

EXHIBIT 41

REPUBLIC OF TURKEY OUTREACH EFFORTS TOWARD NATIVE AMERICAN TRIBES 2008-2015

“*Beginning in 2008*, [the Turkish Coalition of America] TCA offered scholarships to American Indian students interested in studying abroad in Turkey. Since then, TCA has worked with two of Turkey's leading institutions of higher education, Bahcesehir University and Istanbul Technical University, to develop their own scholarships for American Indian students. ITU is also designing a program *to advise tribal government officials about infrastructure issues on tribal lands*. Another leading institution, Hacettepe University, has organized two American Indian conferences in Ankara, cosponsored by TCA” (emphasis added).¹

On October 29, 2009, the Turkish Coalition of America announced that it would sponsor “a Native American Lecture Tour in November [...] to coincide[] with the White House conference with the Native American Tribal Nations on November 5. [...] The tour will bring educators from Mandaree, Hopi, Isleta/San Juan Pueblo and Mohawk tribes from South Dakota State University, Northern Arizona University and Institute of American Indian Arts to 12 universities in four cities in Turkey and will conclude with a Native American Conference at Hacettepe University in Ankara.”²

¹ See ICTMN Staff, *Proposed Legislation Advocates Trade Between Indian Country and Turkey*, Indian Country (July 11, 2011), available at: <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2011/07/11/proposed-legislation-advocates-trade-between-indian-country-and-turkey-42325>.

² See Turkish Coalition of America, *TCA Sponsors Native American Lecture Tour in Turkey*, TCA Events (Oct. 29, 2009), available at: <http://www.tc-america.org/community/tca-sponsors-native-american-lecture-tour-in-turkey-87.htm>.

On May 19, 2010, “the Turkish Coalition of America (“TCA”) met with Turkish State Minister for Foreign Trade Zafer Caglayan to discuss TCA’s work in the United States, including TCA's outreach to Native American communities. TCA President Lincoln McCurdy briefed Minister Caglayan on the significant opportunities for Turkish businesses to invest in and do business with Native American tribes, assisting these communities' development needs while further strengthening economic ties between Turkey and the United States.”³

On July 20, 2010, the Turkish Coalition of America (“TCA”) “facilitated a meeting between the visiting Turkish Trade Minister, Zafer Caglayan, and representatives of the Hopi Tribe, including Ali Cayir, the first Hopi Tribe Representative to Turkey. [...] Minister Caglayan, meeting with the Tribe for the first time, spoke of the affinity and possible kinship of the Turkish and Native American peoples, based on ancestral migration thousands of years ago, and expressed interest in visiting the Hopi reservation upon his return to the United States in October 2010. Also in attendance were several commercial representatives of Turkish business interests, who engaged in a discussion of investment and construction opportunities on the reservation.”⁴

From November 6-14, 2010, representatives of 17 Native American tribes from 11 U.S. States were taken by the Washington, D.C.-based Turkish Coalition of America (“TCA”), “a multi-faceted organization,” on a prearranged all-expenses-paid trip to Istanbul, Turkey

³ See Turkish Coalition of America, *TCA Spurs Turkish Interest in Investing with Native American Tribes*, TCA Events, (May 19, 2010), available at: <http://www.tc-america.org/community/tca-spurs-turkish-interest-in-investing-with-native-american-tribes-81.htm>.

⁴ See Turkish Coalition of America, *TCA Promotes Trade Relationship Between Turkey and Hopi Tribe*, TCA Events (July 23, 2010), available at: <http://www.tc-america.org/community/tca-promotes-trade-relationship-between-turkey-and-hopi-tribe-80.htm>.

underwritten by the Government of the Republic of Turkey. The trip was described as “a weeklong business, educational and cultural exchange trip”⁵ to explore “business relations with American Indian sovereign tribes that can make their own business deals and offer trade incentives such as tax breaks.”⁶ “While in Turkey, the delegation met with Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ahmet Davutoglu, and members of official government trade councils.”⁷

On November 21, 2010, it was reported that the CSKT was one of three Montana-based tribes that visited Turkey, and had been accompanied there by two Montana State agencies and a Montana-based nonprofit. These included the Montana State Tribal Economic Development Commission and the Montana State Tribal Economic Development Program, as well as the Montana-based nonprofit Native American Development Corporation.⁸

The 17 participating “federally recognized” tribes from 11 states included: 1) the Bay Mills Indian Community of Michigan; 2) the Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohican Indians of Wisconsin; 3) the Navajo Nation of Arizona and New Mexico; 4) the Couer d’Alene Tribe of Idaho; 5) the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Louisiana; 6) the Seneca Nation of New York; 7) the Rosebud Sioux and Sicangu Oyate of South Dakota; 8) the Assiniboine-Sioux, Crow, Salish and Kootenai tribes of Montana; 9) the Cherokee, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Fort Sill Apache, Osage and

⁵ See The Coeur d’Alene Press, *Tribes Join Together for Trip* (Nov. 6, 2010), available at: http://www.cdapress.com/news/local_news/article_9126cd06-dd69-52ab-93f9-815a6890ac4d.html.

⁶ See Rick Smith, *Tribes Building Business Bridges with Turkey*, WIN AWENEN NISITOTUNG – Official Newspaper of the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians (Dec. 2010), Vol. 31 No. 12, at 5, available at: <http://www.saulttribe.com/newsroom/sault-tribe-newspaper/recreation-download-files/download-file?path=2010%252F12-10-10%2BV31N12.pdf>.

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ See World Turkish Coalition, *First Native American Business Cooperation Trip*, Turkish Forum Archive (Nov. 21, 2010), available at: <http://www.turkishnews.com/en/content/tag/native-americans/>.

Quapaw nations of Oklahoma; and 10) the Colville Reservation tribes and the Yakama Nation of Washington.⁹

In a December 13, 2010 interview, former CSKT Chairman, James Steele remarked that, “I came back with the definite understanding that the government of Turkey wants to reach out to Native American tribes as nations,” Steele said of the Nov. 6 to 14 trip. “The biggest thing we came away with was the desire of the country of Turkey to reach out economically, diplomatically, educationally and culturally with the Native American tribes in the U.S.”¹⁰ In addition, the Steele interview revealed how taken the CSKT Chairman had been with the cultural similarities between Native Americans and the Turkish people and the idea of commencing a student exchange program to enlighten local students. “The people of Istanbul feel the Native Americans and people of Turkey have a kind of connection, including similarities with their language and Native languages. [...] There was definite interest there at the university to bring students from the Flathead Reservation and Natives in general over as an opportunity for the students to attend the university and do an exchange.”¹¹

On January 6, 2011, Congressman Martin Heinrich (D-NM) (for himself and on behalf of Congresswomen Bono-Mack, and Lummis) introduced H.R. 205, the Helping Expedite and 5 Advance Responsible Tribal Homeownership (“HEARTH”) Act of 2011 and referred it to the Committee on Natural Resources. The HEARTH Act entitled any federally recognized tribe to lease lands held communally in trust by the U.S. government for the benefit of the tribe (i.e., not

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ See Sasha Goldstein, *CSKT Members Travel to Turkey - James Steele Recounts a Positive Eight-day Visit to Turkey*, World Turkish Coalition Turkish Forum Archive (Dec. 13, 2010), available at: <http://www.turkishnews.com/en/content/2010/12/13/cskt-members-travel-to-turkey/>.

¹¹ *Id.*

lands owned individually as allotments in trust) for up to 75 years. Tribes would become eligible to enter into such leases provided they were executed pursuant to tribal lease regulations the Interior Secretary had first approved, the leases were entered into for public, *religious*, educational, recreational, residential, business, and other purposes pursuant to no more than a 75-year term, or for business or agricultural purposes for a 25-year term renewable up to a total of 75 years, but not for purposes of exploration, development, or extraction of any mineral resources which would require compliance with standard BIA lease regulations. H.R. 205 was intended to amend 25 U.S.C. 415 (Aug. 9, 1955), which authorized the leasing of restricted Indian lands for public, religious, educational, recreational, residential, business, and other purposes requiring the grant of long-term leases.¹²

On March 31, 2011, Senator John Barroso (R-WY) (for himself and on behalf of Senators Akaka, Thune Johnson, Tester and Udall) introduced S.703 entitled, *Helping Expedite and Advance Responsible Tribal Homeownership Act of 2011* (the “HEARTH Act of 2011”) and referred it to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs. The bill was largely compatible with H.R. 205.¹³

On April 12, 2011, TCA and the Turkish Cultural Foundation (“TCF”) hosted Congressman John Boehner (R-OH), the Speaker of the House, at a dinner. They were joined by Congresswoman Ileana Ros Lehtinen (R-FL), chairwoman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, as well as Congressman Ed Whitfield (R-KY) and Congresswoman Virginia Foxx

¹² See H.R. 205, *Helping Expedite and Advance Responsible Tribal Home Ownership Act of 2011* (“HEARTH Act of 2011”), U.S. House of Representatives, 112th Cong. 1st Sess. (Jan. 6, 2011), available at: <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/112/hr205/text/ih>.

¹³ See S. 703, *Helping Expedite and Advance Responsible Tribal Home Ownership Act of 2011* (“HEARTH Act of 2011”), U.S. Senate, 112th Cong., 1st Sess. (March 31, 2011)

(R-VA), two co-chairs of the Turkey Caucus. TCA hailed this as a symbolic “first official meeting between members of the Congressional leadership and leaders of the Turkish American community, signaling Congressional recognition of the increasingly important and positive contributions of the Turkish American community.”¹⁴

During the first half of 2011, TCA announced the selection of “[f]ive notable Native Americans [...] to travel to Turkey in October [2011] to participate in a weeklong [Oct. 18-26] initiative [...] to support infrastructure development in Indian Country and promote cultural and educational exchanges between Native Americans and Turks.” Those selected included: the Chairwoman of the Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, Minnesota; the Chairman of the Montana State Tribal Economic Development Commission and the Crow Tribe; the President and CEO, Indian Pueblo Cultural Center, New Mexico; a Professor of Native American Studies from Fort Berthold Community College, North Dakota; and the Executive Director of the Economic Development Corporation of the Louisiana Tunica Biloxi Tribe.¹⁵

On June 24, 2011, Oklahoma Congressman, Tom Cole (R-OK), introduced and reported to the Committee on Natural Resources H.R. 2362 entitled, the *Indian Tribal Trade and Investment Act of 2011*. The bill’s purposes were to: “(1) to remove or ameliorate the certain barriers to facilitate trade and financial investment in Indian tribal economies; (2) to encourage increased levels of *commerce and economic investment by private entities incorporated in or*

¹⁴ See Turkish Coalition of America, *TCA, TCF Host Historic Dinner with House Speaker*, TCA Events (April 12, 2011), available at: <http://www.tc-america.org/news-events/events/tca-tcf-host-historic-dinner-with-house-speaker-197.htm>.

¹⁵ See Turkish Coalition of America, *TCA Supports Ties between Native Americans and Turkey*, TCA Events (2011), available at: <http://www.tc-america.org/community/tca-supports-ties-between-native-americans-and-turkey-529.htm>.

emanating from the Republic of Turkey; and (3) *to further the policy of Indian self-determination* by strengthening Indian tribal economies and political institutions in order to raise the material standard of living of Indians (emphasis added).¹⁶ The bill permitted six tribes participating in a demonstration project to lease communally held reservation lands the U.S. government holds in trust for the tribe (i.e., not lands held by individuals) pursuant to 25-year leases for up to 75 years without securing approval of the lease from the Interior Secretary. To be eligible, the leases had to be executed pursuant to tribal regulations that the Secretary had first approved. In addition, the lease had to be entered into with one or more private entities *incorporated in or emanating from the Republic of Turkey*, for business and economic development, public, educational, or residential purposes, including for the development or use of natural resources in connection with operations under such leases, for grazing purposes, and for certain investment-intensive farming, but not for purposes of exploration, development, or extraction of any mineral resources.¹⁷ Notably, since the Republic of Turkey was the main benefactor, the bill did not provide for a tribe's entering into a lease with a Turkish enterprise for *religious* purposes.

On September 22, 2011, former CSKT Chairman James Steele and TAC President G. Lincoln McCurdy coauthored an editorial in the *Missoulian* hailing the “burgeoning relationship between Indian Country and the Republic of Turkey, *a relationship that has culminated with the introduction in Congress of the Indian Tribal Trade and Investment Act of 2011, H.R. 2362*. This legislation has the potential to jump-start tribal economies and raise Indian Country's international profile. H.R. 2362, introduced by the only enrolled tribal member of Congress,

¹⁶ See H.R. 2362, *Indian Tribal Trade and Investment Demonstration Project Act of 2011*, U.S. House of Representatives 112th Cong. 1st Sess. (June 24, 2011), at Sec. 1(c), available at: <https://legiscan.com/US/bill/HB2362/2011>.

¹⁷ *Id.*, at Sec. 3(b)-(d).

Rep. Tom Cole, R-Okla., is *intended to facilitate U.S. trade with Turkey* and boost tribal economies. Economic development on tribal land is currently hampered by a leasing system that requires lease applications to go through multiple reviews [...] *This and other disadvantages discourage outside companies unfamiliar with federal trust laws from engaging with individual tribes.* [...] Why Turkey? *Turks, who in some regions of their country still honor their own tribal history, have long felt an affinity with and interest in Native American cultures, and are actively seeking greater cultural and economic ties with tribal communities in the U.S.* Additionally, Turks are among the world's leading providers of contracting services, and there are hundreds of Turkish companies working on a variety of projects - construction, service provision and others - around the world” (emphasis added).¹⁸

During late October 2011, TCA announced the return of the five Native Americans who had traveled to Turkey to attend Istanbul Technical University’s “first infrastructure development forum” featuring “leading engineering, energy, architecture, management, and mining experts to explore areas for Turkish collaboration with tribes, while promoting ITU's unique scholarship program for Native American students.” They apparently also met with representatives from the Turkish Mass Housing Authority.¹⁹

On November 3, 2011, the Subcommittee on Indian and Alaska Native Affairs of the House Committee on Natural Resources convened a hearing to discuss H.R. 205 (the HEARTH

¹⁸ See James Steele and G. Lincoln McCurdy, *Ties with Turkey Will Benefit Montana Tribes*, The Missoulian (Sept. 22, 2011), available at: http://missoulian.com/news/opinion/columnists/ties-with-turkey-will-benefit-montana-tribes/article_dcca0016-e525-11e0-84d0-001cc4c002e0.html. See also S&K Group Spirit, Vol 3., Issue 4 (Winter 2011), at 1, available at: http://www.skglobalsolutions.com/newsletters/groupspirit_2011_01_winter.pdf.

¹⁹ See Turkish Coalition of America, *Native American Representatives Return From Turkey*, TCA Events (2011), available at: <http://www.tc-america.org/community/native-american-representatives-return-from-turkey-531.htm>.

Act of 2011) and H.R. 2362 (the Indian Tribal Trade and Investment Demonstration Project Act of 2011). During his testimony, Congressman Coleman noted how if the HEARTH Act were enacted it would provide the benefits offered under the Indian Tribal Trade and Investment Demonstration Project Act to all Indian Tribes. “It is fitting that the Indian Tribal Trade and Investment Demonstration Project Act and the HEARTH Act are being considered together today, as my bill, H.R. 2362, is based on provisions of the HEARTH Act. In fact, if the HEARTH Act is enacted, provisions of H.R. 2362 would be facilitated. [...] While I strongly support my legislation, I hope that the HEARTH Act is quickly enacted extending the provisions found in H.R. 2362 to all tribes. [...] Essentially, Tribes in the demonstration project would then enjoy the same regulatory reforms proposed in the HEARTH Act.” Congressman Coleman, furthermore, explained why his bill focused on the Republic of Turkey. “The single most frequent question people ask me about H.R. 2362 is: *Why Turkey? The answer to that is simple. Turkey, through their trade ministry, has shown interest in partnering with tribal economies. Turkey sent the first delegation from a foreign government to the National Center for American Indian Enterprise Development’s annual Reservation Economic Summit, commonly known as RES, in 2011.* People in Turkey have a genuine affinity towards American Indians. Many Turks believe that Indians share a common ancestry with the Turks dating back millennia. Whether you hold this belief or not, there is no denying that many Turks want to help Indians. H.R. 2362 would capitalize on this affinity to strengthen ties with a key ally and help struggling tribal economies” (emphasis added).²⁰ Some members of the press, however, could not bring themselves to accept Congressman Coleman’s explanation.²¹

²⁰ See U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Natural Resources, *Testimony of Congressman Tom Cole Before the Subcommittee on Indian and Alaska Native Affairs*, Legislative Hearing on H.R. 205 and H.R. 2362 (Nov. 3, 2011) at 1-2, available at:

On November 3, 2011, TAC President, G. Lincoln McCurdy delivered testimony at this hearing.²² He expressed his support for H.R. 2362 because it would “capitaliz[e] on *the unique and genuine interest Turkish Americans and Turkish companies have shown in working with Indian Tribes*, spurred by TCA’s efforts to build bridges between Turkey and Indian Country. [...] TCA is a Washington, DC-based nonprofit organization that aims to foster a better understanding of U.S.-Turkey relations and Turkish American issues through public education.” He emphasized that, “[s]ince its founding, *TCA has established outreach to other minority communities in the United States* as part of its core mission of increasing person-to-person ties between the U.S. and Turkey [,including...] a scholarship program in 2008 to provide funding for up to 100 scholarships per calendar year for Native American, African American and Hispanic American undergraduate and graduate students for study abroad in Turkey. TCA has so far awarded 177 scholarships...” In addition, “TCA has sponsored several trips to promote its scholarship programs and to further educational exchanges between the United States and Turkey. [...] In January 2009, TCA brought 22 educators from Tribal Colleges and Universities [...] on an 8-day trip to Turkey. In June 2009, TCA brought 6 professors from Turkish universities on an 8-day trip to visit [...] Tribal Colleges and Universities, across the United States [which...] included a visit to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. [...] TCA’s initial trips helped spur [...] Istanbul Technical University (ITU), Turkey’s oldest university and a leader in engineering education in Europe, [to] offer[] 10 comprehensive scholarships per semester –

http://democrats.naturalresources.house.gov/sites/democrats.naturalresources.house.gov/files/content/files/2011-11-03_HRG_INAK_Testimony_Cole.pdf.

²¹ See Al Kamen, *Turkey and the Indians*, Washington Post (July 2012), available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/turkey-and-the-indians/2012/07/24/gJQAbNuj8W_story.html.

²² See Statement of G. Lincoln McCurdy, President, Turkish Coalition of America, Inc. To the Subcommittee on Indian and Alaska Native Affairs Committee on Resources – U.S. House of Representatives Legislative *Hearing on H.R. 2362 “The Indian Tribal Trade and Investment Demonstration Project Act of 2011”* (Nov. 3, 2011), available at: <http://www.tc-america.org/files/news/pdf/GLMcCurdyHR2362Testimony-Final.pdf>.

including tuition, lodging and a monthly stipend – exclusively to Native American students.” He also discussed how his January 2010 visit to the Hopi Tribe and the Navajo Nation “in the great state of Arizona” and the conditions he witnessed on those reservations reminded him “of the unrealized economic potential of Anatolian villages and other remote parts of Turkey I had witnessed while serving as a commercial officer in Istanbul in the 1980s.”²³ He indicated how these and other efforts led to the TCA-arranged November 2010 Business Cooperation trip which “brought 20 Tribal leaders and representatives from 17 Tribes in 11 states to Turkey [...] on the inaugural Turkish Airlines direct flight from Washington, DC to Istanbul, Turkey.” He also emphasized how these growing ties “*paved the way [for] the Turkish government’s participation at 25th Annual Reservation Economic Summit (RES 2011) organized in March 2011 by the National Center for American Indian Enterprise Development (NCAIED). The government of Turkey became the first foreign nation to ever send an official delegation to the RES - the premier Native American economic and business development conference– which solidified their interest in doing business with Indian Country...*” (emphasis added).²⁴ Lastly, Mr. McCurdy highlighted how Turkey’s expanding GDP, growing desire to engage in labor-intensive foreign direct investment focused on the “construction, mining, finance, manufacturing and technology/communications sectors,” which resulting in Turkish firms generating many “employment opportunities in *Russia, Turkmenistan, Egypt and Kazakhstan [...]* Iraq and *Afghanistan*” could “boost the economies of participating Indian Tribes...” (emphasis added).²⁵

On March 12, 2012, *Indian Country* reported that “Namik Tan, Turkey’s Ambassador to the United States, and a delegation of officials from Turkey’s Ministry of Economy attended the

²³ *Id.*, at 2-3.

²⁴ *Id.*, at 3.

²⁵ *Id.*, at 4.

Reservation Economic Summit and American Indian Business Trade Fair (RES 2012), seeking business partners among the tribal nations' government officials. [...] Margo Gray-Proctor, a member of the Osage Nation and chairwoman of the National Center for American Indian Enterprise Development (NCAIED) [...naively] introduced the Turkish delegation during the opening session of RES, calling them *'my friends from Turkey.'* *She was among a delegation of American Indians representing 17 tribes from at least 10 U.S. states who visited Turkey in November 2010.* 'This year we are particularly honored to welcome his Excellency Ambassador Tan who despite his busy schedule wanted to join us for the opening session *to reiterate his government's genuine interest in building bridges in Indian country,*' Gray-Proctor said. 'We are honored to have you here and *look forward to working together to facilitate business development between our two peoples. There is now a great movement in Indian country for business development.*'" According to the *Indian Country* reporter, "[t]here has been great economic growth over the past few decades in Turkey, *a uniquely democratic Muslim country – proof that a country can be Muslim and democratic, contrary to embedded stereotypes about Islam*" (emphasis added).²⁶

On April 16, 2012, Congressman Hastings of the House Natural Resources Committee referred H.R. 205 (the HEARTH Act of 2011) to the House floor for consideration. The House Committee Report accompanying H.R. 205 highlighted how the bill had enjoyed "strong bipartisan Congressional support, and the support of the Administration, major tribal

²⁶ See Gale Courey Toensing, *Turkey: Open for Business in Indian Country*, *Indian Country* (March 12, 2012), available at: <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/03/12/turkey-open-business-indian-country-102589>.

organizations including the National Congress of American Indians and the National American Indian Housing Council, and individual recognized tribes.”²⁷

21. On April 19, 2012, Congressman Hastings of the House Natural Resources Committee referred H.R. 2362 (the Indian Tribal Trade and Investment Demonstration Project Act of 2011) to the House floor for consideration. The Committee Report reflected additional and dissenting views concerned with how Turkey had been threatened U.S. allies Israel and Cyprus and had singled out only a few tribes when all could benefit as would be provided for by the HEARTH Act.²⁸

22. On May 3, 2012, the HEARTH Act (H.R. 205) passed the House of Representatives, with Montana Congressman Denny Rehberg, and Montana Senators Max Baucus and Jon Tester having voted in approval.

23. On July 17, 2012, the HEARTH Act (H.R. 205 merged with S. 703) passed the Senate by a unanimous vote. Although Montana Congressman Denny Rehberg, and Montana Senators Max Baucus and Jon Tester had similarly voted, on July 23, 2012, to approve the Indian Tribal Trade and Investment Demonstration Project Act of 2011, the House of Representatives, nevertheless, failed to pass it. On July 30, 2012, the President signed the HEARTH Act into law.²⁹

²⁷ See U.S. House of Representatives, H.Rpt. 112-427, 112th Cong., 2nd Sess., *Helping Expedite and Advance Responsible Tribal Home Ownership Act of 2011*, together with Additional Views [To accompany H.R. 205] (April 16, 2011) at 6.

²⁸ See U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Natural Resources, H. Rpt. 112-451, 112th Cong., 2nd Sess., *Indian Tribal Trade and Investment Demonstration Project Act of 2011*, together with Additional and Dissenting Views [To accompany H.R. 2362] (April 19, 2012), at pp. 6-8.

²⁹ See P.L. 112-151, 112th Cong. 126 STAT 1150 (July 30, 2012).

In the third quarter of 2012, an article appearing in the SETA Foundation journal *Insight Turkey* explained how the Moroccan Islamist Parti de la Justice et du Développement (PJD) could learn from the political success and the economic growth achieved by the Turkish Government's ruling AKP (Justice and Development Party) during the 2000's, which was attributable to its harnessing of the "marriage between moderate Islam and democracy" and adoption of "a strategy promoting human rights, and extending political freedoms in line with European norms" to enable less moderate Islamist parties facing state repression to engage in political participation in the image of a modern democratic state. According to said author, "in acknowledgment of the AKP's widespread appeal, the Egyptian Freedom and Justice Party, *the political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood, consulted with members of the AKP ahead of the elections in order to make their own message more palatable to the public* and to 'correct the false image that the Muslim Brotherhood aims to monopolize political activity.'"³⁰

During late 2012-early 2013, an article appeared discussing how "safety-valve" elections used by authoritarian states to weaken Islamic opposition parties by luring them into ostensible participatory democracy had been successful in not only encouraging Morocco's PJD, which had "practice[ed] terrorism in the 1970s and 1980s," to give up political violence in favor of competing in elections, but also in ultimately toppling the authoritarian regime. The article acknowledged that, despite the PJD's early election losses, it has since managed to turn away from terrorism and use formal politics to advocate for Islamic-informed change. "Although the Islamist party has renounced terrorism, it still shares an ideological lineage with Islamist groups in the Middle East that have employed political violence to promote their causes. The party

³⁰ See Feriha Perekli, *The Applicability of the 'Turkish Model' to Morocco: The Case of the Parti de la Justice et du Développement (PJD)*, SETA Insight Turkey, Vol. 14 No. 3 (SETA Foundation, 2012), Abstract at: <http://www.insightturkey.com/ak-party-model-for-islamists/articles/187>.

adopts a marji'iyah Islamiyyah—or an Islamic frame of reference—influenced by Said Qutb, Hasan al-Banna, and other Islamist political philosophers to understand crises surrounding them. In contrast to the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, however, who rally around the slogan Islam is the solution, the PJD ‘doesn’t say Islam is the solution,’ according to Lehen Daoudi. ‘We have a genuine economic and social program,’ he emphasized. ‘We have an Islamic frame of reference, but when we take up our mission that is scientific. The Islamic frame of reference is one thing, while the measures to implement it are something else.’ *The PJD’s Islamic perspective has helped it develop a clear and consistent ideology criticizing social crises, such as alcoholism and abortion. Party leaders maintain citizens can ameliorate these problems through closer adherence to Islamic values, which has allowed the PJD to brand itself to voters as a Muslim version of the German Christian Democratic Party.*” Ultimately, the author concluded that the subsequent “Arab Spring” uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia and the growing discontent with local conditions in Morocco enabled the PJD to harness the rising social movement calls for ‘change’ there to secure with other Islamist parties *a parliamentary majority “providing them an unprecedented opportunity to implement their policy preferences”* (emphasis added).³¹

On November 13, 2013, the “Turkish International Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) offered \$200,000 in Aid to the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon [...] to assist in bringing water to the Warming Springs region where nearly 5,000 Native Americans currently reside. [...] *TIKA President Serdar Çam [...]*

³¹ See Matt Buehler, *Safety-Valve Elections and the Arab Spring: The Weakening (and Resurgence) of Morocco’s Islamist Opposition Party*, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 25:137–156, (Routledge Publ. 2013) at pp. 137, 143-144, 150-151, available at: <http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Buehler-2013.pdf>.

acknowledged Prime Minister Erdoğan's support and contribution for their efforts."³²

Apparently, the Government of Turkey also had funded other "poverty alleviation efforts in *Peru, Guatemala and Bolivia*" (emphasis added).³³

On April 16, 2015, the Turkik American Alliance reported how the Turkish American Friendship Luncheon convened by the West America Turkic Council at the Montana State Legislature had drawn the attention of most of the state's influential stakeholders, including State Attorney General Tim Fox. According to the reporter, "Attorney General [F]ox noted that he valued the friendship of the Turkic American community greatly. Mr. [F]ox also told a personally story of how was great friends with the Turkish National Team's basketball player, Sinan Güler, as they played basketball together in college."³⁴

On April 17, 2015, it was reported that, among the offerings made available at the Turkish luncheon convened at the Montana Legislature were books of various authors that have preached for Sharia law and theocratic rule and demonize the West. These included, "Islam Without Extremes: A Muslim Case for Liberty," by Mustafa Akyol, who "Turkish columnist Burak Bekdil," in 2010, had characterized as "a stealthy pro-Sharia, pro-Erdogan Islamic supremacist who wanted to see the caliphate restored." In addition, it was reported that the luncheon hosts had "giv[en] out copies of "Essays, Perspectives, Opinions" by M. Fethullah Gülen, who is a Turkish scholar who now lives in America and has called for the establishment

³² See Daily Sabah World, *TIKA offers \$200,000 aid to Native Americans* (Nov. 13, 2013), available at: <http://www.dailysabah.com/world/2013/11/13/tika-offers-200000-aid-to-native-americans>.

³³ See Rob Capriccioso, *Turkish Official Encourages Tribal-Turkey Relations*, Indian Country (11/21/13), available at: <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2013/11/21/turkish-official-encourages-tribal-turkey-relations-152364>.

³⁴ See Togrul Shukurulu, *Legislative Turkish American Friendship Luncheon in Montana*, Turkik American Alliance, Events Legislative Receptions (April 16, 2015), available at: <http://turkicamericanalliance.org/legislative-turkish-friendship/>.

of a theocratic state in Turkey and tries to make orthodox Islam compatible with Western liberalism.”³⁵

On June 17, 2015, the Turkish Heritage Organization (THO) issued a press release announcing its participation “in the twenty ninth annual Reservation Economic Summit event hosted by the National Center for American Indian Development.” According to THO President Halil Danismaz, “The Reservation Economic Summit is a valuable opportunity for the THO to connect with another like-minded community with similar challenges, goals and aspirations [...] Turkish-Americans and Native Americans have much in common and it is our pleasure to share lessons learned and work together to increase economic opportunity for all.” In addition, the press release announced how “Turkish Embassy Counselor Aydan Karamanoglu [would] also be speaking during the Reservation Economic Summit, highlighting charitable contributions made by the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) to The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Reservation and Indian farmers in Guatemala, Peru, and Bolivia.”³⁶

³⁵ See Pamela Geller, ‘*Turkish Day*’ at *Montana State Capitol Features Books by Supporter of Jihad Flotilla and the ‘Turkish Khomeini*’, Pamela Geller.com (April 17, 2015), available at: <http://pamelageller.com/2015/04/turkish-day-at-montana-state-capitol-features-books-by-supporter-of-jihad-flotilla-and-the-turkish-khomeini.html/>. See also Pamela Geller, *Defending the West – Indoctrinating for Jihad in Charter Schools*, PamelaGellar.com (May 5, 2013), available at: <http://www.wnd.com/2013/05/indoctrinating-for-jihad-in-charter-schools/> (“The “Turkish Khomeini,” Fethullah Gulen, lives in Pennsylvania. From there he runs a \$25 billion international network. He is a prime mover behind the rapid Islamization of Turkey, and he urges Muslims to build schools to indoctrinate an entire generation. He is tied to hundreds of Gulen charter schools right here in the United States. (Texas alone has 36 of these Gulen charter schools.”))

³⁶ See Turkish Heritage Organization, *Turkish Heritage Organization Offers Support to Native American Community, Participates in Reservation Economic Summit*, PR Newswire (June 17, 2015), available at: <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/turkish-heritage-organization-offers-support-to-native-american-community-participates-in-reservation-economic-summit-300100805.html>.