Turkey's region make it no less important for U.S. foreign and national security policy. Iraq, Afghanistan, the Middle East Peace Initiative, Aegean Affairs, Syria, Kurdish policy and the PKK, the Turkish states of Central Asia – all are issues of U.S.-Turkey diplomatic discussion and exchange.

**12:30 – 13:50** Luncheon Briefing at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
**14:00** Depart MFA for US Embassy  
**14:00 – 15:00** Briefing at the US Embassy  
**15:00** Depart Embassy for ASAM (Eurasian Strategic Research Center)  
**16:00 – 17:00** Meeting and Lecture at ASAM on US-Turkish Relations  
**17:00 – 18:00** Reception  
**18:00** Depart ASAM for Hotel  
**19:00** Depart Hotel for Dinner  
**19:30 – 22:00** Dinner with ATC Corporate Members at Tike Restaurant

**Thursday August 7, 2008**

**07:00** Breakfast & Checkout from Hotel  
**07:15** Depart for Ankara Airport

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

**09:00** Depart Ankara for Istanbul on TK 113  
**10:00** Arrive at Istanbul Airport  
**11:45** Depart Istanbul on TK 216 to Dalaman  
**13:05** Arrive at Dalaman Airport  
**13:30** Depart Dalaman for Patara, Kalkan by bus  
**16:30** Arrive at Patara  
**17:00** Check in to Hotel  
**19:00 - 21:30** Dinner with former Congressman Steve Solarz and Dr. Yalcin Ayasli,  
 Chairman of TCA and TCF (Turkish Cultural Foundation)

**PATARA:**

The antique city of Patara emerged at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century thanks to an archeological team led by Akdeniz University Professors Fahri Isik and Havva Iskan Isik. It has a unique political relationship to the United States. Recently the archeological team unearthed an ancient parliament building in Patara -- the meeting place of the first federal republic in recorded human history. Authors of the Federalist papers made at least two specific references to the Lycian League as an example of the federal structure of government they envisioned for the United States.

The unearthed parliament building, called the Bouleuterion, housed representatives of at least twenty-three city-states of the Lycian League, which existed along the Mediterranean coast of Turkey from about 167 BC until 400 AD. The archeological team has rescued numerous buildings and items from the sand and scrub brush, besides the Bouleuterion parliament building, including: a large necropolis; a Roman bath; a sizeable semicircular theater; a sprawling main avenue leading to the market square; a Byzantine basilica (one of 22 churches once packed into Patara); one of the world's oldest lighthouses; and a fortified wall.

Modern-day Patara sports what the London Sunday Times describes as one of the world's best beaches and a nesting site for the loggerhead sea turtle, locally known as the Caretta Caretta. During the turtle hatching season environmentalists from all around the world, come to Patara where the eggs and nesting sites of the Caretta Caretta turtles are protected and permanent structures on the coast forbidden.

**Friday August 8, 2008**

**08:30** Breakfast at the Hotel  
**09:30** Depart Hotel for the Lycian City of Patara  
**10:30 - 12:30** Visit and lecture at the site where the Federalists papers originated (see attached document describing in detail the importance of this site for the origins of American Democracy)  
**12:30 - 13:30** Lunch at Patara  
**13:30 - 14:30** Visit the site where the endangered Loggerhead Turtles lay their eggs  
 This project is supported by UNEP & WWF.  
**14:45** Depart Patara to visit Organic Farms and production facilities within the region  
**15:30 - 17:00** Visit to the Organic Farms  
**17:00** Depart for Patara  
**19:30** Depart Hotel for Dinner  
**20:00 - 22:00** Dinner with the local Municipal authorities

**Saturday August 9, 2008**

**08:40** Depart Hotel for Kas (Lycian city of Habesos)  
**10:30** Arrive at Kas and visit the ancient ruins of the city  
**12:30 - 13:30** Lunch at Kale Island Restaurant  
**13:30** Depart Kale for Dalaman Airport  
**17:45** Arrive at Dalaman Airport  
**19:30** Depart Dalaman Airport for Istanbul on TK 219

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

**20:50** Arrive in Istanbul Airport  
**21:15** Depart Airport for Hotel

**Sunday August 10, 2008**

**04:00** Breakfast & Checkout  
**04:15** Depart Hotel for Airport  
**05:55** Depart on LH 3345 for Frankfurt  
**07:55** Arrive at Frankfurt Airport  
**09:55** Depart Frankfurt for DC on LH 416  
**13:00** Arrive at Washington Dulles Airport

U.S. House of Representatives  
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

**PRIVATELY SPONSORED TRAVEL: TRAVELER FORM**  
**For Members, Officers and Employees**  
**(submit directly to the Committee)**

This form should be completed by House Members, officers or employees seeking Committee approval of privately-sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule XXV, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer or employee, together with the completed and signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form.

*Members, officers and employees seeking approval for travel are urged to submit all forms to the Committee at least 30 days before travel is scheduled to begin. The failure to provide the Committee with adequate time to review the form and attachments may result in the invitee not receiving approval for the trip. A copy of this form will be made available for public inspection. Please type form. Form (and any attachments) may be faxed to the Committee at (202) 225-7392.*

1. Name of Member, officer or employee (traveler): Walter Gonzales
2. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): American Turkish Council and Turkish Coalition of America
3. Travel destination(s): Turkey- Ankara, Istanbul, Patara
4. a. Dates of travel: 08/02/2008 to 08/10/2008  
 b. Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?  Yes  No  
 If yes, dates at personal expense: \_\_\_\_\_
5. a. Name of accompanying family member (if any): n/a  
 b. Relationship to Member/Officer:  Spouse  Child  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
6. a. Did the trip sponsor answer "yes" to Question 9(c) on the Trip Sponsor form (i.e., the travel is being sponsored by an entity that employs a lobbyist)?  Yes  No  
 b. If yes, check one of the following:  
 (1) Approval for one-night's lodging and meals is being requested:  or  
 (2) Approval for two-nights' lodging and meals is being requested:   
 If "(2)" is checked, explain why the second night is warranted: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form is attached, including agenda, invitee list, and any other attachments (indicate that form is attached by checking box):

8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to your official or representational duties:  
I handle the Congressman's Intelligence and Foreign Affairs work. We are examining US-Turkey Relations in

9. I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: RLW - [Signature]

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): \_\_\_\_\_

For staff, name of employing Member/Committee: Congressman C.A. Dutch Ruppertsberger

Office address: 1730 Longworth HOB

Phone number: 5 [Redacted]

Email address: [Redacted]@mail.house.gov

NOTE: You must complete the contact information fields above, as Committee staff may need contact you if additional information is required.

**FOR STAFF:  
TO BE COMPLETED BY YOUR EMPLOYING MEMBER:**

I hereby authorize the individual named above, an employee of the U.S. House of Representatives who works under my direct supervision, to accept expenses for the trip described in this request. I have determined that the above-described travel is in connection with my employee's official duties and that acceptance of these expenses will not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

Rep. C.A. Dutch Ruppertsberger  
Signature of Employing Member

Date: 07/11/2008

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee:

Committee on Standards of Official Conduct  
U.S. House of Representatives  
HT-2, The Capitol  
Washington, DC 20515  
(202) 225-7103 (phone)  
(202) 225-7392 (fax)

Version date 9/2007 by Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

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ONE HUNDRED TENTH CONGRESS

**U.S. House of Representatives**

COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF  
OFFICIAL CONDUCT

Washington, DC 20515-6328

July 11, 2008

Mr. Walter Gonzales  
Office of the Honorable C. A. Dutch Ruppertsberger  
1730 Longworth House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

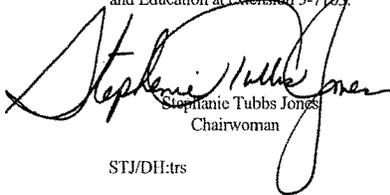
Dear Mr. Gonzales:

Pursuant to House Rule XXV, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct hereby approves your proposed trip to Turkey scheduled for August 2 to 10, 2008 sponsored by the American-Turkish Council and the Turkish Coalition of America.

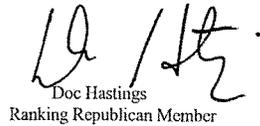
You must complete an Employee Travel Disclosure Form (which your employing Member must also sign) and file it with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are required to attach a copy of this letter and the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, including all attachments. You must also include a copy of the Traveler Form completed by you and signed by your employing Member. If you are required to file an annual Financial Disclosure Statement, you must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$335 from a single source on Schedule VII of that statement.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House employees may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act, gifts "of minimal value [currently \$335] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of \$335 received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be turned over to the Clerk of the House and disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments.

If you have any further questions, please contact the Committee's Office of Advice and Education at extension 5-7103.

  
Stephanie Tubbs Jones  
Chairwoman

Sincerely,

  
Doc Hastings  
Ranking Republican Member

STJ/DH:trs

## **EXHIBIT 2**

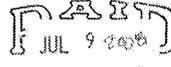
American-Turkish Council  
 1111 14th Street, N.W.  
 Suite 1050  
 Washington, DC 20005

**Invoice**

Date	Invoice #
7/1/2008	12991

Bill To Turkish Coalition of America G. Lincoln McCurdy 1025 Connecticut Ave, NW Ste 1000 Washington, DC 20036 USA
---

**PAID**

  
 BY: check # 339  
 LW

P.O. No.	Terms	Project

Quantity	Description	Rate	Amount
1	2008 Staffers Trip sponsorship Invoice 1 of 2: due immediately	20,000.00	20,000.00
Thank you for your sponsorship...		<b>Total</b>	\$20,000.00

Turkish Coalition of America 13

TCA\_0019

13-5845\_0023

American-Turkish Council  
 1111 14th Street, N.W.  
 Suite 1050  
 Washington, DC 20005

**Invoice**

Date	Invoice #
7/1/2008	12992

Bill To Turkish Coalition of America G. Lincoln McCurdy 1025 Connecticut Ave, NW Ste 1000 Washington, DC 20036 USA
---

**PAID**

**PAID**  
 AUG 11 2008  
 BY: *check #351*

P.O. No.	Terms	Project

Quantity	Description	Rate	Amount
	2008 Staffers Trip sponsorship Invoice 2 of 2: Due August 1, 2008	15,000.00	15,000.00
Thank you for your sponsorship...		<b>Total</b>	\$15,000.00

Turkish Coalition of America  


TCA\_0020

13-5845\_0024

**EXHIBIT 3**

1:55 PM  
02/15/13  
Accrual Basis

Turkish Coalition of America, Inc.  
Profit & Loss Detail  
January 2007 through December 2009

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Amount	Balance
<b>7256 - Study Tour to Turkey Grants</b>						
Bill	2/1/2008		Community College ...	Grant-Community College of Philadelphia	2,000.00	2,000.00
Bill	4/8/2009		Community College ...	Grant-Community College of Philadelphia	3,000.00	5,000.00
Bill	12/11/2009		Meldan Tarrisal	TCA Turkey Faculty Tour-Nov. 2009	1,236.28	6,236.28
Total 7256 - Study Tour to Turkey Grants					6,236.28	6,236.28
<b>7275 - Sponsorships</b>						
Bill	4/1/2007	Inv# 1...	TASSA	Sponsorship of TASSA 2007 Annual Conference	1,000.00	1,000.00
Bill	4/2/2007	Inv#1...	American Friends of...	Contribution for AFOT 25th Gala Dinner	5,000.00	6,000.00
Bill	4/23/2007		US House Members...	Sponsorship of Members Dinning	180.72	6,180.72
Bill	4/23/2007		US House Members...	Sponsorship of Members Dinning	56.10	6,236.82
Bill	4/25/2007		Association for Safe...	Contribution for ASIRT's World Dinner	400.00	6,636.82
Bill	5/2/2007		USAFMC	Program Services of Congressional Study Group on Turkey	40,000.00	46,636.82
Bill	5/6/2007		Istanbul Univ. Alumn...	Sponsorship of Melungeons Event	450.00	47,086.82
Bill	5/29/2007		Turkish-American C...	Sponsorship of Annual Gala Dinner	5,000.00	52,086.82
Bill	6/25/2007		American-Turkish C...	Sponsorship of ATC Programs	6,500.00	58,586.82
Bill	7/30/2007		USAFMC	Program Services of Congressional Study Group on Turkey	66,000.00	124,586.82
Bill	11/17/2007		The George Washin...	Sponsorship for Event of Turkish Student Association	500.00	125,086.82
Bill	1/14/2008		Istanbul Univ. Alumn...	Golden Sponsorship of "Connection of Native Americans ...	3,000.00	128,086.82
Bill	1/17/2008		American Friends of...	Contribution	250.00	128,336.82
Bill	3/4/2008		United Nations Dele...	Sponsorship for Women for Peace Project	250.00	128,586.82
Bill	4/1/2008		USAFMC	4th Annual Statesmanship Award Dinner	10,000.00	138,586.82
Bill	4/7/2008		American-Turkish C...	Sponsorship of ATC Programs	6,000.00	144,586.82
Bill	4/7/2008		IUMEZUSA	Sponsorship-Desperate Hours	2,500.00	147,086.82
Bill	4/7/2008		TASSA	Sponsorship of TASSA 2008 Annual Conference	5,000.00	152,086.82
Bill	6/10/2008		ASIRT	Gala Evening 2008	500.00	152,586.82
Bill	7/1/2008		Uduoz Berenforoush	TUSIAD/TCA Summer Internship	750.00	153,336.82
Bill	7/10/2008		American-Turkish C...	Sponsorship for ATC/TCA Congressional Tour	20,000.00	173,336.82
Bill	8/1/2008		American-Turkish C...	Sponsorship for ATC/TCA Congressional Tour	15,000.00	188,336.82
Bill	11/12/2008		American Friends of...	Senator Hagel Event	3,000.00	191,336.82
Bill	12/1/2008		IUMEZUSA	Sponsorship-Ahiska Turks Event	4,000.00	195,336.82
Bill	1/9/2009	484	USAFMC	Contribution to USAFMC - Congressional Study Group on...	15,000.00	210,336.82
Bill	2/18/2009	501	USAFMC	Contribution to USAFMC - Congressional Study Group on...	15,000.00	225,336.82
Bill	3/11/2009	527	USAFMC	Congressional Study Group to Turkey	13,000.00	238,336.82
Bill	4/20/2009		IUMEZUSA	Korean War Vets Event	3,000.00	241,336.82
Bill	5/28/2009		Azerbaijan America...	Pax Turcica Conference	4,000.00	245,336.82
Bill	6/3/2009		ASIRT	Gala Evening 2009	500.00	245,836.82
Bill	8/3/2009		GIEE	Study Abroad Conference	1,000.00	246,836.82
Bill	9/8/2009		Congressional Hisp...	Social Event	250.00	247,086.82
Bill	9/28/2009		Howard University J...	TCA Event-Music Entertainment	600.00	247,686.82
Bill	10/13/2009		Turk of America, Inc.	Sponsorship	10,000.00	257,686.82
Bill	10/19/2009		IUMEZUSA	Donation for Mary Taschi	3,000.00	260,686.82
Bill	11/13/2009		IUMEZUSA	Sponsorship	3,000.00	263,686.82
Bill	11/27/2009		Azerbaijan Society ...	Jewish/Turkic Event	4,000.00	267,686.82
Bill	12/21/2009		IUMEZUSA	Ataturk Conference	5,000.00	272,686.82
Total 7275 - Sponsorships					272,686.82	272,686.82

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TCA\_0021  
13-5845\_0026

**EXHIBIT 4**

000079

2/6/2013

CONFIDENTIAL

Congressional Staff Trip 2008  
Budget for 8 Staffers  
Version 5

Income		Name	Amount	Total
Sponsorships				
		Turkish Cultural Foundation	35,000.00	Sponsorship
		Turkish Cultural Foundation	24,242.00	Air Travel Expenses for 1 ATC Staff plus 8 Congressional Staffers
Paid Members				

Paid Other 0 - 0

Total Income 59,242.00

Net Deficit 13,623.00

If TCA gives ATC sponsorship in the amount of \$59,242.00 this will leave \$4633.00 that ATC will have to seek sponsorship from its membership.

ATC\_0082

13-5845\_0028

Congressional Staff Trip 2008  
 Budget for 8 Staffers  
 Version 5

Expense			
Cabs & Parking		<u>350.00</u>	To and From US Airports for Staffers and ATC Staff as well as cabs taken in Turkey.
Catering and Meals		<u>8,000.00</u>	Includes meals at airports, breakfasts, lunches and dinners for Staffers, Guides, ATC Staff, Security Staff, Drivers.
Gifts		<u>300.00</u>	Gifts that are presented to government officials and others hosts of the delegation
Hotels			
Mega (Ankara)	2 nights/ \$235	4,700.00	ATC will only cover Room and Tax
The Hyatt (Istanbul)	3 nights/ \$250	7,500.00 *	Staffers are responsible for all incidentals and any other expenses.
Hotel in Patara Area	3 nights/ \$250	5,000.00	*The price of the hotel in Istanbul has been reduced from \$16,000
Room TAX		3,096.00	
Hotels Totals		<u>20,296.00</u>	
Misc.		<u>1,450.00</u>	Tips for Drivers, Waiters, Hotel Service Staff, Guide Fees, Museum Entrance Lodging for Bus Driver
Postage and Courier		<u>150.00</u>	Postage for invitations, courier to pick up Staffer passports
Printing and Graphic Design		<u>600.00</u>	Designing and Printing the Programs for Staffers and Sponsors
Supplies		<u>250.00</u>	Office supplies
Telephone		<u>600.00</u>	
Transportation			
ATC Staff			
Sumer Airline Ticket	DC-IST-DC	1,800.00	ATC - Staff
Buyukansal Airline Ticket	DC-IST-DC	1,800.00	ATC - Staff
Domestic Turkey Airline T	IST-ANK-IST-DAL	1,075.00	ATC - Staff / \$538 per Ticket
	Sub-Total	4,675.00	
Congressional Staff			
Staffers Airline Tickets	DC-IST-DC	17,600.00	8 Congressional Staff Tickets/ \$2200 per Ticket
Domestic Turkey Airline T	IST-ANK-IST-DAL	4,304.00	8 Congressional Staff Tickets/ \$538 per Ticket
	Sub-Total	21,904.00	
Buses	IST- ANK-PATARA	4,500.00	
Transportation Total		<u>31,079.00</u>	
Total Expense		<u>63,075.00</u>	

00008.

2/5/2013

CONFIDENTIAL

Congressional Staff Trip 2008  
Budget for 8 Staffers  
Version 5

The program fully accommodates TCA's cultural and environmental requests in Istanbul, Ankara and Pinar.

Other individual events that ATC will seek sponsorships for include:  
Istanbul: Monday, August 4, Lunch with Priority Community Leaders  
Istanbul: Monday, August 4, Dinner and Hosts  
Istanbul: Tuesday, August 5, Lunch with ATC Members  
Ankara: Tuesday, August 5, Press Dinner in Ankara  
Ankara: Wednesday, August 6, Dinner with ATC Members

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ATC\_0084

13-5845\_0030

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2/2/2013

CONFIDENTIAL

Congressional Staff Trip 2008  
Budget for 8 Staffers  
Version 5

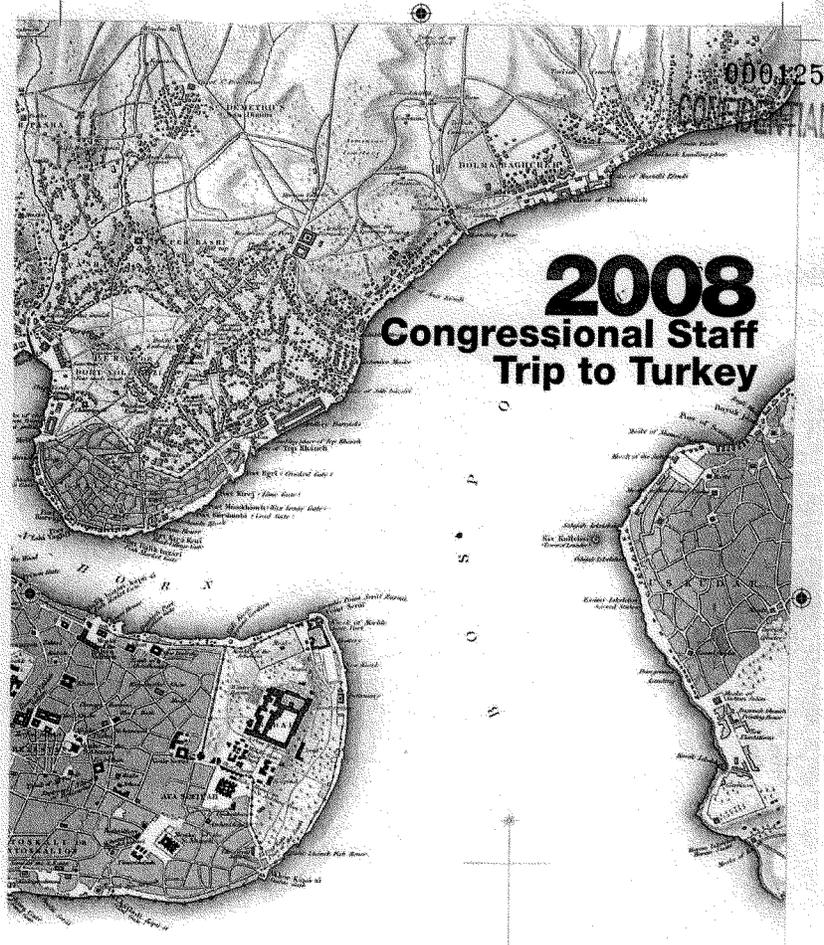
Travel	Submission to Ethics numbers	3,500.00	Includes Airfare and Bus
Hotel			
Meals		470	
Transportation		720	
Per Diem		720	
Total Per Person		1910	
Meals		460	
Other		100	Interpster, Entrance fees, Security, Taxi

4 of 4

ATC\_0085

13-5845\_0031

**EXHIBIT 5**



ATC\_0215

13-5845\_0033

000126

CONFIDENTIAL

**CORPORATE SPONSOR**



**ASSOCIATE SPONSORS**



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ATC\_0216

13-5845\_0034

000127

CONFIDENTIAL



A M E R I C A N  
T U R K I S H  
C O U N C I L

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ATC\_0217

13-5845\_0035

000128  
CONFIDENTIAL**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY

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ATC\_0218

13-5845\_0036

000129  
CONFIDENTIAL**TRIP PROGRAM SUMMARY****Saturday, August 2, 2008**

20:00 Meet at the United Airlines International Flight Desk at Dulles Airport  
21:54 Depart Washington Dulles Airport for Frankfurt on LH 9253

**Sunday, August 3, 2008**

11:45 Arrive at Frankfurt Rhein Main Airport  
13:20 Depart Frankfurt for Istanbul on LH 3342  
16:55 Arrive at İstanbul Atatürk Airport  
17:20 Depart Airport for the Hyatt Hotel  
18:15 Check into the Hotel  
19:30 Depart Hotel for Dinner  
20:00 Dinner at Anemon Restaurant in Galata

**Monday, August 4, 2008**

08:15 Depart Hotel for Breakfast with Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) and Turkish Cultural Foundation (TCF)  
08:30 Arrive at the TCA & TCF Offices  
08:45 - 09:45 Breakfast briefing with TCF & TCA Chairman & Officers  
10:00 - 11:00 Meeting with NGO's at TCF  
11:10 Depart TCA for meeting with the leaders of the Jewish, Greek & Armenian Minority Communities  
11:30 - 13:30 Meeting with Leaders of the Jewish, Greek & Armenian Communities & Lunch at Asitane hosted by BankPozitif  
13:45 - 14:10 Visit Kariye Museum  
14:15 Depart Kariye for Sultanahmet  
14:30 - 17:30 Visit to historical sites in Sultanahmet including the Topkapı Palace, Hagia Sophia, Museum of Islamic Art & Archeology and the Grand Bazaar  
17:30 Depart for the Hotel  
19:00 Depart Hotel for Dinner  
19:30 - 22:00 Dinner with the Business Community in İstanbul Hosted by Turkish-American Business Association (TABA )  
22:00 Depart for the Hotel

**Tuesday, August 5, 2008**

07:30 Check out from Hotel and Depart for the U.S. Consulate General  
08:00 - 09:00 Breakfast Meeting with the U.S. Consul General & Officers of the Consulate

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2008 CONGRESSIONAL

ATC\_0219

13-5845\_0037

000130  
CONFIDENTIAL**Trip Program Summary**

09:15	Depart Consulate for Bosphorus Straits Traffic Control HQ (BSTC)
09:45 – 11:00	Briefing and Visit at the BSTC HQ
11:00	Depart BSTC HQ for Luncheon Meeting with Confederation of Businessmen & Industrialists (TUSKON) Board and Members at their HQ
12:00 – 13:30	Meeting & Lunch at TUSKON at their Şişli HQ
13:30	Depart TUSKON for the Airport
14:00	Arrive at İstanbul Atatürk Airport
15:00	Depart İstanbul for Ankara on TK 128
16:00	Arrive at Ankara Esenboğa Airport
16:30	Depart Ankara Airport for Mega Residence Hotel
17:30	Hotel check-in
19:30	Depart Hotel for Kale Çengelhan Restaurant
20:00	Briefing and Dinner with the Press hosted by Turkish-American Business Association (TABA) at Kale Çengelhan Restaurant

**Wednesday, August 6, 2008**

07:30	Depart Hotel for the U.S. Ambassador's Residence
07:45 – 09:00	Breakfast Briefing with Ambassador Ross Wilson and the U.S. Embassy Officials at the Residence
09:00	Depart Residence for Anıtkabir
09:30 – 10:30	Wreath Laying Ceremony and the Signing of the Official Visitors Book
10:30 – 11:30	Visit the Mausoleum Museum
11:45	Depart Anıtkabir for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)
12:15 – 13:50	Luncheon Briefing at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
13:50	Depart the MFA for Undersecretariat of Defense Industries (SSM)
14:30	Meeting with Mr. İsmail Tohumcu, Deputy Undersecretary of National Defense (SSM)
15:30	Depart SSM for Eurasian Strategic Research Center (ASAM)
16:00 – 17:00	Meeting and Roundtable discussion at ASAM on U.S.-Turkish Relations with Government Officials and the Academia
17:00 – 18:00	Reception at ASAM
18:00	Depart ASAM for Hotel
19:00	Depart Hotel for Trilye Restaurant
19:30 – 22:00	Dinner with ATC Corporate Members at Trilye Restaurant hosted by NTF Construction

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



ATC\_0220

13-5845\_0038

000131  
CONFIDENTIAL**Trip Program Summary****Thursday, August 7, 2008**

07:00 Breakfast & Checkout from the Hotel  
 07:15 Depart Hotel for Ankara Airport  
 09:00 Depart Ankara for İstanbul on TK 113  
 10:00 Arrive at İstanbul Airport  
 11:45 Depart İstanbul on TK 216 to Dalaman  
 13:05 Arrive at Dalaman Airport  
 13:30 Depart Dalaman for Patara, Kalkan by Bus  
 16:30 Arrive at Kalkan  
 17:00 Check in to Patara Princess Hotel  
 19:00 - 21:30 Dinner with the delegation at the Marina

**Friday, August 8, 2008**

08:30 - 09:30 Breakfast at the Hotel  
 09:30 Depart Hotel for Patara Excavation Site  
 10:30 - 12:30 Visit and Lecture at the Site of Ancient Patara  
 (a Member of the Lycian League)  
 12:30 - 13:30 Lunch at Patara  
 13:30 - 14:30 Visit UNEP & WWF project for Endangered Loggerhead Turtles  
 14:45 Depart Patara to Visit Organic Farms  
 15:30 - 17:00 Visit to the Organic Farms and Production Facilities  
 17:00 Depart for the Hotel  
 19:30 - 22:00 Reception and Dinner with the Local Municipal Authorities at the Hotel

**Saturday, August 9, 2008**

08:30 - 09:30 Breakfast Meeting with Former Congressman Steve Solarz and  
 Dr. Yalçın Ayaslı  
 09:45 Depart Hotel for Kaş (Lycian city of Habesos)  
 10:30 Arrive at Kaş and visit the Ancient Ruins of Kekova  
 12:30 - 13:30 Lunch at Kale Island Restaurant  
 13:30 Depart Kale for Dalaman Airport  
 17:45 Arrive at Dalaman Airport  
 19:30 Depart Dalaman Airport for İstanbul on TK 219  
 20:50 Arrive in İstanbul Airport  
 21:15 Depart Airport for Hotel

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**Trip Program Summary**

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**Sunday, August 10, 2008**

04:00	Breakfast & Checkout
04:15	Depart Hotel for Airport
05:55	Depart on LH 3345 for Frankfurt
07:55	Arrive at Frankfurt Airport
09:55	Depart Frankfurt for DC on LH 416
13:00	Arrive at Washington Dulles Airport

**NOTES**

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY

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ATC\_0222

13-5845\_0040

000133  
CONFIDENTIAL**OBJECTIVES and TOPICS****Objectives for Congressional Staffers**

- Promote and enhance the U.S.- Turkey relationship.
- Engage in dialogue with Senior Turkish government officials, U.S. Embassy representatives, NGOs, and Turkish business executives.
- Experience the heritage, landscape and overall cultural richness of Turkey.
- Observe first-hand the workings of the Turkish business community and government.
- Understand the political, cultural and social dynamics of Turkey and its region.
- Gain valuable information and insight from the Turkish media.

**Overview of Potential Briefing Topics**

- Strengths and weaknesses of Turkey's current economic and political situation
  - » International issues central to Turkish foreign relations
  - » The war in Iraq and Afghanistan and implications for the surrounding region
  - » Turkey/Iran relations
  - » Turkey's EU accession process
  - » Turkey's role in NATO and with its neighbors
  - » Caucasus, including Turkey/Armenian relations.
  - » U.S.-Turkey cooperation against terrorism in the region.
  - » Turkey's role in the rebuilding of Afghanistan and Iraq.
  - » Cyprus and the continued isolation of Turkish Cypriots
- Areas of economic and political bilateral relations between the U.S. and Turkey
  - » Defense and Security Affairs
  - » Construction and Energy Security
  - » Foreign Direct Investment
  - » Pharmaceuticals
  - » Agribusiness and Food Industries
  - » Banking and Finance
  - » Health
  - » Information Technology and Telecommunications
  - » Turkish Export Market
  - » Bilateral Trade Promotion
- Turkish Government Issues
  - » Constitutional Court Case to ban the AKP
  - » Secularism versus democracy
  - » Management of Kurdish issues
  - » Ergenekon indictments

**Meetings with Turkish Government Officials**

- Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & other Officials of the Ministry
- Defense procurement issues with Undersecretary for National Defense (SSM)
- Local and Municipal Government Leaders
- Parliamentarians



2008 CONGRESSIONAL

ATC\_0223

13-5845\_0041

000134  
CONFIDENTIAL**DELEGATION LIST****U.S. House of Representatives:**

Mr. Walter Gonzales  
Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Representative C. A. "Dutch" Ruppersberger (D-2nd MD)

Mr. Lawrence J. Halloran  
Minority Staff Director, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform

Ms. Helen Hardin  
Chief of Staff, Office of Representative Zach Wamp (R-3rd TN)

Mr. Kenneth Kraft  
Deputy Chief of Staff & Appropriations Counsel, Office of Rep. David L. Hobson (R-7th OH)

Mr. Sean O'Brien  
Legislative Director, Office of Congressman Heath Shuler (D-11th NC)

Ms. Ashley Orr  
Legislative Assistant, Office of Congressman Brad Miller (D-13th NC)

**U.S. Senate:**

Mr. Garrett Eucalitto  
Deputy Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Office of Senator Joseph Lieberman (I-CN)

Mr. Paul Kong  
Legislative Director, Office of Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE)

**ATC and TCA Members**

Ms. Canan Büyükkünsal  
Executive Director, American-Turkish Council

Mr. Tolga Görgülü  
External Relations Manager, FritoLay Turkey

Dr. Cengiz İsrail  
Managing Director, Fil Finance

Mr. G. Lincoln McCurdy  
President & CEO, Turkish Coalition of America

Ms. Ayşe Sümer  
Director, Government Affairs & Commercial Programs, American-Turkish Council

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



ATC\_0224

13-5845\_0042

**DAILY PROGRAMS**

CONFIDENTIAL

**Saturday, August 2, 2008**

20:00 Meet at the United Airlines Desk at Dulles Airport  
 21:54 Depart Washington D.C. for Frankfurt on LH 9253

**Sunday, August 3, 2008**

11:45 Arrive at Frankfurt Reihn Main Airport  
 13:20 Depart Frankfurt for İstanbul on LH 3342  
 16:55 Arrive at İstanbul Atatürk Airport  
 17:20 Depart İstanbul Airport for the Hyatt Hotel  
 18:15 Check into the Hotel  
 19:30 Depart Hotel for Dinner  
 20:00 Dinner at Anemon Restaurant in Galata

**ISTANBUL**

A city that straddles both Europe and Asia, İstanbul for nearly two millennia has been a symbol of greatness, coveted by empire builders from Xerxes through the Entente States during World War I. The Soviet Union after World War I insisted on free passage through the Bosphorus Straits. Today, a decades-old diplomatic compromise assures foreign commerce free passage as hundreds of ships each day, sometimes oversized and hazardous, stream up and down this epic waterway.

The traditions inherited from 2,500 years of history are most evident in the Old City, known as Old Stamboul or Sultanahmet. A stroll through this historic peninsula will reveal ancient Roman hippodromes, peristyles, and aqueducts, the greatest excesses of the Byzantine Empire, the mystique and power of the Ottoman Empire, and the dubious sales tactics used by the city's self-made entrepreneurs. As a religious center (heart of the Greek Orthodox Church as well as the Islamic faith for centuries), İstanbul is the custodian of one of the world's most important cultural heritages and home to some of the world's most opulent displays of art and wealth. Early Greek civilization left us the building blocks for Rome and Byzantium, which swathed these earlier foundations in rich mosaics and left its mark in monuments such as the Hippodrome and Hagia Sophia. Even Fatih Mehmet II was astounded at the beauty of the city he finally conquered. The Ottoman dynasty redirected the city's fortunes into the imperial majesty of undulating domes and commanding minarets, the incomparable Blue Mosque and the sumptuousness of Topkapı Palace.

Across the Golden Horn is the modern heart of the city, heir to the future of the country, vibrant with all the electricity of a cutting-edge international metropolis. Although Ankara, the political capital sits safely in the heartland, İstanbul projects itself into the world as Turkey's commercial capital and ambassador of art, entertainment, music, and education. İstanbul is so exotic, wonderful, complex, and utterly monumental that once seen, it's impossible to break free from its spell.

**Monday, August 4, 2008**

08:15 Depart Hotel for Breakfast with Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) and Turkish Cultural Foundation (TCF)  
 08:30 Arrive at the TCA & TCF Offices  
 08:45 – 09:45 Breakfast briefing with TCF & TCA Chairman Dr. Yalçın Ayaslı & Officers

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
**Daily Programs**

000136

10:00 – 11:00	Meeting with NGO's at TCA <i>(The representatives of the following NGOs will be at the meeting: Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates-KADER; Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey-KAGİDER; The Turkish Foundation For Combating Soil Erosion, For Reforestation And The Protection Of Natural Habitats-TEMA; The Mother Child Education Foundation-ACEV and Educational Funds for Elementary Schools-ILKYAR)</i>
11:10	Depart TCA for meeting with the leaders of the Jewish, Greek & Armenian Minority Communities.
11:30 – 13:30	Meeting with leaders of the Jewish, Greek & Armenian Communities & Lunch at Asitane hosted by BankPozitif
13:45 – 14:10	Visit Kariye Museum
14:15	Depart Kariye for Sultanahmet
14:30 – 17:30	Visit to historical sites in Sultanahmet including the Topkapı Palace, Hagia Sophia, Museum of Islamic Art & Archeology and the Grand Bazaar
17:30	Depart for the Hotel
19:00	Depart Hotel for Dinner
19:30 – 22:00	Dinner with the Business Community in İstanbul Hosted by Turkish-American Business Association (TABA)
22:00	Depart for the Hotel

**ASSOCIATION FOR SUPPORTING AND TRAINING WOMEN CANDIDATES (KA-DER)** was established in 1997 in İstanbul. Its founders – women activists mainly from academia -- initiated it with the objective of empowering and encouraging women to develop strategies for effective and equal participation in local councils and national parliament; and to be represented on all decision making bodies. Currently, KA-DER has over 17 branches in major cities and more than 3000 members. The Ankara branch of KA-DER is involved in a wide variety of activities, aims at empowering women in all spheres of life and acts as an 'umbrella organization' of the Turkish Platform to the European Women's Lobby.

**EDUCATIONAL FUNDS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (ILKYAR):**

The roots of İLKİYAR lie in the EFES (Educational Funds for Elementary Schools) organization, founded by the Turkish Student Association at Princeton University (New Jersey, U.S.A) in 1978. The aim of the organization is to stimulate educational activities in rural schools by giving financial support for a basic library in these schools. The center of the organization first moved to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Boston, MA, U.S.A) and then to Michigan State University (East Lansing, MI, U.S.A). Twenty years after its original establishment, in 1998, EFES was re-founded in Turkey with the name İLKİYAR (Aid Foundation for Elementary Schools).

**Vision**

Not to leave any village school or YİBO (nick for the elementary level boarding school) unvisited by İLKİYAR.

**Mission**

To create opportunities for students in rural and underdeveloped areas to commit themselves to their education.

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**Daily Programs****CONFIDENTIAL****Goals**

- Help the students in rural areas gain motivation for continuing their education.
- Leave no village schools without books.
- Organize programs for teachers working in rural areas.

**WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY (KAGIDER):**

KAGIDER was chartered in September 2002 as a non-profit and non-governmental organization by 37 prominent Turkish female entrepreneurs. It has grown steadily over the past three years as other successful businesswomen have joined its ranks. Today it has 172 members from various sectors, including textile, communication, human resources, tourism, chemicals, mining and health. Kagider strives to develop women entrepreneurship, to empower women in economic and social life, and envisions a world where women are effective in all decision making processes by producing and expressing their 'self' freely.

The main programs of Kagider are the Women Entrepreneurs Development Program, the Women's Fund, and Women's Way to Europe. KAGIDER puts great emphasis on lobbying activities; publishes statements, provides policy recommendations to the state, public and private institutions to make women's voice heard, to foster gender equality and to better women's status in general. It is a member of many international organizations including World Women Entrepreneurs Association (FCEM), European Women Lobby (EWL), Mediterranean Business Women Association (AFAEMME), and Balkan Regional Coalition of Women Business Associations.

**THE TURKISH FOUNDATION FOR COMBATING SOIL EROSION, FOR REFORESTATION, AND THE PROTECTION OF NATURAL HABITATS (TEMA):**

The TEMA Foundation (The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats) was founded in 1992 by two Turkish businessmen, Hayrettin Karaca, who established the first Arboretum in Turkey and Nihat Gökyiğit, winner of the UN Environment Award. Since then it has grown to a large NGO.

Gökyiğit highlighted in a 1992 interview that the richness and riches in the soil that is lost every year in Turkey is equal to the country's budget, and carelessly letting the environment deteriorate is inconsistent with patriotism

**THE MOTHER CHILD EDUCATION FOUNDATION (AÇEV):**

The Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV), was founded in 1993 through the initiative of founding president Aysen Özyeğin, and in light of the scientific research of Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı and Prof. Dr. Sevdâ Bekman. AÇEV's mission is to make a lasting contribution to society and to improve the quality of individual's lives through education. In its two main areas of expertise, early childhood and adult education, AÇEV develops and implements various training programs and projects both within Turkey and abroad.

**AÇEV is guided by three fundamental beliefs:**

- equal opportunity in education for all,
- learning is a lifelong process that must begin in early childhood
- the child as well as his/her immediate caregivers must be educated and supported.

**Since 1993, AÇEV has been working to:**

- increase public awareness about the importance of early childhood education,
- increase implementation of its training programs in order to reach more beneficiaries,
- focus on research and development of new projects, methods and models,
- increase collaboration with both local and international NGOs, the state and the private sector
- be a reference institution in policy constitution and strategy development about early childhood.

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**MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN TURKEY:**

The Empire of the Occident had ancient Rome as the capital, while the Eastern Roman Empire kept Constantinople as its capital. Western Rome did not survive this partition for long and barbarians (Franks, Goths, Lombards, and Normans) used the weakness of the Westerners to invade and to enter Roman territory in 476. The Roman Empire limited itself to its Eastern part, including the territories of the south of the Balkans, Southern Italy and Sicily, the north of Africa including Tripolitaine, the Near East with Syria and Mesopotamia. In spite of the wars of succession, collapses of small regional States, and plagues, the Eastern Roman Empire remained intact until 1453, the date when the Ottomans invaded Constantinople and put an end to the empire of the millennium. When Constantine moved the capital, he also deported a part of the population of Rome. The Latin language prevailed in the administration, in the court, and in the middle classes, while Greek was spoken by the majority population of the city, the Balkans, and Asia Minor. The capital had the name of New-Rome, in the course of the centuries, the Latin language disappeared replaced by Greek and the city was named Constantinople, after its founder, Constantine. Although the empire was multi-ethnic, as was its capital, the Greek language remained as the only administrative language used by almost all the population until 1453.

Constantinople remained as the capital of powerful Ottoman Empire until the formation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. The population of the Empire did not change radically, and the Greek language was still widely spoken beside Slavic languages and Turkish. Islam had made its appearance at the end of the 6th century, but Christianity held on strong until the territories of the Ottoman Empire from the Arab countries of North Africa to the East of the Caucasus began converting to Islam. Religious and ethnic diversity were therefore two main characteristics of the Empire, from its creation until its end in 1923. To manage this cosmopolitan population, Sultan Mehmet II gave statutes to four main nations of his empire. These statutes, which had only religious bases, envisaged a broad autonomy in the administration of communities. The Muslims fell directly under the authority of the sultan, himself admitted by the müftü (religious authority), who also had the possibility of displacing the sultan; the Orthodox Christians had a leader and representative of the community, the Greek Patriarch who assembled in the Fener (Phanar) district of Constantinople; the Gregorian Christians had their own patriarchate [or patriarch], first established in the district of Samatya, then in Kumkapi. Finally, all Jews were under the authority of the Ottoman Rabbinate, which assembled in the district of Balat. Every community kept its institutions and its particular language: Turkish - Ottoman for the Muslims, Greek for the Orthodox, Armenian for the Gregorian, and Judaeo-Spanish (also known as Ladino) for the Jews from 1492 onwards. Later other "nations" were admitted by the Ottoman State. The Ottoman system of "nations," allowed the Romans to keep the Greek language and Orthodox Christian religion. It is noted by historians today that if it had not been for this particular system, the Greek language would have met the same fate as that of Latin, and would have disappeared.

In 1829-30, the Peloponnese declared independence, which later became the Kingdom of Greece. Always supported by Russia and the Balkan States, this small kingdom went to war several times against the Ottoman Empire which, under threats of foreign powers, left large territories between 1876 and 1912 (Thessalie, Epire of the South, Macedonia, Western Thrace and Crete). However, the last Greek offensive against the Empire was a disaster. Indeed, after Ottoman defeat in the conflict of 1914-18, the imperialist armies (England, France, and Italy) occupied all of the Ottoman territories, with the aim of distributing them among themselves. Greece, with the downstream help of Great Britain, had annexed Oriental Thrace, but especially the city of Smyrna (Izmir) and the neighboring provinces. Encouraged by the Orthodox populations of the region, the Greek army attacked the rest of the Asia Minor and fought with the Turkish revolutionary army. Defeat was disastrous for the Greeks, who were driven out of Izmir by the Turks. In 1922, Greece surrendered and in 1923, Greece and the Turkish Republic signed the Treaty of Lausanne, which determined the borders of the new Turkish State and Greece. This was followed by an exchange of populations. The Greeks of Muslim origin left Greece, while the Greek population of Anatolia and Thrace returned to Greece from Turkey. This exchange of population between both

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countries displaced a total of two million Greeks, together with millions of Muslims of the Caucasus and the Balkans, who took refuge in the new Turkish Republic. Since 1923, the Greeks of Turkish nationality together with the other minorities living in Turkey benefit from a specific status, which allows them to keep their culture, language, schools, and religious institutions. This status admitted by the Treaty of Lausanne is based on the Ottoman system of "nations."

Over the years, millions of people have lived in Anatolia, presentday Turkey. At times, their existence was marked by battles, but at others, peace reigned. The Armenians were among the inhabitants of this rich and vast area, which over the centuries was ruled by the Persians, Macedonians, Seljuks, Romans, Byzantines and Arabs. When the Turks gained sovereignty over Anatolia in 1071, fighting gradually diminished and Byzantine persecution gave way to just, tolerant, humanitarian and unifying beliefs and traditions of the Seljuks. Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, who put an end to Byzantine rule in 1453, allowed the foundation of the Armenian Patriarchate, an unprecedented move for the Armenians to whom he granted freedom of conscience and faith. The transformation of the Armenian Episcopate in Western Anatolia to the Istanbul Patriarchate, following a decree he issued in 1461, is clear evidence of the vision and tolerance displayed by Mehmed and of the subsequent Ottoman sultans toward other faiths.

As a matter of fact, the current Armenian Patriarch, Mesrob II, was quoted as saying: " We can duly grasp the significance of tolerance between different religions and cultures, as well as the value of this incident dating back 538 years, by taking into account the tensions witnessed throughout the world on the threshold of a new millennium, the ongoing wars beyond our borders in particular."

Following the reign of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, excellent Turco-Armenian relations continued until the end of the 19th century. In fact, out of all the non-Muslim communities, Armenians were by far the greatest beneficiaries of the opportunities offered by the Ottoman Empire to all industrious, efficient, honest and productive subjects. Being exempted from the military service and to a great extent from taxation, Armenians had the opportunity to make headway in trade, agriculture, craftsmanship and administration, and by reason of their loyalty to the Empire, as well as their ability to intermingle with other subjects, they attained the title of "loyal people."

Today Armenians continue to enjoy "nation" status given to all the minorities during the Ottoman Empire. They are the largest Christian minority, with over than 100,000 living in present day Turkey.

From the last years of the 19th Century through the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the World War I, Anatolian Armenians revolted regularly against the Ottoman authority, sometimes in alliance with Russia, sometimes on their own. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians and Muslims died at this time due to starvations, dislocations, disease and brutal massacres of entire communities. This is the period that Armenians now portray as the time of "genocide" and Turks reject as a tragic loss of life on both sides but without the necessary official intent.

Of the 25,000 Jews living in Turkey, 22,000 of them reside in Istanbul. Most of them are ancestors of those expelled from Spain in 1492 and subsequently offered a safe haven by Sultan Mehmet. Although they are Orthodox Jews, their practices are a bit different. They do not belong to a synagogue—only to the Jewish community. Overall, there are seventeen synagogues in Istanbul, and most of them are still active. The most important of these are the Neve Salom Synagogue, the Askenazi Synagogue, the Ahrida (Ohrida) Synagogue, the Şişli and Ortakoy Synagogues. Jews are active in every aspect of Turkish life: education, politics, media, financing, the arts, and trade and commerce.

### ASITANE RESTAURANT:

Asitane restaurant is renowned for its fine Ottoman cuisine based on authentic recipes retrieved by a dedicated staff from palace archives. Its menu features dishes originally prepared for the sumptuous

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celebration feast given for Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent's sons in 1539. In the summertime, the tranquil courtyard in the shadow of the Chora Church offers a splendid backdrop in which to sample fine Ottoman cuisine.

**KARIYE MUSEUM:**

Originally built in the 4th century as the 'Church of the Holy Savior Outside the Walls' or 'in the Country' (chora), it was indeed outside the walls built by Constantine the Great. The present building was built in the late 11th century, with lots of repairs and restructuring in the following centuries. Virtually all of the interior decoration—the famous mosaics and the less renowned but equally striking mural paintings—dates from about 1320. The mosaics are breathtaking. The first ones are those of the dedication, to Jesus and Mary. Then come the offertory ones: Theodore Metochites, builder of the church, offering it to Jesus. The two small domes of the inner narthex have portraits of all Jesus's ancestors back to Adam. A series outlines Mary's life, and another, Jesus's early years. Yet another series concentrates on Jesus's ministry. In the nave are three mosaics: of Jesus, of Mary as Teacher, and of the Dormition of Mary. South of the nave is the Paraclesion, a side chapel built to hold the tombs of the church's founder and relatives. The frescos, appropriately, deal with the theme of death and resurrection.

The Kariye Museum (Church of the Holy Savior in Chora) has the best Byzantine mosaics in the region. The church was enclosed within the walls built by the Emperor Theodosius II in 413, less than 100 years after Constantine, so the church 'outside the walls' has in fact been 'in the city' for 1550 years. For four centuries after the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul it served as a mosque (Kariye Camii), and is now a museum (Kariye Müzesi) because of its priceless mosaics.

**SULTAN AHMET MOSQUE (BLUE MOSQUE):**

The mosque is one of several mosques known as the Blue Mosque for the blue tiles adorning the walls of its interior. It was built between 1609 and 1616, during the rule of Ahmed I. Like many other mosques, it also comprises a tomb of the founder, a madrasah, and a hospice.

The design of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque is the culmination of two centuries of both Ottoman mosque and Byzantine church development. It incorporates some Byzantine elements of the neighboring Hagia Sophia with traditional Islamic architecture and is considered to be the last great mosque of the classical period.

**HAGIA SOPHIA:**

Hagia Sophia is a former patriarchal basilica, later a mosque, now a museum in Istanbul. Famous in particular for its massive dome, it is considered the epitome of Byzantine architecture. It was the largest cathedral ever built in the world for nearly a thousand years, until the completion of the Medieval Seville Cathedral in 1520.

In 1453, when Constantinople was conquered by the Ottoman Turks, Sultan Mehmed II ordered the building to be converted into a mosque. The bells, altar, iconostasis, and sacrificial vessels were removed, and many of the mosaics were eventually plastered over. The Islamic features—such as the mihrab, the minbar, and the four minarets outside—were added over the course of its history under the Ottomans. It remained as a mosque until 1935, at which time it was converted into a museum by the Government of Turkey.

The current building was originally constructed as a church between 532 and 537 AD on the orders of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian, and was in fact the third Church of the Holy Wisdom to occupy the site. The Church contained a large collection of holy relics and featured, among other things, a 50 foot (15 m) silver iconostasis. It was the patriarchal church of the Patriarch of Constantinople and the religious focal point of the Eastern Orthodox Church for nearly 1000 years.

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### TOPKAPI PALACE:

The Topkapı Palace was the Ottoman sultans' official and primary residence in the city of the Ottoman Sultans from 1465 to 1853.

Initial construction started in 1459, ordered by Sultan Mehmed II, the conqueror of Byzantine Constantinople. The palace is a complex made up of four main courtyards and many smaller buildings. At the height of its existence as a royal residence, the palace was home to as many as 4,000 people, formerly covering a larger area with a long shoreline. The complex has been expanded over the centuries, with many renovations such as after a 1509 earthquake and 1665 fire. Topkapı Palace gradually lost its importance at the end of the 17th century, as the Sultans preferred to spend more time in their new palaces along the Bosphorus.

After the end of the Ottoman Empire in 1921, Topkapı Palace was transformed by government decree on April 3, 1924 into a museum of the imperial era. The Palace is listed among those monuments belonging to the historic areas of İstanbul, added to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985.

### TURKISH & ISLAMIC ARTS MUSEUM:

This museum is located in Sultanahmet Square in Eminönü district of İstanbul. Constructed in 1524, the building was formerly the Palace of İbrahim Pasha, who was the first grand vizier to Suleiman the Magnificent. The collection includes notable examples of Islamic calligraphy, tiles, and rugs as well as ethnographic displays on various cultures in Turkey, particularly nomadic groups. These displays recreate rooms or dwellings from different time periods and regions.

### BASILICA CISTERN:

The Basilica Cistern is the largest of several hundred ancient cisterns that still lie beneath the city of İstanbul. The cistern, located in the historical peninsula of İstanbul next to the Hagia Sophia, was built during the reign of emperor Justinian I in the 6th century, the golden age of Eastern Rome, also called the Byzantine Empire.

The bases of two of the columns reuse earlier blocks carved with the head of a Medusa. They are located in the northwest corner of the cistern. The origin of the two heads is unknown, though it is rumored that the heads were brought to the cistern after being removed from an antique building of the late Roman period. Another mystery is why one of the heads is upside down, while the other is tilted to one side. It is commonly accepted by scholars that they were placed that way deliberately.

### GRAND BAZAAR:

The Grand Bazaar or Covered Bazaar in İstanbul is one of the largest covered markets in the world with more than 58 streets and 6,000 shops, and has between 250,000 and 400,000 visitors daily. It is well known for its jewelry, pottery, spice, and carpet shops. Many of the stalls in the bazaar are grouped by type of goods, with special areas for leather coats, gold jewelry and the like. The bazaar contains two bedestens (domed masonry structures built for storage and safe keeping), the first of which was constructed between 1455 and 1461 by the order of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. The bazaar was vastly enlarged in the 16th century, during the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, and in 1894 underwent a major restoration following an earthquake.

### Tuesday, August 5, 2008

07:30 Check out from Hotel and Depart for the U.S. Consulate General  
08:00 - 09:00 Breakfast Meeting with the U.S. Consul General & Officers of the Consulate

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09:15	Depart Consulate for Bosphorus Straits Traffic Control HQ (BSTC)
09:45 – 11:00	Briefing and Visit at the BSTC HQ
11:00	Depart BSTC HQ for Luncheon Meeting with Confederation of Businessmen & Industrialists (TUSKON) Board and Members
12:00 – 13:30	Meeting & Lunch at TUSKON at their Şişli HQ
13:30	Depart TUSKON for the Airport
14:00	Arrive at İstanbul Atatürk Airport
15:00	Depart İstanbul for Ankara on TK 128
16:00	Arrive at Ankara Esenboğa Airport
16:30	Depart Ankara Airport for Mega Residence Hotel
17:30	Hotel check-in
19:30	Depart Hotel for Kale Çengelhan Restaurant
20:00	Briefing and Dinner with the Press hosted by Turkish-American Business Association (TABA) at Kale Çengelhan Restaurant

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**BOSPHORUS STRAITS TRAFFIC CONTROL (BSTC) HEAD QUARTERS:**

The Turkish Straits (164 NM) consist of the İstanbul Strait (17 NM in length), the Marmara Sea (110 NM) and Çanakkale Strait (37 NM). The entire length is opened to international maritime vessel traffic under Turkish government control. It is the only waterway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea making it highly congested with international maritime traffic and of enormous geopolitical and strategic importance. The Bosphorus Traffic Control Service (TSVTS) is designed to assist and improve the safety of navigation for Turkish and foreign flagged vessels through these very congested and vulnerable Turkish waters.

**Safe navigation of the Turkish Straits depends on:**

- Turkish Straits Vessel Traffic Services – The TSVTS are in current operation are equipped with thirteen observation Towers. Each Observation Towers has X band radar , Monocolor - Color-Infrared Camera and Network Equipment. A few Towers have extra meteorological stations and communications equipment.
- Search / Rescue & Salvage - Salvage Department has underwater works, salvage & towage with two conventional types of salvage vessels, two Fi-Fi class tugs, eleven firefighting tugs and various types of service boats which make up 54 vessels.
- Rescue Services are well organized on the Turkish Straits and are well equipped with 14 Rescue Stations (6 Boat Stations and 8 Shore Based Stations), and 10 Rapid Response Boats.
- Navigational Aids – Organized along the Turkish coast with 417 lighthouses, 34 light-buoys, nineteen marking buoys, fifteen fog whistles, two fog bell and three beacon, and nine racon signals.

**CONFEDERATION OF BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS OF TURKEY (TUSKON):**

TUSKON is a non-governmental organization formed by regional federations of the business world which were founded in İstanbul in 2005 and expanded country-wide. TUSKON today represents 9500 businessmen active in 124 organizations of businessmen. TUSKON aims to make the enterprises and entrepreneurs into the part of the global business world by promoting scientific and rational methods of commercial and industrial life TUSKON is a pioneer institution in sharing businessmen's experience in international markets and providing new job opportunities.

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CONFIDENTIAL**Daily Programs****ANKARA**

Ankara lies deep within the heartland, protected and insulated from uninvited guests. Atatürk chose Ankara as the political capital for his new republic. While İstanbul was the seat of an imperial and dissolute empire, he saw Ankara as the clean-slate capital of an entirely new Turkish state. In the 80 years since Atatürk rode in on a dirt road and literally lifted Ankara out of the ashes, the city has established itself as the political and cultural center of Turkey.

Ankara is almost exclusively geared toward sustaining all elements of the national government, a wide-ranging population of foreign ambassadors, visiting dignitaries, local politicians, and politically minded business enterprises. It also boasts a number of prestigious universities and technical colleges, as well as the largest library in the country.

Ankara is a center for opera, ballet, jazz, and modern dance, and is home of the Presidential Symphony Orchestra, the State Theatre, and the State Opera and Ballet. Ankara has transformed from the quiet center of the Turkish Republic to a city of more than three million and a hub of non-stop activity. The city is bubbling over with new construction, chic restaurants, cozy cafés, and dazzling nightlife.

**TURKISH-AMERICAN BUSINESS ASSOCIATION (TABA):**

TABA founded in 1987 is a non-profit organization, headquartered in İstanbul, it has five branches in Turkey. TABA's membership is over 650 companies.

As the representative of the American Chamber of Commerce in Turkey, TABA's goal is to enhance trade relations between the U.S.A and Turkey; to encourage American investments into this country; assist members by connecting them with potential strategic partners; help solve their trade-related issues and contribute to Turkey's promotion abroad.

In order to accomplish these goals, TABA/AmCham founded several task committees. These committees are: Membership; Project Development; Telecommunication & Information Technology; Energy & Infrastructure; Law & Finance, Publications; Activities & Communications; Corporate Affairs; Consumer Products; Intellectual Royalty Rights; Trademarks Defense Industry; Tourism; Real Estate & Transportation and Investment & Regulations pertaining to EU relations.

TABA/AmCham is a member of the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A (COCU.S.A), member of the European Council of American Chambers of Commerce (ECACC) and American-Turkish Council (ATC).

**Wednesday, August 6, 2008**

07:30	Depart Hotel for the U.S. Ambassador's Residence
07:45 - 09:00	Breakfast Briefing with Ambassador Ross Wilson and the U.S. Embassy Officials at the Residence
09:00	Depart Residence Anitkabir
09:30 - 10:30	Wreath Laying Ceremony and the Signing of the Official Visitors Book
10:30 - 11:30	Visit the Mausoleum Museum
11:45	Depart Anitkabir for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)
12:15 - 13:50	Luncheon Briefing at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

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13:50 Depart the MFA for Undersecretariat of Defense Industries (SSM)

14:30 Meeting with Mr. İsmail Tohumcu, Deputy Undersecretary of National Defense (SSM)

15:30 Depart SSM for Eurasian Strategic Research Center (ASAM)

16:00 - 17:00 Meeting and roundtable discussion at ASAM on U.S.-Turkish Relations with Government officials and the Academia

*Topics to be covered include the future of Iraq, terrorism, Afghanistan, U.S. Presidential Elections and Bilateral Relations, Iran's Nuclear Program, Cyprus and EU-Turkey Relations*

17:00 - 18:00 Reception at ASAM

18:00 Depart ASAM for Hotel

19:00 Depart Hotel for Trilye Restaurant

19:30 - 22:00 Dinner with ATC Corporate Members at Trilye Restaurant hosted by NTF Construction

**ATATÜRK'S MAUSOLEUM - ANITKABİR**

This imposing monument located in the Anitpepe quarter of the city is the mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic. Completed in 1953, it represents the fusion of ancient and modern architectural ideas and when built, it was considered as one the best examples of modern Turkish architecture of the time. There is a museum housing a superior statue of Atatürk, writings, letters and other items belonging to Atatürk, as well as an exhibition of photographs recording important moments in his life and the establishment of the Republic.

Construction of Anitkabir commenced on 9 October 1944 with a splendid ceremony by laying the first stone of the foundation. Construction of Anitkabir took nine years in four stages. You will be expected to sign its book of visitors with an appropriate note of respect.

**UNDERSECRETARIAT FOR DEFENSE INDUSTRIES (SSM)**

SSM was established by the Defense Industry Law, and it was given the main duty of putting into effect the decisions taken by the Executive Committee. In this regard, SSM was given a special legal identity of its own, as well as its own extra-budgetary financial resources. The main tasks and responsibilities of SSM are: putting into effect decisions taken by the Defense Industry Executive Committee; to reorganize existing Turkish industry in line with the prerequisites of a successful defense industry; to plan the production of modern arms and equipment at private and public sector entities; to realize research and equipment of modern arms and equipment, and to have their prototypes built; to make advance payments, plan advance orders and determine other financial and economic supports; and to coordinate export and offset trade issues relating to defense industry products.

**MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MFA)**

Since the inception of the Republic, the vision and principles of the founder of the Republic, Atatürk (meaning Father of the Turks, a name given to him by the people), have guided Turkish foreign policy and his maxim "peace at home, peace in the world" continues to constitute the fundamental objective of Turkish foreign policy. The Republic of Turkey is now represented by 162 missions throughout the world. These missions comprise of 93 Embassies, 11 Permanent Missions to international organizations, and 58 Consulate Generals.

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Serving under the leadership of the former Minister for the Economy the 41st Minister of Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Ali Babacan, the large contingent of Turkish Foreign Service diplomats conduct and promote Turkey's international political, economic and cultural relations in its region and beyond.

For nearly half a century, NATO ally Turkey was a bulwark in NATO's Cold War policy of containment against the Soviet Union. While Turkey's relations with Russia are good today, issues throughout Turkey's region make it no less important for U.S. foreign and national security policy. Iraq, Afghanistan, the Middle East Peace Initiative, Aegean Affairs, Syria, Kurdish policy and the PKK, the Turkish states of Central Asia – all are issues of U.S.-Turkey diplomatic discussion and exchange.

### EURASIAN STRATEGIC RESEARCH CENTER (ASAM):

ASAM is established to conduct research on international relations and regional studies. The Center examines international conflicts, makes scholarly and scientific assessments of relevant issues, and reviews Turkish foreign policy with a futuristic perspective. It is a consultative body with the responsibility of bringing to the attention of decision makers independent, unbiased views and findings from different sources. The Center is chartered by law and has been active since May 1995.

### Thursday, August 7, 2008

07:00	Breakfast & Checkout from the Hotel
07:15	Depart Hotel for Ankara Airport
09:00	Depart Ankara for İstanbul on TK 113
10:00	Arrive at İstanbul Airport
11:45	Depart İstanbul on TK 216 to Dalaman
13:05	Arrive at Dalaman Airport
13:30	Depart Dalaman for Patara, Kalkan by Bus
16:30	Arrive at Kalkan
17:00	Check in to Patara Prince Hotel
19:00 – 21:30	Dinner with the delegation at the Marina

### PATARA:

The antique city of Patara emerged at the turn of the 21st Century thanks to an archeological team led by Akdeniz University Professors Fahri Isik and Havva Iskan Isik. It has a unique political relationship to the United States. Recently the archeological team unearthed an ancient parliament building in Patara -- the meeting place of the first federal republic in recorded human history. Authors of the Federalist papers (Hamilton and Madison, Federalists No. 9, 16 and 45, respectively) made at least three specific references to the Lycian League as an example of the federal structure of government they envisioned for the United States.

The unearthed parliament building, called the Bouleuterion, housed representatives of at least twenty-three city-states of the Lycian League, which existed along the Mediterranean coast of Turkey from about 167 BC until 400 AD. The archeological team has rescued numerous buildings and items from the sand and scrub brush, besides the Bouleuterion parliament building, including a large necropolis, a Roman bath, a sizeable semicircular theater, a sprawling main avenue leading to the market square, a Byzantine basilica (one of 22 churches once packed into Patara), one of the world's oldest lighthouses, and a fortified wall.

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## Daily Programs

Modern-day Patara sports what the London Sunday Times describes as one of the world's best beaches and a nesting site for the loggerhead sea turtle, locally known as the *Caretta caretta*. During the turtle hatching season environmentalists from all around the world come to the area of Patara where swimming, diving and permanent structures on the coast are forbidden. The eggs and nesting sites of the endangered *Caretta caretta* turtles are protected.

### Friday, August 8, 2008

08:30 – 09:30 Breakfast at the Hotel  
 09:30 Depart Hotel for Patara Excavation Site  
 10:30 – 12:30 Visit and Lecture at the Site of Ancient Patara  
*(a Member of the Lycian League)*  
 12:30 – 13:30 Lunch at Patara  
 13:30 – 14:30 Visit UNEP & WWF project for Endangered Loggerhead Turtles  
 14:45 Depart Patara to Visit Organic Farms and Production Facilities  
 15:30 – 17:00 Visit to the Organic Farms  
 17:00 Depart for the Hotel  
 19:30 – 22:00 Reception and Dinner with the Local Municipal Authorities at the Hotel

#### LOGGERHEAD TURTLES:

As amphibians, loggerhead turtles are adept at moving on both land and sea. To lay eggs the females first crawl onto the shore. Then, using their hind legs, the turtles dig holes in the sand and, after depositing their eggs, return to the sea. The baby turtles hatch when nature tells them to, and instinctively using the moonlight as a compass, they head towards the sea.

### Saturday, August 9, 2008

08:30 – 09:30 Breakfast Meeting with Former Congressman Steve Solarz and  
 Dr. Yalçın Ayaslı  
 09:45 Depart Hotel for Kaş (Lycian city of Habesos)  
 10:30 Arrive at Kaş and visit the Ancient Ruins of Kekova  
 12:30 – 13:30 Lunch at Kale Island Restaurant  
 13:30 Depart Kale for Dalaman Airport  
 17:45 Arrive at Dalaman Airport  
 19:30 Depart Dalaman Airport for İstanbul on TK 219  
 20:50 Arrive in İstanbul Airport  
 21:15 Depart Airport for Hotel

#### KAŞ - KEKOVA:

The town of Kaş is on a hill running down to the sea. The district has a typical Mediterranean climate of hot, dry summers and warm, wet winters, which allows the growth of oranges, lemons and bananas. The lowland areas are also planted with cut flowers and a variety of fruits and vegetables; many are grown all year round under glass. The hillsides produce honey, and almonds, while at high altitudes there are ex-

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## Daily Programs

tensive pine forests. The weather is drier at high altitudes. Although agriculture is still important, tourism is the main source of income in the district, which has many hotels and guest houses.

Kekova, also named Caravola (Dolichiste in Lycian), is a small Turkish island near Kaş (ancient Antiphellos) district of Antalya province which faces the villages of Kaleköy and Uçağız.

The Kekova region was declared a specially protected area on January 18, 1990 by the Turkish Ministry of Environment and Forests. All swimming and diving was prohibited and subject to special permits from governmental offices. In later years the prohibition has been lifted except in the area of the sunken city.

### Sunday, August 10, 2008

04:00	Breakfast & Checkout
04:15	Depart Hotel for Airport
05:55	Depart on LH 3345 for Frankfurt
07:55	Arrive at Frankfurt Airport
09:55	Depart Frankfurt for DC on LH 416
13:00	Arrive at Washington Dulles Airport

## NOTES

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**HOTEL and CONTACT INFORMATION**

**ANKARA** MEGA RESIDENCE  
Tahran Caddesi No. 5, Kavaklıdere, Ankara/Turkey  
Tel: 011 +90 (312) 468-██████  
Fax: 011 +90 (312) 468-5415

**ISTANBUL** HYATT REGENCY ISTANBUL  
Taskışla Cad. No: 1, Taksim, Istanbul/Turkey  
General Numbers:  
Tel: 011 +90 (212) 368-██████  
Fax: 011 +90 (212) 368-1000  
  
Contact: Ömür Yeker  
Tel: 011 +90 (212) 368-██████  
Fax: 011 +90 (212) 368-1286

**KALKAN** HOTEL PATARA PRINCE  
Kalkan, Antalya/Turkey  
Tel: 011 +90 (242) 844-██████  
Fax: 011 +90 (242) 844-3930

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Contact: *Anthony Renzuilli*

**U.S. CONSULATE ISTANBUL** İstinye Mahallesi, Kaplıcalar Mevkii No. 2,  
İstinye 34460, Istanbul/Turkey  
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Fax: 011 +90 (212) 335-9003  
Contact: *Amy J. Lillis*

**DELEGATION BIOGRAPHIES**

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**Mr. GARRETT EUCALITTO**

*Deputy Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant  
Office of Senator Joseph Lieberman (I-CT)*

Garrett Eucalitto is Deputy Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant for Senator Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut, and previously served as Constituent Relations and Correspondence Coordinator. Prior to joining Sen. Lieberman's staff in 2007, he worked at the Hudson Institute's Center for Future Security Strategies in Washington, D.C. A resident of the Torrington, CT, Garrett earned an undergraduate degree from the College of the Holy Cross, and a Master's Degree in International Relations from Boston University.

**Senator Joseph Lieberman's Leadership and Committee Assignments**

Senator Joe Lieberman is a member of the Armed Services Committee, where he is Chairman of the Subcommittee on AirLand. He also serves on the Subcommittee on Personnel and the Subcommittee on Seapower. He is Chairman of the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee. Lieberman is also a member of the Committee on Environment and Public Works, where he is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Private Sector and Consumer Solutions to Global Warming and Wildlife Protection, and he also serves on the Subcommittee on Clean Air and Nuclear Safety, and the Subcommittee on Public Sector Solutions to Global Warming, Oversight, and Children's Health Protection. He also serves on the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

**Mr. WALTER GONZALES**

*Senior Policy Advisor  
Office of Representative C. A. "Dutch" Ruppberger (D-2nd MD)*

Walter Gonzales serves as Senior Policy Advisor for Congressman C. A. "Dutch" Ruppberger from Maryland's Second Congressional District. In that role, Walter staffs the Congressman on the Appropriations Committee and advises the Congressman's daily votes; administers the Congressman's Whip assignments, attends leadership functions, strategizes and implements vital district projects, and covers a wide variety of legislative issues. In Walter's legislative portfolio: intelligence, defense, telecommunications, health care, energy, and international affairs. Walter oversees the Congressman's work on the Intelligence Committee and staffs the Congressman on the Legislative Branch Appropriations Subcommittee. He also covers the State Department/Foreign Operations Appropriations, the Energy and Water Appropriations, Intelligence Budget, and Defense and Military Construction Appropriations.

A native of Baltimore, Maryland Walter Gonzales' career in politics spans over a decade. A graduate of the University of Vermont, Walter started his career on Capitol Hill in 1995, in the office of Congressman Gene Green, Texas 29th Congressional District.

He worked for Congressman Green for 6 years. From there, he moved into the private sector using his skills and contacts on the Hill to become a lobbyist for Mannat, Phelps and Phillips law firm and for Jefferson Government Relations. In this capacity he lobbied on behalf of com-

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## Delegation Biographies

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panies like Oracle, Hewlett-Packard, iMotors.com and a number of Silicone Valley start-ups.

After this two-year stint in the private sector, Walter returned public service in the 2002 election cycle, servicing as the policy director for Congressman Ruppertsberger's successful congressional campaign.

### Congressman "Dutch" Ruppertsberger's Leadership and Committee Assignments:

Congressman Ruppertsberger serves on the House Appropriations Committee and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, where he is Chairman of the Technical and Tactical Subcommittee. Congressman Ruppertsberger is part of the Leadership structure in the House of Representatives serving as an Assistant Whip and as a Member of the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee. Official Travel: China, Morocco, Taiwan

### **Mr. LAWRENCE J. HALLORAN**

*Minority Staff Director*

House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform

Lawrence J. Halloran is an attorney with more than twenty-five years of experience in public policy and advocacy. He currently serves as Minority Staff Director of the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. From April 2006 to March 2008, he was Deputy Staff Director. In the 109th Congress, he also acted as Deputy Special Counsel to the House Select Committee on Hurricane Katrina.

From 1999 through March 2006, he was Staff Director and Counsel to the Government Reform Subcommittee on National Security, Veterans Affairs and International Relations. From 1995 through 1998, he was Staff Director and Counsel to the Subcommittee on Human Resources of the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

A graduate of Fairfield University (1973) and the Catholic University Columbus School of Law (1976), he served on the staff of U.S. Rep. Stewart B. McKinney (R-Conn.) from 1973 to 1980. Mr. Halloran then worked as Legal Counsel and Deputy Executive Director of the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC), advising candidates and Members of Congress on election matters and campaign finance laws.

Experienced in recounts and election contests, Mr. Halloran has participated in recount proceedings in Indiana, Virginia, California, Ohio, Connecticut, Minnesota and South Dakota. He spent nine days in Florida during the presidential election recount training observers and participating in the complete recount of votes in Volusia County.

Returning to Connecticut in 1987, he served as the Executive Director of the Connecticut Republican Party. In 1988, he joined the law offices of J. Brian Gaffney in New Britain, Connecticut. From 1991 to 1994, Mr. Halloran served as Legal Counsel to the Governor of Connecticut. He and his family now reside in Bethesda, Maryland.

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Mr. Halloran is admitted to practice law in Connecticut and the District of Columbia. He is an inactive member of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal bar.

### **Ms. HELEN HARDIN**

*Chief of Staff*

Office of Representative Zach Wamp ((R-3rd TN))

Before coming to Washington to work for Rep. Zach Wamp, Helen Hardin spent 12 years as a news reporter and TV talk show host. She also has a business background in sales and worked in the cellular telephone industry for 7 years. When Congressman Wamp was elected in 1994, Ms. Hardin moved to Washington and became his Chief of Staff, managing the three congressional offices and advising the Congressman on political and policy matters. She also oversees Congressman Wamp's Appropriations Committee work as Appropriations Associate. Congressman Wamp is Ranking Member of the Subcommittee on Military Construction, Veterans Affairs and Related Agencies.

In Tennessee, Ms. Hardin works closely with the major federal government facilities in Oak Ridge including the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, the largest multi-purpose science lab in the nation. Some of our country's most advanced computing, biological and materials research is carried out at ORNL.

Ms. Hardin regards international travel as one of the most important educational and policy trends. She has focused her official travel primarily on North Africa and the Middle East because of its strategic importance to the the U.S. and the world. First hand exposure to international issues and foreign cultures, personally meeting foreign government officials and developing friendships with people from other countries have been extremely beneficial in her public service and have enlightened her views on the growing and increasingly interdependent global economy.

Ms. Hardin is active in her church. She is an avid gardener, and a private pilot. She enjoys spending time with nieces and nephews.

#### **Congressman Zach Wamp's Leadership and Committee Assignments:**

Known for his energy and determination, Congressman Zach Wamp serves with seniority as a member of the influential House Appropriations Committee. Using conservative principles, he has established himself as a leader on national issues like alternative energy, preventive health care and global security.

Congressman Wamp is the Ranking Member of the Subcommittee on Military Construction and Veterans Affairs, which funds U.S. military installations at home and abroad and resources the important benefits for the nation's 23 million veterans. Zach has served for 10 years on the Energy and Water Subcommittee, which oversees and funds the national missions at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, the Y-12 National Security Complex and the replacement of the Chickamauga Lock on the Tennessee River.

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**Delegation Biographies**

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**Mr. PAUL KONG***Legislative Director*

Office of Senator Chuck Hagel of Nebraska (R-NE)

Paul Kong is Legislative Director for Senator Chuck Hagel of Nebraska, and previously served as Legislative Assistant handling domestic policy. Prior to joining Senator Hagel's staff, he represented non-profit clients for a Washington, DC firm.

A resident of Chevy Chase, MD, Paul earned undergraduate degrees from the University of Michigan, and a law degree from Catholic University where he serves on the adjunct faculty. He is an alumnus of the Aspen Institute's Socrates Society and has served on the DC Board of Governors of the University of Michigan Alumni Association.

**Senator Chuck Hagel's Leadership and Committee Assignments:**

Chuck Hagel, Nebraska's senior U.S. Senator, is serving his second term in the United States Senate. Senator Hagel's duties include membership on four Senate committees: Foreign Relations; Banking; Housing and Urban Affairs; Intelligence and Rules.

**Mr. KENNETH A. KRAFT***Deputy Chief of Staff & Appropriations Counsel*

Office of U.S. Representative David L. Hobson (R-7th OH)

Kenny Kraft currently is Appropriations Committee Counsel and Deputy Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative David L. Hobson, having worked for him from 1993 to 1999 and from 2000 to present, with particular responsibility for Mr. Hobson's work as a member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee and as the Ranking Minority Member of the Energy and Water Development Appropriations Subcommittee.

Mr. Kraft's duties include analyzing the United States budget and various legislative proposals; evaluating the effectiveness of federal programs; recommending funding levels; advising on substantive fiscal and policy matters; plotting legislative strategy; meeting with constituents, agency personnel, and industry representatives requesting assistance or information on appropriations and legislation; and planning and participating in international travel for Members and staff.

Mr. Kraft lectures on the Budget and Appropriations process for several different government and university groups, including Georgetown University, the Brookings Institution, The George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, the National Guard Bureau, the International Republican Institute, the Office of Personnel Management, the United States Congress Summer Intern Program, George Mason University, Kent State University, and The Capitol.Net. He serves on The Speaker's Congress-Bundestag/Bundesrat Staff Exchange Selection Committee and on the U.S.-Asia Foundation Congressional Staff Advisory Committee. Mr. Kraft's other Capitol Hill jobs have included Appropriations Committee Counsel to

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Representative Rodney P. Frelinghuysen from 1999 to 2000 and to Representative Lawrence Coughlin from 1977 to 1992. He was Legislative Assistant to Senator Joseph M. Montoya from 1971 to 1977. He was Senior Associate Attorney at Patton Boggs in 1999, and Senior Congressional Relations Officer at the Office of Personnel Management in 1992.

Mr. Kraft is a Colonel, Judge Advocate General's Corps, District of Columbia Army National Guard, commanding a Legal Support Office (LSO) that provides legal assistance in international, operational, fiscal, contract, and general law matters to the National Guard Bureau at the Pentagon.

Born in Washington, D.C., Mr. Kraft received his B.A. degree in British Literature and Art History from the University of Maryland and his J.D. from The George Washington University. He is admitted to the District of Columbia Bar and the Supreme Court of the United States.

### **Mr. SEAN O'BRIEN**

*Legislative Director*

Office of Congressman Heath Shuler (D-11th NC)

Sean O'Brien is the Legislative Director for Congressman Heath Shuler (NC-11).

Prior to working for Congressman Shuler, Mr. O'Brien worked for three years as a Legislative Assistant for Congressman Rahm Emanuel (IL-05).

Prior to this he was a consultant for various clients including the City of Chicago, KPMG Netherlands, ABN AMRO Bank, and GE Capital Services Hong Kong. Mr. O'Brien was born in New York City and received a Bachelor of Arts from Northwestern University in Evanston, IL.

He is currently completing a Masters in National Security and Strategic Studies with the United States Naval War College and has completed coursework at the United States National Defense University.

#### **Congressman Heath Shuler's Leadership and Committee Assignments:**

Congressman Shuler is the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Rural and Urban Entrepreneurship for the House Committee on Small Business.

He also serves on the House Committee on Natural Resources (Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests, and Public Lands) and the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure (Subcommittee on Highways and Transit and the Subcommittee on Water Resources and Environment).

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**Delegation Biographies**

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**Ms. ASHLEY ORR***Legislative Assistant*

Office of Congressman Brad Miller (D-13th NC)

Ashley Orr has worked for Congressman Brad Miller of North Carolina since 2004. She currently serves as a Legislative Assistant. In addition to handling Rep. Miller's work on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, her issue portfolio includes Defense, Trade, Homeland Security, Immigration and Judiciary.

She received a B.A. degree in Peace, War and Defense from the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.

**Congressman Brad Miller's Leadership and Committee Assignments:**

Brad Miller was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina in 1953. He attended public schools and graduated from Terry Sanford Senior High School in 1971. He earned a bachelor's degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, a master's degree from the London School of Economics, and a law degree from Columbia University. He served as law clerk to Judge J. Dickson Phillips, Jr. of the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals for one year following his graduation from law school and practiced law in Raleigh from 1980 until his election to Congress in 2002. He is a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Financial Services, and the Committee on Science and Technology, where he also serves as Chairman of the Investigative and Oversight Subcommittee.

**Ms. CANAN BÜYÜKÜNSAL***Executive Director*

American-Turkish Council

Canan (Jahn-an) Büyüüksal joined the American-Turkish Council in January of 2000 and currently serves as the Executive Director. In this capacity, Ms. Büyüüksal works as the President's deputy ensuring the success of all ATC programs. Her responsibilities include over-seeing financial procedures, preparing the event budgets and the ATC annual budget, and managing the day-day activities of the office. As the Executive Director, Canan also directs the ATC Annual Conference, now in its 27th year. The 2008 ATC Annual Conference attracted over 700 participants and is one of the largest bi-national conference promoting U.S.-Turkish commercial, defense and cultural relations.

Before joining ATC, Ms. Büyüüksal worked as the General Manager of Cities Restaurant, in Washington, DC, for 14 years. Cities was named "one the fifty favorite restaurants" by The Washington Post Magazine on numerous occasions and has been featured on The Food Channel, In Style Washington, Harper's Bazar, and Food Arts. While at Cities, Canan designed and implemented an employee training program manual that has since been purchased by several independent restaurants across the United States. Canan continues to consult in the restaurant industry.

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## Delegation Biographies

She is an active community volunteer serving on the Board of the Mercy Hospital, Women's Association; and Food for Friends. She also serves on the Executive Committee for Oyster Bilingual School's Creative Activity Program and is on the Fund Raising Committee for the Saint Mary's Armenian Church Sunday School.

Ms. Büyüüksal graduated from Goucher College with a Bachelor of Arts in Economics. She currently resides in Washington DC with her husband, Aret Sahakyan and their 11 year old son, Aren.

### **Mr. TOLGA GÖRGÜLÜ**

*External Relations Manager*  
Frito Lay Co.

General: Born in 1969, Sakarya. Married  
Languages: English and French fluent.

#### Education:

- Graduated from Galatasaray High School (1988),
- Istanbul University Faculty of Economics (1992).

#### Career:

- Telka Rabak Copper Company (1992) as Assistant of General Coordinator.
- Human Resources Manager of Yasar Paint & Chemical Group (DYO 1997 - 2001)
- Human Resources Manger of Ak-AI Acrylic Yarn Company (Akkok Group 2001 - 2003)
- Human Resources Manger of Frito Lay Co. Istanbul Turkey (PepsiCo Group 2003 - 2006)
- External Relations Manager of Frito Lay Co. (Jan. 2007 - present)

#### Professional Achievements :

- PepsiCo Chairman Award (2007)
- Middle East Africa President Award (2005)
- PepsiCo International Star Award (2006)
- Project Manager of Turkey's second Snacks Plant in Tarsus

#### Membership:

- Galatasaray Sport Club
- Fenerbahce Rotary Club
- Turkish Offshore Racing Club
- Peryon

Hobbies & Interests: Sailing and racing in different class teams for the past 20 years. Three times winner of Turkish Offshore Racing Class trophy.

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**Delegation Biographies****Dr. CENGİZ İSRAFIL**

Managing Director  
FİL Finance

Cengiz İsrail was born in Warsaw, Poland. He received his B.S. in Mathematics from Columbia University in 1967. He studied in the Ph.D. Program in Economic History of Ottoman Empire at Columbia University from 1968 to 1973. He received an honorary Doctor of Philosophy from Batumi University in 2001. He is fluent in English, Turkish and Polish and speaks good Russian. He is a dual citizen of the U.S. and Turkey. He served in the U.S. Navy and Turkish Army.

From 1967 to 1973, Mr. İsrail was a Research Associate with Morgan Guaranty Trust Company and from 1973 to 1976, he was Senior Management Scientist for United States Trust Co. From 1976 to 1986, he was Vice President at Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., in charge of the Money Market Research Department. In 1985, on leave from Morgan, he joined the World Bank Mission to Turkey and prepared a report on money markets, which became the blueprint for reforms subsequently implemented by the Central Bank of Turkey. In 1986, he was instrumental in Morgan's winning the Privatization Master Plan project in Turkey, as well as the Turkish government's approval for the Gerede-Ankara motorway project, where Morgan was the arranger for the \$380 million financing facility. From 1986 to 1992, he was Advisor to Prime Minister and then President Turgut Özal for whom he was instrumental in the development and implementation of reforms in the monetary system, financial markets and privatization. He also contributed to the development of strategy that led to the establishment of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone.

From 1992 to 1993, Cengiz was Vice Chairman of Marmara Bank, İstanbul, Turkey, and Advisor to the Governor, Atyrau Province, Kazakhstan. He organized the 1993 Black Sea Oil & Gas Conference, which for the first time brought together international oil companies and the energy ministries of the FSU republics. From 1993 to 1996, he was Chief Executive Officer of Çolakoğlu Dış Ticaret, trading company of the Çolakoğlu Group, İstanbul, Turkey, and Vice Chairman and Executive Director of the Group affiliate TOTAL Oil Türkiye.

Since 1996 Mr. İsrail has been Managing Director, FİL Finance Inc., a consulting company based in New York, providing strategic, technical and financial advisory services to a select group of international clients and governments, with special emphasis on the energy and infrastructure sectors.

**Mr. G. LINCOLN McCURDY**

President  
Turkish Coalition of America

Mr. McCurdy is president of the Turkish Coalition of America (TCA), a 501(C)3 not-for-profit organization, based in Washington, DC. TCA fosters understanding of Turkish American issues through public education. (Web site for TCA is [www.turkishcoalitionofamerica.org](http://www.turkishcoalitionofamerica.org))

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## Delegation Biographies

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Mr. McCurdy has over 30 years of leadership and management experience in both U.S. government service and the private sector. He has extensive experience in dealing with binational boards; working with senior officials of the governments and military of the United States and Turkey; leading trade/investment missions and U.S. congressional delegations to Turkey; co-sponsoring activities with the State and Commerce Departments, Environmental Protection Agency, Smithsonian Institute and National Public Radio; and fund raising.

He served as the senior advisor to the Turkish American Chamber of Commerce and Industry in New York in 2005 and 2006.

Mr. McCurdy was the president and chief executive officer, 1998 - 2004, and executive director, 1989 - 1998, of the American-Turkish Council (ATC) in Washington, the leading business association in the United States devoted to the promotion of U.S.-Turkish commercial, defense and cultural relations. He received ATC's Distinguished Career Award in 2005.

Before joining ATC, Mr. McCurdy served in the American Consulate General in İstanbul as the Consul for Commercial Affairs, 1980 - 1984. In this capacity, he received the Department of State's Meritorious Honor Award for "re-establishing American pre-eminence in the İstanbul International Business Community." After government service, he consulted in İstanbul for five years for the Bank of Boston and several Turkish companies. In the late 1970s, he worked at the U.S. Department of Commerce in Washington, DC, organizing trade shows in Brazil.

G. Lincoln McCurdy received his B.A. at Hanover College in Indiana and holds a M.A. in International Management from The George Washington University. He is also a graduate of the Foreign Service Institute's Turkish Language and Culture Program. In May 2001, Mr. McCurdy received Hanover College's Alumni Achievement Award.

Mr. McCurdy is a board director for the Association for Safe International Road Travel (ASIRT). He is an advocate for smart growth and played a key role in beautifying I-66 in Arlington, Virginia, in the 1970s. He is married with two daughters and enjoys yoga, gardening, biking and travel.

### **Ms. AYŞE SÜMER**

*Government Affairs and Commercial Programs Director*  
American-Turkish Council

Ayşe Sümer has been working for the American-Turkish Council as the Commercial Programs and Government Affairs Director since April 2004. She is responsible for the following sector committees: Agribusiness & Food Industries; Banking & Finance; Information Technology & Communication; Health care Services; Technology Innovation; and Trade. She organizes the Annual Congressional Staff trip and the Chairman's Annual visit to Turkey. Ms. Sümer is ATC's liaison on the Hill.

## Delegation Biographies

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Ayşe first joined the Council in November 2000 as the Communications Director. Prior to joining ATC, Ms. Sümer lived and worked in different parts of the world. She was the Client & Strategic Planning Director for Rekta Ketchum PR, Research & Marketing Manager for Egon Zehnder Int., Editor-in-Chief of İstanbul The Guide, Human Resources Coordinator of '96 İstanbul Habitat II NGO Forum, and Director of External Affairs at the Graduate School of Management, Koc University, İstanbul. Upon her return to the United States, and before joining the American-Turkish Council she worked as the Conference Assistant for the 2000 U.S.-Azerbaijani Chamber of Commerce.

She served as the International Relations Coordinator for the İstanbul 2000 Olympic Committee; was the founding member & Vice-Chairman of Etc. A.S.; Public Relations Manager of Hotel Munamar, Marmaris; and the Consular & Public Affairs Officer in the Canadian Embassy, in Ankara.

Ms. Sümer studied Psychology and Mass Communications at the University of North Carolina in Greensboro, U.S.A and American University in Cairo, Egypt. She is fluent in English, Turkish, French and speaks adequate Arabic. Born in Ankara, Turkey, she traveled around the world extensively and lived in Libya, Indonesia, Egypt, India, Pakistan, and Turkey. She moved to the United States in 2000 and lives in Chevy Chase, MD.

She is the founding member of the Association for the Protection and Rehabilitation of Abused Children in İstanbul. Ms. Sümer, a dual citizen of the United States and Turkey, is an amateur designer and producer of jewelry.

## **AMERICAN-TURKISH COUNCIL**

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### **MISSION STATEMENT**

A Business Association dedicated to enhancing the promotion of U.S.-Turkish Commercial, Defense, Technology and Cultural Relations

### **OVERVIEW**

As one of the leading business associations in the United States, American-Turkish Council (ATC) is dedicated to strengthening U.S.-Turkish relations through the promotion of commercial, defense, technology and cultural relations. Its diverse membership includes Fortune 500, U.S. and Turkish companies, multinationals, non-profit organizations and individuals with an interest in U.S.-Turkish relations. Guided by Member interests, ATC strives to enhance the growing ties between the U.S. and Turkey by initiating and facilitating efforts to increase investment and trade between the two countries.

### **GOALS OF AMERICAN TURKISH COUNCIL**

- To help resolve problems and disputes that affect U.S.-Turkish commercial, defense and cultural relations.
- To encourage trade and investment between the United States and Turkey.
- To educate the public and private sectors on the importance of the strategic alliance between the United States and Turkey.
- To increase the understanding and appreciation of the history, culture and traditions of the United States and Turkey.
- To promote awareness of U.S.-Turkish issues.
- To facilitate dialogue between the government agencies of both Turkey and the United States and the private sector.

### **ACTIVITIES**

ATC has many different activities that take place throughout the year. These activities range from cultural to business to governmental affairs.

#### **Annual Conference**

An event of enormous value to its Members is the ATC Annual Conference. Held every year in Washington DC, it incorporates the whole spectrum of U.S.-Turkish relations. The Conference program addresses the key issues between the two countries and the region. Participation is diverse: Members of the U.S. Congress and the Turkish Parliament; Ministers and Cabinet Secretaries; senior U.S. and Turkish military leaders; other senior Administration and Turkish Government officials and political leaders. The Conference also attracts hundreds of other participants, including leaders in international business, investment and the professions from

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## American-Turkish Council

Turkey and the United States. The Conference offers up-to-the-minute political and economic briefings as well as cultural events. It provides an opportunity for American and Turkish businessmen and women to develop business contacts and to exchange ideas and information on strategic issues, product marketing, and scientific topics.

### Committees

Our ATC Members are also diverse. Their interests and activities cover a vast range of subjects. In order to incorporate and make the best use of this diversity, the Council has formed industry specific committees that actively work on issues pertinent to their own areas, but also cross-out with the interests of the other committees in order to encourage and enhance the business interests of each Member. The Council's Standing Committees, which guide its activities, are as follows: Agribusiness & Food Industries, Banking & Finance, Cultural Affairs, Defense & Security Affairs, Construction, Electric Power, Oil & Gas, and Pharmaceuticals. Ad hoc committees also exist for Textiles, and Trade & Investment. Corporate members are encouraged to take part in these work groups.

### Congressional Staff Trip

Each year, select groups of Congressional Staffers are invited to visit Turkey, an educational trip that combines meetings with top-level administration members, NGOs, and visits to some of the outstanding historical and cultural sights of the country. This trip also gives ATC an opportunity to show the achievements of Member companies within Turkey such as power plants, schools, factories, joint ventures and other businesses.

### Publications & Web site

The Council has two annual publications, one is the Conference magazine and the other is the Annual Report. Both of these provide an opportunity for Members to advertise and promote their activities as well as share their experiences. These publications are distributed to government officials of the U.S. and Turkey and also at various ATC sponsored workshops in the U.S., Turkey and Europe. The American-Turkish Council's integrated website provides links to related sites, as well as Member sites and is the milieu in which interesting articles and related information about Turkey and the United States is posted. Members and other interested parties may also use the web site to advertise their company and/or product.

### Seminars, Workshops & Briefings

Throughout the year, ATC sponsors seminars and workshops in Turkey and the U.S., as well as breakfasts, luncheons, dinners and receptions for visiting dignitaries and other Turkish officials. In Washington, as part of its educational awareness program, ATC organizes briefings on current U.S.-Turkish issues with senior officials in the Executive Branch and members and staff officials of both Houses in the Congress.

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CONFIDENTIAL**TURKISH COALITION OF AMERICA (TCA)****TURKISH  
COALITION of  
AMERICA***Fostering Understanding of Turkish American Issues through Public Education*

The Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) is an educational, charitable organization incorporated in February 2007. Based in the nation's capital, TCA's objective is to educate the general public about Turkey and Turkish Americans and voice their opinion on critical issues to interested parties.

- Engage and cultivate a new generation of young Turkish American leaders.
- Promote and advance the interests of the Turkish American community and Turks.
- Foster friendship, understanding and cooperation between the United States and Turkey.
- Protect the character and ensure a realistic portrayal of Turkey and Turkish Americans in the media and the arts.
- Serve as a think tank of expertise and a clearinghouse of information on Turkey and Americans of Turkish descent.
- Identify and recognize the achievements of Turkish Americans in academia, arts, business, education, government, public service and science.

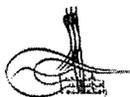
In carrying out its mission, TCA is committed to building coalitions and working with all like minded organizations, based on shared values and goals, on the local, state and national levels in the sponsorship and organization of:

- Educational programs on Turkish American issues, Turkish heritage and Turkey.
- Civic consciousness seminars on issues affecting Turkish Americans and the importance for Turkish Americans being involved in the political process.
- Scholarships and internship programs for Turkish Americans interested in political science, public administration and communication.
- News dissemination about the Turkish American perspective on critical issues and the activities and achievements of Turkish Americans.
- Educational and cultural tours between Turkey and the United States.
- Sister city relationships between Turkish and American cities.

For further information about TCA you can log on to their web site: [www.turkishcoalition.org](http://www.turkishcoalition.org)

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## **TURKISH CULTURAL FOUNDATION (TCF)**



Turkish  
Cultural  
Foundation

### **TURKISH CULTURAL FOUNDATION (TCF)**

The Turkish Cultural Foundation was established in January 2000 with the mission to support the preservation and promotion of Turkish culture and heritage worldwide, through original programs and cooperation with like-minded organizations. The Foundation is an U.S. tax-exempt public charitable organization supported entirely by private donations.

Since its inception, the Foundation has provided an endowment for a permanent Turkish Language Lectureship at the University of Chicago, Middle Eastern Studies Department and awarded grants to many leading organizations in the United States and Turkey in support of their cultural programs.

Last year, the Foundation provided a total of \$ 218,000 in grants and pledges in pursuit of its mission, and in support of efforts of other civic organizations in the United States and in Turkey.

In recognition of the importance of preserving Turkish language and culture among young Turkish Americans, the Foundation issued a challenge grant to local Turkish organizations in the United States and in Canada to open Turkish community schools. The Turkish American Cultural Alliance of St. Louis ([www.tacastl.org](http://www.tacastl.org)), the Turkish American Association of Central Ohio ([www.taaco.org](http://www.taaco.org)) and the Pittsburgh Turkish American Association ([www.ptaa.org](http://www.ptaa.org)) in the United States and the Turkish Canadian Society in Vancouver ([www.vancouverturkishsociety.org](http://www.vancouverturkishsociety.org)), Canada, were awarded grants and opened schools to serve their community's children.

The Foundation also supports education in Turkey through grants to the Turkish Educational Foundation ([www.tef-usa.org](http://www.tef-usa.org)) for scholarships to needy school children, the Turkish American Women's Scholarship Fund to support disadvantaged and successful female college students ([www.tawsf.org](http://www.tawsf.org)) and to the American Research Institute in Turkey ([ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ARIT](http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ARIT)) to create a joint Fellowship Program for research grants to Turkish scholars in the areas of archeology, the humanities and social sciences. The Turkish Cultural Foundation has also given a grant to Anatolian Artisans ([www.anatolianartisans.org](http://www.anatolianartisans.org)) to organize a workshop on small business development for female artisans in developing regions of Turkey.

In support of promoting Turkish art and culture in the United States, the Foundation offered grants to interested organizations to screen a Retrospective of films by the award winning Turkish director, Zeki Demirkubuz. In cooperation with the Moon and Stars Project

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**Turkish Cultural Foundation (TCF)****TURKISH CULTURAL FOUNDATION (TCF) ctd.**

([www.moonandstarsproject.org](http://www.moonandstarsproject.org)), the Foundation supported the screening of this film series in Tempe, Arizona by the Bosphorus Art Project ([www.bosphorusartproject.org](http://www.bosphorusartproject.org)) and in Ann Arbor, Michigan by the Turkish Student Association and the University of Michigan and in Buffalo, New York by the University at Buffalo. The Foundation also co-sponsored the 2004 Turkish Film Festival in Boston and the screening of a Retrospective of films by renowned Turkish director Nuri Bilge Ceylan by the Turkish American Cultural Society of New England ([www.tacsne.org](http://www.tacsne.org)). In 2006, the Foundation has awarded a grant to Moon and Stars Project in support of the 7th Annual New York Turkish Film Festival and for the screening of the Festival's movies in other U.S. cities.

The Foundation also awarded grants to the Turkish Festival in Seattle ([www.turkfest.org](http://www.turkfest.org)) and the 9th Boston Turkish Festival ([www.tacsne.org](http://www.tacsne.org)). The American Turkish Society ([www.americanturkishsociety.org](http://www.americanturkishsociety.org)) was also awarded a grant in support of its cultural programs. The Turkish Cultural Foundation has also made a pledge to become the premier Foundation sponsor of an exhibition on Ottoman Textiles, "Style and Status," to be held at the Freer Gallery of Art / Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC in Fall 2006.

In support of creating a better understanding of Turkey among U.S. lawmakers, the Turkish Cultural Foundation co-sponsored visits to Turkey by members of the U.S. congressional staff prepared by the American Turkish Council ([www.the-atc.org](http://www.the-atc.org)). The Foundation organizes a tour of Istanbul's historic and cultural sites as part of this program.

In the area of preserving Turkish culture, the Foundation is supporting the English translation, publication and U.S. distribution of the novel "Huzur - Peace of Mind" by Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar by Archipelago Books ([www.archipelagobooks.org](http://www.archipelagobooks.org)) and has commissioned the creation of a web site dedicated to Turkish Music through the ages. Both projects will be completed at the end of this year.

Also under its preservation and education mission, the Turkish Cultural Foundation is underwriting the work of the Archeological Settlements in Turkey Project (TAY Project, [www.tayproject.org](http://www.tayproject.org)). This Turkish NGO's mission is to record, protect and preserve the cultural and natural heritage of Turkey by creating a complete documentation of all archaeological sites starting from prehistoric times. The Foundation commitment to TAY Project stretches over the next eight years and will cover the creation of an "Iron Age Inventory."

The Foundation also maintains the most visited web site on Turkish culture [www.turkishculture.org](http://www.turkishculture.org). Over five hundred fifty thousand visitors from ninety-one countries visited the site. Its web site, currently undergoing a facelift, is a cornucopia of information on Turkish culture and also works as a gateway to many other sites on Turkish culture, helping to open these resources to the world. It also features a Turkish Culture Calendar on the web site, listing events on Turkish culture worldwide.

## **THE CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS**

### **THE CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS ON U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS & TURKISH AMERICANS**

The Congressional Caucus on U.S.-Turkish Relations and Turkish Americans (The Turkey Caucus) was co-founded by Reps. Robert Wexler (D-FL), Ed Whitfield (R-KY), and Kay Granger (R-TX) in March 2001. The Turkey Caucus was established in an effort to strengthen U.S.-Turkish relations and raise the level of economic, military, cultural and strategic cooperation between the two NATO allies. As of today, the Turkey Caucus has 78 members.

Since its inception, there have been more bills and resolutions offered in Congress in support of Turkish-U.S. relations than ever before. Among the legislation sponsored by Caucus members are resolutions commending Turkey for her supportive role in Operation Enduring Freedom and a second resolution highlighting Turkey's cooperation in the war against terrorism. Additionally, resolutions have been offered commending Turkey for her efforts to implement tough economic reforms, recognizing the strong economic relationship between Turkey and the United States and commemorating Turkey's abiding relationship with Israel. Finally, resolutions have been offered supporting Turkey's membership in the EU and establishing Qualifying Industrial Zones (QIZ trade zones).

The Caucus also increased the number of Members of Congress traveling to Turkey. In 2002, Reps. Granger and Wexler led the inaugural Caucus delegation to Turkey to meet with Prime Minister Ecevit, President Sezer, Foreign Minister Cem, as well as other top officials in Ankara. During this high-level visit, the Caucus delegation focused on strengthening U.S.-Turkish relations with respect to counter-terrorism, defense, and energy. In addition, they discussed pressing foreign policy issues regarding Afghanistan, Israeli-Turkish relations, Iraq, the Middle East, the Balkans, Central Asia, and the Caucasus region.

In March 2003 Congressmen Wexler and Whitfield traveled to Turkey to consult with Turkish leaders following the vote in Turkish parliament regarding hosting U.S. troops. Soon after their return, the Caucus took a leadership role in support of the Administration's \$1 billion assistance to Turkey to help soften the economic effects of a war in neighboring Iraq. Efforts to eliminate the assistance were defeated on the House floor by a vote of 3 to 1, indicating strong Congressional support for U.S.-Turkish relations irrespective of events surrounding Operation Iraqi Freedom.

The Caucus has hosted numerous Turkish business and government delegations for briefings, including then - Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs Ugur Ziyal, the Turkish U.S. Business Council/DEIK executive committee, and then - Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gul. In 2004, during PM Recep Tayyip Erdogan's visit to Washington, the Caucus members were able to meet and discuss issues concerning the relations between the two countries. More recently, the Caucus has worked with the House Appropriations Committee to restore funding for the Voice of America Turkish Services. They also helped host a 125th birthday celebration for Kemal Ataturk with the Ataturk Society of America.

In addition to the activities of the Caucus, Congressmen Whitfield and Wexler founded the Congressional Study Group on Turkey through the United States Association of Former

## The Congressional Caucus

Members of Congress in 2004. Since 2005 the Turkey Study Group and Former Members of Congress have visited Turkey numerous times. They also visited the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 2005. The two groups hosted several events for visiting Turkish delegations, including a special reception on Capitol Hill honoring Prime Minister Erdogan and his delegation during his June 2005 visit.

REPRESENTATIVE	DISTRICT	REPRESENTATIVE	DISTRICT
Rep. Robert Wexler *	D-FL	Rep. John Lewis	D-GA
Rep. Ed Whitfield *	R-KY	Rep. Betty McCollum	D-MN
Rep. Kay Granger *	R-TX	Rep. Mike McIntyre	D-NC
Rep. Robert Aderholt	R-AL	Rep. Greg Meeks	D-NY
Rep. Spencer Bachus	R-AL	Rep. Brad Miller	D-NC
Rep. Joe Barton	R-TX	Rep. Dennis Moore	D-KS
Rep. Gresham Barrett	R-SC	Rep. Jim Moran	D-VA
Rep. Howard Berman	D-CA	Rep. John Murtha	D-PA
Rep. Charles Boustany	R-LA	Rep. Solomon Ortiz	D-TX
Rep. Dan Burton	R-IN	Rep. Bill Pascrell	D-NJ
Rep. G. K. Butterfield	D-NC	Rep. Mike Pence	R-IN
Rep. Andre Carson	D-IN	Rep. Joe Pitts	R-PA
Rep. Steve Chabot	R-OH	Rep. Todd Platts	R-PA
Rep. Ben Chandler	D-KY	Rep. Earl Pomeroy	D-ND
Rep. Howard Coble	R-NC	Rep. David Price	D-NC
Rep. Stephen Cohen	D-TN	Rep. Adam Putnam	R-FL
Rep. Tom Cole	R-OK	Rep. Nick Rahall	D-WV
Rep. Bud Cramer	D-AL	Rep. Jim Ramstad	R-MN
Rep. Henry Cuellar	D-TX	Rep. Silvestre Reyes	D-TX
Rep. Geoff Davis	R-KY	Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger	D-MD
Rep. Lincoln Davis	D-TN	Rep. Jean Schmidt	R-OH
Rep. Norm Dicks	D-WA	Rep. David Scott	D-GA
Rep. Lloyd Doggett	D-TX	Rep. Pete Sessions	R-TX
Rep. Thelma Drake	R-VA	Rep. Chris Shays	R-CT
Rep. Phil English	R-PA	Rep. Bill Shuster	R-PA
Rep. Bob Etheridge	D-NC	Rep. Mike Simpson	R-ID
Rep. Eni Faleomavaega	D-Sam	Rep. Ike Skelton	D-MO
Rep. Alcee Hastings	D-FL	Rep. Cliff Stearns	R-FL
Rep. Jeb Hensarling	R-TX	Rep. Adam Smith	D-WA
Rep. Rush Holt	D-NJ	Rep. Tom Tancredo	R-CO
Rep. Virginia Foxx	R-NC	Rep. Gene Taylor	D-MS
Rep. Jessie Jackson, Jr.	D-IL	Rep. John Tanner	D-TN
Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee	D-TX	Rep. Bennie Thompson	D-MS
Rep. William Jefferson	D-LA	Rep. Edolphus Towns	D-NY
Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson	D-TX	Rep. Henry Waxman	D-CA
Rep. Tim Johnson	R-IL	Rep. Rob Wittman	R-VA
Rep. Walter Jones	R-NC	Rep. Heather Wilson	R-NM
Rep. Carolyn Kilpatrick	D-MI	Rep. Joe Wilson	R-SC
Rep. Randy Kuhl	R-NY		
Rep. Ileana Ros Lehtinen	R-FL	* Caucus Co-chairs	

**ATC MEMBER COMPANY BRIEFS**

BankPozitif makes positive contributions to the finance sector by means of activities which they perform in the individual, corporate and investment banking areas. Its clear vision strengthens its position in the banking sector.

Its mission is to be a bank that brings a new dimension to the Turkish sector banking and is proven exemplary at the international level by means of developing innovative and modern approaches which help enhance the living and business qualities of its customers.

In five years, BankPozitif aims to be among Turkey's top three banks in its sector for profitability, different distribution channels of its offices in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, it will offer to more than 500,000 customers its innovative solutions to the financial needs of the individuals. It will be the bank of choice by customers in the sectors it targets because of its high-level risk management ability, specialized and continuously developing staff, and active use of the latest technology.

Since its beginning, the core business of BankPozitif has been corporate banking. It renders services for its customers as a boutique bank. By being strictly committed to the principles of productivity, effectiveness and effective risk management, BankPozitif presents corporate financing services, corporate credits, financial leasing, and project financing. It targets construction (material, real estate, land allocation), marine and transportation (ports), energy, tourism, foodstuffs and agricultural products, financial organizations, automotive, entertainment, and others.

In addition to this, BankPozitif is interested in the privatization of state-owned enterprises and large performed asset sales, performed openly and transparently (in which there are lots of national and international participants).

BankPozitif takes a positive approach to its customers, endeavoring to provide banking services that make the customer's life easier and solutions that are both appropriate and fulfill expectations, whether for business, home vehicles, or other kinds of individual credits.

In line with its extraordinary banking approach, BankPozitif is prepared to visit customers at any place and time and give information about financial solutions. Its fast and solution-oriented BankPozitif call center is committed to answering all financial questions and responding to a wide variety of problems as quickly as possible.

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY




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NTF Construction is a Turkish construction company that has worked on a variety of construction projects. Previous work includes dams and hydroelectric power plants; irrigation and drainage projects; roads, bridge and tunnel works; earthworks; potable water and waste water networks; mining and quarry operations; drilling and grouting works; buildings and industrial plants; urban infrastructure; airport; harbour; and natural gas and oil pipelines.

NTF uses state-of-the-art information technology.

NTF Information System is an integrity of the software designed to overcome the difficulties in controlling the work sites of NTF, which are spread over different geographical regions. Owing to the data processing technologies being intensely used, productivity and speed have been provided in the fields of production planning, human resources, purchasing, machinery, quality control and accounting.

With the NTFBS software designed and developed completely by NTF personnel for use in the work sites, it is possible to examine all human resources data, access the data on the daily production - consumption and operating hours of the machinery and prepare and monitor daily work site reports.

GPS (Global Positioning System) -Supported Vehicle Monitoring System, whose project, hardware and software were developed by NTF personnel and resources, makes it possible to monitor the main production vehicles currently active in the work sites with the help of the location data obtained from GPS satellites, and the data like their position, speed, load, etc. are collected over the radio lines in real time at the main center. This data has provided increased productivity for the vehicles used in the work sites. Same project won the award at the contest "New Horizons" organized by GYIAD (Association of Young Managers and Businessman) in the year 1997.

Moreover, regular training courses are held on the subjects of installation and upgrade of the other software used by the departments under full license at the center and in the work sites, in order to increase the activity of the software used. The equipment of NTF Construction includes 101 machines, 67 trucks, and 35 other vehicles.

To date NTF Construction has worked on projects from the Akköprü Dam, to the Pervari Dam and Pendik Collector.

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**ATC Member Company Briefs**

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CONFIDENTIAL

**TURKISH-AMERICAN BUSINESS ASSOCIATION (TABA)**

TABA founded in 1987 is a non-profit organization, headquartered in İstanbul, it has five branches in Turkey. TABA's membership is over 650 companies.

As the representative of the American Chamber of Commerce in Turkey, TABA's goal is to enhance trade relations between the U.S.A and Turkey; to encourage American investments into this country; assist members by connecting them with potential strategic partners; help solve their trade-related issues and contribute to Turkey's promotion abroad.

In order to accomplish these goals, TABA/AmCham founded several task committees. These committees are: Membership; Project Development; Telecommunication & Information Technology; Energy & Infrastructure; Law & Finance, Publications; Activities & Communications; Corporate Affairs; Consumer Products; Intellectual Royalty Rights; Trademarks Defense Industry; Tourism; Real Estate & Transportation and Investment & Regulations pertaining to EU relations.

TABA/AmCham is a member of the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A (COCU.S.A), member of the European Council of American Chambers of Commerce (ECACC) and American-Turkish Council (ATC).

<http://www.amcham.org.tr>

## ATC Member Company Briefs

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### FRITO LAY IN TURKEY

Having been founded as a Turkish company in 1986, Uzay Food sold 50 % of its shares to Pepsico after 2 years and Frito Lay was founded as a 100 % Pepsico company in 1993. Today, it provides employment opportunities for more than 2.400 people through its plants in İzmit and Tarsus, its head office in Istanbul and sales and distribution network that spans all over Turkey.

Operating in the Turkish market with four international brands including Lay's, Ruffles, Doritos, and Cheetos, Frito Lay is the leader of savory snacks in Turkey. Since it entered to the Turkish snack market, Frito Lay Turkey has been growing continuously. Recently, it received the prestigious PepsiCo Founder's Award (Donald M. Kendall Award) in 2004 and 2005.

#### Product Categories

**Potato Chips (Lay's, Ruffles)** The world's number one savory snacks company and the leader in Turkey, has 2 brands -Lay's and Ruffles- in the potato chips category. Lay's offers 3 choices: Classic Potato Chip, Harvest Feast (Yoghurt & Seasonal Vegetables Flavor) and Spices Flavor. With a selection of satisfying flavors, Ruffles also offers alternative choices such as Originals - Ridged Potato Chip, Tat Ketchup Flavor and Maximum - Cheese & Onion Flavor.

#### Corn Chips (Doritos, A La Turca)

Doritos, Doritos Dippas and A La Turca are Frito Lay's corn chips. Doritos has 3 choices: Taco (Spices Flavor), Nacho (Cheese Flavor) and Hot Corn (Hot Pepper Flavor). Doritos Dippas was created for chip lovers who prefer eating chips with sauces. A La Turca provides a fascinating traditional tastes with its Poppy seed assortment.

#### Corn Snacks (Cheetos, Çerezza)

With its wide product range suitable for all age groups, Frito Lay has two corn snack brands, Cheetos and Çerezza. Cheetos, produced from 100% corn semolina with vegetable oil and oven baked has an indispensable taste with its Cheese, Peanut, Ketchup, Steak, Twisted, Thunder, Crispy Cheese & Thunder and Mini Cheetos varieties.

#### Plants and Warehouses

Frito Lay Turkey has a large distribution network all around the country with 200 distributors and a sales force of more than 1.000 people. Delicious and appetizing snacks are produced in Frito Lay's two plants in Suadiye Kocaeli and Tarsus. Frito Lay reaches all of Turkey with its distribution system and continues growing through marketing activities with its products suitable for all age groups. Frito Lay keeps its leadership in the potato chips market with Lay's and Ruffles, in the corn chips market with Doritos and A La Turca and corn snacks with Cheetos and Çerezza.

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**ARTICLES****TURKEY IN 2008: THE U.S., THE EU AND THE FUTURE**

Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938), known also as ATATÜRK, "Father of the Turks," founded the Republic of Turkey in 1923. The Republic was founded upon secular democratic principles, but has suffered recurrent periods of political instability and intermittent military coups that disrupted its democratic development. Turkey became a member of the UN in 1945, NATO in 1952, an associate member of the European Community in 1964, and began the process for accession into the EU in 2005.

Turkey's population is approximately 72 million people. It is one of the largest countries in Europe and the Middle East. A quarter of the population is under 15 years of age, 69% is of working age, and its median age is 29. Ethnically diverse, Kurds are thought to constitute about 20% of the population with concentration in the Southeast and Istanbul.

Turkey endured an economic depression and collapse of its banking sector in 2000-2001. In the past five years, however, it has enjoyed political stability and strong economic growth. Its GDP grew 8.9% in 2004, 5% in 2005, 6.1% in 2006, and 5% in 2007. It is expected to grow at a rate of 4.5% in 2008. The Turkish Lira, which depreciated at an alarming pace through the 1990s, has been remarkably steady for the past four years.

Diverse challenges, a rich history and geopolitical fate give Turkey a commanding regional role that can be projected well into the future. It is in fact located in a prime intersection of culture, political power, influence, and commerce. Turkey has big dreams to use its position to integrate into the European Union and once again become a nation of regional influence and global vitality.

**Economic Picture**

Turkey's macroeconomic picture has improved dramatically over the past five years. Growth in GDP has averaged 6.9%. Inflation was brought to single digits. Foreign direct investment blossomed to more than \$21 billion in 2007. Privatization of state-owned enterprises moved forward at a rapid pace. Economic reforms required for accession to the European Union have led to tightening fiscal policy, foreign direct investment flows, and investor confidence. The Turkish Lira was revalued in 2005 and has held remarkably stable, but a recent spike in inflation rates cause concern among investors. Foreign currency is getting harder to come by, especially with the end of the IMF oversight in May, drastically decreasing foreign direct capital inflows. In 2008 we are seeing a slow down in GDP growth and in investments.

The growth in Turkish exports in 2008 has been dramatic, but so too has been the growth of imports led by imported and more expensive oil and gas. When combined with a decline in foreign investment in privatized state-owned enterprises, Turkey's negative current account has steadily deteriorated in 2008. Turkey's economy can be expected to remain strong in the future by turning to micro-economic reforms that will benefit its strong manufacturing base and small and medium enterprises. Its increasingly market-oriented economy is in a prime location for international commerce and its economy has grown in ways that tie it ever closer to the EU. Domestically and around the world Turkey is regarded as important for its role as an

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## Articles

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### TURKEY IN 2008: THE U.S., THE EU AND THE FUTURE ctd.

energy transportation hub and thus as a leader in the energy sector. With its economy, now 17th largest in the world, Turkey is expected to be one of the world's ten largest economies within the next fifteen years. Membership in the EU would further promote economic progress.

#### U.S.-Turkish Relations

Despite difficulties that commenced with the Iraq invasion in the spring of 2003, the U.S. and Turkey have recognized that they are each others indispensable ally and preserved the core of their relationship through common goals and shared values.

In 1947 the Marshall Plan initiated a tight U.S.-Turkey relationship as Europe was rebuilt after World War II. Five years later Turkey and the U.S. became allies through membership in NATO. This strong security partnership was solidified with Turkey's dedication of armed forces to halt the spread of Communism, including a remarkable reputation for valor earned in the Korean War.

Throughout the Cold War, Turkey acted as the southern flank protector of Western interests against the Soviet Union. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Turkey's role changed, enduring a period of uncertainty but emerging in the 21st Century no less strategically important than it had been for the previous 50 years. Terrorism, religious and cultural clashes, Persian Gulf and Middle East conflicts, energy security, the potential for a nuclear armed Iran, and the alarming spread of Islamic fundamentalism have all placed Turkey and its regional position front and center.

Three issues became major irritants in the U.S.-Turkey relationship over the past five years: the Iraq invasion, dealing with PKK terrorism, and congressional flirtation with a resolution that ascribes to Turkey the crime of "genocide" for the Ottoman Empire's handling of the Armenian rebellion nearly a century ago. The first two issues have been satisfactorily managed; the third looms as a genuine flashpoint for the future.

Turkey surprised and disappointed the U.S. with its rejection in March 2003 of U.S. plans for a northern front in Iraq to be opened by transiting U.S. troops into Northern Iraq through Turkey. When Baghdad fell and Northern Iraqi Kurds appeared to emerge as the dominant post-Sadam players, Turkey feared that Iraq would disintegrate and an independent Kurdistan emerge. This was thought to be cataclysmic for Turkey's own territorial integrity and its struggle against the PKK and Kurdish independence.

Nonetheless, Turkey continued to permit massive amounts of war materiel and logistic support to transit Turkey to U.S. and coalition forces fighting in Iraq. Today, upwards of 75% of airborne re-supply for the Iraq war transits Turkey and 100% of the refueling for air operations in both Iraq and Afghanistan stage through Incirlik Air Base. Turkey has been reassured with the evolving federal structure for Iraq's government and has participated in extensive training of Iraq's politicians, bureaucrats and police, as well as large swaths of reconstruction.

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## Articles

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### TURKEY IN 2008: THE U.S., THE EU AND THE FUTURE ctd.

Rising unpopularity for America among Turks was fueled by the perception that America's occupation of Iraq provided a northern Iraq safe haven for PKK terrorists. A dramatic up-tick in PKK cross border violence in late 2007 led Prime Minister Erdogan to seek an urgent meeting in November with President Bush. The agreement to provide Turkey "actionable intelligence" on the PKK and President Bush's pronouncement of the PKK as a "common enemy" have resolved this irritant. Likewise, the unexpected success of the Administration in getting members of the House to withdraw their support for the Armenian "genocide" resolution removed that issue from the bilateral agenda for the present.

As a result of successfully managing these three issues, U.S.-Turkey relations are the best today that they have been at any time in the past five years.

#### Turkey and the European Union

Although EU-oriented reforms dropped off during the 2007 election year and were slow to resume, they are now once again an active part of the Turkish Government's political and economic agenda. Successful integration into the EU would greatly benefit Turkey and will see its continued development and progression to a prosperous democratic society. As a secular democracy within a Muslim society, it faces challenges balancing social and political issues. The Justice and Development Party (AKP) members, President Abdullah Gul and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, have reaffirmed the country's commitment to this goal. Turkey's social maturity is evident in their willingness to accept EU-mandated reforms, and has improved its economy, political and social position to meet these reforms.

Turkey is in a prime location for commerce and influencing regional international relations. Its economy has grown to be the 17th largest in the world, larger than many EU states. Turkey has a young population with good work ethic and rapidly developing skills in modern technologies. Eager today to find employment and be prosperous, it is a labor force that will be desperately needed in the future by many European states. As a Democratic State with a majority Muslim population, Turkey can become not only a geopolitical bridge, but a cultural and political bridge between the EU and the Middle East and a prime example of a prosperous, democratic, yet dominantly Muslim, society.

Turkey's path to EU membership is far from certain. More than any previous aspirant, Turkey is being asked to jump over ever-changing political hurdles in its pursuit of EU membership: Cyprus, Armenian genocide, the Kurdish problem, domestic reform, and freedom of expression are but some of the problems that Turkey must address before becoming a member. To date, Turkey has managed to close but one chapter of the 35 necessary for membership. Eight chapters were suspended at the insistence of France and Cyprus. All of this amounts to a long and tremulous process of setbacks and achievements undoubtedly extending the time frame for accession of Turkey. At the same time, the EU has itself suffered from indecisions and misdirection, leading many Turks to question whether the EU can ever be a successful destination for Turkey.

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## Articles

CONFIDENTIAL

### TURKEY IN 2008: THE U.S., THE EU AND THE FUTURE ctd.

#### Afghanistan

Turkey was the first Muslim country to actively pursue the Taliban by sending troops to Afghanistan. Turkey assisted in training the Afghan military and supporters of humanitarian aid, and Turks authorized the transit of U.S. aircraft and war materiel destined for Afghanistan through Turkey's Incirlik Air Base. Turkey has been an active participant in "Operation Enduring Freedom", twice commanding the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). Efforts made to build infrastructure and promote peace in Afghanistan have engaged Turkish troops and the private sector in infrastructure development and delivery of humanitarian aid. Turkey faces a constant struggle with its own population over their demands for priority in opposing PKK terrorism before assisting its allies in Afghanistan. Nonetheless, this year Turkey has doubled its humanitarian assistance pledge and increased foreign direct investment projects by Turkish firms.

#### Kurds in Turkey

Kurdish ethnicity accounts for nearly 20% of the total Turkish population. Individually, Kurds have been denied recognition of their unique ethnicity, language, books, radio and television, music and other cultural manifestations. In recent years, however, these rights have increasingly been improved with help from EU mandates and strong representation of Kurds within the Turkish government. Recent laws now permit Kurdish language broadcasts and magazines and newspapers. Kurdish is still not permitted to be written or spoken in government or in publicly supported education. Great economic disparity is also apparent when comparing the poverty of the Southeast with the burgeoning economies of Western Turkey.

Kurdish terrorist group, the PKK, has been taking a huge toll in Turkey, particularly the Southeast. For more than three decades, Turkey has looked to the U.S. and the international community for support against the PKK, but that support has rarely been provided. Recently, the United States became much more active against the PKK providing "actionable" intelligence information to Turkey about PKK whereabouts and actions in Northern Iraq. President Bush named the PKK "an enemy of Turkey, an enemy of Iraq, and therefore an enemy of the United States." The United States has also encouraged Iraqi Kurdish authorities to work more closely with Turkey against the PKK. This too appears to have positive effect. Turkey's own Kurdish population has shown that it is not primarily interested in an independent Kurdish state. Kurds in Turkey look forward to Turkish accession to the EU as a path for increased freedoms and economic success for their people within Turkey.

#### Cyprus

The election of a new Cypriot President, Dimitris Christofias, in February 2008 has opened the best opportunity since the failure of the Annan Plan in 2004 for the Cyprus dispute to be settled. Turkey encourages the resumed negotiation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots under the auspices of the UN. In a colossal diplomatic blunder, the EU granted Cyprus membership in the EU, and European Union rights to Greek Cypriots only, even though Greek Cypriots rejected the Annan Plan. By such action, the EU assured no progress for the next four years under former President Papadopoulos. In the meantime, Turkish troops remained in place,

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**Articles**


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**TURKEY IN 2008: THE U.S., THE EU AND THE FUTURE ctd.**

Turkish Cypriots remained isolated, and progress on EU membership for Turkey became a hostage to the Greek Cypriots and a Cyprus solution.

**Greece**

Remarkable progress has been made in Greece-Turkey relations since the tragedies of dual earthquakes in Turkey and Greece in 1999. Disputes over ownership of islets and areas in the Aegean, treatment of each country's minority populations, and recurrent military tensions are increasingly rare. Greece supports Turkey's membership in the European Union. Exchanges of high level visits have taken place. Matters such as the reopening of the Halki Seminary remain to be resolved.

**Global Relations**

Increasingly, Turkey sees a role for itself beyond its regional influences. For example, in Africa Turkey's historical, cultural, and economic interests are paving the way to increased relations in sub-Saharan Africa, opening 15 new embassies, a robust growth of bilateral commerce, and a partnership with the African Union. Turkey has contributed humanitarian aid projects paralleling U.S. strategic aid projects in Lebanon, the West Bank, and Palestine.

**The Balkans**

The Balkans continue to have a special relationship with Turkey because of their historical connections to the Ottoman Empire, and because they are close neighbors with mutual economic and political growth prospects and accession into the EU. These countries generally are benefiting from increased commercial and humanitarian ties with Turkey and mutual memberships in NATO. Croatia is also an aspiring state for EU membership and is progressing toward that objective much more quickly than Turkey. Turkey and the Balkan States are working toward co-operation in energy supply and building infrastructure to support energy networks to Europe.

**The Caucasus**

Turkey cooperates closely with Azerbaijan and Georgia on the elimination of terrorism, human trafficking, and drug smuggling, and development of commercial projects. A fundamental piece of Europe's energy security puzzle was put in place when Turkey, Azerbaijan, and Georgia opened the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceylan pipeline on July 15, 2006. Commercial projects in the region have been fostered in conjunction with many international finance and trade organizations including the Export-Import Bank of the United States, the U.S. Trade and Development Agency (TDA), and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC). Turkey has the support of the U.S. in its efforts to reduce tensions in the region through "Operation Black Sea Harmony" in conjunction with NATO's Operation Active Endeavor. In the midst of the Armenian issue is the U.S. Congress. Turkey will not normalize its relations with Armenia or open its land border with Armenia unless Armenia's long-standing occupation of 20% of Azerbaijani territory in Nagorno Karabagh comes to an end. Turkey's dispute with Armenia over Armenia's occupation of vast tracts of Azerbaijan and the efforts to brand Turkey for the crime of genocide for its treatment of Armenians at the end of World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire remain a major trouble spot.

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CONFIDENTIAL**Articles****TURKEY IN 2008: THE U.S., THE EU AND THE FUTURE ctd.****Eurasia**

When the Soviet Empire collapsed in 1991, Turkey was the first country to recognize the independence of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan believing (mistakenly) that a common linguistic and cultural heritage would result in all five looking to Turkey for leadership and encouragement. While Turkey's political and cultural gambit failed, its commercial penetration of markets throughout the "Stans" succeeded. Today, Turkish clothing, food, all variety of manufactured goods and construction can be found through Eurasia, and Turkey is a major transit hub for Eurasian energy exports to Turkey and Western Europe.

**General**

Population	71,892,807
Population growth	1.013%
Life expectancy at birth	73.14 years
GDP (ppp)	\$888 billion
GDP per capita (ppp)	\$12,900
Real GDP Growth	5%
Inflation	8.5%
Unemployment	9.9%

Statistics obtained from The World Factbook, July 7, 2008:  
<http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tu.html>

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## Articles

### TURKISH ECONOMY BRIEF

July 9th 2008

From the Economist Intelligence Unit

Source: Country Forecast

Outlook for 2008-09

- The Economist Intelligence Unit expects the Constitutional Court to close the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and ban leading members, including the prime minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, from membership of any party.
- If this happens, we expect the party to re-form under a new name and remain in government. Most of the banned members will be able stand as independents in by-elections or possibly a general election in late 2008 or early 2009.
- We expect that Turkey's EU accession bid and economic reform will remain the government's main priorities, but progress will be slow.
- Tensions with the military may hinder the government's ability to engage fully in efforts to resolve the division of Cyprus.
- The government has not signed another IMF stand-by accord. However, post-programme monitoring and the option of a precautionary stand-by agreement at a later stage should help to maintain investor confidence.
- Owing to the continued rise in inflation, we expect the Central Bank of Turkey to keep monetary policy tight and only start to cut interest rates again in 2009.
- Owing to high inflation and interest rate increases we expect GDP growth to slow from 6.6% in the first quarter of 2008 to average 4-4.5% a year in 2008-09.

### Monthly Review

- On June 5th Turkey's Constitutional Court annulled the constitutional amendments passed by the AKP and part of the opposition, which had allowed female students to wear Islamic-style headscarves in universities.
- On June 16th the AKP submitted its written defence in the closure case against the ruling party. The AKP is accused of being a focus of anti-secular activity.
- During a visit to Diyarbakir in the predominantly Kurdish inhabited south-east of Turkey, Mr. Erdoğan announced a South-east Anatolia Project (GAP) Action Plan to complete the GAP plan, which began in the 1980s, by 2012.
- With consumer price inflation at 10.7% in May and rising, the Monetary Policy Committee of the Central Bank decided on June 16th to raise interest rates by 50 basis points for the second month in succession.
- GDP growth accelerated to 6.6% in the first quarter of 2008, from 3.4% in the second half of 2007. Recent indicators suggest that economic activity was sluggish in the second quarter of 2008 and will remain so in the third.
- Following a bout of weakness in March and early April the lira recovered and remained broadly stable in late May and June. On June 26th the lira was trading at about YTL1.22:U.S.\$1 and YTL1.90:€1.

<http://www.economist.com/countries/Turkey/profile.cfm?folder=Profile-Forecast> Accessed July 16, 2008.

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**Articles****ECONOMIC LOSSES FROM CHAOTIC POLITICAL CLIMATE GROWING,  
SAYS MINISTER**

Extracted from July 8, 2008; TODAY'S ZAMAN WITH WIRES ANKARA

The cost of the political uncertainty stemming from a closure case against the ruling Justice and Development Party (AK Party) and an investigation into the Ergenekon terrorist organization is climbing, Economy Minister Mehmet Şimşek has said, noting that the Turkish Treasury has thus far sustained a loss of YTL 20 billion.

Speaking to the Anatolia news agency yesterday, the minister acknowledged that the economy is being shaken by global developments such as soaring energy prices, a liquidity squeeze and the U.S. sub prime mortgage crisis, but said political uncertainties on the domestic front are causing more damage to the Turkish economy.

"What we and many national and foreign experts think is that if there had been no political uncertainty in Turkey, it would have been among the countries least affected by the global crisis because our economy was already in a period of normalization," the minister stated.

Despite all these adverse developments in the domestic political sphere, the government did not lose focus on steering the economy and continued structural reforms to achieve a sustainable growth rate in the medium and long terms, he noted.

Still, interest rates have increased by 5.5 percentage points to 22.5 percent since the closure case filed against the AK Party in March, which, he said, represents a sharp rise. "So, the political uncertainty, together with an upsurge in risk premiums and interest rates, has caused YTL 20 billion of additional burden for the Treasury," he stated, adding, "Turkey does not deserve this crisis."

The minister pointed to the losses of companies whose stocks are traded on the İstanbul Stock Exchange (İMKB) as another result of the political turbulence. He stated that the total losses in the market capitalization of these companies have exceeded \$80 billion. More has been lost with the huge outflows of foreign capital from financial markets, the slowdown in foreign direct investment (FDI) and a contraction in consumption, he added.

A more serious upshot of the troubles in the political arena is yet to arrive, the minister predicted, stating that the economy may stop growing at the expected rate. The economy recorded 6.6 percent growth in the first quarter due to a stronger manufacturing industry, higher consumption and investment expenditures, he noted. However, he said he was not optimistic about the second quarter as the effects of the political disruptions will be seen more markedly in the figures of that period.

**KOBİDER pleads for stability**

Small and Medium Sized Enterprises (KOBİDER) Chairman Nurettin Özgenç has complained about the uncertainty in the political arena, saying that it caused a sharp downward trend in demand that is crippling production. Turkey's top priority is the economy, and the economy can only grow when there is stability, he emphasized, adding that "democracy spreads to the masses only in economically developed countries."

Speaking to the Anatolia news agency, Özgenç claimed that political ambiguities are always accompanied by a contraction in demand as households are deterred from spending their disposable incomes with a propensity to save more. He warned that political actors must be more careful in their steps for the sake of protecting the peaceful environment that the economy's actors need to run the wheels of production.

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### THE DEFENSE AND SECURITY AFFAIRS PERSPECTIVE ON U.S.-TURKEY BILATERAL RELATIONS IN MID-2008

#### Bilateral Relations

Overall, U.S.-Turkey relations are in better shape now than they have been in five years. This is due to several key developments: U.S. support for Turkey's own war on terror through provision of "actionable intelligence" that back-stops Turkish attacks on the PKK in Northern Iraq; successful side-tracking of the Armenian Genocide resolution in the U.S. House of Representatives; and the continued significant partnership of Turkey in the global war on terror in Iraq and Afghanistan.

As an outcome of Prime Minister Erdoğan's November 2007 meeting with President Bush and President Bush's identification of the PKK as a "common enemy," the U.S. military agreed to provide real-time intelligence to the Turkish military. The Turkish military has successfully used this intelligence to pursue PKK cross-border in Northern Iraq. Immediately after the Erdoğan-Bush meeting, a high-profile round of airstrikes was mounted against the PKK in Northern Iraq, followed by ground attacks employing UAVs acquired from Israel as well as Turkish ground troops. The operations were successful and showed Turkey's ability to use precision-guided munitions effectively against PKK targets with truly minimal collateral damages. The "actionable intelligence" delivered by the U.S. is playing a crucial role in the success of the military operations.

Despite approval by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, a resolution that would have adopted the term "genocide" to describe the Ottoman-Armenian massacres of 93 years ago, was not successful in passing in 2007 by the U.S. House of Representatives. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi supported the resolution, calling it "one that is consistent with what our government has always said about... what happened at that time." President Bush disagreed, saying "one thing Congress should not be doing is sorting out the historical record of the Ottoman Empire." Eight past Secretaries of State and three past Secretaries of Defense shared this viewpoint. Thanks to energetic efforts of the Administration and intense lobbying by the Government of Turkey, support for the resolution evaporated at the last moment, with several of Speaker Pelosi's leadership team urging her to withdraw the Resolution from the floor. Had this resolution come to a vote and passed, it would seriously have harmed relations between the U.S. and Turkey and outraged the Turkish public who would surely have demanded retribution of some form harmful to the U.S. war in Iraq. Should a similar or the same resolution reappear in 2009, it will again be a major threat to vital U.S.-Turkish commercial and defense interests. For example, Turkey's response to passage could well be to limit future U.S. access to Incirlik Airbase inside Turkey, a key logistical support base into and out of Iraq and Afghanistan.

Allowing the United States to use this airbase near Iraq continues to be Turkey's strongest commitment to the global war on terror. Indeed, this is a continuation the U.S.-Turkey military partnership that supported the 1991 Gulf War, Operation Provide Comfort, and Operation Northern Watch, an aerial patrol of Northern Iraq that shielded the Iraqi Kurds from Saddam Hussein from 1997-2003. Turkey also supports through Incirlik the logistics of U.S. operations in Afghanistan. As a member of NATO, Turkish troops are part of the ISAF and Turkey has

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### THE DEFENSE AND SECURITY AFFAIRS PERSPECTIVE ON U.S.-TURKEY BILATERAL RELATIONS IN MID-2008 ctd.

twice commanded ISAF for six-month rotational tours. Turks have also been very successful assistance partners in Afghanistan, building schools, providing humanitarian assistance, and training Afghani police.

#### Inside Turkey

Although not directly related to the relationship between the U.S. and Turkey, a few recent events crucial to the understanding of the domestic situation in Turkey are worthy of mention. The AK Party and Government have had a tension-filled relationship with the Turkish military ever since the 2002 parliamentary elections. The military issued a statement in April 2007 expressing disapproval of the government's choice of Foreign Minister Gül to become Turkey's next President in what has been popularly referred to as an "e-coup." The military's memorandum and a subsequent ruling by the Constitutional Court prompted the Government to call snap elections in July 2007 in which the AK Party was overwhelmingly preferred to continue as Government.

In separate cases in 2008, Turkey's ruling AK Party and Prime Minister Erdoğan face charges relating to the undermining of secularism, charges which could result in the AK Party's abolition and in Erdoğan's being barred from politics (along with several other leaders of the AK Party). For its part, the AK Party has mounted an aggressive criminal investigation of retired military officers and others for allegedly planning assassination of prominent liberals and a presumed military takeover in 2009. This included in early July two ex-generals, one of the only instances of flag-grade military officers being arrested in Turkey's history.

Since the inception of the Republic, the military – which led coups that displaced popularly elected governments in 1960, 1971, and 1980 – has been seen as the guardian of secularism in Turkey. It continues to be held in high respect by the Turkish public. The current AK Party Government, despite achieving another majority in Parliament by winning 47% of the vote in the 2007 general election, is not secular enough for the military's taste and now finds itself under investigation by the Constitutional Court. Many inside and outside Turkey believe that the Party will be disbanded and Prime Minister Erdoğan banned from politics. However, it is not possible at this point to predict the outcome. Should the AK Party be disbanded and Erdoğan barred from politics, it is not clear just how this would affect Turkey's political stability and economic progress—but it wouldn't be positive.

The criminal investigation of retired military officers and others for allegedly planning assassination of prominent liberals and a presumed military takeover in 2009 (referred to in the media as the Ergenekon case or conspiracy), became public in January 2008, when 33 people, including some military members, were arrested. The Ergenekon case started after the discovery of 27 hand grenades on June 12, 2007 in a shanty house officer in İstanbul's Ümraniye district that belonged to a retired noncommissioned officer. On July 1, 2008, two ex-generals were arrested and a total of 86 individuals indicted. This led to speculation that the arrests were possibly revenge for the otherwise unrelated AK Party closure case. According to leaked

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information from the investigators, the ultra-nationalist Ergenekon operation was allegedly plotting to assassinate more high-profile liberal intellectuals, including a winner of the Nobel Prize, in an attempt to destabilize the nation and hurt Turkey's progress towards joining the EU. If assassinations had been carried out, it is alleged the military was planning to seize power in Turkey in a moment of confusion, terror, and destabilization. At the time of this writing, no formal indictment had been announced regarding any of those arrested in connection with this case.

**The Turkish-U.S. Defense Industry Cooperation**

The bilateral defense relationship between the U.S. and Turkey is a mutually beneficial relationship which has existed for over sixty years and has enhanced the national security of both countries as well as peace within Europe. Especially in recent years, Turkey's approach to defense industry cooperation has been driven by two complementary aspirations, the need for the most modern and effective defense technology, which is often acquired by partnerships between the Turkish military (TSK) and foreign governments or businesses (including many in the U.S.), and Turkey's desire to become technologically self-sufficient, ultimately achieving its own indigenous defense industry driven by the most up-to-date Turkish defense companies. Spearheading this effort is the Undersecretariat for Defense Industries (SSM), Turkey's military procurement agency. The SSM attempts to strike a balance between the short and long-term by encouraging immediate acquisition of military technologies while fostering Turkish innovation and self-sufficiency. In 2006, Turkey exported \$352 million worth of arms and bought \$1.7 billion for its own use. The International Cooperation Department of SSM is responsible for the research of potential international project opportunities under the Director of Bilateral Cooperation and the Director of Multilateral Cooperation.

Turkey's military is moving in the direction of a leaner, more modern force. Turkey plans to reduce the overall number of troops by twenty to thirty percent and to increase their level of specialization. TSK and SSM run a tight ship, a very strong conventional-weapons operation of armor, aviation (planes, helicopters, and UAVs), missiles, and naval forces.

Turkey intends to remain the strongest aviation power in the region. One of eleven countries in the Joint Strike Fighter project, in which the U.S. plays the leading role, Turkey plans to buy 100 JSF-35 planes for a cost of \$11 billion to replace its aging fleet made up of F-4s and F-16s. Turkey has used Israeli-built UAVs in successful attacks in Northern Iraq against the PKK, but the business situation with Israeli Aircraft Industries (IAI) has frustrated Turkey, which is now developing its own UAV prototypes.

U.S. Government and businesses have supplied defense products to Turkey for many years beginning in 1947 with the Marshall Plan. Sales stalled following Turkey's invasion of Cyprus in 1974 and the imposition of the U.S. arms embargo. Sales stalled again in 1995 and 1997 after reports of U.S.-made weapons being used in committing war crimes against Kurdish communities in Turkey's Southeast. Yet droughts of U.S. arms flows to Turkey have many times led to

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Turkish innovation. Trading with the U.S. (the world's leading exporter of defense technology) is, in some respects, more appealing to Turkey than dealing with Russia or South Korea. In any case, foreign relations between Turkey and any defense partner are burdened by external issues such as the Armenian genocide debates, interoperability with NATO, and the humanitarian situation of the Palestinians or Kurds, and thus become extremely complicated business ventures. Nonetheless, the SSM and TSK are moving Turkey in the direction of improved military capabilities. Reliable American technologies, especially those effective in fighting the PKK in Northern Iraq and in the Southeast, are still very attractive to the Turkish military.

#### Conclusion

Although it is impossible to predict how Turkey's domestic political situation will play out over the next few months, it is likely that Turkey's secular democratic government and its close ties with the West—particularly including the United States—will remain in place. The one predictable exception to this scenario is if the U.S. Congress passes an "Armenian Genocide Resolution." As has already been mentioned, this action would certainly have an immediate and extremely detrimental effect on U.S.-Turkey relations in every arena, particularly including commercial ties and security cooperation. Regardless of what else happens, Turkey will remain important globally and regionally. It will also remain an important market for defense technology acquisition/development, even as it continues to place increased emphasis on a more balanced model of defense industry cooperation. For these reasons, a strong U.S.-Turkey relationship, based on mutual respect of each other's sovereignty and close cooperation in all fields, should be a vital component of U.S. foreign policy, as designed through careful cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of our government.

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**Articles**

Congressional Record  
 Vol. 152 WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, MAY 16, 2006 No. 60  
 PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 109th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

**Patara: The Origins of American Democracy,  
 1800 Years and 7000 Miles Away  
 (House of Representatives - May 16, 2006)  
 HON. CLIFF STEARNS  
 OF FLORIDA  
 IN THE HOU.S.E OF REPRESENTATIVES**

Mr. STEARNS: Mr. Speaker, the city of Patara in Turkey sports a fantastic beach that sprawls for more than 11 miles. It recently rated number one on the London Sunday Times' list of the world's best beaches. But Patara is worth our attention for more than sand and surf. An archeological team led by Akdeniz University Professors Fahri Isik and Havva Iskan Isik recently unearthed an ancient parliament building in Patara -- the meeting place of the first federal-republic in recorded human history. The building, called the Bouleuterion, housed at least twenty-three city-states of the Lycian League, which existed along the Mediterranean coast of Turkey from about 167 BC until 400 AD.

The Lycian League's republican governing system, utilizing proportional representation, was unparalleled in the ancient world, and fascinated the pioneering philosophers of the Enlightenment, particularly Montesquieu. Depending on the size of the member cities, each elected one, two or three representatives to the Lycian parliament. When cities were too small, two or three banded together to share one representative vote. The six largest cities in the League had the right to three votes. The parliament elected a president, called the "Lyciarch," which at various times served as the League's religious, military, and political leader. Although it is contested, there is evidence to suggest that women could be and in fact were Lyciarch.

In Book IX of Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws, after charting the highs and lows of the earliest republics, he stresses the utility of a confederacy. He cites the Lycian League as an example: "It is unlikely that states that associate will be of the same size and have equal power. ... If one had to propose a model of a fine federal republic, I would choose the republic of Lycia."

Montesquieu's interest in the Lycian way of government would prove central to our founding. Thanks to his writings, in the debates about our own Constitution, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison cited the Lycian League as a model for our own system of government.

As well, in literal linkage, the semi-circular configuration of seats in this House of Representatives is exactly the same seating arrangement as in the Bouleuterion in Patara. The Bouleuterion's throne-like perch, where the elected Lyciarch sat, is much the same as the seat of the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

On June 30, 1787, at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, James Madison appealed to the delegates' understanding of the Lycian League. The Convention had just rejected the

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"New Jersey Plan", which called for a rather modest revision of our nation's first constitutional framework, the failed Articles of Confederation. The delegates resolved to come up with a new constitution, but had few notions in common of how it should proceed.

A delegate from Connecticut, Oliver Ellsworth, had just finished arguing for the Articles of Confederation's principle that every state should be equal in the national arena. He specifically asked, "Where is or was a confederation ever formed, where equality of voices was not a fundamental principle?" James Madison replied that the Lycian League was different, according to representation in reflection of actual size. His Virginia plan provided for a bicameral legislature, with both houses' representation based on states' population. He eventually had to accept a compromise, with a people's house of proportional representation, our House of Representatives, in tandem with a Senate of equal state representation.

Hamilton and Madison also cited the Lycian League in defense of representative democracy. While direct rule usually resulted in either tyranny or anarchy, the two founders felt that delegation of authority to elected representatives would allow the government to function properly.

The ideas and debates of our founding fathers may seem archaic to our modern times, but we face questions of federalism every day in this Congress. A federalist system of government divides power between a central authority (the federal government) and constituent political units (the states and localities). The delineation of that power comes into question particularly often on the Energy & Commerce Committee, of which I am a Subcommittee Chairman, whether we are debating the proper authority over electricity transmission across state lines, the regulation of hazardous waste, or the transmission of information through our telecommunications infrastructure.

Meanwhile, whether we are helping Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries develop representative democratic systems, or providing advice to the burgeoning democracies of post-Soviet Eastern Europe, we effectively reenact the Constitutional Convention's debates about the Lycian League and the nature of democracy around the world. We are doing what we can to help spread freedom and democracy, in our own image. Unfortunately, while it is relatively easy to conceive of the best model of government -- as our founding fathers did, and Montesquieu did before them -- the diversity of the real world, in geography, ethnicity, religion, and history, makes applying that best model quite difficult in practice.

The British archeologist George Bean highlighted some of the unique features of the Lycian League -- features not dissimilar to our own country's: "Among the various races of Anatolia, the Lycians always held a distinctive place. Locked away in their mountainous country, they had a fierce love of freedom and independence, and resisted strongly all attempts at outside domination; they were the last in Asia Minor to be incorporated as a province into the Roman Empire."

Our experience so far in guiding the nascent democracy in Iraq should certainly illustrate that representative democracy may not be perfectly replicable, at least overnight.

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Fifteen years ago, all a visitor to Patara would have noticed were the tops of a few old stones. Today, the excavations at Patara have unearthed the remains of an entire city. The archeological team has rescued numerous buildings and items from the sand and scrub brush, besides the Bouleuterion parliament building, including: a large necropolis; a Roman bath; a sizeable semi-circular theater; a sprawling main avenue leading to the market square; a Byzantine basilica (one of 22 churches once packed into Patara); one of the world's oldest lighthouses; and a fortified wall.

I would encourage everyone to visit Patara, for its beauty and for its archeological significance. The excavation site is a 10-15 minute from the glorious beach, and will be opened to the public in 2007. While we wait, one of Turkey's largest museums, the Antalya Archaeological Museum, displays many of the finds from Patara and the surrounding area.

We owe a great debt to Turkey's Ministry of Culture and the Akdeniz University in Antalya for their dedication of time and money to bringing the ancient ruins of Patara out of the dust and back into our lives.

In closing, I would like to thank: Dr. Gul Isin, Associate Professor of Archeology at Akdeniz Antalya in Turkey, who has been diligently working with Dr. Fahri Isik and Dr. Havva Iskan Isik to uncover the mysteries of the Patara site; Professor James W. Muller of the University of Alaska, Anchorage, who dissected how the Lycian League affected the founding fathers; and the American Friends of Turkey, the Friends of Patara, and former Representatives Stephen Solarz and Robert Livingston, who graciously introduced me to the archeological findings at Patara, and the important work of Professors Isin and Muller.

## Articles

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### SPLENDID RUINS OF AN "EXCELLENT REPUBLIC"

*Written by Christopher Walker for Saudi Aramco World*

In the shadow of the herb-scented Taurus Mountains, with their picturesque covering of pine and juniper forest, and overlooking Turkey's "Turquoise Coast," a long-silent bouleuterion, or council chamber, once held the proceedings of the Lycian League, considered to be history's earliest example of the republican form of government. With its rows of stone seats set out in a semicircle around a raised dais, it looks uncannily like the chambers of modern legislatures and parliaments.

The historical significance of the Lycian League was its uniquely federal character. Whereas other "leagues" and alliances in the Hellenistic world were often simpler bands of city-states united against common foes, the Lycians of southwestern Anatolia shared a racial and cultural lineage that helped set them apart from other proto-nations of the Mediterranean world.

Until the American model was forged half a world away and nearly 2000 years later, no other legislative body had apparently considered the Lycian example. The senate of Rome was a unicameral oligarchy, made up of those who were rich, noble and old enough to qualify. Britain's parliament, although bicameral and representative in many ways, was not developed according to a federal model.

At one time, the Lycian bouleuterion housed the elected representatives of the 23 city-states that first came together in approximately 205 BC and formally confederated in 168 BC. The resulting League not only kept its often squabbling members united, but also managed to exert authority over individual citizens of its constituent states.

The world's first recorded example of representative democracy had its capital in the port city of Patara, first mentioned by the Greek historian Herodotus, who described it as the cult center of the god Apollo. Both Horace and Virgil gave the city greater importance, referring to Patara (rather than Delos) as Apollo's birthplace.

The Lycians, according to their most respected modern chronicler, the British archeologist Geoffrey Bean, "among the various races of Anatolia, always held a distinctive place. Locked away in their mountainous country, they had a fierce love of freedom and independence, and resisted strongly all attempts at outside domination; they were the last in Asia Minor to be incorporated as a province in the Roman Empire."

The Lycians had their own language and alphabet, although following the conquests of Alexander in the fourth century BC, those gradually gave way to Greek. Historians have likened them to the Swiss today: a hard-working and prosperous people, neutral in international affairs but fierce in their defense of freedom and conservative in their attachment to ancestral tradition.

The Lycian League flourished both in the Hellenistic period, when the harbor was used as a naval base by Alexander's successors, and during the Roman Empire, when, against the odds, Lycia continued to function as a largely autonomous province.

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**SPLENDID RUINS OF AN "EXCELLENT REPUBLIC" ctd.**

In that turbulent period, the parliament building was joined by such impressive monuments as the amphitheater, the ornate city gate, baths, temples, a lighthouse—now claimed as the world's oldest—and a huge granary dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian, who in the year 131 visited with his wife Sabina. Before that, Lycia had been a stopping-off point for St. Paul during his missionary journey from Rhodes to the Phoenician port of Tyre. Patara's influence began to wane in the seventh century, after the Arab conquest, by which time its harbor had become almost totally silted up. By the 15th century it was entirely abandoned.

The city remains in that condition today, although the swarms of mosquitoes that molest archeologists and tourists alike on its spectacular 18-kilometer (11-mi) sandy beach are no longer malarial. The remote spot provides nesting places for the endangered hammerhead turtle and is home to legions of snakes and scorpions. It features swampy terrain and rampant vegetation, which strict Turkish conservation laws will not permit the use of pesticides to combat, partly explaining why the 100-hectare (250-acre) archeological site remained largely neglected until the late 1980's.

"When we first started digging, our tents were burned down by angry local people, who were convinced that we were responsible for the government restrictions that prevented them from building any type of tourist infrastructure," says Gül Işin, an archeologist with Akdeniz University and a leading member of the joint Turkish-German excavating team.

Although the Patara ruins were buried under thousands of tons of windblown sand at the time that the U.S. Congress came into being in the late 18th century, the once unique elected-representative system practiced by the Lycian League for at least 300 years was a formative influence on the framing of the U.S. Constitution.

It was the structure of the central Lycian authority and the responsibilities it was given that made it attractive to the framers of the U.S. Constitution. The Lycian model provided a formula that permitted the framers to compromise the interstate rivalries that endure to this day: Whereas the "upper house" would be made up of an equal number of senators from each state, the "lower house" would be made up of representatives elected in proportion to each state's population. In addition, the Lycian executive was not hereditary: The Lycian League was headed by an annually elected president known as the lyciarch—and, intriguingly, possibly also the lyciarchissa.

Sitting in the lyciarch's throne-like seat today, it is possible to imagine the representatives of the League sitting in the 13 semicircular rows of seats, holding debates on military and political affairs, making and breaking legislative alliances, in much the modern way.

"Among classical federations, its structure was unique," says Işin. "Of course, there are design differences between this building and the American House of Representatives, which was discussed and founded when this was hidden under the sand." But the federation is mentioned three times in the Federalist Papers, the series of 85 seminal essays written by Alexander

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### SPLENDID RUINS OF AN "EXCELLENT REPUBLIC" *ctd.*

Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison in 1787 and 1788, the years when ratification of the U.S. Constitution was being debated.

What particularly caught the eye of political commentators, stretching back to the Roman geographer and man of letters Strabo, was the way the League devised its system of proportional representation to distribute power among its differently sized members. According to Strabo, the member cities sent one, two or three representatives to the assembly, with the six largest members (including the capital, Patara), having the right to the maximum three votes.

According to James W. Muller, a constitutional scholar and professor of political science at the University of Alaska, the Lycian confederacy made three contributions to the U.S. Constitution. First, he says, "it was a model of a federal union the strength of whose parts in the national councils was proportionate to their size. Second, it showed the possibility of popular government that was representative. Thirdly, it offered the example of a strong national government with its own strong officers and the power to make laws that applied directly to individual citizens."

Explaining the global influence of the League, he adds that, since 1787, "the American Constitution has drawn the attention of constitution-makers, not the Lycian League. Before that, I am not aware of other governments that hearkened to the example of Lycia in drawing up constitutions."

Muller, who first visited Patara three years before the excavations began to reveal what lay under the thousands of truckloads of sand that have since been removed, is also an admirer of the 18th-century French political philosopher Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu. Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* was the most popular political book in America in the 1780's.

Observing that in Federalist No. 45, James Madison qualified his reference to the Lycian confederacy by explaining that it provided an example "as far as its principles and form are transmitted," Muller added, "There were limits to the knowledge of Madison, Hamilton, Montesquieu and Strabo about how the Lycian confederacy actually worked. But those limits are being rectified by the current excavation in Patara. We are much indebted to the painstaking work there, which is deepening our understanding of the antecedents of the American Constitution."

"The celebrated Montesquieu," as Madison described him in 1787, was a French philosopher admired by people on all political sides of the Constitutional Convention. ("S'il falloit donner un modèle d'une belle république fédérative," he said, "je prendrais la république de Lycie." "If one had to propose a model of an excellent federal republic, I would choose the republic of Lycia.") It was this remark that directed so much attention to the political arrangements of the people who had lived in 23 city-states along the southern coast of Turkey during the last two centuries BC.

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**SPLENDID RUINS OF AN "EXCELLENT REPUBLIC" ctd.**

At the foot of the evocatively preserved bouleuterion, where visitors can wander and climb to their hearts' content during opening hours, there is a room archeologists believe once housed the archives of the League. In keeping with the theme of Apollo that dominates the Patara ruins, on the room's entrance stone are carved the three symbols of the god: a baby turtle, a lizard and a grasshopper.

On the other side of the outer wall lie hundreds of large, recently numbered stones among a whispering carpet of daisy-like yellow and white camomile flowers. When more funds have been raised for the excavation work, the stones will be put into their original positions as part of an ambitious historical reconstruction.

"The different political weights of cities in the common assembly of the Lycian confederacy showed the possibility of a federation in which members of different sizes came together in a way which reflected their real strength," Muller explains.

"This was the idea for Congress in James Madison's Virginia Plan, which proposed a bicameral legislature—two houses—both of which gave the states representation in proportion to their population, as in Lycia. Madison then had to compromise with his opponents and accept the equality of states in the Senate, but the American House of Representatives, where states have representation in proportion to their population, is founded, as Madison urged, on the principle of the Lycian confederation."

The framers had more to say than this, too. In Federalist No. 9, Hamilton explained that in Lycia, the common council had the power to appoint all judges and magistrates for the confederated cities. In Federalist No. 16, he pointed out that in Lycia, federal laws applied not only to cities, but also directly to individuals. In Federalist No. 45, Madison referred specifically to the "degree and species of power" of the national government in Lycia, which he welcomed as the model for the stronger national government established in the Constitution.

Although the largely unspoiled site of present-day Patara provides insight into the setting where Lycians lived and governed, there are as yet few clues about much else—for example, how they lived, and how they looked —beyond the hints on some reliefs and coins that they wore their hair long.

Herodotus claimed that the Lycians had a different appearance from other troops in Asia Minor, who commonly wore Greek armor. As the earliest author to ever mention Patara, he wrote this description of a Lycian naval crew in 480 BC, as they joined Persian King Xerxes' invasion of Greece with 50 ships: "They wore greaves (shin protectors) and corselets (body armor); they carried bows of cornel wood, cane arrows without feathers, and javelins. They had goatskin slung around their shoulders, and hats stuck round with feathers. They also carried daggers and rip-hooks."

One of the most fascinating finds at the site is the "Stadiasmus Patarensis," a monument that

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### SPLENDID RUINS OF AN "EXCELLENT REPUBLIC" *etd.*

shows firsthand and in detail how the Lycian League grew, giving the names and distances of member cities—just as a sign in Los Angeles today might read "Las Vegas: 237 miles, Boise: 682 miles, Spokane: 944 miles; San Francisco: 354 miles." One of the inscriptions states that the Lycians were "the friends of the Romans" and another that "a consultative parliament was established by the best men of Lycia." The monument consisted of 53 large inscribed stones, of which 41 have been found; finding the rest and rebuilding the structure will have to wait for more funding.

In the ruins of Patara, archeologists have also found hints of the power and influence of at least certain Lycian women. Inscriptions found in the remains of the bouleuterion show that at least two women, named Marcia Aurelia and Crision Nemeso, were using the title lyciarchissa. But there is as yet no proof whether they were actually elected in their own right to run the assembly or whether they were using the feminine of lyciarch because that was their husbands' title.

"Nothing uncovered so far can yet solve this fascinating mystery one way or the other," says Işin. "We are hoping that something not as yet unearthed will one day be able to provide an answer."

However, on the entrance wall to the impressive 10,000-seat amphitheater, whose ruins tower next door to the much smaller bouleuterion, the female name Velia Prokla is clearly carved into the stone, recording that she was the benefactor who put up the money to construct the building. "Either she was extremely rich in her own right, or it was family money," Işin explains.

Herodotus had already noted that Lycians have "customs that resemble no one else's. They use their mother's name instead of their father's." As excavations continue, more than just a prototype for American democracy may yet emerge from the sands of Patara.

*This article appeared on pages 14-23 of the September/October 2007 print edition of Saudi Aramco World.*

<http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200705/splendid.ruins.of.an.excellent.republic..htm>

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- p. 2/3—Especially in recent years, Turkey's approach to defense industry cooperation has been driven by two complementary aspirations, the need for the most modern and.....
- p. 3--Trading with the US, the world's leading exporter of defense technology, is in some respects, more appealing to Turkey than dealing with Russia or South Korea.

#### *Conclusion*

Although it is impossible to predict how Turkey's domestic political situation will play out over the next few months, it is likely that Turkey's secular democratic government and its close ties with the West—particularly including the United States—will remain in place. The one predictable exception to this scenario is if the US Congress passes an "Armenian Genocide Resolution". As has already been mentioned, this action would certainly have an immediate and extremely detrimental effect on US-Turkey relations in every arena, particularly including commercial ties and security cooperation.

Regardless of what else happens, Turkey will remain important globally and regionally. It will also remain an important market for defense technology acquisition/development, even as it continues to place increased emphasis on a more balanced model of defense industry cooperation.

For these reasons, a strong US-Turkey relationship, based on mutual respect of each other's sovereignty and close cooperation in all fields, should be a vital component of US foreign policy, as designed through careful cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of our government.

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AREA/COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION AND COMMODITIES EXPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (JAN-DEC)					2006	2006 / 2005	2006 / 2005	2006 / 2005	2006 / 2005	2007 COMPARISONS	%	CHANGE
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006								
Turkey													
ANIMAL FATS	136,264	119,704	131,204	177,879	150,745	150,745	150,745	150,745	150,745	150,745	132,765	-11.93	-11.93
BREWFEST CEREALS	747,242	980,647	652,512	44,320	0	0	0	0	0	0	473,799	N/A	199.24
COTTON	299,690	373,243	328,482	480,130	419,644	419,644	419,644	419,644	419,644	419,644	574,727	36.96	36.96
CSAB & MEAT	214	222	279	1,405	4,131	4,131	4,131	4,131	4,131	4,131	2,524	-38.99	-38.99
EGGS & PRODUCTS	162,678	1,466,793	1,189,889	1,499,891	1,207,071	1,207,071	1,207,071	1,207,071	1,207,071	1,207,071	44,299	-96.33	-96.33
FRESH FRUIT	166	119	24,921	110,890	225,399	225,399	225,399	225,399	225,399	225,399	966,250	384.32	384.32
FRESH VEGETABLES	0	0	7	0	14	14	14	14	14	14	0	0.00	0.00
FRUIT & VEGETABLE JUICES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	59	59	59
HAIRSKED LUMBER	414	427	1,465	2,472	3,708	3,708	3,708	3,708	3,708	3,708	1,822	-50.86	-50.86
MILK & SKIMS	3,606,791	3,524,887	4,627,617	1,847,463	1,692,554	1,692,554	1,692,554	1,692,554	1,692,554	1,692,554	1,041,213	-38.59	-38.59
LIVE ANIMALS	79,211	87,964	288,236	112,225	154,352	154,352	154,352	154,352	154,352	154,352	71,062	-53.96	-53.96
MEAT & CHIPS	4,368	1,790	32,295	33,180	53,949	53,949	53,949	53,949	53,949	53,949	7,438	-85.22	-85.22
OTHER BULK COMMODITIES	1,367	8,968	24,823	4,453	18,167	18,167	18,167	18,167	18,167	18,167	25	-99.86	-99.86
OTHER CONSUMER ORIENTED	3,841	600	1,745	2,184	2,900	2,900	2,900	2,900	2,900	2,900	2,650	-9.76	-9.76
OTHER EDIBLE FISH & SEAES	551	653	1,152	137	581	581	581	581	581	581	352	-39.41	-39.41
OTHER INTERMEDIATE, PHARM	917,888	186,344	379,236	729,355	475,217	475,217	475,217	475,217	475,217	475,217	589,501	23.84	23.84
OTHER VALUE-ADDED WOOD PR	124,123	90,466	372,000	129,814	71,020	71,020	71,020	71,020	71,020	71,020	132,184	86.14	86.14
PAPER PRODUCTS (INCL. PLY	164,058	634,616	691,950	967,423	583,368	583,368	583,368	583,368	583,368	583,368	1,387,202	146.23	146.23
PEANUTS	0	0	4,216	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	N/A	N/A
PLANTING SEEDS	2,921	3,358	4,216	3,229	5,245	5,245	5,245	5,245	5,245	5,245	4,841	-12.27	-12.27
POULTRY MEAT	1,204	1,276	1,406	3,184	3,949	3,949	3,949	3,949	3,949	3,949	63,190	15.56	15.56
PROCESSED FRUIT & VEGETAB	57,165	32,938	92,895	94,159	87,236	87,236	87,236	87,236	87,236	87,236	63,190	-49.94	-49.94
RED MEATS, BEEF/PIR	204	268	260	3,062	1,694	1,694	1,694	1,694	1,694	1,694	2,813	6.89	6.89
RED MEATS, PORK/PRES	20	120	144	353	3	3	3	3	3	3	105	N/A	N/A
RICE (WHOLE OR SPLICED)	208,466	171,147	56,299	167,698	17,789	17,789	17,789	17,789	17,789	17,789	1,725	-90.30	-90.30
SALMON WEDGE OR SALMONAT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	N/A	N/A
SMAK FOODS	2,420	394	384	353	1,924	1,924	1,924	1,924	1,924	1,924	802	-59.33	-59.33
SORTED AND TRAWLED LOBE	256,196	185,896	210,027	229,245	95,466	95,466	95,466	95,466	95,466	95,466	247	-71.45	-71.45
SOYBEAN MEAL	24,504	56,500	0	0	4,032	4,032	4,032	4,032	4,032	4,032	167,075	74.10	74.10
SOYBEAN OIL											23	-95.44	-95.44

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AREA/COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION AND COMMODITIES EXPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (JAN-DEC)						JAN - DEC COMPARISONS	2007 CHANGE
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2006		
TOTAL	451,458	380,680	302,091	477,302	607,866	607,866	396,866	-34,84
SOYBEANS	99	1,935	1,645	1,773	459	459	496	-46,06
SUGAR, SWEETENERS, REV BA	116	173	863	2,140	3,448	3,448	2,784	-19,07
TOMATO	1,017	3,269	4,165	5,589	9,352	9,352	13,674	63,72
VEGETABLE OILS EX SOYBEA	115,526	15,845	57,841	89,130	93,631	93,631	90,889	-2,82
WHEAT	0	0	27,457	50,355	0	0	45,733	N/A
WHEAT FEED	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WINE AND BEER	0	0	0	0	0	0	116	-4,33
Grand Total	6,764,496	8,450,408	8,977,537	7,417,837	5,979,002	5,979,002	6,139,741	-2,77



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	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006		
Turkey							
4850							
000000014 MT	43,217,595	49,164,064	56,206,657	54,408,861	61,197,142	84,784,055	36,48
000000015 MT	4,257	42,463	206,540	54,579	22,359	42,031	177,43
000000026 MT	70,352,892	109,913,266	80,984,843	6,896,838	N/A	77,436,297	N/A
000000027 MT	336,778,396	407,974,133	447,525,648	527,199,846	512,416,812	767,284,125	48,74
000000028 MT	96,300	96,300	0	0	0	0	0,00
000000029 MIXED	430,413	1,097,068	1,777,938	7,067,288	0	4,140,951	-41,37
000000030 MIXED	39,175	1,904,115	1,611,473	1,644,423	27,474,636	27,474,636	284,11
000000039 MT	525,989	433,457	2,425,421	17,516,350	27,971,828	96,434,842	78,61
000000031 MT	0	0	0	0	15,435	129,563	704,54
000000032 MT	0	4,240	45,000	0	25,602	60,415	193,24
000000034 ML	0	0	155,443	0	135,934	156,565	15,18
000000035 MT	210,153	354,379	866,923	1,649,262	2,809,690	1,121,659	-44,19
000000036 MIXED	11,187,483	35,727,103	58,247,069	15,877,781	14,464,086	12,897,646	-14,41
000000039 MIXED	2,319,983	5,644,101	2,934,393	3,231,879	5,231,247	4,185,639	98,73
000000041 MIXED	986,676	303,256	3,934,393	3,231,879	0	4,186,294	-81,51
000000036 MIXED	2,563	112,885	373,393	0	1,016,609	19,371,631	27,21
000000037 MT	4,229,623	5,894,178	8,639,149	3,116,832	15,228,453	15,586,441	-34,96
000000038 MIXED	2,427,286	5,056,078	10,252,763	14,063,645	15,440,557	12,259,257	12,91
000000043 MT	251,437	1,289,037	477,057	260,826	1,088,767	1,229,257	33,90
000000044 MIXED	16,474,133	23,197,659	13,269,874	13,771,036	12,350,243	16,269,136	33,90
000000064 MIXED	3,839,634	2,511,197	8,529,426	4,777,777	8,944,868	7,747,717	119,14
000000065 MIXED	1,487,431	1,673,134	1,529,626	2,431,578	894,065	81,300	N/A
000000061 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
000000062 MT	2,402,128	2,846,125	3,625,637	4,653,024	4,774,292	4,706,960	-1,41
000000043 MT	6,179,445	4,796,766	9,974,644	14,159,193	5,603,353	6,241,811	11,39
000000044 MT	17,187,163	39,840,295	63,935,399	79,153,937	64,710,745	56,273,966	-14,58
000000046 MT	183,130	5,131,145	324,180	384,271	1,518,255	907,452	-40,23
000000046 MT	183,130	5,131,145	324,180	384,271	1,518,255	907,452	-40,23
000000048 MT	11,682	1,281,614	3,981,014	2,051,168	1,256,670	1,493,835	-1,09
000000048 MT	11,682	1,281,614	3,981,014	2,051,168	1,256,670	1,493,835	-1,09
000000049 MT	33,697,480	26,847,312	12,349,855	38,788,760	4,115,295	1,122,653	-72,72
000000066 MT	0	0	0	0	0	84,000	N/A
000000068 MT	4,271	4,271	0	0	38,321	0	-100,00
000000068 MT	1,188,450	693,184	971,650	698,896	1,669,968	929,081	-56,58
000000062 MT	85,490	0	47,797	90	0	0	0
000000062 MT	85,490	0	47,797	90	0	0	0
000000051 MT	59,738,198	44,022,994	48,414,168	48,476,741	20,650,453	41,553,336	101,25
000000052 MT	9,509,193	13,169,939	3,303	12,604	2,303,471	36,053	-98,36

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	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007		
TURKEY	92,005,114	90,949,245	72,036,818	112,176,863	119,482,664	126,182,181	-9,49	
0000000003 MT	142,934	4,294,453	3,735,079	52,770	1,601,575	529,928	-67,47	
SUGAR, SWEETENERS, BEV BA	632,746	557,152	5,463,265	22,179,794	13,031,428	17,628,264	-22,59	
0000000055 MT	3,414,714	9,492,134	13,185,329	15,434,033	30,116,448	44,134,522	46,48	
TRUCKS	56,825,919	52,777,923	36,488,136	64,508,173	56,923,696	39,342,296	38,24	
0000000040 MT	232,078	0	14,647,235	3,233,678	0	13,844,910	6,00	
WHEAT FEED	0	0	92,799	126,436	0	0	0	
0000000002 MT	0	0	92,799	126,436	0	0	0	
KING SNU AREA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
0000000004 MI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
GRAND TOTAL	94,581,896	92,765,888	95,825,418	112,803,371	121,104,264	126,182,181	44,73	

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AREA/COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN AND COMMODITIES IMPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (JAN-DEC)					JAN - DEC COMPARISONS 2007 CHANGE
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
Turkey						
WHEAT	144	14	16	30	14	59
WINE AND BEER	151	443	363	246	446	479
Grand Total	461,912	709,682	511,212	576,518	327,406	393,271

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AREA/COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN AND COMMODITIES IMPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (JAN-DEC)					JAN - DEC COMPARISONS		% CHANGE
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007		
Turkey 4890								
CHEESE 00000025 MT	415,402	846,753	1,394,303	1,246,186	1,458,056	1,458,056	1,715,200	96.22
COCOA PASTE & COCOA BUTTE 00000033 MT	16,672	0	608,784	0	0	0	0	0.00
COFFEE, UNROASTED 00000054 MT	50,414	62,550	79,600	3,957	0	0	0	0.00
ESSENTIAL OILS 00000031 MT	1,259,151	1,347,277	996,454	1,056,401	1,809,750	1,809,750	1,771,405	-2.09
FEEDS & FODDERS 00000042 MT	1,456,183	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
FRESH VEGETABLES 00000033 MT	627,995	245,104	131,197	179,997	409,073	409,073	197,119	-51.81
FRUIT & VEGETABLE JUICES 00000034 KL	4,220,479	2,931,531	7,493,834	6,385,383	31,255,434	31,255,434	50,427,429	61.34
HARDWOOD LUMBER 00000070 M3	42,915	151,128	208,586	193,837	284,867	284,867	123,149	-56.77
HIDES & SKINS 00000036 MIXED	7,584	5,917	1,585	6,204	54,420	54,420	5,032	-90.75
LIVE ANIMALS 00000039 NO	0	0	5,000	0	0	0	60,000	N/A
LOBSTER 00000034 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
LOGS AND CHIPS 00000040 M3	5,406	13,750	5,240	6,410	0	0	19,296	N/A
NURSERY PRODUCTS 00000042 MIXED	166,474	328,236	290,001	401,494	761,497	761,497	697,194	-8.46
OTHER BULK COMMODITIES 00000044 MT	984,364	1,122,966	1,432,444	2,321,813	3,136,150	3,136,150	7,554,011	140.72
OTHER CONSUMER ORIENTED 00000045 MIXED	6,485,874	7,044,295	5,561,092	5,886,407	4,926,256	4,926,256	6,472,493	31.13
OTHER DAIRY PRODUCTS 00000039 MT	14,598	16,404	17,212	78,855	24,680	24,680	28,432	15.20
OTHER EATABLE FISH & SEAFO 00000043 MIXED	6,764,174	3,539,496	4,149,257	3,962,225	2,776,780	2,776,780	4,696,474	65.89
OTHER FRESH FRUIT 00000046 MT	46,049	358,567	4,149,257	106,675	283,929	283,929	1,299,377	343.07
OTHER INTERMEDIATE TROPIC 00000047 MIXED	14,133,946	27,936,996	4,153,125	5,538,428	2,804,308	2,804,308	8,234,037	5.51
OTHER VALUE-ADDED WOOD PR 00000048 MIXED	1,434,654	839,117	664,900	878,982	495,047	495,047	775,985	57.15
OTHER VEGETABLE OILS 00000048 MT	12,765,336	35,843,244	28,338,295	56,891,925	44,111,437	44,111,437	43,240,937	-1.97
PANRY PRODUCTS (INCL. FLOW 00000050 MIXED	77,469	449,973	453,154	522,076	217,384	217,384	46,646	-78.54
PLANTING SEEDS 00000051 MT	299,678	168,776	193,553	197,602	216,580	216,580	112,359	-47.66
PROCESSED FRUIT & VEGETAR 00000052 MT	56,113,475	75,606,886	87,784,946	91,021,470	111,702,281	111,702,281	124,554,669	11.51
RAW BEET & CANE SUGAR 00000053 MT	46,550	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
RED MEATS, FRCH/FR 00000055 MT	73,658	2,111	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
RED MEATS, PREP/FREE 00000056 MT	37,005	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
RICE 00000057 MT	50,558	51,558	87,333	121,059	167,552	167,552	187,958	12.18
ROASTED & INSTANT COFFEE 00000028 MT	95,493	43,326	100,913	117,708	156,884	156,884	166,582	6.18
SHERBET & ALLIED PRODUCTS 00000058 MT	93,746	54,000	3,050	189,367	715	715	0	-100.00
SNACK FOODS 00000061 MT	9,850,913	12,086,930	13,656,700	11,767,740	12,614,028	12,614,028	18,914,153	34.09
SUGAR 00000062 MT	18,174,041	18,189,301	18,138,517	17,812,494	16,202,172	16,202,172	25,581,480	57.77
SUGARS, SWEETENERS, BEV B 00000063 MIXED	5,960	27,965	59,468	57,812	384,572	384,572	4,054,711	954.34
TEA, INCL HERB 00000064 MT	861,379	1,210,426	958,027	2,298,137	1,090,467	1,090,467	1,021,747	-8.30
TOBACCO 00000065 MT	156,308,315	119,700,754	156,894,127	154,841,744	148,289,524	148,289,524	175,968,392	18.67
TREE NUTS 00000030 MT	19,491,039	23,925,392	29,230,495	30,786,318	35,957,142	35,957,142	32,194,732	-10.46
TUNA 00000067 MT	55,492	804,215	1,003,144	290,328	108,460	108,460	636,860	487.18

13-5845\_0105

ATC\_0287

125

Other Information

CONFIDENTIAL

000196



000198  
CO. ... TIA

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**Thank You**

We Would Like To Thank The Following Individuals,  
Government Officials and Organizations For Their Support  
And Dedication In Helping Us Make This Trip Possible.

**CORPORATE SPONSOR**

Turkish Coalition of America

**ASSOCIATE SPONSORS**

Bank Pozitif  
NTF

**EVENT HOSTS**

BankPozitif  
Confederation of Turkish Businessmen & Industrialists (TUSKON)  
Embassy of the United States, Ankara  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ankara  
Turkish-American Business Association (TABA)  
Turkish Cultural Foundation (TCF)  
U.S. Consulate General, İstanbul

**PROGRAM SUPPORT**

American-Turkish Council Members  
Embassy of Turkey, Washington, DC  
Hyatt Hotel Staff  
Karizma Tourism  
Mega Residence Hotel Ankara Staff  
Patara Prince Hotel Staff  
&  
All of Our Supporters

000199

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**Notes**

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000200  
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Notes

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY

75

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000201

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Notes

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000202  
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**Notes**

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY

~~17~~

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Notes

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY

79

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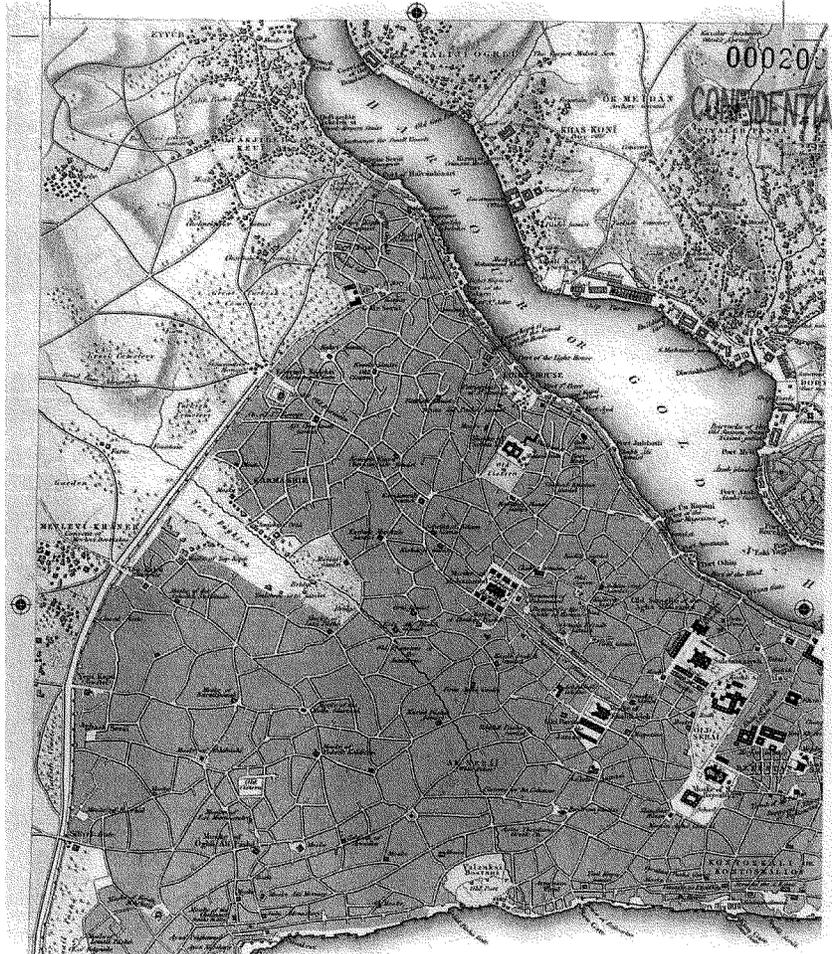
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13-5845\_0113

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**Corporate Sponsor:**



**Associate Sponsors:**



**EXHIBIT 6**



June 23, 2008

1111 14th Street NW  
Suite 1050  
Washington, DC, 20005  
Tel: 202.783.0511  
Fax: 202.783.0511  
www.the-atc.org

Mr. Walter Gonzales  
Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Rep. C.A. Ruppertsberger (D-2<sup>nd</sup> MD)  
1730 Longworth House Office Bldg.  
Independence & New Jersey Aves., SE  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Gonzales,

**LTG Brent Scowcroft**  
(USAF, Ret.)  
*Chairman of the Board*

On behalf of the American-Turkish Council, I would like to invite you to participate in the 2008 Congressional Staff trip to Turkey, including the cities of Ankara, Istanbul and the coastal town of Patara. This August 2-10 trip will be a unique opportunity for select Congressional Staff to gain personal insights about Turkey.

**Amb. James H. Holmes**  
(Ret.)  
*President and CEO*

The U.S.-Turkish relationship is as important as ever. It has long been one of mutual respect and support. Turkey's politics and economy are perpetually dynamic; its macroeconomic performance over the past five years has been the best of a generation, and its regional role for economic development and the restoration of peace remains critical. Participation in this delegation will provide you with valuable insights into these and other issues, including several that will face Congress in the next year.

**George H. Perlman**  
*Executive Vice President*  
Lockheed Martin

**Hüseyin Ünver**  
*1<sup>st</sup> Vice President*  
FXSA Americas, Inc.

**Ronald L. Whitehead**  
*Treasurer*  
The Whitehead Group

In addition to the matters of foreign policy and military cooperation that are in the forefront, U.S. corporations from almost every sector have significant business interests in Turkey. American companies in IT and telecommunications, energy, defense, health and pharmaceuticals, agribusiness, banking and finance stand to benefit from a strong, stable partner in Turkey. Turkey's continuing efforts to join the European Union (negotiations began in 2005) will have an impact on global trade and investment in years to come. On the trip, you will have the opportunity to learn in depth about various political, economic and trade issues that may be of considerable importance to your constituents.

**Canan Buyukunsal**  
*Executive Director*

**Doreen Edelman, Esq.**  
*Secretary and General Counsel*  
Rakas, Dondson, Beatman & Caldwell

**MG Elmer D. Pendleton**  
(USA, Ret.)  
*Senior Military Advisor*

The delegation will depart from Washington, DC on Saturday, August 2, and return on Sunday, August 9, 2008. The itinerary includes time in Ankara, Istanbul, and Patara, an ancient Lycian League city on the Mediterranean referred in the Federalist Papers as the inspiration for our federal form of government.

**Hon. Nancy Kassebaum Baker**  
*Chairman Emerita*

There will be meetings with Government and Embassy officials and representatives of the media in Ankara, and local, NGO, and business leaders in Istanbul. You will be exposed to important cultural sites in all three cities, including the Hagia Sophia and the Blue Mosque in Istanbul, the on-going excavation of the federal parliament in Patara, and Ataturk's Mausoleum in Ankara.

**MG Fred Haynes**  
(USMC, Ret.)  
*Chairman Emeritus*

**Austin Liss**  
*Chairman Emeritus*

Participants will meet with key Turkish officials at the highest levels to discuss matters of strategic, economic and political importance. You will meet with senior officials of the U.S. Embassy in Ankara and Consulate General in Istanbul, as well as with representatives from the Turkish business sector and ATC corporate members. Briefings provided before and during the trip will ensure that you are well informed and ready to investigate areas of professional and personal interest.

A Business Association dedicated to enhancing the promotion of U.S.-Turkish Commercial, Defense, Technology and Cultural Relations.

WG\_0047

13-5845\_0117



The trip will focus on a number of issues vital to U.S. foreign policy and economic interests. Meetings are expected to address U.S.-Turkish security and defense issues including NATO, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and the Middle East Peace process. Turkey's regional role in Central Asia and the Middle East in the areas of security, energy and trade are some of the other anticipated topics of discussion. Turkey's role as a regional commercial and financial hub and as a key link between energy producing and energy consuming nations will also be explored. Other issues, such as problems with defense contracting and intellectual property rights will be discussed. Of particular interest will be Turkey's regional leadership as a secular, democratic and Muslim state.

This trip is sponsored by ATC with the support of the American Friends of Turkey (AFOT). ATC is the leading business association in the United States devoted to the promotion of U.S. commercial, defense and cultural relations with Turkey. Beginning in 1997, ATC expanded its educational awareness program to include congressional delegations. ATC is a tax-exempt, not-for-profit trade association organized and operated pursuant to Section 501(C) (6) of the Internal Revenue Code. This is the eleventh year we have made this valuable trip available to Congressional Staffers. It is annually approved by the Congressional Ethics Committees with whom we are working all details of the 2008 trip.

We hope that you will be able to join us for this timely trip to Turkey. ATC will make every effort to ensure that it is a memorable experience. **As there are a limited number of spaces on this delegation, we urge you to complete the attached Confirmation Form and fax it to the ATC office at (202) 783-0511 as soon as possible.** If you have any questions, please contact Ms. Ayse Sumer at (202) 783-  
[REDACTED]

We look forward to having you on the delegation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. H. Holmes', written in a cursive style.

James H. Holmes  
President & CEO

WG\_0048

13-5845\_0118

**EXHIBIT 7**

**TEMPLATE INVITE LETTER SENT TO STAFFERS**

May 27, 2008

030062  
**CONFIDENTIAL**

Dear:

On behalf of the American-Turkish Council, I would like to invite you to participate in the 2008 Congressional Staff trip to Turkey, including cities of Ankara, Istanbul and the Blacksea coastal city of Trabzon. This August 2-9 trip will be a unique opportunity for select Congressional Staff to gain personal insights about Turkey.

The U.S.-Turkish relationship is as important as ever. It has long been one of mutual respect and support. Turkey's economic picture is better than it has been in a generation, and its regional role for economic development and the restoration of peace is critical. Participation in this delegation will provide you with valuable insights into these and other issues, including several that will face Congress this year.

In addition to the matters of foreign policy and military cooperation that are in the forefront, U.S. corporations from almost every sector have significant business interests in Turkey. American companies in IT and telecommunications, energy, defense, health and pharmaceuticals, agribusiness, banking and finance stand to benefit from a strong, stable partner in Turkey. Turkey's continuing efforts to join the European Union (negotiations began in 2005) will have an impact on global trade and investment in years to come. On the trip, you will have the opportunity to learn in depth about various political, economic and trade issues that may be of considerable importance to your constituents.

The delegation will depart from Washington, DC on Saturday, August 2, and return on Sunday, August 9, 2008. The itinerary includes time in Ankara, Istanbul, and Trabzon. There will be meetings with Government officials and the representatives of the media in Ankara, local municipal leaders and the business communities in Istanbul and Trabzon. You will be exposed to important cultural sites in all three cities, including the Hagia Sophia and the Blue Mosque in Istanbul, the Sumela Monastery built on the cliffs of Trabzon, and Ataturk's Mausoleum in Ankara.

Participants will meet with key Turkish officials at the highest levels to discuss matters of strategic, economic and political importance. You will meet with senior officials of the U.S. Embassy in Ankara and Consulate General in Istanbul, as well as with representatives from the Turkish business sector and ATC corporate members. Briefings provided before and during the trip will ensure that you are well informed and ready to investigate areas of professional and personal interest.

ATC\_0092

13-5845\_0120

CONFIDENTIAL

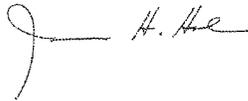
000003

The trip will focus on a number of issues vital to U.S. foreign policy and economic interests. Meetings are expected to address U.S.-Turkish security and defense issues including NATO, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and the Israeli/Palestinian crisis. Turkey's regional role in Central Asia and the Middle East in the areas of security, energy and trade are some of the other anticipated topics of discussion. Turkey's role as a regional commercial and financial hub, and as a key link between energy producing and energy consuming nations will also be explored. Other issues, such as problems with defense contracting and intellectual property rights will be discussed. Of particular interest will be Turkey's regional leadership as a secular, democratic and Muslim state.

This trip is sponsored by ATC with the support of the American Friends of Turkey (AFOT). ATC is the leading business association in the United States devoted to the promotion of U.S. commercial, defense and cultural relations with Turkey. Beginning in 1997, ATC expanded its educational awareness program to include congressional delegations. ATC is a tax-exempt, not-for-profit trade association organized and operated pursuant to Section 501(C) (6) of the Internal Revenue Code. This is the ninth year we have made this valuable trip available to Congressional Staffers. It is annually approved by the Congressional Ethics Committees with whom we are working all details of the 2008 trip.

We hope that you will be able to join us for this timely trip to Turkey. ATC will make every effort to ensure that it is a memorable experience. **As there are a limited number of spaces on this delegation, we urge you to complete the attached Confirmation Form and fax it to the ATC office at (202) 783-0511 as soon as possible.** If you have any questions, please contact Ms. Ayse Sumer at (202) 783- [REDACTED]. We look forward to having you on the delegation.

Sincerely,



James H. Holmes  
President & CEO

**EXHIBIT 8**

Clerk of the House of Representatives Legislative Resource Center B-106 Cannon Building Washington, DC 20515 <a href="http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov">http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov</a>	Secretary of the Senate Office of Public Records 232 Hart Building Washington, DC 20510 <a href="http://www.senate.gov/lobby">http://www.senate.gov/lobby</a>
--	---

## LOBBYING REGISTRATION

Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (Section 4)

**Check One:**  New Registrant  New Client for Existing Registrant  Amendment

1. Effective Date of Registration 03/01/2008

2. House Identification 32294

Senate Identification 18375

**REGISTRANT**  Organization/Lobbying Firm  Self Employed Individual

3. Registrant Organization George J. Hochbrueckner & Associates, Inc.

Address Private Road, Edgemere Park Address2 P.O. Box 637

City Laurel State NY Zip 11948 - Country USA

4. Principal place of business (if different than line 3)

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_ - Country \_\_\_\_\_

5. Contact name and telephone number  International Number

Contact Mr. George Hochbrueckner Telephone (631) 298-1298 E-mail \_\_\_\_\_

6. General description of registrant's business or activities

Consulting Firm.

**CLIENT** *A Lobbying Firm is required to file a separate registration for each client. Organizations employing in-house lobbyists should check the box labeled "Self" and proceed to line 10.*  Self

7. Client name Turkish Coalition of America

Address 1025 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 1000

City Washington State DC Zip 20036 - Country USA

8. Principal place of business (if different than line 7)

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_ - Country \_\_\_\_\_

9. General description of client's business or activities

Promotes Turkish-American interests.

### LOBBYISTS

10. Name of each individual who has acted or is expected to act as a lobbyist for the client identified on line 7. If any person listed in this section has served as a "covered executive branch official" or "covered legislative branch official" within twenty years of first acting as a lobbyist for the client, *state the executive and/or legislative position(s) in which the person served.*

Name			Covered Official Position (if applicable)
First	Last	Suffix	
George	Hochbrueckner		U.S. Congressman 1987-1994

Registrant	George J. Hochbrueckner & Associates, Inc.	Client Name	Turkish Coalition of America
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**LOBBYING ISSUES**

11. General lobbying issue areas (Select all applicable codes).  
 EDU \_\_\_\_\_

---

12. Specific lobbying issues (current and anticipated)  
 Turkish-American issues.

---

**AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS**

13. Is there an entity other than the client that contributes more than \$5,000 to the lobbying activities of the registrant in a quarterly period and either actively participates in and/or in whole or in major part plans, supervises or controls the registrant's lobbying activities?

No --> Go to line 14.       Yes --> Complete the rest of this section for each entity matching the criteria above, then proceed to line 14.

Internet Address:

Name	Address	Principal Place of Business
	Street City	
	State/Province   Zip Code   Country	
_____	_____	City _____ State _____ Country _____
_____	_____	City _____ State _____ Country _____
_____	_____	City _____ State _____ Country _____

---

**FOREIGN ENTITIES**

14. Is there any foreign entity

a) holds at least 20% equitable ownership in the client or any organization identified on line 13; or  
 b) directly or indirectly, in whole or in major part, plans, supervises, controls, directs, finances or subsidizes activities of the client or any organization identified on line 13; or  
 c) is an affiliate of the client or any organization identified on line 13 and has a direct interest in the outcome of the lobbying activity?

No --> Sign and date the registration.       Yes --> Complete the rest of this section for each entity matching the criteria above, then sign the registration.

Name	Address	Principal place of business (city and state or country)	Amount of contribution for lobbying activities	Ownership
	Street City			
	State/Province   Country			
_____	_____	City _____	_____	%
_____	_____	State _____ Country _____	_____	%
_____	_____	City _____	_____	%
_____	_____	State _____ Country _____	_____	%

Signature  \_\_\_\_\_ Date **04/08/2008**

Printed Name and Title **George J. Hochbrueckner, President**

v6.0.0d Page 2 of 2

Clerk of the House of Representatives  
Legislative Resource Center  
B-106 Cannon Building  
Washington, DC 20515  
<http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov>

Secretary of the Senate  
Office of Public Records  
232 Hart Building  
Washington, DC 20510  
<http://www.senate.gov/lobby>

## LOBBYING REPORT

Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (Section 5) - All Filers Are Required to Complete This Page

1. Registrant Name <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Organization/Lobbying Firm <input type="checkbox"/> Self Employed Individual	
George J. Hochbrueckner & Associates, Inc.	
2. Address <input type="checkbox"/> Check if different than previously reported	
Address1 Private Road, Edgemere Park	Address2 P.O. Box 637
City Laurel	State NY Zip Code 11948 - Country USA
3. Principal place of business (if different than line 2)	
City	State Zip Code - Country
4a. Contact Name Mr. George Hochbrueckner	b. Telephone Number <input type="checkbox"/> International Number (631) 298-1298
c. E-mail	
5. Senate ID# 18375-1003542	
7. Client Name <input type="checkbox"/> Self <input type="checkbox"/> Check if client is a state or local government or instrumentality	6. House ID#
Turkish Coalition of America	322940037

TYPE OF REPORT 8. Year 2008 Q1 (1/1 - 3/31)  Q2 (4/1 - 6/30)  Q3 (7/1-9/30)  Q4 (10/1 - 12/31)

9. Check if this filing amends a previously filed version of this report

10. Check if this is a Termination Report  Termination Date 12/31/2008 11. No Lobbying Issue Activity

### INCOME OR EXPENSES - YOU MUST complete either Line 12 or Line 13

<p>12. Lobbying</p> <p>INCOME relating to lobbying activities for this reporting period was:</p> <p>Less than \$5,000 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>\$5,000 or more <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> \$ 10,000.00</p> <p>Provide a good faith estimate, rounded to the nearest \$10,000, of all lobbying related income from the client (including all payments to the registrant by any other entity for lobbying activities on behalf of the client).</p>	<p>13. Organizations</p> <p>EXPENSE relating to lobbying activities for this reporting period were:</p> <p>Less than \$5,000 <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>\$5,000 or more <input type="checkbox"/> \$ _____</p> <p>14. REPORTING Check box to indicate expense accounting method. See instructions for description of options.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Method A. Reporting amounts using LDA definitions only</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Method B. Reporting amounts under section 6033(b)(8) of the Internal Revenue Code</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Method C. Reporting amounts under section 162(e) of the Internal Revenue Code</p>
--	--

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date 01/15/2009

Printed Name and Title George J. Hochbrueckner, President

v6.0.1e

Page 1 of 2

Registrant George J. Hochbrueckner & Associates, Inc. Client Name Turkish Coalition of America

**LOBBYING ACTIVITY.** Select as many codes as necessary to reflect the general issue areas in which the registrant engaged in lobbying on behalf of the client during the reporting period. Using a separate page for each code, provide information as requested. Add additional page(s) as needed.

15. General issue area code  Education  (one per page)

16. Specific lobbying issues  
 Turkish-American issues.

17. House(s) of Congress and Federal agencies  Check if None  
 U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S. SENATE

18. Name of each individual who acted as a lobbyist in this issue area

First Name	Last Name	Suffix	Covered Official Position (if applicable)	New
George	Hochbrueckner		U.S. Congressman 1987-1994	<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>

19. Interest of each foreign entity in the specific issues listed on line 16 above  Check if None

Printed Name and Title George J. Hochbrueckner, President

v6.0.1e Page 2 of 2

**EXHIBIT 9**

## CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: Former TCA Lobbyist  
 REVIEW No(s): 13-2411; 13-5845; 13-6123  
 DATE: March 13, 2013  
 LOCATION: 425 Third Street, SW, Suite 1110  
 Washington, DC 20024  
 TIME: 2:00 p.m. to 2:45 p.m. (approximate)  
 PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
 Nate Wright

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is currently paid a monthly retainer from Wilt Interactive Services and that twenty percent of that retainer is paid to the law firm Nossaman, LLP for introducing the witness to the company. Because of this relationship, the witness is listed as a Senior Policy Advisor for Nossaman.
3. He is a former Member of Congress and founded George Hochbrueckner & Associates after leaving Congress. He described the company as a "mom and pop shop," which generally employed no staff. He noted it currently employs an associate, but did not have staff in 2008.
4. He was introduced to the Turkish Coalition of America ("TCA") when he was invited as a former member by TCA to visit Turkey in the fall of 2007. The purpose of the trip was to improve relationships with Turkey and maintain its status as an ally. The relationship was important as Turkey was a supply line into Iraq.
5. The witness traveled with his wife and another former Member. He represented the Democrats and the other former Member represented the Republicans. During the trip, the witness was introduced to Lincoln McCurdy, the President of TCA. The witness discussed with Mr. McCurdy whether or not TCA could use lobbying services to improve its relationship with the government.
6. Following the trip to Turkey, the witness submitted a proposal to TCA to be placed on retainer for \$2,500 a month for twelve months. Prior to TCA accepting his proposal, the witness met with TCA's financier, Dr. Yalcin Ayasli in Boston. In January 2008, the witness was put on retainer for TCA.

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

7. The witness had a general rule that if his retainer exceeded \$5,000, he would register as a lobbyist on behalf of the organization. He informed McCurdy that he was registering as a lobbyist. The witness left the review of the lobbying reports to Nossaman.
8. The witness has not talked to Mr. McCurdy in years, but in 2008 would have been updating Mr. McCurdy on a monthly basis unless additional action was needed. He described his activity for TCA as mostly in reserve.
9. His main goal was to increase the number of Members of Congress who joined the Congressional caucus on Turkey, then led by Chairman Robert I. Wexler. The witness would suggest to Representative Wexler's staff who to invite to join the caucus. He did not recall taking Mr. McCurdy to meet with Members.
10. The witness was also involved in a few odd things that came up as opportunities for Turkey to look good. He remembered an event where TCA was donating an ambulance to the Mexican Red Cross and wanted to invite a Texas Congressman to the ribbon cutting event. He said such events were cleared through the House Committee on Ethics. He also remembered communicating with staff from Representative Eliot Engel and Representative Ed Markey to invite the Members to attend an event. He did not remember other instances of communicating with Members or staff on behalf of TCA.
11. The witness was never employed or retained by ATC and his only deals were with McCurdy and his staff. The witness had no memory of former Ambassador James Holmes, Ayse Sumer, or Canan Buyukusal.
12. The witness was shown a letter from him to Representative Wexler, dated August 21, 2008 (PVH\_004 - 006). The witness recognized the document and wrote the first part and sent it to Wexler's office. The included list of "Targets for Turkey Caucus-- 2008" was created by Mr. McCurdy. The notes in the four columns came from Mr. McCurdy, who discussed these notes with the witness before sending. The witness pointed to a line regarding Representative Heath Shuler and said that because his Legislative Director was interested in Turkey it was a higher possibility Representative Shuler would join the caucus. The witness stated that he does not know Sean O'Brien.
13. The witness was asked about Rep. Zach Wamp's name appearing under "Members with Turkish Investments in the district." He recalled a meeting with Representative Wamp not related to TCA when he represented a national lab in Tennessee. The witness believed the meeting must have been before this document was created because he remembered thinking of that meeting while reviewing the list.
14. The witness did not remember ever meeting Helen Hardin. He also did not remember any meetings with Representative Dutch Ruppersberger or William Gonzales.
15. In December 2008, TCA called the witness to say they were planning to bring Members and could not have a federal lobbyist. TCA raised the issue and Nossaman checked it out and all parties agreed to terminate the relationship.

## CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

16. The witness said he had incurred legal fees while they determined whether he would need to terminate his relationship with TCA and in March 2009, TCA agreed to pay those fees.
17. The witness was shown an invoice from Nossaman LLP, dated March 5, 2009 (TCA\_0051) and asked about a line item entry that read "internet research regarding previous TCA sponsored Congressional travel." He said he did not recall being aware of a problem with the August 2008 staff trip at this time. He did not remember talking with McCurdy about prior trips being a problem.
18. The witness stated that the Committee on Ethics was contacted for the Red Cross event with the Texas congressman, but that he did not personally contact the Committee. He had no contact with the Committee regarding TCA.
19. The witness said he was not directed by TCA to register as a lobbyist, but felt his retainer would include lobbying so he registered. He said that McCurdy had to know he was registered as a lobbyist. The witness was not aware of TCA having any relationships with other lobbyists.

This memorandum was prepared on March 19, 2013 after the interview was conducted on March 13, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on March 13, 2013.

Nate Wright  
Analyst

**EXHIBIT 10**

CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: TCA President  
REVIEW No(s): 13-2411, 13-5845, 13-6123  
DATE: March 7, 2013  
LOCATION: 1510 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005  
TIME: 10:02 a.m. to 10:46 a.m. (approximately)  
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
Paul J. Solis

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is the President of Turkish Coalition of America ("TCA") and been with the organization since its inception in 2007. He co-founded the organization with Dr. Yalcin Ayasli.
3. He told the OCE that the general purpose of TCA is to educate the general public in Turkey, to promote Turkish and United States relations, and to assist Turkish American communities.
4. TCA has various activities to promote its purpose, including community and political involvement workshops, college scholarship programs, college faculty trips to Turkey, and congressional trips to Turkey.
5. In 2008, TCA had the following staff, in addition to the witness: Semi Muslu (Administrative Assistant); Carol Ann Jackson (Assistant Chairman, Boston Office); and Guler Koknar (Vice President).
6. Currently, TCA has the following staff: Guler Kocknar; Carol Ann Jackson; Louette Ragusa (Executive Assistant); Sevim Elekdag (Research Fellow); Zeynep Guven (responsible for scholarship program); JoEllen Byrnes (Congressional Liaison); and Basak Kizildemir (Outreach).

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

7. The witness told the OCE that he first met George Hochbrueckner during the fall of 2007 at a Turkish Cultural Foundation trip in Turkey. The witness stated that Mr. Hochbrueckner approached Dr. Ayalsi about providing his services in Washington.
8. Mr. Hochbrueckner was retained and his duties were to educate TCA about how Congress functions and to provide opinions on legislation. For example, Mr. Hochbrueckner explained to the witness how TCA should approach Members of Congress to have them join the Turkish Caucus. Mr. Hochbrueckner also advised TCA on ethics issues such as the need to avoid making campaign contributions that may appear to be linked with anything. Mr. Hochbrueckner reported to the witness.
9. The witness said that Mr. Hochbrueckner was not hired to lobby, but that he knew that Mr. Hochbrueckner registered as a lobbyist for TCA. The witness stated that Mr. Hochbrueckner met with Members of Congress for his other clients, but seldom had such meetings for TCA. The witness recalled that Mr. Hochbrueckner called a few Members of Congress to have them speak at a TCA event.
10. The witness stated that Mr. Hochbrueckner was seldom on the Hill for TCA because TCA was not his main client.
11. The witness stated that he never discussed with Mr. Hochbrueckner registering as a lobbyist.
12. Prior to joining TCA, the witness was the President of the American Turkish Council ("ATC"). He was employed with ATC from the late 1980s to 2004.
13. When he was employed with ATC, he hired Ayse Sumer and Canan Buyukunsal. He also worked with James H. Holmes, who ultimately succeeded the witness as President of ATC.
14. The witness began ATC's organized congressional trips to Turkey during the 1990s. When the witness joined TCA, he wanted to have similar congressional trips to Turkey but did not have the resources to organize such trips, so TCA gave funds to ATC and other organizations.
15. As a result, TCA decided to partner with ATC to have congressional trips. In 2008, TCA decided to provide ATC with money for a trip to Turkey. ATC did all the work and TCA provided advice and used the same planning format he used when he was at ATC. TCA was not involved in the recruitment of members to go on trips.
16. The witness was the only TCA employee who attended the 2008 trip to Turkey.
17. The witness stated that TCA was not involved in planning the agenda or itinerary for the August 2008 congressional trip to Turkey. He also stated that TCA was not involved in planning the travel arrangements or deciding which people were invited to the trips. The witness recalled that he had conversations with ATC about his desire that Patara be a destination included in the trip.

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18. TCA was responsible for sponsoring the trip, which the witness described as giving money to ATC to finance the trip.
19. The witness stated that at the time of the trip in 2008 he never saw the pre-trip and post-trip disclosure forms that were signed by James Holmes and filed with the House of Representatives. He stated that he understood that ATC would be responsible for handling the disclosure forms. Although he did not see the forms, he knew that TCA would be listed as a sponsor because they provided money for the trip to ATC.
20. The witness stated that at the time of the August 2008 trip he was ignorant of the law concerning a lobbyist employers paying for congressional travel. He did not know that the law had changed concerning trip sponsors.
21. The witness stated that he is not aware of Mr. Hochbrueckner having any contact with ATC and did not discuss him with ATC. He also stated that Mr. Hochbrueckner did not attend the August 2008 trip to Turkey. He told the OCE that he did not discuss the 2008 trip to Turkey with Mr. Hochbrueckner prior to the trip.
22. The witness stated that Mr. Hochbrueckner's services provided to TCA were the same in the fall of 2008 as they had been previously.
23. He believes that around November 2008 it came to his attention that TCA could not provide the congressional staff trips because it retained a lobbyist. The witness stated that they did not know the law changed. This came to his attention during a reception where other organizations were casually discussing ethics rules and told him that "if you have a lobbyist, you can't sponsor trips."
24. After he heard about the ethics rules, the witness stated that he immediately saw a red flag and contacted TCA's attorney, David Saltzman and asked him to research the issue of travel provided by lobbyist employers. The witness also notified Mr. Hochbrueckner of the ethics rules. The witness told the OCE that Mr. Hochbrueckner notified his attorneys of the issue.
25. The witness stated that Mr. Saltzman contacted the House Ethics Committee to get advice about how to handle the fact that the August 2008 trip had been sponsored by TCA during the time that TCA retained a lobbyist. The witness stated that he felt like they took the right steps to remedy the situation.
26. The witness met with Mr. Hochbrueckner's lawyers and it was decided that TCA would end its retainer with Mr. Hochbrueckner because TCA planned to sponsor future congressional trips to Turkey and understood that it could not do so while retaining a lobbyist. This was the sole reason the retainer was ended.

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27. The witness told the OCE that TCA did not notify any of the attendees of the August 2008 Turkey trip of the ethics issue. The witness felt like this was ATC's job. He decided to have TCA's counsel speak with ATC directly.
28. The witness heard nothing back from either the House Ethics Committee or ATC on this issue.
29. The witness stated that since 2008, TCA has conducted its congressional trips to Turkey without any involvement of ATC.

This memorandum was prepared on March 8, 2013 after the interview with the witness on March 7, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on March 7, 2013.

Kedric L. Payne  
Deputy Chief Counsel

**EXHIBIT 11**

CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: ATC Government Affairs Director  
REVIEW No(s): 13-2411; 13-5845; 13-6123  
DATE: March 14, 2013  
LOCATION: 1111 14<sup>th</sup> Street, NW, Suite 1050  
Washington, DC 20005  
TIME: 3:20 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. (approximate)  
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
Nate Wright

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness and she consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is currently the Director for Government Affairs and Commercial Programs for the American Turkish Council ("ATC"). She has been employed with ATC since 2000 when she was contracted to be the Communications Director. In February 2001, she began as a full-time employee and in 2005 she changed to her current position.
3. In general, the witness assists with organizing the industry sector meetings other than with the defense industry for the ATC annual conference; recruiting and supervising interns; and planning the Chairman's trip in Turkey including making appointments in Turkey, arranging travel, and scheduling the program.
4. She began arranging congressional staff trips in 2003. Aside from the congressional staff trip and interacting with the Turkish caucus, she does not do much additional government outreach.
5. The witness told the OCE that she does not have much interaction with the Turkish Coalition of America ("TCA") and did not continue to work on trips with TCA after 2008 when TCA decided to plan its own trips. She said that ATC had previously worked with TCA on congressional trips to plan meetings in Turkey. Generally, she does not work closely with TCA.
6. The witness stated that she knows Lincoln McCurdy. Mr. McCurdy hired her and was her boss in 2000 until he left ATC. Her last communication with McCurdy was passing along a contact unrelated to the congressional trips. The witness has known Sema Muslu for a couple years. She does not know George Hockbruckner.

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

7. The witness is involved in planning, organizing, and fundraising for ATC's annual congressional trip. She also recruits the staffers for the congressional trip. ATC did not have a congressional trip in 2010 and 2012.
8. The witness believed that TCA approached her in 2008 to work on the congressional trip. The trips generally visit three locations. The locations are usually Ankara, Istanbul, and a third location such as Capre. She said TCA had an interest in Patara being the third location for the 2008 trip. TCA assisted in putting together the logistics for the Patara leg of the trip, such as the arranging the meeting with an archeologist. Her communications in arranging this were mostly with Mr. McCurdy and Guler Koknar, the executive director of TCA. The communications were conducted mostly over email and by telephone.
9. The witness was shown an email from her to Mr. McCurdy, dated June 16, 2008 (ATC\_0634). The witness said that the staffers on the previous trip would identify future staffers to recruit. The witness said that TCA probably also sent a list of names of staffers to recruit. The witness said it could be difficult to find enough staffers and that one year she sent out 85 invites and only 7 accepted. She said that some staffers cancelled last minute.
10. The witness said TCA is not involved in preparing travel disclosure forms for the House Committee on Ethics, that it was wholly ATC. The witness said that Mr. McCurdy requested that the delegation have more time in Patara, but that they had to limit that portion to comply with the limited leisure time requests from the Committee on Ethics.
11. The witness was shown a document entitled Congressional Staff Trip 2008 Budget for Staffers (ATC\_0082). She said that the document probably listed the Turkish Coalition Foundation as a sponsor ("TCF") because the payments came from the Foundation but said that Canan Buyukunsal does the budgeting. She said TCF bought portion of airline tickets and ATC bought a portion. She was not sure how the budget broke down.
12. The witness was shown another page of the document titled Congressional Staff Trip 2008 (ATC\_0084). When asked about the statement on the document concerning "other individual events that ATC will seek sponsorships," she said that part of the purpose for the trip was to outline events available for sponsorship to ATC's members to give them an opportunity to meet and mingle with the staffers. She said in this document they were outlining those opportunities available to TCA.
13. The witness was shown a document titled "2008 Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey" that includes the Trip Program Summary (ATC\_0215 - 0295). She stated that the lunch in Asitane on August 4, 2008 was hosted by BankPozitif and that most lunches were hosted. She said it was the custom for hosts to announce at the event that they were hosting.
14. The witness told the OCE that the document (ATC\_0215 - 0295) was a booklet that was usually presented at the pre-trip briefing a week before departure along with the passports and visas. She said that the program is shared with the staffers along the way but not with this level of detail. She said she would not have sent this booklet to the Committee on Ethics.

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15. The witness was shown a Private Travel Certification Form filed with the House Committee on Ethics for the 2008 trip (ATC\_0033 – 0062) and asked about question 9b concerning the sponsor's employment of a federally registered lobbyist (ATC\_0034). She said that she would have checked with TCA before checking that box and likely spoke to Ms. Koknar to check TCA's status to see if they could sponsor these trips. She thinks she must have asked along the way if TCA had a lobbyist because a sponsor must not have a lobbyist. She believed that she talked to Ms. Koknar about whether or not TCA had a lobbyist.
16. The witness stated that during certain years of the congressional trips the House Ethics Committee was more inquisitive than the Senate Ethics Committee regarding approval of the trips. She said she did not recall any discussion with the House Ethics Committee about who was sponsoring meals. The focus of the discussion was on portions of the trip that were business, historic, and leisure. The Senate Ethics Committee wanted to know more about the events for this trip. The witness had no contact with House Ethics Committee after the trip.
17. The witness knows Nancy Ziuzin-Schleigel because she is a member of TCA, but said Ms. Schleigel did not attend the 2008 congressional staff trip but had attended events in Istanbul for previous trips.

This memorandum was prepared on March 20, 2013 after the interview was conducted on March 14, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on March 14, 2013.

Nate Wright  
Analyst

**EXHIBIT 12**

CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: TCA Vice President  
REVIEW No(s): 13-2411, 13-5845, 13-6123  
DATE: April 16, 2013  
LOCATION: Via Telephone  
TIME: 11:30 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. (approximately)  
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
Nate Wright

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness and she consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness agreed to sign a written acknowledgement of the warning and send it to the OCE. The acknowledgment will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is the Vice President of TCA. She is a consultant for the organization and has served in this capacity since the inception of TCA in February 2007.
3. Prior to working with TCA, the witness was the Executive Director of the Turkish Cultural Foundation ("TCF"), which is a sister organization of TCA. The two organizations receive the majority of their funding from the same benefactors. The witness continues to serve as the TCF Executive Director.
4. The witness told the OCE that she has worked TCA's office in Turkey since July 2011. Prior to that time, the witness worked in TCA's Washington, DC office.
5. According to the witness, in 2008, her duties as TCA Vice President included drafting documents providing background on Turkish issues and documents related to TCA's vision. She was responsible for researching such issues. She also was involved in TCA's programs, including minority scholarship program and Turkish-American scholarship program.
6. In 2008, she reported to Lincoln McCurdy and Dr. Yalcin Ayasli. TCA only had one employee who reported to the witness at that time, Sema Muslu.
7. The witness stated that she first interacted with ATC prior to her affiliation with TCA. She recalled that in 2006, when she was Executive Director of TCF, ATC requested that TCF sponsor a cultural project in Turkey in connection with an ATC congressional trip.

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

8. She believes that Canan Buyukunsal or Ayse Sumer were her contacts at ATC at the time in 2006.
9. In 2006, TCF provided a grant to ATC for the cultural project. TCF organized the portion of the cultural program that involved the delegation visiting Istanbul, Turkey.
10. The witness stated that she had no role in the 2008 congressional trip to Turkey sponsored by ATC and TCA ("2008 Trip"). She did not contact any of the attendees, plan the itinerary, or assist with airline travel. She believes that it is possible that she reviewed a draft the itinerary, but she did not have any input.
11. She described TCA's role with the 2008 trip as sponsor where she defines sponsor as meaning TCA provided a monetary grant to ATC. She told the OCE that TCA was not in the "driving seat" for the trip.
12. TCA did not have a congressional trip portfolio at the time of the trip in 2008. As a result, TCA played a supporting role in the trip and was not a primary partner in organizing the trip or inviting attendees. She stated that TCA took cues from ATC and had nothing to do with making contacts on the Hill related to the trip.
13. She stated that Mr. McCurdy was the person from TCA who had interaction with ATC.
14. The witness told the OCE that she was not involved in the filing or preparation of the travel disclosure forms filed with the House Ethics Committee. When shown the private sponsor travel disclosure form (ATC\_0034-0047), she stated that she is ninety percent sure that she did not see this document or any document like it. She believes that she would remember seeing such a document.
15. The witness stated that she did not discuss the travel disclosure forms with anyone. She also stated that no one ever asked her whether TCA retained a lobbyist and she never told anyone whether TCA retained a lobbyist. She told the OCE that she does recall Ms. Buyukunsal or Ms. Sumer asking her whether TCA retained a lobbyist.
16. The witness first met George Hochbruekner in 2008 when he began to work as a "consultant" for TCA. She stated that Mr. Hochbruekner's role was to provide TCA with insight on how Congress worked. Mr. McCurdy managed Mr. Hochbruekner.
17. She recalled that there were discussions concerning whether Mr. Hochbruekner could lobby because he may have been in the time period when former congressman could not lobby.
18. She does not recall whether Mr. Hochbruekner was registered lobbyist at the time and she does not recall when she learned that Mr. Hochbruekner was TCA's lobbyist. However, she recalls that there came a point where TCA decided to discontinue its relationship with Mr. Hochbruekner because TCA wanted to conduct congressional trips.

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

19. The witness told the OCE that she has never communicated with the House Committee on Ethics.
20. The witness stated that she does not know Walter Gonzales. When shown an email from the witness to Walter Gonzales, dated August 15, 2007 (WG\_0117), she did not recall the email. She also did not recall working on any project related to the Representative Dutch Ruppersberger's official comments on the Turkish election. She believes that based on the nature of the email that she must have met Mr. Gonzales. She believed that any interaction with Mr. Gonzales would have been related to research she was conducting as part of her TCA responsibilities.

This memorandum was prepared on April 18, 2013 after the interview with the witness on April 17, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on April 17, 2013.

Kedric L. Payne  
Deputy Chief Counsel

**EXHIBIT 13**

## CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: Walter Gonzales  
REVIEW No(s): 13-5845  
DATE: March 27, 2013  
LOCATION: 425 3<sup>rd</sup> Street, SW  
Washington, DC 20024  
TIME: 12:00 p.m. to 12:45 p.m. (approximate)  
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
Paul Solis

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness has been employed with Representative Ruppertsberger since 2002. During his employment, the witness has served as Legislative Director and Deputy Chief of Staff. He is currently Senior Policy Advisor.
3. The August 2008 congressional trip to Turkey ("2008 Turkey Trip") is the only trip that he has attended sponsored by the Turkish Coalition of America ("TCA") or the American Turkish Council ("ATC").
4. The witness told the OCE that he first learned of the 2008 Turkey Trip from Lydia Borland. He understood that Ms. Borland was a lobbyist on issues involving Turkey, but he did not know her clients.
5. He first spoke with her when she called Representative Ruppertsberger's office to speak with someone concerning foreign affairs issues. The witness spoke with Ms. Borland because he was responsible for foreign affairs issues.
6. The witness stated that he had a few meetings and phone calls with Ms. Borland concerning Turkey. This was a couple of months before the trip to Turkey.
7. The witness recalled that Ms. Borland also requested that Representative Ruppertsberger make a statement in the Congressional Record concerning Turkey. The witness was shown and email from Ms. Borland to him, dated July 27, 2007 (WG\_0078), stating "Would the Congressman be willing to put a statement in the Congressional Record on this issue?" The witness told the OCE that this email concerns the requested statement in the Congressional Record.

## CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

8. During one of the meetings, Ms. Borland asked the witness whether he was interested in traveling to Turkey. He told her that he was interested in the travel and he later received an invitation to travel to Turkey from ATC, dated June 23, 2008.
9. The witness was shown a letter from ATC to him, dated June 23, 2008 (WG\_0047-48) and he stated that he first learned of ATC when he received this letter in 2008.
10. The witness told the OCE that he first learned of TCA during the 2008 Turkey Trip briefing that occurred shortly before the trip. It was during this briefing that he learned that TCA was a host of the trip.
11. He does not remember meeting anyone affiliated with TCA. However, he may have met someone from Maryland who was affiliated with TCA and he may have met TCA staff when he visited the office in Istanbul during the 2008 Turkey Trip.
12. When shown an email from Guler Koknar of TCA to the witness dated August 15, 2007, he stated that he did not recall ever meeting Ms. Koknar.
13. The witness stated that he does not know George Hochbruckner or anyone affiliated with Goerge Hochbruckner and Associates.
14. The witness met Ayse Sumer of ATC. He stated that he does not know James Holmes, Canaan Buyukunsal, or anyone else affiliated with ATC.
15. The witness was shown his Privately Sponsored Travel form that was submitted to the Committee on Ethics (WG\_0071). He told the OCE that he completed the form and signed it. He stated that he completed the form with information that he received from Ms. Sumer. Specifically, Ms. Sumer told him the sponsors listed on line 2 were ATC and TCA.
16. When asked why did he answer "No" to the question 6 about lobbyist employer sponsors, he stated that he asked Ms. Sumer over a phone call did "they" have a lobbyist. He stated that she must have told him no for him to complete the form as he did.
17. The witness was shown a "List of Meetings and Events Attended" that was attached to his post-travel disclosure form (WG\_0055). He stated that he prepared this document.
18. He was also shown the trip program summary (ATC\_0219) and he stated that he would have received this at the pre-trip briefing or at the beginning of the trip.
19. When asked about the "Lunch at Asitane hosted by BankPozitif" on August 4, 2008 listed in the program summary, he remembered attending a lunch. He does not recall whether he was told during the lunch that BankPozitif hosted the meal.
20. When asked about the "Dinner with the Business Community in Istanbul Hosted by Turkish-American Business Association" on August 4, 2008 listed in the program summary, he remembered attending the dinner. He believed that it was announced at the dinner that TABA was the host.
21. The witness did not recall any additional meals that he attended.

CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

22. The witness was asked about the “corporate sponsors” and “associate sponsors” listed on the first page of the 2008 Turkey Trip briefing book (ATC\_0216). He told the OCE that it did not occur to him that the associate sponsors should be disclosed on the travel forms because he thought the entire trip had been pre-approved by Committee on Ethics.
23. The witness was never contacted by TCA or ATC following the trip concerning TCA’s employment of a lobbyist.

This memorandum was prepared on April 3, 2013 after the interview with the witness on March 27, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on March 27, 2013.

Kedric L. Payne  
Deputy Chief Counsel

**EXHIBIT 14**

CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: TCA Attorney  
REVIEW No(s): 13-2411, 13-5845, 13-6123  
DATE: March 8, 2013  
LOCATION: 1510 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005  
TIME: 10:50 a.m. to 11:16 a.m. (approximately)  
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
Paul J. Solis

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness, and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is a principle at the law firm of Saltzman and Evinch, P.C. and been with the firm since its inception in 1993.
3. He has provided “relatively minor consultative” legal services to the Turkish Coalition of America (“TCA”) since it was founded in 2007. TCA pays him an hourly rate for his services. The Turkish American Legal Defense Fund (“TALDF”) is a litigation project of TCA so the witness does not represent TALDF. The witness and Bruce Fein started TALDF.
4. The witness first became acquainted with George Hochbruckner in December 2008 near the time that TCA decided to no longer have Mr. Hochbruckner provide lobbying services. The witness has not seen Mr. Hochbruckner since 2008.
5. The witness did not know Mr. Hochbruckner was a lobbyist when her first met him but later knew he was after he saw a few emails with his name on them. The witness was not involved in any contracts with lobbyists or lobbyist registration. The witness also stated that he thought TCA hired Mr. Hochbruckner more as a consultant.
6. The witness never worked for American Turkish Coalition (“ATC”) but knows people who work there. The witness knows James Holmes. The witness has never attended an ATC trip to Turkey but traveled to Turkey in 2011 with Native American leaders.

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7. The witness told the OCE that around December 2008, he was asked to prepare a legal memorandum for TCA on "HLOGA" because Lincoln McCurdy wanted to have the organization plan its own congressional trips to Turkey.
8. He prepared the memorandum and concluded that TCA could not retain lobbyists if it planned to conduct such congressional trips. The memorandum did not address any issues with prior trips.
9. With respect to the ethics issue of the August 2008 trip to Turkey, the witness prepared a plan of action for Mr. McCurdy around January 2009 after he became aware in December 2008. He first contacted the attorney for ATC, Doreen Edelman, and told her about the problem that TCA retained a lobbyist at the time that it sponsored the 2008 trip. The witness stated that they decided that they had "to make this right."
10. The witness then called House Ethics Committee and left a voicemail message for the staff person who was handling trips, Susan Olson. He told the OCE that he left a detailed voicemail message, explaining that TCA had a lobbyist at the time it sponsored the 2008 trip and seeking advice on how to disclose and repair the problem.
11. When the witness's message was not returned, he called Ms. Olson again and spoke with her January 27, 2009. He explained the issue to her and he stated that she told him that she would look into it and call him back.
12. The witness did not receive a call back from the House Ethics Committee. He assumed that the Committee had contacted ATC to resolve the issue. The witness also stated that TCA expected remuneration to come from the ATC side, so when they didn't hear anything, TCA thought Ethics took it up with ATC.

This memorandum was prepared on March 8, 2013 after the interview with the witness on March 7, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on March 7, 2013.

Kedric L. Payne  
Deputy Chief Counsel

**EXHIBIT 15**

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OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: ATC President  
REVIEW No(s): 13-2411, 13-5845, 13-6123  
DATE: March 14, 2013  
LOCATION: 1111 14<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005  
TIME: 2:00 p.m. to 2:50 p.m. (approximately)  
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
Nate Wright

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is the President and CEO of ATC and has been with the organization since April 2005.
3. As President and CEO of ATC he is responsible for supervising of ATC staff and promoting the business interests of the organization's corporate members. The staff consists of approximately five full-time employees and two part-time employees.
4. The witness told the OCE that the interests of the organization include "business-to-business" concerns between the United States and Turkey.
5. The interests also include "business-to-government" concerns. For example, ATC hosts an annual conference attended by senior executive branch officials (e.g., Leon Panetta) and ATC members. ATC recently hosted an event with Turkish officials to discuss opportunities and incentives for U.S. companies to invest in Turkey. Another example is the annual congressional staff trip to Turkey that ATC hosts.
6. Much of ATC's activities operate on a committee basis organized by interest (e.g. defense supplies, pharmaceuticals, banking, energy, etc.).
7. The witness stated that ATC has hosted congressional staff trips for fifteen to sixteen years, which includes years before he joined ATC. He said that last year there was no staff trip due to lack of funding, but he anticipated there would be another trip this year for seven to eight days.

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8. The witness framed these staff trips within ATC's interest to protect and promote a positive political climate between the United States and Turkey. He stated that given Turkey's political baggage there was never a year when it was not necessary to make some advocacy effort to highlight the impact of a certain action on the broader view of the U.S. and Turkish business relationship.
9. According to the witness, ATC does not work with the Turkish Coalition of America ("TCA") on a recurring basis.
10. He recalled that on one occasion ATC worked with TCA to have a congressional staff trip in 2008. This 2008 trip is the only occasion where ATC received any support from TCA. ATC and TCA occasionally run into each other at the same events, but generally there is no convergence of interests and efforts.
11. ATC had brought a Turkish archeologist from Patara, Turkey to the United States in 2006 and subsequently, TCA expressed an interest in organizing a trip to Patara with Congressional staff because of the location's connection with the Federalist Papers.
12. He has known Lincoln McCurdy, the President of TCA, since 1995 or 1996. Mr. McCurdy was the witnesses' predecessor as President of ATC.
13. The witness told the OCE that he does not know George Hochbruckner.
14. When asked about his role in planning and organizing the congressional staff trips, the witness stated that Ayse Sumer is the ATC staff person responsible for the trips. She organizes the trips, recruits congressional staff to attend, and makes sure that it is approved by the ethics committees. The witness reviews her work, goes over the minutia of the trip, and signs anything that is necessary, such as the travel disclosure forms.
15. He stated that Canan Buyunkusal is the other ATC staff person who assists Ms. Sumer with the congressional staff trips.
16. The witness was shown the trip itinerary, titled "2008 Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey" (ATC\_0215-0222). When asked about the difference between the "corporate sponsor" and the "associate sponsors" listed in the itinerary, the witness stated that he believes the difference is the volume of the sponsorship. However, he said that he did not know this for certain.
17. He stated that in general the funding for the trip comes from the general fund. He said that most of the money from dues is for administrative support, rent, and insurance. A small portion goes to ensure ATC the full financing of the congressional staff trip.

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18. He said that some companies may provide in-kind services to the trip. He mentioned that an ATC counterpart organization in Turkey provides hotel rooms and bus services for the congressional staff trip instead of cash for their membership dues.
19. The witness was shown a page from the trip itinerary (ATC\_0219) and asked about an entry reading "Lunch at Asitane hosted by BankPozitif." He said the sponsorship was separate from the general fund and the type of thing the company liked to do for the congressional staff trip.
20. The witness did not attend the 2008 trip to Turkey and has never attended a congressional staff trip to Turkey. However, he did attend the pre-trip briefing with the congressional staffers.
21. He told the OCE that he reviewed the travel disclosure form that was filed with the House Ethics Committee for the 2008 Turkey trip and he thought that it was accurate.
22. The witness recalled a problem with corporate members having lobbyists and seeking advice from legal counsel.

This memorandum was prepared on March 8, 2013 after the interview with the witness on March 7, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on March 7, 2013.

Kedric L. Payne  
Deputy Chief Counsel

# APPENDIX B

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**REPORT**

Review No. 13-6123

The Board of the Office of Congressional Ethics (the "Board"), by a vote of no less than four members, on May 31, 2013, adopted the following report and ordered it to be transmitted to the Committee on Ethics of the United States House of Representatives.

SUBJECT: Ms. Helen Hardin

NATURE OF THE ALLEGED VIOLATION: Helen Hardin accepted travel expenses for a trip to Turkey in August 2008 that the American-Turkish Coalition and the Turkish Coalition of America ("TCA") co-sponsored. TCA retained a lobbyist. The pre-travel disclosure form that the co-sponsors filed with the House of Representatives certified that TCA did not retain a lobbyist. Ms. Hardin relied on the co-sponsors' certification that TCA did not retain a lobbyist and received the travel expenses.

If Ms. Hardin received travel expenses for a multiple-day trip from an entity that retained a lobbyist, she may have violated House rules.

RECOMMENDATION: The Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the allegation above because there is a substantial reason to believe that although Ms. Hardin did not knowingly accept, she nevertheless received, an impermissible gift proscribed by House rules.

VOTES IN THE AFFIRMATIVE: 4

VOTES IN THE NEGATIVE: 2

ABSTENTIONS: 0

MEMBER OF THE BOARD OR STAFF DESIGNATED TO PRESENT THIS REPORT TO THE COMMITTEE ON ETHICS: Omar S. Ashmawy, Staff Director and Chief Counsel.

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**FINDINGS OF FACT AND CITATIONS TO LAW**

Review No. 13-6123

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OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**FINDINGS OF FACT AND CITATIONS TO LAW**

Review No. 13-6123

On May 31, 2013, the Board of the Office of Congressional Ethics (the "Board") adopted the following findings of fact and accompanying citations to law, regulations, rules, and standards of conduct (*in italics*).

The Board notes that these findings do not constitute a determination that a violation actually occurred.

**I. INTRODUCTION**

1. The American-Turkish Council ("ATC") invited Helen Hardin to attend a congressional staff trip to Turkey in 2008.
2. ATC provided a pre-travel disclosure form to Ms. Hardin that listed the Turkish Coalition of America ("TCA") as a co-sponsor. Despite the fact that TCA retained a lobbyist, the form certified that the co-sponsors did not retain a lobbyist.
3. Ms. Hardin attended the trip that was financed by TCA. However, as described in the Board's findings below, there is no evidence that Ms. Hardin knew that TCA retained a lobbyist.
4. The Board finds that Ms. Hardin relied on the co-sponsors' pre-travel disclosure form in good faith.
5. Nevertheless, pursuant to precedent of the Committee on Ethics, a person's ignorance of the true source of travel expenses is not an absolute shield from liability for receipt of travel expenses from an improper source.

**A. Summary of Allegations**

6. Ms. Hardin may have violated House rules by receiving travel expenses for a multiple-day trip from an entity that retained a lobbyist.
7. The Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the allegation above because there is a substantial reason to believe that although Ms. Hardin did not knowingly accept, she nevertheless received, an impermissible gift proscribed by House rules.

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**B. Jurisdictional Statement**

8. The allegations that are the subject of this review concern Helen Hardin, Senior Policy Advisor for Representative Chuck Fleishmann. The Resolution the United States House of Representatives adopted creating the Office of Congressional Ethics (“OCE”) directs that, “[n]o review shall be undertaken . . . by the board of any alleged violation that occurred before the date of adoption of this resolution.”<sup>1</sup> The House adopted this Resolution on March 11, 2008. Because the conduct under review occurred after March 11, 2008, the OCE has jurisdiction in this matter.

**C. Procedural History**

9. The OCE received a written request for a preliminary review in this matter signed by at least two members of the Board on January 25, 2013. The preliminary review commenced on January 26, 2013.<sup>2</sup> The preliminary review was scheduled to end on February 24, 2013.
10. At least three members of the Board voted to initiate a second-phase review in this matter on February 22, 2013. The second-phase review commenced on February 25, 2013.<sup>3</sup> The second-phase review was scheduled to end on April 10, 2013.
11. The Board voted to extend the second-phase review for an additional period of fourteen days on March 22, 2013. The second-phase review ended on April 24, 2013.
12. The Board voted to refer the matter to the Committee on Ethics and adopted these findings on May 31, 2013.
13. This report and findings were transmitted to the Committee on Ethics on June 13, 2013.

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<sup>1</sup> H. Res. 895, 110th Cong. §1(e), as amended (the “Resolution”).

<sup>2</sup> A preliminary review is “requested” in writing by members of the Board of the OCE. The request for a preliminary review is “received” by the OCE on a date certain. According to the Resolution, the timeframe for conducting a preliminary review is thirty days from the date of receipt of the Board’s request.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Resolution, the Board must vote on whether to conduct a second-phase review in a matter before the expiration of the thirty-day preliminary review. If the Board votes for a second-phase, the second-phase begins when the preliminary review ends. The second-phase review does not begin on the date of the Board vote.

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**D. Summary of Investigative Activity**

14. The OCE requested and received documentary and, in some cases, testimonial information from the following sources:
- (1) Helen Hardin;
  - (2) ATC President;
  - (3) ATC Executive Director;
  - (4) ATC Government Affairs Director;
  - (5) TCA President;
  - (6) TCA Vice President;
  - (7) TCA Attorney;
  - (8) Former TCA Project Coordinator; and
  - (9) Former TCA Lobbyist.

**II. THE TURKISH COALITION OF AMERICA RETAINED A REGISTERED LOBBYIST WHEN IT FINANCED THE CONGRESSIONAL STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY IN 2008**

**A. Laws, Regulations, Rules, and Standards of Conduct**

15. *Pursuant to the House Rule 25, clause 5, an "employee of the House may not knowingly accept a gift from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal except as provided in sub paragraph (3) of this paragraph."*<sup>4</sup>
16. *"A reimbursement (including payment in kind) to a Member, Delegate, Resident Commissioner, officer, or employee of the House for transportation, lodging, and related expenses for travel to a meeting, speaking engagement, factfinding trip, or similar event in connection with the duties of such individual as an officeholder shall be considered as a reimbursement to the House and not a gift prohibited by this clause when it is from a private source other than a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or a private entity that retains or employs registered lobbyists . . . ."*<sup>5</sup>
17. *One-Day Event Trip. The sole exception to the general prohibition on accepting officially-connected travel from a private source that retains or employs lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal is for trips involving attendance at or participation in one-day event (exclusive of travel time and an overnight stay).*

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<sup>4</sup> House Rule 25, clause 5(a)(1)(A)(ii).

<sup>5</sup> House Rule 25, clause 5(b)(1) (emphasis added).

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*Under the rule, it is permissible for a Member or staff person to accept and meals related to a single night's lodging and meals related to the trip, if offered by the trip sponsor. Members and staff must limit their involvement in connection with the event to a single calendar day, exclusive of travel time and an overnight stay. A Member or staff person may therefore attend only a single day of a multiple-day conference, forum, or other event that is being hosted primarily for individuals other than congressional invitees.<sup>6</sup>*

18. *In the Report of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct of the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multi-National Business Conferences in 2007 and 2008, the Committee found that "[b]ecause [the Representative] did not have any knowledge of the true source of funding for these two trips, the Subcommittee does not find that he violated any law, House Rule, regulation, or any other standard of conduct. However, because he received impermissible gifts proscribed by House Rules, other remedies are necessary. [The Representative] should return or pay for any gifts or benefits he received that were impermissible."<sup>7</sup>*

**B. TCA Co-Sponsored a Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey in 2008**

19. TCA co-sponsored a congressional staff trip to Turkey from August 2, 2008 to August 10, 2008 ("2008 Turkey Trip").<sup>8</sup> TCA "was founded in 2007 as an educational, charitable organization and works to [f]oster friendship, understanding and cooperation between the United States and Turkey . . ."<sup>9</sup> TCA donated approximately \$35,000 to ATC to finance the 2008 Turkey Trip.<sup>10</sup>
20. ATC is a trade association "dedicated to effectively strengthening US-Turkish relations through the promotion of commercial, defense, technology and cultural relations."<sup>11</sup> Its membership includes "US and Turkish companies, multinationals, nonprofit organizations and individuals with an interest in US-Turkish relations."<sup>12</sup>
21. ATC used TCA's donation to pay for travel expenses of the congressional staff including transportation, meals, and lodging.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> House Ethics Manual (2008) at 92-93 (citing House Rule 25, clause 5(b)(1)(C) (emphasis in original)).

<sup>7</sup> Report of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct of the Investigation into Officially Connected Travel of House Members to Attend the Carib News Foundation Multi-National Business Conferences in 2007 and 2008, Feb. 25, 2010, at 172.

<sup>8</sup> Helen Hardin's Pre and Post Travel Disclosure Forms, amended and original ("Travel Disclosure Forms") (Exhibit 1 at 13-6123\_0002).

<sup>9</sup> Turkish Coalition of America 2011 Annual Report 2, available at [http://www.tc-america.org/files/about/TCA\\_Annual\\_Report\\_2011.pdf](http://www.tc-america.org/files/about/TCA_Annual_Report_2011.pdf).

<sup>10</sup> ATC Invoice for TCA (Exhibit 2 at 13-6123\_0024-25); TCA Profit and Loss Detail (Exhibit 3 at 13-6123\_0027).

<sup>11</sup> ATC Mission Statement and Overview, available at, <http://www.the-atc.org/data/aboutus/>.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*

<sup>13</sup> ATC Congressional Staff Trip 2008 Budget (Exhibit 4 at 13-6123\_0029-32)

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22. A total of thirteen individuals attended the trip: six House staff members; two Senate staff members; two ATC staff members; one TCA staff member; and two representatives from ATC membership organizations.<sup>14</sup>
23. The invitation for the trip that ATC sent to congressional staff stated that the trip was intended to provide “a unique opportunity for select Congressional Staff to gain personal insights about Turkey.”<sup>15</sup>
24. Based on the evidence before the OCE, Ms. Hardin accepted approximately \$7,375 in travel expenses for the 2008 Turkey Trip.<sup>16</sup>

**C. TCA Retained a Lobbyist**

25. TCA retained an outside lobbyist from March 2008 to December 2008.<sup>17</sup> The lobbyist worked for his own lobbying firm and filed his lobbyist registration on behalf of TCA on April 8, 2008 (effective registration date March 1, 2008).<sup>18</sup> He filed his report terminating his lobbying registration for TCA on January 15, 2009 (effective termination date December 31, 2008).<sup>19</sup>
26. Former TCA Lobbyist told the OCE that TCA hired him primarily to increase the number of Members of Congress on the Congressional Turkey Caucus.<sup>20</sup> TCA President told the OCE that Former TCA Lobbyist was hired to educate TCA on how Congress functions and to provide opinions on legislation.<sup>21</sup> He also stated that Former TCA Lobbyist advised him on how to encourage Members of Congress to join the Turkish Caucus.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> ATC 2008 Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey Briefing Book (Exhibit 5 at 13-6123\_0043).

<sup>15</sup> Draft Invitation Letter (Exhibit 6 at 13-6123\_0118-19).

<sup>16</sup> Travel Disclosure Forms (Exhibit 1 at 13-6123\_0003).

<sup>17</sup> TCA Lobbyist LDA Registration and Termination Reports (Exhibit 7 at 13-6123\_0121-24).

<sup>18</sup> *Id.*

<sup>19</sup> *Id.*

<sup>20</sup> Memorandum of Interview of Former TCA Lobbyist, March 13, 2013 (“Former TCA Lobbyist MOI”) (Exhibit 8 at 13-6123\_0127).

<sup>21</sup> Memorandum of Interview of TCA President, March 7, 2013 (“TCA President MOI”) (Exhibit 9 at 13-6123\_0131).

<sup>22</sup> *Id.*

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**D. TCA Did Not Disclose that it Retained a Lobbyist**

27. Although TCA retained a lobbyist at the time of the 2008 Turkey Trip, the pre-trip Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form that ATC submitted to House staff members for filing with the House Committee on Ethics certifies on question 9(b) that “the sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent.”<sup>23</sup>

U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Standards of Official Conduct	
<b>PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM</b> (provide directly to each House invitee)	
<p>This form should be completed by private entities offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to House Members, officers or employees under House Rule XXV, clause 5. A completed copy of the form (and any attachments) should be provided to each invited House Member, officer or employee, who will then forward it to the Committee. The trip sponsor should NOT submit the form directly to the Committee.</p> <p><i>Please sponsors are urged to submit this form to each House invitee at least 30 days before travel is scheduled to begin. The failure to provide the Committee with adequate time to review the form and attachments may result in the invitee not receiving approval for the trip. The submission of an incomplete form will delay the review process. Before completing this form, sponsors are urged to carefully review the Committee's private travel guidelines and agencies responsible defining the rules and restrictions for private travel, as well as the instructions for completing this form. Sponsors should call the Committee with any questions prior to submitting the form. Please type/print.</i></p>	
1. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip)	American-Turkish Council and the Turkish Coalition of America
2. I represent that the trip will not be financed (in whole or in part) by a federally registered lobbyist or a registered foreign agent (check "yes" by checking box) <input type="checkbox"/>	
3. I represent that the trip sponsor(s) has not accepted from any other source funds not disclosed directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip (check "yes" by checking box) <input type="checkbox"/>	
4. Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No	
5. Provide names and titles of ALL House invitees. For each invitee, provide explanation of why the individual was invited (include additional page if necessary). Please see the attached statement.	
6. Dates of travel	Depart Washington, D.C. on August 7 and return 10 August, 2008
7. Cities of departure destination return	Washington, D.C. to Istanbul and return. In addition the group will travel to two other cities within Turkey, Ankara and Palata.
8. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities taking place during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities) (check "yes" by checking box) <input type="checkbox"/>	
9. I represent that (check one of the following):	
a. The sponsor of the trip is an individual of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent. <input type="checkbox"/>	
c. The trip is for attendance at a one-day event and lobbyist involvement in planning, organizing, supporting, or arranging the trip was de minimis under the Committee's travel regulations. <input type="checkbox"/>	
10. If travel is for participation at a one-day event (i.e., as per standard Question 9(c)), check one of the following:	
a. One-night's lodging and meals are being offered. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
b. Two-night's lodging and meals are being offered. <input type="checkbox"/>	
If "b" is checked, explain why the second night is necessary.	

28. The Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form was signed by ATC President.<sup>24</sup> ATC President told the OCE that ATC Government Affairs Director prepared the travel disclosure form and ATC President reviewed and signed it.<sup>25</sup> He said that he thought the disclosure form was accurate and he did not know Former TCA Lobbyist.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Travel Disclosure Forms (Exhibit 1 at 13-6123\_0009).

<sup>24</sup> *Id.* at 13-6123\_0011.

<sup>25</sup> Memorandum of Interview of ATC President, March 14, 2013 (Exhibit 14 at 13-6123\_0151).

<sup>26</sup> *Id.* at 13-6123\_0152.

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29. ATC Government Affairs Director told the OCE that she checked the box on Question 9(b) that indicated that the sponsors did not retain a federally registered lobbyist.<sup>27</sup> She stated that she likely asked the TCA Vice President whether TCA had a lobbyist.<sup>28</sup> She does not know Former TCA Lobbyist.<sup>29</sup>
30. On the contrary, TCA Vice President told the OCE that no one ever asked her whether TCA retained a lobbyist, including ATC Director of Government Affairs.<sup>30</sup> She also stated that she was not involved in the preparation of the pre-travel disclosure form and does not recall ever seeing the document.<sup>31</sup>
31. The OCE asked TCA President, who hired Former TCA Lobbyist, about the Private Sponsor Certification Form. He told the OCE that at the time of the 2008 Turkey Trip he never saw the Private Sponsor Travel Disclosure Form and he understood that ATC was responsible for filing the form and that TCA would be listed as a sponsor.<sup>32</sup>
32. The pre-travel disclosure form that Ms. Hardin filed with the House Ethics Committee asks “Did the trip sponsor answer ‘yes’ to Question 9(b) on The Trip Sponsor form (*i.e.*, the travel is being sponsored by an entity that employs a lobbyist)?” Ms. Hardin checked the “No” box.<sup>33</sup>
33. When asked why she answered “No” to the question whether the sponsor retained a lobbyist, Ms. Hardin told the OCE that she based her answer on TCA’s answer to the same question on their form.<sup>34</sup>
34. Ms. Hardin told the OCE that she did not know Former TCA Lobbyist and had never heard of him until the OCE’s review.<sup>35</sup>
35. Former TCA Lobbyist told the OCE that he did not know Ms. Hardin and does not recall ever communicating with her.<sup>36</sup>
36. Former TCA Lobbyist was not involved in planning or organizing the 2008 Turkey Trip and he did not attend the 2008 Turkey Trip.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Memorandum of Interview of ATC Government Affairs Director, March 14, 2013 (“ATC Government Affairs Director MOI”) (Exhibit 10 at 13-6123\_0137).

<sup>28</sup> *Id.*

<sup>29</sup> *Id.*

<sup>30</sup> Memorandum of Interview of TCA Vice President, April 16, 2013 (Exhibit 11 at 13-6123\_0140).

<sup>31</sup> *Id.*

<sup>32</sup> TCA President MOI (Exhibit 9 at 13-6123\_0132).

<sup>33</sup> Travel Disclosure Forms (Exhibit 1 at 13-6123\_0007).

<sup>34</sup> Memorandum of Interview of Helen Hardin, April 22, 2013 (“Helen Hardin MOI”) (Exhibit 12 at 13-6123\_0144).

<sup>35</sup> *Id.*

<sup>36</sup> Former TCA Lobbyist MOI (Exhibit 8 at 13-6123\_0127).

<sup>37</sup> *Id.*

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

**E. TCA Knew of the Potential House Rule Violation after the Trip**

37. TCA knew of the potential House Rule violation after the 2008 Turkey Trip.<sup>38</sup>
38. According to TCA President, around November 2008, he learned during a casual conversation about ethics rules at a reception that TCA could not sponsor congressional trips if it had a lobbyist.<sup>39</sup>
39. TCA President then asked TCA Attorney to research the issue of whether TCA could sponsor congressional trips.<sup>40</sup> TCA President also notified Former TCA Lobbyist of the issue, which Former TCA Lobbyist had his attorneys research.<sup>41</sup>
40. In December 2008, TCA Attorney determined that TCA could not retain lobbyists if it planned to conduct congressional trips.<sup>42</sup>
41. With respect to the 2008 Turkey Trip, TCA Attorney contacted ATC's attorney in January in 2009 and told her that TCA retained a lobbyist at the time that it sponsored the trip.<sup>43</sup> They decided to alert the House Ethics Committee of the issue.<sup>44</sup>
42. TCA Attorney stated that he called the House Ethics Committee on January 27, 2009, explained the issue with the 2008 Turkey Trip, and asked for advice on how to disclose and remedy the problem.<sup>45</sup> He was told that he would receive a call back from the House Ethics Committee.<sup>46</sup> When he did not receive a call, he assumed that the House Ethics Committee contacted ATC directly to resolve the problem.<sup>47</sup> ATC Government Affairs Director stated that she did not have any contacts with the House Committee on Ethics following the trip.<sup>48</sup>
43. TCA President did not notify Ms. Hardin or any of the congressional staff who attended the 2008 Turkey Trip of the issue concerning the travel expenses.<sup>49</sup>
44. Ms. Hardin told the OCE that no one from ATC or TCA ever contacted her following the trip concerning the issue of TCA's employment of a lobbyist.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> TCA President MOI (Exhibit 9 at 13-6123\_0132); Memorandum of Interview of TCA Attorney ("TCA Attorney MOI") (Exhibit 13 at 13-6123\_0148).

<sup>39</sup> TCA President MOI (Exhibit 9 at 13-6123\_0132).

<sup>40</sup> *Id.*

<sup>41</sup> *Id.*

<sup>42</sup> TCA Attorney MOI (Exhibit 13 at 13-6123\_0148).

<sup>43</sup> *Id.*

<sup>44</sup> *Id.*

<sup>45</sup> *Id.*

<sup>46</sup> *Id.*

<sup>47</sup> *Id.*

<sup>48</sup> ATC Government Affairs Director MOI (Exhibit 10 at 13-6123\_0137).

<sup>49</sup> TCA President MOI (Exhibit 9 at 13-6123\_0133).

<sup>50</sup> Helen Hardin MOI (Exhibit 12 at 13-6123\_0145).

## CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

**F. Ms. Hardin's Knowledge of TCA's Lobbyist**

45. The OCE did not receive any evidence that Ms. Hardin knew that TCA retained a lobbyist at the time that she accepted the travel expenses.
46. Based on the following facts, the Board finds that Ms. Hardin did not knowingly accept travel expenses from an entity that retained a lobbyist:
  - a. Ms. Hardin submitted the co-sponsors' pre-travel disclosure form to the Committee on Ethics for pre-approval;
  - b. Ms. Hardin submitted her personal pre-travel disclosure form, which was based on information that he received from the co-sponsors, to the Committee on Ethics for pre-approval;
  - c. Ms. Hardin provided a complete and accurate statement of all material facts related to the co-sponsors' employment of a lobbyist to the extent that it was known to her at the time; and
  - d. The Committee on Ethics provided written approval of her acceptance of the travel expenses.
47. In many circumstances, the apparent lack of knowledge and good faith reliance on both the assertions of the private sponsor and the written approval by the Committee on Ethics would result in no liability on the part of Ms. Hardin. However, under the precedent established by the Committee on Ethics in certain, limited circumstances, an individual who relies on approval from the Committee on Ethics in accepting a proscribed gift, may nevertheless be liable for its receipt.
48. In this matter, the Board finds that Ms. Hardin acted in good faith reliance on the written pre-approval that the Committee on Ethics provided. However, she still received travel expenses from a private entity that retained a lobbyist during the 2008 Turkey Trip. In similar matters, the Committee on Ethics has found that the receipt of the gift was impermissible and proscribed by House rules even though an individual may reasonably have believed otherwise.
49. Accordingly, the OCE Board finds there is substantial reason to believe that although Ms. Hardin did not knowingly accept, she nevertheless received, an impermissible gift proscribed by House rules.

## CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

**III. CONCLUSION**

50. ATC and TCA submitted a pre-Travel disclosure form for the 2008 Turkey Trip to Ms. Hardin, which did not disclose that TCA retained a lobbyist.
51. The Board finds that Ms. Hardin did not knowingly accept travel expenses from an entity that retained a lobbyist because:
- a. Ms. Hardin submitted the co-sponsors' pre-travel disclosure form to the Committee on Ethics for pre-approval;
  - b. Ms. Hardin submitted her personal pre-travel disclosure form, which was based on information that he received from the co-sponsors, to the Committee on Ethics for pre-approval;
  - c. Ms. Hardin provided a complete and accurate statement of all material facts related to the co-sponsors' employment of a lobbyist to the extent that it was known to her at the time; and
  - d. The Committee on Ethics provided written approval of her acceptance of the travel expenses.
52. Based on the above findings, Ms. Hardin acted in good faith reliance and did not know that TCA retained a lobbyist at the time of the trip. However, the Board recommends that the Committee on Ethics further review the allegation above because there is a substantial reason to believe that although Ms. Hardin did not knowingly accept, she nevertheless received, an impermissible gift proscribed by House rules.

**EXHIBIT 1**

LEGISLATIVE RESOURCE CENTER

Original  Amendment

2008 SEP 11 PM 2: 24

U.S. House of Representatives  
110<sup>th</sup> Congress

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**EMPLOYEE  
POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM**

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from private sources for meetings, speaking engagements, fact-finding trips or similar events in connection with official duties. You need not disclose government-funded or political travel on this form, or travel that is unrelated to official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report all privately-funded travel on the annual Financial Disclosure Statements of those persons required to file them. In accordance with clause 5 of House Rule 25, complete this form and file it with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, B-106 Cannon House Office Building, within 15 days after travel is completed. The Clerk is to make these forms publicly available as soon as possible after they are received. Obtain the dollar amounts from the sponsor; if exact dollar amounts are unavailable, provide a good faith estimate.

Name of Employee (print or type): Heien Hardin

Name of Accompanying Family Member (if any): \_\_\_\_\_

Relationship to Employee:  Spouse  Child  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Departure and Date of Return: August 2-13

Dates at Personal Expense: August 11-13

Itinerary (cities of departure - destination - return): Washington, DC - Istanbul - Washington DC

Sponsor(s) (who paid for the trip): American Turkish Council and Turkish Coalition of America

Describe meetings and events attended (attach additional pages if necessary): We met with business, religious, government and non profit organizations. I attended all meetings.

Attached to this form are EACH of the following (signify "yes" for each item by checking the corresponding box):

- 1.  the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form completed by trip sponsor, including all attachments;
- 2.  the Privately-Sponsored Travel Approval Form completed by the employee; and
- 3.  the Committee on Standards' letter approving my participation on this trip.

I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the sponsor's agenda (signify "yes" by checking box):

If not, explain: \_\_\_\_\_

WAMP.

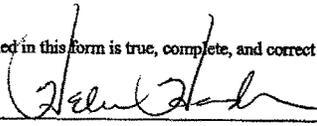
**TRAVEL EXPENSES:**

	Total Transportation Expenses	Total Lodging Expenses	Total Meal Expenses
For employee:	3775.	1750.	1350.
For accompanying family member:			

	Other Expenses (dollar amount)	Specific Nature of Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For employee:	500.	tips, entrance fees, guide fees, service fees, and taxi fare
For accompanying family member:		

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYEE: \_\_\_\_\_

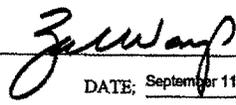


DATE: September 11, 2008

I authorized this travel in advance. I have determined that all of the expenses listed above were necessary and that the travel was in connection with the employee's official duties and would not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

NAME OF SUPERVISING MEMBER: Rep. Zach Wamp

SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISING MEMBER: \_\_\_\_\_



DATE: September 11, 2008

Version date 4/2007 by Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

**HAND DELIVERED**

Original  Amendment  
LEGISLATIVE RESOURCE CENTER  
2008 AUG 22 PM 2:32  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**U.S. House of Representatives  
110<sup>th</sup> Congress**

**EMPLOYEE  
POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM**

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from private sources for meetings, speaking engagements, fact-finding trips or similar events in connection with official duties. You need not disclose government-funded or political travel on this form, or travel that is unrelated to official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report all privately-funded travel on the annual Financial Disclosure Statements of those persons required to file them. In accordance with clause 5 of House Rule 25, complete this form and file it with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, B-106 Cannon House Office Building, within 15 days after travel is completed. The Clerk is to make these forms publicly available as soon as possible after they are received. Obtain the dollar amounts from the sponsor; if exact dollar amounts are unavailable, provide a good faith estimate.

Name of Employee (print or type): Helen Hardin

Name of Accompanying Family Member (if any): \_\_\_\_\_

Relationship to Employee:  Spouse  Child  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Departure and Date of Return: August 2, 2008 - August 13, 2008

Dates at Personal Expense: August 11-13

Itinerary (cities of departure -- destination -- return): Washington DC- Istanbul - Washington DC

Sponsor(s) (who paid for the trip): American Turkish Council and Turkish Coalition of America

Describe meetings and events attended (attach additional pages if necessary): We met with business,  
religious, government and non profit organizations. I attended all meetings.

Attached to this form are EACH of the following (signify "yes" for each item by checking the corresponding box):

- 1.  the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form completed by trip sponsor, including all attachments;
- 2.  the Privately-Sponsored Travel Approval Form completed by the employee; **and**
- 3.  the Committee on Standards' letter approving my participation on this trip.

I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the sponsor's agenda (signify "yes" by checking box):

If not, explain: \_\_\_\_\_

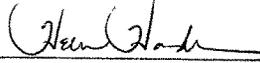
*YAMP.*

**TRAVEL EXPENSES:**

	Total Transportation Expenses	Total Lodging Expenses	Total Meal Expenses
For employee:	3300.50	1970.	850
For accompanying family member:			

	Other Expenses (dollar amount)	Specific Nature of Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For employee:	400	taxi, entrance fees, security, interpreter
For accompanying family member:		

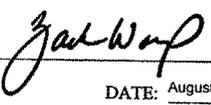
I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYEE: 

DATE: August 20, 2008

I authorized this travel in advance. I have determined that all of the expenses listed above were necessary and that the travel was in connection with the employee's official duties and would not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

NAME OF SUPERVISING MEMBER: Zach Wamp

SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISING MEMBER: 

DATE: August 21, 2008

*Version date 4/2007 by Committee on Standards of Official Conduct*

STEPHANIE TUBBS JONES, OHIO  
CHAIRWOMAN  
GENE GREEN, TEXAS  
LUCILLE ROYBAL-ALLARD, CALIFORNIA  
MICHAEL F. DOYLE, PENNSYLVANIA  
WILLIAM D. DELAHUNT, MASSACHUSETTS  
WILLIAM V. O'REILLY,  
CHIEF COUNSEL/STAFF DIRECTOR  
DAWN KELLY MOBLEY,  
COUNSEL TO THE CHAIRWOMAN

DOC HASTINGS, WASHINGTON  
RANKING REPUBLICAN MEMBER  
JO BONNER, ALABAMA  
J. GRESHAM BARRETT, SOUTH CAROLINA  
JOHN KLINE, MINNESOTA  
MICHAEL T. MCCOJ, TEXAS  
TODD UNGERBACH,  
COUNSEL TO THE RANKING  
REPUBLICAN MEMBER  
SUITE HT-2, THE CAPITOL  
(202) 226-7163

ONE HUNDRED TENTH CONGRESS

**U.S. House of Representatives**

COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF  
OFFICIAL CONDUCT

Washington, DC 20515-6328

July 11, 2008

Ms. Helen Hardin  
Office of the Honorable Zach Wamp  
1436 Longworth House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515

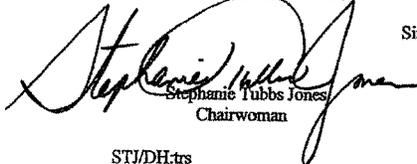
Dear Ms. Hardin:

Pursuant to House Rule XXV, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct hereby approves your proposed trip to Turkey scheduled for August 2 to 13, 2008 sponsored by the American-Turkish Council and the Turkish Coalition of America. We note that this trip includes 2 days at your personal expense.

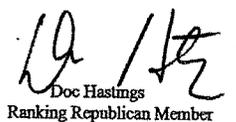
You must complete an Employee Travel Disclosure Form (which your employing Member must also sign) and file it with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are required to attach a copy of this letter and the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, including all attachments. You must also include a copy of the Traveler Form completed by you and signed by your employing Member. If you are required to file an annual Financial Disclosure Statement, you must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$335 from a single source on Schedule VII of that statement.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House employees may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act, gifts "of minimal value [currently \$335] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of \$335 received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be turned over to the Clerk of the House and disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments.

If you have any further questions, please contact the Committee's Office of Advice and Education at extension 5-7103.

  
Stephanie Tubbs Jones  
Chairwoman

Sincerely,

  
Doc Hastings  
Ranking Republican Member

STJ/DH:trs

U.S. House of Representatives  
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

**PRIVATELY SPONSORED TRAVEL: TRAVELER FORM**  
For Members, Officers and Employees  
(submit directly to the Committee)

This form should be completed by House Members, officers or employees seeking Committee approval of privately-sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule XXV, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer or employee, together with the completed and signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form.

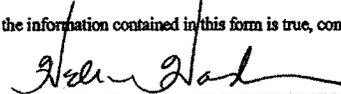
*Members, officers and employees seeking approval for travel are urged to submit all forms to the Committee at least 30 days before travel is scheduled to begin. The failure to provide the Committee with adequate time to review the form and attachments may result in the invitee not receiving approval for the trip. A copy of this form will be made available for public inspection. Please type form. Form (and any attachments) may be faxed to the Committee at (202) 225-7392.*

1. Name of Member, officer or employee (traveler): Helen Hardin
2. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): American Turkish Council and Turkish Coalition of America
3. Travel destination(s): Turkey
4. a. Dates of travel: August 2-13 2008  
 b. Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?  Yes  No  
 If yes, dates at personal expense: August 11-13 2008
5. a. Name of accompanying family member (if any): none  
 b. Relationship to Member/Officer:  Spouse  Child  Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_
6. a. Did the trip sponsor answer "yes" to Question 9(c) on the Trip Sponsor form (i.e., the travel is being sponsored by an entity that employs a lobbyist)?  Yes  No  
 b. If yes, check one of the following:  
 (1) Approval for one-night's lodging and meals is being requested:  or  
 (2) Approval for two-nights' lodging and meals is being requested:   
 If "(2)" is checked, explain why the second night is warranted: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form is attached, including agenda, invitee list, and any other attachments (indicate that form is attached by checking box):

8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to your official or representational duties:

I handle international affairs, human rights and Middle East issues for the Congressman.  
We have a large Turkish company in our district that employs many of our constituents.

9. I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: 

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): \_\_\_\_\_

For staff, name of employing Member/Committee: Rep. Zach Wamp

Office address: 1436 Longworth

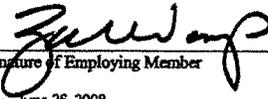
Phone number: 5-█

Email address: █@mail.house.gov

NOTE: You must complete the contact information fields above, as Committee staff may need contact you if additional information is required.

**FOR STAFF:  
TO BE COMPLETED BY YOUR EMPLOYING MEMBER:**

I hereby authorize the individual named above, an employee of the U.S. House of Representatives who works under my direct supervision, to accept expenses for the trip described in this request. I have determined that the above-described travel is in connection with my employee's official duties and that acceptance of these expenses will not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

  
Signature of Employing Member  
Date: June 26, 2008

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee:

Committee on Standards of Official Conduct  
U.S. House of Representatives  
HT-2, The Capitol  
Washington, DC 20515  
(202) 225-7103 (phone)  
(202) 225-7392 (fax)

Version date 9/2007 by Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

U.S. House of Representatives  
Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

**PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM**  
(provide directly to each House invitee)

This form should be completed by private entities offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to House Members, officers or employees under House Rule XXV, clause 5. A completed copy of the form (and any attachments) should be provided to each invited House Member, officer or employee, who will then forward it to the Committee. The trip sponsor should NOT submit the form directly to the Committee.

*Private sponsors are urged to submit this form to each House invitee at least 30 days before travel is scheduled to begin. The failure to provide the Committee with adequate time to review the form and attachments may result in the invitee not receiving approval for the trip. The submission of an incomplete form will delay the review process. Before completing this form, sponsors are urged to carefully review the Committee's private travel guidelines and advisory memoranda detailing the rules and restrictions for private travel, as well as the instructions for completing this form. Sponsors should call the Committee with any questions prior to submitting the form. Please type form.*

1. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): American-Turkish Council and the Turkish Coalition of America
2. I represent that the trip will not be financed (in whole or in part) by a federally-registered lobbyist or a registered foreign agent (signify "yes" by checking box):
3. I represent that the trip sponsor(s) has not accepted from any other source funds earmarked directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip (signify "yes" by checking box):
4. Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?  Yes  No
5. Provide names and titles of ALL House invitees; for each invitee, provide explanation of why the individual was invited (include additional pages if necessary): Please see the attached document
6. Dates of travel: Depart Washington, Dulles Airport on August 2 and return 10 August, 2008
7. Cities of departure -- destination -- return: Washington, D.C. to Istanbul and return. In addition the group will travel to two other cities within Turkey, Ankara and Patara.
8. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities taking place during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities) (signify "yes" by checking box):
9. I represent that (check one of the following):
  - a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965:  or
  - b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent:  or
  - c. The trip is for attendance at a one-day event and lobbyist involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.
10. If travel is for participation in a one-day event (i.e., if you checked Question 9(c)), check one of the following:
  - a. One-night's lodging and meals are being offered:  or
  - b. Two-nights' lodging and meals are being offered:
 If "b" is checked, explain why the second night is warranted: \_\_\_\_\_

11. If the trip is not sponsored by an institution of higher education, I represent that a federally-registered lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip (signify "yes" by checking box):
  
12. Private sponsors must have a direct and immediate relationship to the purpose of the trip or location being visited. Describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip: \_\_\_\_\_  
Please see the attached document  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
13. Describe each sponsor's organizational interest in the purpose of the trip: \_\_\_\_\_  
Please see the attached document  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
14. Describe the type and class of the transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first-class transportation will be provided. In addition, for travel via aircraft, please indicate if travel is being offered on a commercial flight, chartered flight or on an aircraft operated or paid for by a carrier not licensed by the Federal Aviation Administration to operate for compensation or hire (i.e., a private aircraft). If first-class fare is being provided, or if travel is via chartered or private aircraft, please provide an explanation describing why such travel is warranted: \_\_\_\_\_  
Each participant is travelling coach class on a commercial airline.  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
15. I represent that the expenditures related to local area travel during the trip will be unrelated to personal or recreational activities of the invitee(s). (signify "yes" by checking box):
  
16. I represent that either (check one of the following):
  - a. The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees:  or
  - b. The trip involves events that are arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:   
If "b" is checked, detail the cost per day of meals (approximate cost may be provided): \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
17. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: \_\_\_\_\_  
Please see the attached document  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
18. Name of hotel or other lodging facility: Please see attached document  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
19. Cost per night of hotel or other lodging facility (approximate cost may be provided): \_\_\_\_\_  
Approximate cost per night at each of the hotels is \$250 + tax  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility: \_\_\_\_\_  
Please see the attached document  
\_\_\_\_\_

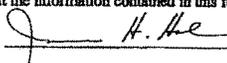
21. **TOTAL EXPENSES FOR EACH PARTICIPANT:**

<input type="checkbox"/> actual amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> good faith estimates	Total Transportation Expenses per Participant	Total Lodging Expenses per Participant	Total Meal Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or employee	\$3,300.50	\$1970.00	\$850.00
For each accompanying family member			

	Other Expenses (dollar amount)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or employee	\$400.00	Taxi fare, entrance fee, security, interpreter fees, etc.
For each accompanying family member		

22. I represent that reimbursement for miscellaneous travel expenses for the trip, such as travel to and from airports, security costs, interpreter fees, visa application fees, and similar expenses, will be for actual costs incurred and are necessary for the purpose of the trip (signify "yes" by checking box):

23. I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature:   
 Name and title: James H. Holmes  
 Organization: American-Turkish Council  
 Address: 1111 14th Street N.W., Suite 1050, Washington, D.C. 20005  
 Telephone number: 202-783-████  
 Fax number: 202-783 0511  
 Email Address: ████@the-etc.org

The Committee staff may contact the above individual above if additional information is required.

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee at the following address:

Committee on Standards of Official Conduct  
 U.S. House of Representatives  
 HT-2, The Capitol  
 Washington, DC 20515  
 (202) 225-7103 (phone)  
 (202) 225-7392 (general fax)  
 (202) 226-7172 (fax for travel approvals)

Version date 4/2007 by Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details****American-Turkish Council Congressional Staff Visit to Turkey****Objectives for Congressional Staffers**

- Promote and enhance the U.S.-Turkey relationship.
- Engage in dialogue with Senior Turkish government officials, U.S. Embassy representatives, NGOs, and Turkish business executives.
- Experience the heritage, landscape and overall cultural richness of Turkey.
- Observe first-hand the workings of the Turkish business community and government.
- Understand the political, cultural and social dynamics of Turkey and its region.
- Gain valuable information and insight from the Turkish media.

**Overview of Potential Briefing Topics**

- > **Strengths and weaknesses of Turkey's current economic and political situation.**
- > **International issues central to Turkish foreign relations**
  - The war in Iraq and Afghanistan and implications for the surrounding region
  - Turkey/Iran relations
  - Turkey's EU accession process
  - Turkey's role in NATO and with its neighbors
  - Caucasus, including Turkey/Armenian relations.
  - U.S.-Turkey cooperation against terrorism in the region.
  - Turkey's role in the rebuilding of Afghanistan and Iraq.
  - Cyprus and the continued isolation of Turkish Cypriots
- > **Areas of economic and political bilateral relations between the U.S. and Turkey**
  - Defense and Security Affairs
  - Construction and Energy Security
  - Foreign Direct Investment
  - Pharmaceuticals
  - Agribusiness and Food Industries
  - Banking and Finance
  - Health
  - Information Technology and Telecommunications
  - Turkish Export Market
  - Bi-lateral Trade Promotion
- > **Turkish Government Issues**
  - Constitutional Court Case
  - Secularism versus democracy
  - Management of Kurdish issues

**Meetings with Turkish Government Officials**

- Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Other Officials of the Ministry
- Defense procurement issues with Undersecretary for National Defense (SSM)
- Local and Municipal Government Leaders
- Parliamentarians

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

**Names and titles of each invitee and the reason for their selection (question 5 on both Senate and House form):**

**House:**

Mr. Lawrence J. Halloran  
Minority Staff Director  
House Committee on Oversight

Ms. Helen Hardin  
Chief of Staff  
Office of Representative Zach Wamp ((R-3<sup>rd</sup> TN)

Mr. Kenneth Kraft  
Deputy Chief of Staff and Appropriations Counsel  
Office of Representative David L. Hobson (R-7<sup>th</sup> OH)

Mr. Sean O'Brien  
Legislative Director  
Office of Representative Heath Shuler (D-11<sup>th</sup> NC)

Mr. Walter Gozaes  
Senior Policy Advisor  
Office of Representative Dutch Ruppersberger (D-2<sup>nd</sup> MD)

**Senate:**

Mr. Paul Kong  
Legislative Director  
Office of Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE)

Mr. Garrett Eucalitto  
Deputy Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant  
Office of Senator Joseph Lieberman (Independent-CT)

Invited staffers are selected according to one or several of the following:

- Staffers from the Congressional offices of the members of The Caucus on U.S.-Turkish Relations and Turkish Americans
- Offices of Representatives and Senators who follow issues with regards to Turkey and the region and let us know of their interest
- Names of interested parties are given to us by our membership
- Word-of-mouth recommendations from past trip participants from the House and Senate
- A balanced group of both Democratic and Republican offices are given opportunities to send Staff members on these trips

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

**Description of each Sponsor organizing the trip and their interest in the purpose of the trip (questions 12 and 13 on both Senate and House forms):**

American-Turkish Council each year selects group of Congressional Staffers who are invited to visit Turkey. This is an educational trip that combines meetings with top-level Government of Turkey and parliamentarians, U.S. Embassy and Consulate officials, NGOs, and opportunities to visit some of the outstanding historical and cultural sights of the country. This trip also gives ATC an opportunity to show the achievements of Member US companies within Turkey such as power plants, factories, healthcare and educational facilities, joint ventures and other businesses. This is the eleventh year that the ATC is organizing this trip.

**American-Turkish Council:** *(A non-profit organization, is exempt from federal income taxation under Section 501 ©6 of the Internal Revenue Code. Dues, contributions, or gifts to ATC are not tax deductible as charitable contributions. However, they may be tax deductible as ordinary and necessary business expenses to the extent such contributions are not applied for the purposes of influencing legislation as that term is defined under the Internal Revenue Code.)*

As one of the leading business associations in the United States, American Turkish Council (ATC) is dedicated to strengthening US-Turkish relations through the promotion of commercial, defense, technology and cultural relations. Its diverse membership includes Fortune 500, US and Turkish companies, multinationals, nonprofit organizations and individuals with an interest in US-Turkish relations. Guided by member interests, ATC strives to enhance the growing ties between the US and Turkey by initiating and facilitating efforts to increase investment and trade between the two countries.

**GOALS OF AMERICAN TURKISH COUNCIL**

- To help resolve problems and disputes that affect US-Turkish commercial, defense and cultural relations.
- To encourage trade and investment between the United States and Turkey.
- To educate the public and private sectors on the importance of the strategic alliance between the United States and Turkey.
- To increase the understanding and appreciation of the history, culture and traditions of the United States and Turkey.
- To promote awareness of US-Turkish issues. To facilitate dialogue between the government agencies of both Turkey and the United States and the private sector.

**Turkish Coalition of America:**

The Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) is an educational, charitable organization incorporated in February 2007. Based in Washington, D.C. , TCA's objectives are to:

- Educate the general public about Turkey and Turkish Americans and voice their opinion on critical issues to interested parties.
- Engage and cultivate a new generation of young politically active Turkish American leaders.
- Promote and advance the interests of the Turkish American community and Turks.
- Foster friendship, understanding and cooperation between the United States and Turkey.
- Protect the character and ensure a realistic portrayal of Turkey and Turkish Americans in the media and the arts.
- Serve as a think tank of expertise and a clearinghouse of information on Turkey and Americans of Turkish descent.

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

- Identify and recognize the achievements of Turkish Americans in academia, arts, business, education, government, public service and science.

In carrying out its mission, TCA is committed to building coalitions and working with all like minded organizations, based on shared values and goals, at local, state and national levels through the sponsorship and organization of :

- Educational programs on Turkish American issues, Turkish heritage and Turkey.
- Civic consciousness seminars on issues affecting Turkish Americans and the importance for Turkish Americans being involved in the political process.
- Scholarships and internship programs for Turkish Americans interested in political science, public administration and communication.
- Dissemination of news about the activities and achievements of Turkish Americans and the Turkish American perspective on critical issues.
- Educational and cultural tours of Turkey and the United States.
- Sister city relationships between Turkish and American cities.

**Reason for selecting the location of the trip (Question 17 on House form and 18 on Senate form):**

Every year the trip encompasses the capital city of Ankara where meetings with the Government and Military officials are conducted, and Istanbul for the NGO and business communities. In order to give Staff members opportunity to see some of the vast diversity and cultural richness of Turkey and the delegation visits a third location in the country. This year we've chosen the antique city of Patara, which has a unique historical relationship to the United States and is important for modern Turkey for its environmental activism and as a region rich in agriculture and land development.

**Name of hotel or other lodging facility (Question 18 on the House and 19 on the Senate form)**

Whenever possible ATC uses facilities owned or operated by ATC's members, as is the case with the Hyatt Hotel in Istanbul. It is the aim of ATC and TCA to make sure that the visitors return home with positive impressions. Proper and affordable lodging within the limits set by the USG's per diem standards, creates a positive impression.

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details****ATC/TCA CONGRESSIONAL STAFF TRIP DAILY PROGRAM  
(2-10 AUGUST, 2008)****Saturday August 2, 2008**

**17:23** Depart Dulles for Frankfurt on LH 9051

**Sunday August 3, 2008**

07:10 Arrive in Frankfurt  
 09:15 Depart Frankfurt for Istanbul on LH 3340  
 13:00 Arrive in Istanbul  
 13:30 Depart Istanbul Airport for Kariye Museum  
 14:30 – 15:30 Arrive at and visit the Kariye Museum  
 15:30 Depart Kariye for Suleymaniye Mosque  
 15:45 – 16:30 Tour of the Suleymaniye Mosque  
 15:15 Depart Suleymaniye for the Hotel  
 16:00 Check into the Hotel  
 19:00 Depart Hotel for Dinner  
 19:30 Dinner at Nisantasi with ATC members and representatives of the Business Community

**ISTANBUL:**

A city that straddles both Europe and Asia, Istanbul, for nearly two millenia has been a symbol of greatness, coveted by empire builders from Xerxes through the Entente States during World War I, and the Soviet Union, which insisted after World War I on free passage through the Bosphorus Straits. Today, a decades old diplomatic compromise assures foreign commerce free passage as hundreds of ships each day, sometimes oversized and hazardous, stream up and down this epic waterway.

The traditions inherited from 2,500 years of history are most evident in the Old City, known as Old Stamboul or Sultanahmet. A stroll through this historic peninsula will reveal ancient Roman hippodromes, peristyles, and aqueducts, the greatest excesses of the Byzantine Empire, the mystique and power of the Ottoman Empire, and the dubious sales tactics used by the city's self-made entrepreneurs. As a religious center (heart of the Greek Orthodox Church as well as the Islamic faith for centuries), Istanbul is the custodian of one of the world's most important cultural heritages and home to some of the world's most opulent displays of art and wealth. Early Greek civilization left us the building blocks for Rome and Byzantium, which swathed these earlier foundations in rich mosaics and left its mark in monuments such as the Hippodrome and Ayasofya. Even Fatih Mehmet II was astounded at the beauty of the city he finally conquered. The Ottoman dynasty redirected the city's fortunes into the imperial majesty of undulating domes and commanding minarets, the incomparable Blue Mosque and the sumptuousness of Topkapı Palace.

Across the Golden Horn is the modern heart of the city, heir to the future of the country, vibrant with all the electricity of a cutting-edge international metropolis. Although the political capital sits safely in the heartland, this part of Istanbul projects itself into the world as Turkey's commercial capital and ambassador of art, entertainment, music, and education. Istanbul is so exotic, wonderful, complex, and utterly monumental, that once seen, it's impossible to break free from its spell

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details****Monday August 4, 2008**

**08:15** Depart Hotel for Breakfast with TCA & TCF  
**08:30** Arrive at the Turkish Coalition of America and Turkish Cultural Foundation Offices  
**08:45 – 09:45** Breakfast briefing with TCF & TCA Chairman & Officers  
**10:00 – 11:00** Meeting with NGO's  
**11:10** Depart Meeting for Leaders of the minority community at Zeyrekhané  
**11:30 – 13:30** Meeting with Leaders of the Jewish, Greek & Armenian Communities & Lunch

**MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN TURKEY:**

The Empire of the Occident had ancient Rome as the capital, while the Eastern Roman Empire, kept Constantinople as its capital. Western Rome did not survive this partition for a long time and the barbarians (Franks, Goths, Lombardic, Norman) used the weakness of the Westerners, to invade all territory and to enter Rome in 476. Roman Empire limited itself to its Eastern part, including the territories of the south of the Balkans, Southern Italy and Sicily, the north of Africa including Tripolitaine, the Near East with Syria and Mésopotamia. In spite of the wars of succession, collapses of small regional States, the plagues, Eastern Roman Empire remained intact until 1453, the date when the Ottomans invaded Constantinople and put an end to the empire of the millennium. When Constantine moved the capital, he also deported a part of the population of Rome. The Latin language prevailed in the administration, in the court and in the middle classes, while Greek was spoken by the majority population of the city, the Balkans and Asia Minor. The capital had the name of New-Rome, in the course of the centuries, the Latin language disappeared replaced by Greek and the city was named Constantinople, after its founder, Constantine. Empire was multi-ethnic, just as the capital, but the Greek language remained as the only administrative language used by almost all the population until 1453.

Constantinople remained as the capital of powerful Ottoman Empire until the formation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. The population of the Empire did not change radically, and the Greek language was still widely spread beside Slavic and Turkish. Islam had made its appearance at the end of the Xth century, but Christianity held on strong until the territories of Ottoman Empire from the Arab countries of North Africa to the East of the Caucuses began converting to Islam. Multi-ethnicity and multi-religions were therefore two main characteristics of the Empire, from its creation and till its end in 1923. To manage this cosmopolitan population, Sultan Mehmet II gave statutes to four main nations of his empire. These statutes, which had only religious bases, envisaged a broad autonomy in the administration of communities. The Muslims fell directly under the authority of the sultan, himself admitted by the *mitü* (religious authority), who also had the possibility of displacing the sultan; the Orthodox Christians had a leader and representative of the community, the Greek Patriarch who assembled in the Fener (Phanar) district of Constantinople; the Gregorian Christians had their own patriarchy, first established in the district of Samatya, then in Kumkapi. Finally, all Jews were under the authority of the Big Ottoman Rabbinate, which assembled in the district of Balat. Every community kept its institutions and its particular language: Turkish - Ottoman for the Muslims, Greek for the Orthodoxes, Armenian for the Gregorian, and Judaeo-Spanish for the Jews (also known as Ladino), from 1492 onwards. Later, other "nations" were admitted by the Ottoman State. The Ottoman system of "nations", allowed the Romans to keep Greek language and orthodox Christian religion. It is noted by historian today that if it had not been for this particular system, the Greek language would have the same fate as that of Latin, and would have disappeared.

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

In 1829-30, the Peloponnese declared independence, which later became the Kingdom of Greece. Always supported by Russia and the Balkan States, this small kingdom several times went to war against the Ottoman Empire which, under threats of the foreign powers, left large territories between 1876 and 1912 (Thessalie, Epire of the South, Macedonia, Western Thrace and Crete). However, the last Greek offensive against the Empire was a disaster. Indeed, after Ottoman defeat in the conflict of 1914-18, the imperialist armies (England, France, Italy) occupied all of the Ottoman territories, with the aim of distributing it among themselves. Greece, with the downstream part of Great Britain, had annexed the oriental Thrace to Silivri (to 40 km of the capital), but especially the city of Smyrne (Izmir) and the neighbouring provinces. Encouraged by the orthodox populations of the region, the Greek army attacked the rest of the Asia Minor and fought with the Turkish revolutionary army. Defeat was disastrous for the Greeks, who were driven out of Izmir by the Turks. In 1922 Greece signed the capitulation and in 1923, Greece and the Turkish Republic signed the Treaty of Lausanne, which determined the borders of the new Turkish State and Greece. This was followed by an exchange of populations. The Greeks of Muslim origin left Greece, while Greek population of Anatolia and Thrace returned to Greece. This exchange of population between both countries, displaced a total of two million Greeks, with millions of Muslims of the Caucasus and the Balkans, who took refuge in the new Turkish Republic. Since 1923, the Greeks of Turkish nationality together with the other minorities living in Turkey, benefit from a specific status, which allows them to keep their culture, language, schools, and religious institutions. This status admitted by the Treaty of Lausanne, is based on the Ottoman system of "nations".

Throughout history, hundreds, thousands, millions of people lived in Anatolia, the present day Turkey. At times, their existence was marked by battles, and at others, peace reigned. The Armenians were among the inhabitants of this rich and vast area, which over the centuries was ruled by the Persians, Macedonians, Seljuks, Romans, Byzantines and Arabs. When the Turks gained sovereignty over Anatolia, in 1071, fighting gradually diminished and Byzantine persecution left its place to the just, tolerant, humanitarian and unifying beliefs and traditions of the Seljuks. Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, who put an end to Byzantine rule in 1453, allowed the foundation of the Armenian Patriarchate, an unprecedented move for the Armenians to whom he granted freedom of conscience and faith. The transformation of the Armenian Episcopate in Western Anatolia to the Istanbul Patriarchate, following a decree he issued in 1461, is clear evidence of the vision and tolerance displayed by Mehmed and of the subsequent Ottoman Sultans toward other faiths.

As a matter of fact, the present day Armenian Patriarch Mesrob II was quoted by saying: " We can duly grasp the significance of tolerance between different religions and cultures, as well as the value of this incident dating back to 538 years, by taking into account the tensions witnessed throughout the world on the threshold of a new millennium, the ongoing wars beyond our borders in particular."

Following the reign of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, Turco-Armenian relations continued excellently until the end of the 19th century. In fact, Armenians were by far, the greatest beneficiaries of the opportunities offered by the Ottoman Empire to all industrious, efficient, honest and productive subjects of the non-muslim communities. Being exempted from the military service and to a great extent from taxation, the Armenians had the opportunity to make headway in trade, agriculture, craftsmanship and administration, and by reason of their loyalty to the Empire, as well as their ability to intermingle with other subjects, they had duly attained the title of 'loyal people'

Today the Armenians continue to enjoy the "nations" status given to all the minorities during the Ottoman Empire. They are the largest Christian minority, over than 100,000, living in present day Turkey.

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

Of the 25,000 Jews living in Turkey, 22,000 of them reside in Istanbul. Most of them are ancestors of those expelled from Spain in 1492, and offered a safe haven by the Sultan Mehmet. Although they are Orthodox Jews, their practices are a bit different. They do not belong to a synagogue - only to the Jewish community. Overall, there are seventeen synagogues in Istanbul and most of them are still active. The most important of these are the Neve Salom Synagogue, the Askenazi Synagogue, the Ahrida (Ohrida) Synagogue, the Sisli and Ortakoy Synagogues. Jews are active in every aspect of Turkish life: education, politics, media, financing, the arts, and trade and commerce.

**13:45** Depart Zeyrekhané for Sultanahmet  
**14:30 – 17:30** Visit to the Historical sites in Sultanahmet including the Topkapi Palace, Hagia Sophia, Museum of Islamic Art & Archeology  
**17:30** Depart for the Hotel  
**19:00** Depart Hotel for the Kabatas Dock  
**19:30 – 22:00** Board boat at Kabatas for dinner with the Business community in Istanbul  
**22:00** Arrive at Kabatas Dock and depart for Hotel

**Tuesday August 5, 2008**

**07:30** Check out from Hotel and depart for the US Consulate General  
**08:00 – 09:00** Breakfast Meeting with the US Consul General and Officers of the Consulate  
**09:15** Depart Consulate for Bosphorus Straits Traffic Control HQ  
**09:45 – 11:00** Briefing and visit at the BSTC HQ  
**11:10** Depart BSTC HQ for luncheon meeting with TUSKON Board and members at their HQ  
**11:45 – 13:30** Meeting & Lunch at TUSKON (Confederation of Businessmen & Industrialist) at their Sisli HQ  
**13:30** Depart TUSKON for the Airport  
**14:00** Arrive at Istanbul Ataturk Airport  
**15:00** Depart Istanbul for Ankara on TK 128  
**16:00** Arrive at Ankara Esenboga Airport

**ANKARA:**

Ankara lies deep within the heartland, protected and insulated from uninvited guests. Atatürk chose Ankara as the political capital for his new republic. While Istanbul was the seat of an imperial and dissolute empire, he saw Ankara as the clean-slate capital of an entirely new Turkish state. In the 80 years since Atatürk rode in on a dirt road and literally lifted Ankara out of the ashes, the city has established itself as the political and cultural center of Turkey.

Ankara is almost exclusively geared toward sustaining all elements of the national government, a wide-ranging population of foreign ambassadors, visiting dignitaries, local politicians, and politically minded business enterprises. It also boasts a number of prestigious universities and technical colleges, as well as the largest library in the country.

Ankara is a center for opera, ballet, jazz, and modern dance, and is home of the Presidential Symphony Orchestra, the State Theatre, and the State Opera and Ballet. Ankara has transformed from the quiet center of the Turkish Republic to a city of more than three million and a hub of non-stop activity. The city is bubbling over with new construction, chic restaurants, cozy cafés, and dazzling nightlife.

**16:30** Depart Ankara Airport for Hotel  
**17:30** Check in to the Hotel  
**19:30** Depart Hotel for Kale Washington Restaurant  
**20:00 – 22:00** Briefing and Dinner with TABA (Turkish-American Business Association)

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

and the Press at Kale Washington

**Wednesday August 6, 2008**

**07:45** Breakfast at Hotel  
**08:45** Depart Hotel for Anitkabir

**ATATURK'S MAUSOLEUM -- ANITKABIR**

In an imposing position in the Anittepe quarter of the city stands the Mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic. Completed in 1953, it represents the fusion of ancient and modern architectural ideas and was at its building considered the best of modern Turkish architecture. There is a museum housing a superior statue of Atatürk, writings, letters and other items belonging to Atatürk, as well as an exhibition of photographs recording important moments in his life and the establishment of the Republic.

Construction of Anitkabir commenced on 9 October 1944 with a splendid ceremony by laying the first stone of the foundation. Construction of Anitkabir took nine years in four stages. You will be expected to sign its book of visitors with an appropriate note of respect.

**09:30 – 10:00** Wreath Laying Ceremony and the signing of the Official Visitors Book  
**10:00 – 10:30** Visit the Mausoleum Museum  
**10:30** Depart Anitkabir for the Undersecretariat of Defense Industries (SSM)  
**11:00** Meeting with Mr. Murad Bayar, Undersecretary of SSM  
**12:00** Depart SSM for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

**MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MFA)**

Since the inception of the Republic, the vision and principles of the founder of the Republic, Atatürk (meaning Father of the Turks, a name given to him by the people), have guided Turkish foreign policy and his maxim "peace at home, peace in the world" continues to constitute the fundamental objective of Turkish foreign policy. The Republic of Turkey is now represented by 162 missions throughout the world. These missions comprise of 93 Embassies, 11 Permanent Missions to international organizations, and 58 Consulate Generals.

Serving under the leadership of the former Minister for the Economy the 41<sup>st</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Ali Babacan, the Turkish Foreign Service consists of approximately 90 diplomats who conduct and promote Turkey's international political, economic and cultural relations in its region and beyond.

For nearly half a century, NATO ally Turkey was a bulwark in NATO's Cold War policy of containment against the Soviet Union. While Turkey's relations with Russia are good today, issues throughout Turkey's region make it no less important for U.S. foreign and national security policy. Iraq, Afghanistan, the Middle East Peace Initiative, Aegean Affairs, Syria, Kurdish policy and the PKK, the Turkish states of Central Asia – all are issues of U.S.-Turkey diplomatic discussion and exchange.

**12:30 – 13:50** Luncheon Briefing at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
**14:00** Depart MFA for US Embassy  
**14:00 – 15:00** Briefing at the US Embassy  
**15:00** Depart Embassy for ASAM (Eurasian Strategic Research Center)  
**16:00 – 17:00** Meeting and Lecture at ASAM on US-Turkish Relations  
**17:00 – 18:00** Reception  
**18:00** Depart ASAM for Hotel  
**19:00** Depart Hotel for Dinner  
**19:30 – 22:00** Dinner with ATC Corporate Members at Tike Restaurant

**Thursday August 7, 2008**

**07:00** Breakfast & Checkout from Hotel  
**07:15** Depart for Ankara Airport

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

<b>09:00</b>	Depart Ankara for Istanbul on TK 113
<b>10:00</b>	Arrive at Istanbul Airport
<b>11:45</b>	Depart Istanbul on TK 216 to Dalaman
<b>13:05</b>	Arrive at Dalaman Airport
<b>13:30</b>	Depart Dalaman for Patara, Kalkan by bus
<b>16:30</b>	Arrive at Patara
<b>17:00</b>	Check in to Hotel
<b>19:00 - 21:30</b>	Dinner with former Congressman Steve Solarz and Dr. Yalcin Ayasli, Chairman of TCA and TCF (Turkish Cultural Foundation)

**PATARA:**

The antique city of Patara emerged at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century thanks to an archeological team led by Akdeniz University Professors Fahri Isik and Havva Iskan Isik. It has a unique political relationship to the United States. Recently the archeological team unearthed an ancient parliament building in Patara – the meeting place of the first federal republic in recorded human history. Authors of the Federalist papers made at least two specific references to the Lycian League as an example of the federal structure of government they envisioned for the United States.

The unearthed parliament building, called the Bouleuterion, housed representatives of at least twenty-three city-states of the Lycian League, which existed along the Mediterranean coast of Turkey from about 167 BC until 400 AD. The archeological team has rescued numerous buildings and items from the sand and scrub brush, besides the Bouleuterion parliament building, including: a large necropolis; a Roman bath; a sizeable semicircular theater; a sprawling main avenue leading to the market square; a Byzantine basilica (one of 22 churches once packed into Patara); one of the world's oldest lighthouses; and a fortified wall.

Modern-day Patara sports what the London Sunday Times describes as one of the world's best beaches and a nesting site for the loggerhead sea turtle, locally known as the Caretta Caretta. During the turtle hatching season environmentalists from all around the world, come to Patara where the eggs and nesting sites of the Caretta Caretta turtles are protected and permanent structures on the coast forbidden.

**Friday August 8, 2008**

<b>08:30</b>	Breakfast at the Hotel
<b>09:30</b>	Depart Hotel for the Lycian City of Patara
<b>10:30 – 12:30</b>	Visit and lecture at the site where the Federalists papers originated (see attached document describing in detail the importance of this site for the origins of American Democracy)
<b>12:30 – 13:30</b>	Lunch at Patara
<b>13:30 – 14:30</b>	Visit the site where the endangered Loggerhead Turtles lay their eggs This project is supported by UNEP & WWF.
<b>14:45</b>	Depart Patara to visit Organic Farms and production facilities within the region
<b>15:30 – 17:00</b>	Visit to the Organic Farms
<b>17:00</b>	Depart for Patara
<b>19:30</b>	Depart Hotel for Dinner
<b>20:00 – 22:00</b>	Dinner with the local Municipal authorities

**Saturday August 9, 2008**

<b>08:40</b>	Depart Hotel for Kas (Lycian city of Habesos)
<b>10:30</b>	Arrive at Kas and visit the ancient ruins of the city
<b>12:30 – 13:30</b>	Lunch at Kale Island Restaurant
<b>13:30</b>	Depart Kale for Dalaman Airport
<b>17:45</b>	Arrive at Dalaman Airport
<b>19:30</b>	Depart Dalaman Airport for Istanbul on TK 219

**ATC-TCF Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey 2-10 August, 2008 Program & Details**

<b>20:50</b>	Arrive in Istanbul Airport
<b>21:15</b>	Depart Airport for Hotel
<b>Sunday August 10, 2008</b>	
<b>04:00</b>	Breakfast & Checkout
<b>04:15</b>	Depart Hotel for Airport
<b>05:55</b>	Depart on LH 3345 for Frankfurt
<b>07:55</b>	Arrive at Frankfurt Airport
<b>09:55</b>	Depart Frankfurt for DC on LH 416
<b>13:00</b>	Arrive at Washington Dulles Airport

**EXHIBIT 2**

American-Turkish Council  
 1111 14th Street, N.W.  
 Suite 1050  
 Washington, DC 20005

**Invoice**

Date	Invoice #
7/1/2008	12991

Bill To Turkish Coalition of America G. Lincoln McCurdy 1025 Connecticut Ave, NW Ste 1000 Washington, DC 20036 USA
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**PAID**

**PAID**  
 JUL 9 2008  
 BY: check # 339  
 LW

P.O. No.	Terms	Project

Quantity	Description	Rate	Amount
1	2008 Staffers Trip sponsorship Invoice 1 of 2: due immediately	20,000.00	20,000.00
Thank you for your sponsorship...		<b>Total</b>	\$20,000.00

Turkish Coalition of America  
 13

TCA\_0019

13-6123\_0024

American-Turkish Council  
 1111 14th Street, N.W.  
 Suite 1050  
 Washington, DC 20005

**Invoice**

Date	Invoice #
7/1/2008	12992

Bill To Turkish Coalition of America G. Lincoln McCurdy 1025 Connecticut Ave, NW Ste 1000 Washington, DC 20036 USA
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**PAID**

PAID  
 AUG 11 2008  
 BY: check #351

P.O. No.	Terms	Project

Quantity	Description	Rate	Amount
	2008 Staffers Trip sponsorship Invoice 2 of 2: Due August 1, 2008	15,000.00	15,000.00
Thank you for your sponsorship...		<b>Total</b>	\$15,000.00

Turkish Coalition of America  
 14

TCA\_0020

13-6123\_0025

## **EXHIBIT 3**

1:55 PM  
02/15/13  
Accrual Basis

Turkish Coalition of America, Inc.  
Profit & Loss Detail  
January 2007 through December 2009

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Amount	Balance
<b>7256 - Study Tour to Turkey Grants</b>						
Bill	2/1/2008		Community College ...	Grant-Community College of Philidelphia	2,000.00	2,000.00
Bill	4/8/2009		Community College ...	Grant-Community College of Philidelphia	3,000.00	5,000.00
Bill	12/11/2009		Meldan Tanrisal	TCA Turkey Faculty Tour-Nov. 2009	1,236.28	6,236.28
Total 7256 - Study Tour to Turkey Grants					6,236.28	6,236.28
<b>7275 - Sponsorships</b>						
Bill	4/1/2007	Inv# 1...	TASSA	Sponsorship of TASSA 2007 Annual Conference	1,000.00	1,000.00
Bill	4/2/2007	Inv#1...	American Friends of...	Contribution for AFOT 25th Gala Dinner	5,000.00	6,000.00
Bill	4/23/2007		US House Members...	Sponsorship of Members Dinning	183.72	6,183.72
Bill	4/23/2007		US House Members...	Sponsorship of Members Dinning	56.10	6,239.82
Bill	4/25/2007		Association for Safe...	Contribution for ASIRT's World Dinner	400.00	6,639.82
Bill	5/2/2007		USAFMC	Program Services of Congressional Study Group on Turkey	40,000.00	46,639.82
Bill	5/6/2007		Istanbul Univ. Alumn...	Sponsorship of Melungeons Event	450.00	47,089.82
Bill	5/29/2007		Turkish-American C...	Sponsorship of Annual Gala Dinner	5,000.00	52,089.82
Bill	6/25/2007		American-Turkish C...	Sponsorship of ATC Programs	6,500.00	58,589.82
Bill	7/30/2007		USAFMC	Program Services of Congressional Study Group on Turkey	66,000.00	124,589.82
Bill	11/17/2007		The George Washin...	Sponsorship for Event of Turkish Student Association	500.00	125,089.82
Bill	1/14/2008		Istanbul Univ. Alumn...	Golden Sponsorship of "Connection of Native Americans ...	3,000.00	128,089.82
Bill	1/17/2008		American Friends of...	Contribution	250.00	128,339.82
Bill	3/4/2008		United Nations Dele...	Sponsorship for Women for Peace Project	250.00	128,589.82
Bill	4/1/2008		USAFMC	4th Annual Statesmanship Award Dinner	10,000.00	138,589.82
Bill	4/7/2008		American-Turkish C...	Sponsorship of ATC Programs	6,000.00	144,589.82
Bill	4/7/2008		IUMEZUSA	Sponsorship-Desperate Hours	2,500.00	147,089.82
Bill	4/7/2008		TASSA	Sponsorship of TASSA 2008 Annual Conference	5,000.00	152,089.82
Bill	6/10/2008		ASIRT	Gala Evening 2008	500.00	152,589.82
Bill	7/1/2008		Ulduz Bereniforush	TUSIAD/TCA Summer Internship	750.00	153,339.82
Bill	7/10/2008		American-Turkish C...	Sponsorship for ATC/TCA Congressional Tour	20,000.00	173,339.82
Bill	8/1/2008		American-Turkish C...	Sponsorship for ATC/TCA Congressional Tour	15,000.00	188,339.82
Bill	11/12/2008		American Friends of...	Senator Hagel Event	3,000.00	191,339.82
Bill	12/11/2008		IUMEZUSA	Sponsorship-Aniska Turks Event	4,000.00	195,339.82
Bill	1/9/2009	484	USAFMC	Contribution to USAFMC - Congressional Study Group on...	15,000.00	210,339.82
Bill	2/18/2009	501	USAFMC	Contribution to USAFMC - Congressional Study Group on...	15,000.00	225,339.82
Bill	3/11/2009	527	USAFMC	Congressional Study Group to Turkey	13,000.00	238,339.82
Bill	4/20/2009		IUMEZUSA	Korean War Vets Event	3,000.00	241,339.82
Bill	5/28/2009		Azerbaijan America...	Pax Turca Conference	4,000.00	245,339.82
Bill	6/3/2009		ASIRT	Gala Evening 2009	500.00	245,839.82
Bill	6/3/2009		CIEE	Study Abroad Conference	1,000.00	246,839.82
Bill	9/8/2009		Congressional Hisp...	Social Event	250.00	247,089.82
Bill	9/28/2009		Howard University J...	TCA Event-Music Entertainment	600.00	247,689.82
Bill	10/13/2009		Turk of America, Inc.	Sponsorship	10,000.00	257,689.82
Bill	10/19/2009		IUMEZUSA	Donation for Mary Taschi	3,000.00	260,689.82
Bill	11/13/2009		IUMEZUSA	Sponsorship	3,000.00	263,689.82
Bill	11/27/2009		Azerbaijan Society ...	Jewish/Turkic Event	4,000.00	267,689.82
Bill	12/21/2009		IUMEZUSA	Ataturk Conference	5,000.00	272,689.82
Total 7275 - Sponsorships					272,686.82	272,686.82

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TCA\_0021

Turkish Coalition of America  
Payments 2007-2009

**EXHIBIT 4**

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2/5/2013

CONFIDENTIAL

Congressional Staff Trip 2008  
Budget for 8 Staffers  
Version 5

Income	Name	Amount	Total
Sponsorships			
Turkish Cultural Foundation		35,000.00	Sponsorship
Turkish Cultural Foundation		24,242.00	Air Travel Expenses for 1 ATC Staff plus 8 Congressional Staffers
Paid Members			
Paid Other		0	0
Total Income			<u>59,242.00</u>
Net Deficit			(3,925.00)

If TCA gives ATC sponsorship in the amount of \$59,242.00 this will leave \$43,317.00 that ATC will have to seek sponsorship from its membership.

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13-6123\_0029

Congressional Staff Trip 2008  
 Budget for 8 Staffers  
 Version 5

Expense			
Cabs & Parking		<u>350.00</u>	To and From US Airports for Staffers and ATC Staff as well as cabs taken in Turkey.
Catering and Meals		<u>8,000.00</u>	Includes meals at airports, breakfasts, lunches and dinners for Staffers, Guides, ATC Staff, Security Staff, Drivers.
Gifts		<u>300.00</u>	Gifts that are presented to government officials and others hosts of the delegation
Hotels			
Mega (Ankara)	2 nights/ \$235	4,700.00	ATC will only cover Room and Tax
The Hyatt (Istanbul)	3 nights/ \$250	7,500.00	Staffers are responsible for all incidentals and any other expenses.
Hotel in Patara Area	3 nights/ \$250	5,000.00	*The price of the hotel in Istanbul has been reduced from \$16,000
Room TAX		3,096.00	
Hotels Totals		<u>20,296.00</u>	
Misc.		<u>1,450.00</u>	Tips for Drivers, Waiters, Hotel Service Staff, Guide Fees, Museum Entrance Lodging for Bus Driver
Postage and Courier		<u>150.00</u>	Postage for invitations, courier to pick up Staffer passports
Printing and Graphic Design		<u>600.00</u>	Designing and Printing the Programs for Staffers and Sponsors
Supplies		<u>250.00</u>	Office supplies
Telephone		<u>600.00</u>	
Transportation			
ATC Staff			
Sumer Airline Ticket	DC-IST-DC	1,800.00	ATC - Staff
Buyukansal Airline Ticket	DC-IST-DC	1,800.00	ATC - Staff
Domestic Turkey Airline T	IST-ANK-IST-DAL	1,075.00	ATC - Staff / \$538 per Ticket
	Sub-Total	4,675.00	
Congressional Staff			
Staffers Airline Tickets	DC-IST-DC	17,600.00	8 Congressional Staff Tickets/ \$2200 per Ticket
Domestic Turkey Airline T	IST-ANK-IST-DAL	4,304.00	8 Congressional Staff Tickets/ \$538 per Ticket
	Sub-Total	21,904.00	
Buses	IST- ANK-PATARA	4,500.00	
Transportation Total		<u>31,079.00</u>	
Total Expense		<u>63,075.00</u>	

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Congressional Staff Trip 2008  
Budget for 8 Staffers  
Version 5

The program fully accommodates TCA's cultural and environmental requests in Istanbul, Ankara and Patara.

Other individual events that ATC will seek sponsorships for include:

- Istanbul: Monday, August 4, Lunch with Turkey Community Leaders
- Istanbul: Tuesday, August 5, Lunch and Boat Cruise
- Ankara: Tuesday, August 5, Lunch with ATC Members
- Ankara: Wednesday, August 6, Press Dinner in Ankara
- Ankara: Wednesday, August 6, Dinner with ATC Members

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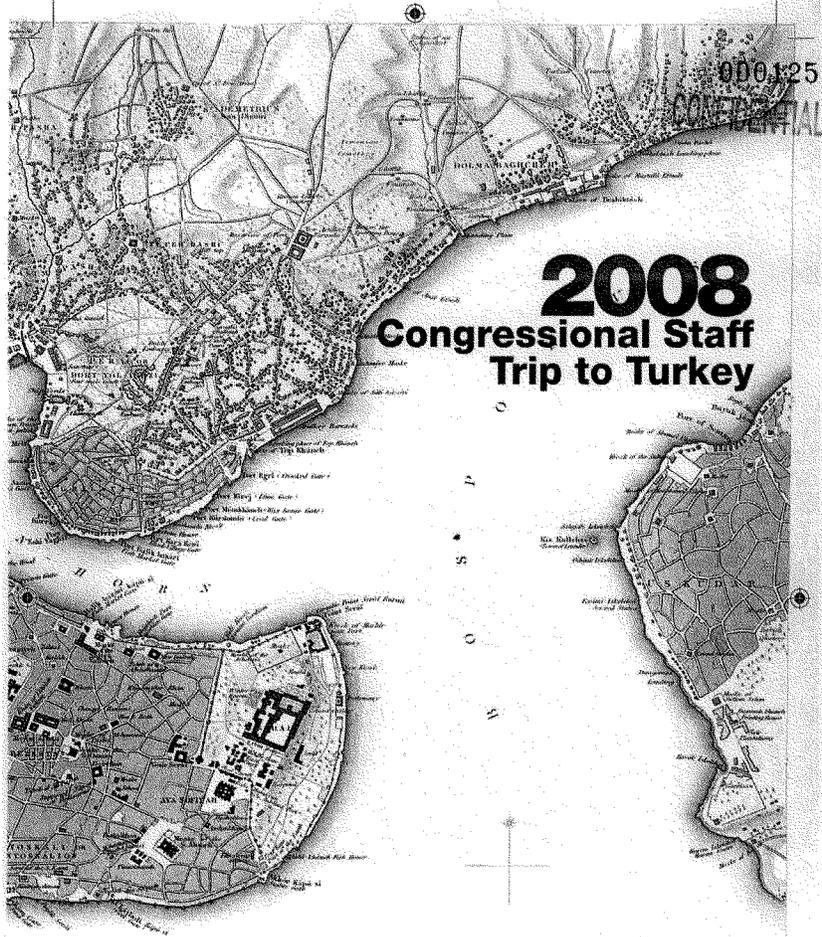
Congressional Staff Trip 2008  
Budget for 8 Staffers  
Version 5

	Submission to Ethics numbers	Includes Airfare and Dis
Travel	3,300.50	
Hotel		
Spouse	170	
Etiquette	750	
Per diem	750	
Total Per Person	1970	
Meals	450	
Other	100	Interpreter, Entrance Fees, Security, Taxi

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## **EXHIBIT 5**



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CONFIDENTIAL

**CORPORATE SPONSOR**



**ASSOCIATE SPONSORS**



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A M E R I C A N  
T U R K I S H  
C O U N C I L

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



ATC\_0218

13-6123\_0037

000129  
CONFIDENTIAL**TRIP PROGRAM SUMMARY****Saturday, August 2, 2008**

20:00 Meet at the United Airlines International Flight Desk at Dulles Airport  
 21:54 Depart Washington Dulles Airport for Frankfurt on LH 9253

**Sunday, August 3, 2008**

11:45 Arrive at Frankfurt Rhein Main Airport  
 13:20 Depart Frankfurt for İstanbul on LH 3342  
 16:55 Arrive at İstanbul Atatürk Airport  
 17:20 Depart Airport for the Hyatt Hotel  
 18:15 Check into the Hotel  
 19:30 Depart Hotel for Dinner  
 20:00 Dinner at Anemon Restaurant in Galata

**Monday, August 4, 2008**

08:15 Depart Hotel for Breakfast with Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) and  
 Turkish Cultural Foundation (TCF)  
 08:30 Arrive at the TCA & TCF Offices  
 08:45 - 09:45 Breakfast briefing with TCF & TCA Chairman & Officers  
 10:00 - 11:00 Meeting with NGO's at TCF  
 11:10 Depart TCA for meeting with the leaders of the Jewish, Greek & Armenian  
 Minority Communities  
 11:30 - 13:30 Meeting with Leaders of the Jewish, Greek & Armenian Communities &  
 Lunch at Asitane hosted by BankPozitif  
 13:45 - 14:10 Visit Kariye Museum  
 14:15 Depart Kariye for Sultanahmet  
 14:30 - 17:30 Visit to historical sites in Sultanahmet including the Topkapı Palace,  
 Hagia Sophia, Museum of Islamic Art & Archeology and the Grand Bazaar  
 17:30 Depart for the Hotel  
 19:00 Depart Hotel for Dinner  
 19:30 - 22:00 Dinner with the Business Community in İstanbul Hosted by  
 Turkish-American Business Association (TABA )  
 22:00 Depart for the Hotel

**Tuesday, August 5, 2008**

07:30 Check out from Hotel and Depart for the U.S. Consulate General  
 08:00 - 09:00 Breakfast Meeting with the U.S. Consul General & Officers of the Consulate



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000130  
CONFIDENTIAL**Trip Program Summary**

09:15 Depart Consulate for Bosphorus Straits Traffic Control HQ (BSTC)  
 09:45 – 11:00 Briefing and Visit at the BSTC HQ  
 11:00 Depart BSTC HQ for Luncheon Meeting with Confederation of  
 Businessmen & Industrialists (TUSKON) Board and Members at their HQ  
 12:00 – 13:30 Meeting & Lunch at TUSKON at their Şişli HQ  
 13:30 Depart TUSKON for the Airport  
 14:00 Arrive at İstanbul Atatürk Airport  
 15:00 Depart İstanbul for Ankara on TK 128  
 16:00 Arrive at Ankara Esenboğa Airport  
 16:30 Depart Ankara Airport for Mega Residence Hotel  
 17:30 Hotel check-in  
 19:30 Depart Hotel for Kale Çengelhan Restaurant  
 20:00 Briefing and Dinner with the Press hosted by Turkish-American  
 Business Association (TABA) at Kale Çengelhan Restaurant

**Wednesday, August 6, 2008**

07:30 Depart Hotel for the U.S. Ambassador's Residence  
 07:45 – 09:00 Breakfast Briefing with Ambassador Ross Wilson and the U.S. Embassy  
 Officials at the Residence  
 09:00 Depart Residence for Anıtkabir  
 09:30 – 10:30 Wreath Laying Ceremony and the Signing of the Official Visitors Book  
 10:30 – 11:30 Visit the Mausoleum Museum  
 11:45 Depart Anıtkabir for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)  
 12:15 – 13:50 Luncheon Briefing at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
 13:50 Depart the MFA for Undersecretariat of Defense Industries (SSM)  
 14:30 Meeting with Mr. İsmail Tohumcu, Deputy Undersecretary of  
 National Defense (SSM)  
 15:30 Depart SSM for Eurasian Strategic Research Center (ASAM)  
 16:00 – 17:00 Meeting and Roundtable discussion at ASAM on U.S.-Turkish Relations  
 with Government Officials and the Academia  
 17:00 – 18:00 Reception at ASAM  
 18:00 Depart ASAM for Hotel  
 19:00 Depart Hotel for Trilye Restaurant  
 19:30 – 22:00 Dinner with ATC Corporate Members at Trilye Restaurant hosted by NTF  
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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY

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000131**Trip Program Summary**

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**Thursday, August 7, 2008**

07:00 Breakfast & Checkout from the Hotel  
 07:15 Depart Hotel for Ankara Airport  
 09:00 Depart Ankara for İstanbul on TK 113  
 10:00 Arrive at İstanbul Airport  
 11:45 Depart İstanbul on TK 216 to Dalaman  
 13:05 Arrive at Dalaman Airport  
 13:30 Depart Dalaman for Patara, Kalkan by Bus  
 16:30 Arrive at Kalkan  
 17:00 Check in to Patara Princess Hotel  
 19:00 – 21:30 Dinner with the delegation at the Marina

**Friday, August 8, 2008**

08:30 – 09:30 Breakfast at the Hotel  
 09:30 Depart Hotel for Patara Excavation Site  
 10:30 – 12:30 Visit and Lecture at the Site of Ancient Patara  
 (a Member of the Lycian League)  
 12:30 – 13:30 Lunch at Patara  
 13:30 – 14:30 Visit UNEP & WWF project for Endangered Loggerhead Turtles  
 14:45 Depart Patara to Visit Organic Farms  
 15:30 – 17:00 Visit to the Organic Farms and Production Facilities  
 17:00 Depart for the Hotel  
 19:30 – 22:00 Reception and Dinner with the Local Municipal Authorities at the Hotel

**Saturday, August 9, 2008**

08:30 – 09:30 Breakfast Meeting with Former Congressman Steve Solarz and  
 Dr. Yalçın Ayaslı  
 09:45 Depart Hotel for Kaş (Lycian city of Habesos)  
 10:30 Arrive at Kaş and visit the Ancient Ruins of Kekova  
 12:30 – 13:30 Lunch at Kale Island Restaurant  
 13:30 Depart Kale for Dalaman Airport  
 17:45 Arrive at Dalaman Airport  
 19:30 Depart Dalaman Airport for İstanbul on TK 219  
 20:50 Arrive in İstanbul Airport  
 21:15 Depart Airport for Hotel



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**Trip Program Summary**

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**Sunday, August 10, 2008**

04:00	Breakfast & Checkout
04:15	Depart Hotel for Airport
05:55	Depart on LH 3345 for Frankfurt
07:55	Arrive at Frankfurt Airport
09:55	Depart Frankfurt for DC on LH 416
13:00	Arrive at Washington Dulles Airport

**NOTES**

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



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CONFIDENTIAL**OBJECTIVES and TOPICS****Objectives for Congressional Staffers**

- Promote and enhance the U.S.-Turkey relationship.
- Engage in dialogue with Senior Turkish government officials, U.S. Embassy representatives, NGOs, and Turkish business executives.
- Experience the heritage, landscape and overall cultural richness of Turkey.
- Observe first-hand the workings of the Turkish business community and government.
- Understand the political, cultural and social dynamics of Turkey and its region.
- Gain valuable information and insight from the Turkish media.

**Overview of Potential Briefing Topics**

- Strengths and weaknesses of Turkey's current economic and political situation
  - » International issues central to Turkish foreign relations
  - » The war in Iraq and Afghanistan and implications for the surrounding region
  - » Turkey/Iran relations
  - » Turkey's EU accession process
  - » Turkey's role in NATO and with its neighbors
  - » Caucasus, including Turkey/Armenian relations.
  - » U.S.-Turkey cooperation against terrorism in the region.
  - » Turkey's role in the rebuilding of Afghanistan and Iraq.
  - » Cyprus and the continued isolation of Turkish Cypriots
- Areas of economic and political bilateral relations between the U.S. and Turkey
  - » Defense and Security Affairs
  - » Construction and Energy Security
  - » Foreign Direct Investment
  - » Pharmaceuticals
  - » Agribusiness and Food Industries
  - » Banking and Finance
  - » Health
  - » Information Technology and Telecommunications
  - » Turkish Export Market
  - » Bilateral Trade Promotion
- Turkish Government Issues
  - » Constitutional Court Case to ban the AKP
  - » Secularism versus democracy
  - » Management of Kurdish issues
  - » Ergenekon indictments

**Meetings with Turkish Government Officials**

- Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs & other Officials of the Ministry
- Defense procurement issues with Undersecretary for National Defense (SSM)
- Local and Municipal Government Leaders
- Parliamentarians



2008 CONGRESSIONAL

ATC\_0223

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CONFIDENTIAL**DELEGATION LIST****U.S. House of Representatives:**

Mr. Walter Gonzales

*Senior Policy Advisor, Office of Representative C. A "Dutch" Ruppertsberger (D-2nd MD)*

Mr. Lawrence J. Halloran

*Minority Staff Director, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform*

Ms. Helen Hardin

*Chief of Staff, Office of Representative Zach Wamp (R-3rd TN)*

Mr. Kenneth Kraft

*Deputy Chief of Staff & Appropriations Counsel, Office of Rep. David L. Hobson (R-7th OH)*

Mr. Sean O'Brien

*Legislative Director, Office of Congressman Heath Shuler (D-11th NC)*

Ms. Ashley Orr

*Legislative Assistant, Office of Congressman Brad Miller (D-13th NC)***U.S. Senate:**

Mr. Garrett Eucalitto

*Deputy Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant, Office of Senator Joseph Lieberman (I-CN)*

Mr. Paul Kong

*Legislative Director, Office of Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE)***ATC and TCA Members**

Ms. Canan Büyükkünsal

*Executive Director, American-Turkish Council*

Mr. Tolga Görgülü

*External Relations Manager, FritoLay Turkey*

Dr. Cengiz İsrail

*Managing Director, Fil Finance*

Mr. G. Lincoln McCurdy

*President & CEO, Turkish Coalition of America*

Ms. Ayşe Sümer

*Director, Government Affairs & Commercial Programs, American-Turkish Council*

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



ATC\_0224

13-6123\_0043

**DAILY PROGRAMS****CONFIDENTIAL****Saturday, August 2, 2008**

20:00 Meet at the United Airlines Desk at Dulles Airport  
 21:54 Depart Washington D.C. for Frankfurt on LH 9253

**Sunday, August 3, 2008**

11:45 Arrive at Frankfurt Reihn Main Airport  
 13:20 Depart Frankfurt for İstanbul on LH 3342  
 16:55 Arrive at İstanbul Atatürk Airport  
 17:20 Depart İstanbul Airport for the Hyatt Hotel  
 18:15 Check into the Hotel  
 19:30 Depart Hotel for Dinner  
 20:00 Dinner at Anemon Restaurant in Galata

**ISTANBUL**

A city that straddles both Europe and Asia, İstanbul for nearly two millennia has been a symbol of greatness, coveted by empire builders from Xerxes through the Entente States during World War I. The Soviet Union after World War I insisted on free passage through the Bosphorus Straits. Today, a decades-old diplomatic compromise assures foreign commerce free passage as hundreds of ships each day, sometimes oversized and hazardous, stream up and down this epic waterway.

The traditions inherited from 2,500 years of history are most evident in the Old City, known as Old Stamboul or Sultanahmet. A stroll through this historic peninsula will reveal ancient Roman hippodromes, peristyles, and aqueducts, the greatest excesses of the Byzantine Empire, the mystique and power of the Ottoman Empire, and the dubious sales tactics used by the city's self-made entrepreneurs. As a religious center (heart of the Greek Orthodox Church as well as the Islamic faith for centuries), İstanbul is the custodian of one of the world's most important cultural heritages and home to some of the world's most opulent displays of art and wealth. Early Greek civilization left us the building blocks for Rome and Byzantium, which swathed these earlier foundations in rich mosaics and left its mark in monuments such as the Hippodrome and Hagia Sophia. Even Fatih Mehmet II was astounded at the beauty of the city he finally conquered. The Ottoman dynasty redirected the city's fortunes into the imperial majesty of undulating domes and commanding minarets, the incomparable Blue Mosque and the sumptuousness of Topkapı Palace.

Across the Golden Horn is the modern heart of the city, heir to the future of the country, vibrant with all the electricity of a cutting-edge international metropolis. Although Ankara, the political capital sits safely in the heartland, İstanbul projects itself into the world as Turkey's commercial capital and ambassador of art, entertainment, music, and education. İstanbul is so exotic, wonderful, complex, and utterly monumental that once seen, it's impossible to break free from its spell.

**Monday, August 4, 2008**

08:15 Depart Hotel for Breakfast with Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) and Turkish Cultural Foundation (TCF)  
 08:30 Arrive at the TCA & TCF Offices  
 08:45 - 09:45 Breakfast briefing with TCF & TCA Chairman Dr. Yalçın Ayaslı & Officers

**CONFIDENTIAL**  
Daily Programs

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10:00 – 11:00	Meeting with NGO's at TCA <i>(The representatives of the following NGOs will be at the meeting: Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates-KADER; Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey-KAGİDER; The Turkish Foundation For Combating Soil Erosion, For Reforestation And The Protection Of Natural Habitats-TEMA; The Mother Child Education Foundation-ACEV and Educational Funds for Elementary Schools-ILKYAR)</i>
11:10	Depart TCA for meeting with the leaders of the Jewish, Greek & Armenian Minority Communities.
11:30 – 13:30	Meeting with leaders of the Jewish, Greek & Armenian Communities & Lunch at Asitane hosted by BankPozitif
13:45 – 14:10	Visit Kariye Museum
14:15	Depart Kariye for Sultanahmet
14:30 – 17:30	Visit to historical sites in Sultanahmet including the Topkapı Palace, Hagia Sophia, Museum of Islamic Art & Archeology and the Grand Bazaar
17:30	Depart for the Hotel
19:00	Depart Hotel for Dinner
19:30 – 22:00	Dinner with the Business Community in İstanbul Hosted by Turkish-American Business Association (TABA)
22:00	Depart for the Hotel

**ASSOCIATION FOR SUPPORTING AND TRAINING WOMEN CANDIDATES (KA-DER)** was established in 1997 in İstanbul. Its founders – women activists mainly from academia -- initiated it with the objective of empowering and encouraging women to develop strategies for effective and equal participation in local councils and national parliament; and to be represented on all decision making bodies. Currently, KA-DER has over 17 branches in major cities and more than 3000 members. The Ankara branch of KA-DER is involved in a wide variety of activities, aims at empowering women in all spheres of life and acts as an 'umbrella organization' of the Turkish Platform to the European Women's Lobby.

**EDUCATIONAL FUNDS FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (ILKYAR):**

The roots of İLKİYAR lie in the EFES (Educational Funds for Elementary Schools) organization, founded by the Turkish Student Association at Princeton University (New Jersey, U.S.A) in 1978. The aim of the organization is to stimulate educational activities in rural schools by giving financial support for a basic library in these schools. The center of the organization first moved to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Boston, MA, U.S.A) and then to Michigan State University (East Lansing, MI, U.S.A). Twenty years after its original establishment, in 1998, EFES was re-founded in Turkey with the name İLKİYAR (Aid Foundation for Elementary Schools).

**Vision**

Not to leave any village school or YİBO (nick for the elementary level boarding school) unvisited by İLKİYAR.

**Mission**

To create opportunities for students in rural and underdeveloped areas to commit themselves to their education.

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY

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**Daily Programs****CONFIDENTIAL****Goals**

- Help the students in rural areas gain motivation for continuing their education.
- Leave no village schools without books.
- Organize programs for teachers working in rural areas.

**WOMEN ENTREPRENEURS ASSOCIATION OF TURKEY (KAGIDER):**

KAGIDER was chartered in September 2002 as a non-profit and non-governmental organization by 37 prominent Turkish female entrepreneurs. It has grown steadily over the past three years as other successful businesswomen have joined its ranks. Today it has 172 members from various sectors, including textile, communication, human resources, tourism, chemicals, mining and health. Kagider strives to develop women entrepreneurship, to empower women in economic and social life, and envisions a world where women are effective in all decision making processes by producing and expressing their 'self' freely.

The main programs of Kagider are the Women Entrepreneurs Development Program, the Women's Fund, and Women's Way to Europe. KAGIDER puts great emphasis on lobbying activities; publishes statements, provides policy recommendations to the state, public and private institutions to make women's voice heard, to foster gender equality and to better women's status in general. It is a member of many international organizations including World Women Entrepreneurs Association (FCEM), European Women Lobby (EWL), Mediterranean Business Women Association (AFAEMME), and Balkan Regional Coalition of Women Business Associations.

**THE TURKISH FOUNDATION FOR COMBATING SOIL EROSION, FOR REFORESTATION, AND THE PROTECTION OF NATURAL HABITATS (TEMA):**

The TEMA Foundation (The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats) was founded in 1992 by two Turkish businessmen, Hayrettin Karaca, who established the first Arboretum in Turkey and Nihat Gökyiğit, winner of the UN Environment Award. Since then it has grown to a large NGO.

Gökyiğit highlighted in a 1992 interview that the richness and riches in the soil that is lost every year in Turkey is equal to the country's budget, and carelessly letting the environment deteriorate is inconsistent with patriotism

**THE MOTHER CHILD EDUCATION FOUNDATION (AÇEV):**

The Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV), was founded in 1993 through the initiative of founding president Aysen Özyeğin, and in light of the scientific research of Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Kağtıçbaşı and Prof. Dr. Sevda Bekman. AÇEV's mission is to make a lasting contribution to society and to improve the quality of individual's lives through education. In its two main areas of expertise, early childhood and adult education, AÇEV develops and implements various training programs and projects both within Turkey and abroad.

**AÇEV is guided by three fundamental beliefs:**

- equal opportunity in education for all,
- learning is a lifelong process that must begin in early childhood
- the child as well as his/her immediate caregivers must be educated and supported.

**Since 1993, AÇEV has been working to:**

- increase public awareness about the importance of early childhood education,
- increase implementation of its training programs in order to reach more beneficiaries,
- focus on research and development of new projects, methods and models,
- increase collaboration with both local and international NGOs, the state and the private sector
- be a reference institution in policy constitution and strategy development about early childhood.

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## Daily Programs

**MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN TURKEY:**

The Empire of the Occident had ancient Rome as the capital, while the Eastern Roman Empire kept Constantinople as its capital. Western Rome did not survive this partition for long and barbarians (Franks, Goths, Lombards, and Normans) used the weakness of the Westerners to invade and to enter Roman territory in 476. The Roman Empire limited itself to its Eastern part, including the territories of the south of the Balkans, Southern Italy and Sicily, the north of Africa including Tripolitaine, the Near East with Syria and Mesopotamia. In spite of the wars of succession, collapses of small regional States, and plagues, the Eastern Roman Empire remained intact until 1453, the date when the Ottomans invaded Constantinople and put an end to the empire of the millennium. When Constantine moved the capital, he also deported a part of the population of Rome. The Latin language prevailed in the administration, in the court, and in the middle classes, while Greek was spoken by the majority population of the city, the Balkans, and Asia Minor. The capital had the name of New-Rome, in the course of the centuries, the Latin language disappeared replaced by Greek and the city was named Constantinople, after its founder, Constantine. Although the empire was multi-ethnic, as was its capital, the Greek language remained as the only administrative language used by almost all the population until 1453.

Constantinople remained as the capital of powerful Ottoman Empire until the formation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. The population of the Empire did not change radically, and the Greek language was still widely spoken beside Slavic languages and Turkish. Islam had made its appearance at the end of the 6th century, but Christianity held on strong until the territories of the Ottoman Empire from the Arab countries of North Africa to the East of the Caucasus began converting to Islam. Religious and ethnic diversity were therefore two main characteristics of the Empire, from its creation until its end in 1923. To manage this cosmopolitan population, Sultan Mehmet II gave statutes to four main nations of his empire. These statutes, which had only religious bases, envisaged a broad autonomy in the administration of communities. The Muslims fell directly under the authority of the sultan, himself admitted by the müftü (religious authority), who also had the possibility of displacing the sultan; the Orthodox Christians had a leader and representative of the community, the Greek Patriarch who assembled in the Fener (Phanar) district of Constantinople; the Gregorian Christians had their own patriarchate [or patriarch], first established in the district of Samatya, then in Kumkapi. Finally, all Jews were under the authority of the Ottoman Rabbinate, which assembled in the district of Balat. Every community kept its institutions and its particular language: Turkish - Ottoman for the Muslims, Greek for the Orthodox, Armenian for the Gregorian, and Judaeo-Spanish (also known as Ladino) for the Jews from 1492 onwards. Later other "nations" were admitted by the Ottoman State. The Ottoman system of "nations," allowed the Romans to keep the Greek language and Orthodox Christian religion. It is noted by historians today that if it had not been for this particular system, the Greek language would have met the same fate as that of Latin, and would have disappeared.

In 1829-30, the Peloponnese declared independence, which later became the Kingdom of Greece. Always supported by Russia and the Balkan States, this small kingdom went to war several times against the Ottoman Empire which, under threats of foreign powers, left large territories between 1876 and 1912 (Thessalie, Epire of the South, Macedonia, Western Thrace and Crete). However, the last Greek offensive against the Empire was a disaster. Indeed, after Ottoman defeat in the conflict of 1914-18, the imperialist armies (England, France, and Italy) occupied all of the Ottoman territories, with the aim of distributing them among themselves. Greece, with the downstream help of Great Britain, had annexed Oriental Thrace, but especially the city of Smyrna (Izmir) and the neighboring provinces. Encouraged by the Orthodox populations of the region, the Greek army attacked the rest of the Asia Minor and fought with the Turkish revolutionary army. Defeat was disastrous for the Greeks, who were driven out of Izmir by the Turks. In 1922, Greece surrendered and in 1923, Greece and the Turkish Republic signed the Treaty of Lausanne, which determined the borders of the new Turkish State and Greece. This was followed by an exchange of populations. The Greeks of Muslim origin left Greece, while the Greek population of Anatolia and Thrace returned to Greece from Turkey. This exchange of population between both

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countries displaced a total of two million Greeks, together with millions of Muslims of the Caucasus and the Balkans, who took refuge in the new Turkish Republic. Since 1923, the Greeks of Turkish nationality together with the other minorities living in Turkey benefit from a specific status, which allows them to keep their culture, language, schools, and religious institutions. This status admitted by the Treaty of Lausanne is based on the Ottoman system of "nations."

Over the years, millions of people have lived in Anatolia, presentday Turkey. At times, their existence was marked by battles, but at others, peace reigned. The Armenians were among the inhabitants of this rich and vast area, which over the centuries was ruled by the Persians, Macedonians, Seljuks, Romans, Byzantines and Arabs. When the Turks gained sovereignty over Anatolia in 1071, fighting gradually diminished and Byzantine persecution gave way to just, tolerant, humanitarian and unifying beliefs and traditions of the Seljuks. Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, who put an end to Byzantine rule in 1453, allowed the foundation of the Armenian Patriarchate, an unprecedented move for the Armenians to whom he granted freedom of conscience and faith. The transformation of the Armenian Episcopate in Western Anatolia to the Istanbul Patriarchate, following a decree he issued in 1461, is clear evidence of the vision and tolerance displayed by Mehmed and of the subsequent Ottoman sultans toward other faiths.

As a matter of fact, the current Armenian Patriarch, Mesrob II, was quoted as saying: "We can duly grasp the significance of tolerance between different religions and cultures, as well as the value of this incident dating back 538 years, by taking into account the tensions witnessed throughout the world on the threshold of a new millennium, the ongoing wars beyond our borders in particular."

Following the reign of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror, excellent Turco-Armenian relations continued until the end of the 19th century. In fact, out of all the non-Muslim communities, Armenians were by far the greatest beneficiaries of the opportunities offered by the Ottoman Empire to all industrious, efficient, honest and productive subjects. Being exempted from the military service and to a great extent from taxation, Armenians had the opportunity to make headway in trade, agriculture, craftsmanship and administration, and by reason of their loyalty to the Empire, as well as their ability to intermingle with other subjects, they attained the title of "loyal people."

Today Armenians continue to enjoy "nation" status given to all the minorities during the Ottoman Empire. They are the largest Christian minority, with over than 100,000 living in present day Turkey.

From the last years of the 19th Century through the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the World War I, Anatolian Armenians revolted regularly against the Ottoman authority, sometimes in alliance with Russia, sometimes on their own. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians and Muslims died at this time due to starvations, dislocations, disease and brutal massacres of entire communities. This is the period that Armenians now portray as the time of "genocide" and Turks reject as a tragic loss of life on both sides but without the necessary official intent.

Of the 25,000 Jews living in Turkey, 22,000 of them reside in Istanbul. Most of them are ancestors of those expelled from Spain in 1492 and subsequently offered a safe haven by Sultan Mehmet. Although they are Orthodox Jews, their practices are a bit different. They do not belong to a synagogue—only to the Jewish community. Overall, there are seventeen synagogues in Istanbul, and most of them are still active. The most important of these are the Neve Salom Synagogue, the Askenazi Synagogue, the Ahrida (Ohrida) Synagogue, the Şişli and Ortakoy Synagogues. Jews are active in every aspect of Turkish life: education, politics, media, financing, the arts, and trade and commerce.

### ASITANE RESTAURANT:

Asitane restaurant is renowned for its fine Ottoman cuisine based on authentic recipes retrieved by a dedicated staff from palace archives. Its menu features dishes originally prepared for the sumptuous

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celebration feast given for Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent's sons in 1539. In the summertime, the tranquil courtyard in the shadow of the Chora Church offers a splendid backdrop in which to sample fine Ottoman cuisine.

**KARIYE MUSEUM:**

Originally built in the 4th century as the 'Church of the Holy Savior Outside the Walls' or 'in the Country' (chora), it was indeed outside the walls built by Constantine the Great. The present building was built in the late 11th century, with lots of repairs and restructuring in the following centuries. Virtually all of the interior decoration—the famous mosaics and the less renowned but equally striking mural paintings—dates from about 1320. The mosaics are breathtaking. The first ones are those of the dedication, to Jesus and Mary. Then come the offertory ones: Theodore Metochites, builder of the church, offering it to Jesus. The two small domes of the inner narthex have portraits of all Jesus's ancestors back to Adam. A series outlines Mary's life, and another, Jesus's early years. Yet another series concentrates on Jesus's ministry. In the nave are three mosaics: of Jesus, of Mary as Teacher, and of the Dormition of Mary. South of the nave is the Paraclesion, a side chapel built to hold the tombs of the church's founder and relatives. The frescos, appropriately, deal with the theme of death and resurrection.

The Kariye Museum (Church of the Holy Savior in Chora) has the best Byzantine mosaics in the region. The church was enclosed within the walls built by the Emperor Theodosius II in 413, less than 100 years after Constantine, so the church 'outside the walls' has in fact been 'in the city' for 1550 years. For four centuries after the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul it served as a mosque (Kariye Camii), and is now a museum (Kariye Müzesi) because of its priceless mosaics.

**SULTAN AHMET MOSQUE (BLUE MOSQUE):**

The mosque is one of several mosques known as the Blue Mosque for the blue tiles adorning the walls of its interior. It was built between 1609 and 1616, during the rule of Ahmed I. Like many other mosques, it also comprises a tomb of the founder, a madrasah, and a hospice.

The design of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque is the culmination of two centuries of both Ottoman mosque and Byzantine church development. It incorporates some Byzantine elements of the neighboring Hagia Sophia with traditional Islamic architecture and is considered to be the last great mosque of the classical period.

**HAGIA SOPHIA:**

Hagia Sophia is a former patriarchal basilica, later a mosque, now a museum in Istanbul. Famous in particular for its massive dome, it is considered the epitome of Byzantine architecture. It was the largest cathedral ever built in the world for nearly a thousand years, until the completion of the Medieval Seville Cathedral in 1520.

In 1453, when Constantinople was conquered by the Ottoman Turks, Sultan Mehmed II ordered the building to be converted into a mosque. The bells, altar, iconostasis, and sacrificial vessels were removed, and many of the mosaics were eventually plastered over. The Islamic features—such as the mihrab, the minbar, and the four minarets outside—were added over the course of its history under the Ottomans. It remained as a mosque until 1935, at which time it was converted into a museum by the Government of Turkey.

The current building was originally constructed as a church between 532 and 537 AD on the orders of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian, and was in fact the third Church of the Holy Wisdom to occupy the site. The Church contained a large collection of holy relics and featured, among other things, a 50 foot (15 m) silver iconostasis. It was the patriarchal church of the Patriarch of Constantinople and the religious focal point of the Eastern Orthodox Church for nearly 1000 years.

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### TOPKAPI PALACE:

The Topkapı Palace was the Ottoman sultans' official and primary residence in the city of the Ottoman Sultans from 1465 to 1853.

Initial construction started in 1459, ordered by Sultan Mehmed II, the conqueror of Byzantine Constantinople. The palace is a complex made up of four main courtyards and many smaller buildings. At the height of its existence as a royal residence, the palace was home to as many as 4,000 people, formerly covering a larger area with a long shoreline. The complex has been expanded over the centuries, with many renovations such as after a 1509 earthquake and 1665 fire. Topkapı Palace gradually lost its importance at the end of the 17th century, as the Sultans preferred to spend more time in their new palaces along the Bosphorus.

After the end of the Ottoman Empire in 1921, Topkapı Palace was transformed by government decree on April 3, 1924 into a museum of the imperial era. The Palace is listed among those monuments belonging to the historic areas of Istanbul, added to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985.

### TURKISH & ISLAMIC ARTS MUSEUM:

This museum is located in Sultanahmet Square in Eminönü district of Istanbul. Constructed in 1524, the building was formerly the Palace of İbrahim Pasha, who was the first grand vizier to Suleiman the Magnificent. The collection includes notable examples of Islamic calligraphy, tiles, and rugs as well as ethnographic displays on various cultures in Turkey, particularly nomadic groups. These displays recreate rooms or dwellings from different time periods and regions.

### BASILICA CISTERN:

The Basilica Cistern is the largest of several hundred ancient cisterns that still lie beneath the city of Istanbul. The cistern, located in the historical peninsula of Istanbul next to the Hagia Sophia, was built during the reign of emperor Justinian I in the 6th century, the golden age of Eastern Rome, also called the Byzantine Empire.

The bases of two of the columns reuse earlier blocks carved with the head of a Medusa. They are located in the northwest corner of the cistern. The origin of the two heads is unknown, though it is rumored that the heads were brought to the cistern after being removed from an antique building of the late Roman period. Another mystery is why one of the heads is upside down, while the other is tilted to one side. It is commonly accepted by scholars that they were placed that way deliberately.

### GRAND BAZAAR:

The Grand Bazaar or Covered Bazaar in Istanbul is one of the largest covered markets in the world with more than 58 streets and 6,000 shops, and has between 250,000 and 400,000 visitors daily. It is well known for its jewelry, pottery, spice, and carpet shops. Many of the stalls in the bazaar are grouped by type of goods, with special areas for leather coats, gold jewelry and the like. The bazaar contains two bedestens (domed masonry structures built for storage and safe keeping), the first of which was constructed between 1455 and 1461 by the order of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. The bazaar was vastly enlarged in the 16th century, during the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, and in 1894 underwent a major restoration following an earthquake.

### Tuesday, August 5, 2008

07:30 Check out from Hotel and Depart for the U.S. Consulate General  
08:00 – 09:00 Breakfast Meeting with the U.S. Consul General & Officers of the Consulate

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09:15	Depart Consulate for Bosphorus Straits Traffic Control HQ (BSTC)
09:45 – 11:00	Briefing and Visit at the BSTC HQ
11:00	Depart BSTC HQ for Luncheon Meeting with Confederation of Businessmen & Industrialists (TUSKON) Board and Members
12:00 – 13:30	Meeting & Lunch at TUSKON at their Şişli HQ
13:30	Depart TUSKON for the Airport
14:00	Arrive at İstanbul Atatürk Airport
15:00	Depart İstanbul for Ankara on TK 128
16:00	Arrive at Ankara Esenboğa Airport
16:30	Depart Ankara Airport for Mega Residence Hotel
17:30	Hotel check-in
19:30	Depart Hotel for Kale Çengelhan Restaurant
20:00	Briefing and Dinner with the Press hosted by Turkish-American Business Association (TABA) at Kale Çengelhan Restaurant

#### BOSPHORUS STRAITS TRAFFIC CONTROL (BSTC) HEAD QUARTERS:

The Turkish Straits (164 NM) consist of the İstanbul Strait (17 NM in length), the Marmara Sea (110 NM) and Çanakkale Strait (37 NM). The entire length is opened to international maritime vessel traffic under Turkish government control. It is the only waterway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea making it highly congested with international maritime traffic and of enormous geopolitical and strategic importance. The Bosphorus Traffic Control Service (TSVTS) is designed to assist and improve the safety of navigation for Turkish and foreign flagged vessels through these very congested and vulnerable Turkish waters.

#### Safe navigation of the Turkish Straits depends on:

- Turkish Straits Vessel Traffic Services – The TSVTS are in current operation are equipped with thirteen observation Towers. Each Observation Towers has X band radar, Monocolor - Color-Infrared Camera and Network Equipment. A few Towers have extra meteorological stations and communications equipment.
- Search / Rescue & Salvage - Salvage Department has underwater works, salvage & towage with two conventional types of salvage vessels, two Fi-Fi class tugs, eleven firefighting tugs and various types of service boats which make up 54 vessels.
- Rescue Services are well organized on the Turkish Straits and are well equipped with 14 Rescue Stations (6 Boat Stations and 8 Shore Based Stations), and 10 Rapid Response Boats.
- Navigational Aids – Organized along the Turkish coast with 417 lighthouses, 34 light-buoys, nineteen marking buoys, fifteen fog whistles, two fog bell and three beacon, and nine racon signals.

#### CONFEDERATION OF BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS OF TURKEY (TUSKON):

TUSKON is a non-governmental organization formed by regional federations of the business world which were founded in İstanbul in 2005 and expanded country-wide. TUSKON today represents 9500 businessmen active in 124 organizations of businessmen. TUSKON aims to make the enterprises and entrepreneurs into the part of the global business world by promoting scientific and rational methods of commercial and industrial life TUSKON is a pioneer institution in sharing businessmen's experience in international markets and providing new job opportunities.

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### ANKARA

Ankara lies deep within the heartland, protected and insulated from uninvited guests. Atatürk chose Ankara as the political capital for his new republic. While Istanbul was the seat of an imperial and dissolute empire, he saw Ankara as the clean-slate capital of an entirely new Turkish state. In the 80 years since Atatürk rode in on a dirt road and literally lifted Ankara out of the ashes, the city has established itself as the political and cultural center of Turkey.

Ankara is almost exclusively geared toward sustaining all elements of the national government, a wide-ranging population of foreign ambassadors, visiting dignitaries, local politicians, and politically minded business enterprises. It also boasts a number of prestigious universities and technical colleges, as well as the largest library in the country.

Ankara is a center for opera, ballet, jazz, and modern dance, and is home of the Presidential Symphony Orchestra, the State Theatre, and the State Opera and Ballet. Ankara has transformed from the quiet center of the Turkish Republic to a city of more than three million and a hub of non-stop activity. The city is bubbling over with new construction, chic restaurants, cozy cafés, and dazzling nightlife.

### TURKISH-AMERICAN BUSINESS ASSOCIATION (TABA):

TABA founded in 1987 is a non-profit organization, headquartered in Istanbul, it has five branches in Turkey. TABA's membership is over 650 companies.

As the representative of the American Chamber of Commerce in Turkey, TABA's goal is to enhance trade relations between the U.S.A and Turkey; to encourage American investments into this country; assist members by connecting them with potential strategic partners; help solve their trade-related issues and contribute to Turkey's promotion abroad.

In order to accomplish these goals, TABA/AmCham founded several task committees. These committees are: Membership; Project Development; Telecommunication & Information Technology; Energy & Infrastructure; Law & Finance, Publications; Activities & Communications; Corporate Affairs; Consumer Products; Intellectual Royalty Rights; Trademarks Defense Industry; Tourism; Real Estate & Transportation and Investment & Regulations pertaining to EU relations.

TABA/AmCham is a member of the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A (COCU.S.A), member of the European Council of American Chambers of Commerce (ECACC) and American-Turkish Council (ATC).

### Wednesday, August 6, 2008

07:30	Depart Hotel for the U.S. Ambassador's Residence
07:45 - 09:00	Breakfast Briefing with Ambassador Ross Wilson and the U.S. Embassy Officials at the Residence
09:00	Depart Residence Anitkabir
09:30 - 10:30	Wreath Laying Ceremony and the Signing of the Official Visitors Book
10:30 - 11:30	Visit the Mausoleum Museum
11:45	Depart Anitkabir for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA)
12:15 - 13:50	Luncheon Briefing at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

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13:50	Depart the MFA for Undersecretariat of Defense Industries (SSM)
14:30	Meeting with Mr. İsmail Tohumcu, Deputy Undersecretary of National Defense (SSM)
15:30	Depart SSM for Eurasian Strategic Research Center (ASAM)
16:00 – 17:00	Meeting and roundtable discussion at ASAM on U.S.-Turkish Relations with Government officials and the Academia <i>Topics to be covered include the future of Iraq, terrorism, Afghanistan, U.S. Presidential Elections and Bilateral Relations, Iran's Nuclear Program, Cyprus and EU-Turkey Relations</i>
17:00 – 18:00	Reception at ASAM
18:00	Depart ASAM for Hotel
19:00	Depart Hotel for Trilye Restaurant
19:30 – 22:00	Dinner with ATC Corporate Members at Trilye Restaurant hosted by NTF Construction

**ATATÜRK'S MAUSOLEUM - ANITKABİR**

This imposing monument located in the Anittepe quarter of the city is the mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the Turkish Republic. Completed in 1953, it represents the fusion of ancient and modern architectural ideas and when built, it was considered as one of the best examples of modern Turkish architecture of the time. There is a museum housing a superior statue of Atatürk, writings, letters and other items belonging to Atatürk, as well as an exhibition of photographs recording important moments in his life and the establishment of the Republic.

Construction of Anitkabir commenced on 9 October 1944 with a splendid ceremony by laying the first stone of the foundation. Construction of Anitkabir took nine years in four stages. You will be expected to sign its book of visitors with an appropriate note of respect.

**UNDERSECRETARIAT FOR DEFENSE INDUSTRIES (SSM)**

SSM was established by the Defense Industry Law, and it was given the main duty of putting into effect the decisions taken by the Executive Committee. In this regard, SSM was given a special legal identity of its own, as well as its own extra-budgetary financial resources. The main tasks and responsibilities of SSM are: putting into effect decisions taken by the Defense Industry Executive Committee; to reorganize existing Turkish industry in line with the prerequisites of a successful defense industry; to plan the production of modern arms and equipment at private and public sector entities; to realize research and equipment of modern arms and equipment, and to have their prototypes built; to make advance payments, plan advance orders and determine other financial and economic supports; and to coordinate export and offset trade issues relating to defense industry products.

**MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MFA)**

Since the inception of the Republic, the vision and principles of the founder of the Republic, Atatürk (meaning Father of the Turks, a name given to him by the people), have guided Turkish foreign policy and his maxim "peace at home, peace in the world" continues to constitute the fundamental objective of Turkish foreign policy. The Republic of Turkey is now represented by 162 missions throughout the world. These missions comprise of 93 Embassies, 11 Permanent Missions to international organizations, and 58 Consulate Generals.

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Serving under the leadership of the former Minister for the Economy the 41st Minister of Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Ali Babacan, the large contingent of Turkish Foreign Service diplomats conduct and promote Turkey's international political, economic and cultural relations in its region and beyond.

For nearly half a century, NATO ally Turkey was a bulwark in NATO's Cold War policy of containment against the Soviet Union. While Turkey's relations with Russia are good today, issues throughout Turkey's region make it no less important for U.S. foreign and national security policy. Iraq, Afghanistan, the Middle East Peace Initiative, Aegean Affairs, Syria, Kurdish policy and the PKK, the Turkish states of Central Asia – all are issues of U.S.-Turkey diplomatic discussion and exchange.

### EURASIAN STRATEGIC RESEARCH CENTER (ASAM):

ASAM is established to conduct research on international relations and regional studies. The Center examines international conflicts, makes scholarly and scientific assessments of relevant issues, and reviews Turkish foreign policy with a futuristic perspective. It is a consultative body with the responsibility of bringing to the attention of decision makers independent, unbiased views and findings from different sources. The Center is chartered by law and has been active since May 1995.

### Thursday, August 7, 2008

07:00	Breakfast & Checkout from the Hotel
07:15	Depart Hotel for Ankara Airport
09:00	Depart Ankara for İstanbul on TK 113
10:00	Arrive at İstanbul Airport
11:45	Depart İstanbul on TK 216 to Dalaman
13:05	Arrive at Dalaman Airport
13:30	Depart Dalaman for Patara, Kalkan by Bus
16:30	Arrive at Kalkan
17:00	Check in to Patara Prince Hotel
19:00 – 21:30	Dinner with the delegation at the Marina

### PATARA:

The antique city of Patara emerged at the turn of the 21st Century thanks to an archeological team led by Akdeniz University Professors Fahri Isik and Havva Iskan Isik. It has a unique political relationship to the United States. Recently the archeological team unearthed an ancient parliament building in Patara -- the meeting place of the first federal republic in recorded human history. Authors of the Federalist papers (Hamilton and Madison, Federalists No. 9, 16 and 45, respectively) made at least three specific references to the Lycian League as an example of the federal structure of government they envisioned for the United States.

The unearthed parliament building, called the Bouleuterion, housed representatives of at least twenty-three city-states of the Lycian League, which existed along the Mediterranean coast of Turkey from about 167 BC until 400 AD. The archeological team has rescued numerous buildings and items from the sand and scrub brush, besides the Bouleuterion parliament building, including a large necropolis, a Roman bath, a sizeable semicircular theater, a sprawling main avenue leading to the market square, a Byzantine basilica (one of 22 churches once packed into Patara), one of the world's oldest lighthouses, and a fortified wall.



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Modern-day Patara sports what the London Sunday Times describes as one of the world's best beaches and a nesting site for the loggerhead sea turtle, locally known as the *Caretta Caretta*. During the turtle hatching season environmentalists from all around the world come to the area of Patara where swimming, diving and permanent structures on the coast are forbidden. The eggs and nesting sites of the endangered *Caretta Caretta* turtles are protected.

### Friday, August 8, 2008

- 08:30 – 09:30 Breakfast at the Hotel
- 09:30 Depart Hotel for Patara Excavation Site
- 10:30 – 12:30 Visit and Lecture at the Site of Ancient Patara  
(a Member of the Lycian League)
- 12:30 – 13:30 Lunch at Patara
- 13:30 – 14:30 Visit UNEP & WWF project for Endangered Loggerhead Turtles
- 14:45 Depart Patara to Visit Organic Farms and Production Facilities
- 15:30 – 17:00 Visit to the Organic Farms
- 17:00 Depart for the Hotel
- 19:30 – 22:00 Reception and Dinner with the Local Municipal Authorities at the Hotel

#### LOGGERHEAD TURTLES:

As amphibians, loggerhead turtles are adept at moving on both land and sea. To lay eggs the females first crawl onto the shore. Then, using their hind legs, the turtles dig holes in the sand and, after depositing their eggs, return to the sea. The baby turtles hatch when nature tells them to, and instinctively using the moonlight as a compass, they head towards the sea.

### Saturday, August 9, 2008

- 08:30 – 09:30 Breakfast Meeting with Former Congressman Steve Solarz and Dr. Yalçın Ayaslı
- 09:45 Depart Hotel for Kaş (Lycian city of Habesos)
- 10:30 Arrive at Kaş and visit the Ancient Ruins of Kekova
- 12:30 – 13:30 Lunch at Kale Island Restaurant
- 13:30 Depart Kale for Dalaman Airport
- 17:45 Arrive at Dalaman Airport
- 19:30 Depart Dalaman Airport for İstanbul on TK 219
- 20:50 Arrive in İstanbul Airport
- 21:15 Depart Airport for Hotel

#### KAŞ - KEKOVA:

The town of Kaş is on a hill running down to the sea. The district has a typical Mediterranean climate of hot, dry summers and warm, wet winters, which allows the growth of oranges, lemons and bananas. The lowland areas are also planted with cut flowers and a variety of fruits and vegetables; many are grown all year round under glass. The hillsides produce honey, and almonds, while at high altitudes there are ex-

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tensive pine forests. The weather is drier at high altitudes. Although agriculture is still important, tourism is the main source of income in the district, which has many hotels and guest houses.

Kekova, also named Caravola (Dolichiste in Lycian), is a small Turkish island near Kaş (ancient Antiphellos) district of Antalya province which faces the villages of Kaleköy and Uçağuz.

The Kekova region was declared a specially protected area on January 18, 1990 by the Turkish Ministry of Environment and Forests. All swimming and diving was prohibited and subject to special permits from governmental offices. In later years the prohibition has been lifted except in the area of the sunken city.

### Sunday, August 10, 2008

04:00	Breakfast & Checkout
04:15	Depart Hotel for Airport
05:55	Depart on LH 3345 for Frankfurt
07:55	Arrive at Frankfurt Airport
09:55	Depart Frankfurt for DC on LH 416
13:00	Arrive at Washington Dulles Airport

## NOTES

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**HOTEL and CONTACT INFORMATION**

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**DELEGATION BIOGRAPHIES**

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**Mr. GARRETT EUCALITTO**

*Deputy Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant*  
Office of Senator Joseph Lieberman (I-CT)

Garrett Eucalitto is Deputy Foreign Policy Legislative Assistant for Senator Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut, and previously served as Constituent Relations and Correspondence Coordinator. Prior to joining Sen. Lieberman's staff in 2007, he worked at the Hudson Institute's Center for Future Security Strategies in Washington, D.C. A resident of the Torrington, CT, Garrett earned an undergraduate degree from the College of the Holy Cross, and a Master's Degree in International Relations from Boston University.

**Senator Joseph Lieberman's Leadership and Committee Assignments**

Senator Joe Lieberman is a member of the Armed Services Committee, where he is Chairman of the Subcommittee on AirLand. He also serves on the Subcommittee on Personnel and the Subcommittee on Seapower. He is Chairman of the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee. Lieberman is also a member of the Committee on Environment and Public Works, where he is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Private Sector and Consumer Solutions to Global Warming and Wildlife Protection, and he also serves on the Subcommittee on Clean Air and Nuclear Safety, and the Subcommittee on Public Sector Solutions to Global Warming, Oversight, and Children's Health Protection. He also serves on the Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

**Mr. WALTER GONZALES**

*Senior Policy Advisor*  
Office of Representative C. A. "Dutch" Ruppersberger (D-2nd MD)

Walter Gonzales serves as Senior Policy Advisor for Congressman C. A. "Dutch" Ruppersberger from Maryland's Second Congressional District. In that role, Walter staffs the Congressman on the Appropriations Committee and advises the Congressman's daily votes; administers the Congressman's Whip assignments, attends leadership functions, strategizes and implements vital district projects, and covers a wide variety of legislative issues. In Walter's legislative portfolio: intelligence, defense, telecommunications, health care, energy, and international affairs. Walter oversees the Congressman's work on the Intelligence Committee and staffs the Congressman on the Legislative Branch Appropriations Subcommittee. He also covers the State Department/Foreign Operations Appropriations, the Energy and Water Appropriations, Intelligence Budget, and Defense and Military Construction Appropriations.

A native of Baltimore, Maryland Walter Gonzales' career in politics spans over a decade. A graduate of the University of Vermont, Walter started his career on Capitol Hill in 1995, in the office of Congressman Gene Green, Texas 29th Congressional District.

He worked for Congressman Green for 6 years. From there, he moved into the private sector using his skills and contacts on the Hill to become a lobbyist for Mannat, Phelps and Phillips law firm and for Jefferson Government Relations. In this capacity he lobbied on behalf of com-

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## Delegation Biographies

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panies like Oracle, Hewlett-Packard, iMotors.com and a number of Silicone Valley start-ups.

After this two-year stint in the private sector, Walter returned public service in the 2002 election cycle, servicing as the policy director for Congressman Ruppertsberger's successful congressional campaign.

**Congressman "Dutch" Ruppertsberger's Leadership and Committee Assignments:**

Congressman Ruppertsberger serves on the House Appropriations Committee and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, where he is Chairman of the Technical and Tactical Subcommittee. Congressman Ruppertsberger is part of the Leadership structure in the House of Representatives serving as an Assistant Whip and as a Member of the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee. Official Travel: China, Morocco, Taiwan

**Mr. LAWRENCE J. HALLORAN**

*Minority Staff Director*

House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform

Lawrence J. Halloran is an attorney with more than twenty-five years of experience in public policy and advocacy. He currently serves as Minority Staff Director of the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. From April 2006 to March 2008, he was Deputy Staff Director. In the 109th Congress, he also acted as Deputy Special Counsel to the House Select Committee on Hurricane Katrina.

From 1999 through March 2006, he was Staff Director and Counsel to the Government Reform Subcommittee on National Security, Veterans Affairs and International Relations. From 1995 through 1998, he was Staff Director and Counsel to the Subcommittee on Human Resources of the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

A graduate of Fairfield University (1973) and the Catholic University Columbus School of Law (1976), he served on the staff of U.S. Rep. Stewart B. McKinney (R-Conn.) from 1973 to 1980. Mr. Halloran then worked as Legal Counsel and Deputy Executive Director of the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC), advising candidates and Members of Congress on election matters and campaign finance laws.

Experienced in recounts and election contests, Mr. Halloran has participated in recount proceedings in Indiana, Virginia, California, Ohio, Connecticut, Minnesota and South Dakota. He spent nine days in Florida during the presidential election recount training observers and participating in the complete recount of votes in Volusia County.

Returning to Connecticut in 1987, he served as the Executive Director of the Connecticut Republican Party. In 1988, he joined the law offices of J. Brian Gaffney in New Britain, Connecticut. From 1991 to 1994, Mr. Halloran served as Legal Counsel to the Governor of Connecticut. He and his family now reside in Bethesda, Maryland.

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Mr. Halloran is admitted to practice law in Connecticut and the District of Columbia. He is an inactive member of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal bar.

### **Ms. HELEN HARDIN**

*Chief of Staff*

Office of Representative Zach Wamp ((R-3rd TN)

Before coming to Washington to work for Rep. Zach Wamp, Helen Hardin spent 12 years as a news reporter and TV talk show host. She also has a business background in sales and worked in the cellular telephone industry for 7 years. When Congressman Wamp was elected in 1994, Ms. Hardin moved to Washington and became his Chief of Staff, managing the three congressional offices and advising the Congressman on political and policy matters. She also oversees Congressman Wamp's Appropriations Committee work as Appropriations Associate. Congressman Wamp is Ranking Member of the Subcommittee on Military Construction, Veterans Affairs and Related Agencies.

In Tennessee, Ms. Hardin works closely with the major federal government facilities in Oak Ridge including the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, the largest multi-purpose science lab in the nation. Some of our country's most advanced computing, biological and materials research is carried out at ORNL.

Ms. Hardin regards international travel as one of the most important educational and policy trends. She has focused her official travel primarily on North Africa and the Middle East because of its strategic importance to the U.S. and the world. First hand exposure to international issues and foreign cultures, personally meeting foreign government officials and developing friendships with people from other countries have been extremely beneficial in her public service and have enlightened her views on the growing and increasingly interdependent global economy.

Ms. Hardin is active in her church. She is an avid gardener, and a private pilot. She enjoys spending time with nieces and nephews.

#### **Congressman Zach Wamp's Leadership and Committee Assignments:**

Known for his energy and determination, Congressman Zach Wamp serves with seniority as a member of the influential House Appropriations Committee. Using conservative principles, he has established himself as a leader on national issues like alternative energy, preventive health care and global security.

Congressman Wamp is the Ranking Member of the Subcommittee on Military Construction and Veterans Affairs, which funds U.S. military installations at home and abroad and resources the important benefits for the nation's 23 million veterans. Zach has served for 10 years on the Energy and Water Subcommittee, which oversees and funds the national missions at the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, the Y-12 National Security Complex and the replacement of the Chickamauga Lock on the Tennessee River.

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**Delegation Biographies**

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**Mr. PAUL KONG***Legislative Director*

Office of Senator Chuck Hagel of Nebraska (R-NE)

Paul Kong is Legislative Director for Senator Chuck Hagel of Nebraska, and previously served as Legislative Assistant handling domestic policy. Prior to joining Senator Hagel's staff, he represented non-profit clients for a Washington, DC firm.

A resident of Chevy Chase, MD, Paul earned undergraduate degrees from the University of Michigan, and a law degree from Catholic University where he serves on the adjunct faculty. He is an alumnus of the Aspen Institute's Socrates Society and has served on the DC Board of Governors of the University of Michigan Alumni Association.

**Senator Chuck Hagel's Leadership and Committee Assignments:**

Chuck Hagel, Nebraska's senior U.S. Senator, is serving his second term in the United States Senate. Senator Hagel's duties include membership on four Senate committees: Foreign Relations; Banking; Housing and Urban Affairs; Intelligence and Rules.

**Mr. KENNETH A. KRAFT***Deputy Chief of Staff & Appropriations Counsel*

Office of U.S. Representative David L. Hobson (R-7th OH)

Kenny Kraft currently is Appropriations Committee Counsel and Deputy Chief of Staff to U.S. Representative David L. Hobson, having worked for him from 1993 to 1999 and from 2000 to present, with particular responsibility for Mr. Hobson's work as a member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee and as the Ranking Minority Member of the Energy and Water Development Appropriations Subcommittee.

Mr. Kraft's duties include analyzing the United States budget and various legislative proposals; evaluating the effectiveness of federal programs; recommending funding levels; advising on substantive fiscal and policy matters; plotting legislative strategy; meeting with constituents, agency personnel, and industry representatives requesting assistance or information on appropriations and legislation; and planning and participating in international travel for Members and staff.

Mr. Kraft lectures on the Budget and Appropriations process for several different government and university groups, including Georgetown University, the Brookings Institution, The George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, the National Guard Bureau, the International Republican Institute, the Office of Personnel Management, the United States Congress Summer Intern Program, George Mason University, Kent State University, and The Capitol.Net. He serves on The Speaker's Congress-Bundestag/Bundesrat Staff Exchange Selection Committee and on the U.S.-Asia Foundation Congressional Staff Advisory Committee. Mr. Kraft's other Capitol Hill jobs have included Appropriations Committee Counsel to

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Representative Rodney P. Frelinghuysen from 1999 to 2000 and to Representative Lawrence Coughlin from 1977 to 1992. He was Legislative Assistant to Senator Joseph M. Montoya from 1971 to 1977. He was Senior Associate Attorney at Patton Boggs in 1999, and Senior Congressional Relations Officer at the Office of Personnel Management in 1992.

Mr. Kraft is a Colonel, Judge Advocate General's Corps, District of Columbia Army National Guard, commanding a Legal Support Office (LSO) that provides legal assistance in international, operational, fiscal, contract, and general law matters to the National Guard Bureau at the Pentagon.

Born in Washington, D.C., Mr. Kraft received his B.A. degree in British Literature and Art History from the University of Maryland and his J.D. from The George Washington University. He is admitted to the District of Columbia Bar and the Supreme Court of the United States.

### Mr. SEAN O'BRIEN

*Legislative Director*

Office of Congressman Heath Shuler (D-11th NC)

Sean O'Brien is the Legislative Director for Congressman Heath Shuler (NC-11).

Prior to working for Congressman Shuler, Mr. O'Brien worked for three years as a Legislative Assistant for Congressman Rahm Emanuel (IL-05).

Prior to this he was a consultant for various clients including the City of Chicago, KPMG Netherlands, ABN AMRO Bank, and GE Capital Services Hong Kong. Mr. O'Brien was born in New York City and received a Bachelor of Arts from Northwestern University in Evanston, IL.

He is currently completing a Masters in National Security and Strategic Studies with the United States Naval War College and has completed coursework at the United States National Defense University.

#### **Congressman Heath Shuler's Leadership and Committee Assignments:**

Congressman Shuler is the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Rural and Urban Entrepreneurship for the House Committee on Small Business.

He also serves on the House Committee on Natural Resources (Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests, and Public Lands) and the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure (Subcommittee on Highways and Transit and the Subcommittee on Water Resources and Environment).

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**Delegation Biographies****Ms. ASHLEY ORR***Legislative Assistant*

Office of Congressman Brad Miller (D-13th NC)

Ashley Orr has worked for Congressman Brad Miller of North Carolina since 2004. She currently serves as a Legislative Assistant. In addition to handling Rep. Miller's work on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, her issue portfolio includes Defense, Trade, Homeland Security, Immigration and Judiciary.

She received a B.A. degree in Peace, War and Defense from the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill.

**Congressman Brad Miller's Leadership and Committee Assignments:**

Brad Miller was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina in 1953. He attended public schools and graduated from Terry Sanford Senior High School in 1971. He earned a bachelor's degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, a master's degree from the London School of Economics, and a law degree from Columbia University. He served as law clerk to Judge J. Dickson Phillips, Jr. of the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals for one year following his graduation from law school and practiced law in Raleigh from 1980 until his election to Congress in 2002. He is a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Financial Services, and the Committee on Science and Technology, where he also serves as Chairman of the Investigative and Oversight Subcommittee.

**Ms. CANAN BÜYÜKÜNSAL***Executive Director*

American-Turkish Council

Canan (Jahn-an) Büyüüksal joined the American-Turkish Council in January of 2000 and currently serves as the Executive Director. In this capacity, Ms. Büyüüksal works as the President's deputy ensuring the success of all ATC programs. Her responsibilities include over-seeing financial procedures, preparing the event budgets and the ATC annual budget, and managing the day-day activities of the office. As the Executive Director, Canan also directs the ATC Annual Conference, now in its 27th year. The 2008 ATC Annual Conference attracted over 700 participants and is one of the largest bi-national conference promoting U.S.-Turkish commercial, defense and cultural relations.

Before joining ATC, Ms. Büyüüksal worked as the General Manager of Cities Restaurant, in Washington, DC, for 14 years. Cities was named "one the fifty favorite restaurants" by The Washington Post Magazine on numerous occasions and has been featured on The Food Channel, In Style Washington, Harper's Bazar, and Food Arts. While at Cities, Canan designed and implemented an employee training program manual that has since been purchased by several independent restaurants across the United States. Canan continues to consult in the restaurant industry.

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She is an active community volunteer serving on the Board of the Mercy Hospital, Women's Association; and Food for Friends. She also serves on the Executive Committee for Oyster Bilingual School's Creative Activity Program and is on the Fund Raising Committee for the Saint Mary's Armenian Church Sunday School.

Ms. Büyükinsal graduated from Goucher College with a Bachelor of Arts in Economics. She currently resides in Washington DC with her husband, Aret Sahakyan and their 11 year old son, Aren.

### **Mr. TOLGA GÖRGÜLÜ**

*External Relations Manager*  
Frito Lay Co.

General: Born in 1969, Sakarya. Married  
Languages: English and French fluent.

#### Education:

- Graduated from Galatasaray High School (1988),
- İstanbul University Faculty of Economics (1992).

#### Career:

- Telka Rabak Copper Company (1992) as Assistant of General Coordinator.
- Human Resources Manager of Yasar Paint & Chemical Group (DYO 1997 - 2001)
- Human Resources Manger of Ak-Al Acrylic Yarn Company (Akkok Group 2001 – 2003)
- Human Resources Manger of Frito Lay Co. İstanbul Turkey (PepsiCo Group 2003 – 2006 )
- External Relations Manager of Frito Lay Co. (Jan. 2007 – present)

#### Professional Achievements :

- PepsiCo Chairman Award (2007)
- Middle East Africa President Award (2005)
- PepsiCo International Star Award (2006)
- Project Manager of Turkey's second Snacks Plant in Tarsus

#### Membership:

- Galatasaray Sport Club
- Fenerbahce Rotary Club
- Turkish Offshore Racing Club
- Peryon

Hobbies & Interests: Sailing and racing in different class teams for the past 20 years. Three times winner of Turkish Offshore Racing Class trophy.

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**Delegation Biographies****Dr. CENGİZ İSRAFİL**

Managing Director  
Fil Finance

Cengiz İsrail was born in Warsaw, Poland. He received his B.S. in Mathematics from Columbia University in 1967. He studied in the Ph.D. Program in Economic History of Ottoman Empire at Columbia University from 1968 to 1973. He received an honorary Doctor of Philosophy from Batumi University in 2001. He is fluent in English, Turkish and Polish and speaks good Russian. He is a dual citizen of the U.S. and Turkey. He served in the U.S. Navy and Turkish Army.

From 1967 to 1973, Mr. İsrail was a Research Associate with Morgan Guaranty Trust Company and from 1973 to 1976, he was Senior Management Scientist for United States Trust Co. From 1976 to 1986, he was Vice President at Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., in charge of the Money Market Research Department. In 1985, on leave from Morgan, he joined the World Bank Mission to Turkey and prepared a report on money markets, which became the blueprint for reforms subsequently implemented by the Central Bank of Turkey. In 1986, he was instrumental in Morgan's winning the Privatization Master Plan project in Turkey, as well as the Turkish government's approval for the Gerede-Ankara motorway project, where Morgan was the arranger for the \$380 million financing facility. From 1986 to 1992, he was Advisor to Prime Minister and then President Turgut Özal for whom he was instrumental in the development and implementation of reforms in the monetary system, financial markets and privatization. He also contributed to the development of strategy that led to the establishment of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone.

From 1992 to 1993, Cengiz was Vice Chairman of Marmara Bank, İstanbul, Turkey, and Advisor to the Governor, Atyrau Province, Kazakhstan. He organized the 1993 Black Sea Oil & Gas Conference, which for the first time brought together international oil companies and the energy ministries of the FSU republics. From 1993 to 1996, he was Chief Executive Officer of Çolakoğlu Dış Ticaret, trading company of the Çolakoğlu Group, İstanbul, Turkey, and Vice Chairman and Executive Director of the Group affiliate TOTAL Oil Türkiye.

Since 1996 Mr. İsrail has been Managing Director, FIL Finance Inc., a consulting company based in New York, providing strategic, technical and financial advisory services to a select group of international clients and governments, with special emphasis on the energy and infrastructure sectors.

**Mr. G. LINCOLN McCURDY**

President  
Turkish Coalition of America

Mr. McCurdy is president of the Turkish Coalition of America (TCA), a 501(C)3 not-for-profit organization, based in Washington, DC. TCA fosters understanding of Turkish American issues through public education. (Web site for TCA is [www.turkishcoalitionofamerica.org](http://www.turkishcoalitionofamerica.org))

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Mr. McCurdy has over 30 years of leadership and management experience in both U.S. government service and the private sector. He has extensive experience in dealing with binational boards; working with senior officials of the governments and military of the United States and Turkey; leading trade/investment missions and U.S. congressional delegations to Turkey; co-sponsoring activities with the State and Commerce Departments, Environmental Protection Agency, Smithsonian Institute and National Public Radio; and fund raising.

He served as the senior advisor to the Turkish American Chamber of Commerce and Industry in New York in 2005 and 2006.

Mr. McCurdy was the president and chief executive officer, 1998 - 2004, and executive director, 1989 - 1998, of the American-Turkish Council (ATC) in Washington, the leading business association in the United States devoted to the promotion of U.S.-Turkish commercial, defense and cultural relations. He received ATC's Distinguished Career Award in 2005.

Before joining ATC, Mr. McCurdy served in the American Consulate General in Istanbul as the Consul for Commercial Affairs, 1980 - 1984. In this capacity, he received the Department of State's Meritorious Honor Award for "re-establishing American pre-eminence in the Istanbul International Business Community." After government service, he consulted in Istanbul for five years for the Bank of Boston and several Turkish companies. In the late 1970s, he worked at the U.S. Department of Commerce in Washington, DC, organizing trade shows in Brazil.

G. Lincoln McCurdy received his B.A. at Hanover College in Indiana and holds a M.A. in International Management from The George Washington University. He is also a graduate of the Foreign Service Institute's Turkish Language and Culture Program. In May 2001, Mr. McCurdy received Hanover College's Alumni Achievement Award.

Mr. McCurdy is a board director for the Association for Safe International Road Travel (ASIRT). He is an advocate for smart growth and played a key role in beautifying I-66 in Arlington, Virginia, in the 1970s. He is married with two daughters and enjoys yoga, gardening, biking and travel.

### **Ms. AYŞE SÜMER**

*Government Affairs and Commercial Programs Director*  
American-Turkish Council

Ayşe Sümer has been working for the American-Turkish Council as the Commercial Programs and Government Affairs Director since April 2004. She is responsible for the following sector committees: Agribusiness & Food Industries; Banking & Finance; Information Technology & Communication; Health care Services; Technology Innovation; and Trade. She organizes the Annual Congressional Staff trip and the Chairman's Annual visit to Turkey. Ms. Sümer is ATC's liaison on the Hill.

### Delegation Biographies

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Ayşe first joined the Council in November 2000 as the Communications Director. Prior to joining ATC, Ms. Sümer lived and worked in different parts of the world. She was the Client & Strategic Planning Director for Rekta Ketchum PR, Research & Marketing Manager for Egon Zehnder Int., Editor-in-Chief of İstanbul The Guide, Human Resources Coordinator of '96 İstanbul Habitat II NGO Forum, and Director of External Affairs at the Graduate School of Management, Koc University, İstanbul. Upon her return to the United States, and before joining the American-Turkish Council she worked as the Conference Assistant for the 2000 U.S.-Azerbaijani Chamber of Commerce.

She served as the International Relations Coordinator for the İstanbul 2000 Olympic Committee; was the founding member & Vice-Chairman of Etc. A.S.; Public Relations Manager of Hotel Munamar, Marmaris; and the Consular & Public Affairs Officer in the Canadian Embassy, in Ankara.

Ms. Sümer studied Psychology and Mass Communications at the University of North Carolina in Greensboro, U.S.A and American University in Cairo, Egypt. She is fluent in English, Turkish, French and speaks adequate Arabic. Born in Ankara, Turkey, she traveled around the world extensively and lived in Libya, Indonesia, Egypt, India, Pakistan, and Turkey. She moved to the United States in 2000 and lives in Chevy Chase, MD.

She is the founding member of the Association for the Protection and Rehabilitation of Abused Children in İstanbul. Ms. Sümer, a dual citizen of the United States and Turkey, is an amateur designer and producer of jewelry.

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## **AMERICAN-TURKISH COUNCIL**

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### **MISSION STATEMENT**

A Business Association dedicated to enhancing the promotion of U.S.-Turkish Commercial, Defense, Technology and Cultural Relations

### **OVERVIEW**

As one of the leading business associations in the United States, American-Turkish Council (ATC) is dedicated to strengthening U.S.-Turkish relations through the promotion of commercial, defense, technology and cultural relations. Its diverse membership includes Fortune 500, U.S. and Turkish companies, multinationals, non-profit organizations and individuals with an interest in U.S.-Turkish relations. Guided by Member interests, ATC strives to enhance the growing ties between the U.S. and Turkey by initiating and facilitating efforts to increase investment and trade between the two countries.

### **GOALS OF AMERICAN TURKISH COUNCIL**

- To help resolve problems and disputes that affect U.S.-Turkish commercial, defense and cultural relations.
- To encourage trade and investment between the United States and Turkey.
- To educate the public and private sectors on the importance of the strategic alliance between the United States and Turkey.
- To increase the understanding and appreciation of the history, culture and traditions of the United States and Turkey.
- To promote awareness of U.S.-Turkish issues.
- To facilitate dialogue between the government agencies of both Turkey and the United States and the private sector.

### **ACTIVITIES**

ATC has many different activities that take place throughout the year. These activities range from cultural to business to governmental affairs.

#### **Annual Conference**

An event of enormous value to its Members is the ATC Annual Conference. Held every year in Washington DC, it incorporates the whole spectrum of U.S.-Turkish relations. The Conference program addresses the key issues between the two countries and the region. Participation is diverse: Members of the U.S. Congress and the Turkish Parliament; Ministers and Cabinet Secretaries; senior U.S. and Turkish military leaders; other senior Administration and Turkish Government officials and political leaders. The Conference also attracts hundreds of other participants, including leaders in international business, investment and the professions from

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**American-Turkish Council**

Turkey and the United States. The Conference offers up-to-the-minute political and economic briefings as well as cultural events. It provides an opportunity for American and Turkish businessmen and women to develop business contacts and to exchange ideas and information on strategic issues, product marketing, and scientific topics.

**Committees**

Our ATC Members are also diverse. Their interests and activities cover a vast range of subjects. In order to incorporate and make the best use of this diversity, the Council has formed industry specific committees that actively work on issues pertinent to their own areas, but also cross-out with the interests of the other committees in order to encourage and enhance the business interests of each Member. The Council's Standing Committees, which guide its activities, are as follows: Agribusiness & Food Industries, Banking & Finance, Cultural Affairs, Defense & Security Affairs, Construction, Electric Power, Oil & Gas, and Pharmaceuticals. Ad hoc committees also exist for Textiles, and Trade & Investment. Corporate members are encouraged to take part in these work groups.

**Congressional Staff Trip**

Each year, select groups of Congressional Staffers are invited to visit Turkey, an educational trip that combines meetings with top-level administration members, NGOs, and visits to some of the outstanding historical and cultural sights of the country. This trip also gives ATC an opportunity to show the achievements of Member companies within Turkey such as power plants, schools, factories, joint ventures and other businesses.

**Publications & Web site**

The Council has two annual publications, one is the Conference magazine and the other is the Annual Report. Both of these provide an opportunity for Members to advertise and promote their activities as well as share their experiences. These publications are distributed to government officials of the U.S. and Turkey and also at various ATC sponsored workshops in the U.S., Turkey and Europe. The American-Turkish Council's integrated website provides links to related sites, as well as Member sites and is the milieu in which interesting articles and related information about Turkey and the United States is posted. Members and other interested parties may also use the web site to advertise their company and/or product.

**Seminars, Workshops & Briefings**

Throughout the year, ATC sponsors seminars and workshops in Turkey and the U.S., as well as breakfasts, luncheons, dinners and receptions for visiting dignitaries and other Turkish officials. In Washington, as part of its educational awareness program, ATC organizes briefings on current U.S.-Turkish issues with senior officials in the Executive Branch and members and staff officials of both Houses in the Congress.

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CONFIDENTIAL**TURKISH COALITION OF AMERICA (TCA)****TURKISH  
COALITION of  
AMERICA***Fostering Understanding of Turkish American Issues through Public Education*

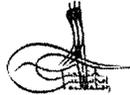
The Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) is an educational, charitable organization incorporated in February 2007. Based in the nation's capital, TCA's objective is to educate the general public about Turkey and Turkish Americans and voice their opinion on critical issues to interested parties.

- Engage and cultivate a new generation of young Turkish American leaders.
- Promote and advance the interests of the Turkish American community and Turks.
- Foster friendship, understanding and cooperation between the United States and Turkey.
- Protect the character and ensure a realistic portrayal of Turkey and Turkish Americans in the media and the arts.
- Serve as a think tank of expertise and a clearinghouse of information on Turkey and Americans of Turkish descent.
- Identify and recognize the achievements of Turkish Americans in academia, arts, business, education, government, public service and science.

In carrying out its mission, TCA is committed to building coalitions and working with all like minded organizations, based on shared values and goals, on the local, state and national levels in the sponsorship and organization of:

- Educational programs on Turkish American issues, Turkish heritage and Turkey.
- Civic consciousness seminars on issues affecting Turkish Americans and the importance for Turkish Americans being involved in the political process.
- Scholarships and internship programs for Turkish Americans interested in political science, public administration and communication.
- News dissemination about the Turkish American perspective on critical issues and the activities and achievements of Turkish Americans.
- Educational and cultural tours between Turkey and the United States.
- Sister city relationships between Turkish and American cities.

For further information about TCA you can log on to their web site: [www.turkishcoalition.org](http://www.turkishcoalition.org)

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Turkish  
Cultural  
Foundation

**TURKISH CULTURAL FOUNDATION (TCF)**

The Turkish Cultural Foundation was established in January 2000 with the mission to support the preservation and promotion of Turkish culture and heritage worldwide, through original programs and cooperation with like-minded organizations. The Foundation is an U.S. tax-exempt public charitable organization supported entirely by private donations.

Since its inception, the Foundation has provided an endowment for a permanent Turkish Language Lectureship at the University of Chicago, Middle Eastern Studies Department and awarded grants to many leading organizations in the United States and Turkey in support of their cultural programs.

Last year, the Foundation provided a total of \$ 218,000 in grants and pledges in pursuit of its mission, and in support of efforts of other civic organizations in the United States and in Turkey.

In recognition of the importance of preserving Turkish language and culture among young Turkish Americans, the Foundation issued a challenge grant to local Turkish organizations in the United States and in Canada to open Turkish community schools. The Turkish American Cultural Alliance of St. Louis ([www.tacastl.org](http://www.tacastl.org)), the Turkish American Association of Central Ohio ([www.taaco.org](http://www.taaco.org)) and the Pittsburgh Turkish American Association ([www.ptaa.org](http://www.ptaa.org)) in the United States and the Turkish Canadian Society in Vancouver ([www.vancouverturkishsociety.org](http://www.vancouverturkishsociety.org)), Canada, were awarded grants and opened schools to serve their community's children.

The Foundation also supports education in Turkey through grants to the Turkish Educational Foundation ([www.tef-usa.org](http://www.tef-usa.org)) for scholarships to needy school children, the Turkish American Women's Scholarship Fund to support disadvantaged and successful female college students ([www.tawsf.org](http://www.tawsf.org)) and to the American Research Institute in Turkey ([ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ARIT](http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ARIT)) to create a joint Fellowship Program for research grants to Turkish scholars in the areas of archeology, the humanities and social sciences. The Turkish Cultural Foundation has also given a grant to Anatolian Artisans ([www.anatolianartisans.org](http://www.anatolianartisans.org)) to organize a workshop on small business development for female artisans in developing regions of Turkey.

In support of promoting Turkish art and culture in the United States, the Foundation offered grants to interested organizations to screen a Retrospective of films by the award winning Turkish director, Zeki Demirkubuz. In cooperation with the Moon and Stars Project

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**Turkish Cultural Foundation (TCF)****TURKISH CULTURAL FOUNDATION (TCF) ctd.**

([www.moonandstarsproject.org](http://www.moonandstarsproject.org)), the Foundation supported the screening of this film series in Tempe, Arizona by the Bosphorus Art Project ([www.bosphorusartproject.org](http://www.bosphorusartproject.org)) and in Ann Arbor, Michigan by the Turkish Student Association and the University of Michigan and in Buffalo, New York by the University at Buffalo. The Foundation also co-sponsored the 2004 Turkish Film Festival in Boston and the screening of a Retrospective of films by renowned Turkish director Nuri Bilge Ceylan by the Turkish American Cultural Society of New England ([www.tacsne.org](http://www.tacsne.org)). In 2006, the Foundation has awarded a grant to Moon and Stars Project in support of the 7th Annual New York Turkish Film Festival and for the screening of the Festival's movies in other U.S. cities.

The Foundation also awarded grants to the Turkish Festival in Seattle ([www.turkfest.org](http://www.turkfest.org)) and the 9th Boston Turkish Festival ([www.tacsne.org](http://www.tacsne.org)). The American Turkish Society ([www.american-turkish-society.org](http://www.american-turkish-society.org)) was also awarded a grant in support of its cultural programs. The Turkish Cultural Foundation has also made a pledge to become the premier Foundation sponsor of an exhibition on Ottoman Textiles, "Style and Status," to be held at the Freer Gallery of Art / Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC in Fall 2006.

In support of creating a better understanding of Turkey among U.S. lawmakers, the Turkish Cultural Foundation co-sponsored visits to Turkey by members of the U.S. congressional staff prepared by the American Turkish Council ([www.the-atc.org](http://www.the-atc.org)). The Foundation organizes a tour of Istanbul's historic and cultural sites as part of this program.

In the area of preserving Turkish culture, the Foundation is supporting the English translation, publication and U.S. distribution of the novel "Huzur - Peace of Mind" by Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar by Archipelago Books ([www.archipelagobooks.org](http://www.archipelagobooks.org)) and has commissioned the creation of a web site dedicated to Turkish Music through the ages. Both projects will be completed at the end of this year.

Also under its preservation and education mission, the Turkish Cultural Foundation is underwriting the work of the Archeological Settlements in Turkey Project (TAY Project, [www.tayproject.org](http://www.tayproject.org)). This Turkish NGO's mission is to record, protect and preserve the cultural and natural heritage of Turkey by creating a complete documentation of all archaeological sites starting from prehistoric times. The Foundation commitment to TAY Project stretches over the next eight years and will cover the creation of an "Iron Age Inventory."

The Foundation also maintains the most visited web site on Turkish culture [www.turkishculture.org](http://www.turkishculture.org). Over five hundred fifty thousand visitors from ninety-one countries visited the site. Its web site, currently undergoing a facelift, is a cornucopia of information on Turkish culture and also works as a gateway to many other sites on Turkish culture, helping to open these resources to the world. It also features a Turkish Culture Calendar on the web site, listing events on Turkish culture worldwide.

## **THE CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS**

### **THE CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS ON U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS & TURKISH AMERICANS**

The Congressional Caucus on U.S.-Turkish Relations and Turkish Americans (The Turkey Caucus) was co-founded by Reps. Robert Wexler (D-FL), Ed Whitfield (R-KY), and Kay Granger (R-TX) in March 2001. The Turkey Caucus was established in an effort to strengthen U.S.-Turkish relations and raise the level of economic, military, cultural and strategic cooperation between the two NATO allies. As of today, the Turkey Caucus has 78 members.

Since its inception, there have been more bills and resolutions offered in Congress in support of Turkish-U.S. relations than ever before. Among the legislation sponsored by Caucus members are resolutions commending Turkey for her supportive role in Operation Enduring Freedom and a second resolution highlighting Turkey's cooperation in the war against terrorism. Additionally, resolutions have been offered commending Turkey for her efforts to implement tough economic reforms, recognizing the strong economic relationship between Turkey and the United States and commemorating Turkey's abiding relationship with Israel. Finally, resolutions have been offered supporting Turkey's membership in the EU and establishing Qualifying Industrial Zones (QIZ trade zones).

The Caucus also increased the number of Members of Congress traveling to Turkey. In 2002, Reps. Granger and Wexler led the inaugural Caucus delegation to Turkey to meet with Prime Minister Ecevit, President Sezer, Foreign Minister Cem, as well as other top officials in Ankara. During this high-level visit, the Caucus delegation focused on strengthening U.S.-Turkish relations with respect to counter-terrorism, defense, and energy. In addition, they discussed pressing foreign policy issues regarding Afghanistan, Israeli-Turkish relations, Iraq, the Middle East, the Balkans, Central Asia, and the Caucasus region.

In March 2003 Congressmen Wexler and Whitfield traveled to Turkey to consult with Turkish leaders following the vote in Turkish parliament regarding hosting U.S. troops. Soon after their return, the Caucus took a leadership role in support of the Administration's \$1 billion assistance to Turkey to help soften the economic effects of a war in neighboring Iraq. Efforts to eliminate the assistance were defeated on the House floor by a vote of 3 to 1, indicating strong Congressional support for U.S.-Turkish relations irrespective of events surrounding Operation Iraqi Freedom.

The Caucus has hosted numerous Turkish business and government delegations for briefings, including then - Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs Ugur Ziyal, the Turkish U.S. Business Council/DEIK executive committee, and then - Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gul. In 2004, during PM Recep Tayyip Erdogan's visit to Washington, the Caucus members were able to meet and discuss issues concerning the relations between the two countries. More recently, the Caucus has worked with the House Appropriations Committee to restore funding for the Voice of America Turkish Services. They also helped host a 125th birthday celebration for Kemal Ataturk with the Ataturk Society of America.

In addition to the activities of the Caucus, Congressmen Whitfield and Wexler founded the Congressional Study Group on Turkey through the United States Association of Former

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## The Congressional Caucus

Members of Congress in 2004. Since 2005 the Turkey Study Group and Former Members of Congress have visited Turkey numerous times. They also visited the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 2005. The two groups hosted several events for visiting Turkish delegations, including a special reception on Capitol Hill honoring Prime Minister Erdogan and his delegation during his June 2005 visit.

REPRESENTATIVE	DISTRICT	REPRESENTATIVE	DISTRICT
Rep. Robert Wexler *	D-FL	Rep. John Lewis	D-GA
Rep. Ed Whitfield *	R-KY	Rep. Betty McCollum	D-MN
Rep. Kay Granger *	R-TX	Rep. Mike McIntyre	D-NC
Rep. Robert Aderholt	R-AL	Rep. Greg Meeks	D-NY
Rep. Spencer Bachus	R-AL	Rep. Brad Miller	D-NC
Rep. Joe Barton	R-TX	Rep. Dennis Moore	D-KS
Rep. Gresham Barrett	R-SC	Rep. Jim Moran	D-VA
Rep. Howard Berman	D-CA	Rep. John Murtha	D-PA
Rep. Charles Boustany	R-LA	Rep. Solomon Ortiz	D-TX
Rep. Dan Burton	R-IN	Rep. Bill Pascrell	D-NJ
Rep. G. K. Butterfield	D-NC	Rep. Mike Pence	R-IN
Rep. Andre Carson	D-IN	Rep. Joe Pitts	R-PA
Rep. Steve Chabot	R-OH	Rep. Todd Platts	R-PA
Rep. Ben Chandler	D-KY	Rep. Earl Pomeroy	D-ND
Rep. Howard Coble	R-NC	Rep. David Price	D-NC
Rep. Stephen Cohen	D-TN	Rep. Adam Putnam	R-FL
Rep. Tom Cole	R-OK	Rep. Nick Rahall	D-WV
Rep. Bud Cramer	D-AL	Rep. Jim Ramstad	R-MN
Rep. Henry Cuellar	D-TX	Rep. Silvestre Reyes	D-TX
Rep. Geoff Davis	R-KY	Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger	D-MD
Rep. Lincoln Davis	D-TN	Rep. Jean Schmidt	R-OH
Rep. Norm Dicks	D-WA	Rep. David Scott	D-GA
Rep. Lloyd Doggett	D-TX	Rep. Pete Sessions	R-TX
Rep. Thelma Drake	R-VA	Rep. Chris Shays	R-CT
Rep. Phil English	R-PA	Rep. Bill Shuster	R-PA
Rep. Bob Etheridge	D-NC	Rep. Mike Simpson	R-ID
Rep. Eni Faleomavaega	D-Sam	Rep. Ike Skelton	D-MO
Rep. Alcee Hastings	D-FL	Rep. Cliff Stearns	R-FL
Rep. Jeb Hensarling	R-TX	Rep. Adam Smith	D-WA
Rep. Rush Holt	D-NJ	Rep. Tom Tancredo	R-CO
Rep. Virginia Foxx	R-NC	Rep. Gene Taylor	D-MS
Rep. Jessie Jackson, Jr.	D-IL	Rep. John Tanner	D-TN
Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee	D-TX	Rep. Bennie Thompson	D-MS
Rep. William Jefferson	D-LA	Rep. Edolphus Towns	D-NY
Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson	D-TX	Rep. Henry Waxman	D-CA
Rep. Tim Johnson	R-IL	Rep. Rob Wittman	R-VA
Rep. Walter Jones	R-NC	Rep. Heather Wilson	R-NM
Rep. Carolyn Kilpatrick	D-MI	Rep. Joe Wilson	R-SC
Rep. Randy Kuhl	R-NY		
Rep. Ileana Ros Lehtinen	R-FL	* Caucus Co-chairs	

**ATC MEMBER COMPANY BRIEFS**

BankPozitif makes positive contributions to the finance sector by means of activities which they perform in the individual, corporate and investment banking areas. Its clear vision strengthens its position in the banking sector.

Its mission is to be a bank that brings a new dimension to the Turkish sector banking and is proven exemplary at the international level by means of developing innovative and modern approaches which help enhance the living and business qualities of its customers.

In five years, BankPozitif aims to be among Turkey's top three banks in its sector for profitability, different distribution channels of its offices in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, it will offer to more than 500,000 customers its innovative solutions to the financial needs of the individuals. It will be the bank of choice by customers in the sectors it targets because of its high-level risk management ability, specialized and continuously developing staff, and active use of the latest technology.

Since its beginning, the core business of BankPozitif has been corporate banking. It renders services for its customers as a boutique bank. By being strictly committed to the principles of productivity, effectiveness and effective risk management, BankPozitif presents corporate financing services, corporate credits, financial leasing, and project financing. It targets construction (material, real estate, land allocation), marine and transportation (ports), energy, tourism, foodstuffs and agricultural products, financial organizations, automotive, entertainment, and others.

In addition to this, BankPozitif is interested in the privatization of state-owned enterprises and large performed asset sales, performed openly and transparently (in which there are lots of national and international participants).

BankPozitif takes a positive approach to its customers, endearing to provide banking services that make the customer's life easier and solutions that are both appropriate and fulfill expectations, whether for business, home vehicles, or other kinds of individual credits.

In line with its extraordinary banking approach, BankPozitif is prepared to visit customers at any place and time and give information about financial solutions. Its fast and solution-oriented BankPozitif call center is committed to answering all financial questions and responding to a wide variety of problems as quickly as possible.

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NTF Construction is a Turkish construction company that has worked on a variety of construction projects. Previous work includes dams and hydroelectric power plants; irrigation and drainage projects; roads, bridge and tunnel works; earthworks; potable water and waste water networks; mining and quarry operations; drilling and grouting works; buildings and industrial plants; urban infrastructure; airport; harbour; and natural gas and oil pipelines.

NTF uses state-of-the-art information technology.

NTF Information System is an integrity of the software designed to overcome the difficulties in controlling the work sites of NTE, which are spread over different geographical regions. Owing to the data processing technologies being intensely used, productivity and speed have been provided in the fields of production planning, human resources, purchasing, machinery, quality control and accounting.

With the NTFBS software designed and developed completely by NTF personnel for use in the work sites, it is possible to examine all human resources data, access the data on the daily production - consumption and operating hours of the machinery and prepare and monitor daily work site reports.

GPS (Global Positioning System) -Supported Vehicle Monitoring System, whose project, hardware and software were developed by NTF personnel and resources, makes it possible to monitor the main production vehicles currently active in the work sites with the help of the location data obtained from GPS satellites, and the data like their position, speed, load, etc. are collected over the radio lines in real time at the main center. This data has provided increased productivity for the vehicles used in the work sites. Same project won the award at the contest "New Horizons" organized by GYIAD (Association of Young Managers and Businessman) in the year 1997.

Moreover, regular training courses are held on the subjects of installation and upgrade of the other software used by the departments under full license at the center and in the work sites, in order to increase the activity of the software used. The equipment of NTF Construction includes 101 machines, 67 trucks, and 35 other vehicles.

To date NTF Construction has worked on projects from the Akköprü Dam, to the Pervari Dam and Pendik Collector.

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**ATC Member Company Briefs**


TURK AMERIKAN  
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TURKISH - AMERICAN  
BUSINESS ASSOCIATION

**TURKISH-AMERICAN BUSINESS ASSOCIATION (TABA)**

TABA founded in 1987 is a non-profit organization, headquartered in İstanbul, it has five branches in Turkey. TABA's membership is over 650 companies.

As the representative of the American Chamber of Commerce in Turkey, TABA's goal is to enhance trade relations between the U.S.A and Turkey; to encourage American investments into this country; assist members by connecting them with potential strategic partners; help solve their trade-related issues and contribute to Turkey's promotion abroad.

In order to accomplish these goals, TABA/AmCham founded several task committees. These committees are: Membership; Project Development; Telecommunication & Information Technology; Energy & Infrastructure; Law & Finance, Publications; Activities & Communications; Corporate Affairs; Consumer Products; Intellectual Royalty Rights; Trademarks Defense Industry; Tourism; Real Estate & Transportation and Investment & Regulations pertaining to EU relations.

TABA/AmCham is a member of the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A (COCUS.A), member of the European Council of American Chambers of Commerce (ECACC) and American-Turkish Council (ATC).

<http://www.amcham.org.tr>

## ATC Member Company Briefs

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### FRITO LAY IN TURKEY

Having been founded as a Turkish company in 1986, Uzay Food sold 50 % of its shares to Pepsico after 2 years and Frito Lay was founded as a 100 % Pepsico company in 1993. Today, it provides employment opportunities for more than 2.400 people through its plants in Izmit and Tarsus, its head office in Istanbul and sales and distribution network that spans all over Turkey.

Operating in the Turkish market with four international brands including Lay's, Ruffles, Doritos, and Cheetos, Frito Lay is the leader of savory snacks in Turkey. Since it entered to the Turkish snack market, Frito Lay Turkey has been growing continuously. Recently, it received the prestigious PepsiCo Founder's Award (Donald M. Kendall Award) in 2004 and 2005.

### Product Categories

**Potato Chips (Lay's, Ruffles)** The world's number one savory snacks company and the leader in Turkey, has 2 brands -Lay's and Ruffles- in the potato chips category. Lay's offers 3 choices: Classic Potato Chip, Harvest Feast (Yoghurt & Seasonal Vegetables Flavor) and Spices Flavor. With a selection of satisfying flavors, Ruffles also offers alternative choices such as Originals - Ridged Potato Chip, Tat Ketchup Flavor and Maximum - Cheese & Onion Flavor.

### Corn Chips (Doritos, A La Turca)

Doritos, Doritos Dippas and A La Turca are Frito Lay's corn chips. Doritos has 3 choices: Taco (Spices Flavor), Nacho (Cheese Flavor) and Hot Corn (Hot Pepper Flavor). Doritos Dippas was created for chip lovers who prefer eating chips with sauces. A La Turca provides a fascinating traditional tastes with its Poppy seed assortment.

### Corn Snacks (Cheetos, Çerezza)

With its wide product range suitable for all age groups, Frito Lay has two corn snack brands, Cheetos and Çerezza. Cheetos, produced from 100% corn semolina with vegetable oil and oven baked has an indispensable taste with its Cheese, Peanut, Ketchup, Steak, Twisted, Thunder, Crispy Cheese & Thunder and Mini Cheetos varieties.

### Plants and Warehouses

Frito Lay Turkey has a large distribution network all around the country with 200 distributors and a sales force of more than 1.000 people. Delicious and appetizing snacks are produced in Frito Lay's two plants in Suadiye Kocaeli and Tarsus. Frito Lay reaches all of Turkey with its distribution system and continues growing through marketing activities with its products suitable for all age groups. Frito Lay keeps its leadership in the potato chips market with Lay's and Ruffles, in the corn chips market with Doritos and A La Turca and corn snacks with Cheetos and Çerezza.

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**ARTICLES****TURKEY IN 2008: THE U.S., THE EU AND THE FUTURE**

Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938), known also as ATATÜRK, "Father of the Turks," founded the Republic of Turkey in 1923. The Republic was founded upon secular democratic principles, but has suffered recurrent periods of political instability and intermittent military coups that disrupted its democratic development. Turkey became a member of the UN in 1945, NATO in 1952, an associate member of the European Community in 1964, and began the process for accession into the EU in 2005.

Turkey's population is approximately 72 million people. It is one of the largest countries in Europe and the Middle East. A quarter of the population is under 15 years of age, 69% is of working age, and its median age is 29. Ethnically diverse, Kurds are thought to constitute about 20% of the population with concentration in the Southeast and Istanbul.

Turkey endured an economic depression and collapse of its banking sector in 2000-2001. In the past five years, however, it has enjoyed political stability and strong economic growth. Its GDP grew 8.9% in 2004, 5% in 2005, 6.1% in 2006, and 5% in 2007. It is expected to grow at a rate of 4.5% in 2008. The Turkish Lira, which depreciated at an alarming pace through the 1990s, has been remarkably steady for the past four years.

Diverse challenges, a rich history and geopolitical fate give Turkey a commanding regional role that can be projected well into the future. It is in fact located in a prime intersection of culture, political power, influence, and commerce. Turkey has big dreams to use its position to integrate into the European Union and once again become a nation of regional influence and global vitality.

**Economic Picture**

Turkey's macroeconomic picture has improved dramatically over the past five years. Growth in GDP has averaged 6.9%. Inflation was brought to single digits. Foreign direct investment blossomed to more than \$21 billion in 2007. Privatization of state-owned enterprises moved forward at a rapid pace. Economic reforms required for accession to the European Union have led to tightening fiscal policy, foreign direct investment flows, and investor confidence. The Turkish Lira was revalued in 2005 and has held remarkably stable, but a recent spike in inflation rates cause concern among investors. Foreign currency is getting harder to come by, especially with the end of the IMF oversight in May, drastically decreasing foreign direct capital inflows. In 2008 we are seeing a slow down in GDP growth and in investments.

The growth in Turkish exports in 2008 has been dramatic, but so too has been the growth of imports led by imported and more expensive oil and gas. When combined with a decline in foreign investment in privatized state-owned enterprises, Turkey's negative current account has steadily deteriorated in 2008. Turkey's economy can be expected to remain strong in the future by turning to micro-economic reforms that will benefit its strong manufacturing base and small and medium enterprises. Its increasingly market-oriented economy is in a prime location for international commerce and its economy has grown in ways that tie it ever closer to the EU. Domestically and around the world Turkey is regarded as important for its role as an

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## Articles

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### TURKEY IN 2008: THE U.S., THE EU AND THE FUTURE ctd.

energy transportation hub and thus as a leader in the energy sector. With its economy, now 17th largest in the world, Turkey is expected to be one of the world's ten largest economies within the next fifteen years. Membership in the EU would further promote economic progress.

#### U.S.-Turkish Relations

Despite difficulties that commenced with the Iraq invasion in the spring of 2003, the U.S. and Turkey have recognized that they are each others indispensable ally and preserved the core of their relationship through common goals and shared values.

In 1947 the Marshall Plan initiated a tight U.S.-Turkey relationship as Europe was rebuilt after World War II. Five years later Turkey and the U.S. became allies through membership in NATO. This strong security partnership was solidified with Turkey's dedication of armed forces to halt the spread of Communism, including a remarkable reputation for valor earned in the Korean War.

Throughout the Cold War, Turkey acted as the southern flank protector of Western interests against the Soviet Union. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Turkey's role changed, enduring a period of uncertainty but emerging in the 21st Century no less strategically important than it had been for the previous 50 years. Terrorism, religious and cultural clashes, Persian Gulf and Middle East conflicts, energy security, the potential for a nuclear armed Iran, and the alarming spread of Islamic fundamentalism have all placed Turkey and its regional position front and center.

Three issues became major irritants in the U.S.-Turkey relationship over the past five years: the Iraq invasion, dealing with PKK terrorism, and congressional flirtation with a resolution that ascribes to Turkey the crime of "genocide" for the Ottoman Empire's handling of the Armenian rebellion nearly a century ago. The first two issues have been satisfactorily managed; the third looms as a genuine flashpoint for the future.

Turkey surprised and disappointed the U.S. with its rejection in March 2003 of U.S. plans for a northern front in Iraq to be opened by transiting U.S. troops into Northern Iraq through Turkey. When Baghdad fell and Northern Iraqi Kurds appeared to emerge as the dominant post-Sadam players, Turkey feared that Iraq would disintegrate and an independent Kurdistan emerge. This was thought to be cataclysmic for Turkey's own territorial integrity and its struggle against the PKK and Kurdish independence.

Nonetheless, Turkey continued to permit massive amounts of war materiel and logistic support to transit Turkey to U.S. and coalition forces fighting in Iraq. Today, upwards of 75% of airborne re-supply for the Iraq war transits Turkey and 100% of the refueling for air operations in both Iraq and Afghanistan stage through Incirlik Air Base. Turkey has been reassured with the evolving federal structure for Iraq's government and has participated in extensive training of Iraq's politicians, bureaucrats and police, as well as large swaths of reconstruction.

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## Articles

### **TURKEY IN 2008: THE U.S., THE EU AND THE FUTURE ctd.**

Rising unpopularity for America among Turks was fueled by the perception that America's occupation of Iraq provided a northern Iraq safe haven for PKK terrorists. A dramatic up-tick in PKK cross border violence in late 2007 led Prime Minister Erdogan to seek an urgent meeting in November with President Bush. The agreement to provide Turkey "actionable intelligence" on the PKK and President Bush's pronouncement of the PKK as a "common enemy" have resolved this irritant. Likewise, the unexpected success of the Administration in getting members of the House to withdraw their support for the Armenian "genocide" resolution removed that issue from the bilateral agenda for the present.

As a result of successfully managing these three issues, U.S.-Turkey relations are the best today that they have been at any time in the past five years.

#### **Turkey and the European Union**

Although EU-oriented reforms dropped off during the 2007 election year and were slow to resume, they are now once again an active part of the Turkish Government's political and economic agenda. Successful integration into the EU would greatly benefit Turkey and will see its continued development and progression to a prosperous democratic society. As a secular democracy within a Muslim society, it faces challenges balancing social and political issues. The Justice and Development Party (AKP) members, President Abdullah Gul and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, have reaffirmed the country's commitment to this goal. Turkey's social maturity is evident in their willingness to accept EU-mandated reforms, and has improved its economy, political and social position to meet these reforms.

Turkey is in a prime location for commerce and influencing regional international relations. Its economy has grown to be the 17th largest in the world, larger than many EU states. Turkey has a young population with good work ethic and rapidly developing skills in modern technologies. Eager today to find employment and be prosperous, it is a labor force that will be desperately needed in the future by many European states. As a Democratic State with a majority Muslim population, Turkey can become not only a geopolitical bridge, but a cultural and political bridge between the EU and the Middle East and a prime example of a prosperous, democratic, yet dominantly Muslim, society.

Turkey's path to EU membership is far from certain. More than any previous aspirant, Turkey is being asked to jump over ever-changing political hurdles in its pursuit of EU membership: Cyprus, Armenian genocide, the Kurdish problem, domestic reform, and freedom of expression are but some of the problems that Turkey must address before becoming a member. To date, Turkey has managed to close but one chapter of the 35 necessary for membership. Eight chapters were suspended at the insistence of France and Cyprus. All of this amounts to a long and tremulous process of setbacks and achievements undoubtedly extending the time frame for accession of Turkey. At the same time, the EU has itself suffered from indecisions and misdirection, leading many Turks to question whether the EU can ever be a successful destination for Turkey.

## Articles

### TURKEY IN 2008: THE U.S., THE EU AND THE FUTURE ctd.

#### Afghanistan

Turkey was the first Muslim country to actively pursue the Taliban by sending troops to Afghanistan. Turkey assisted in training the Afghan military and supporters of humanitarian aid, and Turks authorized the transit of U.S. aircraft and war materiel destined for Afghanistan through Turkey's Incirlik Air Base. Turkey has been an active participant in "Operation Enduring Freedom", twice commanding the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). Efforts made to build infrastructure and promote peace in Afghanistan have engaged Turkish troops and the private sector in infrastructure development and delivery of humanitarian aid. Turkey faces a constant struggle with its own population over their demands for priority in opposing PKK terrorism before assisting its allies in Afghanistan. Nonetheless, this year Turkey has doubled its humanitarian assistance pledge and increased foreign direct investment projects by Turkish firms.

#### Kurds in Turkey

Kurdish ethnicity accounts for nearly 20% of the total Turkish population. Individually, Kurds have been denied recognition of their unique ethnicity, language, books, radio and television, music and other cultural manifestations. In recent years, however, these rights have increasingly been improved with help from EU mandates and strong representation of Kurds within the Turkish government. Recent laws now permit Kurdish language broadcasts and magazines and newspapers. Kurdish is still not permitted to be written or spoken in government or in publicly supported education. Great economic disparity is also apparent when comparing the poverty of the Southeast with the burgeoning economies of Western Turkey.

Kurdish terrorist group, the PKK, has been taking a huge toll in Turkey, particularly the Southeast. For more than three decades, Turkey has looked to the U.S. and the international community for support against the PKK, but that support has rarely been provided. Recently, the United States became much more active against the PKK providing "actionable" intelligence information to Turkey about PKK whereabouts and actions in Northern Iraq. President Bush named the PKK "an enemy of Turkey, an enemy of Iraq, and therefore an enemy of the United States." The United States has also encouraged Iraqi Kurdish authorities to work more closely with Turkey against the PKK. This too appears to have positive effect. Turkey's own Kurdish population has shown that it is not primarily interested in an independent Kurdish state. Kurds in Turkey look forward to Turkish accession to the EU as a path for increased freedoms and economic success for their people within Turkey.

#### Cyprus

The election of a new Cypriot President, Dimitris Christofias, in February 2008 has opened the best opportunity since the failure of the Annan Plan in 2004 for the Cyprus dispute to be settled. Turkey encourages the resumed negotiation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots under the auspices of the UN. In a colossal diplomatic blunder, the EU granted Cyprus membership in the EU, and European Union rights to Greek Cypriots only, even though Greek Cypriots rejected the Annan Plan. By such action, the EU assured no progress for the next four years under former President Papadopoulos. In the meantime, Turkish troops remained in place,

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## Articles

**TURKEY IN 2008: THE U.S., THE EU AND THE FUTURE ctd.**

Turkish Cypriots remained isolated, and progress on EU membership for Turkey became a hostage to the Greek Cypriots and a Cyprus solution.

**Greece**

Remarkable progress has been made in Greece-Turkey relations since the tragedies of dual earthquakes in Turkey and Greece in 1999. Disputes over ownership of islets and areas in the Aegean, treatment of each country's minority populations, and recurrent military tensions are increasingly rare. Greece supports Turkey's membership in the European Union. Exchanges of high level visits have taken place. Matters such as the reopening of the Halki Seminary remain to be resolved.

**Global Relations**

Increasingly, Turkey sees a role for itself beyond its regional influences. For example, in Africa Turkey's historical, cultural, and economic interests are paving the way to increased relations in sub-Saharan Africa, opening 15 new embassies, a robust growth of bilateral commerce, and a partnership with the African Union. Turkey has contributed humanitarian aid projects paralleling U.S. strategic aid projects in Lebanon, the West Bank, and Palestine.

**The Balkans**

The Balkans continue to have a special relationship with Turkey because of their historical connections to the Ottoman Empire, and because they are close neighbors with mutual economic and political growth prospects and accession into the EU. These countries generally are benefiting from increased commercial and humanitarian ties with Turkey and mutual memberships in NATO. Croatia is also an aspiring state for EU membership and is progressing toward that objective much more quickly than Turkey. Turkey and the Balkan States are working toward co-operation in energy supply and building infrastructure to support energy networks to Europe.

**The Caucasus**

Turkey cooperates closely with Azerbaijan and Georgia on the elimination of terrorism, human trafficking, and drug smuggling, and development of commercial projects. A fundamental piece of Europe's energy security puzzle was put in place when Turkey, Azerbaijan, and Georgia opened the Baku-Tblisi-Ceylan pipeline on July 15, 2006. Commercial projects in the region have been fostered in conjunction with many international finance and trade organizations including the Export-Import Bank of the United States, the U.S. Trade and Development Agency (TDA), and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC). Turkey has the support of the U.S. in its efforts to reduce tensions in the region through "Operation Black Sea Harmony" in conjunction with NATO's Operation Active Endeavor. In the midst of the Armenian issue is the U.S. Congress. Turkey will not normalize its relations with Armenia or open its land border with Armenia unless Armenia's long-standing occupation of 20% of Azerbaijani territory in Nagorno Karabagh comes to an end. Turkey's dispute with Armenia over Armenia's occupation of vast tracts of Azerbaijan and the efforts to brand Turkey for the crime of genocide for its treatment of Armenians at the end of World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire remain a major trouble spot.

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CONFIDENTIAL**Articles****TURKEY IN 2008: THE U.S., THE EU AND THE FUTURE ctd.****Eurasia**

When the Soviet Empire collapsed in 1991, Turkey was the first country to recognize the independence of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan believing (mistakenly) that a common linguistic and cultural heritage would result in all five looking to Turkey for leadership and encouragement. While Turkey's political and cultural gambit failed, its commercial penetration of markets throughout the "Stans" succeeded. Today, Turkish clothing, food, all variety of manufactured goods and construction can be found through Eurasia, and Turkey is a major transit hub for Eurasian energy exports to Turkey and Western Europe.

**General**

Population	71,892,807
Population growth	1.013%
Life expectancy at birth	73.14 years
GDP (ppp)	\$888 billion
GDP per capita (ppp)	\$12,900
Real GDP Growth	5%
Inflation	8.5%
Unemployment	9.9%

Statistics obtained from The World Factbook, July 7, 2008:  
<http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tu.html>

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**Articles**


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**TURKISH ECONOMY BRIEF**

July 9th 2008  
 From the Economist Intelligence Unit  
 Source: Country Forecast  
 Outlook for 2008-09

- The Economist Intelligence Unit expects the Constitutional Court to close the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and ban leading members, including the prime minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, from membership of any party.
- If this happens, we expect the party to re-form under a new name and remain in government. Most of the banned members will be able stand as independents in by-elections or possibly a general election in late 2008 or early 2009.
- We expect that Turkey's EU accession bid and economic reform will remain the government's main priorities, but progress will be slow.
- Tensions with the military may hinder the government's ability to engage fully in efforts to resolve the division of Cyprus.
- The government has not signed another IMF stand-by accord. However, post-programme monitoring and the option of a precautionary stand-by agreement at a later stage should help to maintain investor confidence.
- Owing to the continued rise in inflation, we expect the Central Bank of Turkey to keep monetary policy tight and only start to cut interest rates again in 2009.
- Owing to high inflation and interest rate increases we expect GDP growth to slow from 6.6% in the first quarter of 2008 to average 4-4.5% a year in 2008-09.

**Monthly Review**

- On June 5th Turkey's Constitutional Court annulled the constitutional amendments passed by the AKP and part of the opposition, which had allowed female students to wear Islamic-style headscarves in universities.
- On June 16th the AKP submitted its written defence in the closure case against the ruling party. The AKP is accused of being a focus of anti-secular activity.
- During a visit to Diyarbakır in the predominantly Kurdish inhabited south-east of Turkey, Mr. Erdoğan announced a South-east Anatolia Project (GAP) Action Plan to complete the GAP plan, which began in the 1980s, by 2012.
- With consumer price inflation at 10.7% in May and rising, the Monetary Policy Committee of the Central Bank decided on June 16th to raise interest rates by 50 basis points for the second month in succession.
- GDP growth accelerated to 6.6% in the first quarter of 2008, from 3.4% in the second half of 2007. Recent indicators suggest that economic activity was sluggish in the second quarter of 2008 and will remain so in the third.
- Following a bout of weakness in March and early April the lira recovered and remained broadly stable in late May and June. On June 26th the lira was trading at about YTL1.22:U.S.\$1 and YTL1.90:€1.

<http://www.economist.com/countries/Turkey/profile.cfm?folder=Profile-Forecast> Accessed July 16, 2008.

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## Articles

### ECONOMIC LOSSES FROM CHAOTIC POLITICAL CLIMATE GROWING, SAYS MINISTER

Extracted from July 8, 2008; TODAY'S ZAMAN WITH WIRES ANKARA

The cost of the political uncertainty stemming from a closure case against the ruling Justice and Development Party (AK Party) and an investigation into the Ergenekon terrorist organization is climbing, Economy Minister Mehmet Şimşek has said, noting that the Turkish Treasury has thus far sustained a loss of YTL 20 billion.

Speaking to the Anatolia news agency yesterday, the minister acknowledged that the economy is being shaken by global developments such as soaring energy prices, a liquidity squeeze and the U.S. sub prime mortgage crisis, but said political uncertainties on the domestic front are causing more damage to the Turkish economy.

"What we and many national and foreign experts think is that if there had been no political uncertainty in Turkey, it would have been among the countries least affected by the global crisis because our economy was already in a period of normalization," the minister stated.

Despite all these adverse developments in the domestic political sphere, the government did not lose focus on steering the economy and continued structural reforms to achieve a sustainable growth rate in the medium and long terms, he noted.

Still, interest rates have increased by 5.5 percentage points to 22.5 percent since the closure case filed against the AK Party in March, which, he said, represents a sharp rise. "So, the political uncertainty, together with an upsurge in risk premiums and interest rates, has caused YTL 20 billion of additional burden for the Treasury," he stated, adding, "Turkey does not deserve this crisis."

The minister pointed to the losses of companies whose stocks are traded on the İstanbul Stock Exchange (İMKB) as another result of the political turbulence. He stated that the total losses in the market capitalization of these companies have exceeded \$80 billion. More has been lost with the huge outflows of foreign capital from financial markets, the slowdown in foreign direct investment (FDI) and a contraction in consumption, he added.

A more serious upshot of the troubles in the political arena is yet to arrive, the minister predicted, stating that the economy may stop growing at the expected rate. The economy recorded 6.6 percent growth in the first quarter due to a stronger manufacturing industry, higher consumption and investment expenditures, he noted. However, he said he was not optimistic about the second quarter as the effects of the political disruptions will be seen more markedly in the figures of that period.

#### KOBİDER pleads for stability

Small and Medium Sized Enterprises (KOBİDER) Chairman Nurettin Özgenç has complained about the uncertainty in the political arena, saying that it caused a sharp downward trend in demand that is crippling production. Turkey's top priority is the economy, and the economy can only grow when there is stability, he emphasized, adding that "democracy spreads to the masses only in economically developed countries."

Speaking to the Anatolia news agency, Özgenç claimed that political ambiguities are always accompanied by a contraction in demand as households are deterred from spending their disposable incomes with a propensity to save more. He warned that political actors must be more careful in their steps for the sake of protecting the peaceful environment that the economy's actors need to run the wheels of production.

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### THE DEFENSE AND SECURITY AFFAIRS PERSPECTIVE ON U.S.-TURKEY BILATERAL RELATIONS IN MID-2008

#### Bilateral Relations

Overall, U.S.-Turkey relations are in better shape now than they have been in five years. This is due to several key developments: U.S. support for Turkey's own war on terror through provision of "actionable intelligence" that back-stops Turkish attacks on the PKK in Northern Iraq; successful side-tracking of the Armenian Genocide resolution in the U.S. House of Representatives; and the continued significant partnership of Turkey in the global war on terror in Iraq and Afghanistan.

As an outcome of Prime Minister Erdoğan's November 2007 meeting with President Bush and President Bush's identification of the PKK as a "common enemy," the U.S. military agreed to provide real-time intelligence to the Turkish military. The Turkish military has successfully used this intelligence to pursue PKK cross-border in Northern Iraq. Immediately after the Erdoğan-Bush meeting, a high-profile round of airstrikes was mounted against the PKK in Northern Iraq, followed by ground attacks employing UAVs acquired from Israel as well as Turkish ground troops. The operations were successful and showed Turkey's ability to use precision-guided munitions effectively against PKK targets with truly minimal collateral damages. The "actionable intelligence" delivered by the U.S. is playing a crucial role in the success of the military operations.

Despite approval by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, a resolution that would have adopted the term "genocide" to describe the Ottoman-Armenian massacres of 93 years ago, was not successful in passing in 2007 by the U.S. House of Representatives. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi supported the resolution, calling it "one that is consistent with what our government has always said about...what happened at that time." President Bush disagreed, saying "one thing Congress should not be doing is sorting out the historical record of the Ottoman Empire." Eight past Secretaries of State and three past Secretaries of Defense shared this viewpoint. Thanks to energetic efforts of the Administration and intense lobbying by the Government of Turkey, support for the resolution evaporated at the last moment, with several of Speaker Pelosi's leadership team urging her to withdraw the Resolution from the floor. Had this resolution come to a vote and passed, it would seriously have harmed relations between the U.S. and Turkey and outraged the Turkish public who would surely have demanded retribution of some form harmful to the U.S. war in Iraq. Should a similar or the same resolution reappear in 2009, it will again be a major threat to vital U.S.-Turkish commercial and defense interests. For example, Turkey's response to passage could well be to limit future U.S. access to Incirlik Airbase inside Turkey, a key logistical support base into and out of Iraq and Afghanistan.

Allowing the United States to use this airbase near Iraq continues to be Turkey's strongest commitment to the global war on terror. Indeed, this is a continuation the U.S.-Turkey military partnership that supported the 1991 Gulf War, Operation Provide Comfort, and Operation Northern Watch, an aerial patrol of Northern Iraq that shielded the Iraqi Kurds from Saddam Hussein from 1997-2003. Turkey also supports through Incirlik the logistics of U.S. operations in Afghanistan. As a member of NATO, Turkish troops are part of the ISAF and Turkey has

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### THE DEFENSE AND SECURITY AFFAIRS PERSPECTIVE ON U.S.-TURKEY BILATERAL RELATIONS IN MID-2008 *ctd.*

twice commanded ISAF for six-month rotational tours. Turks have also been very successful assistance partners in Afghanistan, building schools, providing humanitarian assistance, and training Afghani police.

#### Inside Turkey

Although not directly related to the relationship between the U.S. and Turkey, a few recent events crucial to the understanding of the domestic situation in Turkey are worthy of mention. The AK Party and Government have had a tension-filled relationship with the Turkish military ever since the 2002 parliamentary elections. The military issued a statement in April 2007 expressing disapproval of the government's choice of Foreign Minister Gül to become Turkey's next President in what has been popularly referred to as an "e-coup." The military's memorandum and a subsequent ruling by the Constitutional Court prompted the Government to call snap elections in July 2007 in which the AK Party was overwhelmingly preferred to continue as Government.

In separate cases in 2008, Turkey's ruling AK Party and Prime Minister Erdoğan face charges relating to the undermining of secularism, charges which could result in the AK Party's abolition and in Erdoğan's being barred from politics (along with several other leaders of the AK Party). For its part, the AK Party has mounted an aggressive criminal investigation of retired military officers and others for allegedly planning assassination of prominent liberals and a presumed military takeover in 2009. This included in early July two ex-generals, one of the only instances of flag-grade military officers being arrested in Turkey's history.

Since the inception of the Republic, the military – which led coups that displaced popularly elected governments in 1960, 1971, and 1980 – has been seen as the guardian of secularism in Turkey. It continues to be held in high respect by the Turkish public. The current AK Party Government, despite achieving another majority in Parliament by winning 47% of the vote in the 2007 general election, is not secular enough for the military's taste and now finds itself under investigation by the Constitutional Court. Many inside and outside Turkey believe that the Party will be disbanded and Prime Minister Erdogan banned from politics. However, it is not possible at this point to predict the outcome. Should the AK Party be disbanded and Erdogan barred from politics, it is not clear just how this would affect Turkey's political stability and economic progress—but it wouldn't be positive.

The criminal investigation of retired military officers and others for allegedly planning assassination of prominent liberals and a presumed military takeover in 2009 (referred to in the media as the Ergenekon case or conspiracy), became public in January 2008, when 33 people, including some military members, were arrested. The Ergenekon case started after the discovery of 27 hand grenades on June 12, 2007 in a shanty house officer in Istanbul's Ümraniye district that belonged to a retired noncommissioned officer. On July 1, 2008, two ex-generals were arrested and a total of 86 individuals indicted. This led to speculation that the arrests were possibly revenge for the otherwise unrelated AK Party closure case. According to leaked

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**THE DEFENSE AND SECURITY AFFAIRS PERSPECTIVE ON  
U.S.-TURKEY BILATERAL RELATIONS IN MID-2008 ctd.**

information from the investigators, the ultra-nationalist Ergenekon operation was allegedly plotting to assassinate more high-profile liberal intellectuals, including a winner of the Nobel Prize, in an attempt to destabilize the nation and hurt Turkey's progress towards joining the EU. If assassinations had been carried out, it is alleged the military was planning to seize power in Turkey in a moment of confusion, terror, and destabilization. At the time of this writing, no formal indictment had been announced regarding any of those arrested in connection with this case.

**The Turkish-U.S. Defense Industry Cooperation**

The bilateral defense relationship between the U.S. and Turkey is a mutually beneficial relationship which has existed for over sixty years and has enhanced the national security of both countries as well as peace within Europe. Especially in recent years, Turkey's approach to defense industry cooperation has been driven by two complementary aspirations, the need for the most modern and effective defense technology, which is often acquired by partnerships between the Turkish military (TSK) and foreign governments or businesses (including many in the U.S.), and Turkey's desire to become technologically self-sufficient, ultimately achieving its own indigenous defense industry driven by the most up-to-date Turkish defense companies. Spearheading this effort is the Undersecretariat for Defense Industries (SSM), Turkey's military procurement agency. The SSM attempts to strike a balance between the short and long-term by encouraging immediate acquisition of military technologies while fostering Turkish innovation and self-sufficiency. In 2006, Turkey exported \$352 million worth of arms and bought \$1.7 billion for its own use. The International Cooperation Department of SSM is responsible for the research of potential international project opportunities under the Director of Bilateral Cooperation and the Director of Multilateral Cooperation.

Turkey's military is moving in the direction of a leaner, more modern force. Turkey plans to reduce the overall number of troops by twenty to thirty percent and to increase their level of specialization. TSK and SSM run a tight ship, a very strong conventional-weapons operation of armor, aviation (planes, helicopters, and UAVs), missiles, and naval forces.

Turkey intends to remain the strongest aviation power in the region. One of eleven countries in the Joint Strike Fighter project, in which the U.S. plays the leading role, Turkey plans to buy 100 JSF-35 planes for a cost of \$11 billion to replace its aging fleet made up of F-4s and F-16s. Turkey has used Israeli-built UAVs in successful attacks in Northern Iraq against the PKK, but the business situation with Israeli Aircraft Industries (IAI) has frustrated Turkey, which is now developing its own UAV prototypes.

U.S. Government and businesses have supplied defense products to Turkey for many years beginning in 1947 with the Marshall Plan. Sales stalled following Turkey's invasion of Cyprus in 1974 and the imposition of the U.S. arms embargo. Sales stalled again in 1995 and 1997 after reports of U.S.-made weapons being used in committing war crimes against Kurdish communities in Turkey's Southeast. Yet droughts of U.S. arms flows to Turkey have many times led to

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### THE DEFENSE AND SECURITY AFFAIRS PERSPECTIVE ON U.S.-TURKEY BILATERAL RELATIONS IN MID-2008 ctd.

Turkish innovation. Trading with the U.S. (the world's leading exporter of defense technology) is, in some respects, more appealing to Turkey than dealing with Russia or South Korea. In any case, foreign relations between Turkey and any defense partner are burdened by external issues such as the Armenian genocide debates, interoperability with NATO, and the humanitarian situation of the Palestinians or Kurds, and thus become extremely complicated business ventures. Nonetheless, the SSM and TSK are moving Turkey in the direction of improved military capabilities. Reliable American technologies, especially those effective in fighting the PKK in Northern Iraq and in the Southeast, are still very attractive to the Turkish military.

#### Conclusion

Although it is impossible to predict how Turkey's domestic political situation will play out over the next few months, it is likely that Turkey's secular democratic government and its close ties with the West—particularly including the United States—will remain in place. The one predictable exception to this scenario is if the U.S. Congress passes an "Armenian Genocide Resolution." As has already been mentioned, this action would certainly have an immediate and extremely detrimental effect on U.S.-Turkey relations in every arena, particularly including commercial ties and security cooperation. Regardless of what else happens, Turkey will remain important globally and regionally. It will also remain an important market for defense technology acquisition/development, even as it continues to place increased emphasis on a more balanced model of defense industry cooperation. For these reasons, a strong U.S.-Turkey relationship, based on mutual respect of each other's sovereignty and close cooperation in all fields, should be a vital component of U.S. foreign policy, as designed through careful cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of our government.

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Congressional Record  
 Vol. 152 WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, MAY 16, 2006 No. 60  
 PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 109th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

**Patara: The Origins of American Democracy,  
 1800 Years and 7000 Miles Away  
 (House of Representatives - May 16, 2006)  
 HON. CLIFF STEARNS  
 OF FLORIDA  
 IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

Mr. STEARNS: Mr. Speaker, the city of Patara in Turkey sports a fantastic beach that sprawls for more than 11 miles. It recently rated number one on the London Sunday Times' list of the world's best beaches. But Patara is worth our attention for more than sand and surf. An archeological team led by Akdeniz University Professors Fahri Isik and Havva Iskan Isik recently unearthed an ancient parliament building in Patara -- the meeting place of the first federal-republic in recorded human history. The building, called the Bouleuterion, housed at least twenty-three city-states of the Lycian League, which existed along the Mediterranean coast of Turkey from about 167 BC until 400 AD.

The Lycian League's republican governing system, utilizing proportional representation, was unparalleled in the ancient world, and fascinated the pioneering philosophers of the Enlightenment, particularly Montesquieu. Depending on the size of the member cities, each elected one, two or three representatives to the Lycian parliament. When cities were too small, two or three banded together to share one representative vote. The six largest cities in the League had the right to three votes. The parliament elected a president, called the "Lyciarch," which at various times served as the League's religious, military, and political leader. Although it is contested, there is evidence to suggest that women could be and in fact were Lyciarch.

In Book IX of Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws, after charting the highs and lows of the earliest republics, he stresses the utility of a confederacy. He cites the Lycian League as an example: "It is unlikely that states that associate will be of the same size and have equal power. ... If one had to propose a model of a fine federal republic, I would choose the republic of Lycia."

Montesquieu's interest in the Lycian way of government would prove central to our founding. Thanks to his writings, in the debates about our own Constitution, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison cited the Lycian League as a model for our own system of government.

As well, in literal linkage, the semi-circular configuration of seats in this House of Representatives is exactly the same seating arrangement as in the Bouleuterion in Patara. The Bouleuterion's throne-like perch, where the elected Lyciarch sat, is much the same as the seat of the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

On June 30, 1787, at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, James Madison appealed to the delegates' understanding of the Lycian League. The Convention had just rejected the

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"New Jersey Plan", which called for a rather modest revision of our nation's first constitutional framework, the failed Articles of Confederation. The delegates resolved to come up with a new constitution, but had few notions in common of how it should proceed.

A delegate from Connecticut, Oliver Ellsworth, had just finished arguing for the Articles of Confederation's principle that every state should be equal in the national arena. He specifically asked, "Where is or was a confederation ever formed, where equality of voices was not a fundamental principle?" James Madison replied that the Lycian League was different, according to representation in reflection of actual size. His Virginia plan provided for a bicameral legislature, with both houses' representation based on states' population. He eventually had to accept a compromise, with a people's house of proportional representation, our House of Representatives, in tandem with a Senate of equal state representation.

Hamilton and Madison also cited the Lycian League in defense of representative democracy. While direct rule usually resulted in either tyranny or anarchy, the two founders felt that delegation of authority to elected representatives would allow the government to function properly.

The ideas and debates of our founding fathers may seem archaic to our modern times, but we face questions of federalism every day in this Congress. A federalist system of government divides power between a central authority (the federal government) and constituent political units (the states and localities). The delineation of that power comes into question particularly often on the Energy & Commerce Committee, of which I am a Subcommittee Chairman, whether we are debating the proper authority over electricity transmission across state lines, the regulation of hazardous waste, or the transmission of information through our telecommunications infrastructure.

Meanwhile, whether we are helping Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries develop representative democratic systems, or providing advice to the burgeoning democracies of post-Soviet Eastern Europe, we effectively reenact the Constitutional Convention's debates about the Lycian League and the nature of democracy around the world. We are doing what we can to help spread freedom and democracy, in our own image. Unfortunately, while it is relatively easy to conceive of the best model of government -- as our founding fathers did, and Montesquieu did before them -- the diversity of the real world, in geography, ethnicity, religion, and history, makes applying that best model quite difficult in practice.

The British archeologist George Bean highlighted some of the unique features of the Lycian League -- features not dissimilar to our own country's: "Among the various races of Anatolia, the Lycians always held a distinctive place. Locked away in their mountainous country, they had a fierce love of freedom and independence, and resisted strongly all attempts at outside domination; they were the last in Asia Minor to be incorporated as a province into the Roman Empire."

Our experience so far in guiding the nascent democracy in Iraq should certainly illustrate that representative democracy may not be perfectly replicable, at least overnight.

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Fifteen years ago, all a visitor to Patara would have noticed were the tops of a few old stones. Today, the excavations at Patara have unearthed the remains of an entire city. The archeological team has rescued numerous buildings and items from the sand and scrub brush, besides the Bouleuterion parliament building, including: a large necropolis; a Roman bath; a sizeable semi-circular theater; a sprawling main avenue leading to the market square; a Byzantine basilica (one of 22 churches once packed into Patara); one of the world's oldest lighthouses; and a fortified wall.

I would encourage everyone to visit Patara, for its beauty and for its archeological significance. The excavation site is a 10-15 minute from the glorious beach, and will be opened to the public in 2007. While we wait, one of Turkey's largest museums, the Antalya Archaeological Museum, displays many of the finds from Patara and the surrounding area.

We owe a great debt to Turkey's Ministry of Culture and the Akdeniz University in Antalya for their dedication of time and money to bringing the ancient ruins of Patara out of the dust and back into our lives.

In closing, I would like to thank: Dr. Gul Isin, Associate Professor of Archeology at Akdeniz Antalya in Turkey, who has been diligently working with Dr. Fahri Isik and Dr. Havva Iskan Isik to uncover the mysteries of the Patara site; Professor James W. Muller of the University of Alaska, Anchorage, who dissected how the Lycian League affected the founding fathers; and the American Friends of Turkey, the Friends of Patara, and former Representatives Stephen Solarz and Robert Livingston, who graciously introduced me to the archeological findings at Patara, and the important work of Professors Isin and Muller.

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### SPLENDID RUINS OF AN "EXCELLENT REPUBLIC"

*Written by Christopher Walker for Saudi Aramco World*

In the shadow of the herb-scented Taurus Mountains, with their picturesque covering of pine and juniper forest, and overlooking Turkey's "Turquoise Coast," a long-silent bouleuterion, or council chamber, once held the proceedings of the Lycian League, considered to be history's earliest example of the republican form of government. With its rows of stone seats set out in a semicircle around a raised dais, it looks uncannily like the chambers of modern legislatures and parliaments.

The historical significance of the Lycian League was its uniquely federal character. Whereas other "leagues" and alliances in the Hellenistic world were often simpler bands of city-states united against common foes, the Lycians of southwestern Anatolia shared a racial and cultural lineage that helped set them apart from other proto-nations of the Mediterranean world.

Until the American model was forged half a world away and nearly 2000 years later, no other legislative body had apparently considered the Lycian example. The senate of Rome was a unicameral oligarchy, made up of those who were rich, noble and old enough to qualify. Britain's parliament, although bicameral and representative in many ways, was not developed according to a federal model.

At one time, the Lycian bouleuterion housed the elected representatives of the 23 city-states that first came together in approximately 205 BC and formally confederated in 168 BC. The resulting League not only kept its often squabbling members united, but also managed to exert authority over individual citizens of its constituent states.

The world's first recorded example of representative democracy had its capital in the port city of Patara, first mentioned by the Greek historian Herodotus, who described it as the cult center of the god Apollo. Both Horace and Virgil gave the city greater importance, referring to Patara (rather than Delos) as Apollo's birthplace.

The Lycians, according to their most respected modern chronicler, the British archeologist Geoffrey Bean, "among the various races of Anatolia, always held a distinctive place. Locked away in their mountainous country, they had a fierce love of freedom and independence, and resisted strongly all attempts at outside domination; they were the last in Asia Minor to be incorporated as a province in the Roman Empire."

The Lycians had their own language and alphabet, although following the conquests of Alexander in the fourth century BC, those gradually gave way to Greek. Historians have likened them to the Swiss today: a hard-working and prosperous people, neutral in international affairs but fierce in their defense of freedom and conservative in their attachment to ancestral tradition.

The Lycian League flourished both in the Hellenistic period, when the harbor was used as a naval base by Alexander's successors, and during the Roman Empire, when, against the odds, Lycia continued to function as a largely autonomous province.

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**SPLENDID RUINS OF AN "EXCELLENT REPUBLIC" ctd.**

In that turbulent period, the parliament building was joined by such impressive monuments as the amphitheater, the ornate city gate, baths, temples, a lighthouse—now claimed as the world's oldest—and a huge granary dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian, who in the year 131 visited with his wife Sabina. Before that, Lycia had been a stopping-off point for St. Paul during his missionary journey from Rhodes to the Phoenician port of Tyre. Patar's influence began to wane in the seventh century, after the Arab conquest, by which time its harbor had become almost totally silted up. By the 15th century it was entirely abandoned.

The city remains in that condition today, although the swarms of mosquitoes that molest archeologists and tourists alike on its spectacular 18-kilometer (11-mi) sandy beach are no longer malarial. The remote spot provides nesting places for the endangered hammerhead turtle and is home to legions of snakes and scorpions. It features swampy terrain and rampant vegetation, which strict Turkish conservation laws will not permit the use of pesticides to combat, partly explaining why the 100-hectare (250-acre) archeological site remained largely neglected until the late 1980's.

"When we first started digging, our tents were burned down by angry local people, who were convinced that we were responsible for the government restrictions that prevented them from building any type of tourist infrastructure," says Gül Işin, an archeologist with Akdeniz University and a leading member of the joint Turkish-German excavating team.

Although the Patar ruins were buried under thousands of tons of windblown sand at the time that the U.S. Congress came into being in the late 18th century, the once unique elected-representative system practiced by the Lycian League for at least 300 years was a formative influence on the framing of the U.S. Constitution.

It was the structure of the central Lycian authority and the responsibilities it was given that made it attractive to the framers of the U.S. Constitution. The Lycian model provided a formula that permitted the framers to compromise the interstate rivalries that endure to this day: Whereas the "upper house" would be made up of an equal number of senators from each state, the "lower house" would be made up of representatives elected in proportion to each state's population. In addition, the Lycian executive was not hereditary: The Lycian League was headed by an annually elected president known as the lyciarch—and, intriguingly, possibly also the lyciarchissa.

Sitting in the lyciarch's throne-like seat today, it is possible to imagine the representatives of the League sitting in the 13 semicircular rows of seats, holding debates on military and political affairs, making and breaking legislative alliances, in much the modern way.

"Among classical federations, its structure was unique," says Işin. "Of course, there are design differences between this building and the American House of Representatives, which was discussed and founded when this was hidden under the sand." But the federation is mentioned three times in the Federalist Papers, the series of 85 seminal essays written by Alexander

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### SPLENDID RUINS OF AN "EXCELLENT REPUBLIC" ctd.

Hamilton, John Jay and James Madison in 1787 and 1788, the years when ratification of the U.S. Constitution was being debated.

What particularly caught the eye of political commentators, stretching back to the Roman geographer and man of letters Strabo, was the way the League devised its system of proportional representation to distribute power among its differently sized members. According to Strabo, the member cities sent one, two or three representatives to the assembly, with the six largest members (including the capital, Patara), having the right to the maximum three votes.

According to James W. Muller, a constitutional scholar and professor of political science at the University of Alaska, the Lycian confederacy made three contributions to the U.S. Constitution. First, he says, "it was a model of a federal union the strength of whose parts in the national councils was proportionate to their size. Second, it showed the possibility of popular government that was representative. Thirdly, it offered the example of a strong national government with its own strong officers and the power to make laws that applied directly to individual citizens."

Explaining the global influence of the League, he adds that, since 1787, "the American Constitution has drawn the attention of constitution-makers, not the Lycian League. Before that, I am not aware of other governments that hearkened to the example of Lycia in drawing up constitutions."

Muller, who first visited Patara three years before the excavations began to reveal what lay under the thousands of truckloads of sand that have since been removed, is also an admirer of the 18th-century French political philosopher Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu. Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* was the most popular political book in America in the 1780's.

Observing that in Federalist No. 45, James Madison qualified his reference to the Lycian confederacy by explaining that it provided an example "as far as its principles and form are transmitted," Muller added, "There were limits to the knowledge of Madison, Hamilton, Montesquieu and Strabo about how the Lycian confederacy actually worked. But those limits are being rectified by the current excavation in Patara. We are much indebted to the painstaking work there, which is deepening our understanding of the antecedents of the American Constitution."

"The celebrated Montesquieu," as Madison described him in 1787, was a French philosopher admired by people on all political sides of the Constitutional Convention. ("S'il falloit donner un modèle d'une belle république fédérative," he said, "je prendrais la république de Lycie." "If one had to propose a model of an excellent federal republic, I would choose the republic of Lycia.") It was this remark that directed so much attention to the political arrangements of the people who had lived in 23 city-states along the southern coast of Turkey during the last two centuries BC.

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**SPLENDID RUINS OF AN "EXCELLENT REPUBLIC" ctd.**

At the foot of the evocatively preserved bouleuterion, where visitors can wander and climb to their hearts' content during opening hours, there is a room archeologists believe once housed the archives of the League. In keeping with the theme of Apollo that dominates the Patara ruins, on the room's entrance stone are carved the three symbols of the god: a baby turtle, a lizard and a grasshopper.

On the other side of the outer wall lie hundreds of large, recently numbered stones among a whispering carpet of daisy-like yellow and white camomile flowers. When more funds have been raised for the excavation work, the stones will be put into their original positions as part of an ambitious historical reconstruction.

"The different political weights of cities in the common assembly of the Lycian confederacy showed the possibility of a federation in which members of different sizes came together in a way which reflected their real strength," Muller explains.

"This was the idea for Congress in James Madison's Virginia Plan, which proposed a bicameral legislature—two houses—both of which gave the states representation in proportion to their population, as in Lycia. Madison then had to compromise with his opponents and accept the equality of states in the Senate, but the American House of Representatives, where states have representation in proportion to their population, is founded, as Madison urged, on the principle of the Lycian confederation."

The framers had more to say than this, too. In Federalist No. 9, Hamilton explained that in Lycia, the common council had the power to appoint all judges and magistrates for the confederated cities. In Federalist No. 16, he pointed out that in Lycia, federal laws applied not only to cities, but also directly to individuals. In Federalist No. 45, Madison referred specifically to the "degree and species of power" of the national government in Lycia, which he welcomed as the model for the stronger national government established in the Constitution.

Although the largely unspoiled site of present-day Patara provides insight into the setting where Lycians lived and governed, there are as yet few clues about much else—for example, how they lived, and how they looked —beyond the hints on some reliefs and coins that they wore their hair long.

Herodotus claimed that the Lycians had a different appearance from other troops in Asia Minor, who commonly wore Greek armor. As the earliest author to ever mention Patara, he wrote this description of a Lycian naval crew in 480 BC, as they joined Persian King Xerxes' invasion of Greece with 50 ships: "They wore greaves (shin protectors) and corselets (body armor); they carried bows of cornel wood, cane arrows without feathers, and javelins. They had goatskin slung around their shoulders, and hats stuck round with feathers. They also carried daggers and rip-hooks."

One of the most fascinating finds at the site is the "Stadasmus Patarensis," a monument that

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## Articles

**SPLENDID RUINS OF AN "EXCELLENT REPUBLIC" ctd.**

shows firsthand and in detail how the Lycian League grew, giving the names and distances of member cities—just as a sign in Los Angeles today might read "Las Vegas: 237 miles, Boise: 682 miles, Spokane: 944 miles; San Francisco: 354 miles." One of the inscriptions states that the Lycians were "the friends of the Romans" and another that "a consultative parliament was established by the best men of Lycia." The monument consisted of 53 large inscribed stones, of which 41 have been found; finding the rest and rebuilding the structure will have to wait for more funding.

In the ruins of Patara, archeologists have also found hints of the power and influence of at least certain Lycian women. Inscriptions found in the remains of the bouleuterion show that at least two women, named Marcia Aurelia and Crision Nemeso, were using the title lyciarchissa. But there is as yet no proof whether they were actually elected in their own right to run the assembly or whether they were using the feminine of lyciarch because that was their husbands' title.

"Nothing uncovered so far can yet solve this fascinating mystery one way or the other," says Işin. "We are hoping that something not as yet unearthed will one day be able to provide an answer."

However, on the entrance wall to the impressive 10,000-seat amphitheater, whose ruins tower next door to the much smaller bouleuterion, the female name Velia Prokla is clearly carved into the stone, recording that she was the benefactor who put up the money to construct the building. "Either she was extremely rich in her own right, or it was family money," Işin explains.

Herodotus had already noted that Lycians have "customs that resemble no one else's. They use their mother's name instead of their father's." As excavations continue, more than just a prototype for American democracy may yet emerge from the sands of Patara.

*This article appeared on pages 14-23 of the September/October 2007 print edition of Saudi Aramco World.*

<http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200705/splendid.ruins.of.an.excellent.republic..htm>

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- p. 2/3—Especially in recent years, Turkey's approach to defense industry cooperation has been driven by two complementary aspirations, the need for the most modern and.....
- p. 3--Trading with the US, the world's leading exporter of defense technology, is in some respects, more appealing to Turkey than dealing with Russia or South Korea.

#### *Conclusion*

Although it is impossible to predict how Turkey's domestic political situation will play out over the next few months, it is likely that Turkey's secular democratic government and its close ties with the West—particularly including the United States—will remain in place. The one predictable exception to this scenario is if the US Congress passes an "Armenian Genocide Resolution". As has already been mentioned, this action would certainly have an immediate and extremely detrimental effect on US-Turkey relations in every arena, particularly including commercial ties and security cooperation.

Regardless of what else happens, Turkey will remain important globally and regionally. It will also remain an important market for defense technology acquisition/development, even as it continues to place increased emphasis on a more balanced model of defense industry cooperation.

For these reasons, a strong US-Turkey relationship, based on mutual respect of each other's sovereignty and close cooperation in all fields, should be a vital component of US foreign policy, as designed through careful cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of our government.





Other Information

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U.S. AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS  
 PERIOD: JAN 2002-DEC 2007 CY  
 NON-CONVERTED UNITS  
 VALUES ARE IN DOLLARS  
 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
 FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICE  
 CY 2002-2006 AND YEAR-TO-DATE COMPARISONS

AREA/COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION AND COMMODITIES EXPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (Jan-Dec)					2007 COMPARISONS	CHANGE
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006		
Turkey							
4840							
ANIMAL FEEDS	43,751,626	49,164,064	56,209,899	54,409,861	61,197,112	61,197,112	84,744,055
090900014 MT	4,124	4,124	4,124	4,124	4,124	4,124	4,124
090900024 MT	70,052,692	109,413,768	80,884,340	6,894,310	25,359	25,359	62,031
090900034 MT	339,778,296	407,974,123	447,525,846	527,189,846	512,416,812	512,416,812	77,476,292
090900044 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	167,284,125
090900054 MT	0	46,309	0	0	0	0	0
090900064 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900074 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900084 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900094 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900104 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900114 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900124 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900134 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900144 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900154 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900164 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900174 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900184 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900194 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900204 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900214 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900224 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900234 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900244 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900254 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900264 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900274 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900284 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900294 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900304 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900314 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900324 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900334 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900344 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900354 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900364 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900374 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900384 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900394 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900404 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900414 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900424 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900434 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900444 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900454 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900464 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900474 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900484 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900494 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900504 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900514 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900524 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900534 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900544 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900554 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900564 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900574 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900584 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900594 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900604 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900614 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900624 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900634 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900644 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900654 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900664 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900674 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900684 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900694 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900704 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900714 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900724 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900734 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900744 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900754 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900764 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900774 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900784 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900794 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900804 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900814 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900824 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900834 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900844 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900854 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900864 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900874 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900884 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900894 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900904 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900914 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900924 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900934 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900944 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900954 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900964 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900974 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900984 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090900994 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901004 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901014 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901024 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901034 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901044 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901054 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901064 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901074 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901084 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901094 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901104 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901114 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901124 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901134 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901144 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901154 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901164 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901174 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901184 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901194 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901204 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901214 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901224 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901234 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901244 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901254 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901264 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901274 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901284 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901294 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901304 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901314 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901324 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901334 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901344 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901354 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901364 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901374 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901384 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901394 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901404 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901414 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901424 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901434 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901444 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901454 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901464 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901474 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901484 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901494 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901504 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901514 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901524 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901534 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901544 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901554 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901564 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901574 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901584 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901594 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
090901604 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
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Other Information

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
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CY 2002-2006 AND YEAR-TO-DATE COMPARISONS

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MARKET CATEGORIES OF ORIGIN AND COMMODITIES IMPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (JAN-FEB)					YEAR-TO-DATE COMPARISONS		CHANGE
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2004	2007	
Turkey								
050000021 MT	298	303	348	302	364	164	556	38.86
050000022 MT	11	0	180	0	0	0	0	0.00
050000023 MT	21	38	180	0	0	0	0	0.00
050000024 MT	23	12	15	54	49	39	124	-50.13
050000025 MT	166	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
050000026 MT	301	166	138	64	81	81	85	5.42
050000027 MT	26,203	9,095	22,661	15,434	33,391	13,391	74,146	122.05
050000028 MT	62	343	243	94	357	357	207	-42.02
050000029 MT	752	0	13	0	2,546	2,546	35	-30.82
050000030 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
050000031 MT	0	0	0	347	0	0	0	0.00
050000032 MT	17	32	5	8	0	0	114	N/A
050000033 MT	467	486	389	961	2,345	2,345	2,662	13.49
050000034 MT	1,422	1,575	1,424	4,104	3,035	3,035	3,858	158.92
050000035 MT	6,323	7,640	4,839	6,888	5,354	5,354	6,294	14.47
050000036 MT	1,013	6,463	155,313	35,045	283	283	565	14.41
050000037 MT	173	175	83	117	221	221	1,157	423.91
050000038 MT	739	835	682	1,465	2,688	2,688	2,561	-4.72
050000039 MT	403,589	42,049	16,163	2,741	10,291	10,291	160,256	1360.85
050000040 MT	7,247	23,249	10,482	16,684	12,371	12,371	14,400	15.59
050000041 MT	4,412	700	274,135	486,654	1,564,224	1,264,224	1,504	-99.81
050000042 MT	38,318	31,133	55,303	61,333	73,494	73,494	72,146	-2.10
050000043 MT	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
050000044 MT	21	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
050000045 MT	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
050000046 MT	54	37	65	78	108	108	138	27.94
050000047 MT	21	8	17	21	21	21	19	-11.12
050000048 MT	2	2,371	2	0	0	0	0	0.00
050000049 MT	3,622	10,295	6,122	8,482	4,634	4,634	6,349	35.80
050000050 MT	9,435	10,295	9,107	6,912	8,234	8,234	10,037	21.90
050000051 MT	2	13	75	29	237	237	4,374	1744.92
050000052 MT	130	1,132	889	1,771	500	500	675	34.84
050000053 MT	46,544	37,519	43,463	33,237	32,934	32,934	31,000	-5.81
050000054 MT	7,104	7,791	6,099	4,751	6,354	6,354	5,481	-10.59
050000055 MT	16	48	64	32	3	3	18	584.81

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICE  
CY 2002-2006 AND YEAR-TO-DATE COMPARISONS

AREA/COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND COMMODITY IMPORTS	CALENDAR YEARS (2002-2006)					Y CHANGE
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
4890						
WHEAT	143	18	16	20	16	29
WINE AND BEER	551	243	163	246	448	479
GRAND TOTAL	461,792	309,862	573,212	516,318	327,466	399,271
						2007
						80,716
						6,793
						20,112



2008 CONGRESSIONAL

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Other Information **CONFIDENTIAL**

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICE  
CY 2002-2006 AND YEAR-TO-DATE COMPARISONS

U.S. AGRICULTURAL CONSUMPTION IMPORTS \*  
PERIOD: JAN 2002-DEC 2007 CY  
NON-CERTIFIED DUTIES  
VALUED IN U.S. DOLLARS

AREA/COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN AND COMMODITIES IMPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (JAN-DEC)						JAN - DEC COMPARISONS		%
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2006	2007	
Turkey									
4890									
CHEESE	816,402	946,753	1,394,203	1,246,186	1,456,956	2,715,200	0	96.22	
080000225 MT	16,672	0	408,784	0	0	0	0	0.00	
080000237 MT	50,414	62,530	9,600	3,057	0	0	0	0.00	
080000544 MT	1,259,151	1,347,277	996,484	1,096,401	1,409,750	1,711,905	1,711,905	-2.09	
080000312 MT	1,456,183	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	
080000313 MT	245,104	0	131,197	179,987	409,073	197,119	197,119	-51.81	
080000314 MT	627,995	7,351,56	7,351,56	6,383,233	31,252,334	50,427,428	50,427,428	61.34	
080000315 MT	47,421,918	2,731,138	2,068,681	1,947,823	2,544,430	1,676,522	1,676,522	-33.84	
080000316 MT	42,915	54,917	1,585	66,004	54,430	5,032	5,032	-90.75	
080000336 MIXED	7,584	0	5,000	0	0	60,000	60,000	N/A	
080000338 NO	0	0	0	2,485,326	0	0	0	0.00	
080000339 MT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	
080000440 NO	5,406	13,750	5,240	8,418	0	19,286	19,286	N/A	
080000442 MIXED	166,974	228,236	290,001	401,489	761,497	697,184	697,184	-8.46	
080000444 MT	968,364	1,122,966	1,427,444	1,321,813	3,136,150	7,554,011	7,554,011	140.72	
080000445 MT	6,484,788	9,084,404	5,361,812	5,686,207	4,936,236	6,924,991	6,924,991	31.13	
080000446 MT	134,589	0	0	0	2,766,780	6,686,474	6,686,474	65.59	
080000447 MT	6,764,116	3,539,495	4,348,257	3,062,225	2,766,780	2,766,780	2,766,780	65.59	
080000448 MT	46,049	358,567	1,133,016	106,675	293,929	1,299,371	1,299,371	342.07	
080000449 MIXED	14,133,946	27,936,986	4,153,325	3,536,429	7,804,008	8,234,037	8,234,037	5.31	
080000449 MIXED	1,434,654	839,117	663,400	978,982	496,047	496,047	496,047	-1.83	
080000448 MT	15,765,336	35,843,234	38,236,295	56,891,225	44,111,937	43,740,932	43,740,932	-1.83	
080000500 MIXED	77,469	449,973	453,154	527,076	317,384	317,384	317,384	-47.66	
080000501 MIXED	174,676	166,716	193,553	197,605	246,580	133,359	133,359	-47.66	
080000502 MT	59,134,026	25,966,460	87,784,746	91,821,000	111,702,200	124,384,600	124,384,600	0.00	
080000503 MT	33,658	2,133	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	
080000504 MT	37,985	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	
080000505 MT	50,558	51,558	87,323	121,059	167,552	187,468	187,468	12.18	
080000506 MT	45,483	43,326	100,913	117,006	156,944	166,582	166,582	6.18	
080000507 MT	93,746	54,000	3,050	186,267	0	0	0	-100.00	
080000508 MT	8,150,913	12,086,930	13,456,700	11,767,740	12,614,028	16,914,153	16,914,153	34.09	
080000509 MT	18,100,000	18,100,000	17,612,748	17,612,748	16,304,172	23,261,480	23,261,480	97.71	
080000510 MT	5,960	18,100,000	18,100,000	18,100,000	1,090,467	1,031,747	1,031,747	-6.30	
080000511 MIXED	861,379	1,210,426	958,027	2,299,437	1,090,467	1,031,747	1,031,747	-6.30	
080000512 MIXED	156,508,315	119,700,754	156,894,157	154,841,744	148,289,524	176,966,392	176,966,392	16.67	
080000513 MT	19,491,039	23,925,392	29,230,495	30,786,118	35,957,142	35,194,732	35,194,732	-10.46	
080000514 MT	55,452	804,215	1,023,144	290,228	108,460	836,660	836,660	487.18	

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY





**Thank You**

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We Would Like To Thank The Following Individuals,  
Government Officials and Organizations For Their Support  
And Dedication In Helping Us Make This Trip Possible.

**CORPORATE SPONSOR**

Turkish Coalition of America

**ASSOCIATE SPONSORS**

Bank Pozitif

NTF

**EVENT HOSTS**

BankPozitif

Confederation of Turkish Businessmen & Industrialists (TUSKON)

Embassy of the United States, Ankara

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ankara

Turkish-American Business Association (TABA)

Turkish Cultural Foundation (TCF)

U.S. Consulate General, İstanbul

**PROGRAM SUPPORT**

American-Turkish Council Members

Embassy of Turkey, Washington, DC

Hyatt Hotel Staff

Karizma Tourism

Mega Residence Hotel Ankara Staff

Patara Prince Hotel Staff

&

All of Our Supporters

000199

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**Notes**

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Notes

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY

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13-6123\_0110

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Notes

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**Notes**

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY

79

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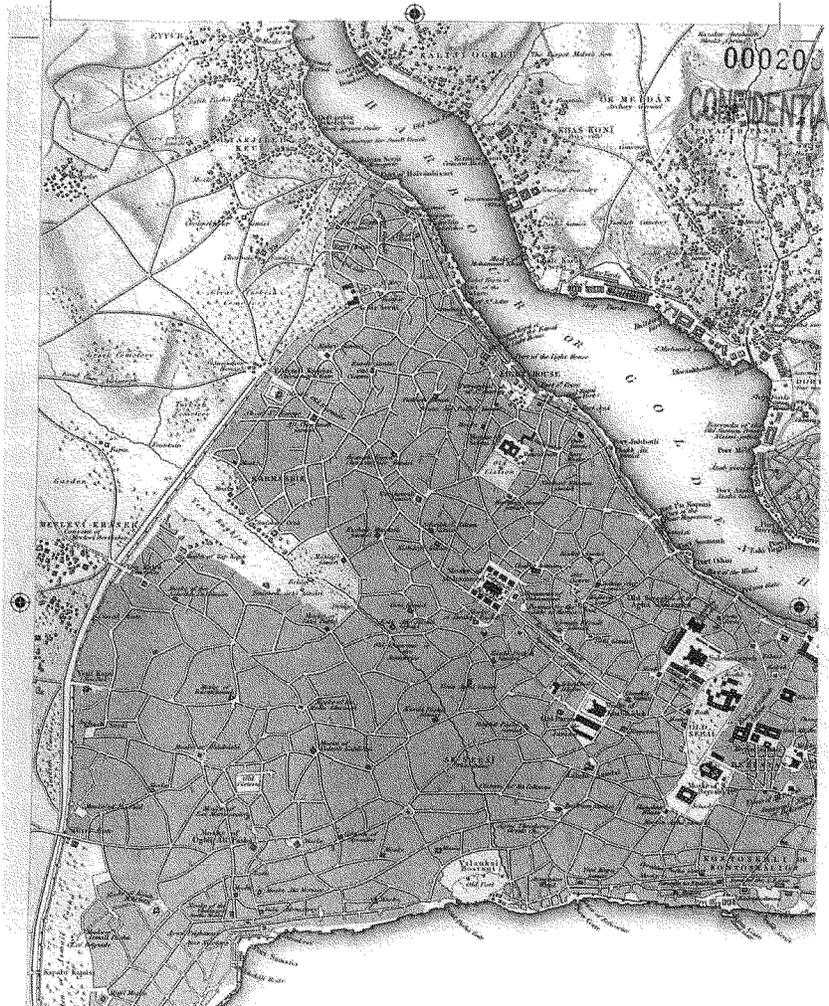
ATC\_0295

13-6123\_0114

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**Corporate Sponsor:**



**Associate Sponsors:**



**EXHIBIT 6**

**TEMPLATE INVITE LETTER SENT TO STAFFERS**

May 27, 2008

078002

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Dear:

On behalf of the American-Turkish Council, I would like to invite you to participate in the 2008 Congressional Staff trip to Turkey, including cities of Ankara, Istanbul and the Blacksea coastal city of Trabzon. This August 2-9 trip will be a unique opportunity for select Congressional Staff to gain personal insights about Turkey.

The U.S.-Turkish relationship is as important as ever. It has long been one of mutual respect and support. Turkey's economic picture is better than it has been in a generation, and its regional role for economic development and the restoration of peace is critical. Participation in this delegation will provide you with valuable insights into these and other issues, including several that will face Congress this year.

In addition to the matters of foreign policy and military cooperation that are in the forefront, U.S. corporations from almost every sector have significant business interests in Turkey. American companies in IT and telecommunications, energy, defense, health and pharmaceuticals, agribusiness, banking and finance stand to benefit from a strong, stable partner in Turkey. Turkey's continuing efforts to join the European Union (negotiations began in 2005) will have an impact on global trade and investment in years to come. On the trip, you will have the opportunity to learn in depth about various political, economic and trade issues that may be of considerable importance to your constituents.

The delegation will depart from Washington, DC on Saturday, August 2, and return on Sunday, August 9, 2008. The itinerary includes time in Ankara, Istanbul, and Trabzon. There will be meetings with Government officials and the representatives of the media in Ankara, local municipal leaders and the business communities in Istanbul and Trabzon. You will be exposed to important cultural sites in all three cities, including the Hagia Sophia and the Blue Mosque in Istanbul, the Sumela Monastery built on the cliffs of Trabzon, and Ataturk's Mausoleum in Ankara.

Participants will meet with key Turkish officials at the highest levels to discuss matters of strategic, economic and political importance. You will meet with senior officials of the U.S. Embassy in Ankara and Consulate General in Istanbul, as well as with representatives from the Turkish business sector and ATC corporate members. Briefings provided before and during the trip will ensure that you are well informed and ready to investigate areas of professional and personal interest.

ATC\_0092

13-6123\_0118

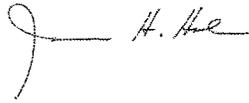
CONFIDENTIAL

The trip will focus on a number of issues vital to U.S. foreign policy and economic interests. Meetings are expected to address U.S.-Turkish security and defense issues including NATO, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and the Israeli/Palestinian crisis. Turkey's regional role in Central Asia and the Middle East in the areas of security, energy and trade are some of the other anticipated topics of discussion. Turkey's role as a regional commercial and financial hub, and as a key link between energy producing and energy consuming nations will also be explored. Other issues, such as problems with defense contracting and intellectual property rights will be discussed. Of particular interest will be Turkey's regional leadership as a secular, democratic and Muslim state.

This trip is sponsored by ATC with the support of the American Friends of Turkey (AFOT). ATC is the leading business association in the United States devoted to the promotion of U.S. commercial, defense and cultural relations with Turkey. Beginning in 1997, ATC expanded its educational awareness program to include congressional delegations. ATC is a tax-exempt, not-for-profit trade association organized and operated pursuant to Section 501(C)(6) of the Internal Revenue Code. This is the ninth year we have made this valuable trip available to Congressional Staffers. It is annually approved by the Congressional Ethics Committees with whom we are working all details of the 2008 trip.

We hope that you will be able to join us for this timely trip to Turkey. ATC will make every effort to ensure that it is a memorable experience. **As there are a limited number of spaces on this delegation, we urge you to complete the attached Confirmation Form and fax it to the ATC office at (202) 783-0511 as soon as possible.** If you have any questions, please contact Ms. Ayse Sumer at (202) 783-██████. We look forward to having you on the delegation.

Sincerely,



James H. Holmes  
President & CEO

**EXHIBIT 7**

Clerk of the House of Representatives Legislative Resource Center B-106 Cannon Building Washington, DC 20515 <a href="http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov">http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov</a>	Secretary of the Senate Office of Public Records 232 Hart Building Washington, DC 20510 <a href="http://www.senate.gov/lobby">http://www.senate.gov/lobby</a>
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## LOBBYING REGISTRATION

Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (Section 4)

**Check One:**  New Registrant  New Client for Existing Registrant  Amendment

1. Effective Date of Registration 03/01/2008

2. House Identification 32294

Senate Identification 18375

**REGISTRANT**  Organization/Lobbying Firm  Self Employed Individual

3. Registrant Organization George J. Hochbrueckner & Associates, Inc.

Address Private Road, Edgemere Park Address2 P.O. Box 637

City Laurel State NY Zip 11948 - Country USA

4. Principal place of business (if different than line 3)

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_ - Country \_\_\_\_\_

5. Contact name and telephone number  International Number

Contact Mr. George Hochbrueckner Telephone (631) 298-1298 E-mail \_\_\_\_\_

6. General description of registrant's business or activities

Consulting Firm.

**CLIENT** *A Lobbying Firm is required to file a separate registration for each client. Organizations employing in-house lobbyists should check the box labeled "Self" and proceed to line 10.*  Self

7. Client name Turkish Coalition of America

Address 1025 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 1000

City Washington State DC Zip 20036 - Country USA

8. Principal place of business (if different than line 7)

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_ - Country \_\_\_\_\_

9. General description of client's business or activities

Promotes Turkish-American interests.

### LOBBYISTS

10. Name of each individual who has acted or is expected to act as a lobbyist for the client identified on line 7. If any person listed in this section has served as a "covered executive branch official" or "covered legislative branch official" within twenty years of first acting as a lobbyist for the client, state the executive and/or legislative position(s) in which the person served.

Name			Covered Official Position (if applicable)
First	Last	Suffix	
George	Hochbrueckner		U.S. Congressman 1987-1994

Registrant <u>George J. Hochbrueckner &amp; Associates, Inc.</u>	Client Name <u>Turkish Coalition of America</u>
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**LOBBYING ISSUES**

11. General lobbying issue areas (Select all applicable codes).  
EDU

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12. Specific lobbying issues (current and anticipated)  
Turkish-American issues.

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**AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS**

13. Is there an entity other than the client that contributes more than \$5,000 to the lobbying activities of the registrant in a quarterly period and either actively participates in and/or in whole or in major part plans, supervises or controls the registrant's lobbying activities?

No --> Go to line 14.       Yes --> Complete the rest of this section for each entity matching the criteria above, then proceed to line 14.

Internet Address:

Name	Address	Principal Place of Business
	Street City	City
	State/Province Zip Code Country	State Country
		City
		State Country
		City
		State Country

---

**FOREIGN ENTITIES**

14. Is there any foreign entity

a) holds at least 20% equitable ownership in the client or any organization identified on line 13; or  
 b) directly or indirectly, in whole or in major part, plans, supervises, controls, directs, finances or subsidizes activities of the client or any organization identified on line 13; or  
 c) is an affiliate of the client or any organization identified on line 13 and has a direct interest in the outcome of the lobbying activity?

No --> Sign and date the registration.       Yes --> Complete the rest of this section for each entity matching the criteria above, then sign the registration.

Name	Address	Principal place of business (city and state or country)	Amount of contribution for lobbying activities	Ownership
	Street City	City		%
	State/Province Country	State Country		
		City		%
		State Country		

Signature  George J. Hochbrueckner, President      Date 04/08/2008

Printed Name and Title George J. Hochbrueckner, President

v6.0.0d Page 2 of 2

Clerk of the House of Representatives Legislative Resource Center B-106 Cannon Building Washington, DC 20515 <a href="http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov">http://lobbyingdisclosure.house.gov</a>	Secretary of the Senate Office of Public Records 232 Hart Building Washington, DC 20510 <a href="http://www.senate.gov/lobby">http://www.senate.gov/lobby</a>
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**LOBBYING REPORT**

Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (Section 5) - All Filers Are Required to Complete This Page

<b>1. Registrant Name</b> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Organization/Lobbying Firm <input type="checkbox"/> Self Employed Individual George J. Hochbrueckner & Associates, Inc.			
<b>2. Address</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Check if different than previously reported Address1 Private Road, Edgemere Park Address2 P.O. Box 637 City Laurel State NY Zip Code 11948 Country USA			
<b>3. Principal place of business (if different than line 2)</b> City State Zip Code Country			
<b>4a. Contact Name</b> Mr. George Hochbrueckner	<b>b. Telephone Number</b> <input type="checkbox"/> International Number (631) 298-1298	<b>c. E-mail</b>	<b>5. Senate ID#</b> 18375-1003542
<b>7. Client Name</b> <input type="checkbox"/> Self <input type="checkbox"/> Check if client is a state or local government or instrumentality Turkish Coalition of America			<b>6. House ID#</b> 322940037

**TYPE OF REPORT** 8. Year 2008  Q1 (1/1 - 3/31)  Q2 (4/1 - 6/30)  Q3 (7/1-9/30)  Q4 (10/1 - 12/31)

9. Check if this filing amends a previously filed version of this report

10. Check if this is a Termination Report  Termination Date 12/31/2008 11. No Lobbying Issue Activity

INCOME OR EXPENSES - YOU MUST complete either Line 12 or Line 13	
<b>12. Lobbying</b> <b>INCOME</b> relating to lobbying activities for this reporting period was: Less than \$5,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,000 or more <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> \$ 10,000.00 Provide a good faith estimate, rounded to the nearest \$10,000, of all lobbying related income from the client (including all payments to the registrant by any other entity for lobbying activities on behalf of the client).	<b>13. Organizations</b> <b>EXPENSE</b> relating to lobbying activities for this reporting period were: Less than \$5,000 <input type="checkbox"/> \$5,000 or more <input type="checkbox"/> \$ _____ <b>14. REPORTING</b> Check box to indicate expense accounting method. See instructions for description of options. <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Method A.</b> Reporting amounts using LDA definitions only <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Method B.</b> Reporting amounts under section 6033(b)(8) of the Internal Revenue Code <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Method C.</b> Reporting amounts under section 162(e) of the Internal Revenue Code

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date 01/15/2009

Printed Name and Title George J. Hochbrueckner, President  
 v6.0.1c Page 1 of 2

Registrant George J. Hochbrueckner & Associates, Inc. Client Name Turkish Coalition of America

**LOBBYING ACTIVITY.** Select as many codes as necessary to reflect the general issue areas in which the registrant engaged in lobbying on behalf of the client during the reporting period. Using a separate page for each code, provide information as requested. Add additional page(s) as needed.

15. General issue area code  Education  (one per page)

16. Specific lobbying issues

Turkish-American issues.

17. House(s) of Congress and Federal agencies  Check if None

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S. SENATE

18. Name of each individual who acted as a lobbyist in this issue area

First Name	Last Name	Suffix	Covered Official Position (if applicable)	New
George	Hochbrueckner		U.S. Congressman 1987-1994	<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>
				<input type="checkbox"/>

19. Interest of each foreign entity in the specific issues listed on line 16 above  Check if None

Printed Name and Title George J. Hochbrueckner, President

v6.0.1e Page 2 of 2

## **EXHIBIT 8**

## CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: Former TCA Lobbyist  
REVIEW No(s): 13-2411; 13-5845; 13-6123  
DATE: March 13, 2013  
LOCATION: 425 Third Street, SW, Suite 1110  
Washington, DC 20024  
TIME: 2:00 p.m. to 2:45 p.m. (approximate)  
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
Nate Wright

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is currently paid a monthly retainer from Wilt Interactive Services and that twenty percent of that retainer is paid to the law firm Nossaman, LLP for introducing the witness to the company. Because of this relationship, the witness is listed as a Senior Policy Advisor for Nossaman.
3. He is a former Member of Congress and founded George Hochbrueckner & Associates after leaving Congress. He described the company as a "mom and pop shop," which generally employed no staff. He noted it currently employs an associate, but did not have staff in 2008.
4. He was introduced to the Turkish Coalition of America ("TCA") when he was invited as a former member by TCA to visit Turkey in the fall of 2007. The purpose of the trip was to improve relationships with Turkey and maintain its status as an ally. The relationship was important as Turkey was a supply line into Iraq.
5. The witness traveled with his wife and another former Member. He represented the Democrats and the other former Member represented the Republicans. During the trip, the witness was introduced to Lincoln McCurdy, the President of TCA. The witness discussed with Mr. McCurdy whether or not TCA could use lobbying services to improve its relationship with the government.
6. Following the trip to Turkey, the witness submitted a proposal to TCA to be placed on retainer for \$2,500 a month for twelve months. Prior to TCA accepting his proposal, the witness met with TCA's financier, Dr. Yalcin Ayasli in Boston. In January 2008, the witness was put on retainer for TCA.

## CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

7. The witness had a general rule that if his retainer exceeded \$5,000, he would register as a lobbyist on behalf of the organization. He informed McCurdy that he was registering as a lobbyist. The witness left the review of the lobbying reports to Nossaman.
8. The witness has not talked to Mr. McCurdy in years, but in 2008 would have been updating Mr. McCurdy on a monthly basis unless additional action was needed. He described his activity for TCA as mostly in reserve.
9. His main goal was to increase the number of Members of Congress who joined the Congressional caucus on Turkey, then led by Chairman Robert I. Wexler. The witness would suggest to Representative Wexler's staff who to invite to join the caucus. He did not recall taking Mr. McCurdy to meet with Members.
10. The witness was also involved in a few odd things that came up as opportunities for Turkey to look good. He remembered an event where TCA was donating an ambulance to the Mexican Red Cross and wanted to invite a Texas Congressman to the ribbon cutting event. He said such events were cleared through the House Committee on Ethics. He also remembered communicating with staff from Representative Eliot Engel and Representative Ed Markey to invite the Members to attend an event. He did not remember other instances of communicating with Members or staff on behalf of TCA.
11. The witness was never employed or retained by ATC and his only deals were with McCurdy and his staff. The witness had no memory of former Ambassador James Holmes, Ayse Sumer, or Canan Buyukusal.
12. The witness was shown a letter from him to Representative Wexler, dated August 21, 2008 (PVH\_004 – 006). The witness recognized the document and wrote the first part and sent it to Wexler's office. The included list of "Targets for Turkey Caucus– 2008" was created by Mr. McCurdy. The notes in the four columns came from Mr. McCurdy, who discussed these notes with the witness before sending. The witness pointed to a line regarding Representative Heath Shuler and said that because his Legislative Director was interested in Turkey it was a higher possibility Representative Shuler would join the caucus. The witness stated that he does not know Sean O'Brien.
13. The witness was asked about Rep. Zach Wamp's name appearing under "Members with Turkish Investments in the district." He recalled a meeting with Representative Wamp not related to TCA when he represented a national lab in Tennessee. The witness believed the meeting must have been before this document was created because he remembered thinking of that meeting while reviewing the list.
14. The witness did not remember ever meeting Helen Hardin. He also did not remember any meetings with Representative Dutch Ruppersberger or William Gonzales.
15. In December 2008, TCA called the witness to say they were planning to bring Members and could not have a federal lobbyist. TCA raised the issue and Nossaman checked it out and all parties agreed to terminate the relationship.

## CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

16. The witness said he had incurred legal fees while they determined whether he would need to terminate his relationship with TCA and in March 2009, TCA agreed to pay those fees.
17. The witness was shown an invoice from Nossaman LLP, dated March 5, 2009 (TCA\_0051) and asked about a line item entry that read "internet research regarding previous TCA sponsored Congressional travel." He said he did not recall being aware of a problem with the August 2008 staff trip at this time. He did not remember talking with McCurdy about prior trips being a problem.
18. The witness stated that the Committee on Ethics was contacted for the Red Cross event with the Texas congressman, but that he did not personally contact the Committee. He had no contact with the Committee regarding TCA.
19. The witness said he was not directed by TCA to register as a lobbyist, but felt his retainer would include lobbying so he registered. He said that McCurdy had to know he was registered as a lobbyist. The witness was not aware of TCA having any relationships with other lobbyists.

This memorandum was prepared on March 19, 2013 after the interview was conducted on March 13, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on March 13, 2013.

Nate Wright  
Analyst

## **EXHIBIT 9**

CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: TCA President  
REVIEW No(s): 13-2411, 13-5845, 13-6123  
DATE: March 7, 2013  
LOCATION: 1510 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005  
TIME: 10:02 a.m. to 10:46 a.m. (approximately)  
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
Paul J. Solis

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is the President of Turkish Coalition of America (“TCA”) and been with the organization since its inception in 2007. He co-founded the organization with Dr. Yalcin Ayasli.
3. He told the OCE that the general purpose of TCA is to educate the general public in Turkey, to promote Turkish and United States relations, and to assist Turkish American communities.
4. TCA has various activities to promote its purpose, including community and political involvement workshops, college scholarship programs, college faculty trips to Turkey, and congressional trips to Turkey.
5. In 2008, TCA had the following staff, in addition to the witness: Semi Muslu (Administrative Assistant); Carol Ann Jackson (Assistant Chairman, Boston Office); and Guler Koknar (Vice President).
6. Currently, TCA has the following staff: Guler Kocknar; Carol Ann Jackson; Louette Ragusa (Executive Assistant); Sevinm Elekdag (Research Fellow); Zeynep Guven (responsible for scholarship program); JoEllen Byrnes (Congressional Liaison); and Basak Kizildemir (Outreach).

CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

7. The witness told the OCE that he first met George Hochbrueckner during the fall of 2007 at a Turkish Cultural Foundation trip in Turkey. The witness stated that Mr. Hochbrueckner approached Dr. Ayalsi about providing his services in Washington.
8. Mr. Hochbrueckner was retained and his duties were to educate TCA about how Congress functions and to provide opinions on legislation. For example, Mr. Hochbrueckner explained to the witness how TCA should approach Members of Congress to have them join the Turkish Caucus. Mr. Hochbrueckner also advised TCA on ethics issues such as the need to avoid making campaign contributions that may appear to be linked with anything. Mr. Hochbrueckner reported to the witness.
9. The witness said that Mr. Hochbrueckner was not hired to lobby, but that he knew that Mr. Hochbrueckner registered as a lobbyist for TCA. The witness stated that Mr. Hochbrueckner met with Members of Congress for his other clients, but seldom had such meetings for TCA. The witness recalled that Mr. Hochbrueckner called a few Members of Congress to have them speak at a TCA event.
10. The witness stated that Mr. Hochbrueckner was seldom on the Hill for TCA because TCA was not his main client.
11. The witness stated that he never discussed with Mr. Hochbrueckner registering as a lobbyist.
12. Prior to joining TCA, the witness was the President of the American Turkish Council ("ATC"). He was employed with ATC from the late 1980s to 2004.
13. When he was employed with ATC, he hired Ayse Sumer and Canan Buyukunsal. He also worked with James H. Holmes, who ultimately succeeded the witness as President of ATC.
14. The witness began ATC's organized congressional trips to Turkey during the 1990s. When the witness joined TCA, he wanted to have similar congressional trips to Turkey but did not have the resources to organize such trips, so TCA gave funds to ATC and other organizations.
15. As a result, TCA decided to partner with ATC to have congressional trips. In 2008, TCA decided to provide ATC with money for a trip to Turkey. ATC did all the work and TCA provided advice and used the same planning format he used when he was at ATC. TCA was not involved in the recruitment of members to go on trips.
16. The witness was the only TCA employee who attended the 2008 trip to Turkey.
17. The witness stated that TCA was not involved in planning the agenda or itinerary for the August 2008 congressional trip to Turkey. He also stated that TCA was not involved in planning the travel arrangements or deciding which people were invited to the trips. The witness recalled that he had conversations with ATC about his desire that Patara be a destination included in the trip.

## CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

18. TCA was responsible for sponsoring the trip, which the witness described as giving money to ATC to finance the trip.
19. The witness stated that at the time of the trip in 2008 he never saw the pre-trip and post-trip disclosure forms that were signed by James Holmes and filed with the House of Representatives. He stated that he understood that ATC would be responsible for handling the disclosure forms. Although he did not see the forms, he knew that TCA would be listed as a sponsor because they provided money for the trip to ATC.
20. The witness stated that at the time of the August 2008 trip he was ignorant of the law concerning a lobbyist employers paying for congressional travel. He did not know that the law had changed concerning trip sponsors.
21. The witness stated that he is not aware of Mr. Hochbrueckner having any contact with ATC and did not discuss him with ATC. He also stated that Mr. Hochbrueckner did not attend the August 2008 trip to Turkey. He told the OCE that he did not discuss the 2008 trip to Turkey with Mr. Hochbrueckner prior to the trip.
22. The witness stated that Mr. Hochbrueckner's services provided to TCA were the same in the fall of 2008 as they had been previously.
23. He believes that around November 2008 it came to his attention that TCA could not provide the congressional staff trips because it retained a lobbyist. The witness stated that they did not know the law changed. This came to his attention during a reception where other organizations were casually discussing ethics rules and told him that "if you have a lobbyist, you can't sponsor trips."
24. After he heard about the ethics rules, the witness stated that he immediately saw a red flag and contacted TCA's attorney, David Saltzman and asked him to research the issue of travel provided by lobbyist employers. The witness also notified Mr. Hochbrueckner of the ethics rules. The witness told the OCE that Mr. Hochbrueckner notified his attorneys of the issue.
25. The witness stated that Mr. Saltzman contacted the House Ethics Committee to get advice about how to handle the fact that the August 2008 trip had been sponsored by TCA during the time that TCA retained a lobbyist. The witness stated that he felt like they took the right steps to remedy the situation.
26. The witness met with Mr. Hochbrueckner's lawyers and it was decided that TCA would end its retainer with Mr. Hochbrueckner because TCA planned to sponsor future congressional trips to Turkey and understood that it could not do so while retaining a lobbyist. This was the sole reason the retainer was ended.

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

27. The witness told the OCE that TCA did not notify any of the attendees of the August 2008 Turkey trip of the ethics issue. The witness felt like this was ATC's job. He decided to have TCA's counsel speak with ATC directly.
28. The witness heard nothing back from either the House Ethics Committee or ATC on this issue.
29. The witness stated that since 2008, TCA has conducted its congressional trips to Turkey without any involvement of ATC.

This memorandum was prepared on March 8, 2013 after the interview with the witness on March 7, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on March 7, 2013.

Kedric L. Payne  
Deputy Chief Counsel

**EXHIBIT 10**

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: ATC Government Affairs Director  
REVIEW No(s): 13-2411; 13-5845; 13-6123  
DATE: March 14, 2013  
LOCATION: 1111 14<sup>th</sup> Street, NW, Suite 1050  
Washington, DC 20005  
TIME: 3:20 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. (approximate)  
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
Nate Wright

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness and she consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is currently the Director for Government Affairs and Commercial Programs for the American Turkish Council ("ATC"). She has been employed with ATC since 2000 when she was contracted to be the Communications Director. In February 2001, she began as a full-time employee and in 2005 she changed to her current position.
3. In general, the witness assists with organizing the industry sector meetings other than with the defense industry for the ATC annual conference; recruiting and supervising interns; and planning the Chairman's trip in Turkey including making appointments in Turkey, arranging travel, and scheduling the program.
4. She began arranging congressional staff trips in 2003. Aside from the congressional staff trip and interacting with the Turkish caucus, she does not do much additional government outreach.
5. The witness told the OCE that she does not have much interaction with the Turkish Coalition of America ("TCA") and did not continue to work on trips with TCA after 2008 when TCA decided to plan its own trips. She said that ATC had previously worked with TCA on congressional trips to plan meetings in Turkey. Generally, she does not work closely with TCA.
6. The witness stated that she knows Lincoln McCurdy. Mr. McCurdy hired her and was her boss in 2000 until he left ATC. Her last communication with McCurdy was passing along a contact unrelated to the congressional trips. The witness has known Sema Muslu for a couple years. She does not know George Hockbruekner.

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7. The witness is involved in planning, organizing, and fundraising for ATC's annual congressional trip. She also recruits the staffers for the congressional trip. ATC did not have a congressional trip in 2010 and 2012.
8. The witness believed that TCA approached her in 2008 to work on the congressional trip. The trips generally visit three locations. The locations are usually Ankara, Istanbul, and a third location such as Capre. She said TCA had an interest in Patara being the third location for the 2008 trip. TCA assisted in putting together the logistics for the Patara leg of the trip, such as the arranging the meeting with an archeologist. Her communications in arranging this were mostly with Mr. McCurdy and Guler Koknar, the executive director of TCA. The communications were conducted mostly over email and by telephone.
9. The witness was shown an email from her to Mr. McCurdy, dated June 16, 2008 (ATC\_0634). The witness said that the staffers on the previous trip would identify future staffers to recruit. The witness said that TCA probably also sent a list of names of staffers to recruit. The witness said it could be difficult to find enough staffers and that one year she sent out 85 invites and only 7 accepted. She said that some staffers cancelled last minute.
10. The witness said TCA is not involved in preparing travel disclosure forms for the House Committee on Ethics, that it was wholly ATC. The witness said that Mr. McCurdy requested that the delegation have more time in Patara, but that they had to limit that portion to comply with the limited leisure time requests from the Committee on Ethics.
11. The witness was shown a document entitled Congressional Staff Trip 2008 Budget for Staffers (ATC\_0082). She said that the document probably listed the Turkish Coalition Foundation as a sponsor ("TCF") because the payments came from the Foundation but said that Canan Buyukunsal does the budgeting. She said TCF bought portion of airline tickets and ATC bought a portion. She was not sure how the budget broke down.
12. The witness was shown another page of the document titled Congressional Staff Trip 2008 (ATC\_0084). When asked about the statement on the document concerning "other individual events that ATC will seek sponsorships," she said that part of the purpose for the trip was to outline events available for sponsorship to ATC's members to give them an opportunity to meet and mingle with the staffers. She said in this document they were outlining those opportunities available to TCA.
13. The witness was shown a document titled "2008 Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey" that includes the Trip Program Summary (ATC\_0215 - 0295). She stated that the lunch in Asitane on August 4, 2008 was hosted by BankPozitif and that most lunches were hosted. She said it was the custom for hosts to announce at the event that they were hosting.
14. The witness told the OCE that the document (ATC\_0215 - 0295) was a booklet that was usually presented at the pre-trip briefing a week before departure along with the passports and visas. She said that the program is shared with the staffers along the way but not with this level of detail. She said she would not have sent this booklet to the Committee on Ethics.

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15. The witness was shown a Private Travel Certification Form filed with the House Committee on Ethics for the 2008 trip (ATC\_0033 – 0062) and asked about question 9b concerning the sponsor's employment of a federally registered lobbyist (ATC\_0034). She said that she would have checked with TCA before checking that box and likely spoke to Ms. Koknar to check TCA's status to see if they could sponsor these trips. She thinks she must have asked along the way if TCA had a lobbyist because a sponsor must not have a lobbyist. She believed that she talked to Ms. Koknar about whether or not TCA had a lobbyist.
16. The witness stated that during certain years of the congressional trips the House Ethics Committee was more inquisitive than the Senate Ethics Committee regarding approval of the trips. She said she did not recall any discussion with the House Ethics Committee about who was sponsoring meals. The focus of the discussion was on portions of the trip that were business, historic, and leisure. The Senate Ethics Committee wanted to know more about the events for this trip. The witness had no contact with House Ethics Committee after the trip.
17. The witness knows Nancy Ziuzin-Schleigel because she is a member of TCA, but said Ms. Schleigel did not attend the 2008 congressional staff trip but had attended events in Istanbul for previous trips.

This memorandum was prepared on March 20, 2013 after the interview was conducted on March 14, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on March 14, 2013.

Nate Wright  
Analyst

**EXHIBIT 11**

CONFIDENTIAL

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: TCA Vice President  
REVIEW No(s): 13-2411, 13-5845, 13-6123  
DATE: April 16, 2013  
LOCATION: Via Telephone  
TIME: 11:30 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. (approximately)  
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
Nate Wright

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness and she consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness agreed to sign a written acknowledgement of the warning and send it to the OCE. The acknowledgment will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is the Vice President of TCA. She is a consultant for the organization and has served in this capacity since the inception of TCA in February 2007.
3. Prior to working with TCA, the witness was the Executive Director of the Turkish Cultural Foundation (“TCF”), which is a sister organization of TCA. The two organizations receive the majority of their funding from the same benefactors. The witness continues to serve as the TCF Executive Director.
4. The witness told the OCE that she has worked TCA’s office in Turkey since July 2011. Prior to that time, the witness worked in TCA’s Washington, DC office.
5. According to the witness, in 2008, her duties as TCA Vice President included drafting documents providing background on Turkish issues and documents related to TCA’s vision. She was responsible for researching such issues. She also was involved in TCA’s programs, including minority scholarship program and Turkish-American scholarship program.
6. In 2008, she reported to Lincoln McCurdy and Dr. Yalcin Ayasli. TCA only had one employee who reported to the witness at that time, Sema Muslu.
7. The witness stated that she first interacted with ATC prior to her affiliation with TCA. She recalled that in 2006, when she was Executive Director of TCF, ATC requested that TCF sponsor a cultural project in Turkey in connection with an ATC congressional trip.

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8. She believes that Canan Buyukunsal or Ayse Sumer were her contacts at ATC at the time in 2006.
9. In 2006, TCF provided a grant to ATC for the cultural project. TCF organized the portion of the cultural program that involved the delegation visiting Istanbul, Turkey.
10. The witness stated that she had no role in the 2008 congressional trip to Turkey sponsored by ATC and TCA ("2008 Trip"). She did not contact any of the attendees, plan the itinerary, or assist with airline travel. She believes that it is possible that she reviewed a draft the itinerary, but she did not have any input.
11. She described TCA's role with the 2008 trip as sponsor where she defines sponsor as meaning TCA provided a monetary grant to ATC. She told the OCE that TCA was not in the "driving seat" for the trip.
12. TCA did not have a congressional trip portfolio at the time of the trip in 2008. As a result, TCA played a supporting role in the trip and was not a primary partner in organizing the trip or inviting attendees. She stated that TCA took cues from ATC and had nothing to do with making contacts on the Hill related to the trip.
13. She stated that Mr. McCurdy was the person from TCA who had interaction with ATC.
14. The witness told the OCE that she was not involved in the filing or preparation of the travel disclosure forms filed with the House Ethics Committee. When shown the private sponsor travel disclosure form (ATC\_0034-0047), she stated that she is ninety percent sure that she did not see this document or any document like it. She believes that she would remember seeing such a document.
15. The witness stated that she did not discuss the travel disclosure forms with anyone. She also stated that no one ever asked her whether TCA retained a lobbyist and she never told anyone whether TCA retained a lobbyist. She told the OCE that she does recall Ms. Buyukunsal or Ms. Sumer asking her whether TCA retained a lobbyist.
16. The witness first met George Hochbruekner in 2008 when he began to work as a "consultant" for TCA. She stated that Mr. Hochbruekner's role was to provide TCA with insight on how Congress worked. Mr. McCurdy managed Mr. Hochbruekner.
17. She recalled that there were discussions concerning whether Mr. Hochbruekner could lobby because he may have been in the time period when former congressman could not lobby.
18. She does not recall whether Mr. Hochbruekner was registered lobbyist at the time and she does not recall when she learned that Mr. Hochbruekner was TCA's lobbyist. However, she recalls that there came a point where TCA decided to discontinue its relationship with Mr. Hochbruekner because TCA wanted to conduct congressional trips.

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19. The witness told the OCE that she has never communicated with the House Committee on Ethics.
20. The witness stated that she does not know Walter Gonzales. When shown an email from the witness to Walter Gonzales, dated August 15, 2007 (WG\_0117), she did not recall the email. She also did not recall working on any project related to the Representative Dutch Ruppersberger's official comments on the Turkish election. She believes that based on the nature of the email that she must have met Mr. Gonzales. She believed that any interaction with Mr. Gonzales would have been related to research she was conducting as part of her TCA responsibilities.

This memorandum was prepared on April 18, 2013 after the interview with the witness on April 17, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on April 17, 2013.

Kedric L. Payne  
Deputy Chief Counsel

**EXHIBIT 12**

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: Helen Hardin  
REVIEW No(s): 13-6123  
DATE: April 22, 2013  
LOCATION: 425 Third Street, SW, Suite 1110  
Washington, DC 20024  
TIME: 1:50 p.m. to 2:20 p.m. (approximately)  
PARTICIPANTS: Paul J. Solis  
Nate Wright

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness and she consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is currently a senior policy advisor for Representative Chuck Fleishmann. She has been employed with Rep. Fleishmann since he was elected when her former boss left three years ago.
3. For sixteen years prior to her current position, the witness was Chief of Staff to Representative Zach Wamp. In that capacity she managed the office and oversaw its operations.
4. While she did not specifically handle legislation, she was active on issues regarding human rights and religious freedom. The witness also spent time being partially paid by the Committee on Appropriations.
5. The witness became involved in U.S. – Turkish relations because Rep. Wamp’s district had a significant group of Armenians who were interested in U.S. military bases in Turkey and legislation relating to whether or not to label it an Armenian genocide.
6. The witness had not taken another trip to Turkey prior to or after 2008. She did not take any trips with the American-Turkish Council (ATC) or the Turkish Coalition of America (TCA) other than the 2008 trip.
7. The witness stated that she had very few contacts with Lincoln McCurdy. She stated that she appreciated the time Ayse took in planning and organizing the trip so she took her to lunch to say

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thank you. The witness did not remember any other people with whom she had contact at ATC and TCA.

8. The witness stated that prior to the 2008 trip the State Department contacted Rep. Wamp's office to discuss the Armenian genocide resolution. She remembered a breakfast where various Turkish business interests were discussing the resolution's impact on U.S. – Turkish relations, but could not remember if Lincoln approached her at this breakfast or prior to it in her office.
9. The witness stated that Lincoln suggested she go on the 2008 trip. The witness immediately expressed interest given her interest in human rights and religious freedom and her focus on North Africa and the Middle East. Ayse became her main point of contact and the witness thought she worked for Lincoln.
10. The witness did not remember any mention of TCA having a lobbyist by either Lincoln or Ayse and had never heard of George Hockbruekner until the OCE's review.
11. She stated this was her first trip under the new ethics rules. She believed the Ethics Committee was slammed because there was a lot of back and forth on the approval process and she feared it would not be approved in time.
12. She believed that Ayse mentioned who was the person doing the trip on the Committee, but remembered Todd Ungerecht contacted her to say that he believed the Committee would have an answer to her the following day.
13. The witness was shown document HH\_0257. The witness was asked about her response to question 9(b). She stated the sponsor had to fill out the paperwork and give it to the traveler and send it separately to the Committee. The traveler then gets her boss's approval. She stated this form was not something she filled out as it was not in her font. She believed the sponsor filled out this form.
14. The witness stated she remembered reading each question, but did not remember anything specific to question 9(b). She said her discussions with the Committee on Ethics during the delay were about the paperwork and there was no discussion of a lobbyist.
15. The witness said it never occurred to her that someone would have a problem with question 9(b). She said that she went through a checklist that was provided of what boxes to examine and followed that list. The witness had no conversations with TCA or ATC about the box.
16. The witness stated that the form she filled out indicating that the sponsors did not employ a lobbyist was based on the sponsor's answer to question 9(b).
17. The witness said that she did not attend the pre-trip briefing with ATC because she lives in Tennessee. She said that someone picked up the briefing book for her.

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18. The witness was shown document HH\_0278 through HH\_0354. The witness stated the notes in the margins of the booklet were her notes.
19. The witness was asked about document HH\_0279 and said she did not recall the names of the sponsors. She remembered a business dinner, but no one stuck out in her mind.
20. The witness was shown document HH\_0282 and an entry for a "Meeting with Leaders of the Jewish, Greek & Armenian Communities & Lunch at Asitane by BankPozitif." The witness had no memory of anyone talking about banking. The dinner on the page must have been the business dinner she recalled.
21. The witness said that despite many in Turkey having a negative view of the U.S. that it can enhance one's social status in Turkey to be seen with Americans, especially U.S. officials. She believed that this was why corporations sponsored the dinners. She said that the corporations don't try to sell you.
22. The witness said that she took a couple of personal days on the trip to visit Ephesus.
23. The witness never heard of an issue about this trip arising until the present investigation. She said she was never contacted by ATC or TCA other than some blast emails. She stated that her boss was also invited to speak at something, but neither she nor her boss attended.

This memorandum was prepared on April 23, 2013 after the interview with the witness on April 22, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on April 22, 2013.

Nate Wright  
Analyst

**EXHIBIT 13**

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: TCA Attorney  
REVIEW No(s): 13-2411, 13-5845, 13-6123  
DATE: March 8, 2013  
LOCATION: 1510 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005  
TIME: 10:50 a.m. to 11:16 a.m. (approximately)  
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
Paul J. Solis

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness, and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is a principle at the law firm of Saltzman and Evinch, P.C. and been with the firm since its inception in 1993.
3. He has provided “relatively minor consultative” legal services to the Turkish Coalition of America (“TCA”) since it was founded in 2007. TCA pays him an hourly rate for his services. The Turkish American Legal Defense Fund (“TALDF”) is a litigation project of TCA so the witness does not represent TALDF. The witness and Bruce Fein started TALDF.
4. The witness first became acquainted with George Hochbruekner in December 2008 near the time that TCA decided to no longer have Mr. Hochbruekner provide lobbying services. The witness has not seen Mr. Hochbruekner since 2008.
5. The witness did not know Mr. Hochbruekner was a lobbyist when her first met him but later knew he was after he saw a few emails with his name on them. The witness was not involved in any contracts with lobbyists or lobbyist registration. The witness also stated that he thought TCA hired Mr. Hochbruekner more as a consultant.
6. The witness never worked for American Turkish Coalition (“ATC”) but knows people who work there. The witness knows James Holmes. The witness has never attended an ATC trip to Turkey but traveled to Turkey in 2011 with Native American leaders.

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7. The witness told the OCE that around December 2008, he was asked to prepare a legal memorandum for TCA on "HLOGA" because Lincoln McCurdy wanted to have the organization plan its own congressional trips to Turkey.
8. He prepared the memorandum and concluded that TCA could not retain lobbyists if it planned to conduct such congressional trips. The memorandum did not address any issues with prior trips.
9. With respect to the ethics issue of the August 2008 trip to Turkey, the witness prepared a plan of action for Mr. McCurdy around January 2009 after he became aware in December 2008. He first contacted the attorney for ATC, Doreen Edelman, and told her about the problem that TCA retained a lobbyist at the time that it sponsored the 2008 trip. The witness stated that they decided that they had "to make this right."
10. The witness then called House Ethics Committee and left a voicemail message for the staff person who was handling trips, Susan Olson. He told the OCE that he left a detailed voicemail message, explaining that TCA had a lobbyist at the time it sponsored the 2008 trip and seeking advice on how to disclose and repair the problem.
11. When the witness's message was not returned, he called Ms. Olson again and spoke with her January 27, 2009. He explained the issue to her and he stated that she told him that she would look into it and call him back.
12. The witness did not receive a call back from the House Ethics Committee. He assumed that the Committee had contacted ATC to resolve the issue. The witness also stated that TCA expected renumeration to come from the ATC side, so when they didn't hear anything, TCA thought Ethics took it up with ATC.

This memorandum was prepared on March 8, 2013 after the interview with the witness on March 7, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on March 7, 2013.

Kedric L. Payne  
Deputy Chief Counsel

**EXHIBIT 14**

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Subject to the Nondisclosure Provisions of H. Res. 895 of the 110th Congress as Amended

OFFICE OF CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS  
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**MEMORANDUM OF INTERVIEW**

IN RE: ATC President  
REVIEW No(s): 13-2411, 13-5845, 13-6123  
DATE: March 14, 2013  
LOCATION: 1111 14<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005  
TIME: 2:00 p.m. to 2:50 p.m. (approximately)  
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payne  
Nate Wright

**SUMMARY:** The OCE requested an interview with the witness and he consented to an interview. The witness made the following statements in response to our questioning:

1. The witness was given an 18 U.S.C. § 1001 warning and consented to an interview. The witness signed a written acknowledgement of the warning, which will be placed in the case file in this review.
2. The witness is the President and CEO of ATC and has been with the organization since April 2005.
3. As President and CEO of ATC he is responsible for supervising of ATC staff and promoting the business interests of the organization's corporate members. The staff consists of approximately five full-time employees and two part-time employees.
4. The witness told the OCE that the interests of the organization include "business-to-business" concerns between the United States and Turkey.
5. The interests also include "business-to-government" concerns. For example, ATC hosts an annual conference attended by senior executive branch officials (e.g., Leon Panetta) and ATC members. ATC recently hosted an event with Turkish officials to discuss opportunities and incentives for U.S. companies to invest in Turkey. Another example is the annual congressional staff trip to Turkey that ATC hosts.
6. Much of ATC's activities operate on a committee basis organized by interest (e.g. defense supplies, pharmaceuticals, banking, energy, etc.).
7. The witness stated that ATC has hosted congressional staff trips for fifteen to sixteen years, which includes years before he joined ATC. He said that last year there was no staff trip due to lack of funding, but he anticipated there would be another trip this year for seven to eight days.

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8. The witness framed these staff trips within ATC's interest to protect and promote a positive political climate between the United States and Turkey. He stated that given Turkey's political baggage there was never a year when it was not necessary to make some advocacy effort to highlight the impact of a certain action on the broader view of the U.S. and Turkish business relationship.
9. According to the witness, ATC does not work with the Turkish Coalition of America ("TCA") on a recurring basis.
10. He recalled that on one occasion ATC worked with TCA to have a congressional staff trip in 2008. This 2008 trip is the only occasion where ATC received any support from TCA. ATC and TCA occasionally run into each other at the same events, but generally there is no convergence of interests and efforts.
11. ATC had brought a Turkish archeologist from Patara, Turkey to the United States in 2006 and subsequently, TCA expressed an interest in organizing a trip to Patara with Congressional staff because of the location's connection with the Federalist Papers.
12. He has known Lincoln McCurdy, the President of TCA, since 1995 or 1996. Mr. McCurdy was the witnesses' predecessor as President of ATC.
13. The witness told the OCE that he does not know George Hochbruckner.
14. When asked about his role in planning and organizing the congressional staff trips, the witness stated that Ayse Sumer is the ATC staff person responsible for the trips. She organizes the trips, recruits congressional staff to attend, and makes sure that it is approved by the ethics committees. The witness reviews her work, goes over the minutia of the trip, and signs anything that is necessary, such as the travel disclosure forms.
15. He stated that Canan Buyunkusal is the other ATC staff person who assists Ms. Sumer with the congressional staff trips.
16. The witness was shown the trip itinerary, titled "2008 Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey" (ATC\_0215-0222). When asked about the difference between the "corporate sponsor" and the "associate sponsors" listed in the itinerary, the witness stated that he believes the difference is the volume of the sponsorship. However, he said that he did not know this for certain.
17. He stated that in general the funding for the trip comes from the general fund. He said that most of the money from dues is for administrative support, rent, and insurance. A small portion goes to ensure ATC the full financing of the congressional staff trip.

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18. He said that some companies may provide in-kind services to the trip. He mentioned that an ATC counterpart organization in Turkey provides hotel rooms and bus services for the congressional staff trip instead of cash for their membership dues.
19. The witness was shown a page from the trip itinerary (ATC\_0219) and asked about an entry reading "Lunch at Asitane hosted by BankPozitif." He said the sponsorship was separate from the general fund and the type of thing the company liked to do for the congressional staff trip.
20. The witness did not attend the 2008 trip to Turkey and has never attended a congressional staff trip to Turkey. However, he did attend the pre-trip briefing with the congressional staffers.
21. He told the OCE that he reviewed the travel disclosure form that was filed with the House Ethics Committee for the 2008 Turkey trip and he thought that it was accurate.
22. The witness recalled a problem with corporate members having lobbyists and seeking advice from legal counsel.

This memorandum was prepared on March 8, 2013 after the interview with the witness on March 7, 2013. I certify that this memorandum contains all pertinent matter discussed with the witness on March 7, 2013.

Kedric L. Payne  
Deputy Chief Counsel

# APPENDIX C

The Honorable K. Michael Conaway  
1015 Longworth House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Linda T. Sánchez  
1015 Longworth House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515

June 29, 2013

Dear Chairman Conaway and Ranking Member Sánchez:

This letter is in response to the Office of Congressional Ethics (OCE) Report and Findings and relates to an officially approved trip five years ago co-sponsored by the American Turkish Coalition (ATC) and the Turkish Coalition of America (TCA). Eight senior congressional staffers, six from the U.S. House and two from the U.S. Senate participated in the trip.

In 2008, I complied with all Committee on Ethics (Committee) official travel requirements, received Committee approval before the trip and filed the post travel disclosure report upon my return as required by House rules. I also personally communicated with the Committee staff to make sure my paperwork was in order before receiving notification the trip was approved. The OCE conclusions on page 12 state that I acted in good faith:

50. ATC and TCA submitted a pre-Travel disclosure form for the 2008 Turkey Trip to Ms. Hardin, which did not disclose that TCA retained a lobbyist.
51. The Board finds that Ms. Hardin did not knowingly accept travel expenses from an entity that retained a lobbyist because:
  - a. Ms. Hardin submitted the co-sponsors' pre-travel disclosure form to the Committee on Ethics for pre-approval;
  - b. Ms. Hardin submitted her personal pre-travel disclosure form, which was based on information that he received from the co-sponsors, to the Committee on Ethics for pre-approval;
  - c. Ms. Hardin provided a complete and accurate statement of all material facts related to the co-sponsors' employment of a lobbyist to the extent that it was known to her at the time; and
  - d. The Committee on Ethics provided written approval of her acceptance of the travel expenses.
52. Based on the above findings, Ms. Hardin acted in good faith reliance and did not know that TCA retained a lobbyist at the time of the trip. However, the Board recommends that

On January 28, 2013, four and a half years after the trip to Turkey, I learned from OCE staff for the first time of allegations that TCA had employed a lobbyist. A few days later I learned the

registered lobbyist's name for the first time, again, from OCE staff. The lobbyist, George Hochbrueckner has never contacted me, met or talked with me. He did not participate in the trip. The two sponsoring organizations did not follow up after the trip nor did anyone connected with the sponsoring organizations make any attempt to lobby me or our office. There was never any lobbying attempt made after the trip concluded. I only had incidental contact with the organizations since the trip.

During the OCE review, I fully complied with all requests for documents, answered all questions and cooperated fully with OCE staff. During the review, I learned for the first time that TCA self-reported its relationship with a lobbyist to the House Committee on Ethics in 2008 after it learned of the change in the House rules. TCA did not contact me and nor did the Committee on Ethics.

After receiving the information, the Committee made no determination related to me during the relevant time frame of the trip when the context and the facts were clearer. The issues have not changed in the ensuing four years and there is no new relevant information provided in the OCE referral. If the Committee didn't take action when it was timely, there seems to be no reason for the Committee to act at this time.

The one thing that has changed since 2008 is the House rule relating to privately sponsored Congressional travel. The rules were not adequate at the time of the trip and have since been updated.

The OCE's referral states that a violation of House Rules may have occurred. But the OCE review indicates that I made every effort to follow House rules. House rules are provided to prevent unethical behavior or wrong doing, not to highlight unintentional infractions.

The 2008 trip related directly to the official congressional business of our office and I received no personal benefit from this trip. A group of Tennessee citizens from our district contacted the office in strong support of the House Resolution on Armenian Genocide. I discussed the issue personally with these constituents. The office was also contacted by the U.S. State Department in equally strong opposition to the resolution based on the strategic importance of Incirlik Air Force Base in Turkey to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In addition, a Turkish owned company is located in our congressional district and while in Turkey, I visited the headquarters of Kordsa Inc. which operates a manufacturing plant in Chattanooga, TN.

In closing, I emphasize that I did everything in compliance with both the letter and spirit of House rules. I ask that the Committee take that into consideration as you evaluate this referral. Thank you for allowing me to respond to the OCE findings. I am ready and willing to work with the Committee at your request.

Sincerely,



Helen Hardin