

APPENDIX A

CONFIDENTIAL

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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FINDINGS OF FACT AND CITATIONS TO LAW

Review No. 13-5845

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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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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."¹ 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, 2013.² 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, 2013.³ 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;

¹ H. Res. 895, 110th Cong. §1(e), as amended (the "Resolution").

² 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.

³ 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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- (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."*⁴
- 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"*⁵
- 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

⁴ House Rule 25, clause 5(a)(1)(A)(ii).

⁵ House Rule 25, clause 5(b)(1) (emphasis added).

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*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.*⁶

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."*⁷

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").⁸ 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 . . ."⁹ TCA donated approximately \$35,000 to ATC to finance the 2008 Turkey Trip.¹⁰
20. ATC is a trade association "dedicated to effectively strengthening US-Turkish relations through the promotion of commercial, defense, technology and cultural relations."¹¹ Its membership includes "US and Turkish companies, multinationals, nonprofit organizations and individuals with an interest in US-Turkish relations."¹²
21. ATC used TCA's donation to pay for travel expenses of the congressional staff including transportation, meals, and lodging.¹³
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.¹⁴

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

⁷ 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.

⁸ Mr. Gonzales Pre- and Post-Travel Disclosure Forms ("Travel Disclosure Forms") (Exhibit 1 at 13-5845_0002-0021).

⁹ Turkish Coalition of America 2011 Annual Report 2, available at http://www.tc-america.org/files/about/TCA_Annual_Report_2011.pdf.

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

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

¹² *Id.*

¹³ ATC Congressional Staff Trip 2008 Budget (Exhibit 4 at 13-5845_0028-0031).

¹⁴ 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."¹⁵
24. Based on the evidence before the OCE, Mr. Gonzales accepted approximately \$6,120 in travel expenses for the 2008 Turkey Trip.¹⁶

C. TCA Retained a Lobbyist

25. TCA retained an outside lobbyist from March 2008 to December 2008.¹⁷ 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).¹⁸ He filed his report terminating his lobbying registration for TCA on January 15, 2009 (effective termination date December 31, 2008).¹⁹
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.²⁰ TCA President told the OCE that Former TCA Lobbyist was hired to educate TCA on how Congress functions and to provide opinions on legislation.²¹ He also stated that Former TCA Lobbyist advised him on how to encourage Members of Congress to join the Turkish Caucus.²²

¹⁵ 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).

¹⁶ Travel Disclosure Forms (Exhibit 1 at 13-5845_0002).

¹⁷ TCA Lobbyist LDA Registration and Termination Reports (Exhibit 8 at 13-5845_0123-0126).

¹⁸ *Id.* at 13-5845_0123.

¹⁹ *Id.* at 13-5845_0125.

²⁰ Memorandum of Interview of Former TCA Lobbyist, March 13, 2013 ("Former TCA Lobbyist MOI") (Exhibit 9 at 13-5845_0129).

²¹ Memorandum of Interview of TCA President, March 7, 2013 ("TCA President MOI") (Exhibit 10 at 13-5845_0133).

²² *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."²³

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, class 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.

- Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): American-Turkish Council and the Turkish Coalition of America
- 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):
- 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):
- Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)? Yes No
- 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
- Dates of travel: Depart Washington, Dulles Airport on August 2 and return 10 August, 2008
- 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 Paltra.
- 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):
- I represent that (check one of the following):
 - 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
 - The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent: or
 - 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.
- If travel is for participation in a one-day event (i.e., if you checked Question 9(e)), check one of the following:
 - One-night's lodging and meals are being offered: or
 - Two-night's lodging and meals are being offered:
 If "b" is checked, explain why the second night is warranted: _____

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

²³ Travel Disclosure Forms (Exhibit 1 at 13-5845_0006).

²⁴ Id. at 13-5845_0008.

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- disclosure form and ATC President reviewed and signed it.²⁵ He said that he thought the disclosure form was accurate and he did not know Former TCA Lobbyist.²⁶
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.²⁷ She does not know Former TCA Lobbyist.²⁸
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.²⁹ 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.³⁰
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.³¹
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.³² He said she must have told him no for him to check answer the question "No."³³
34. Mr. Gonzales told the OCE that he did not know Former TCA Lobbyist and never communicated with him.³⁴
35. Former TCA Lobbyist told the OCE that he did not know Mr. Gonzales and does not recall ever communicating with him.³⁵

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

²⁶ *Id.*

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

²⁸ *Id.* at 13-5845_0137.

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

³⁰ *Id.*

³¹ TCA President MOI (Exhibit 10 at 13-5845_0134).

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

³³ *Id.*

³⁴ *Id.*

³⁵ 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.³⁶

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.³⁷

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.³⁸

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

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

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.⁴² They decided to alert the House Ethics Committee of the issue.⁴³

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.⁴⁴ He was told that he would receive a call back from the House Ethics Committee.⁴⁵ When he did not receive a call, he assumed that the House Ethics Committee contacted ATC directly to resolve the problem.⁴⁶ ATC Government Affairs Director stated that she did not have any contacts with the House Committee on Ethics following the trip.⁴⁷

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.⁴⁸

³⁶ *Id.*

³⁷ 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).

³⁸ TCA President MOI (Exhibit 10 at 13-5845_0134).

³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ *Id.*

⁴¹ TCA Attorney MOI (Exhibit 14 at 13-5845_0150).

⁴² *Id.*

⁴³ *Id.*

⁴⁴ *Id.*

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ *Id.*

⁴⁷ ATC Government Affairs Director MOI (Exhibit 11 at 13-5845_0139).

⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹

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.

⁴⁹ 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

2008 OCT 21 AM 11:33

EMPLOYEE
POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

OFFICE OF THE CLERK
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Name of Traveler (print or type): Walter Gonzalez

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 08/19/2008
 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:		

KUPPERBERGER

Original Amendment

U.S. House of Representatives
110th 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: Walter Gonzales

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: C. J. Ruppertsberger

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: _____

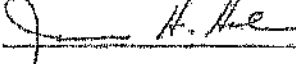
11. If the trip is not sponsored by an institution of higher education, I represent that a federally-registered lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip (signify "yes" by checking box):
12. Private sponsors must have a direct and immediate relationship 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	\$3,300.00	\$1070.00	\$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-ato.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-3rd TN)

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

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

Mr. Walter Gozales
Senior Policy Advisor
Office of Representative Dutch Ruppersberger (D-2nd 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 (c)(3) 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

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 XIIIth 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 Melimet 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 *millet* (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 Silyri (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 Topkapí 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 & Industrialists) 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 41st 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 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 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: B.W. [Signature]

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

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

Office address: 1730 Longworth HOE

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 Ruppersberger
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
BT-2, The Capitol
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-7103 (phone)
(202) 225-7392 (fax)

Version date 9/20/07 by Committee on Standards of Official Conduct

STEPHANIE TUBBS JONES, OHIO
CHAIRWOMAN
GENE GREEN, TEXAS
LUCILLE ROYBAL-ALLARD, CALIFORNIA
MICHAEL P. DOYLE, PENNSYLVANIA
WILLIAM D. DELARUNT, MASSACHUSETTS
WILLIAM V. O'REILLY,
CHIEF COUNSEL STAFF DIRECTOR
DAWN KELLY MOBLEY,
COUNSEL TO THE CHAIRWOMAN

ONE HUNDRED TENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF
OFFICIAL CONDUCT

Washington, DC 20515-6328

July 11, 2008

DOC HASTINGS, WASHINGTON
RANKING REPUBLICAN MEMBER

JO BONNER, ALABAMA
J. CRISHAM BARRETT, SOUTH CAROLINA
JOHN KANE, MINNESOTA
MICHAEL T. MCCAUL, TEXAS

TODD UNGERBUCK
COUNSEL TO THE RANKING
REPUBLICAN MEMBER

SUITE HT-2, THE CAPITOL
(202) 226-7104

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

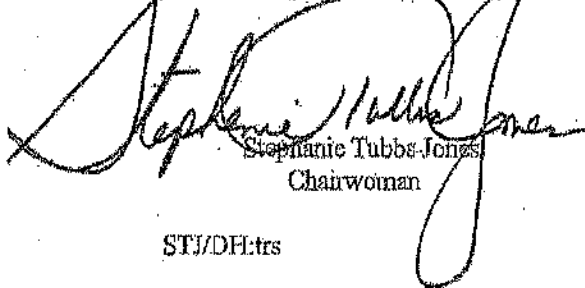
Dear Mr. Gonzales:

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 5-7183.


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

PAID
JUL 9 2008

BY: check # 339
CW

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...		Total	\$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: #151

P.O. No.	Terms	Project

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

Turkish Coalition of America

JJ

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
7256 - Study Tour to Turkey Grants						
Bill	2/1/2008		Community College of Philadelphia	Grant-Community College of Philadelphia	2,000.00	2,000.00
Bill	4/8/2009		Community College of Philadelphia	Grant-Community College of Philadelphia	3,000.00	5,000.00
Bill	12/11/2006		Meldan Tamisek	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
7275 - Sponsorships						
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 Dining	180.72	6,180.72
Bill	4/23/2007		US House Members...	Sponsorship of Members Dining	56.10	6,236.82
Bill	5/2/2007		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. Alumni...	Sponsorship of Melurgeons 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	86,000.00	124,586.82
Bill	1/1/2007		The George Washin...	Sponsorship for Event of Turkish Student Association	500.00	125,086.82
Bill	1/4/2008		Istanbul Univ. Alum...	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 Del...	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	4/7/2008		ASIRT	Gala Evening 2008	750.00	152,836.82
Bill	6/10/2008		Uduoz Berenforoush	TUSIAD/TCA Summer Internship	500.00	153,336.82
Bill	7/1/2008		American-Turkish C...	Sponsorship for ATC/TCA-Congressional Tour	20,000.00	173,336.82
Bill	8/6/2008		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	12/11/2008		IUMEZUSA	Sponsorship-Ahteka Turks Event	4,000.00	195,336.82
Bill	1/9/2009	464	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 Armenia...	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		CIEE	Study Abroad Conference	1,000.00	246,836.82
Bill	9/6/2009		Congressional Hesp...	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	12/1/2009		IUMEZUSA	Ataturk Conference	5,000.00	272,686.82
Total 7275 - Sponsorships					272,686.82	272,686.82

Turkish Coalition of America
Payments 2007-2009

EXHIBIT 4

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
Debt Members			

Paid Other 0 - 0

Total Income 59,242.00

Net Deficit (5,838.00)

If TCA gives ATC sponsorship in the amount of \$59242.00 this will leave \$4838.00 that ATC will have to seek sponsorship from its membership.

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2/5/2015

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Cabs & Parking	250.00	To and From US Airports for Staffers and ATC Staff as well as cabs taken in Turkey.
Catering and Meals	8,000.00	Includes meals at airports, breakfasts, lunches and dinners for Staffers, Guides, AFC Staff, Security Staff, Drivers.
Gifts	200.00	Gifts that are presented to government officials and others hosts of the delegation
Hotels	4,700.00 7,500.00 * 5,000.00 3,096.00	Mega (Ankara) 2 nights/ \$235 The Kyatt (Istanbul) 3 nights/ \$250 Hotel in Fatara Area 3 nights/ \$250 Room Tax
Hotels Totals	20,236.00	ATC will only cover Room and Tax Staffers are responsible for all incidentals and any other expenses. *The price of the hotel in Istanbul has been reduced from \$18,000
Misc.	1,450.00	Tips for Drivers, Waiters, Hotel Service Staff, Guide Fees, Museum Entrance Lodging for Bus Driver
Postage and Courier	150.00	Postage for invitations, courier to pick up Staffer passports
Printing and Graphic Design	600.00	Designing and Printing the Programs for Staffers and Sponsors
Supplies	250.00	Office supplies
Telephone	600.00	
Transportation ATC Staff		ATC - Staff ATC - Staff ATC - Staff / \$533 per Ticket
Summer Airline Ticket	1,600.00	
Buyukusul Airline Ticket	1,800.00	
Domestic Turkey Airline Ticket	1,075.00	
Sub-Total	4,675.00	
Congressional Staff Staffers Airline Tickets	17,600.00	8 Congressional Staff Tickets/ \$2200 per Ticket
Domestic Turkey Airline Ticket	4,904.00	8 Congressional Staff Tickets/ \$613 per Ticket
Sub-Total	21,904.00	
Buses	4,500.00	IST- ANK-FATARA
Transportation Total	31,079.00	
Total Expense	83,075.00	

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2/6/2013

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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 sponsorship for include:

Istanbul: Monday, August 4, Lunch with the Minority Community Leaders

Istanbul: Monday, August 4, Dinner and Boat Cruise

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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2/5/2013

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3 of 4

ATC_0084

13-5845_0030

Travel	Submission to Ethics numbers	Includes Airfare and Bus
Hotel		
Airfare	470	
Intermodal	750	
Bus	793	
Total Per Person	1973	
Meals	859	
Other	400	Interpreter, Entrance fees, Security, Taxi

000082

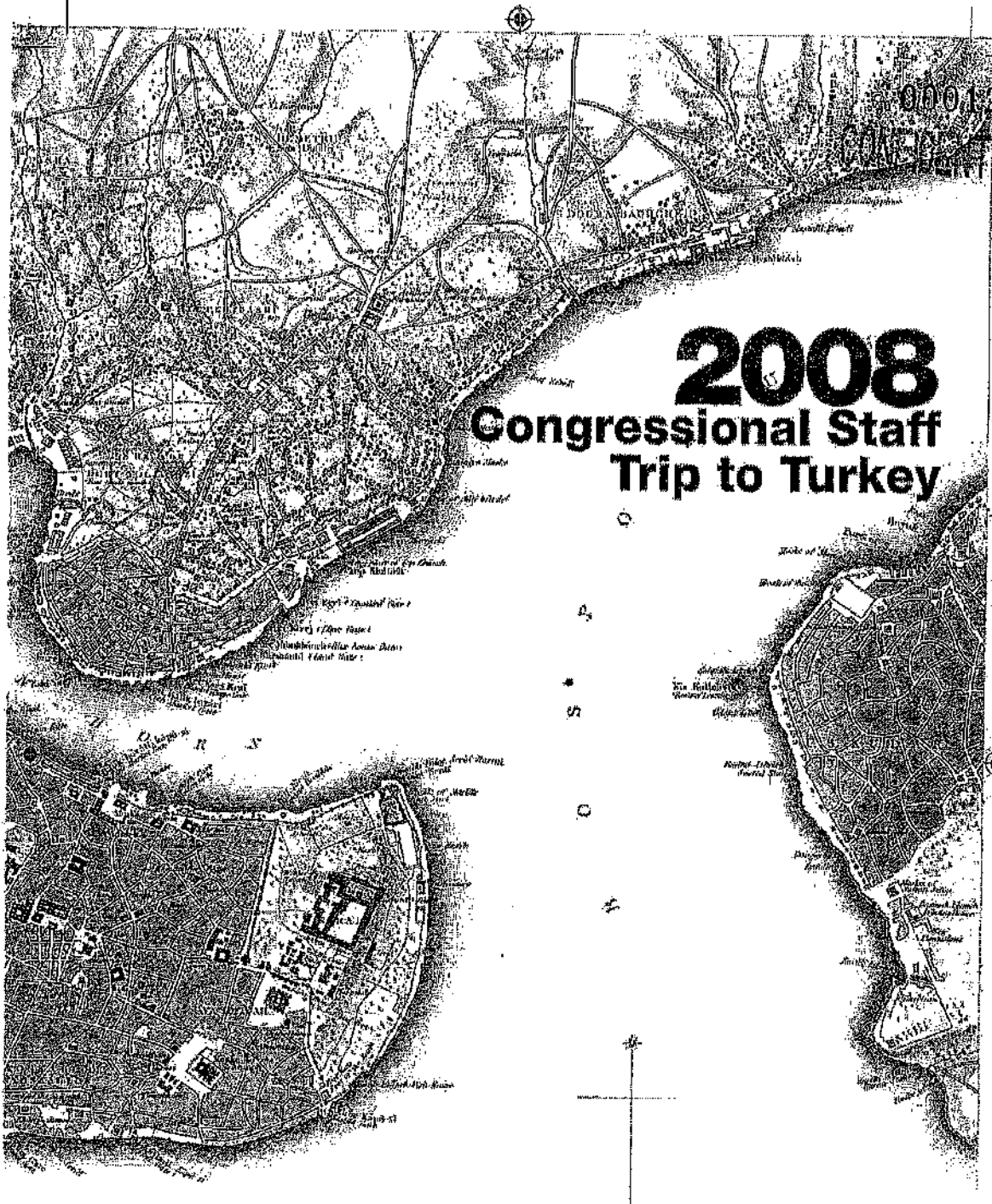
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EXHIBIT 5

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2008 Congressional Staff Trip to Turkey

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CORPORATE SPONSOR

TURKISH
COALITION of
AMERICA

Fostering Understanding of Turkish-American Society through Public Education

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

ATC_0217

13-5845_0035

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STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY

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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 Istanbul Ataturk 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 Topkapi 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 Istanbul 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



2008 CONGRESSIONAL

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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 Töhumcu, 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

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 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 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 Istanbul on TK 219
20:50 Arrive in Istanbul 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

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



ATC_0222

13-5845_0040

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



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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 Büyükkınsal

Executive Director, American-Turkish Council

Mr. Tolga Görgülü

External Relations Manager, FritoLay Turkey

Dr. Cengiz İsrail

Managing Director, Fıl 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 Rhein Main Airport
 13:20 Depart Frankfurt for Istanbul on LH 3342
 16:55 Arrive at Istanbul Atatürk Airport
 17:20 Depart Istanbul 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, Istanbul 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 Ştamboul 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 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, 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.

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



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- 10:00 - 11:00 Meeting with NGO's at TCA
(The representatives of the following NGO's will be at the meeting: Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates-KADER; Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey-KAGIDER; 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)
- 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 Istanbul 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 Istanbul. 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 ILKYAR 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 ILKYAR (Aid Foundation for Elementary Schools).

Vision

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

Mission

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

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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 (WCEA), 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 Gökylgit, winner of the UN Environment Award. Since then it has grown to a large NGO.

Gökylgit 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 Ayşen Özyeğin, and in light of the scientific research of Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Kağçibaşı 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 Tripolitania, 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 millet (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, lost 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, present-day 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 Fishi 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 Paroeclesion, a side chapel built to hold the tombs of the church's founder and relatives. The frescoes, 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 Topkapi 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. Topkapi 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, Topkapi 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 Ibrahim 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 types 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
 etc



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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 Hi-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. Ismail 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 Anıttepe 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 Anıtkabir commenced on 9 October 1944 with a splendid ceremony by laying the first stone of the foundation. Construction of Anıtkabir took nine years in four stages. You will be expected to sign his 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 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 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 (Dolçiste in Lycian), is a small Turkish island near Kaş (ancient Antiphellos) district of Antalya province which faces the villages of Kaleköy and Üçağız.

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
Tahrân Caddesi No. 5, Kavaklıdere, Ankara/Turkey
Tel: 011 +90 (312) 468-██████████
Fax: 011 +90 (312) 468-5415

İSTANBUL HYATT REGENCY İSTANBUL
Taslıca Caddesi No. 1, Taksim, İstanbul/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 Renzi III

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Contact: Amy J. Lillis

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



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DELEGATION BIOGRAPHIES**CONFIDENTIAL****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" Ruppertsberger (D-2nd MD)

Walter Gonzales serves as Senior Policy Advisor for Congressman C. A. "Dutch" Ruppertsberger 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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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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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) Büyükinsal joined the American-Turkish Council in January of 2000 and currently serves as the Executive Director. In this capacity, Ms. Büyükinsal 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. Büyükinsal 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. Büyükcinsal 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-AI 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 İSRAİL

Managing Director
EIL 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, Istanbul, 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 Çolukoğlu Dış Ticaret, trading company of the Çolukoğlu Group, Istanbul, Turkey, and Vice Chairman and Executive Director of the Group affiliate TOTAL Oil Türkiye.

Since 1996 Mr. İsrail has been Managing Director, EIL 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)

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Delegation Biographies

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

Ayşe first joined the Council in November 2000 as the Communications Director. Prior to joining ATC, Ms. Sümür 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 Istanbul The Guide, Human Resources Coordinator of '96 Istanbul Habitat II NGO Forum, and Director of External Affairs at the Graduate School of Management, Koc University, Istanbul. 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.-Azerbaijan Chamber of Commerce.

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

Ms. Sümür 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 Istanbul. Ms. Sümür, a dual citizen of the United States and Turkey, is an amateur designer and producer of jewelry.



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AMERICAN-TURKISH COUNCIL

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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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



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TURKISH CULTURAL FOUNDATION (TCF)



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.taastl.org), the Turkish American Association of Central Ohio (www.taaco.org) and the Pittsburgh Turkish American Association (www.ptaa.org) in the United States and the Turkish Canadian Society in Vancouver (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) for scholarships to needy school children, the Turkish American Women's Scholarship Fund to support disadvantaged and successful female college students (www.tawsf.org) and to the American Research Institute in Turkey (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) 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), the Foundation supported the screening of this film series in Tempe, Arizona by the Bosphorus Art Project (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). 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) and the 9th Boston Turkish Festival (www.tacsne.org). The American Turkish Society (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). 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) 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). 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. 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 feature 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

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



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. André 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 Putham	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. Eli Falcomareaga	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. Heena 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 Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, 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.

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



ATC Member Company Briefs

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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 Brief ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



TÜRK AMERİKAN
İŞADAMLARI DERNEĞİ

TURKISH - AMERICAN
BUSINESS ASSOCIATION

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 (COCUSA), member of the European Council of American Chambers of Commerce (ECACC) and American-Turkish Council (ATC).

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



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ATC Member Company Briefs



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

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



Articles

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

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.



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 treacherous 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.

STAFF TRIP TO 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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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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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>



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 15th 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:US.\$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 Istanbul Stock Exchange (IMKB) 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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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 Afghan 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 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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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.

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 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 archaeological 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. Hayva Iscan 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

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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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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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 prendrois 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.



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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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 Nemesis, 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 İşin. "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 Vella 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," İşin 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.saudifaramcoworld.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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Other Information

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FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICE

BY 2002-2004 AND YEAR-TO-DATE COMPARISONS

U.S. AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS
PERIOD: JAN 2002-DEC 2007 BY
NON-CONVERTED UNITS
QUANTITY IN SINGLE UNITS

AREA/COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION AND COMMODITIES EXPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (JAN-DEC)					JAN - DEC COMPARISONS	
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2006	2007
Turkey							
ANIMAL FEES	136,264	119,538	131,804	127,629	150,745	132,765	-11,93
00000024 ME	10	4	46	65	18	18	39
00000025 WT	747,242	880,547	852,822	84,220	0	0	673,799
00000026 WT	289,690	373,247	320,362	489,830	419,644	574,727	36,96
00000027 WT	0	4	0	0	0	0	0,00
00000028 WT	24	274	579	3,480	4,131	2,524	-16,89
00000029 MIXED	152,670	1,466,793	1,489,891	1,489,891	1,207,071	1,207,071	47,288
00000029 MIXED	156	148	24,921	110,890	225,399	866,350	284,32
00000030 WT	0	0	0	0	21	102	391,53
00000031 WT	0	2	0	0	16	16	264,03
00000032 WT	0	0	0	152	50	30	-42,36
00000033 ME	414	427	1,693	2,472	3,788	2,788	-10,86
00000033 MIXED	3,030,791	3,576,887	4,021,617	1,847,843	1,695,454	1,822	-16,39
00000034 WT	70,241	87,934	288,356	112,225	154,552	1,041,243	-88,59
00000035 MIXED	2,362	1,999	32,295	53,300	55,049	71,662	-23,96
00000036 MIXED	0	0	0	0	167	7,838	-85,22
00000037 WT	7,567	9,563	27,821	4,651	18,194	28,193	-18,95
00000038 MIXED	341	600	1,788	2,104	2,380	2,868	-9,76
00000039 WT	547	653	132	137	681	352	-32,47
00000040 MEAT	917,688	186,348	379,236	798,955	475,217	586,501	26,84
00000041 MIXED	124,123	80,466	372,508	129,616	71,020	132,154	96,14
00000042 MIXED	163,998	614,616	662,650	967,923	663,568	1,287,502	146,23
00000043 WT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,00
00000044 WT	2,491	2,694	4,210	5,259	5,515	4,841	-12,22
00000045 WT	1,206	1,216	3,480	31,584	1,989	1,502	-19,47
00000046 WT	37,165	72,938	92,805	94,159	87,236	83,190	-27,55
00000047 WT	967	4,478	714	313	1,166	595	-43,34
00000048 WT	204	268	200	3,082	1,894	1,384	2,033
00000049 WT	0	0,04	2,000	353	3	103	3,00
00000050 WT	20	120	144	1	3	3	137,49
00000051 WT	209,465	171,447	58,209	187,698	17,789	1,725	-80,55
00000052 WT	0	1	0	0	0	17	0,00
00000053 WT	2,450	295	384	0	21	0	-180,90
00000054 WT	112	133	864	1,204	1,524	307	-56,31
00000055 WT	256,146	124,856	219,037	295,265	55,856	187,979	74,10
00000056 WT	23,594	26,490	0	0	4,032	23	-99,44

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U.S. AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS
PERIOD: JAN 2002-DEC 2007 (X)
NON-CONVERTED UNITS
CURRENCY IN SINGLE UNITS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICE
CY 2002-2006 AND YEAR-TO-DATE COMPARISONS

AREA/COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION AND CATEGORIES EXPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (YTD-BEY)						YTD - BEY COMPARISONS		%
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2006	2007	
4890 Turkey	451,398	395,689	302,891	477,352	507,866	607,866	396,968	396,968	-34.84
SOYBEANS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
SUGAR, SWEETENERS, BEV BA	35	1,935	1,945	773	979	929	496	496	-46.88
TOBACCO	118	173	403	3,160	3,448	3,448	2,784	2,784	-19.07
WALNUTS	1,017	2,258	4,165	4,589	8,352	8,352	13,574	13,574	43.72
VEGETABLE NUTS	115,526	75,893	97,841	86,150	93,821	93,821	96,989	96,989	-2.82
VEGETABLE OILS (EX SOYBEA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N/A
WHEAT FLOUR	527	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
WINE AND BEER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
Grand Total	6,769,496	5,489,498	3,927,557	7,217,829	5,978,602	5,978,602	6,139,741	6,139,741	2.11

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U.S. AGRICULTURAL EXPENSES PERIOD: JAN 2002-DISC 2007 CY 2002-2006 AND YEAR-TO-DATE COMPARISONS

Table with columns: AREA/COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND COMMODITIES EXPORTED, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2006, 2007, 2007, 2007. Rows include Turkey, ANIMAL FAT, BREAKFAST CEREALS, CONFECTION, etc.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FARMER AGRICULTURAL SERVICE
BY 2002-2005 AND YEAR-TO-DATE COMPARISONS

U.S. AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS
PERIOD: JAN 2002-DEC 2007 BY *
ROW-CONVERTED UNITS *
VALUES ARE IN DOLLARS *

AREAS/CATEGORIES OF DESTINATION AND COMMODITIES EXPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (JAN-DEC)							CHANGE
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	JAN - DEC COMPARISONS	
TURKEY								
4891								
0000000001 MT	92,005,214	96,948,265	74,035,819	112,175,863	139,492,664	135,102,181	135,492,664	-9,600
SUGAR, SWEETENERS, REV BA	182,834	4,258,321	2,735,075	525,761	1,601,575	520,928	1,601,575	-57,477
0000000005 MT	522,730	557,152	9,453,295	22,179,778	23,031,426	17,538,254	23,031,426	-22,499
YORKHCO	1,428,738	9,482,136	11,192,250	15,434,032	30,118,448	44,314,522	30,118,448	22,489
0000000016 MT	58,052,019	52,777,524	36,409,136	65,108,173	59,523,696	79,592,258	59,523,696	34,794
VEGETABLE OILS, (EX SOYBEA	0	0	12,649,235	9,131,846	0	11,844,915	0	N/A
0000000017 MT	222,379	0	92,799	120,178	254,375	0	254,375	0
0000000018 MT	0	0	92,799	120,178	254,375	0	254,375	0
0000000019 MT	0	0	92,799	120,178	254,375	0	254,375	0
WINE AND BEER	661,581,096	927,765,698	948,254,718	*****	*****	*****	*****	-20,611
0000000020 KL								44,773
Grain Total								

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICE
CY 2002-2006 AND YEAR-TO-DATE COMPARISONS

AREA/COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN AND COMMODITIES IMPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (JAN-DEC)						JAN - DEC		CHANGE
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2006	2007		
Tarkey									
*990									
CHEESE	256	302	346	393	364	367	506	38.89	
COCONUTS & COCOA BUTTE	11	6	188	0	0	0	0	9.00	
COFFEE, UNROASTED	39	28	4	1	0	0	0	0.00	
ESSENTIAL OILS	27	12	15	24	249	249	124	-50.13	
FRESH & FROZEN	166	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	
FRESH VEGETABLES	301	186	136	64	81	81	85	5.82	
FRUIT & VEGETABLE JUICES	26,203	9,895	22,561	12,524	33,391	33,391	74,145	122.05	
HARDWOOD LUMBER	82	383	243	84	157	157	207	-42.07	
HIDES & SKINS	752	0	13	58	3,545	2,545	35	-95.82	
LIVE ANIMALS	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	N/A	
LOBSTER	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0.00	
LOSS AND CHIPS	17	27	5	367	0	0	0	0.00	
MILK	467	453	589	561	2,345	2,345	119	47.8	
MILK PRODUCTS	1,422	1,572	1,926	2,184	3,435	2,345	2,652	13.49	
OTHER BULK COMMODITIES	5,323	7,840	4,839	6,189	5,324	5,324	7,658	155.92	
OTHER CONSUMER ORIENTED	3	8	5	20	5	5	6,084	14.97	
OTHER DAIRY PRODUCTS	1,817	6,641	155,312	25,065	581	381	551	23.10	
OTHER EDIBLE FISH & SEAFOOD	73	175	82	117	221	221	1,157	41.51	
OTHER FRESH FRUIT	758	835	682	1,455	2,888	2,888	2,551	-4.72	
OTHER INTERMEDIATE PRODUCT	301,589	42,843	16,183	21,741	10,291	10,291	159,336	130.95	
OTHER VALUE-ADDED WOOD PR	7,347	23,343	19,432	18,584	12,371	12,371	14,360	15.59	
OTHER VEGETABLE OILS	4,411	23,762	236,136	388,684	1,56,429	1,56,429	1,759	-28.81	
PAINTS, PRODUCTS (INCL. PLAS	158	86	74	60	125	125	74	-40.79	
PLANTING SEEDS	16,218	51,132	55,267	61,331	73,694	73,694	17,166	-1.10	
PROCESSED FRUIT & VEGETAB	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	
RAM BEET & CRAB APPLES	21	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	
RED MEATS, FRESH/FR	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	
RED MEATS, PREP/FRS	34	37	65	78	108	108	138	27.04	
RICE	21	6	17	21	21	21	29	-11.12	
ROASTED & INSTANT COFFEES	2	1	2	11	0	0	0	-100.00	
RUBBER & ALLIED PRODUCTS	5,825	7,271	6,127	4,957	4,674	4,674	6,249	35.84	
SNACK FOODS	9,613	10,257	9,107	8,912	8,234	8,234	10,037	21.50	
SUGARS, SWEETENERS, SOY &	7	13	75	26	237	237	4,374	1744.92	
TEA, INCL. HERB	739	1,132	888	1,771	508	508	675	34.64	
TERRAZO	46,544	37,476	43,663	33,337	32,514	32,514	31,888	-3.81	
THERMO	7,158	7,791	6,095	4,781	6,354	6,354	5,682	-10.59	
TREES & SHRUBS	15	46	64	32	5	5	18	584.81	

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U.S. AGRICULTURAL CONSUMPTION IMPORTS * UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
 PERIOD: JAN 2002-DEC 2007 CY FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICE
 NON-CONVERTED UNITS *
 QUANTITY IN SINGLE UNITS.

 CY 2002-2008 AND YEAR-TO-DATE COMPARISONS

AREA/COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN AND COMMODITIES IMPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (JAN-DEC)							JAN - DEC COMPARISONS 2007 % CHANGE
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007	
Turkey								
4850								
5000000000 AT	183	18	18	20	15	29	29	80.76
WHEAT	151	243	153	246	448	479	479	6.93
WHE AND BLES	461,812	209,063	571,312	576,818	327,496	393,271	393,271	20.12
Trend Total								

2008 CONGRESSIONAL

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Other information
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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
 MVA-COMPARISON UNITS
 VALUES ARE IN DOLLARS

AREA/COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN AND COMMODITIES IMPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (MVA-MVA)					JAN - DEC COMPARISONS 2007	%CHANGE
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006		
Turkey							
6590							
CHEESE	822,402	946,753	1,584,363	1,745,896	1,488,056	2,715,200	86.22
00000025 MT	16,672	0	606,794	0	0	0	0.00
00000027 MT	50,410	62,530	3,690	3,837	0	0	0.00
00000028 MT	1,258,151	1,847,277	966,484	1,036,401	1,869,760	1,771,505	-2.09
00000031 MT	1,456,183	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
00000032 MT	437,929	245,100	131,197	179,867	400,073	197,119	-51.81
00000033 MT	4,220,478	7,493,834	6,389,383	6,389,383	31,255,434	30,427,428	61.28
00000034 RL	42,915	151,128	308,368	193,837	284,867	123,149	-56.77
00000070 ME	7,884	5,917	1,565	6,204	54,420	5,032	-30.75
00000078 MIXED	0	0	5,980	0	0	60,000	878
00000080 MT	0	0	0	2,885,359	0	0	0.00
00000082 MT	5,408	22,750	5,240	6,416	0	19,256	304
00000084 MIXED	166,974	329,236	290,001	481,489	761,497	697,104	-6.48
00000088 MT	988,781	1,122,956	1,430,444	2,321,813	3,139,150	7,554,811	140.72
00000094 MIXED	6,483,878	9,044,235	5,561,092	6,606,487	4,936,256	6,472,993	31.13
00000099 MT	14,589	16,404	17,212	78,855	28,680	78,422	15.28
00000104 MIXED	6,284,116	3,529,695	4,248,457	3,623,225	2,776,780	4,686,474	65.89
00000106 MT	46,349	359,557	194,075	194,075	293,929	1,299,377	342.07
00000107 MIXED	14,132,948	27,926,988	9,153,525	9,538,428	7,804,906	9,223,837	5.51
00000108 MIXED	1,434,694	839,117	663,900	878,982	496,047	496,047	57.15
00000148 MT	12,777,326	35,843,244	28,328,293	46,881,925	44,111,937	43,248,932	-1.97
00000150 MIXED	77,429	449,973	453,354	522,073	217,384	217,384	-74.54
00000151 MT	759,426	169,876	193,452	197,802	216,569	113,759	-71.66
00000152 MT	56,115,479	75,606,846	87,789,916	94,823,476	111,702,281	134,594,669	11.51
00000153 MT	8,350	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
00000154 MT	37,005	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
00000155 MT	50,558	57,359	87,334	121,059	167,567	187,958	12.18
00000157 MT	96,492	47,246	169,919	174,789	156,684	166,582	6.19
00000129 MT	92,746	34,000	3,050	188,387	715	0	-100.00
00000161 MT	8,550,913	12,086,938	13,686,780	17,619,028	12,614,825	16,914,133	34.09
00000162 MT	18,174,041	15,197,301	10,118,327	17,817,494	16,992,172	24,561,480	57.77
00000163 MT	3,958	83,868	97,812	364,573	384,572	4,054,711	964.34
00000164 MIXED	561,378	1,210,426	659,027	2,294,187	1,860,467	1,921,747	-6.29
00000165 MT	156,408,345	115,000,734	158,294,157	154,817,784	149,299,524	175,066,392	19.47
00000166 MT	15,492,039	23,982,352	28,230,455	30,786,316	35,957,140	32,154,732	-10.48
00000167 MT	58,482	894,219	1,093,144	250,328	108,468	638,860	487.18



000197

CONFIDENTIAL

Other Information

PAGE 4
187972868

U.S. AGRICULTURAL CONSUMPTION EQUIVANTS * UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
 PERIOD: JAN 2002-DEC 2007 CY * FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICE
 NON-CONVERTED UNITS *
 VALUES ARE IN DOLLARS *
 CY 2002-2008 AND YEAR-TO-DATE COMPARISONS *

AREA/COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN AND COMMODITIES IMPORTED	CALENDAR YEARS (YR-SEC)							% CHANGE
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	JAN - DEC COMPARISONS 2006	
Turkey								
4890								
WHEAT	26,372	9,237	8,850	10,752	8,778	22,838	156.73	
WINE AND BEER	328,112	486,830	426,084	516,941	738,540	747,871	1.34	
GRAND TOTAL	312,483,366	337,569,885	344,873,886	395,312,166	427,488,963	510,427,660	19.41	



2008 CONGRESSIONAL

ATC_0288

13-5845_0106

000198
CONFIDENTIAL

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

NFF

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, Istanbul

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

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



ATC_0289

13-5845_0107

000199

(CONFIDENTIAL)

Notes



2008 CONGRESSIONAL

ATC_0290

13-5845_0108

000200
CONFIDENTIAL
Notes

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



ATC_0291

13-5845_0109

000201

CONFIDENTIAL

Notes



2008 CONGRESSIONAL

ATC_0292

13-5845_0110

000202
CONFIDENTIAL

Notes

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



ATC_0293

13-5845_0114

000203

CONFIDENTIAL

Notes



2008 CONGRESSIONAL

ATG_0294

13-5845_0112

000204
CONFIDENTIAL
Notes

STAFF TRIP TO TURKEY



ATG_0295

13-5845_0113

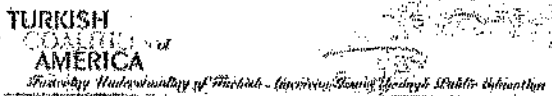
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Corporate Sponsor:



Associate Sponsors:



EXHIBIT 6



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

June 23, 2008

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

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

Dear Mr. Gonzales,

LTG Brent Stoveroff
(USAR, Ret.)
Chairman of the Board

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

George H. Pezman
Executive Vice President
Inchbush Martin

Hüseyin Ünver
1st Vice President
NXSA Americas, Inc.

Konrad L. Whitehead
Treasurer
The Whitehead Group

Conan Büyükbursal
Executive Director

Doreen Edelman, Esq.
Secretary and General Counsel
Balas, Donelson, Burman &
Caldwell

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

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.

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.

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 Patara, an ancient Lycian League city on the Mediterranean referred in the Federalist Papers as the inspiration for our federal form of government.

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 Atatürk'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.

Hon. Nancy Kassebaum Baker
Chairman Emerita

MG Fred Haynes
(USMC, Ret.)
Chairman Emeritus

Austin Litt
Chairman Emeritus

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

WG_0047

13-5845_0117



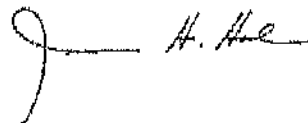
The trip will focus on a number of issues vital to U.S. foreign policy and economic interests. Meetings are expected to address U.S.-Turkish security and defense issues including NATO, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and the Middle East Peace process. Turkey's regional role in Central Asia and the Middle East 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,



James H. Holmes
President & CEO

WG_0048

13-5845_0118

EXHIBIT 7

TEMPLATE INVITE LETTER SENT TO STAFFERS

093062

May 27, 2008

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.

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13-5845_0120

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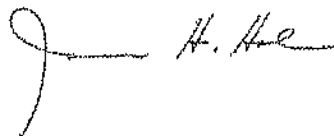
00003

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.

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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 8

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 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, Edgemore 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. Hochbrusekner & Associates, Inc.

Client Name: Turkish Coalition of America

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
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

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		%
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____ %
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____ %

Signature

Digitally signed by: George J. Hochbrusekner

Date 04/08/2008

Printed Name and Title George J. Hochbrusekner, President

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 Organization/Lobbying Firm Self Employed Individual

George J. Hochbrueckner & Associates, Inc.

2. Address 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

b. Telephone Number c. E-mail

5. Senate ID#

Mr. George Hochbrueckner

International Number

(631) 298-1298

18375-1003542

7. Client Name Self 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

12. Lobbying

INCOME relating to lobbying activities for this reporting period was:

Less than \$5,000

\$5,000 or more \$ 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).

13. Organizations

EXPENSE relating to lobbying activities for this reporting period were:

Less than \$5,000

\$5,000 or more \$

14. REPORTING Check box to indicate expense accounting method. See instructions for description of options.

Method A. Reporting amounts using LDA definitions only

Method B. Reporting amounts under section 6033(b)(8) of the Internal Revenue Code

Method C. Reporting amounts under section 162(e) of the Internal Revenue Code

Signature

Digitally signed by: George J. Hochbrueckner

Date 01/15/2009

Printed Name and Title George J. Hochbrueckner, President

v6.0.1c

Page 1 of 2

13-5845_0125

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:

EDU	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

EXHIBIT 9

CONFIDENTIAL

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

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

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

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 15th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005
TIME: 10:02 a.m. to 10:46 a.m. (approximately)
PARTICIPANTS: Kedric L. Payno
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).

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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. Hochbruekner having any contact with ATC and did not discuss him with ATC. He also stated that Mr. Hochbruekner 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. Hochbruekner prior to the trip.
22. The witness stated that Mr. Hochbruekner'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

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 14th 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 12

CONFIDENTIAL

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 Hochbruckner in 2008 when he began to work as a "consultant" for TCA. She stated that Mr. Hochbruckner's role was to provide TCA with insight on how Congress worked. Mr. McCurdy managed Mr. Hochbruckner.
17. She recalled that there were discussions concerning whether Mr. Hochbruckner could lobby because he may have been in the time period when former congressman could not lobby.
18. She does not recall whether Mr. Hochbruckner was registered lobbyist at the time and she does not recall when she learned that Mr. Hochbruckner was TCA's lobbyist. However, she recalls that there came a point where TCA decided to discontinue its relationship with Mr. Hochbruckner 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 13

CONFIDENTIAL

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 3rd 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 an 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.

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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 Hochbruekner 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.

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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

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 15th 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 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

CONFIDENTIAL

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 14th 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 Hochbruekner.
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